Calypso music : identity and social influence : the Trinidadian experience

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Calypso Music
Identity and Social Influence:
The Trinidadian Experience

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden

op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,

volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties

te verdedigen op dinsdag 22 november 2016

klokke 16:15 uur

door

Clarence N. Charles

geboren te Port-of-Spain (TT)

in 1951

Promotores

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Glossary of Terms[1]

arawak	Indigenous Indian tribe of the Caribbean
bamboula	a) Neo-African song genre and dance b) Type of African drum
belair (bélé)	Afro-French Creole dance and song genre
broken English	Colloquial lingo of Trinidad and Tobago – a mixture of Spanish, French Creole, and English that utilizes faulty grammar and syntax, contains words that have been mutated or otherwise altered, and are sometimes difficult to trace to any one of the three languages
calipso, calyso, careso, cariso (kaiso)	Names by which calypso was previously called
calinda (calenda, kalenda, kalinda)	(a) Call-and-response type of songs accompanied by drumming, and sung during stick fighting (b) Stick fighting duel (Fr. bois bataille)
cannes brulées, canboulay, camboulay	Recreation of fire drills, symbolic of the burning of sugarcane at harvest time during slavery, that are performed during carnival in commemoration of Emancipation
carib	Indigenous Indian tribe of the Caribbean
chantuelle, chantwel, (shantwel, shatwel)	Lead singer of calindas and lavways
cock-man	Casanova, playboy, womanizer
extempo, extempore (picong)	Verbal competition in song
fte	Public indoor or outdoor party with dancing and singing
gayelle	Stickfighting arena in Trinidad and other parts of the Caribbean
ghouba, giuba (juba)	Neo-African song genre
jamette (mutation of Fr. diametre)	The underclass sector of society, or a member of that group

[1] Words not found in the Standard English dictionaries are italicized unless they appear in this glossary. Other words that appear in the text of the calypsos referenced, but are not found in the Standard English dictionary, derive from Broken English. See footnote 4 on page 51.

jooking	Delivering pelvic thrusts simulating the sex act
juba	See *ghouba*
jump-up	Street dancing to calypso music during carnival
kalenda, kalinda	See *calinda*
kaiso	See *calipso*
lavway (mutation of Fr. la voix)	Processional masquerade song of the chantwels
mamagism	Act of cajoling someone
mardi gras (Fr./Patois-Grand Tuesday)	Last day of carnival when costumes are displayed in their grandest splendor
mas (Trinidad-tr. lingo for masquerade)	Costumed topical portrayals
mulatresse	Woman of mixed (black and white) ethnicity
negre de jardin (Fr.)	Negro field slave
negue jardin (Fr. Creole)	Negro field slave
patois	Common name for Fr. Creole and other dialects
picong (tr. lingo)	Alternate name for extempo
road march	Most popular lavway/calypso performed in the streets during carnival
sanimanité (mutation of Fr. sans humanité)	a) Term designated to calypso genre in which competition is characterized by exchanges of insults and ridicule rendered in song rhyme b) Term interjected at, and signaling the end of each sortie of 'sans humanité' calypsos, literally meaning without pity, or without mercy
shak-shak (of Afr. origin), *also chac-chac* (Fr. Creole)	African musical instrument of the percussion family, the same as the maracas (Sp.)
sortie	Verbal attack sung during picong competition
tamboo-bamboo (Fr. tambour-bambou)	Percussion ensemble consisting of various lengths of bamboo struck against the ground or beaten with sticks
vaps (singular noun - a *vaps*)	Whim or feeling of being propelled into action
wining	Sensual gyration of the hips simulating copulation while dancing

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my general gratitude to everyone who has assisted me along the path that led to the completion of this study, and in doing so, I would like to specifically mention the following people whose assistance was paramount to the success of this venture: Slinger Francisco “The Mighty Sparrow” for his vast contribution to the repertory of Trinidad calypso culture, and for having planted some of the first seeds of cultural steadfastness that have kept me rooted in our calypso culture; Dr. Wim van der Meer for having pointed out the distinction between Cultural Musicology and Ethnomusicology thereby keeping my focus centered, for having given me the opportunity and encouragement to pursue and accomplish a task of such magnitude, and for his feedback, guidance, patience and friendship throughout the years; Dr. Rokus de Groot for having initially accepted me into the doctoral programme at the University of Amsterdam; Errol Michael “Philo” Phillips for his unending resourcefulness, scholarship, friendship and support; Mervyn Taylor for having taught me in my youth, the art of storytelling; Shawn Rando for having provided access to his vast collection of calypso music, and for his patience in putting up with the unreasonable requests of a perfect stranger; Dr. Samuel B. Howard for his encouragement, feedback and support; informants and observers Alfred “Freddy” Harris, Ellie Manette, Dave and Jenifer Defoe, and the late Lendor “Mackie” Mac Donald, for their resourcefulness.

I would also like to thank Dr. Hollis Liverpool a.k.a. “The Mighty Chalkdust” for his musical and academic advice in regard to social commentary about Trinidadian society, and for having accepted the invitation to be a member of my doctoral defense committee; Dr. Gordon Rohlehr for having provided the extensive amount of written material that illuminated the scholarly path which led to this juncture; Willard Harris a.k.a. “Relator” and Earl Edwards for their musical input during the closing performances associated with my presentation; my family for their undying love, support and encouragement; and especially my wife Jamilla Carolina Charles for having endured the long, silent hours. Finally, I would like to thank Professor Dr. Joep Bor for his feedback and guidance and for having accepted my dissertation at the University of Leiden, for this has allowed me the opportunity to contribute to the scholarly repertory of that institution and to the musicological community of the world, and Professor Frans de Ruiter for accepting me in the doctoral program of the Academy of Creative and Performing Arts at Leiden University.

Introduction

Research Question

From its emergence in Trinidad during the latter part of the eighteenth century, calypso music has been the major backdrop to all aspects of daily life there; as recreation, part of ritual, entertainment, form of livelihood, disseminator of news and gossip, and as a traditional forum for social commentary. That it has been contoured by these events is hardly debatable, but the question arises: Has calypso influenced social processes? This question can be further elaborated: Can we consider calypso as an agent in the transformation of Trinidadian culture and society? Subsidiary questions that need to be investigated are: (1) Which aspects of culture and/or society have been affected by calypso? (2) Which elements of calypso have been involved in these transformations? (3) How did calypso effectuate this hypothesized agency. This research question is very broad and has many implications, and it should be obvious that it will be impossible to give a narrowed-down answer pinpointing specific elements in calypso that have affected specific changes in society and culture. As such, although the research question seems simple and easily falsifiable under a modernistic Popperian regime, in reality the situation is quite complex. However, what should be born in mind is that I emphasize an opposition between "music has influenced" social processes, and "music reflects, or has been influenced by" social processes. There is a vast literature that attributes changes in music to changes in society, either partially or wholly. Studies that take the opposite position can be counted on the fingers of two hands, and are generally not taken very seriously (e.g. Scott 1958, Lebrecht 2010, Morgan and Leve 2013) or refer to prehistoric times and as such are highly speculative (Mithen 2016, Cross 1999, Jordania 2011).

In keeping with the Academy of Creative and Performing Arts (ACPA, Leiden University) conception of PhD research my own experience, growing up and participating in Trinidadian music culture, is at the centre of this study. I will also elucidate that my insight into calypso is informed by indigenous knowledge more than ethnomusicological fieldwork, although the two are not mutually exclusive as I will argue below.

This study, *Calypso, The Trinidadian Experience*, examines how calypso music culture propagated in Trinidad by Afro and Indo-Trinidadians has provided mechanisms by which identity has been constructed and maintained among Trinidadians at home and abroad. Additionally, it specifically investigates the impact of Trinidad's musical and music-related

cultural artifacts (calypso, carnival, soca and its derivatives limbo, feting, wining, playing pan, and playing mas) on merging global communities, particularly those in some European countries. The study therefore focuses on the impact of three processes, colonialism, creolization, and (East-)Indianization that are peculiar to most of the Anglophone Caribbean. Central issues that will be elucidated include: the socio-political history of the island from the colonial period onward; the evolution of calypso music and its related indigenous strains during that time period, and the relatedness of the genre to everyday life and socio-cultural institutions; the rhetoric functions of calypso as a performing art – the notion of social text and the role of situational influences, its alternate patterns of persuasion, the creation of layers of meaning through the symbolic action of performance, and theoretical aspects of identity construction, assertion, and maintenance.

As opposed to some of the literature on the role of music in the making of human society and culture, I am not trying to formulate a general theory that would explain the influence of music on culture and society, but rather focus on Trinidad and calypso specifically. Most importantly, my research question arises from my personal experience of growing up in Trinidad. As such, my knowledge of Trinidadian music, culture and society should be designated by what we now call 'indigenous knowledge' (Semali and Kincheloe 2011 [1999], Johnson 2012).

The relationship between culture and identity has fueled ongoing interdisciplinary discourse among researchers and scholars. For example, ethnomusicologist Stokes (1997) has argued that music is meaningful because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries that separate them:

> Musical performance, as well as the acts of listening, dancing, arguing, discussing, thinking and writing about music, provide the means by which ethnicities and identities are constructed and mobilized. (p. 5)

Regarding calypso music performance from a symbolic interactionist perspective, Patton (1994) has stated that,

> The art of calypso as a musical performance combining lyrics, melody, and the verbal and visual persona of the singer with arrangement, dramatic presentation, and audience engagement in a significant and symbolic cultural context has been a defining element of the culture and identity of Trinidadians for many years. (p. 55)

Contingent contributions pertaining to the concept of social facts by Durkheim (1966 [1938]) which has helped theorists to establish a link between the meaning of folklore on individual

and social levels will also be explored and integrated. In keeping with these developments Patton (1994) has advanced the notion of social text which,

> Immediately introduces the role of situational influences, interaction of the calypso with a specific set of audiences, and the creation of layers of meaning through the symbolic action of the performance. (p. 56)

Literary and rhetorical theorist Kenneth Burke (1966, 1968) introduced the term 'identification' whereby language is used in rhetorical process as a means of creating unity and corporation through its interaction in social and rhetorical contexts. He has referred to symbols as "verbal parallels to a pattern of experience" and has suggested that the power of the symbolic act becomes greatest "when the artist's and the reader's [listener's] patterns of experience closely coincide" (p. 152-156).

Consequently, the notions of the calypso genre as 'vox' popular in meting out social commentary and redress, and as disseminator of news and gossip, tackled by Rohlehr, Elder, Liverpool, Gibbons and others are crucial to the arguments advanced.

There has been much discourse about the post-colonial period, in keeping with which Childs and Williams (1997) have posed and answered their own pertinent question "When is the Post-colonial?" as follows:

> A major contention of post-colonial studies is the overlapping developments of the ensemble of European colonial empires…from the sixteenth century onwards (but especially the nineteenth), and their dismantling in the second half of the twentieth century, constitute unprecedented phenomena, and one with global repercussions in the contemporary world, so that one [of the] answer[s] to the question, 'When is the Post-colonial?' is 'Now'. (p. 2)

Upon reflection about their answer to the question, my colleague and close friend Michael Phillips advanced an argument supporting the view that the colonial period has not ended. The basis of his argument is the fact that colonial attitudes and practices still linger, where "resources can be demanded on the threat of a revolt" and where "a military presence is not the only recourse to control people" since "technological carrots and sticks can whip countries/regions into line" (Pers. comm., June, 2011). This is in alignment with Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989) who have used the term 'post-colonial' to refer to "all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonialism to the present day" (p. 2). The present study is supportive of both viewpoints because the literature reveals a high and continued amount of overlapping between the two periods that encompasses institutionalized colonialism, and the dismantling of its ideology. In Trinidad, the period between the colonial and the post-colonial, i.e. from Emancipation in 1838 to Independence in 1962 can be

considered transitional, although colonial ideology and its accompanying practices extend well beyond both dates.

Childs and Williams (1997, p. 185) have cited and contested Pratt's use of the term 'contact zones' to refer to regions such as those described above as sites of encounters where "previously separated people enter into and establish relations, often antagonistically, [and] usually unequally". Pratt (2008 [1992]) has explained the term in reference to "the space of colonial encounters…in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish on-going relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict…" (p. 8). Pratt has further explained that,

> Contact zone in my discussion…treats the relations among colonizers and colonized…not in terms of separateness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices. (ibid)

Childs and Williams (ibid.) have addressed discrepancies they identified in Pratt's statement and have made the following adaptation:

> Pratt wishes to replace narratives of conquest and domination with those of interaction, co-presence, and shared practices. It is a site of compromise and resistance, assertion and imitation, hybridity and adaptation. (p. 185)

It appears however that they have agreed that at such junctures where encounters between the groups have taken place the resultant patterns of behavior exhibited have been reciprocal but often underscored by conflict. Insistence in post-colonialism to displace and repudiate colonial ideology has been manifest in anti-colonial practices, as has been demonstrated by the occurrence of uprisings throughout the Caribbean and the Americas (e.g. the Haitian revolutions; revolt in Barbados and the Virgin Islands; uprisings in Trinidad immediately following Emancipation, and much later on once it had gained independence; resistance to Portuguese domination in the Quilombos of Brazil and to English repression by the Maroons and Rastafarians in Jamaica and by the Carib tribes of the Antilles; and by overt anti-American sentiment in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Venezuela, Africa and the Middle East).

Because of the ethnic diversity and creative abundance extant at 'contact zones' in the Caribbean much importance has been given to cultural manifestations such as music and language. Trinidad is one of those contact zones where there has been a significant amalgam of much of the 'unprecedented phenomena' alluded to above. That site has continued to be important because of its demography and history, the regional importance of its socio-economic and cultural infrastructure; its role as center-stage for the evolution calypso music,

the steel drum and the steel orchestra, and for the development of carnival as a common regional cultural expression.

J. D. Elder (1964) has written about the role of calypso music in relation to repression and resistance in Trinidad referring to as far back as 1839, noting that,

> From that time to the present day, it is possible to trace an almost unbroken succession of clash and conflict of varying seriousness between White rulers and Colored subjects…In the early days when the upper class was identical with the White group, the conflict was no greater than today…music forms for it [the conflict], a subtle background against which the action takes place, or through which the actors play their parts. (p. 128)

This study will examine how the roles of the 'actors' alluded to have been played out through indigenous music. A study of the Trinidad calypso during the colonial and post-colonial periods cannot exclude the socio-cultural activities of the Jamette class of society nor their status and struggle at the bottom of the social structure that had been superimposed upon them by the plantocracy and colonial government. Links between historical events and socialized cultural practices, and contingent social institutions will therefore be pursued in this study by way of post-colonial theory and symbolic interactionist thought.

The 'unprecedented phenomena' and contingent global repercussions referred to previously have been central themes of many authors like Gates (1987), Gilroy (1993), Hall (1991), Fanon (1952, 1965, 1986), Spivak (1999), Nettleford (2003), and others in their discussions about colonization, diaspora, migration, hybridity, ethnicity, culture, repression, resistance, rebellion, identity and nationalism. Nettleford (2003) for example has written about some of the repercussions, which Elder has labeled the 'conflict.' In highlighting the conflict, Nettleford has pinpointed some salient and specific bones of contention and has shed light on the bipolarity extant at zones of contact in the Caribbean:

> There is a revolution apace in Jamaica and the Caribbean…the revolution constitutes a continuing dynamic revolt against external political and economic domination, against internal exploitation reinforced by the aspirations of class/colour differentiation, against the dehumanizing evils of poverty and joblessness, disease and ignorance and in defiance of all that would conspire to perpetuate among us a state of dependency and self-repudiation-in short a process of decolonization of self and society by the conscious demolition of old images and the deliberate explosion of colonial myths about power, status and the production process. The revolution constitutes, at the same time, the constructive act of articulation of the collective self in terms of the variety of experience that is the inheritance of a vibrant, resilient, though still bombarded, people who have had to come to terms with a hostile environment in which they found themselves - a people who have had to take initiatives in giving a dynamic to the agonizing process of shaping a new and serviceable sense of place and a sense of purpose. The two-pronged phenomenon of decolonization and creolization (or indigenization) represents that awesome process actualized in simultaneous acts of negating and affirming, demolishing and constructing, rejecting and reshaping. (p. 138-139)

A main premise of this study is that the function of the calypso genre in Trinidad was not limited to being merely a reflection of the consciousness of the people, but that it was at the center of that revolution. It was part of the machinery that sought to repudiate and dismantle colonial ideology, and it functioned as a tool that resisted and redressed the repressive tentacles of colonialism. Based on that premise, the foregoing references, and other sources of empirical evidence, I will argue that calypso is a constitutive act which provides alternate patterns of persuasion that are capable of exerting social influence. However, in this dissertation the term 'post-colonial' will be used in two contexts. The first, as suggested by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989), refers to regions or zones of contact (as in most parts of the Caribbean), where:

- colonization had once been defined by the implementation of human ownership, forced labor, the superimposition of elitist ideologies (foreign/European as discussed), cultural norms and social structures that had been maintained by social, political, economic and cultural repression;
- the implementation of such practices is being or has been repudiated;
- a physical or military presence, and/or as suggested by Mr. Phillips "technological carrot-sticks" are not prerequisites for maintaining social control;
- the pursuit of autonomy and democracy flourishes, despite any lingering residue of colonial ideology and/or its implementation.

The second context annexes the first but introduces a posit advanced by this study that expands on the idea presented by Pratt (1992) regarding contact zones, and the expansion of that idea offered by Childs and Williams (1997). The posit suggests that the term 'post-colonial' also refers to 'contact zones' in present-day global communities where:

- the flow of cultural influence has been reversed, which is to say that the amalgam of 'unprecedented phenomena' caused by processes of colonization in the sixteenth-century New World is now being assimilated in the new 'contact zones' emergent in several 'ex-sovereign' or 'modern' New World communities of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries;
- the people previously separated are not in opposition to each other;
- their encounters are not underscored by conflict;
- their cultural expressions have not been, nor are being repressed, but have rather become building blocks of the collective global identities of the communities in which they co-exist;
- the existent 'sovereign' identities that have previously defined those 'contact zones' have not been overrun by the emerging 'collective' identities, and;

- the ‘new’ identities being forged, and the cultural artifacts and manifestations being spurned are not manipulated by the dominant (‘host’) culture nor by contingent cultures sharing the same space. They are authentic and autonomous; not constructed as in the Colonial period, on perceptions of themselves formulated by ‘outsiders’, specifically, the ‘colonizer’.

Pratt (1992) has coined the term ‘autoethnographic’ to describe such representations that involve partial collaboration with, and appropriation of the idioms of the conqueror.

Significance

The study is important because:

- it shows how and why calypso music, in spite on-going repression that has been leveled against it, has remained one of the strongest identifying forces for Trinidadians at home and abroad, for the peoples of the regional Caribbean basin, and for several other contingent global communities;
- it will elucidate the genre’s role via transmission in transculturation in contemporary world communities and;
- it will provide a body of musical analysis that can be referred to as a framework for identifying change to and perhaps within the calypso genre from its emergence through the post-modern era and beyond.

Methodology

At the Academy of Creative and Performing Arts (ACPA) at Leiden University the artistic experience is paramount. This has important consequences for the methodology, which I shall attempt to outline below.

The subject-object relation between the knower and the known is the basis for knowledge production in western ways of thinking. The most important problem with this knowledge production system is that only westerners are seen as subjects, people who can ‘know’. So people who are part of a different culture “only can be ‘objects’ of knowledge or/and of domination practices” (Quijano 2007, p. 174). Non-westerners can only know if they follow the western rules or system. This way of thinking, which has made impossible the production of a western/non-western hybrid knowledge, is also seen in the university where: “the formation and development of certain disciplines, such as Ethnology and Anthropology, have always shown ‘subject-object’ relations between ‘western’ culture and the rest. By definition, other cultures are the ‘object’ of study” (ibid., p. 174).

Spivak suggests that the core of the problem is that western scholars do not have enough knowledge of the culture they study. This is what Spivak calls ‘sanctioned ignorance’. When analysing an Indian text, a western scholar does not have to know about Indian gender relations, because they can use western gender-theory (Spivak 1999, p. 164). This also relates to De Certeau’s (1997) conception of power structure: not only do western scholars claim knowledge of other cultures, it is also implied that this knowledge, because it is processed, western, academic, is somehow better hierarchically. In both ethnography and literary analysis, the power of knowledge is in the hands of the west.

There have been academics who have stated that this is a problem that is deeply rooted in western modes of thought. For example, Sylvia Wynter (2003) in her essay “Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom” tracks the history of the philosophy and reasoning behind colonisation from the colonisation of the Amerindians by the Spaniards until after the 1960’s. Her argument is that Europeans have always been able to justify colonizing other people, because they always rationalized that ‘other’ people were sub-human. This concept of ‘human’ is very important in the argument she makes. Europeans have always set the norm for what it means to be human.

Mignolo observes the two categories humanitas and anthropos and bases them in the same terms Wynter and Quijano use: “humans and humanity were all ‘human beings’ minus the anthropos” (Mignolo 2011, p. 85). According to Mignolo anyone who does not have the “epistemic privilege of hegemonic knowledge” is a part of the anthropos, so this group can be very broad. Anyone who does not fit in with a western-centric worldview can be classified as being part of the anthropos (ibid., p. 85). Mignolo suggests that the point of origin of western ways of knowing is seen as ancient Greece, and from there knowledge could be compiled and progress towards modernity. He calls this “zero-point epistemology” and writes about it: “the zero point is always in the present of time and the centre of space, it hides its own local knowledge universally projected” (ibid., p. 80). In Quijano’s earlier-mentioned critique of anthropology we see that the problem is not only a matter of subject-object relation; it is also that the ‘subject’ becomes invisible. In anthropological terms an outsider has an ‘-etic’, objective point of view, while an insider has an ‘-emic’, subjective point of view. A western academic observing a non-western culture can be seen as a ‘neutral’ or ‘objective’ outsider, while in reality he/she is equally subjective.

Spivak’s ‘sanctioned ignorance’, when she writes that it is problematic that western scholars do not have enough knowledge of the culture they study, specially means that it is

problematic, because the scholars in question do not know that they miss this information. She says that they are blind to their own ignorance. This ignorance is sanctioned precisely because western thought is seen as universal. This means academics can apply their own 'universal' western theories to a different culture without questioning it (Spivak 1999, p. 164). The point of decolonizing is not to reject western epistemic contributions to the world, (Mignolo 2011, p. 82) even if they are colonial. In this study I attempt to use both these disciplines and try to find some way to decolonize them.

Arjun Appadurai, in his article "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination", also starts from the critique that western theory is unjustly seen as universal: "Theory and method were seen as naturally metropolitan, modern and Western. The rest of the world was seen in the idiom of cases, events, examples and test sites in relation to this stable location for the production or revision of theory." (Appadurai 2000, p. 4) According to him using western theory in fact diminishes the value of research for other parts of the world. He suggests changing this is difficult, since scholars are blind to their own research methods, which have "the invisibility of the obvious" (p. 9). Like Spivak, Appadurai contends that scholars are blind to their own shortcomings. He says that western scholars have to move away from this way of doing research: "academics from the privileged institutions of the West (and the North) must be prepared to reconsider…their conventions about world knowledge and about the protocols of inquiry ("research") that they too often take for granted" (p. 18). One way to do this is by allowing basic assumptions about how research is done in the West to be questioned and altered from the outside (p. 14). Another thing he suggests is that the globalizing world should be understood from the local. The local should be used to explain the global, rather than perceived global or universal theory to understand the local. My study of calypso fits in very well with this idea.

The approach I pursue here is very different from an ethnomusicological one. The ethnomusicologist would usually be an outsider and use the methodology that has been derived from anthropology: participant observation and ethnography. The ethnomusicologist typically comes to the research field for a limited period and attempts to record as accurately as possible his/her experiences in the field. This is usually done by taking field notes and recording media such as sound, video and stills. Indigenous knowledge, on the contrary, results from a living experience, growing up with and in the culture, and as such lacks the detail of ethnography. On the other hand, indigenous knowledge is far more wide-ranging, broader, and deeper than the ethnographer's knowledge. The experience of growing up and living in a culture can, in my opinion, not possibly be reproduced within the relatively short

period(s) of a visiting researcher. This does not mean that the 'outsider's' view is incorrect or irrelevant, but it is fundamentally different in nature. Also, the indigenous approach and the ethnographer's method are not neatly and diametrically opposed. Part of the ethnographer's experience will inevitably be intuitive, unarticulated and unrecordable. The ethnographer's experience in the field, during participant observation, simply cannot be recorded in a full and holistic manner.

The ambition of the social sciences, including ethnomusicology, in the third quarter of the twentieth century, to aspire to the status of the natural sciences has become utterly obsolete since then. Perhaps Feyerabend's *Against Method* (1975) has been a turning point, although postmodernism clearly played a major role as well. Indigenous knowledge is not a method, but it is increasingly accepted as a valid form of knowledge. It is this type of knowledge that lies at the basis of this dissertation and in addition I have carried out a survey. As stated above, the Popperian methodological regime is difficult, if not impossible, to maintain in this study; instead I will attempt to make plausible the contention that calypso has influenced Trinidadian culture and society.

As explained above, the basis of this research is what we can call indigenous knowledge which is not quite the same as the old concept of insider knowledge. In indigenous knowledge it is the subaltern that speaks, whereas the 'insider' is a construction of the dominant class. Indigenous knowledge is usually holistic and involved. When we transform indigenous knowledge into structured, systematic, analytic and detached knowledge we stand at the cross-roads of cultural analysis. It should be noted however, in line with Mignolo, that indigenous knowledge does not necessarily eschew the (western academic) ethnomusicological and qualitative methods.

Finally, the research conducted in this study incorporates methods used in psychology, history, post-colonial studies and social and cultural anthropology. The inclusion of these 'non-music-based' disciplines as being relevant to this work is due to the interrelatedness among them pertaining to simultaneous on-going research in music and the common features they share. The literature has revealed that the disciplines referenced incorporate methodologies that focus on social structure and socio-cultural practice. As informed by Yarbrough (2000),

> Cultural anthropology, more specifically ethnography, is the foundation for the two music research methodologies known as ethnomusicology and qualitative research…and ethnography…is based almost entirely on fieldwork requiring complete immersion in the culture and everyday life of the people who are subjects of the study. (p. 129)

In the past, disciplines had employed approaches that were narrow in perspective, methodology and focus. Although recent developments in musicology have stressed performance perspectives, the approach by musicologists has limited analysis since it places emphasis on the interpretation and reconstruction of the written score; in other words it was conducted primarily from the perspective of western art music. Instead, as Béhague (1984) has pointed out, the study of performance practice involves numerous levels of analysis that force us to consider the multi-dimensionality of music, the musical and extra-musical behavior of participants, the consequent social interaction for those participants, and the rules and codes of performance defined by the community are included among those levels (p. 7).

These features are pertinent to calypso performance and will be discussed in chapter 4 in the context of calypso function, and with regard to the shared perspectives of symbolic interactionists Mead (1967 [1934]) and Blumer (1969) that folklore is a collection of significant symbols. Contingent contributions pertaining to the concept of social facts by Durkheim (1966 [1938]), which has helped theorists to establish a link between the meaning of folklore on individual and social levels, will also be explored and integrated.

Decolonization has led to the incorporation of urban anthropology, ethnomusicology and the emerging branch of sociomusicology. These new approaches have narrowed gaps of perception between anthropology and sociology, and musicology and ethnomusicology. The methodology appears to have provided a better perspective of cause and effect, and has enabled scholars to propose theories pertaining to forces of modernization and change. This study shares a significant amount of overlapping and interrelatedness with the disciplines referenced regarding methodology, method, focus and shared features. Also, it is reliant on some of the posits upheld and findings revealed by them. The type of cross-disciplined ethnographic approach incorporated by those disciplines, using narratives to examine and analyze events, is preferred by the author and was therefore adopted as a template in order to facilitate the goals and outcomes of this study.

The dissertation commences with a chronological perusal of the events that have shaped the socio-historical and cultural background of the island nation of Trinidad. This is the topic discussed in chapter 1, and subsequently in chapters 2, 3, and 4. In chapter 5 I have included a brief survey in a further attempt to make the core argument of the thesis more plausible. It should however be pointed out that the survey has limitations:

- The varied perceptions of calypso among participants and the ambiguity caused by the ways in which the genre has been defined. Calypso and calypso-like genres that have

emerged have been defined by era, arena, and by the eyes, ears and cultural orientation of the listener. Perception varies therefore between American servicemen stationed in Trinidad around World War II, West Indians and native Trinidadians, Hollywood producers during the height of the 1930's calypso craze, and European tourists in the regional Caribbean during the 1950's and 1960's. (Definition of the genre is addressed in chapter 2.)

- The exclusion of additional questions that might have further established among participants a broader perception of calypso and soca music and the differences between them.
- Perhaps too few participants, in tandem with the localization of the demographic area where participant selection was made to certain parts of Trinidad only.
- Unavailability of, and lack of access to a larger number of members of the older generation of Trinidadians (practitioners and enthusiasts), who might have been considered 'reliable sources'. Death, illness and inability to recall or communicate coherently were main factors.
- Difficulties in reconnecting with 'random' participants for follow-up.

My Personal Experience

I was born and raised in Trinidad where, during my youth, experimentation with music and musical instruments had been a main pastime among my contemporaries. Informal ethnographic research began during my teenage years by reasons of my continued curiosity and participation in the local music scene. By then I had been performing with several local combos including the aggregation led by the regionally renowned folklorist, songwriter and musician Andre Tanker. Artistic research became more formalized then, at age twenty-one. I gained employment as residing guitarist at the Spectakula Calypso Forum, one of the leading calypso tents in Port of Spain, and shortly after as guitarist with the Mighty Sparrow's Calypso Troubadours. This afforded repeated performance opportunity in most of the countries of the Caribbean, and in the United States. My inquiry about music and identity intensified when I migrated to the U.S., and during the period that I visited and resided in several Caribbean islands, Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Upon emigration in 1985 I became immersed in the Trinidad calypso scene once again. The 1986 and 1987 carnival seasons, and numerous visits throughout the past three decades have presented additional opportunities to:

- provide musical accompaniment for many of the leading calypsonians, and perform and participate in recording sessions alongside veteran musicians, thereby acquiring additional first-hand information about calypso music culture,

- participate in inter-island performance thereby gaining opportunities to investigate and compare aspects pertaining to the evolution of calypso music throughout the Caribbean,
- access calypso enthusiasts and practitioners, and audio recordings of calypsos and other related intrinsic music genres, and
- observe the impact of calypso on individual and collective behavioral responses (dance, audience participation, lifestyle) among practitioners and audiences alike.

Research Techniques

I have used typed and hand-written, and voice-recorded notes from the following:

- my own recollection, i.e. things I remembered but had not previously documented in writing;
- fieldwork – ethnographic observation of participants, performers, performances and audiences within the calypso arena, casual and in-depth interviews of informants, practitioners and calypso enthusiasts;
- reviews and in-depth analyses of various music strains including those classified as pseudo calypso, those classified as authentic Trinidadian calypso, those classified as 'Old school', those classified as 'Modern', and various other regionally and ethnically related music forms;
- a review of literature from several disciplines as outlined on pages 18 and 19, that encompasses the following topics: Trinidadian and Caribbean history from the colonial period onward; the evolution of indigenous music and its relationship with external music genres; the evolution and function of carnival, the calypso tent and the steelband movement; identity theory, formation and maintenance, intergroup relations; acculturation, assimilation, and hybridization;
- a survey from which data was generated by a quick questionnaire. The survey was initiated to ascertain whether there was a perception of change to the genre among Trinidadian society, and if so, among which groups the perception was strongest, and to what extent change was perceived.

Academic research encompassed rigorous inquiry into ethnomusicology (performance, production, and so on), musicology, several branches of sociology and psychology, social and cultural anthropology, history, and of course, indigenous knowledge.

Research Tools

The tools used in this study include the following items: a digital camera, photos, camcorder, live video recordings, a voice recorder, a cassette recorder, audio recordings of interviews and live performances, an external hard drive, several jump drives, a computer, a CD player, a record player, audio recordings of a large corpus of live and pre-recorded music (CDs, records, cassettes), a guitar and portable keyboard, manuscript paper, transcriptions and music scores of arrangements, books and other scholarly works (journals, theses, and so on), official documents and newspaper articles.

Finally

This study seeks to ascertain:

- how calypso music has survived cultural repression,
- how and why it has remained one of the strongest identifying forces for Trinidadians and others at home and abroad,
- how it has triggered processes by which social control has been exerted within the society, and
- how it can provide a framework for structural change within the genre.

The points 1 through 3 will be dealt with in a discussion of Caribbean history and the evolution of indigenous music, carnival, the calypso tent, and the steelband. Changes in circumstances (lifestyle, social and cultural interaction, technology, and economics) between the colonial and post-colonial periods will of course be considered as contributing factors. The fourth aspect will be accomplished by musical analysis of a large corpus of calypsos from all the various strains of the genre, and musical transcriptions that reveal melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic features intrinsic to the genre. This will provide a basis from which comparison between older and modern strains can be drawn.

Chapter 1
Social, Historical and Cultural Background

Although Caribbean history has been well documented, a perusal of the historical and socio-cultural events peculiar to the island of Trinidad will be necessary in order to satisfy some of the goals of this study. It will serve as a backdrop against which the saga of the calypsonian that unfolded; the various strains of calypso music and related innovations that have emerged; the extravaganza of carnival that developed; and the conflict that accompanied these events will be pitted. This chapter facilitates such endeavor.

From its discovery in 1498 up until 1796 Trinidad had been a part of the Spanish Empire. Errol Hill (1976) has reported that around 1783, however, French speaking planters from the northern Caribbean islands of Santo Domingo (present day Haiti and the Dominican Republic), Martinique, Guadeloupe, Dominica, St. Lucia and Grenada accepted an invitation extended to Catholics by King Charles III via the Cedula of Population to settle there. They brought with them their retinue of African slaves, their Patois French dialect, and their principal form of entertainment, street masquerading (p. 54-86).

Out of a total population of 17,700 in 1789, the Africans numbered 10,000. By Hill's (1972, 1976) accounts and by the accounts of others, after 1797, during the period of British rule which ended in 1962, the flow of immigrants into Trinidad became more diversified and included people from other British colonies, England, and Venezuela. The arrival of the first Chinese workers is also part of this influx. Hill (1972) has additionally given a sketch of the population in relation to ethnic representation and status among Negroes:

> The principal cliques were the French plantocracy - mainly royalist in sympathy - the Jacobite revolutionaries, and the English party. The colored population was also split into French, English, and Spanish-speaking groups, ranging in social status from slave-owning planters to traders, artisans, bookkeepers, small cultivators, peons, and loafers. The solid base of this polyglot society was the African slaves, numbering more than half the population, becoming every day more conscious that freedom would soon be theirs. (p. 9)

Pierre F. McCallum, a visitor to Trinidad in 1803, had made the following remark which was cited by Hill (1972),

> There is not a local spot in the universe that can boast such a medley of inhabitants: English, Scotch, Irish, Welch, Spaniards, Germans, Swiss, Italians, Americans and French; the latter are the most numerous. (McCallum, 1803, p. 23)

Mac Callum's observation reflected the demography of the island at the time, but as Hill interjected, "He might have added that few spots could boast [having] as many factions [that were] hostile to each other" (p. 9). According to Hill (1972), "in order to keep tight control of the explosive tensions in this divided society the British administration adopted measures based on strict color classification." The ethnic breakdown among the African contingents by 1813 is illustrated in figure 1 below.

Birth Place	Number	Main Peoples	Other Peoples*
Senegambia	1,643	Mandinka	Wolof, Bambara
Sierra Leone	597	Fulbe	Susu, Temne
Windward Coast	884	Kwakwa	Caplaou, Canga
Gold Coast	1,094	Coromantee	Fanti, Mine
Bight of Benin	1,080	Allada	Chamba, Popo
Bight of Biafra	5,520	Igbo	Moko, Ibibio
Central Africa	2,569	Kongo	Suku, Samba
Mozambique	11	-----	Yao, Nguni
Others	586	-----	-----
Total	13,984		

Fig. 1: The 1813 Slave census of Trinidad (B.W. Higman, 1978, 1984).

Although more than half of the population was comprised of Africans; despite their continued arrival which helped to rejuvenate African social customs; although there was diverse ethnic representation among society and although carnival had been a social institution for whites and as well for free coloreds from 1797 to 1834, "street parading had continued to be a major public festivity for the white elite only" (ibid). Hill (1972) has additionally cited Fraser's (1881) memorandum to the Governor in which Fraser stated that,

> It is necessary to observe that in those days the population of the Colony was divided into the following categories: Whites, Free Persons of Colour, Indians and Slaves.
>
> The Free Persons of Colour were subjected to very stringent Regulations and although not forbidden to mask, were yet compelled to keep to themselves and never presumed to join in the amusements of the privileged class. The Indians kept entirely aloof, and the slaves except as onlookers, or by special favor when required to take part, had no share in the Carnival which was confined exclusively to the upper class of the community. (Cited by Hill, p. 10)

Elder (1964) also has cited that memorandum in which Fraser informs that,

> In Trinidad, the White minority of which the Creole planter population comprised the core represented the ruling upper class 'majority' with economic and political superiority. Suppressed by legislation and at times 'illegal' methods that impressed upon them the inferiority of their race in ability, culture and privilege, the African slaves were at the lowest rung of the social ladder. (Cited by Elder, p. 128)

Nettleford (1978, 2003) has commented on race and class conflict extant in the Caribbean relative to cultural dominance and social control noting that,

> As a variant of the culture sphere known to social and cultural anthropologists as Plantation America, Jamaica and the Caribbean are often defined in terms of their pluralism. For the Caribbean is the story of 'arrivants' from across the Atlantic and beyond, each group bringing a cultural equipage, including for some the legitimacy of power supported by gun-powder, scientific knowledge and a latter developed sense of racial superiority. (2003, p. 2)

> The operative word here is "conflict", at least for the early comers-the Europeans and the Africans…their presence marked by a violent relationship, is part of the irony of the struggle by the "usurpers" to gain cultural ascendancy as part of the fight for total power. This has been done as part of a history in which economic exploitation went hand in hand with cultural subjugation by way of discrimination, psychological conditioning…systematic denigration and institutional colonization. (1978, p. 3)

In spite of the conflict extant in Trinidad at the time however, cultural assimilation had been taking place. The following account, translated from French, was given by a retired planter.

It establishes that cultural syncretism had already begun to take place sometime during the late 1700's and the early 1800's. More importantly, it locates a pattern of cultural mimicry by Whites i.e. the assimilation of certain aspects of Negro culture. The article appeared in the *Port of Spain Gazette* and was cited by Hill (1972, p. 11):

> In those day[s] the élite of society was masked or disguised. The favorite costume of the ladies was the graceful and costly one of the "mulatresse" whilst gentlemen adopted that of "negre de jardin", in Creole, "negue jardin", or black field slaves. At carnival time our mothers and grandmothers have even danced the belair to the African drum whose sounds did not offend their dainty ears, and our fathers and grandfathers danced the bamboula, the *belair* to the African tom-tom whose sounds did not offend their dainty ears, and our fathers and grandfathers danced the bamboula, the ghouba, and the calinda. (*Port of Spain Gazette*, March 19, 1881)

Mimicry of slave behavior during the eruption of cane fires on the plantations had been interlocuted by White masqueraders during their exclusive pre-Emancipation carnival celebrations. It became known as cannes brulées (French for burnt cane) which was permutated to canboulay (or camboulay), as sometimes pronounced by the man in the street, and as reported by Hill (1976, p. 54-86), was a prominent feature of mid-nineteenth century carnival. A similar procession took place wherein slaves, allowed by their owners to celebrate carnival in their own way, would re-enact the events of cannes brulees mimicking the French planters in parody of characters of themselves. Such reversal bears similarity to Minstrel performance in America between the 1840's and 1860's in that Afro-American performers, once free to participate after the Civil War had ended, continued to portray African-American stereotypes previously parodied by Caucasian performers (Campbell 1996, p. 1-66).

Minstrelsy with its characters, music and performing style have become identifiers of American culture and so too the re-enactment of canboulay has been retained as a main feature of Trinidadian carnivalesque culture. The two evolutionary processes share the following features:

- they had been underpinned by race and class conflict;
- the oppressive white faction withdrew from participation once the 'underprivileged' group had gained cultural dominance, and;
- members of the white group that had previously withdrawn from participation re-entered the arena as participants and as investors.

These observations are relevant to forthcoming discussions about identity and mechanisms of social control because they allude to ways in which groups identify themselves and are themselves identified. Role reversal and other related topics will also be discussed beginning in chapter 4 and in a subsequent chapter in the context of the nature of carnivals.

The accounts presented thus far have revealed that the cultural soup that had been brewing in Trinidad was a volatile alchemy of assimilation, syncretism, innovation, repression, and racial and class conflict. The two illustrations that follow afford us an opportunity to compare aspects of street parading as practiced by the two opposing factions involved in the on-going socio-cultural battle.

Fig. 2: Carnival in Frederick Street, Port of Spain, Trinidad (London Illustrated News, 1888)

The masqueraders, comprised of mixed ethnicities, their costume style (European sophistication, types of masks used, the themes, and the inclusion of a few devilish characters from the Jamette milieu, seen in the foreground) in figure 2 suggests that the scene is a depiction of a masquerade procession of the middle and perhaps upper-class sector of society.

The observation is validated by comparison with the illustration in figure 3 in which several aspects of socio-cultural change are evident:

- The masqueraders are of a different sector of society (the then recently proclaimed ex-slave population), the Jamette sector.
- White upper-class spectators, excluded from the festivities, watch the proceedings of black, lower-class masqueraders from the safety of their fenced yards. This reflects a quite different scenario from earlier times when they had mandated and enjoyed exclusivity, and during a later period, as illustrated in figure 2, when they had allowed Creoles and free blacks to participate.
- Musical accompaniment for the procession is comprised of miscellaneous percussive utensils and musical instruments (concertina included), and singing.

Improvisational skills among the Jamette sector had led to the subsequent utilization of bamboo shoots as musical instruments.

Fig. 3: 1934 Post-Emancipation Jamette carnival (www.dailymail.co.uk)

According to Elder (1969), the boiling point was reached when "the shackles of social control that had kept the pre-emancipated Negro 'in his place' were temporarily broken in 1838":

> Immediately after Emancipation Day trouble began. The deep rooted aggressions that had been smoldering for years took tangible forms. The Negroes refused to submit to the Apprentice System which succeeded Emancipation as a tide-over measure conceded by the

> Imperial Government to the Caribbean planters. The Negroes had been manumitting themselves long before Emancipation Day and had sent hundreds of petitions to the "Queen" requesting repatriation to Africa. The planters opposed this movement, as well as any laws that tended to be ameliorative to Negroes. The Negroes retaliated with veiled hostility as well as open aggression. Risings on the estates became very common. Murder, arson, assaults on the white overseers by Negro workers became the rule of the day. The reaction of the White group to this was ruthless and cruel. The sadism with which they meted out punishment upon the Negroes has become notorious history. (p. 11)

Emancipation had brought change. Elder (1969) writes: "In 1838, the Act of Emancipation became effective in Trinidad and what has been termed the Colonial Society began to take a new shape". It has been documented and confirmed that:

- Lower-class citizens, primarily the ex-slaves, took over street parading (fig. 3) and began defining what was to be the appropriate instrumentation and music suited to their taste and culture as the new curators of carnival.
- The African drum, accompanied by the banjar, shack-shack and several sonorous utensils, had been the central instrument and rhythmic percussion had been the basis for instrumental accompaniment.
- The evolution of instrumentation from this percussive nucleus continued with the addition of various other percussive objects and, following the banning of the drum in 1883, with bamboo (fig. 6) and bottle-and-spoon ensembles. The bottle-and-spoon combination added rhythmic and sonic contrast to the tamboo bamboo.
- By the 1850's innovations such as kettles, garbage cans, wash basins, boxes, and pieces of scrap metal (fig. 9, 10 and 11) had been incorporated into the ensemble of percussion instruments.
- The characteristic of improvisation among Africans first led to the emergence of iron bands, and eventually to the invention of the steel drum and the emergence of the steelband less than a century later.

By way of additional accounts presented by Elder (1964, 1969) we are informed that several laws and proclamations had been passed, and steps taken in 1858 and 1859 respectively to prevent Negro participation in the Mardi Gras festival. The Roman Catholic community made concurrent claims that the pagan Negro groups were desecrating a 'Christian Festival,' while the upper class resented and protested the invasion of the 'Negro commonality' of their 'upper-class' fête (ibid.).

Rohlehr (1990) has cited Brereton's report on post-Emancipation dynamics that had occurred some three decades later. The report reveals that,

> The 1880's and 1890's were marked by calls for the suppression of not only drum dances and African musical instruments, but wakes, the Bongo dance, the Shouters and other syncretic Afro-Christian sects which were normally described as 'diabolic.' These attacks on peoples' forms would be resolutely resisted; there is no doubt that they left deep scars on the psyche of

> the people, by rendering illegal and illegitimate the most genuine manifestation of their inner selves. (Rohlehr, 1990, p. 39)

The word desecration had also been expressly designated to the *bongo*, to Shango the Orisha (Orixa) religion, to the practice of Obeah, and to the Shouters (Spiritual Baptists). These activities had been described as barbaric and were listed as prohibited under the Summary Conviction Offences Ordinance. *Bongo* is akin to the *bomba* of Puerto Rico and the Cuban rumba and was danced at wakes and other ceremonies honoring the dead.

Shango is akin to *santeria* of Cuba and *candomblé* of Brazil and embodies exotic rituals involving spirit possession and the drinking of goat's blood. Rohlehr (1990) has additionally indicated that,

> Like all other Afro-Creole activities, it bore the scar of prohibition, and tended to be viewed with ambivalence by later generations becoming a clandestine activity in the towns but surviving in the rural areas as a normal part of folk life. (p. 163)

Even cult members had even been secretive about their association. Rohlehr (1990) mentions a few calypsos from the 1930s whose themes and lyric are about prohibited practice and "provide us with ideas of how calypsonians perceived themselves and other grassroots people" (p. 152). By highlighting the stereotypes that had been current at the time, these calypsos enable us to "measure the extent to which the age-old imperial of rendering Afro-Creole culture illegitimate and illegal had succeeded or failed". The list includes the Roaring Lion's *Shango Dance*, Cobra's *Shango Song*, Caresser's *Shango*, and Tiger's *Yaraba Shango*, wherein at times Orisha worship is presented as "a powerful but frightening thing,"

> equated with devil-worship, Faustian-type evil, and Black self-degradation; rather than being viewed as a node of stubborn resistance and an affirmation of African selfhood, in the face of cultural genocide. (ibid.)

Obeah, a form of black magic intrinsic in African folklore, thrived on its reliance to solve marital, economic, legal, emotional and other types of problems. Failure of the obeah man/woman to achieve success was regarded as fraudulent and ridiculed in calypsos. According to Rohlehr (1990) however, "beneath the ridicule… there lingered a residuum of dread; a fear of the negative, hostile magic which it was still believed the obeah man could direct against anyone" (p. 166).

Blake (1995) has corroborated the quarantine of the above-mentioned African retentions to the areas referred to by Gordon Rohlehr noting that,

> In Trinidad, the Rada communities have been dying out and the Yoruba tradition is represented only by a few Shango cults in Toco, Sangre Grande and John John in Laventille. (p. 31)

The Laventille hills overlook the city of Port of Spain, and it is there, as informed by Rohlehr, "where the people had had decades of experience defending their turf against the Police." This region and the area that lies directly below its foothills and east of the Eastern Dry River are referred to as 'Behind the Bridge.' It was, like the favelas of Brazil, a Jamette stronghold and has been the habitat of ex-slaves, indentured Yorubans who had migrated to Trinidad during the mid-1880's, and immigrants from smaller impoverished Caribbean islands. Among the members of this latter group one could find deported dissidents from Barbados who were given to belligerence, and migrants from Carriacou, a nation that, "had preserved its Nation Dances, its sense of distinct cultural heritage of each African ethnicity." (Rohlehr 1990, p. 158). Such traits and traditions and the survival instincts and skills that accompanied them were the characteristics of the members of the Jamette sector that inhabited the 'nefarious' parts of Port of Spain.

Belmont on the other hand, a town annexing the northern border of Laventille was considered a 'nice', 'quiet' neighborhood. This was because many of the Yorubans that had settled there after Emancipation were artisans, entrepreneurs, and persons who sought respectability. I was born and raised there and remember being constantly cautioned against venturing 'behind the bridge' or associating with "those wayward boys from round there". Laventille has retained its nefarious status, "One (an outsider) doh go up dey jus so nuh". Such cautionary attitudes accompanied by scorn and at times ridicule, had been extended toward the Shouters as well. Shouters would appear unannounced at various street corners in Port of Spain and elsewhere where they would conduct prayer meetings that were characterized by boisterous preaching, clapping, and singing that was constantly punctuated by the ringing of bells and the sprinkling of water from small receptacles. I must have been between seven and ten years of age then but I still remember my mother's vice-like grip around my wrist as we scurried past street corners where Shouter revivals were being held, or when we were in proximity of the Rada[2] compounds located on Belmont Valley Road and St. Francois Valley Road respectively. On such occasions my mother had always betrayed a sense of fear of which she

[2] As informed by Rawle Gibbons, the word Rada is a mutation of Arada, a word that identifies a Dahomian cult in which Voodoo is practiced. In Trinidad the word is used in reference to a compound where Rada communities gather to indulge in ritual practices of the Yoruba-based Orisha and Spiritual 'Shouter' Baptist religions. The Shouter Baptist religion is syncretic and indigenous to Trinidad and Tobago. The practice of Obeah (Black Magic) is often associated with this cult (Pers. comm. July 8, 2016).

never spoke, and in retrospect, a sense of denial which I never understood until my adolescent years. My curiosity did not allow me to shut the windows of inquiry nor suffer the cultural ambivalence that my mother must have experienced, that had been seared upon the collective psyche of society, and that was still extant during the late 1950's and mid-1960's. I am uncertain as to whether a distinction had been made among the general public between the terms *Voodoo* and *Obeah*, and *Shango* and *Orixa*, but by the latter 1960's public demonstrations by the Shouters were viewed with jocose acceptance. The Mighty Sparrow's calypso *Melda* satirizes the practice of Obeah, and Gordon Rohlehr (1990) informs us that,

> Sequestered and marginalized by the Shouters Prohibition Ordinance of 1917, the Shouters had become objects of ridicule for even their grass-roots colleagues. (p. 138)

The goal of the authorities—the eradication of African cultural retention that they deemed offensive, that had maintained solidarity among the masses and that had posed a threat to national stability—had been relentless and partially successful.

But resistance had been constant also as has been evidenced by reports of clandestine Afrocentric activity, laws introduced to impede cultural production and the systematic censorship of calypsos. Some degree of reversal of cultural consciousness among calypsonians and society must have taken place because ironically calypsonians who had sung calypsos in the 1930's parodying the Shouters came full circle and began to record Baptist hymns. This would lead to the incorporation of elements of Shouter/Baptist preaching, singing, melodies and rhythms in calypso and the eventual emergence of Baptist hymns as competitors of the calypso genre. More importantly, calypsos had been partially responsible for the re-recognition and socialization of the religion among Trinidadian society.

As a further example of the partial success of measures implemented by the authorities in order to impede cultural ascendency judgment against the singing of calypsos as pagan by parents and society in general was especially harsh during the observance of Lent, the period of forty days and nights that immediately followed the carnival season. During this period the performance of calypsos had been banned from airplay, substituted by music from North America and Europe, and discouraged by parents by a swift slap to one's cheek, or a pinched earlobe, even when only the melody was whistled or hummed. This is testimony to the degree of compliance to the mandates of the authorities and indoctrination in Christianity and corporal punishment that permeated Trinidad society.

Over time the period of quarantine served to abate collective appetites for indigenous music and, as I came to realize later, put the song-royalty machine in motion, much to the benefit of

foreign songwriters and publishers. A stanza and chorus from the Mighty Sparrow's *The Outcast* points to ambivalence and denial among Trinidadians alluded to in this chapter.

Outcast

Society in Trinidad for a steel band man
Was just as hard or even harder for that
For any calypsonian
Doh care how you talented
You had to go outside
No appreciation here
Society had too much false pride

Calypsonians really ketch hell for a long time
To associate yourself with them was a big crime
If yuh sister talk to a steel band man
Yuh family want to break she hand
Put she out, lick out every teeth in she mouth
Pass you outcast!

The Mighty Sparrow

Elder (1964), summarizing the events of the era has noted that,

> In spite of such measures, and a subsequent attempt in 1884 to stamp out certain African retentions, Calinda songs became part of the local tradition, and Cannes Brule had still not been 'extinguished' in the late 1890s. The harsh laws against Cannes Brule…only served to drive Cannes Brule and Calinda underground… The songs worked their way into the woof of the cultural tradition, becoming more bitingly bitter with satire and hidden meaning, castigating the laxity of high society with viciousness and effectiveness. (p. 130-131)

Rohlehr (1990) has stated that, "resistance…more normally took the form of stick-fighting bands going underground and avoiding direct confrontation with the Police". However, he referenced an example of open resistance, the March 1891 objection by villagers of Arouca to an attempt by the police to stop a drum dance. The confrontation, he reported, led to two days of fighting in which, "the Police were repulsed on several occasions by villagers armed with staves and stones" (p. 39):

> The stick fighting bands which had represented and controlled entire districts were replaced by smaller and more manageable 'social unions' whose venues were the 'yards' of Port of Spain, San Fernando, and other towns. These yards now held annual rehearsals of the Carnival songs of their respective bands, and were the precursors of the bamboo and coconut branch (cocyea) 'tents' of the early twentieth century. (ibid., p. 40)

The 'yards' housed bamboo shacks or 'tents' and were called Jamette yards because of the sector of the community that frequented them. The Patois (Creole) word jamette is a phonetic mutation of the French word diametre and was used to refer to the underclass sector of society. Jamette yards were akin to the samba schools of Brazil in that they were centers

where performers, masqueraders, musicians, calypsonians, stickmen and makers of costumes prepared for upcoming carnivals. The sketch below depicts a Jamette yard where two rival calypsonians engage in verbal combat (picong), accompanied by musicians much to the delight of on-lookers.

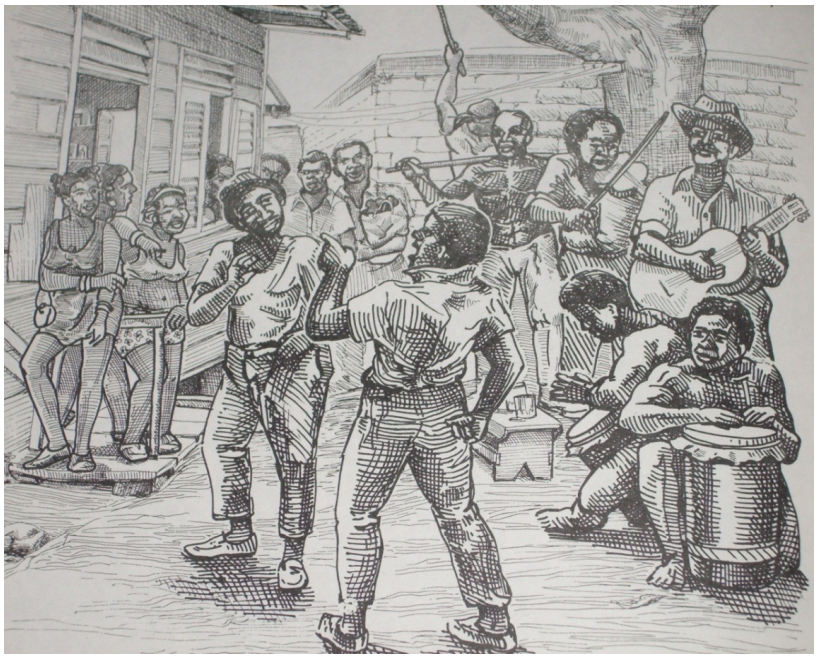


Fig. 4: A Jamette yard. The Calypso Hall of Fame (Juba Publications)

The inclusion of drums as part of the musical ensemble suggests that the depiction is probably of a Jamette yard that predated the implementation of the 1883 Musical Ordinance and the 1884 Peace Preservation Ordinance that outlawed drums. At that time the 'boom' or bass bamboo were excluded from among the musical instruments of African influence that had been integrated into string bands. Hill (1972) has informed that these yards were eventually,

> Turned into primitive theatres where performances connected with the carnival celebrations were witnessed by patrons paying a small admission price. Stick-fighting duels, calypso concerts, dance parodies, verbal encounters, and, more recently, steel band practices have been theatrical preparations that filled these crude shelters in the period between Christmas and carnival. (p. 14)

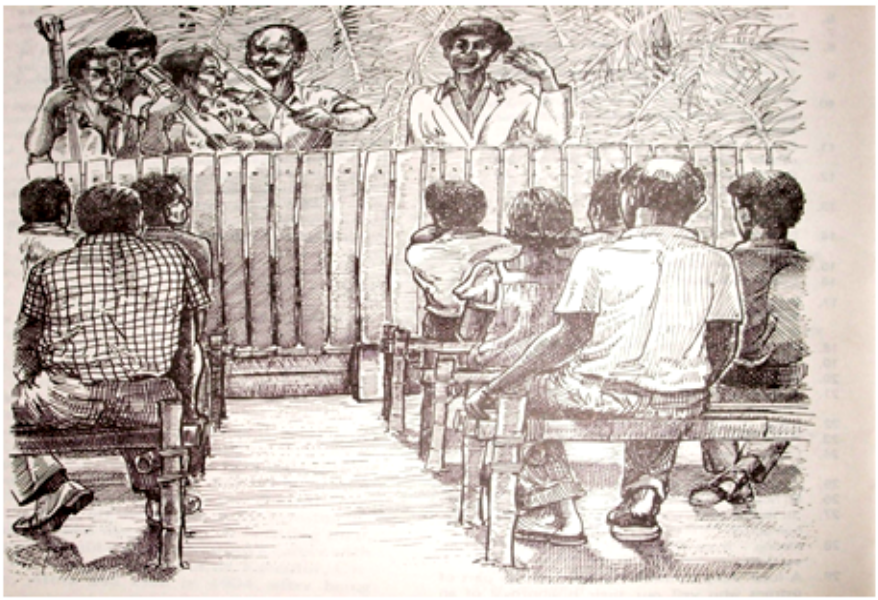


Fig. 5: An early calypso tent. The Calypso Hall of Fame (Juba Publications)

Comparison between the illustrations in figures 4 and 5 reveals enhancements to the dress code and accommodations, for instance, separation between the performers and the audience, and the inclusion of the violin as a member of the musical ensemble. These features became typical of mid-1920's calypso tents during the era when Railway Douglas had sought to improve conditions at calypso tents. Conditions had continued to 'improve' during the remainder of the decade and well into the 1930's, but high admission prices eventually excluded Afro-Trinidadians from audience participation: a crucial blow to the retention of African and grass root elements in the calypso entertainment arena. Instrumentation included the guitar, cuatro, shak shak, and the smallest member of the bamboo instrument family called the *foule*. The larger bamboo instruments seen in figure 6 had been excluded and the violin had become an occasional inclusion once 'respectable citizenry' began patronage. In spite of these reductions calypso tents and pan yards are two social institutions that have retained their functions of cultural transmission and dissemination of calypso music in present day Trinidad. The evolution of the calypso tent is further discussed in the closing pages of this chapter, and also in Crowley (1959, p. 5, 7-65, 117-124), Hill (1972, p. 32-45), and in Rohlehr (1990, p. 110-124).

The utilization of bamboo shoots of various lengths as percussive musical instruments had been a cohesive force within the grass root sector of the community that had continued to provide cultural continuity. Such innovation had provided a springboard from which the

invention of the steel drum would be launched. Tamboo-bamboo ensembles had been comprised of four bamboo instruments, the boom, the chandler, the cutter and the *foule*, ranging in size from long to short, in pitch from low to high, and in function from the keeping of steady rhythmic patterns to the improvisation of syncopated rhythm.

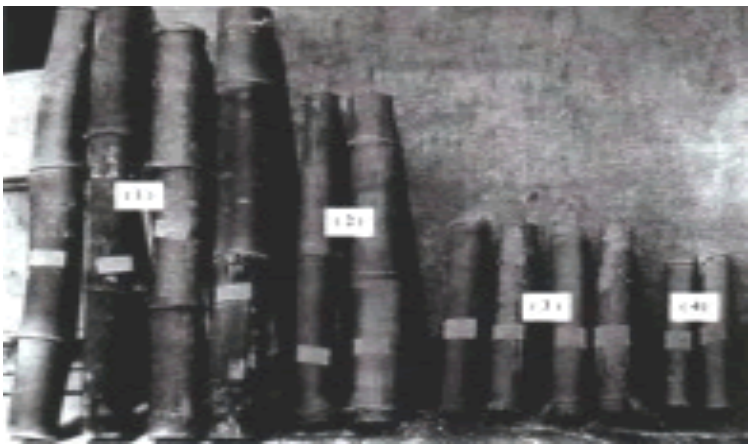


Fig. 6: Tamboo-bamboo ensemble (www.steelisland.com)

The boom, lowest in pitch was basically used for time-keeping while the chandler was used to play a steady but contrapuntal rhythm to the boom. The higher pitched cutter and *foule* beat out improvised rhythms, the cutter given unrestricted freedom. A precursor to these instruments had been the bamboula, a drum whose skirt was made from either a rum barrel which was covered at one end, or sometimes a larger bamboo shoot which was covered at both ends with animal skin. It accompanied the bamboula dance and was probably the source from which the dance and accompanying music derived their names. The bottle-and-spoon was often added to the tamboo-bamboo ensemble and provided rhythmic contrast. Later, as harmonic instrumentation got louder, the bottle-and-spoon concept of time-keeping was transferred to the 'iron' (tuned break drum), seen in the background (left) of the figure 8 illustration. It was ushered in with the emergence of iron bands, and has remained the main metronomic pulse of steelbands. The use of bamboo had been prohibited after sharpened lengths of bamboo had been used as weapons during skirmishes between tamboo-bamboo bands. This had led to the banning of drums in 1883 and a subsequent ban on the use of bamboo, which had for a time reduced the percussion ensemble to the quietness of the solitary shak-shak (Fr. Creole chac-chac). Also known as the maracas, they were used by string bands. A pair is held by the musician fourth from the left in the illustration below.

*Fig.7: **A Typical Venezuelan String-Band (Venezuelansounds.org)***

String-band music, the predilection of middle-class masqueraders who had renewed participation in street parading, would be supplied by Venezuelan musicians following the banning of drums and bamboo instruments. Included among the instruments that comprised the nucleus of stringed bands were the mandolin, banjo, and the Venezuelan cuatro, a stringed-instrument resembling the ukulele in size, shape, and sound (seen on the left and right foreground in the photo above). Traditional instruments such as the piano, violin, flute and guitar were used by "respectable colored and white revelers" who, "engaged in house-to-house sessions and did not care to mix with street maskers" (Hill 1972, p. 45-46). Rohlehr (1990) has cited an article in the *Port of Spain Gazette* dated Wednesday, January 23, 1889, which mentions some additional instruments used in string bands:

> The instruments used were violins, a piccolo, a concertina, and a tin vessel scratched with a small iron rod, corresponding to the "shack-shack" of Trinidad and known in Barbados as a "vira." (p. 41)

The tin vessel alluded to, called the *scratcher* in Trinidad, can be seen in figure 10 alongside a two-toned drum called the *du-dup*. It was sometimes substituted for the shak shak and had as its own substitute the grater, a kitchen utensil used to grate carrots, cacao etc. The guiro used in contemporary Latin conjuntos is its wooden counterpart.

Beginning in the 1890's, the string band had competed with the percussion ensemble and would eventually replace it as accompaniment for calypsonians both during street parading and in performances in calypso tents. The replacement that occurred during the early 1920's had led to the metamorphosis of the chantwel to professional calypsonian. The rivalry

however had continued well into the 1930's because bamboo had been within affordable reach of the poorer contingents of revelers, and because tamboo-bamboo accompaniment had remained the preference of some calypsonians and masqueraders. But change did not come via the string bands alone. Brass instruments were eventually introduced to the arsenal of accompanying ensembles at calypso tents and had for some time taken over the role of supplying music at fêtes and during street parading. As could be expected, there had been similar resistance toward brass bands from those who had had predilections for the musical accompaniment of string band and the tamboo-bamboo ensembles. The lyrics of Caresser's *Clear the Way When the Bamboo Play* and Ziegfield's *Carnival* are two calypsos that bear testimony to the predilection for tamboo-bamboo bands and the fact that there had been considerable resistance to their replacement. Both calypsos foreshadowed imminent change.

Clear the Way When the Bamboo Play
I don't want no brass band to play for me
Nor Jazz Hounds with the melody
A bottle and spoon I could make it do
With Cutouter cutting up the bamboo
Caresser

Carnival
Keep your whisky, don't play the fool
Give me my naked Kakapool
I don't want no Blue Rhythm band
It's the bamboo rhythm I understand
Ziegfield

Innovation had led to the replacement of the shak-shak as time keeper by the louder and more resonant scratcher, and continued innovation with metallic utensils embarked upon by the members of various bamboo bands would be catalytic to the subsequent replacement of tamboo-bamboo ensembles. Hill (1972, p. 48) has cited an account by Reginald Straker, an original member of the Gonzales Place Band. It sheds some light on the changeover from bamboo to metal instruments. In a letter dated April 20, 1965, Straker wrote:

> It all started in 1936 in Tanty Willie's yard about carnival time. The boys gathered as usual to beat bamboo; one of them, Sousie Dean, picked up a dustbin and started beating it, there was an old motor-car in the yard and Arnim began to beat the gas tank. Realizing it was sounding sweet they discarded the bamboo. Rannie Taylor got hold of a paint pan, Killie found a piece of iron and my brother, Mussel Rat, suggested the cutting down of a cement drum to be used as a kettle and so the first steel band was formed in time for carnival day.

The illustrations in figures 8 through 13 provide a glimpse of some of the evolutionary phases during the conversion from bamboo to steel instruments.

Fig. 8: The early years. The Steelband Movement. (Trinbagopan.com)

Fig. 9: Collection of drums made from metal objects (www.steelisland.com).

Fig. 10: Tamboo-bamboo band with metallic instruments (Triniview.com)

Fig. 11: Postcard depicting a carnival steelband morning jump-up (pinterest.com)

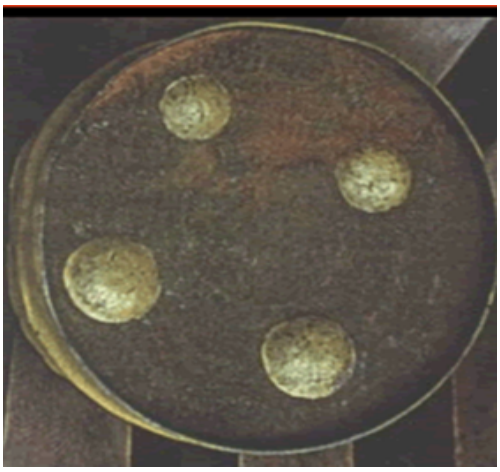


Fig. 12: Four-note pan (www.steelisland.com)

Fig. 13: Tony Williams (left) with friend showing his invention, the Spider Web Pan (www.steelisland.com)

Claims as to who were the first innovators, or as to which all-steelband was the first to make an appearance on the street during carnival are not as easily settled as Straker's letter suggests. There have been reports by other commentators about simultaneous occurrence of innovative activities at several other locations. Both Stuempfle (1995) and Manette (Pers. comm., 2012) have reported on, and cited accounts that introduce some degree of clarity and as well ambiguity pertaining to claims and dates. Stuempfle (1995) has written, "according to Carlton Ford",

> It was either 1934 or 1936 that his band picked up a paintcan from the road, and that by the Carnival season of 1935 or 1937 he and other younger members of the band had gathered together similar paint cans. They beat rhythms on these cans and eventually started using a large biscuit drum as bass. While the older men were rehearsing with bamboo, they gradually eased their pans into the band. After some initial resistance the pans were accepted and the band decided to go out for Carnival that year without any bamboo. They named themselves "Alexander's Ragtime Band" after a current movie. (p. 34-35)

As informed by Michael Phillips (Pers. comm., 2012), Alexander's Ragtime Band had been previously called the New Town Tamboo Bamboo Band, thereby locating them to Port of Spain.

Stuempfle (1995) has additionally recounted that George Goddard, then a member of the band, recalls their participation in the 1939 carnival, which is corroborated by the fact that, the movie was copyrighted in August 1938; that J.D. Elder recalls seeing members of the Hell Yard Boys group who later adopted the name the Iron Band, experimenting with discarded motor-car parts, and that it took the duration of the war for these experiments to come to a head; that Jerry Serrant, an early observer of pan, confirmed that the Hell Yard Band was indeed an all-steelband around 1939.

According to Ellie Manette however, Carlton Ford, the leader of a tamboo bamboo band whose members and instruments had become separated during a skirmish with another band,

> picked up a garbage can and started to beat it since he could not find bamboo pieces. He was the first man to do that, and then other members picked up paint tins and grease barrels that were used in gas stations to hold old grease; they were made out of steel. They also started using biscuit tins. I was about ten or eleven then, I don't know the band by any other name than Alexander's Ragtime Band. People ask, 'Who invented pan?' We all contributed, Carlton Ford, me, Tony Williams, 'Spree' Simon, no one man invented pan. When I came on the scene, that was around 1941, they used to push the pans from the inside up. I used to play with Invaders (Oval Boys) and I changed that from convex to concave. We used to play pan with pieces of wood and I was the first to start wrapping them with rubber from the inner tube of a bicycle tire. That was in 1943. (Pers. comm., July 29, 2012)

Stuempfle has additionally informed that,

> Newspaper articles from 1937 to1941 demonstrate that metal containers gradually replaced tamboo bamboo instruments throughout Trinidad during this period, but that the process occurred at a much faster pace in Port of Spain. The evidence also suggests that it was in Port of Spain that the first all-steel band performed on the streets for Carnival. (p. 35)

By the foregoing accounts and by numerous accounts reported elsewhere in other works, experimentation with steel instruments was being simultaneously conducted among several camps dispersed in various districts of the island. It has been further established that the claims stated in those accounts were made by members of ensembles within the district of Port of Spain. As it stands therefore, credit has been given to the following:

- Carlton Ford for being the first person to integrate a metal utensil (garbage can) into a tamboo bamboo band;
- Winston "Spree" Simon for having formed the first notes on a steel drum;
- Ellie Manette firstly, for being the first innovator to sink the top surface of the drum (1941) thereby giving the instrument its concave appearance and facilitating tuning options, and secondly, for being the first person to wrap pan sticks with bicycle tubing (1943) thereby enhancing sonority;
- Tony Williams for having invented the Spider Web tenor pan;
- Hell Yard Boys and Alexander's Ragtime Band for being among the very first all-steel orchestras;
- The City of Port of Spain for being the main center of development and the
- District where the above-mentioned achievements were accomplished.

The validity of these claims and others were corroborated by Mr. Manette (2012) during personal communication with me, and can be confirmed by a perusal of archives documenting the evolution of the instrument. Some of the innovations mentioned by him: concave and convex surfaces, note indication, and instrument design etc., visible in the preceding illustrations may give a sense of chronology in relation to the evolution of the instruments. Other characteristics such as sticks without rubber tips, and assorted utensils with unrefined appearance for example, that had been extant prior to the innovations that would lead to the evolution of present day instruments are also visible in figures 10, 11, 12 and 13.

The evolution of the steel drum relative to the performance of calypso music is valuable to this study in regard to subsequent analysis of composing and performing style, and as well to change within and to the structure of the calypso genre.

Other factors impacting calypso around the turn of the century and beyond include the following:

GROWING PUBLIC SENTIMENT OF A NEED FOR A MORE REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

At the end of the nineteenth century a movement towards a more democratic government emerged:

> During the 1880's and the 1890's, there emerged in Trinidad a class of professionals and business people, who separately, and on occasion collectively, articulated the need for a more representative government… they sought the modification of Crown Colony Government by way of elections under a limited franchise. (Rohlehr 1990, p. 43)

According to Rohlehr, they highlighted "copious examples of the inefficiency, indifference and even brutality" of the then present administration. He additionally reported that,

> Members of the Reform Movement, the crusading journalists of Trinidad Review, the new Workingmen's Association of the 1890's and the emerging professional and business class, were viewed with equal suspicion by the British Crown Colony administration. (ibid.)

Citing *Governor Jerningham*, a calypso performed by Norman Le Blanc, chantwel for the White Rose Social Union, Rohlehr has additionally stated that,

> In 1898, Governor Jerningham dissolved the Borough Council, an elected body since 1853, which had become a forum for the airing of local grievances. While this action immediately affected only the handful of middle-class householders who could satisfy the qualification necessary for enfranchisement, its symbolic force went far beyond its immediate target. Jerningham's action was a clear signal to the masses that they would never be able to elect a representative government. (ibid., p. 44)

In spite of the dissolution, the calypso, perhaps more representative of public consensus "remained a popular and powerful tool for social redress" (ibid). *Governor Jerningham* was among some twenty calypsos that had continued the attack on the elite thereby signaling a high degree of animosity toward them, and leading to the following complaint that was cited from the *Port of Spain Gazette* by Rohlehr (1990):

> Despite the fact that special men were told off to prevent singing of indecent ballads in which the names of ladies and gentlemen were brought in, we regret to say that 20 of these indecent and personal Patois melodies were indulged in. We hope that the Police will be more vigilant in that respect today. (ibid., p. 44)

Le Blanc voiced his and his country's indignation in a lavway that accused the Governor.

> **Governor Jerningham**
> *Jerningham the Governor*
> *I say is fastness in you*
> *I say is rudeness in you*
> *To break the laws of Borough Council*
>
> Norman Le Blanc

One must note here that the calypsos targeted were referred to as 'Patois melodies.' That they had continued to be sung in a dialect that had been discouraged points to resistance against the attempts by the British colonial government to completely anglicize the colony.

The reluctance and refusal to conform can be interpreted as a form of rebellion since French Creole (Patois) had been customarily used by slaves and ex-slave population as a coded language to disguise and conceal meaning from the English-speaking slave masters and authorities. Calypsos sung in Patois chastising the authorities during earlier periods are referenced in Atilla*'s Kaiso, A Short History of Trinidad Calypso* (p. 8-10).

The Capitulation was sung in criticism of Governor Chacon's decision to cede the island to the British in 1797 rather than fight. The translated commentary is presented below.

The Capitulation	**Translation**
Governeur boudin paille	*Governor straw belly*
I pas bai bataille	*He did not give battle*
Soldats anglais entwez	*English soldiers came*
Pwend toute la Twinite,	*Take all Trinidad,*
Moen plantai pimen'	*I planted pepper*
Moen plantai citwo'	*I planted lime*
Les anglais pwend toute	*The English take all*
Quitte moen couyon,	*And leave me like a fool,*
Governeur Chacon dit	*Governor Chacon say*
I si mieux courri	*He prefer to run*
Vant mourri	*Rather than die*
Governeur boudin paille	*Governor straw belly*

Traditional

Amba Pons Marabella, sung around 1838, is purported to be the earliest kaiso to be rendered in Patois. It relates to an incident (a massacre) that occurred under the Marabella Bridge.

Amba Pons Marabella	**Translation**
Amba pons Marabella	*Under the Marabella bridge*
C'est la meme moen perdi gangan moen	*It's there I lost my grandmother*
Amba pons Marabella	*Under the Marabella bridge*
C'est la meme moen perdi gangan moen	*It's there I lost my grandmother*
C'est la meme yo blesse mun one moen	*It's there they wounded my uncle*
Amba pons Marabella	*Under Marabella bridge*
C'est la meme moen perdi gangan moen	*It's there I lost my grandmother*

Traditional

***C**ongo Bara* was sung during the period of slavery about a cruel jailor. The translated Patois lyric suggests that the prisoners are beckoned to put a light to illuminate the path of the jailor

on his journey to the other side but literal interpretation of the chorus depicts their overall sentiment of relief and good riddance. This kaiso was not rendered in English until the late 1890's. Analysis of its performing style reveals that the response *Pwizonne leve…mete limye bai Congo Bara* (indicated by asterisks *) is sung in alternation with the chantwel's calls which are rendered as single-tone couplets.

Congo Bara
Mete limye bai Congo Bara
*Mete limye bai Congo selewa... *Pwizonne leve…mete limye bai Congo Bara*
Mete limye bai Congo Bara,
*Congo Bara ka plewe pou imwen…**
Mena lamain si 'y ped baton y
*Sanmdi, Madi 'y se un malewe… **
Granpa mwen 'y mo Madi maten,
*Mama mwen ka plewe pou mwen… **
Mete limye bai Congo Bara,
*Judge and jury go try me for murder… **
De esclav courri sortie Tunapun'
*Congo bai o bois fair you devire…**
Traditional

Evidence that masking calypsos, even those sung in English, were being targeted around the late 1800's and early 1920's can be found in city councilor Dr. Mc Shine's address to a society. That oration sought to 'cleanse' carnival and calypso. Referring to the times as a 'period of reconstruction' Mc Shine had suggested that calypsos should be 'devoid of double meaning', a reduction that Rohlehr argued "would require the abolition of the metaphorical element of calypso and be a considerable loss in the verbal potential of the form" (Rohlehr, 1990, p. 96).

Rohlehr (ibid.) has informed us that the years between 1905 and 1914 are largely lost years in terms of the documentation of socially relevant calypsos, and that, according to Patrick Jones, the quality of 'mas' too saw a decline during those years.

> This is a period when, according to Patrick Jones, Quevedo and Lord Executor, the major chantwels withdrew from Port of Spain…They took with them the calypsos in English…and left behind the old improvised litanic Calinda form…It seems that they also took with them the kind of political topicality which had become pronounced in 1904. (p. 49)

He has additionally cited Pearse (1956, p. 250-262), who related that according to Patrick Jones (the calypsonian Chinee Patrick), during the period just before World War I "the Calypso was nothing." In corroborating the statements made by Jones, Rohlehr (1990, p. 72) has pointed to quotations by the other two calypsonians referenced in the first quote. He has

cited a 1919 article in the *Weekly Guardian* in which Quevedo, in support of his counterpart Jones stated that, "Kaiso reverted to the picong and the glorification of sex symbolism."

The third account cited by Rohlehr (ibid.) was one which was given by Executor and was paraphrased from *Argos* newspaper (1919, p. 5). It stated that,

> Soon after 1900, with the calypso gaining popularity and competition becoming quite fierce in Port of Spain, the calypsonians began to "scatter". Norman le Blanc was the first to leave the capital for St. Joseph, where he carried on the White Rose band. Lord Philomel went to La Brea, the Duke of Marlborough to Cunupia, Henry Forbes to Manzanilla, the Black Prince to Tunapuna, all opening tents in these districts. Executor himself joined the Iere Belles in St. Joseph in 1905. (Cited and paraphrased by Rohlehr, 1990, p. 72)

THE JUST ENDED BOER WARS AND WORLD WAR I

The following Elder (1969) quote bears relevance to the degree of impact the Boer war had had on calypso performance.

> The chantuelles identified themselves with the heroes of war. The leaders called themselves by names like: Iron Duke, Albany, Pharaoh, Duke of Marlborough, Black Prince, etc., and their bands carried names like: Artillery and Brigade…It was as though the struggle between the Boers and the English was symbolically transferred to Trinidad. (p. 13-14)

Similar sentiments in opposition to Italy's invasion of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) were voiced by the Roaring Lion's *Mussolini*. The themes of calypsos produced during and after World War I displayed patriotic sentiment and loyalism but, according to Rohlehr (1990, p. 106), these began to dissolve "under the realities of low wages, unrest, repression, and protest against the intention of local authorities to 'temporarily' abolish carnival."

During the 1920's, a politically hectic decade, there had been much thematic ambivalence. On the one hand colonial loyalist sentiment was expressed in calypsos such as Kaiser Williams, whose melody has reappeared fitted with different lyrics on several occasions.

Kaiser Williams
Run your run
Kaiser Williams
run your run,
Run your run
Kaiser Williams
run your run,
You hear what Chamberlain say
Cheer boys cheer
With surety and security
We go wipe out Germany

Lord Inventor

On the other hand, grassroots dissent and redress was expressed in calypsos like Atilla's *West Indian Federation*, and Growling Tiger's *Worker's Appeal* and *Advice to West Indians*.

West Indian Federation
The Dominion of Canada, India,
Australia and South Africa
Have all got Governments of their own
That pay allegiance to the throne.
If such a high standard they can maintain
Why can't West Indians do the same?
So let's join in unity
For political liberty.

Atilla the Hun

Worker's Appeal
Anywhere you go you must meet people sad
They search for employment: none can be had (Repeat the first two lines)
They start to drop down dead in the street
Nothing to eat and nowhere to sleep
All kind-hearted employers I appeal now to you
Give us some work to do
The Growling Tiger

Advice to West Indians
I am advising every worker as a West Indian
To be careful and join a labour union
It's the only way you can achieve your right
And to stop the oppressive hands of might
And allow your progressive march to be an inspiration
To the rising generation

The Growling Tiger

The lyrics of those three calypsos are presented in part on subsequent pages for perusal. The calypsos were testimonies of the collective feelings of the masses so it is not surprising that Growling Tiger's *Advice to West Indians* had won him the crown at the first national calypso competition to be held in Trinidad.

Other calypsos like *Cipriani* referenced earlier and *Britain, Give Us Our Freedom* had helped to put key political figures such as Cipriani and Quevedo in the Legislative Council, and according to Rohlehr (1990), "that meant greater representation of the people and the realization of legislative amendments." The consciousness of the populace had continued to grow in spite of censorship, and according to Rohlehr (1990),

> During the twenties the Calypso would focus on topical issues, and by the mid-thirties some calypsonians would develop an acute political consciousness which would lead to direct censorship of the form (p. 106)

In 1934 and 1936 respectively calypso performance and records became targets of state censorship, and following the 1937 labor riots another sedition bill that sought to control freedom of speech was passed. The amount of calypsos that advocated social reform in the 1940's even in the face of a censorship campaign that was even more severe than those previously launched is evidence of the calypsonian's defiance and resilience, and of the function of the calypso as a part of the mechanism that challenged the authorities.

The chronicle of events so far has continued to reveal that Africans and their descendant Afro-Trinidadians from among the Jamette contingents had almost single-handedly contributed to the music culture of the island from 1783 to well into the first two to three decades of British rule from 1797.

As reported by Michael Phillips, Urban East Indians had sung calypsos beginning as early [or as late as] the mid-1930's,

> Munsie Daley is the earliest known… others include Clipper, Raja, Indian Prince and Dougla but their calypsos rarely gave an Indian perspective. The initiative was taken by the Mighty Killer in 1947 with Grinding Massala followed by Christo, Lord Melody, Kadie, Lord Shorty and the Mighty Sparrow via Winsford des Vignes. (Pers. comm., 2011)

THE RISE OF THE MULATTO TOWARD MIDDLE CLASS STATUS

In addition to Norman Le Blanc other Mulatto and White chantwels had emerged around the turn of the century. Included among them were Cedric Le Blanc, Hannibal, the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Executor. Norman Le Blanc belonged to the White or off-White loyalist group of chantwels. As inferred by Rohlehr (1990), the other group, from lower-class ranks probably had little or no relationship with even the local middle-class and, according to him, would have had "few qualms about attacking even the group of local reformist on whose behalf Le Blanc had censured Jerningham" (p. 32).

The following quotation by Elder (1964) shows the mindset of this latter group toward the 'half-casts':

> Due to the fact that the mulatto group was the result of race-mixture, and also because members of this group despised the Negroes, the singers made life for the mulattoes very uncomfortable by singing offensive songs about them as a group of persons 'that did not belong', whose grandmothers were rejected by them and whose grandfathers were ashamed of them. (p. 131)

The group under discussion, the middle and upper-class French-Creoles (mulattos) had been leaders of the business community during much of the period of British colonial rule in

Trinidad and had habitually boasted of their aristocratic descent. Resentment toward them had also been harbored by the British who heckled them because of their Catholic heritage, and as a traditional European enemy. In spite of differences, however, the relationship between the bourgeois reformists and the disfranchised masses became a threat to Crown Colony Government due to anti-colonial sentiment extant among both groups.

The alliance had developed out of mutual solidarity in the aftermath of the 1903 Water Riots massacre of civilians, and other inconsistencies. Because of such an alliance, 'certain persons' were placed under surveillance by the authorities. The following citation by Rohlehr is from the report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Water Riots. It was stated in the report that,

> For some years a group of persons has existed in Port of Spain whose main conception of public spirit and independence is to vilify the Government and indulge in personalities regarding the individuals who compose it. Conspicuous among this group are certain coloured lawyers, some who have studied law in England, coloured tradesmen doing a substantial business, and some less reputable persons, while a few persons of English birth, including the editors of two newspapers, have thrown their lot in with them. (Cited by Rohlehr, 1990, p. 43)

Looming trends of anti-colonial sentiment had become the genus of a fourth impacting force,

RENEWED PARTICIPATION BY WHITES IN CANNES BRULE

Elder's (1964) quote below helps to shed light on this matter. He wrote,

> By the turn of the century it was clear that Cannes Brule was far from being stamped out. In fact, members of the White group that had tried to suppress it had entered Cannes Brule, and so began the evolution of what has become present-day Carnival, the national annual Festival of Trinidad… In 1899, it is recorded that one Norman Le Blanc, a French aristocrat set up the first Carnival Tent to which he invited the Negro singers to compose kalenda songs… In fact, [he] is remembered as the first man to sing Calypso in the English tongue in Trinidad (p. 132)

Renewed participation by Whites was first manifested by street masquerading and later on through financial support. Its occurrence had coincided with the period between the banning of drums and the emergence of string bands. String bands had begun to emerge with the arrival of several groups of Venezuelan immigrants: estate laborers, traders, sailors and refugees from the Independence wars. As discussed previously, the music supplied by string bands had been the preferred music for street parading among white participants, and according to Hill (1972, p. 46), was on its way to becoming "the order of the day".

The end result of the alliance reported on in Elder's citation on the preceding page, whereby members of one group assimilate or adopt the attitudes, behavior and customs of the

members of a previously opposed group, is a process that has been described in the field of psychology as 'winning over.' It is one of the topics that will be explored in a subsequent chapter dealing with group dynamics and identity, and the genre's role in that process of 'winning over'.

Another impacting force, one that has dealt some of the most severe blows, was:

THE TAKEOVER OF THE ISLAND BY THE BRITISH IN 1797

It set in motion a major avalanche of assimilation that has impacted Trinidadian society on many fronts. Its impact on calypso linguistics and narrative style has been indelible.

The insistence upon the mastery of English by the colonial government at the turn of the century eventually created a tendency among Trinidadian society toward 'high-sounding' English. The following summary of Pitts' (1962) oral accounts of Lord Executor was made available by Rohlehr (1990):

> During the first decade of the twentieth century, it was considered old-fashioned to sing in Patois. In fact, melodies became secondary and a calypsonian's success depended upon his mastery of the English language…the ability to use high-sounding English words and phrases, was much admired by audiences… (Cited by Rohlehr, p. 69-70)

Resultantly calypsonians began to employ more eloquent texts in their calypsos thereby enhancing communication with English-speaking audiences, increasing public appeal, and boosting self-esteem when performing for 'certain' audiences i.e. within erudite circles. Honed linguistic skills in English had helped the calypsonian to achieve 'elevated' status as "Man-of-Words" and acquire a verbal arsenal that proved to be useful during combat in song against his adversaries. This type of competition became known as picong, extempo and calypso war. The verbal attacks or sorties as they were called were designed and employed so as to belittle and silence one's opponent and were delivered in sans humanité song style.

The following sorties are excerpts from two 'Masters of Picong', The Roaring Lion and [3]Atilla the Hun; they exemplify the type of 'high-sounding' language alluded to, and the tradition of rhetoric that had become formalized in Trinidad society.

Sortie #1

I admire your ambition, you'd like to sing,
But you'll never be a Kaiso King

[3] Raymond Quevedo chose to spell his sobriquet contrary to the known spelling of the name Attila.

To reach such a height without blemish or spot
You must study Shakespeare, Byron, Milton and Scott
But I'm afraid I'm casting pearls before swine,
For you'll never inculcate such thoughts divine
You really got a good intention,
But poor education
Sans humanité

Atilla the Hun

Sortie #2

On grammatical subjects I will now state
Inviting lexicographers who can debate
With Ramsomfousis asceticism
They may try to argue but are bound to run,
Through the extensive alteration of anklyosis
And my encyclopedic analysis,
That makes me a man of psychology
And I can always sing grammatically
Sans humanité

The Roaring Lion

The tendency toward magniloquent speech, especially among people in the administrative sector was confirmed by Slinger Francisco a.k.a. the Mighty Sparrow. During an informal conversation in Amsterdam in August of 2009 he told me, demonstrating as he did so, that, "People just wanted to talk big and sound important and educated."

Several decades earlier he had satirized the misuse of 'the Queen's English' in the calypso *Well Spoken Moppers*, a perusal of "high-sounding' language demonstrating blatant inefficiency and pompous misconceptions of the mastery of English. Spurned by British insistence on proficiency the trend toward superfluous English usage revealed erudition in some instances and at other times exposed ignorance and illiteracy.

Well Spoken Moppers[4]
Half de trouble in the world today
Comes from people who doh know what to say
They like to use words that's big and long
An dey eh know when dey using it wrong

[4] Inconsistency in spelling among the English texts of all the calypsos referenced is a resultant of a mixing of spoken Trinidadian lingo (Broken English) with Standard English. Nuances often come across include the omission of 'a' in the word 'afraid', 'l' in 'already', 'd' and 'g' at the end of words, the substitution of 'Ah' for 'I', 'eh' for 'am not', 'doh' for 'don't', 'dey' for 'there', 'way' for 'where', 'couda, shouda, and wouda' for 'could have, should have, and would have', 'kinda' for 'kind of', 'he' and 'she' for 'his' and 'her', 'd' for 'th' as in 'dis', 'dat', and the pluralization of singular nouns.

Some Moppers come by me last Christmas Day
Eat me out and drink me out in the worst of way
Ah had a swell time dey started to boast
But before ah go let me make a toast, and they tell me,
Here's to my good friend I wish that he
And everybody live in enemity
I wish him ill health and adversity
Disaster and strife eternally

May your cup of sorrow never run dry
May misfortune follow you until the day you die
You are such a nice quiet illiterate lad
Your obnoxious company make me feel glad

Ah long maga one dey call D'arbreu
Say "Three cheers for insipid Sparrow"
The fame and fortune he has accomplished
I wish it all would rapidly diminish
He's a fella that I have always despised
Ah doh know why people does watch him and criticize
His stupidity is unsurpassed
In other words, he's a high hypothetical ass,

May his friends bring him joy and frustration
Impose on him and lift him to degradation
He's a jolly good fellow and a kind reprobate
Unscrupulous and always inconsiderate.

The Mighty Sparrow

Analysis of the satire reveals that the verses and accompanying toasts are rendered in similar erroneous, pompous fashion. The fourth chorus deteriorates into a kind of jocose mumble-jumble characteristic of superfluous illiteracy and drunken stupor combined. Rohlehr (1990) has informed us that "this sort of language would go out of style during the twenties, when the impulse towards oratory became blended with the necessity for a simple, down-to-earth narrative style" (p. 100).

The foregoing accounts signal change in idiom, topicality and lyrical style and foreshadow other parameters that would be affected as well. Thematically calypso continued to expand.

During our conversation I had asked Sparrow to comment on the avoidance and ambivalence among lower class Trinidadians toward Patois in relation to social pressure. He explained that the reason that transmission of that language through later generations did not occur was because,

> Parents used it when they didn't want their children to know what they were talking about. It was not only because of some kinda pressure by the White man. (Pers. comm., July 26, 2009)

Several other informants corroborated Sparrow's statement while others expressed opposing sentiments of pride and shame regarding Franco-phonic issues peculiar to the Anglo-Caribbean, especially on islands that had been former French colonies, during the early decades of the 1900's. An acquaintance, Jennifer Defoe who was born and raised in Dominica, corroborated the Mighty Sparrow's statement and other documented reports that Patois had been used as a form of coded communication. In keeping with the nuances of the speaking style peculiar to Franco-West Indians she gave the following account:

> My Dad didn't grow up speaking Creole because he was born in Antigua [Anglo-Caribbean]. He left Dominica for England when he was seventeen; he joined the military, I don't know how long he stayed there. I learned to speak Patois in Dominica, in Pointe Michelle, if you lived in Point Michelle you had to speak Patois. Since Dominica had a lot of contact with France, Martinique and Guadeloupe, Patois was not outlawed. He went to study in England and upon his return he didn't want us to speak Patois, not even his wife. I was about seven, he never gave me a reason. We were not allowed to sing those Patois songs and dance certain kind of dances. You see, in those days those carnival songs in Patois and that style of dancing was associated with vulgarity. School teachers used to beat you when you speak it. Most people switched to Patois when children were close by. I guess my father wanted me to be a 'proper' young lady, speaking good English. (Pers. comm., July 28, 2009)

Dave Defoe, her husband who was born in Curacao but grew up in Dominica, spoke English fluently. With a Francophone accent similar to that of his wife Jennifer he said,

> I did not like Patois too much, it was too rough, but I could understand it because I grew up with it and around people who used to speak it. (Pers. comm., July 28, 2009)

Another observer Lendor "Mackie" Mac Donald who grew up during the 1920's and 1930's in La Cour Harpe, a Jamette stronghold in Port of Spain, confirmed that in Trinidad the speaking of Patois then had been discouraged in public as well as at home. During our conversation he diligently tried to recollect the lyrics of songs that his maternal grandmother had taught him. Mr. Mac Donald spoke with a strong nasal tone and peculiar Francophonic inflection as he gave the following account to me in second person narrative, identifiable characteristics of people of French Creole ethnicity.

> Your parents didn't want you to talk Patois because that was low talk, but they couldn't talk English. The people used to call the Patois 'Hog language'. (Pers. comm., Feb. 2007)

The preceding types of reactions toward the speaking of French Creole (Patois) had been common among people in communities throughout the British Caribbean where it (French Creole) had previously been the mode of communication among lower-class citizens.

My close friend Michael Phillips, historian and archivist, made the following observation that: “Maybe parents observed the trend and thought that the inability to speak English would hinder the progress of their children in an increasingly anglicized society” (Pers. comm., 2010). He also brought to my attention the fact that the repression of languages in Trinidad had been extended to Hindi as well.

Rohlehr (1990) has stated that by 1869 a tendency among teachers to ignore a child’s first language if it was not English had already been established (p. 56).

Rex Nettleford (2003) has vehemently attacked the colonial mechanism of imposed language. Referring to the nature of colonial and post-colonial linguistic phenomena in the Caribbean as “problems of language,” he has written,

> That problem is not simply the matter of the call for the mandatory fulfillment of proficiency in the use of the master’s tongue now seen by some to be a universal necessity, but rather the threat that the unrelieved promotion of such a cultural manifesto poses for that self-realisation and hope of independent discovery in the world of human expression through the use of the languages that are themselves the organic linguistic expression of the vast majority of the people in Jamaica and throughout the Caribbean. (p. 13)

The quest for acquisition and as well the acquisition of imposed language served to repress one major form of the cultural expression of repressed peoples, limit communication among them, and secure a social and academic advantage for the repressors. Resultantly many repressed groups that did not speak the ‘mother tongue’ as a first language were left with two options, adoption or refusal of the imposed idiom. Refusal to conform to the new *status quo* constituted a hindrance to the ascent of the social structure and possible exclusion from the changing social mainstream, and adaptation was often accompanied by a partial or total denunciation of intrinsic vernacular. The predilection for speaking European languages (the mother tongues), and the tendency toward eloquence that became formalized in zones of contact can be interpreted as attempts by the ‘colonized’ to ascend the social structure that had been imposed upon them by the ‘colonizer,’ and to improve their (‘the colonized’) own self-image. Over a sufficient period of time such adaptations had festered a sense of false pride, ambivalence, shame, animosity and cultural denial in the psyche of the ‘colonized’.

However, in spite of the efforts of the British to completely anglicize Trinidadian society intrinsic languages of several ethnic groups have survived. Included among those ethnic contingents are the Indo-Trinidadians, Chinese, Assyrians, Lebanese, and peoples of French Creole and Hispanic heritage who belong mainly to rural planter communities. Reasons why the intrinsic languages of those contingents have survived are attributable to several facts:

- The contingents had established communities that have continued to be a cohesive and economic infrastructure that has continued to be sustainable and somewhat autonomous.
- They were not perceived as a threat to national security because they had/have managed to remain politically marginal while at the same time maintaining involvement in mainstream society.
- Several linguistic features (words and phrases pertaining to foods, utensils, and activities etc.) belonging to their respective cultures have been assimilated into the folklore (vernacular, culinary practices, folksong etc.) of mainstream national culture.

The ethnic groups mentioned above share three main commonalities; their languages have continued to serve the function of maintaining identity among their members and contingents; cohesion within their communities; and exclusivity from other ethnic groups.

These three features have been identified as some of the phenomena common to the 'contact zones' mentioned earlier and will be discussed in chapter 4 in the context of individual and group relations in culturally plural societies. They will be discussed elsewhere in the context of sources of conflict, resistance toward anti-colonial practices, and repudiation of colonial ideology. For the time being it is necessary to revisit the topic of cultural repression embarked upon earlier, in order to expand on it concerning its impact on the relationship between song and dance.

The subversive potential of this relationship had been recognized early on by Europeans, as is evident through the passing of an Ordinance in Martinique in 1654 prohibiting assembly; the codification of its regulations in the Code Noir of 1685; and its updating in 1758 and 1772 respectively. The French had been cautious but somewhat tolerant, and had even participated in some aspects of African music and dance culture, but from the period of British takeover many aspects of African cultural manifestations came under attack by protest from the church, by harsh criticism and resentment from the 'respectable' citizenry, and by repression from the authorities. Supplementary information presented by Gordon Rohlehr (1990) highlights reasons for attempts by the British and French to suppress African cultural expression in Trinidad. He has recounted that,

> In the Antilles, as in Africa, song and dance were closely related expressions…Slave dances were viewed by the planters with a mixture of suspicion and tolerance…they provided gatherings of Black people with private space and the power of assembly, and had been known to lead to rebellious uprisings throughout the Antilles…Before 1700 both the British and the French had prohibited the use of certain instruments such as drums and horn-trumpets, whose playing they viewed as an incitement to rebellion. (p. 2-3)

Rohlehr, citing Wood, has additionally reported that,

> The upheaval in Haiti and the rebellion of the Grenadian mulatto Fedon in 1795…helped strengthen British mistrust of the French in general and the free people in particular, and explains their enactment of repressive and retrograde legislation against the Coloureds in early nineteenth century Trinidad. (Rohlehr, 1990, p.7)

St. John (1996) has reminded us that,

> It is a generally accepted thesis that state powers, in their effort to consolidate their rule, have always tried to suppress self-expression, especially when it is articulated through the cultural manifestation of the masses. (p. 10)

According to Rohlehr (1990), during post-Emancipation there had been a constant effort to,

> Censor the dance; to purge it of its potentially explosive quality and reduce it to pure escapism and entertainment with as diluted a sexual element as was possible, the level on which it became simultaneously unsubversive and tolerable. The same control was sought of the lyrics of the songs, as the language became less coded, more open in its sexual suggestiveness or political attack. (p. 5)

The criteria for calypso tents that had been outlined by the Argos Committee in 1919 had signaled another attempt to "divorce the Calypso from its Calinda root by disqualifying tamboo-bamboo and bottle-and-spoon accompaniment from consideration as musical instruments" (ibid., p. 110).

The following year prizes for outstanding performances were offered by the *Argos* and *Guardian* Carnival Committees, but were accompanied by stringent regulations, that sought "a de-Africanization of the music, the final abolition of its percussive Jamette elements", and had "the makings of organized bourgeois sponsorship/control of Mas" (ibid., p. 96-97).

For the purposes of this dissertation the term 'de-Africanization' above, as implied by Rohlehr, is interpreted in the context of social control since the slave community, who represented the lower class masses, and whose contribution to mainstream culture had been predominant, was the target of repression. The limitation or elimination of their expressions of African, Afro-Caribbean and Afro-Trinidadian cultural traditions from mainstream culture by bourgeois control can therefore be appropriately termed 'de-Africanization.'

Rohlehr additionally recounted that in 1920, calypsonian 'Chieftain' Walter Douglas opened his own tent based on the committee's model, broke away from the sans humanité tradition, introduced the ballad or narrative style calypso, and began making significant changes to the tent environment (ibid.). Some of the physical changes made by Douglas include the replacement of flambeaux with gas lamps for improved lighting; the replacement of thatched roofs by tarpaulin, and bamboo benches and improvised seating by chairs; the addition of an elevated stage; and the expansion of the accompanying musical ensemble from drum and

shak shak to include the flute, clarinet, guitar, cuatro bass, and female background chorus. Douglas also began charging a higher fee, and avoided the practice of calinda. These developments among others such as increased police vigilance gradually began to limit the attendance of the poorer 'under-class', the 'riffraff', and the vulgarity and violence associated with the 'nefarious downtown neighborhoods' and attract the patronage of the upper and middle classes.

The following accounts reflect the disdain with which 'respectable' society regarded 'downtown' neighborhoods. Liverpool cited Egbert Moore (Lord Beginner) who related from his recollection that,

> People were afraid to come to the tents in the late 1920's and even in the early 1930's. We used to have a lot of hooligans in the area, particularly in nearby Royal Theatre. Besides, the poor people couldn't pay, so we moved from the vagabond area. (Cited by Liverpool, 1990, p. 11)

Lord Iere too was cited by Liverpool (1990, p. 20-21). He recounted that it was pure love of the art that made men like Atilla and himself 'go down' to George Street to sing; that they were not of that milieu; that their parents bitterly resented such 'low excursions;' and that they were ostracized by their friends.

The historical events that had occurred between the 1920's and the late 1950's represent a profound wave of impact on socio-cultural life in Trinidad. This wave, caused by urbanization and rapid industrialization, was responsible for the commercialization of the calypso tents, recording and foreign employment opportunities for musicians, calypsonians and other artistes during the 1930's, the emergence of the 'Iron Band', the invention and evolution of the steel drum during the early 1940's and a more widespread national consciousness. According to Rohlehr (1990), the fierce allegiance to and the violent defense of territory which had characterized the stick-fighting bands, were modified in the first thirty years of the twentieth century" (p. 48) and eventually "transferred to the steel bands". Communities no longer financially supported the "idle…tribal chieftain" lifestyle of the chantwel, who had "slowly lost his privileged place in an identifiable community" (p. 12).

And so, in the wake of the 1929 Depression and imminent World War, the chantwel's metamorphosis into professional calypsonian occurred. He was now forced to redefine his image and style to suit the new demands of professional performance and the stereotype of the then up and running recording industry. By the late 1930's and during the 1940's tents were being relocated to venues that were closer to the suburbs inhabited by the upper and middle classes whose pockets were being targeted. The following account which reflects the

'new' environment at tents in relation to class/economic power during these decades was given by Lord Superior and was related by Liverpool (1990):

> In the early 1950's, the tent was still a place for whites. It was the poor entertaining the rich, even the managers and financiers were from the rich upper class. I remember that there used to be one black woman in the audience - Mrs. Audrey Jeffers. (Cited by Liverpool, p. 12)

Amidst growing concern in the late 1930's about the future, calypsonians sought to organize themselves. In 1939 they formed the Trinidad Calypso and Musicians Advertising Association. The Government simultaneously made efforts to improve carnival, and the Carnival Improvement Committee embarked on an agenda to raise the standard of calypso and make carnival a main tourist attraction. The deliberate use of calypsos in 1939 to construct a positive idealized image is another blatant example of the recognition of the genre's potential as a tool of social influence.

Rohlehr (1990), has stated that,

> Calypsonians sang a number of tourist-oriented calypsos in a sentimentally patriotic eulogizing of their island. The importance of calypsonians to the tourist trade was from the start officially recognized, and the attempt 'to lift Calypso' was inspired by the need to project an image of decency and respectability to the visitor…The Committee…was firm in its intention to eradicate "the vulgar and improper side of the festival, with particular reference to "Dame Lorraine" and "Old Mask". (p. 328)

The following calypsos were included among those selected for this purpose: *La Belle Trinidad, Ballad of Beautiful Port of Spain, Sweet Trinidad,* and *Beautiful Land of Iere.*

Recognition by the authorities of the potential of the genre to unify society was by no means limited to the eulogizing of Trinidad so as to entice tourists. The times had been characterized by militaristic expansion by Germany and Russia and by the threat of war, two central themes of many calypsos such as Lord Ziegfield's *How Hitler Invaded Poland*, King Radio's *Impressions of Chamberlain and Hitler*, Growler's *Fall of France*, composed in an around 1939. The Roaring Lion's *Rise of the British Empire* was among those presented at the Downtown Mas at Marine Square. According to Rohlehr (1990), it

> Naturally won the interest and approval of the Governor, Sir Hubert Young, who was the first Governor to attend the Downtown Mas…The Governor's attendance at Marine Square signaled his recognition that calypsos could be used to promote the ideology of the British Empire; to lift the people's spirit; to support the propaganda campaign against Germany and Russia; and to advertise strategies for survival such as the 'Grow More Food' campaign. The Growling Tiger had, in fact, recommended this strategy in 1934 in his Workers' Appeal. J'ouvert 1940, one of the most popular refrains was 'Grow more food in the Colony to conquer Germany.' (p. 334)

For clarification the reader is informed that the word downtown in 'Downtown Mas' has several designations. It draws attention to:

- the rivalry between the bourgeoisie factions that had sought to control carnival and calypso, a rivalry that in 1919 had led to the occurrence of two separate carnivals, the Downtown Carnival and Mas in the Queen's Park Savannah;
- the division and disparity that had been extant along class and economic lines; and
- locates the activities in the 'nefarious neighborhoods' described, neighborhoods that were usually avoided by 'respectable' members of society.

For the time being however, the agenda of the Tourist Board and the carnival celebrations of 1942, 1943, 1944 and 1945 were postponed by World War II. Also, a ban was imposed, which, like the ones enforced in 1901 and 1916, did not impede the indoor festivities of the upper-class. These and other bones of contention would soon be addressed. Atilla the Hun, as Legislative Board member Raymond Quevedo, was instrumental in securing the calypsonian's right to be heard. This turn of events created liaison shifts and caused roles and identities to be redefined. An amendment in 1950 of the 1934 Theatre and Dance Hall Ordinance which had placed the State as the authority over calypso gave calypsonians more freedom of access to perform in public, calypso competitions for prize money were proposed and another outcrop of calypsos designed to sway public opinion would occur in the late 1950's.

A combination of repression, anti-imperialist sentiment, hard times, frustration, and a rising crime wave among young men would culminate in a decade (1946-1956) of post-war social conflict which impacted tourism negatively. Steelband rivalry had become a major source of violence during those years. The following citation was extracted by Rohlehr from the 1948 Commissioner of Police's Annual Report. It describes an incident in which steelbands spontaneously took to the streets in re-enactment of the VJ-Day and VE-Day celebrations, "whose affirmation of the principle of joyful and unfettered freedom," Rohlehr reported, "had become a major folk-memory" (p. 371). The document, article number 25 under the caption Steelbands reads:

> Hooliganism broke out in Port of Spain and a section of the North-Western Division's areas when steelbands, in defiance of the law came out and played in the streets; they attacked small squads of the police who tried to disperse them. The police party was confronted with a barrage of stones and bottles. (Cited by Rohlehr, 1990, p. 370-371)

The rebellious inclination and confrontational behavior characteristic of the stick fighting bands of old had now been transferred to steelbands. The aggression was manifest within at least three arenas:

- the pursuit of freedom from the yoke of colonialist ideals,
- blatant rebellion of idle and unemployed young men,
- territorial wars.

The newspaper too played its part in the establishing and perpetuating of negative stereotypes. The following anonymous account about steelband clashes was cited by Rohlehr. It accomplishes several things: it locates the social environment out of which the steelband movement grew in the early 1950's, it identifies the shift that had occurred in the centralization of inter-territorial aggression away from the stick fighting arena, it informs us about another wave of socialization and creolization processes that had already begun to take place, and it reminds us that class antagonism was still extant.

> In the early days when pan beating was not socially accepted, the steelbands were made up entirely of unemployed young men from the lower class…In those days the followers of the band, mainly hooligans and saga boys, fought among themselves. Steelband wars were confined to the lower classes.
>
> During the past two or three years, however, the middle and upper classes have taken up pan-beating. College boys, civil servants, store clerks and other white-collar workers have formed themselves into bands- Dixieland, Dem Boys, Hit Paraders, etc. Not only have these bands learned to play as well, or even better, than many of the old bands, but they have been getting all the engagements at the clubs, dances etc.
>
> The proletarian bands, jealous of the prowess of what they call the 'social' bands, and resentful at their encroachment on what were (sic) their exclusive preserve, have openly resolved to 'run all the social bands off the road.'
>
> On Saturday, every 'social' band, unarmed, unsuspecting and not looking for trouble, was attacked in broad daylight by hooligans with baseball bats, big sticks, bottles, cowhide whips, and even razors and cutlasses and put to flight. Many of them did not dare venture out into the night. Some have vowed never to beat on the road again. (Cited by Rohlehr, 1990, p. 425)

The phrase 'During the past two or three years' establishes that the commentary was made during the latter part of 1950, since in 1955 Dixieland steel orchestra, formerly Boys from Iwojima and Melody Makers, became the first social band to appear on the streets. In 1960 they won all four stages of the music festival, and later also won international acclaim. Social bands were comprised of members of middle and upper classes and were catalytic to the eventual acceptance of the steel drum and the steelband institution.

In 1946, the Government in its effort to curtail hooliganism had reintroduced corporal punishment (The Flogging Bill) which had been abolished in 1941. Many calypsos such as

Bring Back the Cat-o-Nine Tails reflected public sentiment and were supportive of harsh measures. Others addressed the degree of brutality in the castigations meted out. Atilla sang,

Christmas Eve Night
Christmas Eve night on Quarry Street
I was listening to some music; it was very sweet
Christmas Eve night on Quarry Street
I was listening to some music; it was very sweet
It was the tintinnabulation of the iron band
When suddenly policemen drove up in a van
With big stick charging furiously
As though they were attacking Nazis in Germany

Imagine Christmas Eve night
All you can hear is, "Peace and goodwill to men"
Poor people had to scamper and run
All they were doing is having innocent fun
I wonder when the present administration
Will realize that is only through toleration
Will better conditions be had
Between the people and the Government of Trinidad
Atilla the Hun

According to Rohlehr (1990), Atilla's calypsos almost single-handedly addressed injustices and criticized Government policy aimed at suppressing dissent. He writes,

> Calypsos in this vein such as Tiger's *Workers' Appeal* and Atilla's *Four Cents a Day* would challenge British imperialism to prove its moral worthiness by eliminating abuses that were inseparable from normal colonial rulership. (p. 380)

The text of Atilla's *Four Cents a Day* blatantly expresses disapproval of the response by the police regarding police/residents conflict.

Four Cents a Day
I went to the Square just the other day
And what I saw filled me with dismay
It stands out in my memory
As a demonstration of sheer brutality
Workers were marching around
When near the Red House they were found
Policemen with batons knocking them down
Starving people begging for bread
We offer them teargas and lead instead.
Atilla the Hun

Rohlehr's analysis of the preceding text sheds light upon Atilla's style of redress and the function of rhetoric in the political calypso. He writes,

> *Four Cents a Day*…asserts that people through hunger and discontent are saying we have a *"criminal Government*." The terminology shows that the Calypso had become a People's Court, a sort of moral Assizes for the indictment of the "criminal" regime. This was Trinidad's Nuremberg. The idea would persist in the collective psyche of the nation, and in the 1970s and eighties Calypso would play a similar role as the People's National Movement under Eric Williams and George Chambers, foundered against the same concretion of abuses that had existed since the days of the British. (1990, p. 380)

According to Rohlehr,

> Atilla's calypsos in this period were assuming the appearance of a political manifesto; as well they might in a year when they helped enhance his political appeal as a candidate for the City Council. His *Britain, Give Us Our Freedom* marks the death of Crown Colony as a system relevant to Caribbean development. (ibid., p. 375)

Rohlehr's analysis and observations help to corroborate the calypsonian's employment of the idiom with intent to elicit social change in regard to public awareness, opinion and response, and government policy.

As was mentioned earlier, carnival had been suspended during the war years (1942-1945). The calypso tent had been heavily relied upon then as it was the only outlet for the masquerading masses to release tensions. Beginning in 1946, the Carnival Improvement Committee resumed undertakings to 'clean up' carnival and make it attractive to tourists. Once again a struggle for proprietorship of the celebrations ensued among several factions. In addition to the list of restrictions and instructions that had been prescribed, "this not too well disguised bourgeois effort to fleece carnival of any residue of its Jamette root" (Rohlehr, 1990), included the following: the downplay of calypso competitions, low prize money, the inclusion of calypsos in shows as side acts, the elevation of the Carnival Queen competition from its status of added attraction at the crowning of the Calypso King competition to being the main attraction at the Demarche Gras show, the inclusion of the Calypso King competition eight years later as an enhancement to the Demarche Gras show, and the abandonment of the traditional Dame Lorraine character due to the adoption of the Carnival Queen image. By 1952 the goals of tourism were beginning to materialize and by the following year various elitist groups had been in control of the 'up-town' celebrations. However, as was reported in the *Trinidad Guardian* (Saturday, Feb. 11, 1956), despite the influx of big business monies the prize for first place in the Calypso King competition of 1956 was a mere $25 and a silver cup. The accumulation of prizes for the Carnival Queen competition, as was reported in the *Sunday Guardian* (Jan. 15th 1956), had an estimated value of $6,000. Rohlehr (1990) mentions that,

> By the mid-fifties…the Carnival Queen competition which had begun as a pleasant if irrelevant ornament to Carnival, had become a means whereby the substantial Caucasian segment of the commercial class advertised, celebrated and applauded itself. (p. 447)

Attempts at curtailing this unreasonable trend coincided in 1957 with further demands for increases by the Carnival Bands Union, agreement by bandleaders to boycott celebrations at the Queens Park Savannah and the taking over of affairs by the new Government's Carnival Development Committee, which immediately began to improve the situation.

According to Rohlehr (1990) however, "the grievances of the past eight years…could not be easily forgotten" (p. 449-450). The 1957 Calypso King Competition boycott by the then-popular Mighty Sparrow, the previous year's winner and Lord Superior, and their respective accompanying calypsos *Carnival Boycott* and *Brass Crown* are of major significance in having effected social change. Both calypsos exposed disparity and had helped to restore dignity and strengthen solidarity among calypsonians, bandleaders, steelbandsmen and masqueraders. These undertakings helped to heighten public awareness, change perspective about the essential ingredients of carnival, and improve conditions at future competitions.

Brass Crown
Yes, a calypsonian
Needs more consideration
Yes, a calypsonian
Needs more consideration
You got the Carnival Queen Competition
And the King Calypsonian
Well, the Queen getting everything
And nothing goes to the Calypso King

They take the Calypso King
To make a pappy show
He gets a couple dollars
And a million pat on his shoulders
What he gets, my friends, is rather small
It less than nothing at all
But the Queen only puts herself in spot
And after that she becomes a real big shot

The Carnival Committee
Should check up on this thing seriously
We cause the tourist to come here
They making thousands of dollars per year
Well Trinidad is known anywhere you go
To be the land of Calypso
And no part of the Caribbean
Is known as the land of Carnival Queen

She gets refrigerators
Machines, radios and even motor cars
Sometimes a Simmons bed
And all the King get is a brass crown on his head
Lord Superior

The verses of *Carnival Boycott* also outlined reasons for the boycott, and, according to Gordon Rohlehr (2007), "emphasize the importance of the essential ingredients of carnival and so appeal to the collective psyche of the people." The text reads,

Carnival Boycott
I am going to play mas' as usual
Because I love Carnival
I am going to play mas' as usual
Because I love Carnival
But no competition for me
In San Fernando or the city
They could preach Peter or Paul
I won't even go Savannah to see football.

The Calypsonians with the talent
Hardly getting a cent
I think it's overbearing
So now give me a hearing;
Calypso is the root of Carnival
Steelband is the foot of Carnival
Without Calypso, no road march could beat
Without Steelband, I'll bet you don't move your feet

I intend to keep all my costume
on the shelf
Let them keep the prizes in the Savannah
for they own self
Let the Queen run the show
Without Steelband and Calypso *2nd time (With she fridge and she radio)*
Who want to go can go up dey
But me ain't going no way.
The Mighty Sparrow

The chorus expresses the intent of the calypsonian, draws attention to the absurdity of carnival without its essential ingredients and beckons followers to join in solidarity.

Notice how the prizes offered are cleverly itemized with the interjection of an alternate fourth line in the last chorus; a ploy used by the calypsonian to downplay their value and at the same time remind his audience of the degree of disparity that had been extant between the purses of the Calypso King Competition and the Carnival Queen Show.

A greater sense of devaluation and anger is transmitted when one listens to the expressive tone in which Sparrow communicates his message in song, and especially when one sees his facial expressions and physical gestures of indignation during live performance. This type of internalization, is what Patton referred to as 'situational influences, the creation of layers of meaning through the symbolic action of performance'. (The reader is referred to a recorded rendition of *Calypso Boycott* which can be found on the LP *Calypso Madness*, vol. 2.)

With *Calypso Boycott* Sparrow won the historical alternative Calypso King Show held at the Globe Theatre, an event which, according to Gordon Rohlehr (1990), "questioned the legitimacy of the Calypso King competition at the Savannah" (p.454).

"The acclaim that singing *Carnival Boycott* won Sparrow", Rohlehr added,

> was intense and spontaneous, because the song was a precise summary of the position taken/or at least threatened by the Bandleaders for over a decade. (ibid. p. 451)

Sparrow's timely emergence during the mid-fifties initiated yet another wave of innovation in the evolution of calypso music in regard to stage performance, composition, orchestral sound and dance. His singing prowess, the lyrical and musical quality and scope of his calypsos, the relevance of his calypsos and the characters they highlighted, the 'cock man' reputation he constructed, the dynamism and quality of his performances, and his shrewd business sense distanced him from his field very early in his career and are of major importance. At the height of his career the times had been characterized by socio-political vertigo because of the negative inter-ethnic and inter island stereotypes, and by tensions that had become extant during the post-war years. Also, Trinidad had become the center stage for the drive towards Federation and Independence, major events that were sentinels of the era of 'deconstruction'. The two predominant ethnic groups in Trinidad, Afro-Trinidadians and Indo-Trinidadians, would become more deeply entangled in intragroup relations of a more complex nature. Already engaged with each other in a struggle for political dominance and socio-economic equilibrium, they were now being called upon to unite under the banners of West Indian unity, and nationhood. This is precisely what Pratt (1992) was referring to when she made the statement about sites of encounters where "previously separated people enter into and establish relations, often antagonistically, usually unequally". Solidarity between these two contingents is further discussed in chapter 4 below in the context of socialization.

The era of 'deconstruction' or dismantling would envelop the remaining part of the twentieth century and extend into the contemporary period paralleling the Mighty Sparrow's career. Calypso music would continue to be both an object and an instrument of change because of

the nature and intent of the calypsos being composed, and because of the continued repression being leveled against it. Many calypsos of that era inspired a spirit of nationalism characteristic of National Anthems, and had been used to bring about greater social unity, repair negative images, construct positive ones, promote local industry, reignite public awareness, and sway opinion. The calypsos symbolically articulated notions of social text referred to by Patton (1994, p. 56) through their interaction with specific Trinidadian audiences that were collectively focused on nationhood.

Summarization of the events outlined by the historical accounts just perused reveals that:

- From the point of entry of the white French plantocracy onward well into the period of British Crown colony rule, Africans had represented more than half of the population of Trinidad.
- Division along class and racial lines had positioned the Negro at the bottom of the social ladder and under a yoke of social and cultural repression.
- Resistance toward such oppression was manifest among the oppressed by the use of Patois (French Creole) as a coded language—in the performance of banned practices, among them drumming and several associated dances (the bamboula, bongo and calinda), rituals (Orisha worship and wakes), the singing of specific types of songs (calindas and calypsos), and by physical confrontation (slave uprisings, and subsequent acts of rebellion).
- The French settlers had had a tradition of costumed street parading but had begun assimilation of elements of African cultural expression.
- Even though Europeans had debarred African slaves from participation in their exclusively elite carnival festivities it was the slaves and their descendants who emerged as the main contributors to the development of indigenous music, carnival music and new musical instruments.
- The indigenous music which evolved, the calypso, had inherited features such as redress, double entendure, piquant insult, and confrontational and intimidating delivery from its ancestral counterpart the calinda.

The historical accounts have also revealed that the authorities had recognized the potential that calypso performance had via its rhetoric and its relationship with dance. Calypsos could be used to promote the ideology of the British Empire, and to support propaganda campaigns against their enemies and rivals, and to promote local industry. The authorities had also realized that the subversive potential of this musical rhetoric was enhanced when combined with dance and certain instruments (the drum and trumpet). They had recognized too the threat it posed to their security for it could be used publicly or in private assembly to lift the spirit of the masses: ignite public awareness, sway public opinion and incite rebellion, as

demonstrated decades later when the idiom was used to construct positive idealized images, repair negative ones and inspire nationalism. As noted earlier "state powers, in their effort to consolidate their rule, have always tried to suppress self-expression, especially when it is articulated through the cultural manifestation of the masses" (St. John, 1996).

In spite of constant efforts to censor African dance and control the lyrics of the songs, and the successive institution of increasingly harsher measures to limit the transmission of Afrocentric culture, calypso music had continued to be a main voice of open resistance; had remained one of the main vehicles by which ties with the cultural past were procured and transmitted; had remained integral to the daily activities of the Jamette sector and the social institutions within its grassroots community. Over time, as those activities and social institutions became socialized, calypso music and its associated practices acquired mainstream acceptance and ambivalence toward it as an Afro-Trinidadian cultural expression began to diminish. The acceptance of the calypso and the steel drum was partially attributable to involvement by members of the middle-class. This represents another example of the 'winning over' effect outlined by identity theory and will be discussed in chapter 3. It is reminiscent of the plight of ragtime music and its acceptance in the United States. As informed by Campbell (2006), "Ragtime was the first African-American music that looked on paper the way it sounded in performance" (p. 45). In addition, it was being performed by musically trained musicians such as Scott Joplin and James Reece Europe at a time when there had been a need for music to accompany high-society ballroom dancing. Ragtime gained entry into that arena only after it had been introduced by Vernon and Irene Castle, a 'respectable,' renowned white husband and wife dance-team.

Based on the historical evidence perused, the following two posits about attempts by the authorities to limit the function of the calypso genre and silence its voice have been embraced by this study: The calypso had been targeted by the authorities because

- it was a major cultural expression of the repressed masses, and
- it had been the loudest voice and the solitary public forum for redress in response to atrocities perpetrated by the authorities and disparity extant within society.

The calypso genre had been a cohesive force among the grass roots population, it eventually achieved similar status among opposing contingents during the unification of Trinidadian society, and it has maintained that status during nationhood. Further support of claims made in this chapter pertaining to the potential of calypsos of the era will be woven into later

discussion about the function of the calypso in Trinidadian society in chapter 4. I have cited a few calypsos whose titles alone make clear their intent in regard to unification, solidarity, identity, the awakening of social consciousness, and change. The Mighty Sparrow's *We All Is One, Wear Yuh [5]Balisier on Election Day* and *Federation,* The Mighty Shadow's *Unite African,* and Lord Melody's *What the Queen Face Doing on My Money,* Sniper's *Portrait of Trinidad*, and Black Stalin's *Caribbean Man*, were of that milieu.

The study so far has identified the Jamette sector of society, predominantly Negroes, as being the creators and curators of the calypso, an indigenous music form of Trinidad. In the next chapter the study will attempt to pinpoint the ancestral origin or origins of the genre.

[5]The Balisier is the common name by which the African hybrid *Heliconia balisier* of the Heliconiaceae family is known. It is of rhizome propagation, grows up to 5 to 12 inches tall, flowers after twelve months and blooms all year long. It was adopted as the floral emblem of the Peoples National Movement, the political party led by the first elected Prime Minister of the Trinidad, Dr. Eric Williams.

Chapter 2
Defining Calypso

In the absence of conclusive evidence that points to a singular ethnic source of origin, analysis is launched from the premise that calypso music is a product of the ethno-cultural mosaics found within the boundaries in which it emerged, was developed, and exists as various strains with features that are characteristic, sometimes unique to its host mosaic.

Etymology and Anthropology

So far efforts by researchers to establish the origin of calypso music as a definite song type have been inconclusive. The etymology of the term 'calypso' in reference to that song type has proven to be as equally mysterious and speculation remains divided among contributors. This chapter of the study will touch upon literature that speculates about these issues relative to the emergence and development of the song type on the island of Trinidad.

At one end of the discussion about origin Lamson (1957, p. 60) has reported the use of French melodic material in calypso, and Raphael De Leon aka The Roaring Lion (1987) has argued in *Calypsos from France to Trinidad: 800 Years of History,* that the genre was given the pseudonym 'calypso' some time in 1900, and derives from French 'ballade' created in 1295. He has also publicly asserted that, there is no evidence to support the claim that it is either a variant of African folk songs or that it was invented by African slaves in Trinidad. Having dismissed this belief as purely speculative he [De Leon] has further suggested that only since Trinidad's Black Power revolt in 1970 has there been a desire to stress calypso music's African roots (anonymous informants).

In the verses of *Land of Calypso,* he discusses ambiguity concerning the origin of the song genre, in the words of Gordon Rohlehr (1990), "with wry sarcasm and mezzo-comedic wit."

> **Land of Calypso**
> *People are interested*
> *To know where calypso originated*
> *People are interested*
> *To know where calypso originated*
> *Some say it came from Cuba*
> *Some say British Guyana*
> *Some contend seriously*
> *It was sung by Moses*

Crossing the Red Sea

It was a serious contention
That was causing some real confusion
Some said it's Japanese
Or the folksong of ancient Chinese
A fellow said he is certain
Delilah used to sing calypso to Sampson
One said he heard when Nero
Was burning Rome he sang calypso

Excitement reached such a tempo
When I said that the calypso
Is an ancient French ballad
That was adapted by Trinidad
A fellow said if you please,
it was sung by Espinosa and Socrates
And Hannibal sang a calypso
When crossing the Alps to meet Scipio…

One said that in India
They sung calypso when charming cobra
Another said that Elijah
Sang calypso in the chariot of fire
They argued with one another
Trying to find out the owner
They mention every country
All but the land of La Trinity

But Ah told them…
No, no, oh no,
Trinidad is the land of Calypso (Repeat)

The Roaring Lion

Mathews (1942, p. 91-93), cited by Crowley (1959), also located the roots of calypso in medieval French chansons and has pointed to the etymology of the French word 'carouse' – to debauch, and its Creole derivatives cariso, calyso, cayiso to refer to topical pillard[6] songs of French Martinique (p. 59). Such song types are mentioned as well in the works of Lafcadio Hearn and of Cable in reference to Creole Louisiana and the West Indies. Krehbiel (1914) has informed us that,

> On the plantations where Latin influences were dominant, in New Orleans and the urban communities of the Antilles, the satirical song was greatly in vogue. It might be said that the

[6] Pillard (Cr. Piya) - topical songs of Martinique and New Orleans rendered in Creole. Like calypsos, they were piquant, malicious, and satirical and also believed to have derived from French medieval chansons.

> use of the song for purposes of satire cannot be said to be peculiar to any one race or people or time. (p. 140)

Krehbiel (1914) has cited Henry T. Fowler who intimates the possibility of a parallel between the "taunt songs" of primitive peoples, triumph songs of the Israelites, Fescennine verses of the early Romans, and the satirical songs of the Negroes of the West Indies. In opposition to De Leon, Krehbiel has stated that,

> There is scarcely a doubt in my mind, but that the penchant for musical lampooning which is marked among the black creoles of the Antilles is more a survival of a primitive practice brought by their ancestors from Africa than a custom borrowed from their masters. What was borrowed was the occasion which gave the practice license. This was the carnival; which fact explains the circumstance that the Creole songs of satire are much more numerous in the French West Indies than in Louisiana. The songs are not only more numerous, but their performance is more public and more malicious in intent. (p. 144)

At yet another tangent of the discussion, musicologists are agreed that musical aspects of modern calypso derive in large part from Spain and Spanish-American sources. As informed by Crowley (1959, p. 59), the word *calipso*, "an old Venezuelan/Spanish term for a topical song in the highlands along the Spanish Main," has been ascribed to refer to the genre.

Errol Hill (1972) has pointed to songs of praise and derision akin to commentary calypsos and extant among contemporary Hausa populations in northern Nigeria. Since a significantly large number of Hausa-speaking Africans were part of West Indian slave traffic he has presented support for the likelihood of an African root.

> Hausa is the language of the largest tribal group in Nigeria, and is prevalent in the northern region of the country. It is also, very probably, the most widely used West African language, since it is spoken by various tribes throughout the interior regions of coastal states from Nigeria to Senegal. (p. 61)

Hill (1972) has additionally cited the dictionary definition presented by Bargery that locates the words kaito and kaico in the Hausa language.

> An exclamation expressing great feeling on hearing distressing news: Alas! What a pity! Ba ka da kaito, you will get no sympathy; you deserve no pity; it serves you right. (Cited by Hill, p. 61)

The French equivalent of the Hausa words kaito and kaico, 'sans humanité' meaning without pity, first appeared in the calypso *1900 Masquerade Calipso* published in the Feb. 27th *Port of Spain Gazette*. During its transition from French to Creole the phrase 'sans humanité' degenerated phonetically to 'sanimanité', a typical occurrence during the transformation of words from 'mother tongue' to syncretic language, or from one syncretic language to another.

Along with the terms extempore (truncated to extempo by the man in the street) and picong, sans humanité has come to be the name associated with a specific genre of bravado and heckling calypso developed from the boastful calinda songs that accompanied stick fighting. Further discussion about the sans humanité calypso strain is continued later on in this chapter.

It appears quite likely that the word kaiso as it has come to be used in Trinidad could have also been the result of phonetic mutation during transmission by oral tradition. It could have undergone as well an alteration in connotation caused by substitution or translation as the term meandered between ethnicities from one language to another.

Hill (1967, p. 360) has cited the *Port of Spain Gazette* of January 20th 1900 as the earliest published source of the word 'kaiso' and has reported alternate spellings used in the press. Included among those spellings are callypsos in 1902, callyso(e)s in 1911, and cariso and careso in 1912. He has additionally cited Raymond Quevedo's (1962, 1964) manuscript in which Quevedo (Atilla the Hun) wrote,

> Kaiso was used to describe the song when sung as well as a means of expressing ecstatic satisfaction over what was in the opinion of the audience a particular excellent kaiso…Throughout the years I have heard the word kaiso, caliso, rouso and wouso, and finally, calypso in that order. (ibid., p. 359-367)

Citing Krehbiel (1914, p. 143), and Van Dam (1954, p. 7), Crowley (1959) has referenced the following statement,

> Regardless of the origin of the word calypso, there can be little doubt that the aspects of topicality, allusion, and improvisation in calypso derive from Africa. (Cited by Crowley, p. 59)

He has additionally cited Herskovits (1947, p. 317) who stated that: "This musical complex can be regarded as nothing less than a retention of the purest type."

Hill informs about West African influences on the ritual and popular music of Trinidad through connections between Afro-Caribbean rituals and the development of popular culture:

> These rituals are a playing out of ethnic heritages, social norms, and class and caste relationships through the act of ritual behavior itself. The partial secularization of these ideals into Creole celebrations took place in the development of eighteenth-century belairs in Carriacou, in the rise of the middle-class carnival in Trinidad beginning in the late nineteenth-century, and in the commercial recordings of a whole array of popular music and dances in Cuba early in the twentieth-century. Today, many Creoles in the Caribbean define themselves through the sometimes island wide festivals that in part are metamorphosed from the Afro-Caribbean rituals. And the process is ongoing from the afrocubanismo movement in the 1920s to the creolization of some of the people of Asian Indian decent in Trinidad through their participation in Carnival. (Hill, 1998, p. 199)

Pearse (1955) investigated the transmissions of musical norms on the group of islands including Trinidad, Tobago, Grenada and Carriacou. The numbers and corresponding song categories were gathered from his 1948-1954 fieldwork titled *Folk Music Types of Trinidad and Tobago.* It has drawn a picture of the folk music of Trinidad and appears in the *Journal of the International Folk Music Council* (7, 1955, p. 29-36). It was used as a source of reference against which the strains of calypso analyzed were compared in order to uncover instances of transmission. The reader is encouraged to browse it for further enlightenment. As informed by Elder, Pearse wrote,

> Having excluded East Indian, and purely super structural music, Pearse et. al. listed thirty-one different kinds of music in the area, calling them by local name, and the conditions of execution shared by participants in social institutions. (Cited by Elder, 1969, p. 2)
>
> As Calypso became established in connection with the Port of Spain Carnival, first as a nightly pre-Carnival rehearsal of the masqueraders of individual bands with their Chantwells, and later as a public performance on a commercial basis, it drew upon the musical content of a variety of rural social institutions (5, 7, 11, 13, 16, 18, 20, 23) [Kalenda-Trinidad (Tr.) & Grenada (Gr.), Bele-Grenada, Bongo-Tobago (T.), Pass-Play-Cuba (C.), Tr., T., & Gr., Reel Dance-Tobago, Sankeys and Trumpets-C., Tr., T., & Gr., Fandang-Trinidad, and Reel Engage-Cuba, respectively], setting the melodic schemes of these items in its own basic rhythm. (Pearse, 1955, p. 35)

Parallel chronological research for possible sources of influence first led to the native Amerindians, for a long time believed to be Caribs, but now thought to be Arawaks. In an attempt to resolve the matter of mistaken identity Elder has advanced the following argument and has cited information reported by Rouse (1951, p. 11):

> In keeping on the side of those best qualified to speak upon the question of the identity of Trinidad's first inhabitants, we should realize that whether Columbus did encounter Caribs in Trinidad or not, the finds from several kitchen-middens in Trinidad would lead us to conclude that while Trinidad's first people were Amerindians, they were some tribe other than Carib. In conclusion I quote Rouse on this matter. (Elder, 1969, p. 3)
>
> Dudley and his captain, Wayatt, both recorded brief vocabularies on Trinidad in 1594-5 which Warner has identified as Arawak (Dudley and others, 1899, p. 65; 78- 79). Brinton (1871, p. 435), lists another short vocabulary "obtained by Belgian explorers" in 1598 and similarly identified it as Arawak…the local Indians resemble culturally those of the adjacent mainland rather than the insular Carib. Las Casas states specifically (1951/3, p. 186) *that they cannot be considered Carib*.
>
> Summarizing, we may conclude that none of the Indian tribes of Trinidad was Carib in any of the senses in which that term has been used. On the other hand, none except the south-western tribe was Arawak either. If, however, we admit any of the European meanings of the term, then all of the Indians on the island have to be considered Arawak. (Cited by Elder, 1963, p. 3)

Elder (1969) has additionally related that Alan Lomax's 1940s Caribbean-wide research project to document indigenous folk musics "has not unearthed any such strains in Trinidad

repertories" (p. 3). In support of his own statement that "the loss of native culture outran the decline of the Indian population," Elder has cited the following commentary by Harry Dow:

> During the years 1600 to 1800 their (the Aroucas) natural spirit faded away and their arts became lost to them. By 1783, the Indian population numbered only 2,000, while in 1797 it had declined by half; today, there cannot be more than a handful. (Cited by Elder, 1969, p. 3)

The decline of the Amerindian population in Trinidad and the Caribbean in general is mainly attributed to "reduction", the systematic decimation of indigenous peoples by colonizers who, in this case were mainly the Spaniards. According to Elder (1969),

> These arguments are mentioned not only to establish the identity of the first Trinidadians, but also to clear up the doubt in the minds of scholars about the extent to which the folk music of Trinidad contains elements of Carib music…it seems very unlikely that Trinidad's traditional music as it stands today has retained any but the slightest trace of aboriginal Indian music let alone Carib music. (p. 3)

In the absence of Amerindian musical artifacts, the second ethnic group encountered on the island of Trinidad comes into view. The figures in the following table reflect the place of birth of Hispanic immigrants in Trinidad and in the British Caribbean at the time of the British West Indian Census of 1946. According to Elder however,

> These figures do not include people of Spanish descent born in Trinidad and maintaining Spanish or neo-Hispanic cultural customs. There was possible addition of 1,532 persons to the white population who brought with them to Trinidad a total of 33, 322 slaves, these figures according to Carr (1964, p. 36-56), were calculated in the absence of accurate figures. (1969, p. 5)

Place of Birth	British Caribbean	Trinidad & Tobago
Brazil	**266**	**67**
Other South America	**168**	**96**
Venezuela	**3,729**	**3,146**
Cuba	**285**	**60**
Panama and Canal Zone	**1,475**	**301**

Fig. 14: Persons enumerated at the British West Indian Census of 1946 (Aol.com/aol.image)

As can be readily seen, the Venezuelan contingent by far outnumbered the other contingents. However, the figures do not suggest that the numbers among the contingents is the standard by which Venezuelan musical influence on the island has been measured. It has been

generally accepted though that Hispanic musical influence in early Trinidad folksong was injected by Venezuelan laborers and by Negro migrants traveling between Trinidad and other countries along the Spanish Main during the early nineteenth century. Elder (1969) has reiterated however that,

> The folk music of predominantly Latin type in Trinidad may be deemed absolutely to have been contributed by Venezuelans. In fact, analysis of this music and its comparison with Venezuelan music carried out by Lomax with Cantometric measurement traits have shown that the Trinidad type of Latin music is definitely a part of the larger South American Latin musical cycle which stretches into Central America. (p. 5)

The two most defining rhythmic features that have been identified among duple-metered musical examples of music of Latin persuasion in Trinidad and several other islands of the Caribbean are the *tresillo* and the *cinquillo*. The *tresillo* (from Sp. *tres*), is the more basic form of the *habanera* and refers to a rhythmic grouping of three accents. It often appears in melodies but is more commonly used as a bass line. In the figure 16 transcription it serves both functions. The *cinquillo* (from Sp. *cinco*) or as it is commonly called the clave is the main pulse of Salsa and many other genres of Latin music. It refers to a rhythmic grouping of five accents. It appears both as melodic rhythm and as rhythmic pulse.

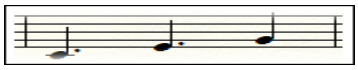


Fig. 15a: Example 1 The Tresillo

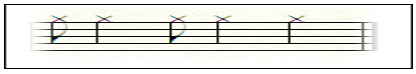


Fig. 15b: Example 2 The Cinquillo, both transcribed by the author.

Matilda

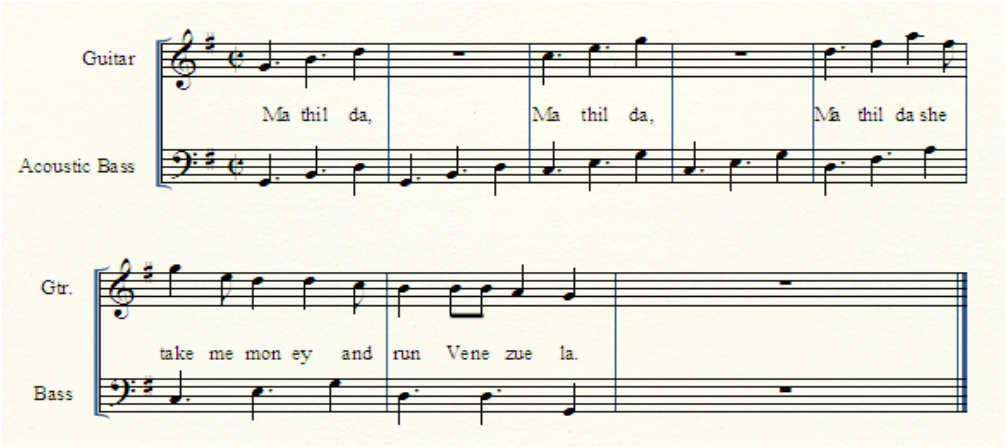


Fig. 16: Example 3, transcribed by the author.

The transcription in figure 17 below is an illustration of *palo de mayo* music. The main rhythmic features that are readily noticeable in the example are based on the cinquillo.

They appear as functions of the percussion and are also present in the melody line in the fourth measure and repeatedly between measures 9 through 16.

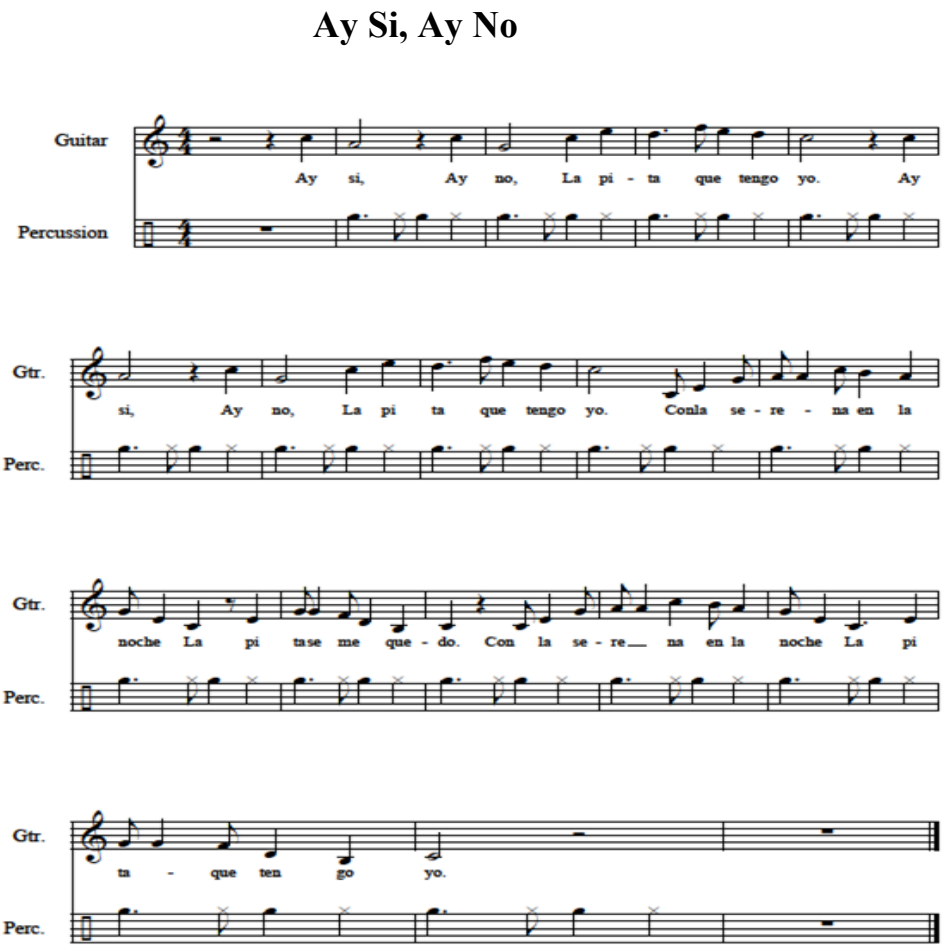


Fig. 17: Example 4, transcribed by the author.

Palo de Mayo music and its accompanying dance have been part of the Afro-Caribbean cultural heritage of Nicaragua, Belize, Honduras and Panama. The dance was originally intended to welcome rain but has over time, become increasingly sensual.

The cinquillo is also featured in the melody of a popular Trinidadian folksong *Bring Bach Meh Coverlet*, and is demonstrated by the iambic pentameter of that title and more so by the lyric "*Go down to Scarborough*" that outlines the chorus.

Other features (nasal vocal texture, vocal and instrumental performing style, instrumentation and language) are still present in music of Latin persuasion that has survived in Trinidad in rural districts such as Lopinot, Tamana and Blanchisseuse. Those districts had been established as main agricultural regions before British intervention, and were planter communities made up predominantly of Spanish and French-speaking laborers from Venezuela and Santo Domingo (present day Haiti and the Dominican Republic).

Musical examples can be referenced in the *aguinaldos*, like *Sereno-Sereno* for example, of Daisy Voisin, and in the repertoires of *parang* ensembles such as Las Estrellas and The Penta Serenaders. *O Belen*, popular during the 1950's and 1960's is another example. Both *aguinaldos* and *parang* are performed around Christmas time in several Latin-American countries.

The strong dominant 6/8 feel perceived upon listening to songs of these genres is emphasized by the Venezuelan *cuatro* which traditionally supplies the main rhythmic and harmonic pulse. *parang* (*parranda*) songs are of Venezuelan origin and are usually rendered unaltered but are often blended with calypso rhythms and so sometimes exhibit more of a duple than triple meter pulse. Scuunter's *Ah Want a Piece of Pork* falls under the latter category. Others, like *Tire La* found in the repertoire of Olive Walk's choral group La Petite Musicale, have worked their way into the pantheon of Trinidad folksongs.

Among other popular Latin music forms and dance styles that had been assimilated into Trinidadian culture were the bolero, the Venezuelan waltz (*castillan*), and the *joropo*.

The *joropo*, like the *aguinaldo*, is performed in triple meter, but in keeping with the polyrhythmic feature of African influenced rhythms, it has retained a more frenetic rhythmic feel. Renditions such as *Mi Burrito Sabanero*, *Garifuna Nuguya*, *Pa Maite*, the meringues of Juan Louis Guerra *La Travesia* and *Bilirrubina*, and some of the songs recorded by Strings on two audiocassettes titled Tropical Moods, are also representative of the music style and sound under discussion.

The music of the Venezuelan harpist Hugo Blanco had been quite popular as dance music in Trinidad during the late 1950's and 1960's. It sounds similar to music of the *parranda* and Garifuna variety; music recorded several decades later by the Haitian ensemble, Strings; music used to accompany *maypole* or *palo de mayo* dancing; and many other music forms belonging to the *musica criollo* strand.

Additional features of Latin influence can be observed in calypsos such as *Maria, Gloria* and *Slave*, calypso ballads that were influenced by the bolero and cha-cha-cha styles that had come into vogue in Trinidad during the 1920's.

In *Maria*, constant repetition of staccato trumpet lines accompanied by an obvious bass line and insistent percussive accents by the bongos outline the rhythmic pulse of the cha-cha-cha style. Call and response structure is established between the lead vocal and the trumpet and so traces of African influence are also retained.

Maria

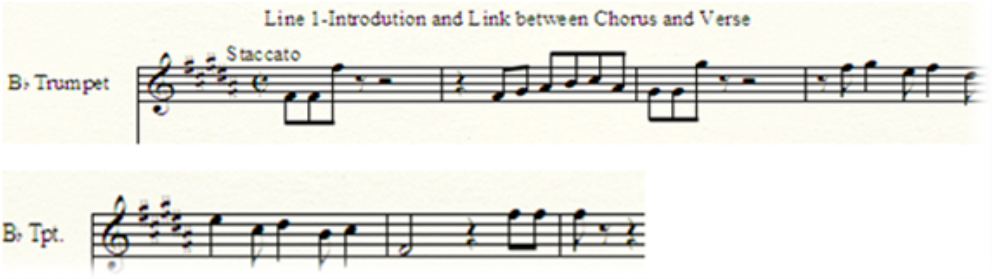


Fig. 18a: Example 5 Introduction - Trumpet Line # 1, transcribed by the author.

Maria

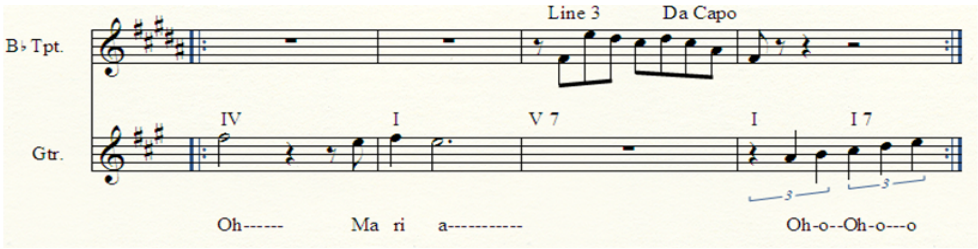


Fig. 18b: Example 6 Response - Trumpet Line # 2, transcribed by the author.

Maria

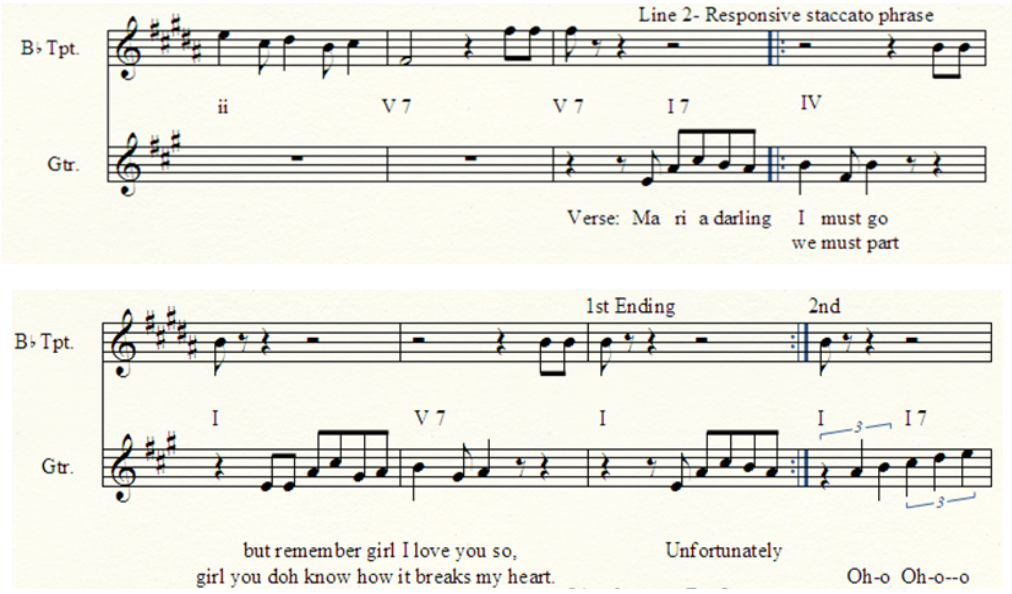


Fig. 18c: Example 7 Response - Trumpet Line # 3, transcribed by the author.

Gloria is a plaintive melody written in a minor key but the band chorus separating the chorus from the verse is written in its relative major key. This is established by the dominant chord outlined by the melody in the last measure of the band chorus.

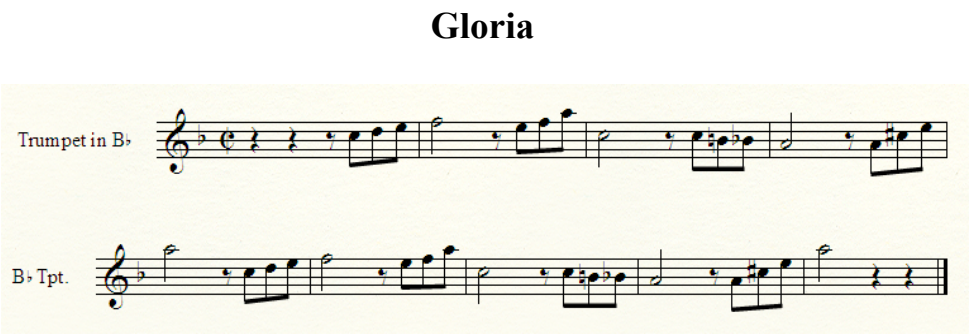


Fig. 19a: Example 8 Band Chorus, transcribed by the author.

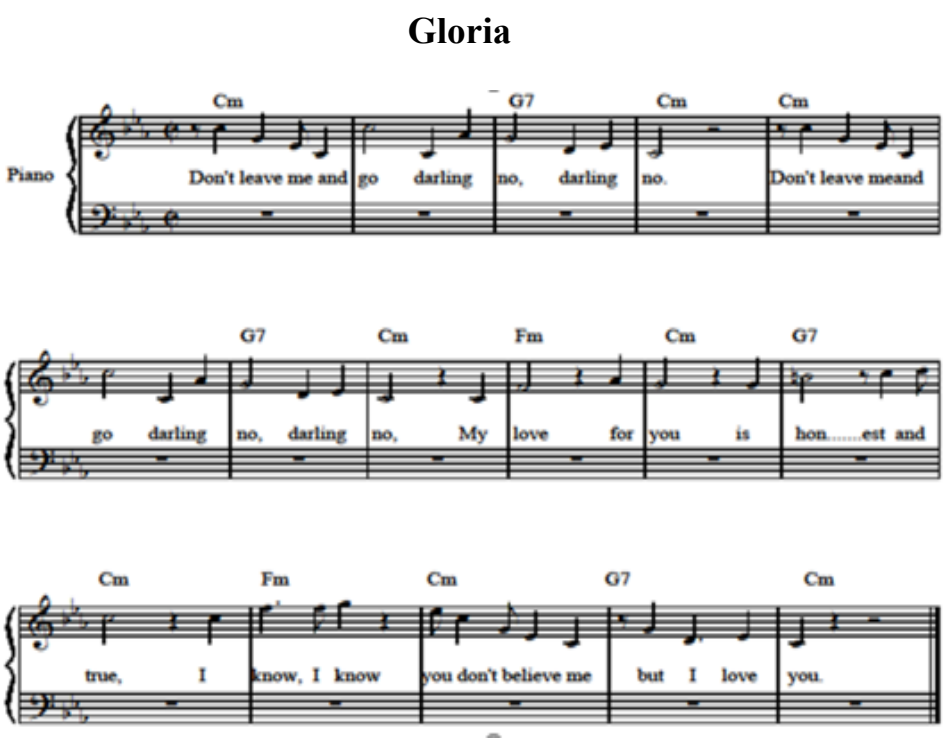


Fig. 19b: Example 9 Verse, transcribed by the author.

Slave, like *Gloria*, is a plaintive minor key calypso. In the original rendition its melody is embedded in Afro/Bolero rhythms and the saxophone passages are mournfully and languidly rendered matching the lead voice and echoed by the male background chorus. In similar fashion to *Gloria*, there is a temporary key shift from tonic minor to relative major and back again to tonic minor i.e. from the key of A minor via its lowered VII 7 (G 7) which constitutes the dominant seventh (V7) chord of C major, the key of temporary destination before returning to A minor via its dominant chord E 7. This harmonic device occurs in measures 4 through 9. Whether it was a style of arranging peculiar to a particular arranger or era or whether it was a preference of the artiste or songwriter requires further investigation.

Further analysis of this composition reveals a subtle i-V7 (D minor to A7) chordal accompaniment during its verses and a bridge constructed from a melodic couplet leading to

the chorus via an (a-b) progression: (a) iv-i-V7-i I7, (b) iv-i V7- i V7. Also, the stanzas which are grouped in pairs are separated by the popular Andalusian harmonic retrograde (i-bVII-VI-V7) making the rendition reminiscent of a subdued interpretation of the dramatic flamenco.

Slave

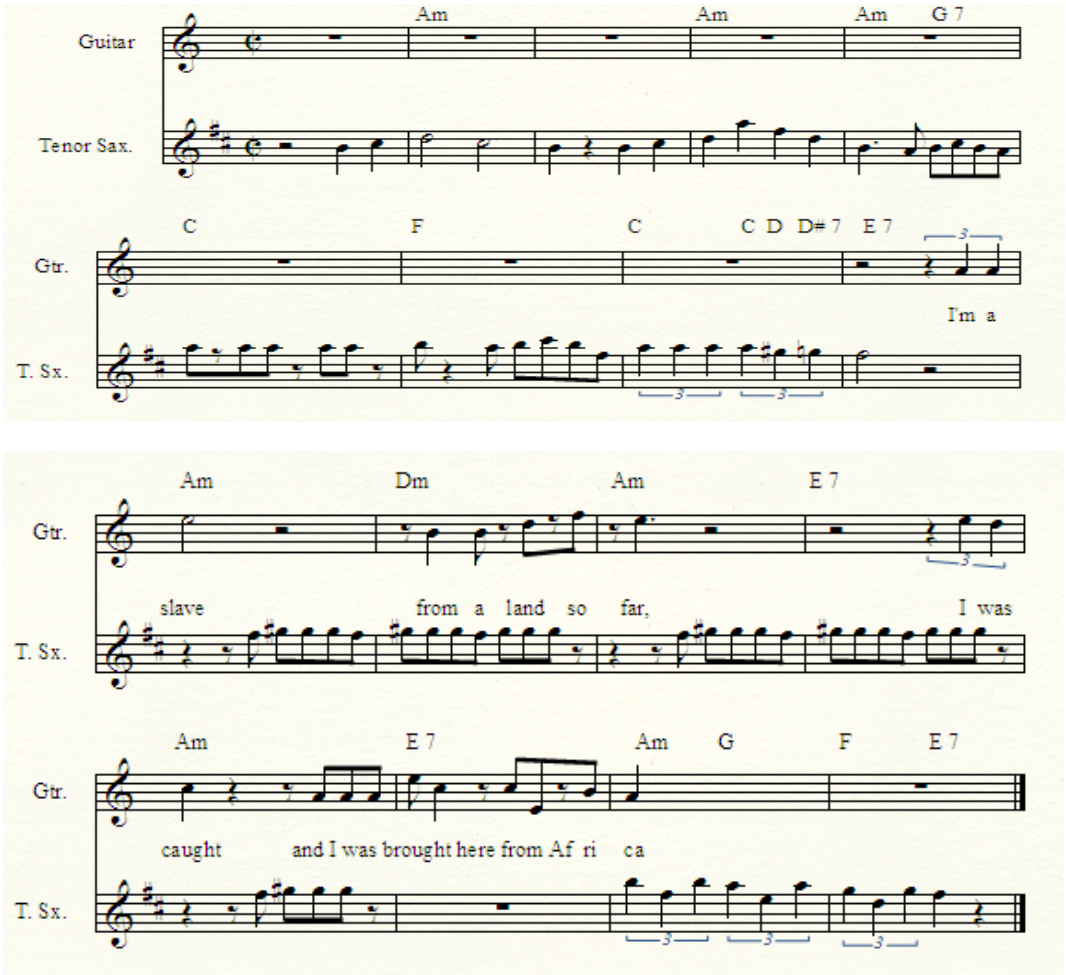


Fig. 20a: Example 10 Introduction and Partial Verse, transcribed by the author.

Upon listening to audio recordings of the songs during scrutiny of the transcriptions, it became quite evident that *Gloria* and *Slave* exhibit some of the nuances of African retention discussed by Gibbons (1994) and referenced below on page 86 of this work. Such nuances are reflected by the mood created by the vocal rendition and instrumental style, and particularly by the tonality of the minor key and resonance of the melodies, especially those that outline the laments.

Slave

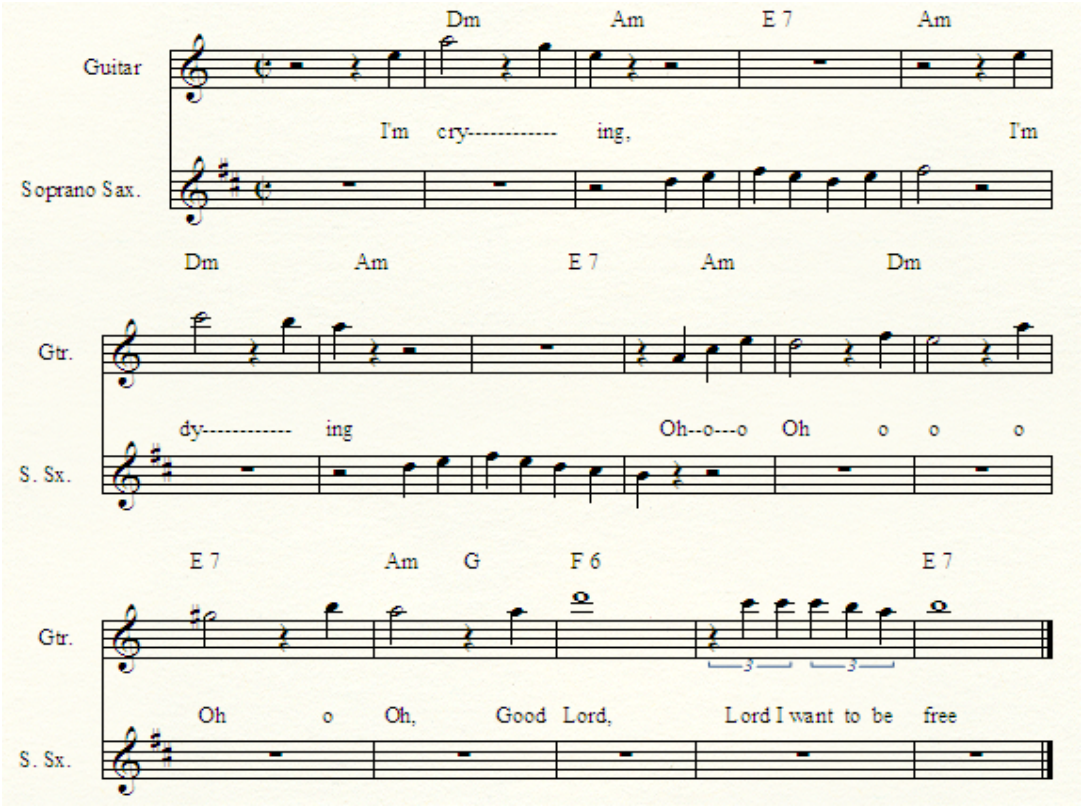


Fig. 20b: Example 11 Lament, transcribed by the author.

Aural scrutiny of the music forms perused revealed similarities in terms of melodic, rhythmic and harmonic structure, instrumentation, and sound between the music forms of Trinidad and those extant in several countries throughout the Caribbean and the Americas.

The foregoing commonalities suggest then that the depository of music forms extant in those regions had been an amalgam of musical artifacts of arrivants to the 'New World' from the period after the arrival of the first foreign settlers in the latter part of the fifteenth century onward. Analysis has further indicated that in general the dominant ingredients were of African, Hispanic, and to a lesser degree, French influence.

Because of the lack of evidence of musical artifacts of the indigenous Amerindians, the discussion so far has focused on syncretism of music forms of European and African persuasion. As noted by Elder (1969) and referenced on preceding pages of this study, no evidence of aboriginal musical artifacts has been found. Further inquiry about music of earlier Caribbean influences pertinent to the island of Trinidad has not been made either.

However, the lack of evidence of music or musical artifacts pertaining to the Amerindians should not necessarily discount them as being a source of musical influence on the earlier music of Trinidad. The history and culture of the Garifuna people for instance, may well provide possible evidence of some musical linkage in regard to Amerindian influence.

The Garifuna or Black Caribs as they have come to be known were escaped African slaves who had survived a 1635 shipwreck, and had intermarried within the Caribs and Arawaks tribes of the upper (Northern) Lesser Antilles. The fact that intermarriage between the two contingents did not take place in the southern islands of Trinidad, Dominica or St. Vincent does not necessarily preclude the possibility of transmission of Carib musical or linguistic influence on those islands either. Exiled from the region by the British around 1796 and sent further south to the island of Roatan, the Garifuna later settled along coastal Belize, Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala. As indicated earlier in this discussion, the music forms of those Central American countries represent a vast repository of Afro-Caribbean cultural heritage. The features that link the music of that region to other genres of the *musica criollo* pantheon are quite evident - rhythm, sound, performing style, dance movements, ethnicity, instrumentation, topicality, jargon and language.

A close relationship between the rhythmic and melodic features exhibited in the Trinidad calypso and other music forms that have been identified as belonging to the *musica criollo* variety has already been demonstrated. On further cursory analysis, the Garifuna music strain *punta* is perceived to be a sped up version of the *aguinaldo* and *parranda*. Such connections may provide links and are indications for future research. The Garifuna have retained ancestral Amerindian and Central and West African socio-cultural roots, among them food preparation, language, and certain aspects of music and dance performance. Perhaps musical features of Carib influence could be traced through comparison between their vocabulary and speech and dance patterns, and those of other existing Carib settlements throughout the Caribbean.

In regard to the impact of immigration by other ethnic groups on Trinidadian society, it has been chronicled that the influx of English-speaking settlers, begun in 1797 once Trinidad had become a British colony, had impacted society on various levels. Discussion about Anglo-linguistic influences relative to music production is initiated in chapter 1, beginning on page 52. The 1845 exodus of Asiatics, resulting from the refusal by Negroes to work on the plantations after Emancipation in 1838, did introduce yet another wave of assimilation. However, although the East Indians and Chinese had been present in significant numbers

they did not initially engage in mainstream musical exchange directly upon arrival or for a long period of time afterward. Due to on-going exodus among ethnicities, and social intercourse between ethnic contingents, syncretism and assimilation had been simultaneously in process at several junctions along the slave route. It stands to reason therefore that the socio-cultural landscape of the region would have been in a process of constant change and that there would be similarities among the cultural artifacts deposited at several junctions. This is evidenced by the similarities among the various music strains and dances found in the region discussed, the region which includes the Caribbean, New Orleans, and Central and South America. Donald R. Hill (1998) has reported on the impact of the arrival of vast numbers of foreign settlers and on the demography and socio-cultural landscape of the island of Trinidad, stating that,

> During the last decades of the Spanish era, two decrees enabled Catholic Creoles…to settle in Trinidad with their slaves in such numbers that they established what was to be the rural culture of the island, at least until the arrival of Asian Indians after full Emancipation in 1838. Thus, in the nineteenth century, the British ruled over a heterogeneous society whose dominant culture was Afro-French. (p. 189)

The table in figure 21 below lists the dominant nation groups that have inhabited Trinidad and the approximate time of their arrival. It facilitates a chronology of possible sources of ethnic influence that may have further impacted assimilation and syncretism during the period discussed.

Ethnicity	Approximate time of entry
Spanish	**Late fifteenth century 1498**
African	**Late fifteenth century 1501**
French	**Late eighteenth century 1783**
British	**Late eighteenth century 1797**
East Indian	**Middle nineteenth century 1845**

Fig. 21: Predominant ethnicities and time of arrival to Trinidad (Compiled by the author from historical documentation)

Acquired from Elder (1969, p. 7), the following table reflects the ethnic makeup in Trinidad just over a century later.

Race	Male	Female

Negro	**176,380**	**182,208**
White	**7,873**	**7,845**
East Indian	**153,043**	**48,903**
Chinese	**4,709**	**3,652**
Lebanese, Syrians	**824**	**766**
Mixed	**65,178**	**69,571**
Other	**3,404**	**3,310**
Race not stated	**169**	**122**

Fig. 22: The 1960 population of Trinidad and Tobago (The 1960 Central Statistical Office-CSO Report)

After Emancipation, on-going arrival of significant numbers of various ethnic contingents enhanced retention, as was the case with arrivants from the coastal areas of West Africa and India.

Certainly, several factors other than place of origin and the number of arrivants among contingents would have contributed to the degree to which assimilation and syncretism was being impacted then. For instance: the length of time the arrivants resided at locations before arrival in Trinidad and the impact of external influences they assimilated in those places; the date or dates of entry along the chronology; their demographic distribution upon arrival in Trinidad; the socio-political schema in place during their residence on the island; and participation by significant numbers of individual members and/or entire ethnic groups in mainstream music exchange. The fact that African immigration to Trinidad continued after slavery had been abolished presents a strong case for cultural persistence and transmission in the Caribbean, where retentions such as the ghouba, bamboula and calinda had been at the center of syncretism.

The emergence of calypso rhythms in the Caribbean can be traced back to the arrival of the first African slaves. Links have been made between calypso production and performance among Afro-West Indians throughout the Caribbean and earlier Afro-centric music genres that are explored within the scope of this study. Lamson (1957) for instance has stated that, “This music existed and does exist throughout the West Indies” (p. 12), and according to Van

Dam (1954), the calypso genre has been propagated within boundaries that "range from the Bahamas to the mainland of South America" (p. 7).

The calypsonian's use of calypsos to give information has been linked to the African griot's art of storytelling through music. The stories too that have been communicated by the calypsonian have provided means of transmission among Afro-Caribbean communities, and so the texts of calypsos and folksongs are in fact oral documents that have enabled transmission.

Liverpool (1990) has informed us that,

> The roots of the political calypso go back to the West African tradition of criticizing their leaders openly, through song and poetry. West African elders permitted that as a way of stabilizing the society, and as a result slaves on the plantation used songs mercilessly as a form of protest. (p. 41)

Quevedo (1983) has pointed to one of the earliest examples of song sung in African dialect and transmitted from the days of slavery. He writes, "Though having a religious slant it bears a resemblance in tempo and rhythm with what was known as the calinda or song used during the stick dance." The calinda, he informs, "was transported almost bodily into the kaiso and calinda melodies have been used for kaiso even without modification" (p. 6).

A few additional sources have been cited in order to support the above claims pertaining to retention of African traits in calypso music. Patton (1994) has pinpointed retention in *picong*, a "dimension of performance" that "can be traced back to the Trinidadian practice of calinda or dueling song" (p. 65). Also, he has cited Elder (1966), who described the development of calinda in relation to the game called by the French, *bois-bataille* (stick fight). By Elder's account,

> The Negroes engaged in stick fighting games, either during the rest periods on the estates, at evenings at the backyard, or publicly on holidays like Easter and Christmas day. Calinda singing was performed in the traditional African "call-chorus" style under a leader, to the accompaniment of drums and shac-shac. (Cited by Patton, ibid.)

Stick fighting itself was not unique to Africans or Afro-Trinidadians, but the singing of calinda songs during competition was. The songs were used to bolster and deride combatants during the event and their performance encompassed the transmission of African musical traits such as singing style, instrumentation, musical accompaniment and its accompanying dance style.

Gibbons (1994) has identified additional nuances of African retention in the singing style of the Growling Tiger. In his biography of the calypsonian he wrote,

> The mournful tone of the minor reaches beyond the 19th century kaiso to a nostalgia, a yearning that is at the root of the experience of the New World African. It is the same visceral loss that finds voice in black blues, in the wailing of Marley, in the pleas of the possessed asphyxiating between drums. Beyond the war-chants of the baytone [Fr. Batonierre-stick-fighter] and gayape [system of collective assistance practiced by African slaves] songs of the slaves Tiger's tone recall the despair of the passage. Looking back, it mourned the rupture from the homeland and looking ahead, it feared the worst. (p. 2)

The mournful minor tone and longing referred to by Gibbons find quintessential expression in several calypsos, particularly in *The Gold in Africa* (1936) sung by the Growling Tiger in response to Mussolini's 1935 invasion of Abyssinia (present day Ethiopia), and in the Mighty Sparrow's renditions of *Gloria* and *Slave*.

Crowley (1959), Fermor (1950) and others, as reported by Hill (1967, p. 359-367), have spoken of the "pervasive influence" of West African improvised songs of praise and derision on the development of calypso.

As informed by Rohlehr (1990, p. 1-2), the work of Epstein (2003 [1977]) has corroborated reports of pioneer researchers that have identified West African retentions in West Indian music forms. Included among those retentions are; the singing of impromptu, often satirical praise/blame and ridicule/insult songs in responsorial style consisting of a couplet in recitative form followed by a chorus; 'woman' and 'love-intrigue' themes; improvisation; reliance on rhythmic accompaniment mainly supplied by the drum; the interrelatedness between song and dance; and of course melodic and rhythmic syncopation (not mentioned), a main feature of African speech patterns and musical structure.

The task of measuring the contribution of African tradition to music forms that have emerged in the New World exceeds the scope of this dissertation. Tracing traits however is quite within reach, and has been tackled in several studies in anthropology and musicology.

In order to arrive at an even clearer definition of 'authentic' calypso music as it has evolved in Trinidad, the focus of this study will temporarily be shifted to material that has been considered 'calypso-like', i.e. music imitating but not belonging to the calypso strains that have been identified as intrinsically Trinidadian.

Daniel J. Crowley (1959) has referred to five 'calypso-like' song types outside of Trinidad given the characteristics observed at the time.

Calypso-Like Music

Crowley (1959, p. 118) has said that the examples cited by Van Dam (1954) and transcribed by Lamson (1957, p. 110) are similar to early two-line litany-form calypsos collected by Bullbrook (1954) in Trinidad.

1. *The Virgin Islands "careso," a two-line topical song sometimes improvised by a "Queen" of a secret "Bamboula Dance" in the nineteenth century (Van Dam, 1954, p. 21; 1955, p. 5).*

He has reported that the careso from St. John, *Give Her the Number One* transcribed below, was collected by Lamson (1957, p. 124-128).

Give Her the Number One (Drive it Home)

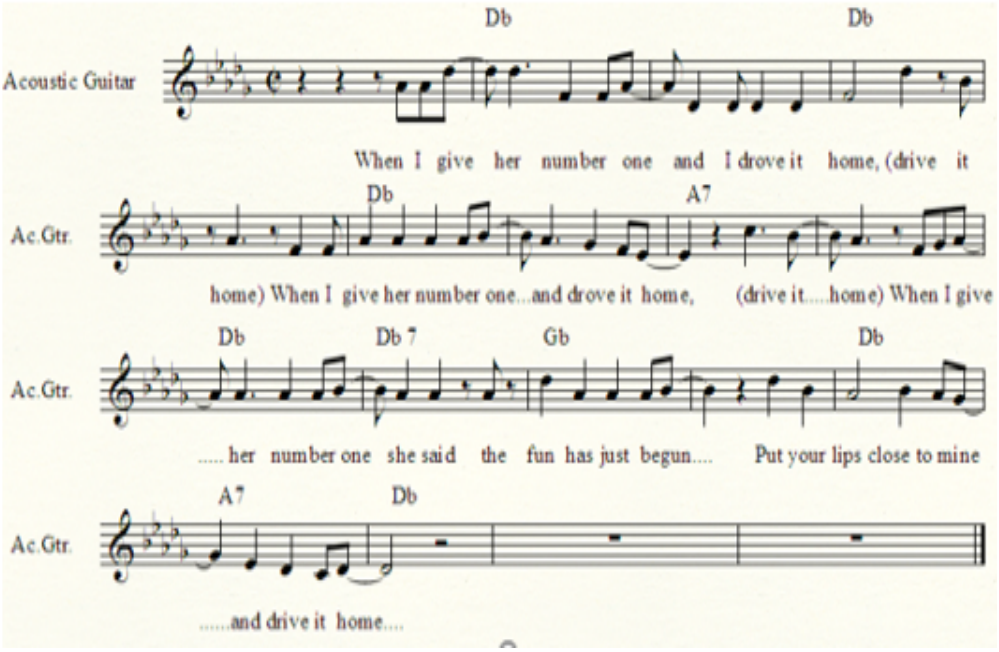


Fig. 23: Example 12 Virgin Islands Careso, transcribed by the author.

The song, according to Crowley, had been simultaneously reported as a current favorite in Panama by Hawkins, in Jamaica by White, and in British Guiana by Romanow. He additionally said that Easton had reported that "Trinidadians remembered that it was already popular in the late '40's in its present calypso form." (ibid)

For quite some time a diligent search for *Give Her the Number One* referenced by Crowley yielded no results. It was a long-time Bahamian friend and music colleague Bradley Brown who, when asked about the song, sang it in part and directed me to recordings by Ronnie

Butler. The song was found on an LP titled *The Best of Ronnie Butler* but it was listed under two alternative titles, *Drive it Home* and *Bungy on Fire*. The lyric remained basically unchanged among the three versions. The text is repetitive as well as suggestive. It is conceptually designed to convey increasing degrees of sexual gratification experienced by the female counterpart of the chauvinistic male protagonist. This is conveyed from verse to verse by numerical escalation which is representative of his sexual prowess, therefore,

> *When I give her number **one** and I drove it home,*
> *drive it home"* is followed by
> *When I give her number **two**...**three**...**four*** respectively,
>
> Ronnie Butler

Analysis done during this study revealed extremely close similarities to the oratorical strain of calypsos from Trinidad in regard to phrasing, topicality and harmonic structure, as did most of the songs listened to from Butler's repertoire. The chord progression that supports the melody also appears in the other example of Bahamian calypsos transcribed in figure 25 on page 85, and its features are further discussed on page 89.

2. *Topical "caliso" songs of rural St. Lucia sung in Creole. They usually have 6 or 8 lines and a frequently repeated chorus, and are similar to the Bamboula song text referenced by Van Dam (1955, p. 5).*

Crowley (1959), pinpointing similarities between pseudo-like calypsos and authentic Trinidadian calypsos, noted that,

> The chorus of *Roll, Isabella, Roll* is strikingly similar to the St. Lucian caliso *Wule, Gloria, Wule* but unlike Trinidad calypso. Some of the Creole calisos of St. Lucia and Dominica copy the form of Trinidad calypsos, as in *Ave, C. D. C.* (Cited by Crowley, 1959, p. 12-13)

I found the snippets of Patois caliso melodies that had been shared by Dave and Jennifer Defoe of Dominica during our informal encounters in the Netherlands to be quite similar to some of the authentic Trinidadian calypsos among the corpus examined in this study, and also to those referred to above by Crowley.

He had additionally indicated that examples collected in Martinique by Patterson and Belasco (1943) also revealed similarities to calypsos from Trinidad. However, neither recordings nor transcriptions of the songs cited above by Crowley were available. In the absence of both, a transcription of *L'Annee Passée,* adapted by Belasco from a Haitian folk song *Chacoun***,** was made available**.**

L'Année Passée

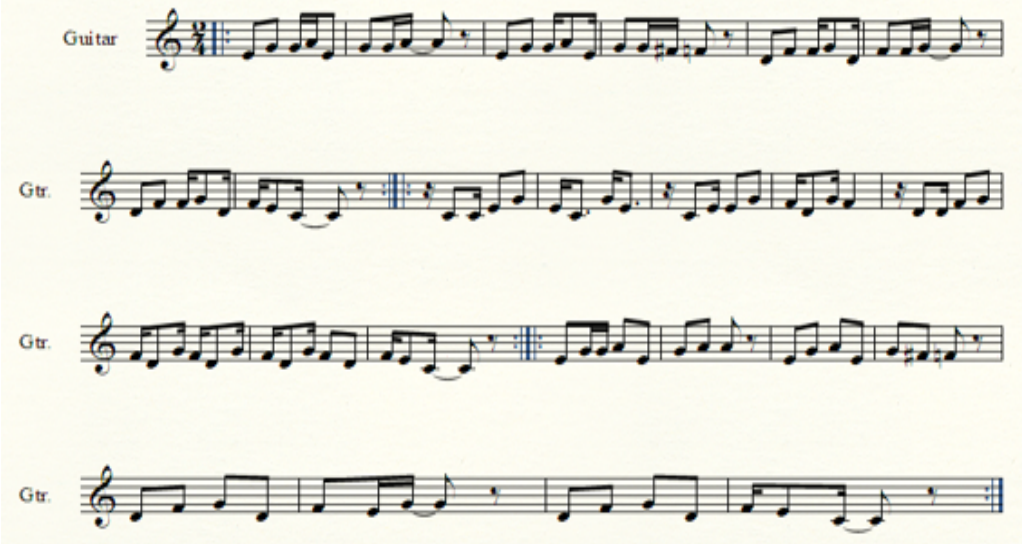


Fig. 24: Example 13 Martinican caliso, transcribed by the author.

3. *Commercial compositions that carefully copy the characteristics of Trinidad calypso but, unlike song type number 4, were composed and more likely performed by a West Indian.*

A list of compositions of this type compiled by Crowley includes Bill Rogers' Guyanese *shantos B. G. Bargee* and *Daddy Gone*, the Bahamian "calypsos" of Blind Blake and George Symonette, *Conch Ain't Got No Bone*, the Dominican text recorded by Fermor (1950, p. 128-130), St. Lucian calisos in English, some of the songs sung by Sam Manning, the St. Thomians Mac Cleverty, Maureen du Valleira and Lloyd Thomas, and some Panamanian calypsos sung in English.

According to Crowley (p. 118), some of these songs are very close to the Trinidad form.

His observations are borne out by *Mama Don't Want No Rum, No Coconut Oil*, also included in his list, and presented on the following page. The metric flow of the melody and the text are similar to many Trinidadian calypsos, and the chord progression outlining the composition is exactly the same as that of Roaring Lion's *Caroline* and numerous other calypsos from Trinidad. It is one of the most popular stock progressions still employed in contemporary calypso composition, and is very common among calypsos belonging to the oratorical strain.

Mama Don't Want No Rum, No Coconut Oil

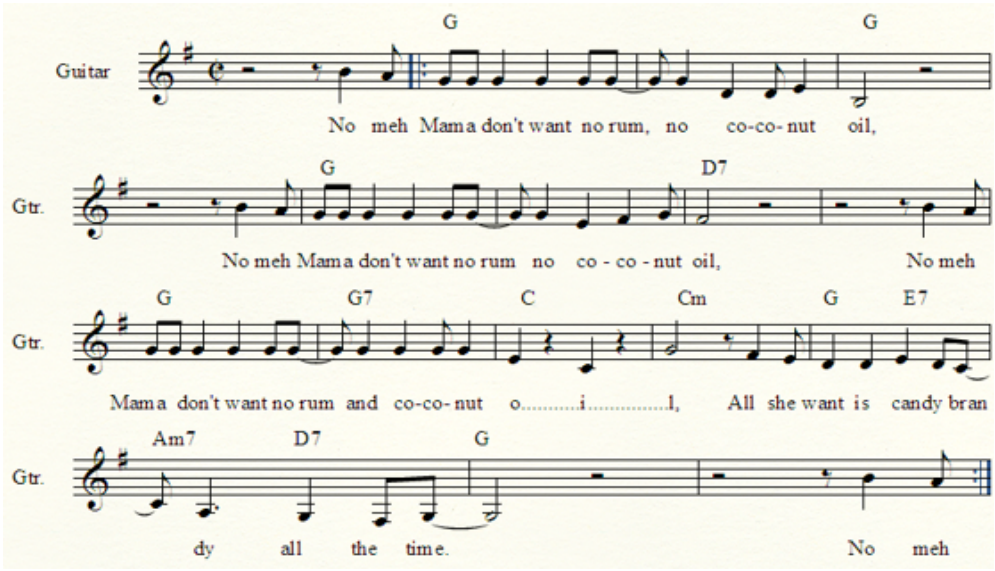


Fig. 25: Example 14 Bahamian calypso, transcribed by the author.

B.G. Bargee (*Bhagi*) on the other hand is simplistic and not in keeping with the caliber or compositional style of calypsos from Trinidad. but the topic however, is familiar.

Bhagi is an edible plant and a main ingredient of a popular and delicious East Indian dish bhagi, salt fish and rice. The delicacy has been assimilated into the Caribbean cuisine across ethnicities and had been a main staple among low income Afro and Indo contingents in Trinidad, Suriname, formerly British Guyana, and Guyana, formerly British Guyana.

B.G. Bargee

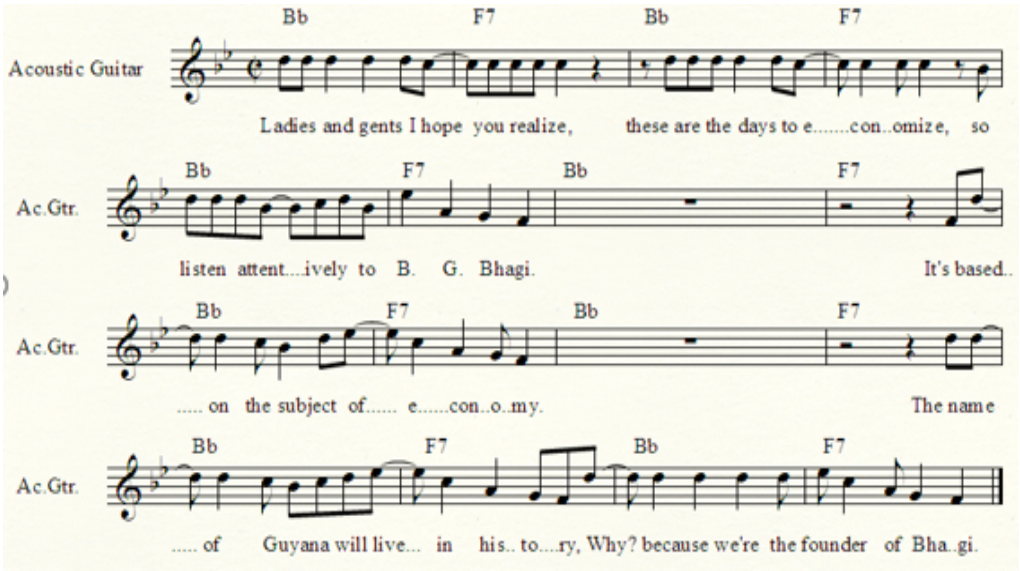


Fig. 26: Example 15, Guyanese shanto: B.G. Bargee [Bhagi], transcribed by the author.

Songs from the next category have been popularized in Hollywood movies and by artistes such as Josephine Baker, Ella Fitzgerald, Louis Jordan, Mary Bryant, Jeri Southern, Gracie Barrie, Miss Calypso (Maya Angelou) and Robert Mitchum. Crowley has included Frank Parker's Always Marry a Rich-Itch-Itchy Woman and Nat King Cole's Calypso Blues describing them as "so-called calypsos" which "can be detected by easy comprehensibility, false accent, and lack of specific references" (p. 119).

4. *Commercial songs composed in the calypso manner by a non-West Indian and "designed for British or American ears (New Yorker, 1957 i: p. 34).*

Songs in this vein like the two examples that follow retain an element of sexual innuendo in order to attract specific targeted audiences. Their titles alone accomplish this goal while their texts transmit verbal cues that further conjure up visceral images familiar to specific audiences. In the true sense of double *entendre* the names of the fruits mentioned in the text suggestively refer to erogenous parts of a woman's body. The setting and sultry performing style in which the songs are rendered (the jargon and pseudo-West Indian accent used), the suggestive body language incorporated, and the flavor of the accompanying music accomplishes the intent of the author and performer. These features confuse the association of the genre with authentic Trinidadian calypsos.

The first example, *Please Mister Don't Touch Me Tomato*, was popularized by Mary Bryant, and the second example, *Fire Down Below* performed by Jeri Southern, was featured in a 1957 movie by the same name which was filmed in Trinidad and Tobago. Both songs enjoyed an enormous amount of international popularity that may have rivaled that attained by *Rum and Coca Cola* and some of the folksongs performed by Harry Belafonte.

Please Mister Don't Touch Me Tomato

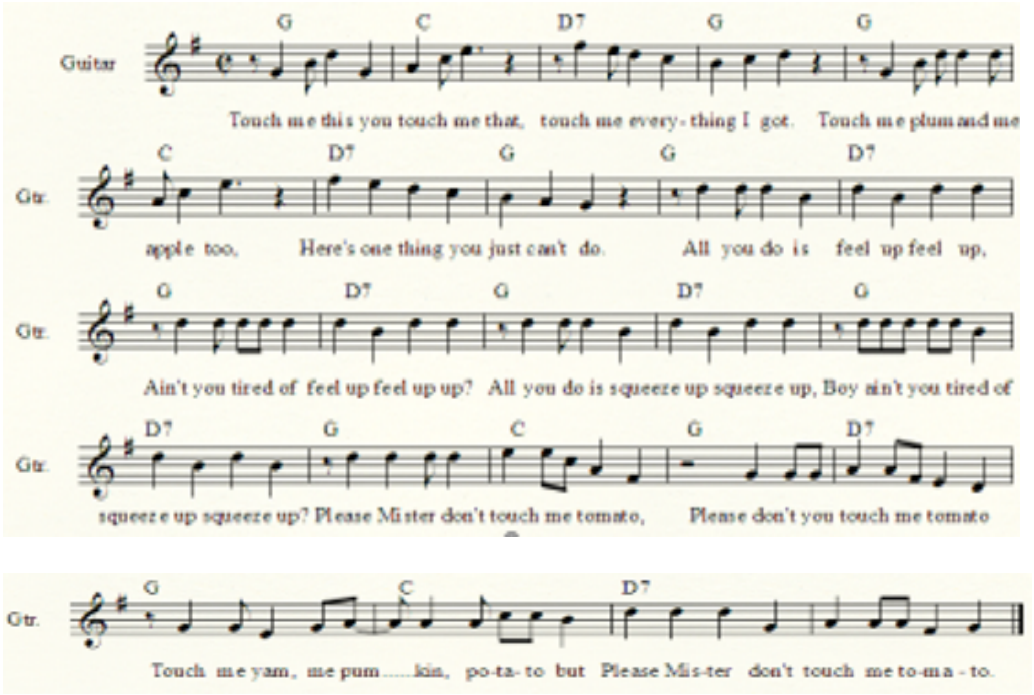


Fig. 27: Example 16 Commercial type calypso, transcribed by the author.

Fire Down Below

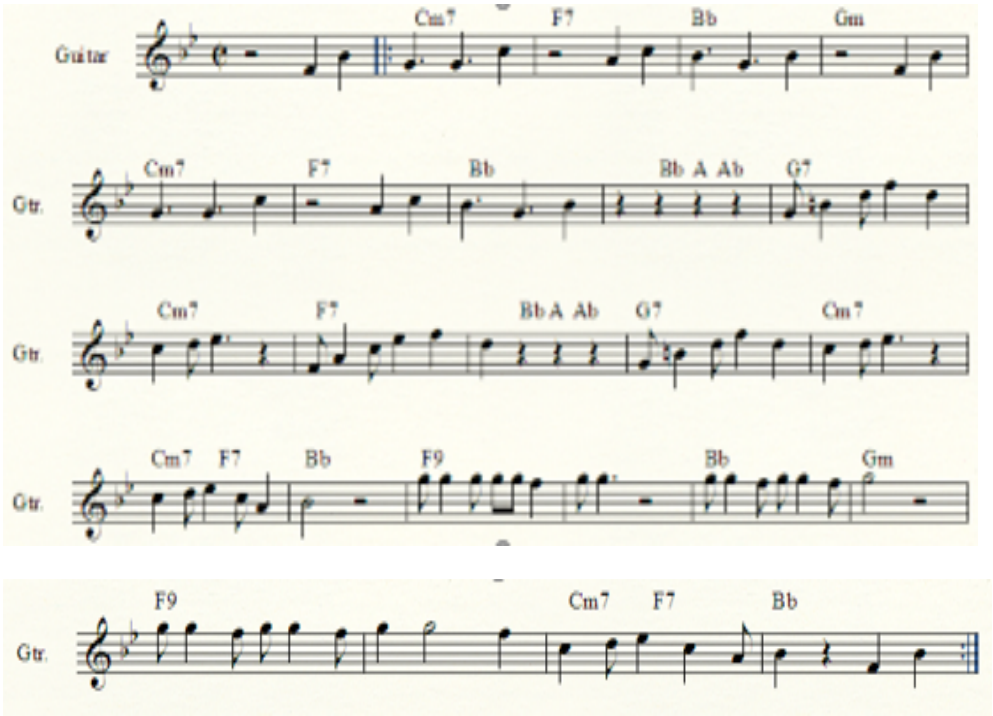


Fig. 28: Example 17 Commercial type calypso, transcribed by the author.

5. *The local folk songs of the individual islands of the Caribbean similar to the Careso and Caliso, and having generic names such as the Mento of Jamaica, the Shantos of British Guyana, Haitian Pinyique and Meringue, and perhaps the Venezuelan Joropo, Puerto Rican Plena (Van Dam, 1954, p. 21) and the New Orleans Pillard (Krehbiel, 1914, p. 141).*

The number of examples belonging to this category of songs alone and the distribution of the five song types across such an expansive region is testimony to the popularity, commercial success, and influence of the calypso genre and the degree of borrowing that had been taking place at the time. The popular Jamaican mento *Linstead Market*, referenced below, is a product of melody sharing that became common practice in the Caribbean Basin during the era. One version of the melody surfaced in Trinidad with a different text as the calypso *Not a Cent*. Another, subtitled *La Chomba*, surfaced in Central America as a calypso-cumbia hybrid. The three versions are included in the corpus of songs reviewed.

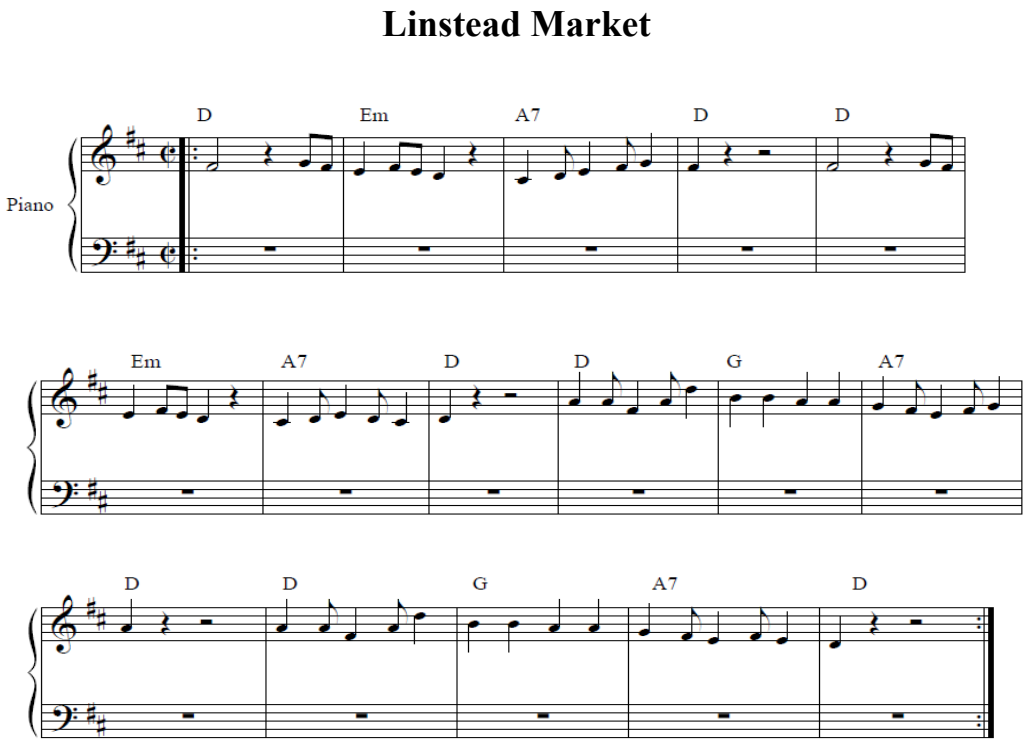


Fig. 29: Example 18 Mento, transcribed by the author.

Another instance of melody sharing has been etched into the annals of calypso history because of plagiarism and copyright infringement. It involves the calypso which became popularized as *Rum and Coca Cola*. By way of an article dated Sunday, Sept. 1, 2013, and edited by Azizi Powell, we are informed that, in 1905 Lionel Belasco and Massey Patterson composed *L'Année Passée* (transcribed on page 91); the song was based on a Martinican folk

song and its lyrics were written in Patois; in 1906 Rupert Grant (Lord Invader) penned *Rum and Coca Cola* using the same melody; and that he song was then copyrighted with different lyrics in the United States by Morey Amsterdam and became a hit song for the Andrew Sisters in 1945 (see http://pancocojams.blogspot.nl/2013/09/lannee-passee-calypso-song-that-became.html).

The observation made by Crowley, Van Dam, Lamson and others in the 1950's, that calypso music was based on perhaps fifty traditional melodies which were constantly being revised and reworked to fit new verbal material offers a plausible explanation for multiplicity in regard to defining the genre. Both Elder (1964) and Rohlehr (1990) have corroborated reports of a "high degree of borrowing." Elder (1964), commenting on the post-World War II atmosphere in Trinidad, wrote, "It is important to note that the old calinda tunes were still in use except the texts were new" (p. 133).

Upon analysis of the collection of calypso reviewed during this study it was discovered that Houdini's *Mama, Call the Fire Brigade* was sung to the tune of the calinda *Ten Thousand to Bar Me One*. Other examples of borrowing or melody sharing, include Phil Madison's *Caroni Swamp* and Lord Beginner's *Run Your Run Hitler*, Mentor's *Cipriani* and the folksong *Amba Cai La* recorded by Sam Manning, the stick fighting chant *When I Dead Bury Me Clothes* and the popular Road March *Fire Brigade Water the Road* by Atilla, and *Sponger Monkey* sung to the tune of *Sly Mongoose*. Rohlehr (1990) has informed that *Sly Mongoose* was the tune sung most regularly on the road in 1923, and that according to Quevedo (Atilla the Hun), the song had come to Trinidad from Jamaica in 1911, resurfaced in 1919 and was sung by Houdini in 1921 (p. 117).

Rohlehr, citing Lord Beginner's recollection of that period has recounted that,

> The *'Sly Mongoose'* tune caused Invader to sing *'Bring back the ole time cat-o-nine'* and there was even a circus in Trinidad in 1944 that used the same tune as its theme, which was called *'Blow Kangaroo.'* Most islands, even Guadeloupe, claimed the tune *'Sly Mongoose.'* (Cited by Rohlehr, 1990, p. 102)

Rohlehr (1990) has additionally pointed to the early 1900's indicating that it was a period of melodic exchange between islands. He has stated that,

> This was a period when folk-song melodies from all over the West Indies - Martinique, Dominica, Guadeloupe, Tobago, Jamaica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Barbados and the Grenadines - contributed to the development of Trinidad's calypso. (p. 60)

The fact that Crowley (1959) could describe five types of 'calypso-like' song-styles produced outside of Trinidad suggests that,

- There were multiple viewpoints as to defining the genre owing to its simultaneous development in Trinidad and in various other Caribbean islands.
- There had been some notion at that time of the characteristics of what was being called 'authentic' Trinidad calypso music.
- Since melody sharing had been common practice a high occurrence of plagiarism was possible.

It is easy to understand therefore how ambiguity as to the definition and source of origin of the calypso genre could have ensued, and why several islands have laid claim as to its ownership. Other factors have also contributed to the cause of such ambiguity and proprietorship. The following paragraph paraphrased from Part 4 of Louis Regis' 2008 radio series "The History of Calypso", broadcast on Wack Radio 109 FM in Trinidad, provides a plausible explanation for the varied perception as to the definition of the calypso:

> Calypso had impacted the popular consciousness of the United States as evidenced by involvement by Paul Robeson, Ella Fitzgerald, Maya Angelou [Calypso Princess], Louis Farrakhan [The Mighty Charmer], Robert Mitchum and Hollywood movie producers. The islands of the Caribbean, especially the British West Indies, had been perceived as one unit from which the calypso emerged, therefore Caribbean folk music with nuances of calypso rhythms and topicality became popularized and labeled as calypso… Corporate America established an image perpetrated by Harry Belafonte, and defenders of that status quo deliberately set out to suppress the voice of political commentary in calypso in favor of the salacious calypso with its spicy lyrics, sexual topicality, intelligible jargon and simplistic rhythmic and harmonic structure. (Louis Regis, 2008)

Mary Bryant's *Please Mister Don't Touch My Tomato*, Amsterdam's lyrical conversion of Lord Invader's *Rum and Coca Cola* (originally a social commentary about prostitution and the predilection of local 'working girls' for US currency) performed by the Andrew Sisters, *Fire Down Below* performed by Jeri Southern, and Sonny Rollins' *St. Thomas* come to mind.

Regis, citing Atilla has stated,

> As Atilla put it the American initiative helped financially but created havoc in the local evolution. Folk songs such as *Yellow Bird, Matilda, Brown Skin Girl, Linstead Market, Hold Him Joe, Don't Stop the Carnival, Coconut Woman* and *Lisa* became as synonymous with the status quo and identified internationally as calypso as emergent from the West Indies. (Cited in Regis, 2000)

The evidence has shown that two strains of songs had been perceived as calypso; 'authentic Trinidadian calypsos' and 'calypso-like songs' composed elsewhere by non-Trinidadians.

Crowley, quoting others, had called for a clear distinction between the two perceived 'strains', as he corroborated reports of the financial triumph of items from the general West Indian folk song corpus over traditional Trinidad calypsos. He wrote,

> The popularity of such songs as "*Day-O*" [*Banana Boat Song*] and "*Jamaica Farewell*" sung in pseudo-West Indian dialect and called "calypso" requires a fresh investigation into this traditional Trinidadian musical form. The recent "calypso craze" which accounted for one fourth of popular record sales (Time, 1957, p. 55) and wherein one Belafonte album sold nearly a million copies (Cappon, 1957) is not the first to occur in the United States. (Cited in Crowley, 1959, p. 57)

Upon comparison of calypsos from the two strains it was found that they sounded quite similar but that there were differences in regard to syncopation, pulse, inflection, vocabulary (hence jargon), dialect, topicality, singing and instrument performance style, harmonic structure, form, and instrumentation (use of the banjo in the Bahamas for instance).

In order to enlighten the reader, features common to the authentic Trinidadian strain of calypsos will now be highlighted. As reported by Crowley (1959, p. 60-61), Mitto Sampson, in tracing a legend, has supplied information that takes us as far back as 1790. According to Crowley, Sampson (1956, p. 253) reported that the songs of that period,

> Were usually sung extemporare and were of a flattering nature, or satirical, or directed against unpopular neighbors or members of the plantation community, or else they were…a war of insults between two or more expert singers. (Cited by Crowley, 1959, p. 60-61)

Based on the definitions and examples perused so far in this chapter the following composite of some of the individual definitions I have come across emerges:

The calypso is a genre of West Indian ballad with roots in West African praise-singing and music traditions of various other ethnic groups. It has a syncopated beat, a repeated melody sung in call-and-response style, a witty and satirical text whose subject is usually a local and topical event of a political and social import, and whose tone is one of allusion, mockery, double *entendre* or challenge.

This brings us to Crowley's generally accepted definition of calypso outlined below:

> Calypso…may be defined as the Carnival songs of Trinidad, composed and sung by… calypsonians… during the Carnival season. Subjects are usually topical, about local events or local attitudes towards foreign events; derision, allusion, and double entendre are often employed. Calypsos may also function as tributes to famous people, as blackmail, as political engineering, as 'singing commercials,' and as love songs. The words tend to take precedence over the music, and employ local lower-class idiom, a Creole vocabulary, and an exaggeration of local stress patterns. Calypsos usually have four verses of eight lines each, except that the first two lines of the first verse are repeated. Verses are separated from one another by a 4-line chorus, and the rhyme scheme is simple…calypso music is based on perhaps fifty traditional melodies which are revised and reworked constantly to fit new verbal material. They are played in 2/4 or 4/4 time with offbeat phrasing by a small band of ordinary string and wind instruments and skak-shak…when used in a ballroom; the 'calypso dance' is similar to a fast rhumba. (1958, p. 112-115)

Authentic Trinidadian Calypso Music

Based partially on the generally accepted characteristics above, advanced by Crowley and corroborated by observers and other researchers this study will now embark upon scrutiny of the music strains that have been identified as extant in Trinidad before and during the emergence of the calypso. Such scrutiny may be helpful in leading to the source or sources of origin of 'authentic' genres of calypso that became extant in Trinidad.

The Bel Air (Belair, Belaire, Bélé)

Hill (1998) has reported that the bel air (belair or belaire), a French-Creole song genre, has been accepted and substantiated by Breen (1844, p. 193), and others as the direct antecedent of the modern calypso. Errol Hill (1967, p. 365), however, has described the bel air, as "a song of praise or satire", as "plaintive" and as "melancholy," a description which, by Rohlehr's (1990) criticism, "in the light of the great variety of belair songs…seems somewhat inadequate" (p. 22).

According to Rohlehr, Hill (1972) based his acceptance of the bel air as the direct antecedent of the modern calypso on Breen's 1844 account of the bel air songs "which used to be composed by chanterelles, or female lead singers of the La Rose and La Margeurite societies of nineteenth century St. Lucia". Breen had described the bel air as,

> A sort of pastoral in blank verse, adapted to a particular tune or air. Many of these airs are of a plaintive and melancholy character, and some are exquisitely melodious." (Cited by Hill, 1972, p. 57)

Rohlehr's argument is supported by an analysis of the example of a La Rose belair cited by Breen which revealed that it was not in blank verse. He has informed us that the lyrics of the St. Lucian *chanterelle* were not improvised, and had realized the possibility of assistance being received by the chanterelle from literate friends; "for though the majority of society members came from the lower class, members of all classes were enrolled in both societies" (Rohlehr, 1990, p. 22).

There was also an assumption of such assistance in Breen's account when he reported that,

> Some indeed, are of a higher order than one would be entitled to look for from untutored Negroes: and it is but as natural to suppose that they are assisted by their friends among the educated classes. (Breen, 1844, p. 71)

That this strain was an invention of the slaves, had been performed alongside the calinda and jhouba, and had sometimes received literary input from members of the literate sector of society has been reported by Borde (1882, p. 313) and confirmed by several scholars.

Rohlehr has reported on the genre's relationship to calypso music. The following passage is paraphrased from statements he made during the program "Calypso Roots": "The belair was a poetic form of French verse whose accompanying music was originally that of the minuet. It was taken over by Afro-Trinidadians and put to drums becoming one of the root forms that had contributed to the narrative form of calypso" ("Calypso Roots", <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MdxQ-457GVI>.).

Pearse (1955) has identified three belair strains as extant in Trinidad, each having several subtypes and distinct functions. According to Pearse's summary of musical "types" in Trinidad, Congo music of nineteenth century immigrants has been appropriated in these three strains of bélé. As inferred from Pearse, one of the types propagated in Trinidad, bélé I was French Creole in origin resembled the Bouquet dances that were organized for festive occasions, and was accompanied by drums and shack-shack. Rohlehr (1990, p. 20) has informed that the jhouba (juba, giuba) was also named among the dances named by Borde as having derived directly from Africa, and that there was a possible link between the juba and the "Bouquet dances" described by de Verteuil (1987).

As informed by Pearse (ibid), the bélé II which evolved in Grenada was also of French Creole origin and served not only a secular function, but a religious function as well, which was associated with Saraka or ancestral sacrifice. The third type, bélé III, was propagated in Trinidad and performed in English. It functioned as a pleasure dance and was used in the working of magic involving possession. A bass drum beaten with sticks, a keg drum, tambourines and shack-shacks supplied the accompaniment for a chantwel and chorus. (Pearse 1955, p. 29-36). His summary in its entirety can be accessed in Elder (1969, p. 8-10).

The bel air (belair or bélé) also has roots in African ritual dances pertaining to mating and fertility, and had been popular in Dominica, St. Lucia, Grenada, and in Trinidad and Tobago. During bélé soirées (parties) the main singer (*la vwa* – from Fr. la voix meaning the voice) would sing songs hinting at sexuality, and backed in responsorial style by a choral group (*la reponde*). At least two musicians, a drummer (*le tambouye*), and an assistant (*le bwate*) who regulated the rhythm by beating the side of the drum with two sticks would accompany the singers. A male dancer (*le kavalye*) would display his sexual prowess in dance and his female partner (*la danm*) would reciprocate. Like all the other African dances of the mating and

fertility pantheon the performance would escalate into wild explicit eroticism. Illustrations of the performance layout, and a transcription that facilitates analysis and comparison with subsequent genres of calypsos illustrated by examples 15 and 16 are provided below

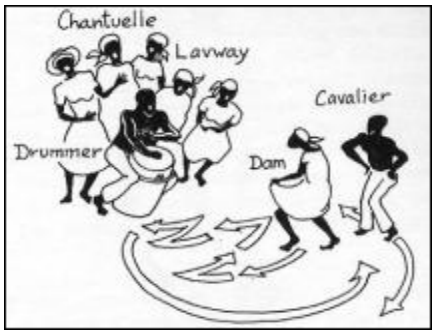


Fig. 30a: Bélé performance layout (AvirtualDominica.com).

Fig. 30b: Bélé performance layout (Source)

Fig. 30c: Bélé performance (www.bouzaiproductions.com)

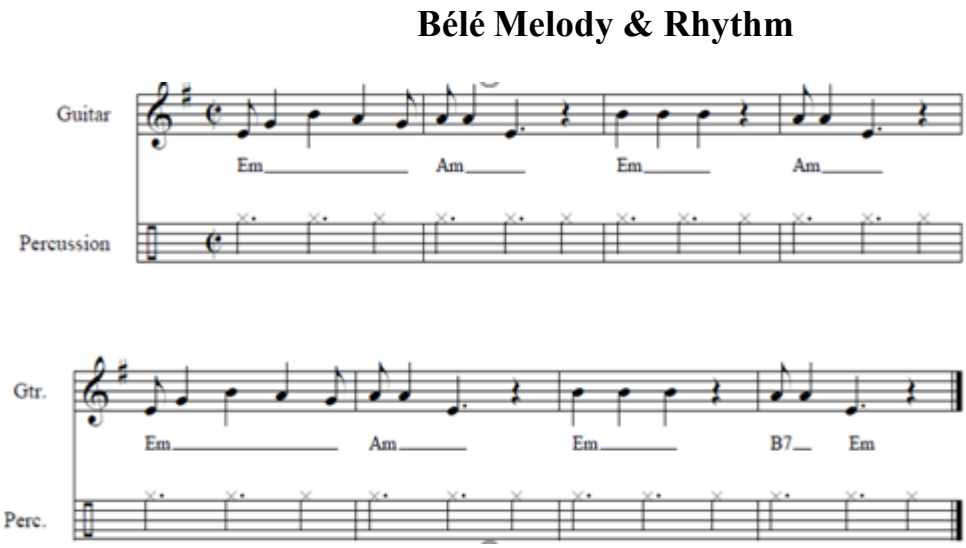


Fig. 31: Example 19 Bélé or belair, transcribed by the author.

Melodic syncopation and rhythmic pulse are among features that have continued to appear throughout the evolution of the calypso. Such transmission is evident in the calypsos *Sly*

Mongoose and *Limbo like Me*, and is sometimes disguised, perhaps intentionally or perhaps by innovation as a result of shifts in function among instruments. For example, reassignment of the *tresillo* in *Matilda* from percussive pulse to bass and lead melody (see p. 70), and the appearance of the melodic rhythms in measures 1 and 2 and 3 and 4 respectively in example 19 as vocabulary of percussion family, and the comping style of keyboard instruments.

Sly Mongoose

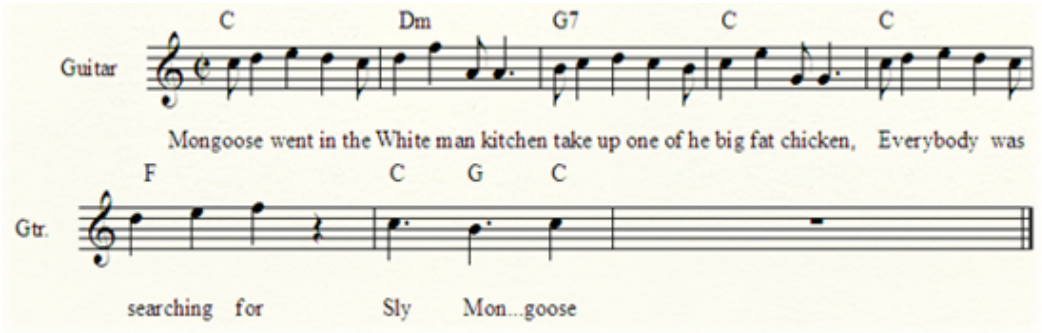


Fig. 32: Example 20, transcribed by the author.

Limbo Like Me

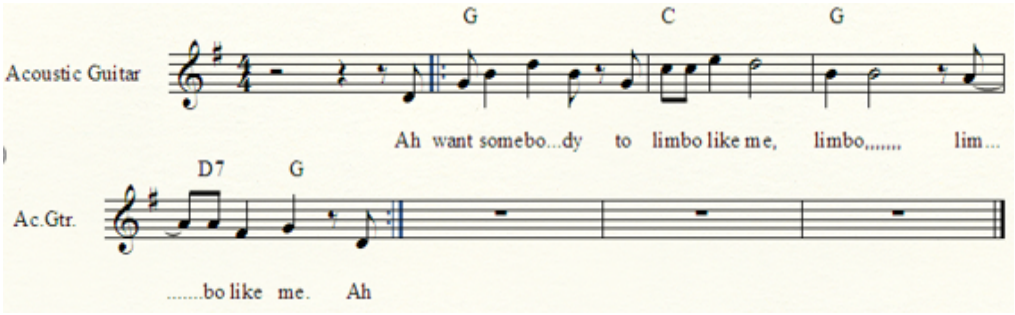


Fig. 33: Example 21, transcribed by the author.

The bélé as performed in Trinidad was a trio of African or Afro-influenced dances that served ritual and social functions of both a secular and a religious nature. When it functioned as song it was rendered in both French Creole and English, and incorporated praise, satire and traces of ridicule, features also detected in the belairs of the chanterelles of St. Lucia, Dominica and Grenada. Among the 'literate' sectors of the Trinidadian community nineteenth Century calypsos, (as distinct from the calinda songs), were synonymous with and referred to as belair. This attitude of the 'literate' sector however, has pointed to division and bias along class, ethnic, and religious lines in relation to calypso song pedigree.

The form of bélé song that came to be accepted by 'respectable' Trinidadian society, had obviously retained milder doses of satire and ridicule and its accompanying dance did not as explicitly exhibit the tabooed features (discussed on the following pages) that are found in other lascivious Afro-Caribbean dances such as the bamboula.

The tone in which Gustave Borde (1882) had reported about the genre alludes to this in so far as his description could equally be applied to the waltz but for one feature of course, its meter. He wrote,

> …the bel air is a song, a ballad; it is also the dance step that one executes to the tune. This name applies equally to occasions that give rise to dancing: one goes to the bel air as one goes to a ball. (p. 306-307)

According to the sources cited, the bélé and the calinda were two distinct dance forms with similar African influences, music form, and to some degree, function. This is congruous with information that has been supplied by Cable (1969) who, although his reports were based on oral and written testimonies, has provided one of the most complete descriptions of the calinda. Cable informed that,

> The Calinda was a dance of the multitude, a sort of vehement cotillion. The contortions of the encircling crowd were strange and terrible; the din was hideous. One Calinda is still familiar to Creole ears; it has long been a vehicle for the white Creole's satire; for generations the man of municipal politics was fortunate who escaped entirely a lampooning set to its air. (p. 42)

According to Rohlehr (1990),

> Cable's exaggerated horror at a dance he had more heard and read about than seen, matches the terms in which respectable Trinidadians wrote about Canboulay, Calinda and "Jamette Carnival" in the post-Emancipation period. (p. 12)

> The horror of respectable locals was often corroborated by the testimony of Puritanical visitors such as Reverend Underhill who, while he viewed the African psyche as a sort of *tabula rasa* on which the European could inscribe any traits of character he chose, reacted with disdain to the African settlements of the East Dry River, and particular to the "dance halls", large sheds, "devoted to night dances and to the noisy music of the banjo and drum"… the struggle by the "respectable" and "decent" class of people to impose what they considered to be a " proper" on what they termed the fanaticism, noise, or discord - the Afro-based style- of the lumpen-proletariat, was a constant feature of nineteenth-century colonial society, and affected the shape of both Carnival and Calypso well into the twentieth century. (p. 12-13)

Calinda performance in Congo Square (Place Congo) had received adverse reports that referred to "hot sweaty, nearly-naked bodies gyrating in time with the beat of the bamboulas, gourds, and banjos" (Latrobe, 1819). But the semi-nudity that offended Latrobe and others had been condoned by slave owners because of unbearably high temperatures. One must remember also that under French rule, New Orleans law had been less repressive toward the

slave population. A similar dispensation had been granted to slaves in the French West Indies.

The fact that two strains of music that might have been the antecedents of the calypso had been extant in Trinidad during that period has been corroborated by Elder, Rohlehr, Borde, Hill and others.

Donald Hill (1998) reported that during the plantation festivities, centering on Christmas (especially on British estates) and carnival (especially on French estates), the associated outdoor music "consisted of Creole belairs and calindas" (p. 189).

Borde's (1882) account of the festivities of slaves in the 1800's identified three distinct dances that were performed. He reported that,

> Like the free people of colour, the slaves also had their feasts and rejoicings. On Saturday and on Sundays after Mass, they gave vent to their passions for dancing and music. For long hours and without rest they performed the dances called the "calinda" and the "jhouba", which had come down from their ancestors, and also the dance "bel air" which was their own invention. All these were carried out to the sound of their voices and the African drum. (p. 313)

One of the main types of drum referred to that supplied accompaniment was the bamboo drum called the *bamboula*, referenced earlier on page 38 of this study. A dance by the same name was known throughout the French colonies including New Orleans. Versions have survived in the Virgin Islands, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia by the same name, and as well in Puerto Rico, as the *bomba*.

According to Rohlehr (1990), the term *bamboula* "was frequently used in the nineteenth century to describe Trinidad music" (p. 23). He has also informed us that nineteenth century batonniers in Trinidad are recorded as having employed the "Bamboula! Bamboula!" refrain to invoke a demonic, diabolic quality in their stick fighting (p. 24).

As informed by Breen (1844), "Bamboula" was a general term applied to most dances (p. 195-196), among which were the *semba* and *zamba* evolutions of the bamboula, calinda and the *chica*. Along with *bruckins* dance of Jamaica, the *tambu* of Curacao, the *merengue* of the Dominican Republic, the *mabelo* of Martinique, and the Cuban *rumba*, these dances were among the pantheon of lascivious, indecent and scoffed-at African dances.

Lascivious African dances had been characterized by features which were enacted in five phases by a male dancer and his female counterpart in alternation: a display of physical prowess by the male dancer; teasing by his female counterpart; pursuit with intent to touch with sexual implicity; feigned flight and surrender; and union. More explicitly the main

features of the dances were tabooed gestures which include the clasping and rubbing together of the thighs (grinding) of partners of the opposite sex, embracing from behind or in front while sensuously gyrating the hips (wining), and delivering pelvic thrusts (jooking) in simulation of the sex act. One can easily conceive how such 'hedonistic' cultural practices could have offended the ears and eyes of the Catholic church and 'respectable' citizens of the upper and middle classes, the 'puritan' sector of society.

The depiction below is Kemble's 1886 interpretation of a late 1700s bamboula performance. Bamboula drummers can be seen crouched over their instruments on the right.

Fig. 34: The bamboula dance (www.Streetswing.com)

Additional information has been supplied by Lamson (1957) who has traced the bamboula to the Virgin Islands and has reported that the function it performed there was similar to the function performed by the calinda in Trinidad. In her report, Lamson described the dance from its status as being embraced among 'respectable' society to its degeneration into the demi-world of the Jamette. The following citation is a paraphrased version of that report.

> As developed in the Virgin Islands the Bamboula functioned as the eyes and ears of society… It served as the local tabloid ad scandal sheet rolled into one…The Queen composed verses extemporaneously; she would sing the verses and the rest of the dancers and participants would repeat them in a call-and-response pattern…However, after a time the drum dances became the terror of the coloured and white population alike…the Bamboula dances degenerated into one of the most effective weapons of the demimonde to heap personal abuse, vituperation, scandal and blackmail upon all and sundry. (Lamson, p. 21)

The 1819 commentary by the visiting architect Benjamin Latrobe appears to corroborate such degeneration in Place Congo slave celebrations in New Orleans. He described them as "savage" and noted that male participants covered themselves only with a sash, and except for that "went naked."

Having perused the foregoing accounts, and several others, one of the positions taken by this study is that the music that came to be associated with the dance known as the bel air or bélé,

which according to Borde was invented by the slaves, was the eventual synthesis of African, French Creole and European art forms that had been in existence along the slave route from Louisiana to the bottom of the Caribbean. It fed the evolution of the calypso, but was a poetic, served a narrative function, and was designed to suit its upper-class patrons. Also upheld by this study is the position that, the calinda was a significant contributor too, but that of these two Afro-Caribbean sources from which the modern day calypso was fed, the calinda was more consistent with grassroots sentiment and lifestyle. That is to say that it was more significant in terms of redress and resistance to colonial ideology. These posits are supported by the overwhelming amount of evidence confirming:

- the linkage in function between the bamboula and the calinda;
- the association between calinda chant and calypso, particularly the Road March strain, and resultantly by proxy, between bamboula and calypso;
- the centrality of both the dance and music within the grass roots community in maintaining cohesion among the 'masses' that sought to resist and attack the 'establishment', and in addition, confirming that:
- the Trinidad calypso, stick fighting, and certain dance styles and their accompanying drum rhythms became political targets and remained a bone of contention during the long battle between the upper-classes and the Jamette sector of society;
- the belair incorporated satire and ridicule also, but its 'offensive' features were tempered in order to suit its patrons and the environment (courtyard balls) where it originated and in which it was practiced.

The belair remained 'refined and respectable' whereas the calinda as performance art, was part and parcel of the stick fighting arena. It represented secularism, was a source of phobia among 'respectable' members of society, and presented a threat to the authorities because of its capacity to encourage assembly and its potential to incite anarchy.

Calinda Chant

As a musical voice the calinda was the epoxy that maintained cohesion among the repressed masses, and the engine that kept them surging forward; as cultural expression it never permitted the lower-class masses to lose consciousness or connectedness to their roots as, according to Rohlehr (1990), "it remained raw, rowdy and aggressive, never divorcing itself from *mépris* (Fr.) or losing its sense of satire or rebellion – the dance never losing its lasciviousness – in keeping with Jamette tradition". The calinda chants with litany-like call-and-response structure expressed threats of defiance or boasting. These features have been transmitted to the calypso. Both the function and the structure of calinda chants are alluded to by Waterman (1943), as can be interpreted from his work. He writes,

> The chants were sung in Creole or English to the accompaniment of drum rhythms that paced the stick-fighting duels. The function of these 2-line and sometimes 4-line or 8-line chants was to praise and to bolster the courage of fighters and also to insult and intimidate their rivals. (p. 215)

Fig. 35a: Stick fighting stance - the Carray-Posturing (Guardian.co.tt)

Fig. 35b: Charging a Blow-Attacking (Darkroom.baltimoresun.com)

Donald Hill (1998) has provided a concise but in-depth account of the evolution of the genre.

> The roots of the Calinda lie in the Afro-Trinidadian stick fighting songs, and drum dance songs and other traditions. These songs were sung in French Creole, the vernacular language of the majority of Africans in Trinidad during the 19th Century. The songs often had two line stanzas, sung by a chantuelle and chorus in a call-and-response fashion, accompanied by tamboo bamboo. After the insistence of English as the spoken language calypsos with four or eight line stanzas began to appear, accompanied by stringed instruments, associated with the musical traditions of nearby Venezuela. Calypso melodies were shaped both by speech rhythms and by patterns of syncopation characteristic of Afro-Trinidadian music. French was the basis of Patois or Creole lyrics throughout the 19th Century.

The following example, rendered in English, is one of the more popular calinda chants.

Ten Thousand to Bar Me One

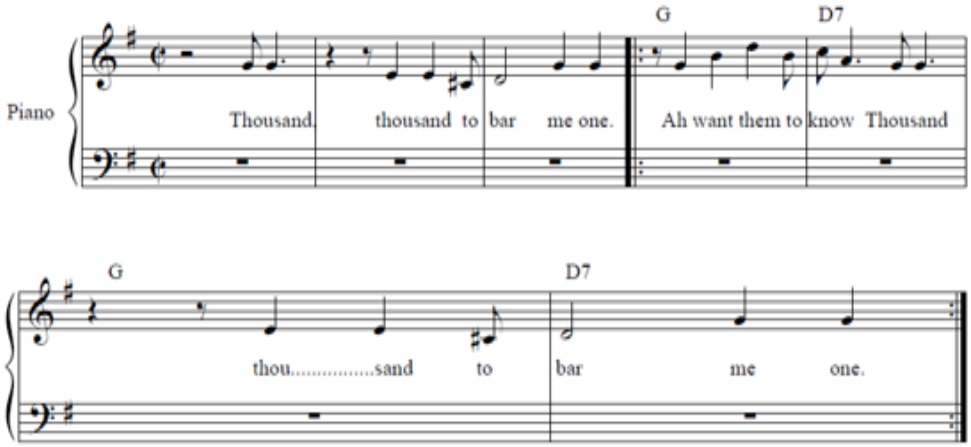


Fig. 36: Example 22 Calinda chant, transcribed by the author.

Ten Thousand to Bar Me One

Thousand, thousand to bar me one
Ah want them to know
Thousand, ten thousand to bar me one
Ah go beat them so
Lord Invader

In spite of the odds stacked against him the protagonist (the *batonnier*) shows no fear. The refrain is established by the background chorus and repeated in alternation with the improvised calls of the chantwel. The *batonnier*'s strong sense of bravado and commitment is conveyed as well by the respective lyrics of *Carnival Celebration*, *Me Alone* and *Mooma Mooma*

Carnival Celebration
Well Ah waiting for this Carnival
Is to jump up with these criminals
I'm going to arm myself with a big stick
And any man Ah meet in Town that is real licks
'cause Ah done tell Mammy already
Mammy Dous Dous tie up yuh belly
'cause is murder, federation with war and rebellion
When they bar me by the junction (Ah gone down)

Monday morning Ah waking early
To drink a Vat (Vat 19 rum) *to steam up meh body*
And Ah jumping up like Ah crazy
I alone go'n collapse the city
With meh razor tie on to meh poui
Ah like a Bajan in the nineteenth Century
And with meh stick in meh waist Ah chipping in space

Is to spit in old nigger face (And Ah gone down)
Small Island Pride

Me Alone
Me alone, me alone
Me alone like a man
I will face hell-battalion,
Only me alone!
Traditional

Mooma Mooma

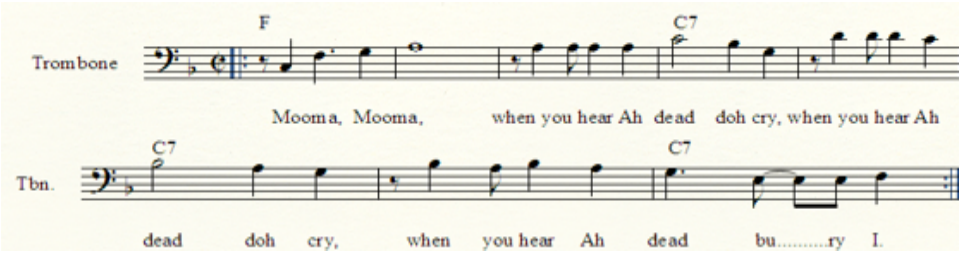


Fig. 37: Example 23 Calinda chant, transcribed by the author.

The melodies, boasting and reference to stickmen became transmissions that would be passed on as features of early twentieth century calypsos and beyond. Rohlehr (1990) has commented on the bravado customarily expressed by the lyric of calinda songs:

> By boasting of his invincibility, he [the batonnier] sought immunity to his opponent's blows. His rhetoric was a serious one, a formalized verbal prelude to a game in which manhood, status, identity within the group and on rare occasions, life itself was at stake. (p. 53)

> Language for the chantwel who reinforced the stick fighter's boast and would himself sometimes actively participate in stickplay, was power; the word was magic, its form, incantation, its purpose inspiration and celebration. This aspect of language would remain in the Calypso for two decades, and would see a revival in the late thirties, when singers would recall and revamp old Calinda fragments. (p. 53-54)

The following dirge-like slogan in Creole, "*Coule, sang moen ka coule*," as explained by an old stickman was usually sung in order to bolster courage among supporters after a leader had fallen (Rohlehr 1990, p. 53). Literally translated it means "I am shedding blood," but "I" is used figuratively to represent "We" and alludes to the spiritual and physical unity of the contingent. It must be remembered that stick fighters fought in defense of 'yards' or *gayapes*, organized groups or societies equivalent to samba schools of Brazil or *cabildos* of Cuba. The demonstration of solidarity and cohesion among stick fighters in days of slavery is exemplified by the deliberate burning of cane fields. This act served two functions: the first was sanctioned by plantation owners as part of the process of harvesting the sugar cane crop;

the second was an act of sabotage during rebellion, at which times the perpetrators sang calinda songs of defiance and paraded.

The song *Joe Talmana* eulogized the leader of the 1881 insurrection against Captain Baker, the then-chief of police, and the authorities. The battalions that participated, like the ones that had challenged the authorities during similar uprisings in the Bahamas, had been comprised of both male and female stick fighters. Both sets of events and the figurative "I" demonstrate the degree of unity among the combatants and the function of the music form and its rhetoric as part of the arsenal that had persistently challenged British Crown Colony.

Epstein (1977), reporting on the immoral aspects of the calinda described it as a "sport brought from the coast of Guinea." He writes that the calinda was "attended with gestures which are not entirely consistent with modesty, whence it is forbidden by the public laws of the islands" (p. 32).

Such criticism and opposition extended to the calinda spanned the region from the Caribbean to New Orleans and had led to its eventual suppression, which had been almost complete, extending to its function as a dance as well. Cable (1969) has reported that,

> The tune Calinda was bad enough. In Louisiana, at least, its song was always a grossly personal satirical ballad, and it was the favorite dance all the way from there to Trinidad. To dance it publicly is not allowed this side of the West Indies. All this Congo Square business was suppressed at one time; 1843 says tradition. (p. 42)

Father Labat's criticism of the calinda dates back to 1698 and incorporates terms that describe it as a dance "contrary to all modesty" and "with absolutely lascivious gestures" (Sueiro, 1994, p. 1-2).

In Trinidad, African cultural expression of this nature was also frowned upon with similar discontent. The taking over of carnival by the Jamette sector of society had been established by 1860 and protests against obscenity had been constant. Objectionable obscenity constituted the participation of prostitutes, cross-dressing among men, explicitly sexual themes, and rampant skirmishes between masquerading groups. The Canboulay festivities, part and parcel of the carnival celebrations, had also been a cause for growing concern by the authorities whose fears had been realized by the 1881 Canboulay Riot.

In 1883 a bill prohibiting drumming between 6 a.m. and 10 p.m. except with police permission, was introduced. The Music Bill as it was called, was withdrawn and replaced in the same year by Ordinance II, an expansion on its counterpart which retained the ban on drumming. Canboulay was banned the following year but the Lavway or Road March was

retained as the musical impetus of street parading. This new calypso strain that emerged then and became the new vogue is the subject of the next installment.

The Lavway or Road March

Lavways or road marches were the traditional calypso music form associated with the masquerade processions of Afro-Trinidadians. Like in the calinda strain, responsorial style singing is one of its main characteristics. As related by Donald Hill (1993),

> Costumed revelers, led by a chantwel, would sing rowdy call-and-response chants…such processions often came to be accompanied by a tamboo-bamboo (tambour-bamboo) ensemble of bamboo tubes struck with sticks. (p.187)

The following calypso *Ten to One Is Murder* sung in 1960 is a classic example. Analyzed, it is a fusion of two single tone couplets and single-line calinda chants delivered in litanic style alternating with the refrain, '*Ten to one is murder*', and outlined entirely by a repeated IV- I – V7 – I progression.

Ten to One Is Murder
Well, they playing bad;
they have me feeling sad (Single tone couplet)
Well, they playing beast;
why they run for police, (Single tone couplet)

Ten criminals attack me outside ah Miramar… **Ten to one is murder*
About ten in the night on the fifth of October… *
*Way down Henry Street, up by HGM Walker…**
*Well, the leader of the gang was hot like a pepper…**
*And every man in the gang had a white-handle razor…**
*They say ah push they gal from Grenada…**
*Well, ah back back until ah nearly fall in the gutter…**
*You could imagine my position, not a police in the area…**
The Mighty Sparrow

A variant of the IV- I - V7 - I progression, I - IV - I - V7, has remained the most popular chord progression appearing both in lavways and in the oratorical strain. *Don't Stop the Carnival* recorded in 1946 by the Duke of Iron is one of the more familiar examples of this harmonic construction often replaced by embellished substitutions like the progression in measures 1 through 4 of *Tan Tan* in figure 42. The i - iv - i - V7 progression, a minor key counterpart, appears in the chorus of *Carnival Celebration* in which fictitious metaphoric challenges are issued to two notorious Bad Johns and master stick fighters of yesteryear; ironically both men belonged to different eras.

Carnival Celebration

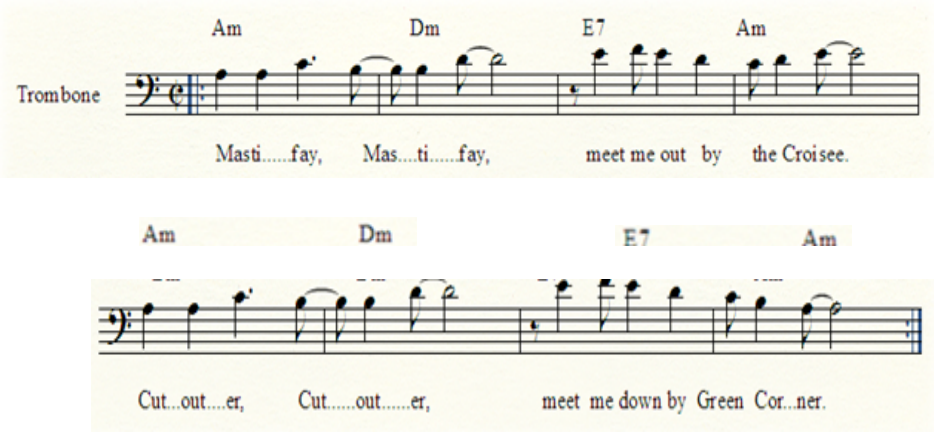


Fig. 38: Example 24 Lavway: i - iv - V7 - i harmonic structure, transcribed by the author.

Zingay

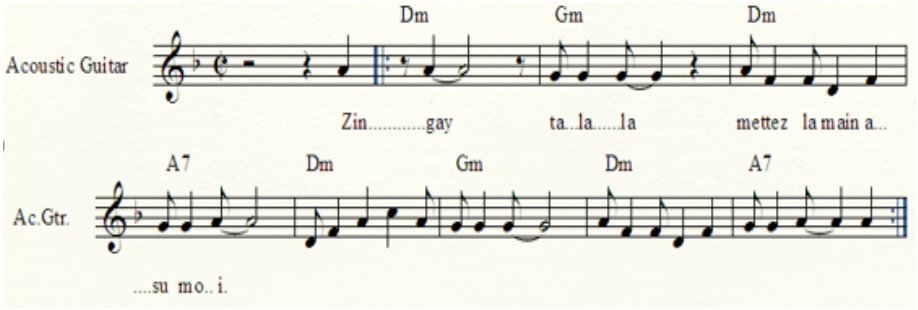


Fig. 39: Example 25 Lavway: i - iv - i - V7 harmonic structure, transcribed by the author.

A few other lavway-type progressions are included for the reader's perusal. As can be observed, lavways exhibit more harmonic variations than any of the other calypso genres reviewed so far.

Trouble in Arima

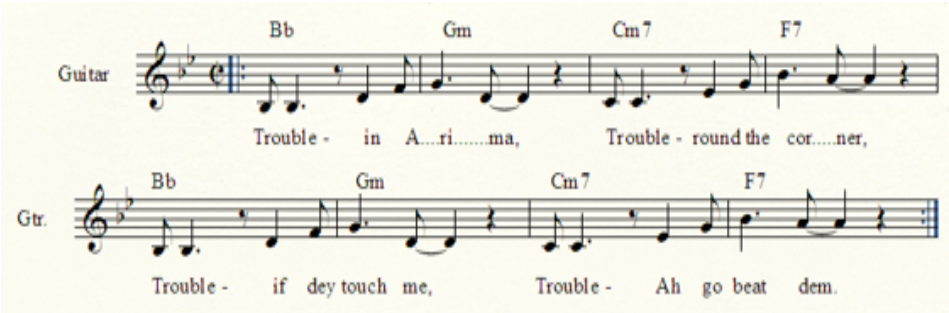


Fig. 40: Example 26 Lavway: I - vi - ii - V7 harmonic structure, transcribed by the author.

Tan Tan

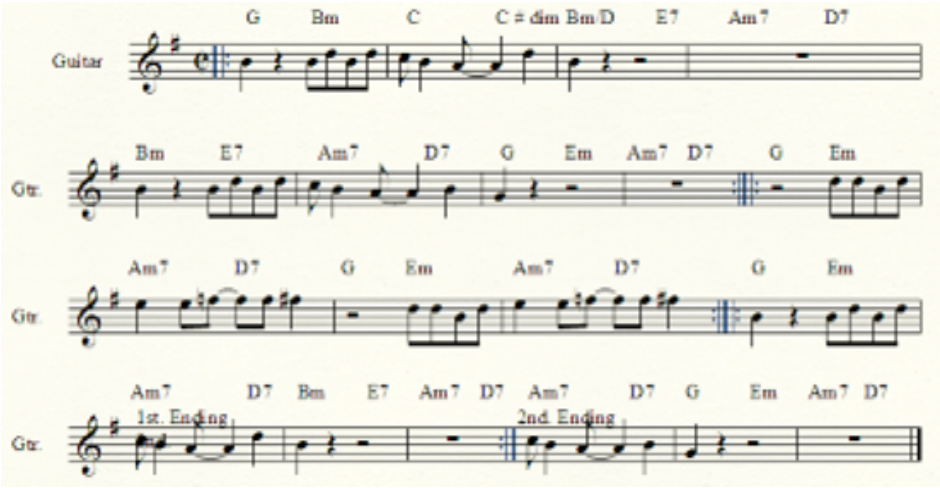


Fig. 41: Example 27 Lavway, transcribed by the author.

Fire Brigade Water the Road

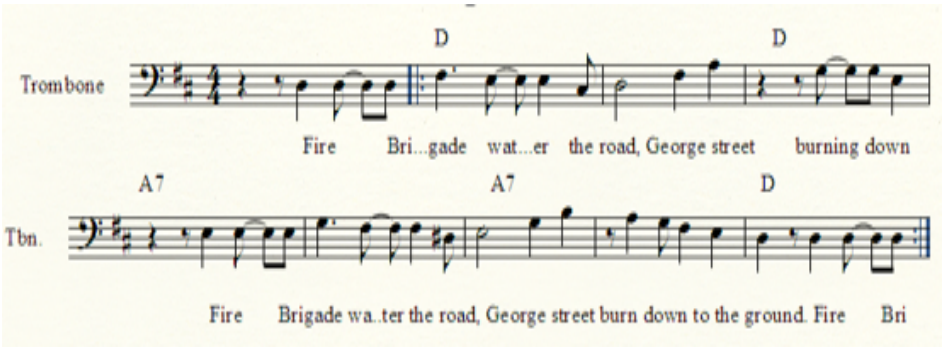


Fig. 42: Example 28 Lavway, transcribed by the author.

Fire Brigade Water the Road and an earlier calinda chant *When Ah Dead Bury Meh Clothes* share the same melody and their titles and refrains share the same iambic pentameter. A similar melodic and harmonic resemblance is extant between *Zingay* and *J'ouvert Barrio*.

The calypso genres perused have been presented in chronological order and under close scrutiny an unbroken succession of transmission can be detected. The next calypso strain also retained features detected in earlier genres. At this point the discussion previously introduced on page 67 about the sans humanité strain of calypso can now be resumed.

Sans Humanité or Oratorical Calypso

Informing us about this strain as a transmission of the ancient calinda chants, Rohlehr (1990) has stated that,

> This form of the Calypso, which was popular between 1900 and 1925, retained a number of elements of the earlier Calinda chants. They have always been performed extemporaneously in minor keys. Their lyric portrays a tone of boastfulness and ridicule and therefore functions as verbal sorties in rhyming duels in song called 'Calypso War'. (p. 60)

The word *sanimanite* is a phonetic mutation of *sans humanit*é (Fr.) meaning 'without pity' and was almost always interjected at the end of each sortie. In light of the intent of the sorties leveled at one's rival, it is evident that the term was meant to convey some degree of contempt and disregard toward one's opponent. Crowley (1959) has informed us that,

> The musical accompaniment to calypso was originally the kalenda drum rhythms, plus the skak-shak (maracas) and the bottle-and-spoon (or stones), and that many, such as the didactic "oration" calypsos of Lord Executor (Philip Garcia) were dirge-like, in what Western musicians call the minor mode, and each verse ended with "*Sanimanite*" (French: sans humanité), deriving directly from kalenda songs. (p. 63)

However, Houdini (Wilmoth Hendricks), billed as 'The Calypso King of New York' in the early 1920's, popularized a substitution 'every one and all' which coincided with his efforts to make calypso more appealing to a more affluent public. Other substitutions have appeared. Lord Executor for example often sang 'in the colony' and Atilla would sometimes interject 'master mi minor'. In the Bahamas the phrase 'sans humanité' was replaced by 'sunday morning too'.

The following sorties cited by Liverpool (1987) showcase the textual styles of three giants of the art form, and exemplify how they were used during engagements of verbal war. Houdini attacks, and Atilla retaliates to the taunting:

> *In the dungeons of Hell, Where I did not know*
> *I commanded Lucifer to open the do (door)*
> *He said what kind of brave human can it be?*
> *I said it is me Houdini, master mystery.*
> *I come with the intention here to rebel*
> *And I proclaim 'Tonight fire catching hell'.*
> *Look at me, my diplomacy, I must trample enemy,*
> *Sans humanité.*
>
> Houdini

> *From the very first day that I was born,*
> *Men like Houdini started to mourn.*
> *Monarchs wept and Princes cried*
> *When they saw this new star in the sky*
> *Astronomers in my horoscope state*
> *He'll be proud, illustrious and great*
> *And they named me* Atilla*, the terror, the brutal conqueror*
> *Sans humanité.*
>
> Atilla the Hun

Another master batonnier Chinee Patrick (Patrick Jones), confronts Executor:

To lament is too late
For my laws now you violate
You must try the stars now and make your home
You'll tremble in space and be left alone.
Unless you should take a trip to the moon
Not even you re-enter your mother's womb
You can't escape
Ah barricade the gate, so you bound to supplicate,
Sans humanité.

Chinee Patrick

Patrick was an anti-colonialist and he used the extempo idiom to address inconsistencies and vent indignation toward Crown Colony Government. He narrowly escaped being charged with sedition in keeping with the censorship campaign when he sang the following classic:

Class Legislation
Class legislation is the order of the land
We are ruled by an iron hand,
Class legislation is the order of the land
We are ruled by an iron hand,
Britain boasts of democracy
Brotherly love and fraternity
But British colonies have been ruled in perpetual misery
Sans humanité

Chinee Patrick

Rum Glorious Rum

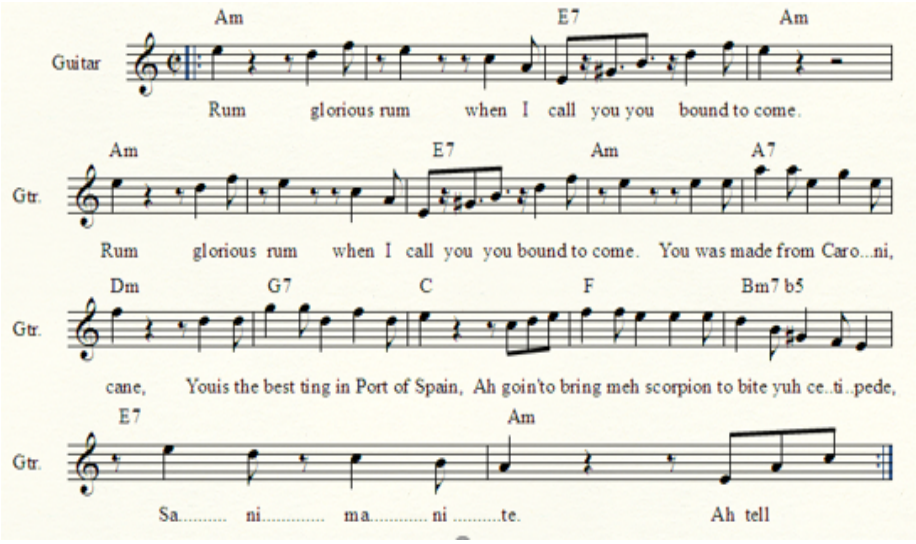


Fig. 43: Example 29 Sans humanité calypso, transcribed by the author.

The texts and transcriptions are presented so as to facilitate perusal and analysis of the genre's lyrical style and its melodic and harmonic structure. All of the preceding calypsos are based on the following stock template.

Stock Sans humanité melody

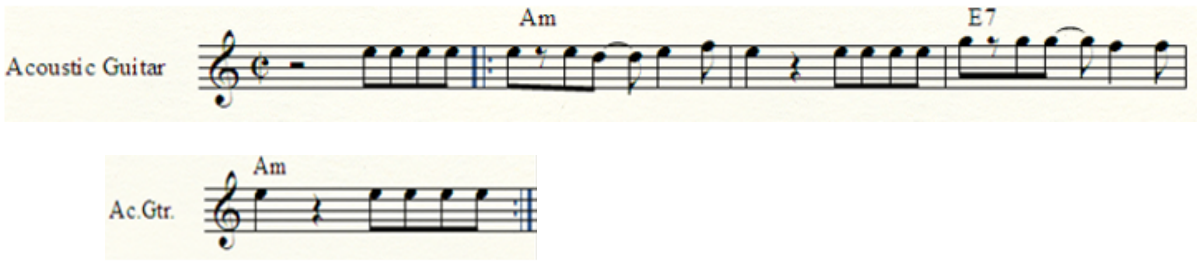


Fig. 44: Example 30 Stock Sans humanité calypso, transcribed by the author.

Rum Glorious Rum is somewhat of an exception, for although it was constructed in sans humanité style, its text has been customarily used as a drinking song by revelers during house to house serenading at Christmas time. In its own peculiar way however, its text embodies self-promotion: the chantwel's boasts of being successful at getting another drink, encouragement: the compliment he pays to the Caroni crop of sugar cane, and bravado: the threat he makes in the closing line. Analysis of the stock melody and accompanying harmony illustrated in example 24 and the transcription illustrated in example 25 reveals that two compositional devices were used. A chromatic embellishment (melisma) around the fifth pitch of the pure minor scale outlining the first two measures is answered in the fourth and fifth measures by a symmetric rhythmic phrase utilizing stepwise movement from the seventh pitch of the scale to the beginning fifth pitch. Further comparison between the two transcriptions reveals that the melody stated in the first eight measures of both examples is constructed around the fifth pitch of the minor scale employed and that a common motif is used to conclude the second part of both melodies; it is outlined by measures 9 through 16 of example 25. Through the years, only a few generic variations have been popular and recurrent.

As can be seen from a perusal of the previously presented sorties, in addition to bravado and grandiose speech, knowledge of a wide range of topics and the use of metaphor were necessary attributes of masters of sans humanité calypso. These skills were attributes of the Pierrot Grenade too, a masquerade character that appeared in Trinidad soon after 1900 and impacted the Oratorical calypso in terms of eloquence, timing, and delivery.

The appearance of the Pierrot Grenade coincided with the changeover from French Creole to English and both he and the calypsonian of the sans humanité era meandered between the two

idioms when rendering their rhetoric. In his tributary work *Kaisonians to Remember* (1987), Liverpool reported that Lord Executor is celebrated as the calypsonian who "championed the change to English made by Norman Le Blanc and Senior Inventor," and "cemented the eight-line minor key". Liverpool (1987) has also noted that,

> With the possible exception of the just mentioned Senior Inventor, Executor was considered by his peers and by enthusiasts as being "the greatest extempore singer". (p. 1-8)

Rohlehr (1990, p. 68) citing Breen (p. 195-196) tells us that the rhetoric of the traditional Pierrot "dealt with his own aristocracy and invincibility, and was adorned with information about great kings and warriors, or quotations from the classics of English literature".

Pompous rhetoric and the characteristics of boasting and 'grand-charging' (threatening) appeared later in the orations of the 'Bad John' (local bad man) and the masquerade character the 'Midnight Robber.' Both features eventually became formalized in Trinidadian society:

Bad Johns
I am Christopher son of Lucifer
I ent boasting but
I ent fraid to dead
I was born in a graveyard
Ask Riggin and Mackie Scott
Even big nose Zigily
One time in Sipari
They see me beat the whole a Red Army
The Mighty Sparrow

During the 1905 exodus from Port of Spain some calypsonians migrated to the United States and England. Lord Invader's *Me One Alo*ne was among the first calypsos that helped to keep ancient bones of contention alive among migrant calypsonians alive in England:

Me One Alone

Yes, me one alone back in Britain… *Me one alone* (Response)
Invader de master of calypsonian…
Dey could bring de lord Kitchener from Manchester…
Or de Mighty Terror who gone to Africa…
De Lord Invader, born Trinidadian…
Tell dem I am a master calypsonian…
Ah want dem to know
I am the Ambassador of Calypso…
Tell dem de Lord Invader ent making no fun…
Because I am de conqueror of Britain…
Lord Inventor will never surrender…
Because I am de High Priest of mi minor…
Lord Invader

There is evidence of similar rivalry in England between Trinidadian calypsonians and Jamaican mento singers. Given the confrontational history of calinda songs and the ability of the Trinidadian calypsonians to deliver impromptu renditions, it is quite understandable how such rivalry could ensue. Furthermore, rivalry would have been fueled naturally by basic survival instincts: competition for turf, jealousy, and feelings of patriotism proprietorship, and superiority. Mighty Terror's *Calypso War* below outlines those instincts and shows the rivalry between the two groups of performers:

Calypso War
Yes, rebellion and war
War, war
Rebellion and war
The Terror wants war, war
Now I come to the conclusion
To expose the secret of mock calypsonian
If you're not Trinidadian you're not a calypsonian
Here in Great Britain. (Substituted for *Sanimanite*)

Is only Terror, Lion and Lord Kitchener
In Britain are real calypso singers
All the rest you hear they from Jamaica
Each and every one there is an imposter
To make a calypso they can't make a line
They either sing Kitch songs or they singing mine
So they better run back Jamaica and plant the banana
And leave me and Kitchener (Substituted for *'Sanimanite'*)
If you want to see what I say is true
Just call a Jamaican singer to you
And ask him to sing extemporaneously
You will see that he hasn't the ability
But if you call up me or Lord Kitchener
We could sing from January to December
For we are born Trinidadians and real calypsonians
Here in Great Britain.

The Mighty Terror

The calypso also brilliantly demonstrates some of the most salient features of the sans humanité genre; the utilization of stock melody, harmonic structure, ridicule, bravado, simple and straightforward piquant jargon, confrontation, and the ability to articulate.

Sans humanité calypsos fell into disuse in the 1950's but were revived in the 1970's with their melodic and harmonic structures and other features of old intact. They have since remained unchanged surviving as a main feature of the annual Calypso War competitions.

The submergence of the sans humanité or oratorical calypso has been attributed mainly to the persistence of the majority of post-1905 calypsonians in using plain and ordinary speech, leading to the emergence in the 1920's of the ballad calypso.

The Ballad Calypso

The Ballad calypso has always been more suited to storytelling than the strains previously discussed, and has its origin in the 'barrack-yard'. Barrack-yards were slum yards consisting of long sheds that were divided into small rooms by wooden partitions and constructed against the back walls of adjacent buildings. The sheds encompassed the yards, so that the front of the rooms were within plain view from the yards that housed shared toilet and laundry facilities, consisting of a single water tap and a latrine.

The repertory of this argot of calypsos is vast and the song texts report on everyday occurrences that took place in and around these yards concerning the life of the lower-class citizenry (several calypsonians included) who inhabited them. Popular themes include trickery, mamagism (cajoling), local scandal and love in the context of the calypsonian's own self-celebration as 'sweet man', and can be referenced in calypsos of the 1920's such as *Why Mih Neighbor Vex with Me*, a 1927 favorite by Railway Douglas, and in calypsos beyond the 1950's such as Panther's *Barrack Room Scandal,* and the Mighty Sparrow's *Carlton the Peeping Tom* presented on the following pages.

Two devices intrinsic to calypsos in general are implemented in the examples that exemplify the strain, and are representative of traits that had become formalized in Trinidadian society. The first, the 'double standard', is employed in lines 3 to 6 of the verse of *Why Mih Neighbor Vex with Me* wherein both participants are revealed as victim/perpetrator of the same 'crime':

Why Mih Neighbor Vex with Me
Can you tell me if this is right
What me neighbor done me the other night
There was a hole in the partition
Which I kept for observation
And as you know, the partition was low
And she climb up and peep and saw
This morning she had the whole yard hot
With all that she saw and the devil knows what

Railway Douglas

The second device, the 'grand charge' or bluff, is employed in the fifth and sixth lines of the verse of *Carlton the Peeping Tom* below. In reality the victim does not intend to leave, due to

her status of barrack yard tenant at the bottom end of the impoverished sector of the community. Additionally, her ranting and raving would have been characteristically a boisterous demonstration intended for, and well attended by, an audience of gossip-mongers:

Carlton the Peeping Tom
Murder, murder, help save me
This girl start to cry
A man in the key hole peeping
Look ah see he eye
Well I ain't staying here no longer
I am going away
I got no privacy here,
Ayeyayae Carlton move from dey

Chorus
Carlton is a peeping tom
**Carlton peeping at me*
Way he get this habit from
**Carlton peeping at me*
I come inside to rest,
ah take off me shoes and me dress
But when ah peep through the jalousie
Who ah see
**Carlton peeping at me*

The Mighty Sparrow

Note that the chorus of this calypso too is rendered in the call-and-response style retained from the calindas and lavways. Rohlehr (1990) has analyzed the period between 1920 and 1940 during the emergence of ballad calypsos as a period that,

> involved a certain domestication of the heroic persona, in that the perceived arena of encounter within the fictional world of the Calypso, which had once been the stickfighter's *gayelle* or the road, and had between 1900 and 1920 been the bamboo and cocoyea tent now also became the barrack-room, and would later with a few singers become the bedroom…The shift in locus of encounter from *gayelle* and road to barrack-room, was accompanied by a transformation in the form of Calypso, from the litanic Calinda which formally incorporated the tension and shared reciprocity between individual and group, through *Sans Humanit*é whose fixed formulaic melody made it possible for singers to concentrate on the improvisation of *picong*, to the Ballad from where at last the Calypso became the vehicle for narratives about the everyday lives of ordinary Trinidadians. (p. 214-215)

According to Rohlehr (1990), because of this strain of calypso,

> Calypsonians were now confronted with the challenge to create fictions from observed domestic situations, current events read of in the newspapers, and rumors. Scandals from the lives of the ruling élite or bourgeoning middle class provided a particularly choice source of calypso fiction; one that was fed by gossip-mongers from among the very middle class who enjoyed the indecent exposure of their own group to public scrutiny.

> In the process of fictionalizing domestic lower class situations, calypsonians brought into focus the confrontation of males and females, in a context where both were battling for economic survival. Never before had this confrontation received such close, varied and extensive scrutiny as in the post 1920's period. (p. 215-216)
>
> They tell these stories not only as observers, but as participants in a life which had many facets and dimensions. This does not, of course, mean that these calypsos are autobiographical. Like the emerging novels and short stories of the period, they were a fictionalizing of observed or imagined social reality. (p. 216)

The next strain of calypsos brings us to the end of the list of genres that are categorized under the heading Authentic Trinidadian Calypso Music. It is a combination of some of the most salient features of all the strains previously mentioned. It employs the narrative and scandal of the ballad calypso, the piquant lashing of the sans humanité strain, the fluid eloquence and timing of the oratorical calypso, and the combative delivery as well as the mocking and ridicule of the calinda strain.

The Rhetorical Calypso

Rhetorical calypsos are more superfluous than the other strains and for that reason are usually performed at slower tempos in order to facilitate comprehension. Additionally, they are not as heavily dependent on rhyme, lavway or litany. The song title is traditionally reiterated as the second half of a two-line litanic chant only at the end of each chorus.

Both the ballad (as in *Carlton the Peeping Tom* on the preceding pages) and the rhetorical strains incorporate combined aspects of form, style and melodic and harmonic features belonging to the other strains. These two genres host the lengthiest compositions, usually have no fixed harmonic structure, and are performed at various tempos along a range between the slowest dirges to the jumpiest road marches.

Sometimes the first line of calypsos belonging to both strains is repeated and often supported by the following harmonic progression:

|I ii | iii b iii | ii V 7 | I |

|C D m | E m Eb m | D m G 7 | C |

The following progression:

|I I7 | IV iv | I vi | ii V 7|

|D D7 |G Gm| D Bm | Em A7 |

is sometimes used to support the last four measures of the narrative or more commonly, as the basic harmonic structure of lavways. *Don't Stop the Carnival* below is presented as an example:

Don't Stop the Carnival

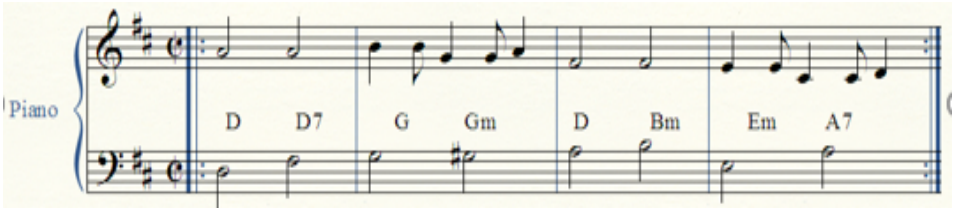


Fig. 45: Example 31 Typical ballad progression, transcribed by the author.

Having now surveyed both strains: calypso-related music and calypsos considered belonging to the pantheon of authentic Trinidadian calypsos, the distinction between them should be evident to the reader. Focus can now be shifted to the sources of external influences that have had an impact on the Trinidadian calypso.

It has been generally accepted that contemporary Trinidad calypso, having developed as a syncretic music form, has ingredients which include: Venezuelan melodies, rhythms and instrumentation introduced by way of the 'pasillo ' or 'paseo' in the early twentieth century; melodic and harmonic material of French, Irish and English origin; Patois or Creole lyrics through the nineteenth century; English and local Afro-Trinidadian vernacular beginning at the turn of the century; thematic material and melodic, rhythmic and linguistic nuances from Asian Indian cultural tradition; and various elements from music forms extant in other parts of the Caribbean and North, South and Central America during the middle and latter part of the twentieth century and beyond.

Although contributions by other ethnicities are important their significance is not relevant at this time because of their late entry into the chronology of events that had initially guided the early evolution of the calypso genre in Trinidad. As reported by Hill (1976) the whites and educated colored classes looked to Europe for their cultural heritage,

> Their contribution to native Trinidad culture would for years continue to be coincidental rather than fundamental; they did not need a native culture and sought often to obstruct its development. The black slaves were mere spectators [of the Carnival festivities], and the dwindling number of Amerindians kept aloof. The Asiatics, when they arrived, retained their language and customs, they remained spiritually a part of India or China, not Trinidad. (p. 60)

The African slave however, forced to postpone or abandon dreams of repatriation, made an identity shift, a shift during which music retained its centrality. Improvisation by the contingent and its individual members had led to incorporation of new and foreign ingredients relative to instrumentation, linguistic features, performing style, and musical traits. The 'brew,' calypso music, became one of the main mediums by which a 'new' identity was established and by which cultural superiority was achieved and maintained. The commencement of these two processes coincides with Emancipation, has been introduced earlier, and is the topic of subsequent discussion.

As a boy, when I misplaced a toy and inquired of my father as to its whereabouts he would often make a gesture with his hands, as if pointing to its location, while saying "Look where it is". It took several repetitions of this prank and many moments of anxiety and frustration before I learned to 'look where it was'. Perhaps in our search for missing links in the relationship between culture and identity we have not looked 'where it is'. It is therefore time to widen the range of the lenses through which the relationship has been scrutinized. The study will now focus on identity theory with the aim of correlating aspects of posits advanced on the functions of calypso music strains in Trinidadian society.

Chapter 3
Defining Identity

Identity: Theory, Categorizations, Construction and Maintenance

Identity categorizations, relationships between personal, social and collective identity, and the question of multiple identities have been central themes in social psychology. The question of identity relative to its construction, maintenance and its multiplicity, and relative to the interconnectedness between multiple identities will now be explored. This exploration will be initiated in order to get a broader understanding of the psycho-social aspects of identity, and their impact on individual and group dynamics. Once identity processes have been identified they can be then correlated to functions of music in society.

By incorporating arguments that are central to structural symbolic interactionist thought, I will attempt to show that identification with group practice and ideology encourages individuals and groups to subjectively engage in activity that influences social process, and allows them to construct and maintain positive social identities. In order to clarify these and other clinical concerns for the benefit of the reader, and answer two pertinent questions namely, 'What is an identity?' and 'How is identity constructed and maintained?' I refer to the following empirical theories and excerpts of psychological thought:

The identity theory (Stryker, 1980, 1987; Stryker & Burke, 2000) states that: "Identities are internalized role expectations" (p. 286) and that during interaction, "self-images develop in the context of meanings of roles and counter roles" (p. 287).

In other words, an identity is a set of meanings applied to the self in a social role or situation, defining what it means to be who one is in that role or situation (as understood from Burke and Tully, 1977; Stryker, 1980). Identities, as defined in the identity theory (Stryker 1980, 1987), are organized into a hierarchy of salience and commitment, reflecting the embeddedness of the individual in the social structure (ibid.). Burke (1991) and Swann (1990) have interjected that through interaction with others in counter roles, as individuals seek to verify self-meaning. It has been generally accepted that identities are verified when perceptions of the social environment match identity meanings and that feedback about the self is generally consistent with the identity. The inferred assumption that the behaviors we exhibit in order to maintain consistency between self-meaning and perception are a reflection

of our identity, is corroborated by role identity theory, the gist of which is: we project an imagined view of ourselves as we would like to be perceived by others during social interaction (McCall and Simmons, 1978, 1988).

The editors of *The Nature of Negro Self-Identity* have forwarded the following statement which is an elaboration upon the role theory forwarded by McCall and Simmons:

> The individual both 'identifies' and evaluates himself. Thus he learns 'who he is' on dimensions such as appearance, group membership, achievement, and aspirations…In addition to this limited view of self, the individual also acquires a more general evaluative view of self which is usually called self-esteem or self-acceptance. (Proshansky and Newton, 1968, p. 178)

The social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1981, 1982) goes a step further, suggesting that individuals adopt personal identities as unique persons as well as social identities which reflect membership in various groups to which they belong. It has also provided an understanding of processes relating to identity types by having codified the conflict between the individual and the group as personal identity and social identity. The theory suggests that personal identity involves the individual's feelings of difference to others, whereas social identity involves the individual's feelings of similarity to others (Tajfel 1972, p. 63).

Bernard Simon (2004) has suggested that identity results from interaction in the social world, and in turn guides interaction in the social world. He has summarized that,

> As a more balanced framework for the analysis of the self-society reciprocity, identity theory (Stryker, 1980, 1987) builds on the introduction of role theory into symbolic interactionism and allows for the incorporation of both interactionally constructed and social structural aspects of the social person…identity theory proposes that people have multiple identities which result from participation in multiple sets of role relationships…The central proposition of identity theory that relates these key concepts to each other (Stryker, 187, p. 89), asserts that, "commitment impacts identity, salience impacts role performance."… Identity as a promising…programme for the integration of structural interactionism and role theory offers a number of important insights. (p. 23-25)

As interpreted by Simon those insights are listed as follows:

- Identities are relational. They reflect people's differentiated positions vis-à-vis each other;
- Identities are socially constructed. They have socially shared meanings which are constantly (re)negotiated during social reaction;
- Identities are socially structured. They reflect the structured social contact of social reaction which is also the context of their construction;
- People typically have multiple identities. This multiplicity reflects the number of differentiated positions and roles available;

- Identities have social consequences. They are a source of motivation, shape social reaction, direct individual and collective behavior and can also impact on social structure.

"Taken together," Simon concluded, "the concept of identity serves to bridge social structure (society) and social person (self) (Simon, 2004, p. 23-25).

John Turner's (1987) self-categorization theory, an extension to his social identity theory, states that,

> Individuals categorize themselves as members of social categories, and then define, describe and evaluate themselves in terms of these categories. In the process of self-categorization, a set of cognitive representations of self is formed. Part of the cognitive representations reflects the perceived membership of individuals in groups. Since individuals belong to various groups, they possess multiple representations of self. (p. 77-100)

The concept of multiple identities had previously been questioned and criticized but in defense of multiplicity of identity I have cited Gloria Cumper, who has concluded that, "No person has a single identity" and [that] "the search in the terms in which it has been proposed [is] misconceived" (Cumper, 1971, p. 144-145).

Finally, because of empirical evidence, criticism of Mead's (1934) suggestion that individuals possess multiple personalities that they switch on and off in order to fulfill the role expectation for any given social encounter, has been reversed. The insights of role theory as outlined above are referred to in support.

Nettleford (2003), in reference to cultural identity and pluralism in the Caribbean, has stated that "the cultural diversity becomes the framework for the different groups to hold on to their different ethnocentric or class positions," and has referred to what he calls a "perverted" cultural diversity that seemingly,

> Drives many Jamaicans [West Indians in general because of the demographic and historical parallel] to a range of responses and positions- some of them contradictory …some people… opt for the very pluralism they question. For tactically it would give them a chance to develop a strong Afro-Jamaican [Afro-Trinidadian or Afro-Caribbean] tradition unhindered by having to bother with accommodations with other ethnic groups in the society. But other ethno cultural groups in the society would support the pluralist approach for the same reason-*viz*: in order to be left free to maintain their own position especially if they belong to minority groups…A realization of the implications of numerical [cultural, political and economic] dominance of the other group has however forced many people to a nationalist position insisting, as minority groups, that it is the *Jamaicanness* [*Trinidadianness* or *West Indianness*] of the Jamaican [Trinidadian or West Indian] that really matters rather than his being White (Euro), Black (Afro), Chinese or East Indian. (p. 5-6)

Relatedly, Simon (2004) has further reported that the Social Categorization Theory (SCT) has generated an impressive body of empirical research to test its central tenets. Turner's (1987) social identity and self-categorization theories, for instance, successfully argue that

individuals are driven to develop an identity, and that as a result of this desire, their behavior influences group and intragroup actions. Groups also strive to establish and maintain unique group identity and engage in struggle with other groups in order achieve this goal. Group identity is displayed in symbols such as flags, monograms, uniforms, slogans, and music.

In keeping with this position, Bar-Tal (1990) has stated that,

> In addition to social categorization other cognitive representations such as goals, ideologies and beliefs are formed. Group goals and ideologies often function as group beliefs, which, for example, 'We are oppressed', and 'We shall overcome' define the boundaries of the group. Group beliefs are defined as convictions that group members are aware that they share, and consider as defining their 'groupness.' (p. 36)

Bar-Tal (1998) has additionally stated that "goals provide a basis for solidarity, and give direction for activity" (p. 99-100), and in his introduction to *Group Beliefs* (1990), he wrote that "shared beliefs have the distinctive potential to determine the boundaries of the group."

These posits have been recurrently emphasized in the field of social science by Lewin (1947), Lane (1962), March and Simon (1993 [1958]), and Sherif (1966) respectively. March and Simon have further stated that,

> The greater the extent to which goals are perceived as shared among members of a group, the stronger the propensity of the individual to identify with the group and vice versa. (p. 66)

The identity theories presented in this chapter outline the cognitive-emotional processes by which the identity of groups and individuals is shaped. They share the underlying posit that individuals and groups have a desire to establish positive social identity. It is this cognitive-emotional process which shapes the social identities of individuals and the collective identity of groups (the we-ness), that creates a 'state' of readiness and commitment to unified action and also susceptibility to suggestion. This 'state' and its implications will be fully addressed later in the discussion and correlated to specific functions of calypso music in Trinidadian society.

Moscovici (1976) has proposed that the function of social influence is to maintain social control. Citing Hare's (1965, p. 23) shared belief that individuals can accomplish a concerted action or constitute a group only with the help of one form of social control or another, Moscovici has suggested that in order for such a movement to take place, every person must have the same values, norms, and judgment criteria; and that everyone accepts and refers to these (p. 17). This viewpoint is corroborated by the normative or group-centered kind of social influence which stipulates the necessity of convergence toward identical opinions and

is determined by the relations between individuals and has been outlined by Deutsch and Gerard (1955) and Thibaut and Strickland (1956).

Since, as Moscovici (1976) has shown, "such cohesion and attraction strengthens the degree of influence" and that group cohesion is usually "manipulated by creating a basis by which people are alike" (p. 17-18), it follows that race, ethnicity and social status would be considered strong indicators for triggering processes of social influence. The context of the term 'social influence' as used in the scope of this study is twofold and refers to:

- any change of opinion or behavior collectively exhibited by one group, and
- any behavior collectively engaged in by individual members of one group, that is a consequence of the actions of individuals or members of another group.

Taken in this context, it becomes clear that social influence and social control are reciprocal processes, as supported by the literature. The historical accounts reported in chapter 1 of this study as cited in Elder, Hill, Lamson and Rohlehr have clearly shown that the relationships and interactions negotiated between the white upper class 'majority' and the colored lower class 'minority' or Jamette sector in turn of the century Trinidadian society are identical to the relationships and interactions outlined in the models presented in the foregoing identity theories. New identities had been established in the psychosocial and cultural domains because of dislocation, separation, repression, confrontation (conflict), and feelings of belonging. The 'majority' group established and maintained its identity by the initiation of political, economic and social control via psychological and cultural repression.

The 'minority' group was forced into accepting the lowest status within society and that had fostered a devalued sense of self-esteem among them. However, as the 'minority' group began to assert the defining cultural attributes of their 'lost' identity (music, song and dance revitalized by local grassroots vernacular, performing style, innovation and other survival instincts), it catapulted them to a position of cultural dominance. This in turn reciprocally caused the withdrawal of members of the 'majority' group from the socio-cultural landscape which over time effected acculturation among all groups, i.e. the 'majority' group as well as the other 'sub' or 'out-groups'.

The model for group and individual relations in culturally plural societies developed by Sommerland and Berry (1970), and Berry (1997, 1980), is based on the observation that, in such societies individuals and groups must confront two important issues,

- whether to maintain one's ethnic distinctiveness in society, and

- whether inter-ethnic contact is wanted.

Berry's classification model, based on the 'yes' or 'no' answers generated from the above inquiry, has established the following four options: assimilation, integration, segregation-separation and de-culturation. It has been a conceptually and empirically useful as a framework for research on intragroup relations (Berry, 1997; Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1977; Berry, Wintrob, Sindell & Mawhinney, 1982).

In Trinidadian society, attempts at the third option (segregation-separation) had been unsuccessful; instead, the first two options of the model, assimilation and integration had been realized. This afforded the socio-cultural identity of all groups to co-exist, be maintained, and become an integral part of the larger socio-cultural mosaic. This is evidenced by the fact that calypso music and participation in the carnival festivities have been embraced by all groups and have been elevated to national cultural iconic status. In other words, a decision-making process was involved which resulted in cultural and social change.

Blacking (1977) has referred to Katz (1970, p. 469) on the topic of intentionality in group expression. He wrote,

> The importance of intentionality in group expression, is well illustrated by Ruth Katz's (1970) careful analysis of the singing of Aleppo Jews in Israel, where the younger generation developed mannerisms in their performance of traditional music: dedicated to the preservation of a minority tradition and resistance to acceptance of majority group culture, they exaggerated and embellished those elements of traditional culture by means which the majority [identified] the minority and the minority [came] to identify itself. (Cited by Blacking, 1977, p. 12)

Moscovici (1967, p. 20) has pointed to another aspect of reciprocal interaction, 'informational dependency,' one of two sub-categories of social dependency distinguished by Jones and Gerard (1967, p. 714). It determines the reliance of one person on another for information about the environment, its meaning, and the possibilities of action on it. According to Moscovici,

> There is a tendency of individuals to seek objective correctness in their judgments about phenomena, to seek validation of their judgments, and to seek adaptation to the environment in this manner. Unable to achieve these goals independently they are compelled to appeal to other individuals for judgment and validation of their own judgments. Dependence on a mediator opens the way to influence. (p. 21)

Kelly and Thibaut (1978) have expanded on this idea as follows:

> The degree of influence is contingent upon the type of relationship between the initiator and the recipient and so a tendency towards submission can result from the recipient's strong

> positive attachment to and attraction for the initiator. Perceived expertness, credibility, admiration and trustworthiness become key factors in this type of relationship. (p. 743)

These virtues underpin what Hollander (1958) has labeled the "idiosyncrasy credit" in his hypothesis about each individual in a group. It represents the accumulation of favorable disposition on the part of others toward the individual. This is one of the factors that account for the centrality of the African griot and his later 'counterparts' in the Caribbean and Latin America: the shatwel in St. Lucia; the chantwel in Trinidad; the *salsero* in Puerto Rico and Cuba; and calypsonians throughout the islands of the Caribbean. As reiterated by Moscovici, (1967),

> The greater his credit, the greater will be the confidence placed in him by his fellows, and the more favorable will be his position for deviating, for acting without taking majority opinion into account. Hollander has proved in several experiments that the individual with a large stock of credit of this sort, acquired either through his competence or by his adherence to group goals, can take the opportunity of acting in a non-conformist way, and still have influence. (p. 39-40)

The calypsonian/audience relationship is a fitting example of the "idiosyncrasy credit" association model by virtue of the entertainer's intent to elucidate shortcomings and bring about public awareness among the general public. These aspects of the calypsonian's craft have been heavily relied upon and have remained one of the defining characteristics of the idiom. Dependency theory relevant to communication, advanced by Ball-Rokeach and De Fleur (1976) uphold the following two core assumptions that:

> One depends on media information to meet needs and achieve goals, and one is more dependent on media that satisfies needs, and that,
>
> When social change and conflict are high and established institutions, beliefs and practices are challenged forcing reevaluation, dependency on media will increase. (https://www.utwente.nl/cw/theorieenoverzicht/Theoryclusters/MassMedia/DependencyTheory)

Social stability becomes the source of dependency then, and needs may be shaped by culture or social conditions. The calypso and its affiliated institutions fulfilled the role of media in Trinidadian society during those days of class confrontation. The initiator/recipient models outlined on the preceding pages parallel the relationship between the calypsonian and his lower-class 'minority' audience. It does not however fully account for the calypsonian's relationship with the upper-class repressive 'majority'. Some peculiarity in the relationship between the two entities was crucial to the eventual iconic status that the calypsonian and his music have achieved. How could the out-group at the lowest rung of the social ladder influence the change of opinion of their elitist oppressors?

Jones (1956) has suggested that this sort of influence could be achieved through compliments and flattery and that as the initiator became more alluring the recipient would be more inclined to bestow favors upon him, rather than take them away. But this is not entirely plausible or convincing when applied to the plight of the calypsonian in Trinidad. The calypsonian's employment of flattery and praise of his repressor should not be mistaken for a sign of submission, for as history has revealed, the calypsonian has remained defiant and caustic in his criticism of the authorities and of the upper-classes in the face of the stringent measures leveled against him. On the contrary, it was the 'repressive machine' (government, church and the white upper-class plantocracy) that resorted to strategies of concession and was molded into convergence by accepting the art form as the legitimate expression and predilection of the masses.

Confiding in a more empirical and plausible explanation therefore proved more helpful to the goals of this study. Moscovici (1976) has cited studies by Schanck (1932) which showed the discrepancy that may arise in a community between public and private opinion. Schank stated that,

> The activities of society…or of a group always result in the establishment of a norm and the consolidation of a majority response. Once such a norm and response have been elaborated, behaviors, opinions, the means of satisfying needs, and in fact all social acts are divided into four categories: what is permitted, and what is forbidden; what is included, and what is excluded…the existence of internal conflict, or discrepancy between degrees of adherence to norms and judgments, creates a predisposition towards, and potential for, change. (Cited by Moscovici, p. 68-70)

The following analysis of Shank's quotation was advanced by Moscovici. "Hence", he wrote,

> The minority, which represents the repressed or rejected opinion or behavior, boldly reveals in public what has been the case in private; it always has a certain hold on the majority, and can induce it to modify its behavior or attitude, so that it becomes more tolerant towards what was previously excluded or forbidden. (1976, p. 68-70)

According to Moscovici (1976, p. 74) the analysis was meant to point out that contradiction between the real and the ideal in a society will create conditions in which those who are pushed to the periphery by the society will exert an attractive force. He also stated that,

> Many categories of deviants and minorities represent groups that have been placed in an inferior position, excluded from the society's idea of normality, by various forms of discrimination- economic, social, racial...Such a conflict between principles and reality not only creates internal conflicts, but also a sense of guilt…there will still be some people who feel very strongly that…justifications are not adequate, and that the strain they feel can only be reduced by identifying with or adopting the way of life and viewpoint of these excluded groups…Of course, social guilt is not the only explanation of this of movement towards the

> deviant. A sense of justice, political beliefs, philosophical positions, may be also involved…In addition, some experiments …are beginning to show that a minority individual, while he may not necessarily be liked, may nevertheless be admired for his courage, sincerity, originality, and so on, and this will open up a whole range of initiatives to him when he tries to act on the majority. (p. 73-74)

Moscovici (ibid.) thereby establishes a case for the 'deviant' as being an effective change agent for social influence on the grounds that:

- the attraction of the deviant is confounded with the attraction of the forbidden which he symbolizes and that,
- social guilt ensues from the deprivation of rights that the social system and political or religious values grant to everyone else (p. 75-107).

In keeping with this position Clark and Maass (1990) pointed out that in-group minorities are more likely to be successful, as they are seen as part of the group and therefore their ideas are seen as more acceptable. The 'scenario' once again mirrors the plight of the Jamette sector that represented the extremity of Trinidadian society: the non-conformists to colonial ideals and behavior, the 'delineators' of mainstream national and cultural identity. Their engagement in cultural practices represented overt and covert, sometimes violent manifestations of symbolic defiance, while at the same time expressing cultural retention and transmission among Africans and Afro-Trinidadians. Those practices include the bamboula, calinda, tamboo bamboo, steel drum performance, the bongo and other 'forbidden' drum dances, 'syncretic' religious practice involving ancestral reverence, and the incorporation of French-Creole lyrics into the calypso genre and everyday speech. The pressure that the repressed minority exerted was strong and relentless.

As understood from the explanation given by Moscovici (1989), the term 'minority influence' is applied to the process whereby a minority group influences a majority group to accept the beliefs or behavior of that minority group. It usually involves conversion - a personal shift in private opinion. Conversion is different from compliance in that it involves internalization - both private and public acceptance of a new outlook or behavior. Moscovici has suggested that consistency is the key characteristic of successful minority influence and that minority influence is most likely to take place if the minority is consistent, flexible and appealing to the majority - characteristics that had been extant among the Jamette class.

Both Moscovici, using the conclusions from his 1969 colour perception task, and Nemeth and Wachtler (1974) successfully argued that minority influence is effective as it is consistent

over time and there is agreement among members of the minority. According to Moscovici (1986),

> When consistency is lost, so too is credibility and when a member of the minority deserts and joins the majority this damages the consistency and unity of the minority resulting in the defection of more members. (p. 350)

This statement is reciprocally true and applicable to the damages caused by the inconsistency of the majority due to the deflection of its members. Minorities have been known to change society's attitude which in turn has changed the personal opinion of the majority in that society. Van Avermaet (1996) has called this winning-over process the snowball effect.

Pérez et al. (1995) has called it social crypto-amnesia and attributes it to the innovation of the 'minority'. The following shared posit by Foote (1970 [1951]), and Burke (1991) is informed by Moscovici. It states that,

> Once the layers of rigidity of the 'majority' or the various out-groups have been penetrated, and *identification,* accessed through the cultural manifestations of any one out-group in question become an integral part of the popular mainstream, then social influence occurs and identities are verified. Verification of identities occurs because perceptions of the environment match identity meanings of the participants. The sense of belonging or 'We-ness' fostered by such verification renders group members prone to unified action and susceptible to suggestion especially when the unifying mechanism is perceived as maintaining group uniformity or group identity. (Cited by Moscovici, 1986, p. 349)

The 'scenario' under discussion on the preceding page also illuminates corroborating argument when the behavior initiated by the 'repressive machine' in response to the repressed masses is analyzed. It must be remembered that at an earlier time street masquerading had been a tradition among the elitist French planter community, tradition which represented exclusion and repression of the lower-class masses. Additionally, members of the French-Creole plantocracy had been indulgent in, and had assimilated several aspects of African slave culture by association and by choice. Research by Maass et al. (1982) has indicated that the majority is more likely to take the viewpoint of the minority seriously, and align their viewpoint with that of the minority, when the majority identifies with the minority. The reader is also reminded that a schism had been extant within both the upper and middle class contingents of society. These foregoing conditions would have been decisively catalytic to the revival of latent interest and renewed participation in the Jamette festivities among members of those two groups who had previously been sympathetic to Afro-cultural expression. The conditions would have been catalytic also to acceptance and perhaps participation among non-sympathizers, especially when reinforcement was being provided by

members of their own in-group, who had already reversed their opinion and resumed participation.

An example of such behavior survives in the form of a newspaper editorial in the *Port of Spain Gazette*, dated Feb 10, 1883. It expresses the unexpected defense of drums by upper-class French creoles. It was voiced in response to the law that had been drafted to institute the banning of drums in 1883 and is partially referenced in Hill.

> To Creoles, even of the higher classes, whose organs have been accustomed from their birth to this peculiar music, there is a cadence and rough harmony in their accompaniment of native songs which is far from disagreeable; and on the lower classes their effect is magical. We have only to look at a round of Belair and note the peculiar undulated motions of all present as they flow with their heads, their hands, [and] their whole bodies to the peculiar cadence of the music, to be convinced that, to their ears, there is more in the sound than the discordant noise which alone strikes the European. (Cited by Hill, 1976, p. 60)

General acceptance of the foregoing posits as being factual would establish that the calypso as a cultural manifestation in Trinidad has accomplished the following: it became an agent of social influence by penetrating the rigidity of both the majority group and the out-groups becoming a symbol of national identity; it enabled the verification of identities by matching perceptions of environment with identity meanings of individuals and of members of the various groups; and it became an equalizer, a unifying mechanism that has continued to foster and maintain group unity and group identity.

At this juncture several generally accepted theories in the field of psychology pertaining to identity will be revisited since they are arches of support that are applicable to the following positions taken by this study that:

- the calypso has been an agent of social control, and
- it has enabled the construction and maintenance of identity.

Tajfel's (1978, 1981 and 1982) social identity theory and Turner's (1987) self-categorization theory share a common posit. Tajfel's theory posits that individuals "form a social identity which reflects their membership in various groups to which they belong". Its extension, Turner's theory posits that in the process of self-categorization a set of cognitive representations of the self is formed, part of which reflects the perceived membership of individuals in groups and that since individuals belong to various groups, they possess multiple representations of the self.

Smith-Lovin (1988, p. 167-171), in support of Mead's suggestion in reference to multiple identities, has successfully argued that a range of social identities are used by people to

represent how they envision themselves in situations. She has additionally cited Stryker's work and his research with Richard Serpe (1982) in linking role patterns with the internalized meanings that roles had for individuals, as having provided the connection between social structure and meaning and action that drives structural symbolic interaction today.

Further citing work wherein identity meanings acted as a reference signal to control behavior she has reported that,

> The central premise of the Affect Control Theory (ACT) (Heise, 1979; Heise and Smith-Lovin, 1988; MacKinnon, 1994) is that people act to maintain alignment of their identity meanings with the impressions created by local social interaction, either through actions or through reinterpretation of events. The 'internal' branches of structural symbolic interaction - affect control theory and identity control theory- assume that one identity becomes paramount above others in a given interaction and that actors operate to maintain that identity…the connectionist representation of identity processing is consistent with affect control theory's view of the relationship between individuals and the culture from which they derive identity meanings… Individual meanings are developed out of contact with society and individuals act as learners, carriers and innovators of cultural meanings…each individual represents a variety of self-concepts (identities) within a parallel social system and these associated meanings are shared with other individuals and represented symbolically by cultural artifacts (books, films, language use, music, food etc.) (Smith-Lovin, 1988, p. 174-176)

The literature has shown so far that social change involves some degree of intergroup interaction or confrontation. These are precisely the conditions that stimulate repressed groups to establish and maintain cultural identity, and in the process become identified by the 'mainstream' dominant group via that identity. This topic is briefly referred to in the citation by Blacking (1977) in relation to the plight of the Aleppo Jews. It parallels the socio-cultural ascendency, and socio-political mobility of the Jamette sector of Trinidad. Music culture has been identified as being the main impetus in both conflicts. Chapter 4 will chronicle the functions of calypso music and assess the genre's role in response to repression in Trinidad.

Chapter 4
Calypso's Function in Trinidadian Society

In this chapter, the potential of calypso music and its associated institutions to construct and maintain identity, and to instigate social reform will be discussed. I will argue that affiliation with those institutions and participation in their related activities, many of which have already been outlined, have fostered the development and transmission of an ingrained tradition. I will also attempt to show that the ingrained tradition has been part of an independent arm of the rigid socio-cultural, socio-psychological and socio-political machinery that rose up to repudiate and deconstruct colonial ideology. In order to accomplish these goals, functions of calypso music within Trinidadian, West Indian and global communities at home and abroad will be examined and correlated to concepts upheld by identity theory, and with posits about social influence explored in the previous chapter. Such examination and correlation will be supported by the following paradigms or models for identity construction and social influence. These paradigms have been reiterated in the works of several scholars who posit within the realm of cultural and social identity:

- Socialization processes;
- The notion of social text;
- Positioning through performer and audience relationships;
- Cultural practice and performance as part of ritual; and
- Globalization.

Processes of Socialization

Empirical evidence to support claims that calypso music has contributed to social change may well be generated from historical accounts and from the fact that the structuralist proposition that "performance simply reflects 'underlying' cultural patterns and social structures is no longer plausible among ethnomusicologists and anthropologists" (Stokes, 1994, p. 4). He has a cited A. Cohen who has reminded us that,

> The view that any event or process or structure somehow replicates the essence of a society's culture has now…been properly discredited. (Cited by Stokes, 1994, p. 3)

Stokes (1994) has additionally reiterated that,

> The musical event, from collective dances to the act of putting a cassette or CD into a machine, evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity. The places, constructed through music involve notions of difference and social boundary. They also organize hierarchies of a moral and political order. Social performance, following writers such as Bourdieu (1977) and De Certeau (1984), is instead seen as a practice in which meanings are generated, manipulated, even ionized, within certain limitations. Music and dance… do not simply 'reflect'. Rather they provide the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed. (p. 3-4)

The term 'habitus' initially introduced by Marcel Mauss and later re-elaborated by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, has been expanded upon by Bourdieu. Mauss had described habitus as those aspects of culture that are anchored in the body or daily practices of individuals, groups, societies and nations. In outlining his theory of performance practice Bourdieu has advanced posits about 'habitus.' Bourdieu (1991) has explained its dependency on history and human memory. According to him, a certain behavior or belief becomes part of a society "when the original purpose of that behavior or belief can no longer be recalled and becomes socialized into individuals of that culture". Bourdieu sees 'habitus' as being composed of systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures, predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.

In other words, the concept habitus encompasses all acquired habits, skills, tastes and knowledge that may be performed habitually as spontaneous responses by a specific group on a daily and on-going basis. These responses become the defining parameters of a specific culture. In order to demonstrate this as axiom I present the following argument: An outsider to a specific culture, especially one that is unfamiliar with the dance style of that culture, will initially respond to the accompanying music by exhibiting dance movements from his or her own repertoire of learned and ingrained dance movements (habitus). The initial response is usually spontaneous and therefore precedes observation of the nuances of dance belonging to the new culture being participated in. However, upon observation of certain aspects such as dance steps, bodily mannerisms, and facial expressions the outsider begins to recognize and mimic what he or she interprets as the intrinsic features of that particular style. Over time and with a significant degree of immersion in that culture the 'outsider' responses to the music become spontaneous and some degree of transformation into 'insider' begins to take place.

The socializing process is similar to that of the practitioner born into that culture; visual and aural symbols are recognized, meaning is extracted subliminally and responded to spontaneously.

Over time a repertoire of responses to the music is collected that become the identifiers of the particular dance style and lead observers to the conclusion that practitioners exhibiting the particular style with a convincing degree of proficiency belong to the culture from which the style and music derived. This outlines how identity meanings are verified.

In keeping with the literature then, practitioners of a particular culture exhibit traits that are inherent to them as members of that particular culture, traits that are observable markers of that culture. As an example pertinent to this discussion, 'wining' (displaying sexually explicit gyrations of the pelvic region while dancing) in response to calypso and soca music is one such trait that Trinidadians exhibit. Dances such as the waltz and polka on the other hand, are characterized by dainty, puritan and stately movements, markers of a quite different heritage from those exhibited among calypso and soca cultures. Both behavioral expressions have become socialized and therefore unique among practitioners of those respective cultures. Another example of socialized behavior among Trinidadians is the display of mutual acquaintance without formal introduction. Upon visual or verbal interaction with others a person becomes 'known'. The following anecdote should clarify this statement:

Several strangers commuting together by public transport (bus or route taxi) become engaged in a conversation about a random event, after which they go their separate ways. Upon a chance meeting several weeks or months later any two of them automatically acknowledge each other by a pointing gesture of the hand, an upward nodding motion accompanied by a smile, or by a verbal greeting such as "Aaye" or "All right" because they now 'know' each other. The discussion engaged in during their first encounter enabled social bonding and although future verbal exchanges between them may be limited to a cursory greeting, acknowledgement of each other continues on an on-going basis. This aspect of socialized behavior will be revisited in the context of performer/audience relationship in a subsequent chapter.

Yet another example of bonding behavior that has been socialized in Trinidadian society is a form of heckling, known in local jargon as 'fatigue'. This feature has been translated into song as 'picong', the calypso's piquant lashing and ridicule, a local tradition associated with stick fighting and dating back to the practice of the calinda or dueling song. Picong had not

been limited to being leveled at the authorities or upper class alone. No social class or ethnic group has escaped its ridicule and satire. As mentioned earlier the mid and upper-class French Creoles had been targets of rebuttal, and so were the Portuguese, who had been perceived as dark-skinned Catholic peasants, and the Irish who were perceived as the Catholic sons of indentured workers. However, the Chinese, Indians and ironically 'Small-Islanders' (arrivals from the smaller and less economically developed Caribbean islands), also perceived as 'out-groups' within mainstream culture, were more susceptible to being singled out and had remained constant targets of negative stereotyping of the severest nature.

The Chinese posed no political threat and so the satire directed towards them retained a jocose mildness. Calypsos leveled at them include the Mighty Terror's *Chinese Children*, the Mighty Killer's *Romantic Chinaman*, and Viking's *Chinese Cricket Match*. Other calypsos indicated by Rohlehr that allude to the idiosyncrasies of 'out-groups' include: The Mighty Killer's *Indian Dinner*; King Fighter's *Indian Party* and *Indian Wedding*; Spoiler's *Barbadian Carnival*; Lord Kitchener's *Lai Fung Lee*; Lord Melody's *Chinese Scandal* and *Chinese Burial,* and Pharaoh's *Portuguese Dance*.

The word 'ironically' was used above in order to remind the reader and to emphasize the point that the Jamette sector in Trinidad was comprised of a significant number of 'Small Islanders'. That many early calypsonians were from that contingent highlights another salient feature of the calypso: its ability to mask thereby affording the presenter a dual identity and opportunities to laugh at himself/herself. Rohlehr has pointed out that,

> The very act of including melodies of the 'out-group' in the chorus of a calypso, tended to extend the Calypso form and to provide a grotesque identification for an alternative sound existing in the Trinidad community. (Rohlehr, 1990, p. 494)

While the incorporation of such themes as the ones above and their associated lyrics and snippets of 'foreign' melodies by Afro-Trinidadians helped to identify and integrate cultural elements such as the food, dress, jargon and mannerisms of the 'out-groups', Rohlehr has reminded us that,

> There is evidence that out-groups resented being (a) regarded as out-groups rather than as ethnic entities, consistent within themselves, different but equal and (b) reduced to a caricature and forced to conform to anyone else's image of who they were supposed to be. (Rohlehr, 1990, p. 495)

Resentment expressed by East Indian clerics, organizations and members of Parliament became most vocal toward the close of the twentieth century and the first decade of the

twenty-first century during the successive terms of prime ministers Basdeo Panday and Kamla Persad Bissessar, both of East Indian ethnicity and leaders of the UNC political party predominantly comprised of East Indians. Rohlehr has further elaborated on the enigma stating that,

> The treatment of "out-groups" is virtually the same in all cases. The calypsonian employs caricature. There is mockery of the accents of members of the out-groups; their inability to pronounce "English" in the accepted dialect of the in-group. (Rohlehr, 1990, p.494)

Other calypsos in the pantheon of heckling calypsos leveled at the 'out-groups' include Lord Blakie's *Vincentian Calypso King* and *Send Them Back*, the Mighty Killer's *In a Calabash*, the Mighty Sparrow's *Barbadians*, and the anonymously penned *Bajan Girls*. Calypso satire has remained and has retained a bone of contention between the two most prominent ethnic groups the Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians, who have been caught up in a struggle for socio-political power since Emancipation. As an example of the mockery of the Indo-Trinidadian's accent, Rohlehr has cited the following stanza from *Grinding Massala*:

> **Grinding Massala**
> *Thousand Amellican landed in Paart ah Spain*
> *Some come by battle ship, some come by yaroplane*
> The Mighty Killer

It has been shown that in the context of social commentary the calypso has provoked resentment and protest especially among Indo-Trinidadians, but has at the same time woven some of the most salient elements of their culture into the fabric of indigenous mainstream culture, thereby giving them visibility. The genre has also provided them with leverage and momentum which has in turn enabled them to assert themselves as different but equal.

Solidarity among Indo-Trinidadians had always been extant, but due to the rapid urbanization process that occurred during the 1950s they realized their long awaited ascendancy to 'new' status. The mobility and momentum that Indo-Trinidadians gained during the early and mid-1950s had coalesced into the 1958 defeat of the People's National Movement with its predominantly Afro-Trinidadian membership. Some of the most significant 'race' calypsos that chronicle that period have been identified by Rohlehr; they include: the Mighty Terror's *Civilized Indians* (1950), the Mighty Killer's *Indians Adopting Creole Names* (1950/51), Cobra's *The Changes of the Indians* (1954), Eisenhower's *Creolized Indians* (1955), King Fighter's *Indian Party* (1958), and Striker's *The United Indian* (1959) whose text applauds the solidarity the calypsonian attributes to the outcome of the 1958 election.

The titles of some of the calypsos above make reference to the 'creolization' of Indo-Trinidadians (socialization in the direction towards Afro/Franco culture), part of a twofold process of socialization ('Indianization' and 'Creolization') that had already been on-going among every ethnic group on the island. 'Indianization' can be defined as the movement of other ethnic groups toward Indian cultural expression and tastes as is evidenced by the assimilation of culinary, linguistic, musical and ritualistic features. For example, by the relish for curry, chutney, roti and other spicy delicacies; the incorporation of Hindi words into popular song and everyday speech; and by participation in Indian festivities. An example of religious assimilation is the incorporation of Hindu elements into the Orisha belief system whereby incense, assorted Indian brass receptacles and representations of Hindu deities are typically displayed in a small area devoted to the Indian deity at an Orisha shrine. Assimilation of Indo-Trinidadian culture among a broader cross-section of the general population has found representation in Hosay (spelled Hussay in Trinidad and in Jamaica). Hosay is a Shia Muslim street procession that is accompanied by mock stick fights and constant drumming and dancing. The procession is undertaken in commemoration of the martyrdom of Husayn (Hussein), the grandson of Muhammad. Hosay is elaborated upon here not only because its musical features (performance, street parading and dancing) resemble those displayed during carnival celebrations, but also because of the significance of its impact on the psyche of the underprivileged among Trinidadian society. The following account should clarify this latter statement and point to the degree of solidarity among Afro-Trinidadians for Indo-Trinidadians.

The first observation of Hosay dates back to 1854. In 1884, however, the festivities were halted by a ban that was put into effect to curtail public gatherings. Akin to the events leading to the Camboulay Riots four years earlier, appeals had been ignored and the procession was disallowed by the authorities. Following tradition, thousands of celebrants took to the streets in defiance on October 30th and were attacked by police with guns. Some were killed and many were injured. These insurrections engulfed several districts and are referred to as the Hosay Riots. The procession has been socialized on both cultural and psychosocial levels and the drumming and dancing that mark its culmination have remained yearly features that are participated in and enjoyed by a large cross section of society. The socio-cultural interplay between Indo and Afro-Trinidadians was and has been crucial to the acceptance and assimilation of aspects of each other's culture. It has led to the embeddedness of the calypso and East Indian instrumentation, musical tradition and material in the tapestry of mainstream

national culture. In an arena where the spirit of nationalism permeated society, the calypsonian through his music was allowed to penetrate the perhaps otherwise impervious shell of the 'in-group' as well as the 'out-groups'. Music became, and has remained one of the main unifying cultural mechanisms bridging the gaps between all groups. Socialization and identification via calypso music has enabled feelings of tolerance, homogeneity, attraction and cohesion, mechanisms that provide the basis for group solidarity, group centered social control, and the construction and maintenance of social identity.

Another song type that has exerted a significant degree of social influence, and that has impacted the construction and maintenance of a collective social identity in Trinidad falls under the category loosely labeled 'folksongs' by Trinidadians. These songs are of two varieties; those used as oral tradition in the transmission of folklore by depicting scenes and narrating stories relevant to daily folk life (some narrative calypsos belong to this category), and those employed in song games. Like many calypsos, both types of folksong fulfill the general superficial requirements that qualify them as 'casual entertainment' and favorite mundane 'pastime' activities. At a deeper level however, they embody the building blocks of societal mores and provide instances for social interaction that result in group membership and affiliation. In support of this claim I cite the following observations of John Blacking (1977):

> The linking of musical experience and performance to daily life among children was a way of establishing personal identity and acceptance…Later the learning and memorization of words, melodies, rhythms, playing of certain instruments, use of jargon and mannerisms etc. prepared them for participation in major musical activities of adults. The above activities share common group identity and fellow-feeling which transcends normal sociability, self-expression and exhibition. (p. 36)

Blacking's observations above about the transmission of customs were in reference to the Venda people of South Africa but they are also applicable to the process of transmission among the people of Trinidad and Tobago, a claim that can be substantiated by my own testimony and by generally accepted research results.

I recall that during my pre-teens and adolescence music performance and participation in music-related events were two of the favorite pastime activities among adults and children alike. We whistled, sang, played, danced and listened to music daily. Instrumental performance among my boyhood contemporaries was informal and included instruments such as the 'mouth organ' (harmonica), any portable and sonorous receptacle that could provide rhythm, the xylophone and its counterpart the 'panophone,' our own innovation

simulating both the steel drum and the xylophone. The musical instrument was constructed from a collection of eight or twelve tin cans that had been discarded. Trinidad and Tobago orange and grapefruit juice cans and Nestlé's condensed milk cans had been among the most sonorous and most easily tuned cans. The cans were arranged diatonically, each representing a single pitch, and beaten with pencils or short pieces of bamboo wrapped at one end with pieces of inner-tubing from bicycles. We mainly played the catchiest, sweetest and most memorable and challenging melodies, and those were more often than not from the repertoire of the Mighty Sparrow and Lord Kitchener. Participation in such cultural encounters that mimicked the behaviors of steelbandsmen from our neighborhood and calypsonians is evidence that cultural transmission had been taking place, and as well served as a rite of passage. By our early teens we had already been profoundly impacted by local music practice and activities that would prepare us for roles as pan makers and tuners, arrangers, singers, instrumentalists and enthusiasts later on.

Cultural transmission via calypso music was not limited solely to instrumental performance. The texts of many of the calypsos we had been exposed to then served the purpose of introducing philosophies, reinforcing societal guidelines, increasing awareness about our social and physical environment, and educating us about our cultural heritage. Included among calypsos with texts of that persuasion are the Mighty Sparrow's *School Days*, *Education*, and *Parables,* Commander's *Lizard and Crapaud,* the Growling Tiger's *Shango*, Lord Kitchener's *Bad Talking People* and Lord Melody's *Street Vendor*.

Citing Espinet and Pitts, Herskovits and Herskovits (1964 [1947]) have made reference to the function of calypso texts:

> Despite the lightness of the vehicle, the calypso usually contains philosophies of simple things in everyday life, the words displaying a deepness of thought…one would least expect from the singer and the surroundings in which it is sung. (Cited by Herskovits and Herskovits, 1964, p. 284-285)

The second vehicle for cultural transmission was the song games in which children participated. Elder (1965) has provided a valuable repository in his book *Song Games from Trinidad and Tobago* which provides detailed descriptions of games, along with their classification, their related function and accompanying songs. The songs are especially peculiar to the Negro population and include games in which both children and adults have participated. Elder (1965) has elaborated on the function of song games:

> The song-games give children opportunity to make personal and intellectual examination of, and to preview, the mode of life which they will be required in adult life to defend, to love and to understand. (p. 28)

He has additionally cited a supporting statement by Hammond:

> In this study I regard the song-games as devices which indoctrinate children and new-comers into the cultural mores of the community. They are the means through which, in the earlier stages of their development, individuals may begin to share in what Kroeber has called the 'nuclear character structure' or the 'social character,' the functioning of which is essential to the functioning of the whole culture as a going concern. Games in this context are fundamental in child-training - the key - mechanism of transmission of social necessities into character-traits. (Cited by Elder, 1965, p. 28)

Since many songs in the volume are borrowed from the English tradition their relevance has been questioned. This is easily explained by a perusal of the processes of syncretism involved during the establishment of Trinidadian society. Music and dance have always been central to cultural development of Trinidadian society, and the performance style of the songs definitely betrays the rhythmic and iambic pulse intrinsic to the folk of Trinidad and Tobago.

The modes by which skills are honed and traits developed by local children (oral tradition, role play, collective singing, ritual etc.) indicate retentions of earlier folk traditions. It is premised that the songs augment feelings of playfulness and effervescence necessary to the activities. Elder (1965) has explained that of importance to the inclusion of song games as societal mores is their diffusion between age-groups, sexes, classes and geographic regions, as this accounts for variation in interpretation and performance from one group to the other. He has further elaborated stating that,

> Many of the song-games played at dead-wakes have ritual and symbolic implications explicable only in terms of adult experience. For instance, the game called Z' he' b non-tout come plat (come all grasses and plait) suggests the need for the intermixture of all sexes and social groups in the community when death occurs in the village. One textual line - *We don't care ah who* - refers to the temporary breakdown of all sex and class barriers, and the suspension of avoidance taboos, in order to facilitate cooperation in this ritual dance. Such a game most definitely loses its significance upon children who undertake it merely for the physical acrobatics involved in throwing alternate legs high upon the shoulder of the partner facing across the line. (p. 14)

The song lyric, as the citation has pointed out, refers to the temporary breakdown of all sex and class barriers, and the suspension of avoidance taboos. These features have been consistent in the relationships between the calypso genre and its host institutions in the context of the carnival ritual.

The foregoing processes discussed are rationalized by the identity theories that have been outlined in chapter 3 of this paper, and by acculturation processes that will be discussed later in this chapter in the context of globalization.

Calypso as Social Text

Liverpool (1990) has commented that,

> prior to World War II, in the absence of radio and television, and with a public in Trinidad and Tobago who, because of the educational limitations, did not fully discover the value of daily newspaper reading, the Calypsonian was…a commentator, the harbinger of the news, and his commentaries not only helped to educate the public, but at times even swayed their thinking. (p. 22)

As has been generally accepted, classical rhetoric is argument with intent to persuade. It examines how meaning is conveyed by the initiator and by the argument advanced, taking into account the emotional impact of the idiom or language used. It has also been generally accepted that both music and rhetorical arguments as isolated events have the power to influence behavior. When combined, and presented in the characteristic ways manifested in calypso performance, they have been shown to have a profound impact on the behavior and attitudes of audiences. Texts intended as redress are therefore rhetorical arguments cleverly articulated in song, thereby further enhancing their communicative and transformative power. Patton (1994) has advanced the following viewpoint:

> The art of calypso as a musical performance combining melody, and verbal and visual *persona* of the singer with the arrangement, dramatic presentation, and audience engagement in a significant and symbolic cultural context has been a defining element of the culture and identity of Trinidadians for many years. From the beginning calypso has been a repository of oral traditions and has helped shape the thinking and feeling of diverse Caribbean audiences over many different periods. (p. 55)

In a February 2007 interview Dr. Liverpool, who uses the sobriquet the Mighty Chalkdust, stated that the calypso has created a forum for expressing disapproval of political shortcomings and, through its commentaries, operates as a measure of social control.

He further revealed that his compositions are constructed so as to address inconsistencies, arouse public awareness, and bring about reform. The extent to which the Mighty Chalkdust's arsenal of calypsos has been reformative has not been fully assessed in this study. His calypsos are generally presented as a chronicle of local socio-political incidents accompanied by profound and witty commentary, implications for the future and resolutions to problems within Trinidadian society. They do accomplish the other functions he has

claimed, that is: "They cause my audiences to reflect upon current issues of importance, people's needs, and social injustice" (ibid.). In other words, his calypsos have been performative. In linguistics and in the philosophy of language, statements which have performative functions in language and communication are called speech acts and are distinguished by the different aspects of the speaker's intention.

Speech acts uttered with the intention to persuade, convince, scare, enlighten, inspire, or make someone do or realize something are called perlocutionary speech acts. They are designed to illicit some behavioral response from the listener. Perlocutionary speech acts are one of the three forms of speech acts central to Austin's development of performative utterances and his theory of speech acts formulated in 1962. Taken in this context, the arguments advanced in the texts of rhetorical calypsos have to be considered as perlocutionary since conventionally, they have been intentionally employed by the calypsonian in order to provoke a desired response.

Patton's (1994) observation and analysis of the 1993 Trinidad Carnival performances is in alignment with the intent and results attained by the calypso rhetoric of the Mighty Chalkdust. He has generated the following statement that "rhetoric functions are artfully manifested in the major performances of leading calypsonians." The rhetoric functions he alludes to include: the ability of performance to articulate and symbolize the thoughts and values of a specific audience; the dynamics of defining and redefining issues of central importance to the shared cultural world of the performer and audience; and the development of critical cultural self-awareness and understanding that resonates after the immediate act of the performer has passed. Patton concluded that those functions,

> Were especially evident in the dramatic verbal, visual, and aural images…This transformative quality is characteristic of the way rhetorical arguments and symbols influence audiences, frequently allowing participants to see themselves in new ways by redefining their understandings of self and cultural issues. (Patton, 1994, p. 55-59)

Liverpool (1990) has cited Raymond Quevedo's commentary, which appeared in the paper "The Growth and Improvement of Calypso" (1947). Quevedo writes,

> One song actually causing a public outburst at the alleged brutality of a member of the constabulary, which, eventually in its repercussion, caused investigations to be instituted, and the alleged murderer brought to trial. He was subsequently found not guilty and was discharged. (Cited by Liverpool, 1990, p. 22-23)

Lawyers of the Bar

Lawyers of the Bar, we must form a deputation

Jurors of the land, not to acquit Holder,
We must try him for murder.
If he escapes the rope, he must die in Carrera
Perry waiting with the rope
To break his manima.

Anonymous

The calypso was anonymously penned and its text, as pointed out by Michael Philips (2007), relates to a domestic affair and not to mere police brutality as might be construed from the quote. The perpetrator in the calypso, Holder a policeman, "bayoneted his former girlfriend who was at the time carrying a child for another." The song might not have shaped public opinion at all, but rather reflected it. However, by having reinforced public consensus, having exposed the atrocity, and having exerted moral influence, the calypso did accomplish at least one of the goals of rhetoric. Another calypso that demonstrates the transformative quality of rhetorical calypsos is the classic Stafford Incident by the Growling Tiger, who in 1958, according to Gibbons "was still using the kaiso to police public morals. By Gibbons' (1994) account,

> This was a function the kaiso served not only by being critical, but in the fact that its mode makes public and memorable what its victims would prefer concealed and forgotten. This capacity to interlocute with and on behalf of the people has always the particular power and privilege of the form, and even the 'people' themselves have been the victims. (p. 82)

An excerpt from that calypso reads,

Stafford Incident
With the West Indies Federation
We got to block all these crooks from the foreign land
I imagine Stafford, a jail breaker
Landed in this place like a governor
We have to block them on the sea
Before they land illegally
To commit murder and grand larceny
He landed from England dressed as a sport
But in his pocket he was carrying a false passport
Lodged in the best hotels of Port of Spain
Laughing and rocking under false name
Join the elite of society
He was made the director of a company
Drinking whiskey quite freely with the girls romantically
And promising matrimony

The Growling Tiger

The calypso criticized the acceptance and preferred aristocratic treatment of an English criminal by the local elite. Gibbons writes,

> Tiger refused to allow the incident to pass unmentioned: In *'Stafford Incident'* (1958) he records this escapade and shows up the gullibility that goes with prejudice. (1994, p. 81-82)

Gibbons added that, in 1958 Tiger was still using the kaiso to police public morals.

Rohlehr (1990), commenting on West African retentions in calypso music has referred to Trinidad calypso tents as places "where political calypsos annually perform a cathartic function similar to what must have been obtained in the satirical songs of various West African societies" (p. 2). The art of storytelling through music is not unique to people of African ancestry but this type of presentation articulated through musical performance was possible and effective in Trinidadian society in which oral tradition had been the chief mode of dissemination. Calypso music had been an integral part of daily life during an era when the masses were concerned with escaping the grip of repression and rising out of the abyss of poverty. *Cipriani*, sung by King Radio during the first representative election in 1925, sought to arouse public awareness and sentiment, mobilize national identity and illicit unified action.

Liverpool (1990), this time citing Brown (1947, p. 251) has noted the following:

> That the calypso was extremely influential in swaying Crown Colony Government, and removing some of the social inequalities in the system can be seen from the fact that prominent citizens such as Canon Farquhar, Albert Gomes and Lennox Pierre rose to its defense. Albert Gomes, though a leading politician at the time, and one who in 1950 could have been considered the Chief Minister in the constitutional arrangement then, exclaimed:
>
> The calypso is the most effective political weapon in Trinidad…the fact that the tents are so sedulously supervised by the police reveals the extent to which the calypso singers influence political though. (Cited by Liverpool, 1990, p. 47)

Cipriani
Gal who you voting for, Cipriani
We doh want Major Rust to make bassa-bassa here Cipriani
We doh want no Englishman
We is Trinidadian Cipriani
Mentor

In the words of St. John (1996) the calypso "points to the struggle for freedom from the bonds of colonialism as the calypsonian articulates the cry of the masses for a Trinidadian leader" (p. 61).

Gibbons (1994, p. 41) has informed us that during 1934-1936, poverty had been widespread among the general public and that agitation was high among sugar workers and oil workers so that the following two calypsos offered by the Growling Tiger*, Money is King* and *Workers' Appeal* had been relevant then. According to Gibbons,

> Workers' Appeal less well known, dramatizes with bitter sarcasm the conditions that would lead to the Butler Riots… Converted to action, this 'appeal' sung in 1936 would be met with British bullets one year later. Tiger was using his voice to express both the tone and thinking of the unheard man. In our age of democracy and mass communication such a function may be taken for granted. But fifty years ago when radio was yet a rarity, when the term 'colonised' defined one's relationship with political power, when virtually no interest group in the colony showed any concern for the workers' situation, the importance of the kaiso as a medium of popular expression cannot be over-emphasised. (ibid., p. 42-43)

Liverpool (1990) has corroborated the preceding claims made in regard to the confrontational role that the genre has played in Trinidadian society and has offered the following statements which point to some specific instances when that role had been assumed.

> That the calypso has a political and social impact on the authorities and persons enjoying political power can be seen from the many examples of state intervention and censorship. Firstly, as part of the carnival celebrations, all the many instances where the authorities sought to curtail carnival such as in 1810, 1853, 1868 and 1884 involved the calypso.
>
> Atilla claimed that prior to 1930 after criticizing Kenneth Vincent Brown, then a city magistrate, calypso tents were promptly closed at 10 p.m. by the police. In 1934, white and foreign police officers were placed in authority to grant licenses to tent promoters following the Theatre and Dance Hall Ordinance. Atilla was charged in 1949 under the said ordinance for allowing Tiger to sing a calypso against Captain Daniel, the then Assistant Director of Education, who was said to have been driving under the influence of alcohol. The amendment to the Theatre and Dance Hall Ordinance of 1951, vested the power to grant a license to run a calypso tent in a magistrate.
>
> Around the time of the Butler Riots of 1937, when Trinidad was characterized by poverty, exploitation and discrimination, a strict censorship was exercised against political calypsos. The press too, even up to the mid 1950's is filled with opinions of mainly upper class people calling for a ban on many calypsos. Many political calypsos of the 1960's and 70's have been taken off the State-controlled radio for reasons best known to the State. In 1979 for example Short Pants' *The Law Is an Ass* was refused air play. (Liverpool 1990, p. 51-52)

Liverpool has additionally informed that in protest Brian Honore (Lord Commentor) sent a letter, from which the excerpt below is quoted, to the Programme Director of Radio 610.

> Is it because the Kaiso is attempting to put people on guard against any further encroachment on their democratic rights and freedoms by politicians whose own track record shows them to be undemocratic, repressive and fascist? (Cited by Liverpool, 1990, p. 53)

Rohlehr (2001) has stated that,

> The calypsonian's impulse to unmask the politician as a "mocking pretender" is essentially the same as the impulse of the ancestral chantwel, Midnight Robber, batonnier or Indian chief felt to reveal and demolish any rival who had invaded his space. It is the ancient declaration of territorial rights, the age-old assertion of power-in-discourse projected through the medium of contemporary calypso (p. 21)

Additionally, Rohlehr (1984, p. 17) addressing those 'freedoms' previously referred to has stated that the calypso, "keeps open one area of freedom - freedom of expression by the vigorous exercise of this freedom," and that from 1970 to the present "freedom has been a consistent theme in the political calypso, and the invisibility of the various freedoms has been recognized.

The literature reviewed has repeatedly shown that the subversive nature of rhetorical calypso has always been a threat to the authorities and that,

- On numerous occasions restrictions have been imposed on its text, its production, and its performance;
- On-going confrontation between the curators of calypso (the socially repressed Jamette sector) and the authorities (British Colonial and other successive governments) had been extant;
- Outcomes that were favorable to the repressed and by proxy, to the general population would eventually be realized;
- Its performance had helped to agitate retaliation and confrontation, and had been partially responsible for initiating changes in perception that led to reform;
- It had helped to reinforce public sentiment and agitate the authorities into attempting to suppress its voice and intent;
- It had influenced the authorities to utilize it as a tool of persuasion.

These outcomes are crucial to the goals of this study and will be expanded upon in the concluding arguments. In the meantime, discussion about the period between the post-war 1940's and the 1970's can be commenced.

It was a prolific era in regard to the impact of rhetoric on society. It had coincided with a wave of events that would eventually re-sculpture the socio-political landscape of the West Indies, and re-define collective identities. Dr. Rohlehr communicated to me that the abounding spirit of nationalism that permeated Afro-Trirnidadian society in the 1950s had attached itself to the 1940s resurgence of Africanism, in search of a sense of Black pride, achievement and leadership (Pers. comm. 2007).

Beginner's 1945 calypso *Sons and Daughters of Africa* and Atilla's *Britain, Give Us Our Freedom* are examples of text soliciting regional unity and national and ethnic consciousness.

Calypsos like these had provided crucial patterns of persuasion and had rekindled a sense of ethnic affinity which played a decisive role in redefining identities:

Sons and Daughters of Africa
Sons of Africa now I'm asking you
For your future lives know what you're going to do,
Your fathers have fought in the different wars
Now you fighting this one for a common cause
Get more consideration
For your rising coloured generation
Get more consideration
For your rising coloured generation

It's a struggle that is always everybody's war
Whether black or white or whether rich or poor
When there's peace and laughter and there's unity
I think your government will treat you with impunity
Educate your children as they should be
That they should have the honour, pride and dignity
So get more consideration
For your rising coloured generation
Lord Beginner

The following calypso had coincided with the 'end' of British Crown Colony rule:

Britain, Give Us Our Freedom
In England the people live happily
They get doctor, medicine and dentist free
While down here three quarters of the population
Dying out of disease and malnutrition
I'm warning Great Britain; don't leave us for too long
Or they'll wake up in the morning and find these islands gone
If they won't help us in our difficulties
Why don't they give up the West Indies
Atilla the Hun

During the early and mid-1950's, the period leading up to the end of British Crown Colony rule, the two most important figures in Trinidad folk culture were Dr. Eric Williams, and Francisco Slinger (The Mighty Sparrow). Both men, Afro-Trinidadians, dominated their fields and 'ascended their respective thrones' in 1956. Dr. Williams became the first Prime Minister and the Mighty Sparrow was crowned Calypso Monarch. Dr. Williams would retain political leadership for a subsequent thirty-one years until his death. Gibbons (1994) has commented on Dr. Williams' status as a folk hero:

> He represented the pinnacle of black achievement to a people deprived of idols. His color represented their past, his scholarship their achievement, his leadership their hope. In articulating his people's aspirations…Williams', leader of the Peoples' National Movement (PNM), had become as popular an interlocutor as any calypsonian (p. 83)

Gibbons additionally stated that Sparrow, the leading voice in the kaiso of nationalism that year, "lashed out against all who had dared to criticize the people's idol" (ibid.).

Many political calypsos of this era celebrated the rise of Dr. Williams and his party the People's National Movement (PNM), supported their 'Buy Local Campaign,' and attempted and often managed to sway public opinion. The Mighty Striker's *Don't Blame the PNM* and Sparrow's *Leave the Damn Doctor* (1960) even sought absolution for indiscretions perpetrated by the regime. Some popular melodies, for example, the chorus of Atilla's *Five Year Plan* and Lord Inventor's *Run Your Run* were refitted with new lyrics and adopted as bolstering songs. *Run Your Run* had been sung in support of the British response to German aggression under the leadership of Kaiser William during World War I, and by Lord Beginner as *Run Your Run Adolf Hitler* during World War II. The melody of this chorus was later partially refitted with lyrics that supported the PNM and its leader Dr. Eric Williams, and rejected the opposing Democratic Labor Party (DLP) and its leader Capildeo during pre-election rallies. The names of the German antagonists were replaced by Capildeo, and the refrain, accompanied by an ensemble of miscellaneous percussive utensils, would be chanted by bands of PNM supporters parading in carnivalesque style through the streets of Port of Spain and other districts around the time of governmental elections during the 1950's and 1960's.

During an interview Dr. Rohlehr conveyed to me that not all political calypsos have supported a ruling party. He explained that,

> It is quite natural, for a social and political singer to criticize the regime in power because it is the regime in power that does or doesn't 'do' who performs or doesn't perform. If you want to see change you've got to look to the regime in power…When Panday gets into power he becomes the person in control so the guns begin to be trained against him…In other words the calypsonians were doing what they had done to Robinson, what they had done to Williams, what they had done in the Chambers regime, and they were now doing it to Panday's regime… Calypso has always attacked the ruling regime. (Pers. comm., 2007)

Rohlehr referenced some calypsos of that persuasion including among them Cro Cro's *Ish,* which referred to the sound made by the feigned sneezing antics of Minister Kwai Tung when confronted with questions regarding his regime's (the UNC-United National Congress) shortcomings and misappropriations, and Short Pants' more blatant *The Law is an Ass*. The

latter calypso had castigated the justice system of a former regime and was refused airplay during the live broadcast of the semi-finals of the 1979 Calypso Monarch competition.

"The most aggressive calypsos" Rohlehr (2007) observed, "were against the ruling party." He further cited examples such as Sugar Aloes' *Attack with Full Force*, Watchman's *Positive Vibration,* which recommended the assassination of a previous Prime Minister A.N.R. Robinson, leader of NAR (National Reliance for Reconstruction), and Deple's *Vote Them Out*, to which he referred as follows:

> …a powerful calypso that was even sung at fetes…this calypso re-sparked the use of calypsos in political campaigns…That calypso was, I think, one of the best propaganda calypsos, one of the best campaign calypsos…It brought together societal complaints…the PNM lost in that year…Calypsonians would be paid to boost a party's chances at winning election by criticizing the regime in power consistently…The calypsonian's voice is but one of the voices which try to persuade the society in one direction or the other…Around election time … on the radio they would then use bits and pieces of calypsos, like calypso parodies…The calypso was a part of a mechanism of persuasion… Kaiso became one of the devices to get to the public…it was used to as full an extent as was possible, so they would then pay calypsonians to compose songs boosting up the party, mocking at the next one (Pers. comm., 2007)

Rohlehr's statements indicate that the symbolic power and persuasive potential of the art form was recognized by the state. He demonstrated this by drawing attention to instances of deliberate attempts by the ruling UNC party to neutralize that power and manipulate the content of political calypsos during their term in office between 1995 and 2000.

Other political analysts, as well as pedestrian observers with whom I discussed the topic have corroborated these claims. Lashley (1998) for example has given the following account relating to Osuna, the calypsonian who uses the sobriquet Sugar Aloes.

> Sugar Aloes further claims that in 1998 he was approached by a government official who asked him to take out certain lyrics from his calypso; in return, he would be guaranteed to win the Calypso Monarch contest.

Lashley additionally informs that in 1999, the National Calypso Competition committee excluded Sugar Aloes from the annual contest on the grounds that his presence "harbored the possibility of embarrassment to dignitaries in the audience", and that in 2000 the Minister of Culture laid down certain criteria for acceptable lyrics, and threatened to withhold funding from TUCO, the national calypsonians organization, if he, (Sugar Aloes) were allowed to compete.

Specific control strategies employed by that regime are outlined in Lashley's (1998) *Intimidation of Calypsonians by the UNC Government of Trinidad & Tobago*. The UNC

regime went a step further in 2000 by proposing a bill which was perceived by 'certain' calypsonians as an attempt to muzzle them, and which was viewed by many as a subtle means of controlling freedom of speech. According to Lashley (ibid.), Clause 7 of that bill was reminiscent of the Theatre and Dance Halls Ordinance of 1934-1935. The document, dated Oct. 27, 2000, can be accessed for perusal in the *Trinidad and Tobago Gazette*.

Lashley (1998) has analyzed such ploys as "attempts by that regime to deflect attention away from the real issues and problems of society". "What we see here" Lashley writes, "is the UNC government distorting a traditional art form, labeling calypso as racist, because the lyrics offended Panday and UNC officials" (ibid). The UNC as well as its supporters were predominantly East Indian and so they adopted the stance that calypso criticism leveled against them had been racist.

Sometimes quoting Joseph (2000), Lashley has shed light on a paradox by informing us that the UNC government had begun to use calypsos in their political campaign for the then upcoming elections of 2000. They had commissioned two calypsonians, Gregory "GB" Ballantyne, and M'ba, both of African-descent, to come up with campaign calypsos. GB's calypso *Double or Nothing* praised the performance of the UNC and advocated re-election, and M'ba's *Put We Back* was used as a theme song at political meetings and in radio advertisements (ibid). Significantly, the UNC was temporarily returned to power for a second term because of a ballot deadlock. But amidst claims of voter padding and other allegations, some of which have since been validated, the President replaced that regime by the PNM who have since been closely monitored by the vigilant eye of the calypsonian.

Another calypso of similar persuasion advocating support for the ruling party, but not commissioned by that agency was Lord Kitchener's *Not a Damn Seat for Them*.

The preceding accounts and those from other reliable sources have led to the realization that the calypso, by way of rhetoric, has chronicled and exposed instances of state corruption thereby increasing public awareness. By the employment of its own forum for redress the genre has: agitated retaliation in the form of state criticism and censorship; forced the authorities to acknowledge its subversive potential and influenced them to incorporate that potential as part of their arsenal of combative strategies; manipulated them into adopting bribery and coercion in order to achieve their goals, and in doing so, has: exposed their tendency toward implementation of devious practices. By Rohlehr's account,

> The calypsonian's impulse to unmask the politician as a "mocking pretender" is essentially the same as the impulse of the ancestral chantwel, Midnight Robber, batonnier or Indian chief felt to reveal and demolish any rival who had invaded his space. It is the ancient declaration of territorial rights, the age-old assertion of power-in-discourse projected through the medium of contemporary calypso (2001, p. 21)

Authors (Slobin 1976, p. 1; Blacking 1977, p. 7; Lomax 1959, p. 929) have suggested that rhetoric performance shapes and defines cultural identity for its audiences by providing aural and visual symbols. Aural symbols generate patterns of meaning through content and as well through the sound of the language itself.

Patton (1994) has stated that,

> The notion of social text immediately introduces the role of situational influences, the interaction of the calypso with a specific set of audiences, and the creation of layers of meaning through the symbolic action of the performance of calypso…the symbolic power of language and music as they react with audiences and situational factors create patterns of persuasion and social influence. (p. 56)

This is in keeping with recent developments in ethnomusicology that stress performance perspectives, which have been explored by Béhague (1984).

The observations of Patton (1994, p, 60) that:

- the oral nature of calypso is precisely that which gives it power as a rhetoric form,
- the bond between the artist and the audience is enabled by the performance itself,
- audiences accustomed to oral traditions listen and respond to the sound of language in significant ways, and
- the expectations they hold are mutually influential in shaping the message and style of verbal artists,

are in keeping with the notion contended by symbolic interactionists that communication is the product of the interactants sharing and creating meaning. Patterns generated by way of colloquialism, double *entendre*, context and by nuances such as inflexion and intonation pertaining to pronunciation, can mask meaning from, and limit comprehension by 'outsiders' to the culture thereby excluding them from the dialogue.

Prosody is a function of speech pertaining to the designation of inflection of the voice by the palate. It can be defined as a study of the elements of language, especially meter, which contribute to rhythmic and acoustic effects in poetry (for example stress and intonation). Along with effects such as rhyme, alliteration and resonance it can influence meaning. The relevance of this issue when discussing calypso singing, is based on the fact that "the calypso singing style developed in Trinidad and local vernacular patterns are almost identical, and

often, stress is 'MIS-placed on the wrong syl-LAB-le for em-pha SIS in words such as carni-VAL and para-DISE'" (Lamson, 1957, p. 61). Lamson has noted that,

> The accentuation is quite similar to West Indian speech with its undulating tonal patterns and non-standard stress. In most instances context and meaning would be lost to the listener who is not familiar with the prosodic idiosyncrasies of the non-standard English-based vernacular, which, between the performer and a local audience, creates a bond. (ibid)

This is reminiscent of specific nuances pertaining to pulse and resonance that become defining characteristic of various music genres. For example, the percussive 'scratch' of the rhythm guitar on the backbeat (the second and fourth beats) in reggae music, the sound of the lowered seventh in the blues, or the sound and playing style of the banjo in country music. These nuances have become defining characteristics of their respective cultures and conjure up specific meanings for respondents, especially the respondents native to those cultures. Following the same reasoning, the natural incorporation of local vernacular and prosodic speech patterns by calypsonians is yet another way in which the calypso has provided mechanisms that have enabled identification among Trinidadians.

Kamau Brathwaite (1984) has identified the calypso as "the original voice of the people, linguistically, psychically, and socially as an alternate to the iambic pentameter model of poetry and literature" (p. 17).

Performer and Audience Relationship

Symbolic performance and the symbols created which provide shared meaning to participants, as well as the resultant bonding processes that take place between artist and audience and among participants, are rationalized by identity theory and accomplish the goals of rhetoric function previously outlined on page 144. In examining the ways in which calypso creates common bonds and intensely shared levels of understanding and feeling between calypsonians, their ideas and values, and the audiences, reference is made to Patton's (1994, p. 56) citation of rhetorical theorist Kenneth Burke (1968, p.152-56). Burke introduced the term *identification'* to refer to the rhetoric process wherein language is used to create unity and corporation through its interaction in social and rhetoric contexts. He has referred to the symbols that are created as verbal parallels to patterns of experience and has suggested that in verbal performance, "the power of the symbolic act becomes greatest when the artist's and the reader's [listener's] patterns of experience closely coincide. It is the performance itself, the interaction between the artist and the audience that creates common bonds and layers of meaning." This is verified when one visits a calypso tent or competition around carnival time.

The artist is perceived as a representation of the thoughts, opinions and values of the audience, and both the performer and the audience become curators of social meaning.

John Blacking (1977) has stated: "The function of music is to reinforce, or relate people more closely to, certain experiences which have come to have meaning in their social life".

Additionally, he has expanded on this idea and has written that,

> Music can express social attitudes and cognitive processes, but it is useful and effective only when it is heard by the prepared and receptive ears of people who have shared or can share in some way, the culture and individual experiences of its creators. To someone who has been immersed in the culture of the composer, the sounds used and the contrasts made between them can be heart-rending and poignant…the music is able to invoke specific emotions or behavior because it is heard and performed in the context of the specific culture and of the musical system that is intricately related to that culture. When and how specific nuances are introduced or present in a performance determines the expressive power of the music; and this depends on the commitment of those present and the quality of the shared experience among the performers, and between the performers and the audience. If music serves as a sign or symbol of different kinds of human experience, its performance may help to channel the feelings of listeners in certain directions (p. 59-72)

The reciprocal behavior exhibited by audiences in response to music, such as dancing, expressions of joy, agreement or approval, and the beating of makeshift percussion instruments inspire the performer to more intense levels of expression. Resultantly the bond between performer and audience is reinforced. Turner (1987) has described performance as a "reciprocal" and "reflective" series of actions built upon a sense of mutuality that emerges from the nature of the performance. "The performance," he has stated, "is often a critique, direct or veiled, of the social life it grows out of; an evaluation (with lively possibilities of rejection) of the way society handles history" (Turner, 1987, p. 22).

The responsibility of the performer to the audience and the reciprocal evaluation of the performer by the audience has been paralleled by the identity theory and itemized as the initiator / recipient model. The artist's 'idiosyncrasy credit', accounts for the degree of credibility and acceptance that the audience ascribes to the performer and to the performance.

In reference to the responsibility and communicative competence that works in tandem with the artist's credibility, Baumann (1975) has stated that,

> Fundamentally, performance as a mode of spoken verbal communication consists in the assumption of responsibility to an audience for a display of communicative competence. The competence rests on the knowledge and ability to speak in sociably appropriate ways. Performance involves on the part of the performer an assumption of accountability to an audience for the way in which communication is carried out, above and beyond its referential content. From the point of view of the audience, the act of expression on the part of the

> performer is thus marked as subject to evaluation for the way it is done, for the relative skill and effectiveness of the performer's competence. (p. 293)

Patton's analysis of the Mighty Chalkdust's 1993 performances highlights the calypsonian's ability to intensify what audiences want to believe about themselves. He stated that,

> The reinforcement process is seen in his performances of "Acid Test," "Kaiso in Hospital," and "Misconceptions," each of which skillfully engaged audiences in a successive fashion building toward a total frame of mutuality. As the various audiences became progressively reinforced, they in turn saw Chalkdust as the most complete representation of their own reflection. In fact, the performance of "Acid Test" did more than acknowledge the audience; it identified and affirmed the very powers that gave that particular audience its identity and legitimation. Moreover, in the way in which the calypso was performed, Chalkie was able to solidify a deep bond between himself as authentic voice and the people as authentic participants in the creation of social meaning. In precisely this way the calypso carries out the constitutive function described earlier. Looked at from this perspective, the lyric of "Acid Test," reveals an intricate pattern of interconnectedness between the voice of the calypsonian and the audience. As with all effective calypso performances the chorus is a crisp summary of the main ideas put forth and skillfully repeated at regular intervals. In "Acid Test" this is especially effective as it allows Chalkie to actually become the voice of the audience addressing the rival calypsonians. "Kaiso in Hospital," a stinging rebuke to the modern trends of reggae, *soca*, and to some extent rap. Emphasis on a return to traditional values, a kind of inner purity of calypso, received great applause. "Misconceptions" focuses on the origin and development of the steel drum, giving his audience a strong sense of tradition and identity. (1994, p. 61-62)

The foregoing citation of Patton, and the previous citation, that of Baumann's account of the art of oral performance have been presented in order to expand on the performer/audience relationship, and to corroborate Patton's perspective that the act of verbal performance is in the moment of its expression, a "constitutive" act.

During ethnological field research in 2007 I assumed the position of 'silent observer' but during the 1986 and 1987 carnival seasons I had had the opportunity to observe the calypso scene from both 'within' and 'without', both as observer and as practitioner, sometimes simultaneously. Employment as guitarist of the house band at the Spectakula Forum, a popular calypso tent in Port of Spain afforded me that opportunity. That stint along with prior and subsequent performances; in calypso shows; at fêtes; during numerous performances on the 'road' during carnival parades; and participation in festivities during my boyhood and adolescence had given me a bird's eye view and provided me with opportunities to gather firsthand information. My involvement on those levels has also given me license to corroborate many of the claims surrounding the artist /audience relationship that have been presented in this section.

One of the observations made is that a certain degree of affinity between performer and audience is fundamental to the success of the performance and is established over time by familiarity. From my own account, reinforcement and bonding actually begins off-stage before the performance has even begun. This happens because the calypsonian customarily mingles publically and is accessible to fans. He or she resultantly becomes '*known*' and is perceived as '*one of the crowd*'. This is accredited to the previously discussed trait common among Trinidadians, which allows people to acknowledge each other without formal introduction. The process continues even during the performance thereby creating an intimate setting.

Calypso in Ritual Context

The quintessential expressions of calypso music in its ritual context have been its carnivalesque responses. The calypso *Play Ball* presented below is a good example of the utilization of the genre to elicit such responses as it encompasses three of the five functions of calypso discussed in this chapter: it rallies collective support among supporters; it ignites the fighting spirit among rivals; and it incites wild and reckless abandon.

The text of the calypso, which refers to the annual national intercollegiate football (soccer) competition, was penned by Pat Castagne and performed by the Mighty Christo. The calypso was traditionally sung in carnivalesque style to the accompaniment of miscellaneous percussive utensils at competition venues before and during each encounter, and during the street parades after each game. Opposing supporters and spectators alike participated during these events. The chorus of the song has melodic origins in Atilla's *Five Year Plan* and the lyric of the verses in reference to the degree of widespread euphoria is not an exaggeration:

Play Ball (Football Fever) (The Intercol Song)
Once a year in October
Fete for so in Queen's Park Savannah
Only once a year in October
Fete for so in Queen's Park Savannah,
Carnival out of season
Every man know the reason
Colleges in the city
Fighting for football supremacy, and they shouting
Ragga! Ragga! Ragga! Ragga! Ting poon pa!
St. Mary's! St. Mary's! Rah! Rah! Rah!
No, no, no [Fatima] no, (Repeat)
No, no, no, [Fatima] (Repeat)
No [Fatima], no [Fatima], no.
[QRC], we want a goal! (Repeat)

Young and old catch the fever
A day you bound to remember
Plenty cheering and singing
For weeks your ears go be ringing,
Juju drum and zombie pan
Even girls by the thousand
Excitement for so in Port of Spain
At the annual Intercol game, they shouting,
No, no, no Fatima no, (Not a goal)
No, no, no Fatima no,
But of all the cries you hear
This is the one from year to year
QRC, we want a goal!
QRC, we want a goal!

When you see the match over
Fete for so around the savannah
All the boys get together
To jump with the school of the winner,
Thousands dancing in the street
Steelband beating very sweet
Police try to stop the noise
But end up jumping up with the boys shouting
Ragga! Ragga! Ragga! Ragga! Ting poon pa!
[St. Mary's! St. Mary's!] Rah! Rah! Rah!
No, no, no [Fatima] no, (Repeat)
No, no, no, [Fatima] (Repeat)
No [Fatima], no [Fatima], no.
[QRC], we want a goal! (Repeat)

Pat Castagne

The music moment and atmosphere used to be so euphoric, that it was impossible to not participate even though one's team had lost. The behavior had become socialized among Trinidadians. This is what De Certeau was referring to when he elaborated on 'habitus' which he described as that perfunctory and spontaneous expression by the practitioner in response to the overwhelming visual, aural, oral and emotive stimuli bombarding him/her. The collective space has been entered, everyone has been equalized, and the responses to the musical moment have become socialized ritualistic behavior that is repeated time and time again since culture tends to replicate itself.

The construction and perpetuation of stereotypes is another way in which behaviors are socialized. Carnivalesque features such as fantasy, metaphor, masking and self-mockery have been incorporated in gender stereotypes socialized through calypso music. Gender stereotypes are therefore discussed in this chapter in the context of ritual. Rohlehr (2004) has

reminded us that, “All the stereotypical notions and roles of gender are there, sometimes openly enacted and illustrated, at other times subtly encoded and masked in thousands of calypso fictions” (p. 198).

In contrast to its performance in St. Lucia, calypso singing in Trinidad had been an almost exclusively male dominated event whose podium was used in part to assert and maintain the ‘sexually dominant male’ stereotype. Audiences familiar with ‘Trini’ jargon are capable of interpreting the cryptic message conveyed by the song titles alone. The texts of the Mighty Sparrow’s *Village Ram* and *Too Much Wood in the Fire* exemplify this feature. The chorus is presented here first so as to establish the stereotype in the reader’s mind and the verses that follow relentlessly reiterate the sexual prowess of the stereotype by their candid display of bravado, machismo and chauvinism, the main characteristics of the stereotype. *Village Ram* incorporates straightforwardness, metaphor, and as well, double *entendre*. Some parts of the text convey total and sadistic male domination closely resembling rape, and are reflective of an era when there had been a general lack of respect for women among men; when the male ego was so inflated that women were perceived as subordinate; when the arbitrary beating of women into submission was somewhat tolerated. Calypsos of this nature were enjoyed, encouraged, and applauded as a legitimate form of comedic entertainment because both stereotypes and their accompanying behavioral traits had been socialized among Trinidadian society.

Village Ram
Not a woman ever complain yet with me
I ent boasting but I got durability
And if a woman ever say that I
Ever left her dissatisfied
She lie, she lie, she lie

Verse

Is me the village ram
I don’t give a damn,
Is me the village ram
I don’t give a damn,
Ah cutting down black is white
Man Ah wucking day and night
If you have a job to be done see me
I ent making fun

Verse

Beware when Ah drinking rum
I ent like to done
And Ah bad like a cobra snake
doh try to escape
When Ah put you in the clinch

Doh care how you bite and pinch
And Ah got meh hand on yuh mouth
The way Ah does lock yuh neck yuh cyar shout.

Verse

The girls that they have in town
They so big and strong
And Lord, look at confusion
They ent fraid no man, so
In case of emergency
If you ent able with she
And you find yourself in a jam
Ah tell yuh send for the village ram

Verse

I'm the champion without a doubt
Ah never lose a bout
And Ah fight them in any class
Doh ask who come last
All meh bouts is fifteen rounds
If you ent in shape doh come
Anytime this champion connect
The power of the punch always get respect

The Mighty Sparrow

Too Much Wood in the Fire

Verse

Talk to me (male chorus)
I am not a beast honey (Chantwel)
Talk to me…
Tell me you love me sincerely
Talk to me…
Something good or something bad
Talk to me…
Long as you talk to me Ah glad
(Scatting by male chorus)
When you talk you does turn me on
I could carry on from now till dawn
Once Ah hear yuh sexy conversation

Chorus

Tell me you think Ah sweeter than honey
Tell me if Ah ever leave you you'll kill me
Scratch up meh back, bite off meh ears
When Ah ask, "What's the matter?"
Tell me, "Too much wood in the fire"

The Mighty Sparrow

Both Rohlehr and St. John have commented on, and have forwarded explanations for the presence of the trait among Trinidadian men, of boasting sexual prowess. Rohlehr (2004) has

offered the following anthropological insight into the construction of masculinity among pastoral and urban folk in Trinidad:

> Masculinity was associated with a notion of kingship and attendant notions of controlled territory, turf or province. Kingship was not inherited, but won, asserted and maintained through the skill, courage and dominance necessary to the challenging worlds of 'stick' and 'fight'…The stickman's **bois** or **puoi** constituted his primary medium for illustrating skill, self-assertion and dominance within the community of males. Metaphorically, the stick represented the phallus. It was the batonnier's rod, staff and scepter of dominance, the ultimate symbol of kingship…**woman** [was] a central part of his territory of conquest, control and dominance. **Woman** was the greatest ornament in the realm of the stickman /warrior/king. Often, as the stickfighting legends disclose, **woman** was the prize for whom the champions fought…this connection between masculinity and the complex of warriorhood, conquest, control of territory and acquisition of woman became such a prominent feature in the formation of Trinidad for the first six decades after Emancipation that it was carried over into the twentieth century as a deeply inscribed and virtually immutable pattern. (p. 199)

He additionally explained the relationship between the metaphor and the music as follows:

> Such metaphorical linkages would generate in the Calypso a consistent tendency to represent sexual and general intercourse between males and females as forms of martial rather than marital encounter in which all of the ritualistic elements of the stickfight are reflected. Such elements include the rhetorical boasting and exalted self-celebration common to male heroic traditions worldwide, the glorification of the bois, reduced in the Calypso; to the penis; (or the glorification of the penis exalted to the size, potency and durability of the bois); the representation of the sexual act as a stiff battle between male and female sexualities. (p. 200)

Zandolie's *Stickman* probably best exemplifies the 'stick' or 'bois' metaphor. Rohlehr (2004) has analyzed *Stickman* in the context of a martial contest between two opponents of opposing sexes. The battle is fought in three phases; the protagonist's hasty attack which results in premature ejaculation, mocking and shame; the retreat in which the protagonist finds a solution to the problem by borrowing the wood of a legendary stickman; and his renewed attack which results in conquest, the applause and respect of the audience, and the vanquished foe, the woman (ibid.):

Stickman

…Well we carray down in the back ah the ally
Only me and she
I fell on meh knees and I charge she the first bois
Under she belly
She break the bois and she back back
Watch me fixed in meh eye and laugh
I get delirious and I charge she three in succession
Meh wood break in half

You could imagine how Ah feeling shame
To see Zando los he fame
Now the wood break in the center
and she laughing kya, kya, kya now if you see how Zandolie crawling
on meh knees and perspiring
but Ah pick up a piece of string in the drain
so Ah tie up meh wood and carray again…

It was getting late in the evening
And people start gathering
So a stickman called Joe Pringay
Lend me a stick to play

Now I charging like if ah crazy
And she only backing from me
She say "I don't know you could play stick so
Oh meh Lard oh, beg pardon Zando."

Zandolie

The honor and supremacy of the protagonist were restored by the fictionalized outcome of the conquest because the behavior that led to the conquest and the stereotype that exhibited that behavior had long since become socialized into the psyche of the people. Fictionalization too had been a main characteristic of the calypso genre and of Trinidad folklore in general.

St. John (1996), writing along psychological lines, has offered a somewhat different explanation as to the trait among male calypsonians of boasting sexual prowess. She wrote,

> Black men, victims of the emasculation of slavery, are reportedly always seeking to restore their self-esteem. Calypso, with its projections into the fantasy of insatiable appetites and innumerable conquests, offers the ideal avenue by which manhood can be restored. (p. 25)

From an extensive list of phallocentric calypsos a few entries have been listed for the benefit of the reader; the Mighty Sparrow's *Mr. Herbert, Jook for Jook* and *Pogo Stick*; Lord Kitchener's *Handyman* and *Dr. Kitch*; the Mighty Terror's *Callaloo* and *Female Woodcutter*; Puppet Master's *The Greatest Love*; Spitfire's *Roast Corn for Rosie* and the Mighty Duke's *Thunder.*

In constructing the 'sexually superior male' stereotype that was consistent with the stickman, the calypsonian had simultaneously constructed an 'inferior female' stereotype which also became socialized in Trinidadian society. *Learn to Cook* below elucidates the stereotype.

Learn to Cook
All you concerned about is the way you look
Pretty up like a doll in a story book
But you doh know one thing bout cooking and you won't learn

The last time you made some Jello it burn

From now on honey bunch this is your duty
Buy a cookbook and learn every recipe
Otherwise is outside the window for all dem clothes
You have one week to learn to cook or is blows
The Mighty Sparrow

The calypso informs about the socialization of the subordinate and physically abused female stereotype, and the expected role of women and the consequences for non-compliance that had been perpetuated in calypsos. *Learn to Cook* also provides comedic entertainment.

The stereotype assumed roles of subservience, infidelity and frivolity, and was extant in an era when promiscuity among women was 'outwardly' frowned upon by society in general, especially by 'respectable' society and a somewhat 'blind eye' had been turned on domestic abuse. The tendency in Trinidadian society to engage in self-mockery that had allowed both stereotypes to be perpetuated also sanctioned deflation of phallocentric masculinity and the construction of the 'impotent or sexually inadequate male' stereotype by male calypsonians. Calypsos such as the Crazy's *The Cock Can't Stand Up* and the Mighty Sparrow's *Willie Dead* and *Man Like to Feel,* are included among this strain of unmasking calypsos. The persona has been perpetuated by female calypsonians as well. *Mr. Johnny* by Lady Excellence is one example. In the 1960s the entry of female calypsonians into the calypso arena began in earnest. Pioneered by Calypso Rose, they appropriated emasculated male stereotypes in their counter attack against the phallocentric male and attacked negative aspects of the male stereotype that had been socialized, in an attempt to challenge and deconstruct the sexually superior male stereotype. In the tradition of Lady Iere's *Leave Me or Love Me* and *Cat O Nine Tail* of several decades earlier, their themes tackled men's overindulgence in alcohol and the accompanying sexual incompetence syndrome.

Calypso Rose utilized the 'loose and vulgar woman' stereotype and the 'sexually inadequate male' stereotype that had already been socialized by male calypsonians, to construct an independent and equally promiscuous 'sexually aggressive female' counterpart to the 'stickman'. Lady Shabba's calypso *Hold Him and Wuk Him* and *We Jamming*, *Horn Your Man* by Calypso Princess and Natalie Yorke's *Do What You Want* and Dextra's *I Dare You* celebrate female sexual empowerment and blatantly challenge the 'sexually superior male' stereotype. The sexually promiscuous superior female stereotype had now been born and eventually became socialized as a folk heroine alongside her male counterpart.

In instances when female calypsonians have celebrated the penis, the celebration has been secondary to the ascendancy of the 'sexually aggressive female' stereotype and fellatio perceived as a means by which the woman subdues the man. In other words, in these renditions the phallus is enjoyed for its ability to pleasure the woman but has been reduced by the onslaught of the gynocentric female, at times to the point of derision. Calypso Rose, the pioneer of this previously not so traversed terrain, has spurned several calypsos of that milieu including *The Sweet Nest*, whose title and lyrics establish the ascendency of the vagina over the phallus by conjuring imagery of the intense degree of allure, desire and seduction to which the penis succumbs; *You must Come Back to Rose* in which the female protagonist resorts to 'necromancy' (black magic) in order to capture and conquer her prey; and *The Wrestler* in which she delights in 'squeezing' the life out of her male rival thereby winning the sexual contest. Intercourse continues to be viewed in the context of competition between the sexes.

You must Come Back to Rose

When Ah take a piece of meh clothes
And boil it up in spice and clove
And Ah pass the scent by yuh nose
You bound to come back to rose
Calypso Rose

The Wrestler

If you strong like a lion and I hold you
You bound to ball (shout/moan aloud)
You could be strong like a concrete wall
You got to fall
Calypso Rose

Although considered taboo publicly, oral sex had always been a popular theme in calypsos. However, whereas calypsos such as the Mighty Terror's *Dora Fat Pork*, the Mighty Sparrow's *Congo Man*, *Number 69*, *May May* and *Sixty Million Frenchmen* had bolstered the male stereotype, Calypso Rose's *Pudding* and *Palet* incorporated the 'eating' metaphor as a vehicle for male feminization. Female calypsonians continued to incorporate such themes in order to unmask male sexual inadequacy, deflate the male ego and celebrate victory in the sexual battle. Cunnilingus has been incorporated not as a primary means by which the woman is satisfied by the man, but rather as a maneuver that men resort to in order to disguise impotency, and as a substitute for virility. Its counterpart fellatio has been incorporated by the

'female sexual heroine' stereotype to subdue the male sexual ego and achieve conquest, and as well to punish as it were her rival.

The Mighty Duke's *Woop Wap* is an example of a calypso sung by a male phallocentric, but, in the words of Gordon Rohlehr (2004), it "mocks at the absurdly unequal contest of inadequate male and insatiable female sexualities" (p. 234). Along with *Woop Wap*, calypsos such as David Rudder's *Carnival Oman*, Beckett's *Teaser* and Penguin's *Soft Man*, represent the male calypsonian's recognition of the arrival and legitimacy of the independent and sexually liberated woman and the socialization of the stickman's female counterpart in Trinidadian society.

During pre-emancipated times Trinidadian women had sung in defiance of social repression and in rebellion to colonial ordinances. In the twentieth century female calypsonians such as Singing Sandra, Singing Francine and others have continued in that tradition and have broadened the scope of the feminist struggle by attacking hegemonic oppression. Singing Sandra's *No More Hard Work* and *Enough is Enough* in 2003 addressed infidelity, physical, mental and sexual abuse and gender disparity. *Pressure* by Carol Jacobs in similar fashion qualifies since it rebelliously itemizes stressful aspects of the overwhelmed housewife's daily struggle to cope with the fulfillment of roles expected of her, aspects which, once overcome demonstrate the resourcefulness of the 'woman'. Calypsos such as those referred to above broke away from the tradition of applauding the sexually dominant male stereotype. Along with the timely entrance of a Caucasian female, Denise Plummer, into the calypso arena, the calypsos that were being sung by female calypsonians at the time helped to empower the Trinidadian woman, reveal a new persona and bring about new awareness that had previously remained repressed by social patriarchy. She was initially heckled and booed because she was different but her perseverance, the quality of her performances, relevance of her rhetoric and her difference won her public acclaim. In the male-heroic carnivalesque society of Trinidad, caught between conflicting poles of morality and tradition, we see both an acceptance and a denial of the foregoing stereotypes and behaviors: for example, the 'Saga Boy' (Casanova), steelbandsmen ('pan men') and the calypsonian are applauded but our daughters and sisters are forbidden to associate with them; infidelity and promiscuity are tolerated as long as womenfolk not related to us are not involved; and lewd and lascivious behavior (wining and grinding) displayed publicly, especially by women, is constrained except of course during carnivalesque activities. The statement below, made by Gibbons, alludes to these double standards in regard to the rhetorical calypso and the calypsonian.

> Calypso(e)s aimed at prostitutes or foreign crooks were alright. Once the victims were closer home…there was a great hue and cry and the invoking of censorship laws. One is never allowed to forget that the Kaisonian inhabited a kind of moral degenerate world which, without the restraints and sanctions of the law always appeared likely to contaminate 'decent' society. (1994, p. 74)

Ambivalence toward the calypsonian and calypso music is no different from ambivalence toward the sexual stereotypes previously discussed, toward other Afro-centric practices or toward steelbandsmen and the steel drum. It had been initiated by upper class repression of grass roots practices; was peculiar to the grass roots masses; and it became extant among society at large once the avoidance of 'tabooed' practices had become socialized as behavioral norms within 'certain' other factions of society. A tendency toward selective hypocrisy and denial that was not confined to the upper class majority therefore became formalized in Trinidadian society.

Errol Hill (1972) has reported that in an attempt to avert prejudice, Canon Farquhar, chairman of the first government-appointed committee to investigate the steelband phenomenon wrote,

> Educationally they have been denied everything…Socially they are condemned to conditions in which home life, as understood by their critics, does not exist…They are normally shunned as the unwanted and undesirable and subjected to taunts and reproaches. Thus ostracized and estranged from the circumstances and the people who alone could help them, they are driven out like lepers of old into the wilderness and waste places of society…Instead of surrendering to sullen despair or violent retribution, they turn to the escapism of music and roam our streets. (Cited in Hill, 1972, p. 50)

Both repression and selective hypocrisy aimed at calypsonians and steelbandsmen were addressed by the Mighty Sparrow's social commentary *Outcast* referred to earlier on page 34.

Calypso music, as the study has shown, has helped to construct, maintain and legitimize stereotypes and behaviors that had once been criticized and ostracized, weaving them into the folkloric tapestry of mainstream culture. Those behaviors and stereotypes find freedom of expression in the symbolic and ritualized social drama, carnival, whose main ingredients, masking and calypso music function so as to equalize people and synchronize events.

The news media, including the radio and television networks and the local newspapers, are also part of the ritual network since they are disseminators by which the 'entire' population becomes initiated in national ritual.

My first line of support is found in the opening statement of G.S. Métraux's editorial, *Of Feasts and Carnival* which outlines the basic patterns of festivals:

> Traditional feasts and festivals constitute, symbolically, a renewal of the past in the present, a way of recalling the origins-whether mythical or historical-of a community of men; they are occasions when cultural and national identity can be re-asserted and feelings of self-awareness and participation in common experiences reaffirmed. (1976, p. 7)

In keeping with the nature of feasts and festivals, the Trinidad carnival ritual has allowed respondents the opportunity to re-enact mythical and historical events, by engaging in related events such as masquerade, costume design and fabrication, composition and performance of special music and dance performance. The ritual is all-encompassing and has continuously engaged society along several parameters. The images and symbols that the carnival drama offers, referred to by Béhague (1994) as "the musical occasion" (p. 8) and the symbols alluded to in respective citations of Burke (p. 7) and Patton (p. 8) can be of a verbal, visual, aural, physical, spiritual or emotional nature. The Trinidad Carnival has been an omnipotent symbol to the people of Trinidad, a symbol that during the pre-Emancipation era, had represented the quest for temporary escape from class status and permanent freedom from slavery.

It must be remembered that pre-Emancipation carnival festivities on the island of Trinidad had coincided with the Christmas and New Year holidays, during which time the occurrence of outbreaks had been common. From Hill's (1972) report we have learned that since the authorities had always been on the alert against insurrection by slaves, martial law was customarily proclaimed in British colonies around that time of year. We have also learned from the report that beginning on December 24 with gunfire and continuing with mock military exercises during the weeks prior to carnival, the British government customarily displayed a show of military force (p. 13).

The implication is clear, and serves as a basis for the reasoning that post-Emancipation carnival had become symbolic of freedom for the people of Trinidad. Hill (1972) has offered one of the most profound analyses of the symbolic relationship between carnival celebrations and Trinidadians during the decades immediately following Emancipation. He wrote,

> Carnival in Trinidad had become a symbol of freedom for the broad mass of the population and not merely a season for frivolous enjoyment. It had a ritualistic significance, rooted in the experience of slavery and in the celebration of freedom from slavery. In this sense, carnival was no longer a European-inspired nature festival. Adopted by the Trinidad people it became a deeply meaningful anniversary of deliverance from the most hateful form of human bondage. The people would not be intimidated; they would observe carnival in the manner they deemed most appropriate. A theatre that draws inspiration from a movement so deeply rooted in the culture of the people cannot but reflect the national spirit or fail to win a large measure of popular support. (p. 21)

Since calypsos have reflected the social consciousness of the people, the text of calypsos of the pre and post-Emancipation eras would have reflected jubilation not only on a level of frivolous enjoyment and festive tradition, but as well on levels of ritualistic, historical and philosophical significance. Calypsos therefore, have become artifacts in celebration of solidarity, triumph and freedom, expressions of festive laughter and beacons of an inherent potential towards resistance and rebellion. I cite Rohlehr (1984) in support: referring to Bakhtin's description of carnival as a social institution, he writes,

> …if "freedom" in the street songs of Carnival took the form of class aggression performed in a style of scurrility and bawdy picong that deliberately unmasked the real disrespect that the never truly humble underclass felt for the social overlords, responsibility, as defined by the aggrieved elite, would require the rigorous policing of such freedom and include the censorship of street songs…Such censorship proved to be impossible because the songs were, apart from their choruses, improvised by the chantwel and were part of what the intellectual Mikhail Bakhtin, in his seminal study *Rabelais and His World*, termed "festive laughter."
>
> Carnival laughter, festive laughter is, according to Bakhtin, whose analysis was based on the carnivals of medieval Europe, not an individual reaction to some isolated "comic" event. Carnival laughter is the laughter of all the people. Second, it is universal in scope; it is directed at all and everyone, including the carnival's participants. The entire world is seen in its drool aspect, in its gay relativity. Third, this laughter is ambivalent: it is gay, triumphant, and at the same time mocking, deriding, it buries and revives. Such is the laughter of carnival. (p. 4)

My second line of support is grounded in Durkheim's (1938) statement that collective activities generate feelings of elation or effervescence that affirm actors' membership in a group, and are important sources of solidarity. This posit has been supported by Collins (2014), who has successfully argued that a common focus and common mood in social interaction fosters a sense of something larger, i.e., a common group membership or affiliation.

The notion of "collective effervescence" forwarded by Durkheim from his analysis of festivals, and further advanced by Marcel Mauss, is reported by Jean Duvignaud (1976), to have influenced the various schools of sociology and anthropology. Duvignaud wrote,

> Mauss characterized this "dynamic totality" and its creative "effervescence" as "the whole social body…vibrating to the same chord". In the momentum of intense participation "individuals melt away. They become, so to speak...the spokes of a single wheel whose magical gyrations, dancing and singing would appear to constitute a perfect image". The creativity of the festival stems from the group's realizing in common an experience that lies outside of it. (p. 14)

From the standpoints of 'initiator', in this case, as musician, and as 'respondent', I offer my own account of the feeling of "melting away" during the momentum of intense participation.

At precise moments during performance of carnival music (i.e. calypso), and in response to it, an emotional highpoint or 'state' is reached and the music assumes a power that 'carries away' revelers, performers and spectators alike. It is reminiscent of the type of invocation that initiates of a religious cult experience. Here are a few observations I should make about the 'state' — feeling of being 'carried away' or rapture. It is often induced by the text, but more generally, by the music and its performance whether the respondents are performing, watching and listening or dancing; the rapture experienced by those in attendance is simultaneous and collective; performance is perlocutionary, that is, it is designed to provoke a response. In some instances, the response is manipulated by the musical arrangement to occur at precise or predetermined moments and at other times it is spontaneous, although the stimuli that trigger the responses are always present.

There is a repertoire of learned responses among revelers during rapture, these include shouting, jumping, falling down, rolling on the ground, throwing both arms in the air while extending the forefingers or all fingers of both hands as if in ecstatic surrender, and 'wining' (gyrating of the waist in simulation of the sex act), in tandem with, or without a partner. Graphic facial expressions portraying bliss and total abandon add the final touch to the visual emotive display commonly referred to by Trinidadians as 'madness' or 'sweetness'. Performing, dancing or listening to calypso music under the influence of environments such as pan yards and calypso tents can be a highly intoxicating and, in the case of dancing at fêtes or in the streets on carnival day, a graphically erotic experience.

The following account of spirit-possession during performance, as relayed by Rohlehr (2004, p. 240-241), was given by Calypso Rose in an interview in the *Trinidad Express,*

> When I get on that stage and I hear the bass-pedal drumming and the bass drumming, I does just start to move. I tell yuh I find myself doing some steps on the stage that I swear I know nothing about. The music just takes over mih body and Rosie on the move. (Calypso Rose, February 27, 1977)

The rapture is often heightened or encouraged by the (excessive) consumption of alcohol although it is not a requirement. The following slew of local phrases is used to refer to the intoxicating feeling of total abandon described: "De ting take she", "When de ting fly up in she head so", "Dey get away", "Dey leggo", "She gorn wild", "Dey getting orn bad," "He ketch ah vaps boy" etc. Viewed in the context outlined, carnival has been perceived as a ritualized social drama presented as a lascivious dance wherein calypso and soca music are the vehicles by which revelers escape from their permanent reality to the fantasy of a

temporary reality. Patton (1994, p. 58) has cited Stern and Henderson (1993) wherein they call attention to Turner's concept of ritual performance as social drama:

> During the liminal period of the ritual, the individual escapes the normal social order and its constraints, entering a phase in which social status is temporarily laid aside and the participants mingle as social equals, bonding in a spirit of *communitas* which affirms universal characteristics of humanity and the individual's worth. (Stern and Henderson, p. 123)

Duvignaud (1976) has observed that "… commercial and sexual relations are intensified during the 'festival'", and that "the classes, or rather the segregations which divide groups disappear, and the prohibitions scoffed" (p. 15). He has referred to this state as a process of "symbolic hallucination" which "corresponds to a wish for imposing a mystical, symbolic order which is at odds with social reality" in that "it represents an imaginary space in which man is freed from the constraints of economic and social hierarchies" (p. 20).

However, as pointed out by Peter Weidkuhn (1976), the evidence gathered by Nathalie Zemon Davis convincingly shows that rather than being a mere 'safety-valve', deflecting attention from social reality, festive life can on the one hand perpetuate certain values of a community, even guarantee its survival, and on the other hand, criticize political order (p. 36).

It has been observed and generally agreed upon that the 'festival' entails a departure from collective social order. This temporary escape from social order serves as a sort of social equalizer, a model which Stern has described as involving the ritual stages of breach of social norms, crisis characterized by a series of arguments and debates, redress involving the use of a variety of means to restore balance, order, and identity within a culture. These latter observations bring us full circle to the process of institutionalized socialization and its role in identity construction, one of the discussions embarked upon previously. As has been shown during the review of the different aspects of its relationship with carnival, calypso music has been catalytic or integral to several processes of socialization in Trinidad. The rowdy atmosphere associated with post-EmancipationJamette carnival, the violence attributed to steelband rivalry, the calypsonian's ridicule of the upper and middle classes, and the inability of factions of these two groups to abolish carnival were all factors that had sustained the prolonged withdrawal of the upper and middle classes of Trinidadian society from participation in carnival. The transitions of the upper classes beginning with their withdrawal from street parading, their retreat to the seclusion of exclusive indoor masquerade balls, followed by their renewed participation in street masquerading was undertaken gradually and

cautiously. At first, instead of parading in the streets alongside the other masqueraders they had isolated themselves within the safety of decorated vehicles and, after a while, on floats pulled by trucks. These are indications that conflict between grass roots and upper-class masqueraders had still been extant and that grass roots cultural ascendency was not far from being completely realized.

Meanwhile, between 1925 and 1945 the steel drum, from its evolution as an addition (the Bermudez biscuit tin and the cement drum) to tamboo bamboo bands, had displaced the very same bamboo, becoming the preferred provider of carnival music for the grass roots masses. Numerous historical accounts substantiate the predilection for dancing to steelband music, not only on the streets during carnival but also at fêtes. Calypso music became a major source of the dance repertoire and steelbands offered an inexpensive source of entertainment for private functions during the lean years. The reliance upon steelband music and its repertory of calypso music was crucial to the socialization of both the calypso and the steel drum movement, and catalytic to the establishment of collective socio-cultural identity.

The study will now look at the history of carnivals in comparison to the nature of rebellion from the standpoint of role reversal. Weidkuhn (1976, p. 36-37) has discovered correlations between behavioral patterns exhibited at carnivals and has offered the following observations from analysis of the elementary units of rebellious behavior which indicate that:

- Rebellion is a *social* phenomenon. The boundaries of its social locus are definable: the rebellious group is made up of members of a certain class;
- Rebellion is a *psychic* phenomenon. It is irrationally motivated by the indignation at a fundamental contradiction that is inherent in society;
- Rebellion develops a peculiar *technology*. It is realized by a typical set of material means, the most outstanding of which are aggression and sexual license;
- Rebellion is a *religious* phenomenon; it is characterized by the rebel's unilaterally open identity, i.e., by their relying on an idea which transcends society. Civilized rebels fight for freedom, equality and fraternity, [whereas] savages - in the structural sense - wear masks; they dissemble their voices…they represent ghosts, the dead, and the like.
- Rebellion is a *political* phenomenon. It aims at the reversal of social time, status, and roles;
- There is an important difference between rebellion (revolt) and revolution. A rebellion has a festive character; after its end the reversal is revoked, and the normal social life continues its course for a period of time…it is a *play* of reversal. It is not the social structure which is changed by rebellion; it is only the tenants of structural positions that are replaced during the festival. *Revolution*, on the other hand, is an irreversible process

> that transforms the basic social structure…It thus marks the point of no return of historic processes.

These observations have proven to be consistent with the Trinidad carnival. The fact that during pre-Emancipation carnival processions upper class masqueraders stereotyped aspects of slave life and behavior, and that the slaves in turn, satirized the upper class by perpetrating the *Dame Lorraine* character, substantiate claims of role reversal. The scandalous *Dame Lorraine* character and its associated dance styles are still a feature of the current annual burlesque.

Together with the calypso *Congo Bara* they both represent a form of passive resistance, and are two examples of the early attempts at satire perpetrated by lower class citizens against the upper class. The play on reversal of social time and status has taken on a more documentary role over the years, as can be seen from themes such as the 2007 portrayal, *The French Revolution.* The 1881 Canboulay Riots on the other hand, was an instance of direct, deliberate and open confrontation instigated in retaliation to the unjust forms of repression and harsh measures of social control that had been exercised by the elitist faction of society.

The following newspaper editorial was referenced by Hill (1976, p. 80), and had foreshadowed the events leading up to the Canboulay Riots by two decades.

> Why then are the people so molested? Is it because the aristocracy of the island do not enjoy and confederate in the amusement, as they were wont to do, or is it because opportunity is sought to provoke the people to rebel, so as to blacken their good name? (*The Trinidad Sentinel,* Mar. 10, 1859)

Hill's (1976) account of the state of affairs leading up to the riots seeks to establish the rebellion as a response to the pressures of social control.

> The authorities directed their main opposition against the Canboulay procession which derived from slave experiences and included the much-feared stickfighting sport, as well as against Negro drum music and the carnival songs. It is clear however, that such hostility by upper-class whites served only to bind together the common people of different racial backgrounds who viewed the carnival as a symbol of freedom, however transitory, and who violently resisted efforts to abolish the festival. (p. 80)

The intragroup solidarity outlined above in Hill's account is reminiscent of the solidarity that had existed between Indo and Afro-Trinidadians four years earlier in spite of the bones of contention that had been extant between the two contingents. The actual event of 1881 and its annual re-enactment during contemporary annual Emancipation Day and carnival celebrations represents a reversal of social time and status too. By virtue of the distinction

made by Weidkuhn's observation on the preceding page, the Canboulay Riots can be perceived as having fulfilled functions of both rebellion and revolution. The correlations outlined by Weidkuhn are also consistent with the functions of the calypso both as an independent arm of rebellion, and as a tool of several social institutions at the center of socio-cultural rebellion in Trinidad.

Gibbons (1994) has commented on the rebellious nature of calypso music. He wrote, "If kaiso sustained a tradition of black protest with all its nuances and ramifications, press commentary on the kaiso was always a reminder of the need for such protest" (p. 74). He has additionally reported about the calypso as part of the arsenal of resistance to colonialism.

> Culture, as the countless rebellions have proved, was fundamental to the African's arsenal of resistance. Even the concept of returning to Africa after death functioned in this way. The resistance of the African was targeted not only against the physical brutality of plantation slavery but against the entire gestalt which needed to define him as sub-human. Surviving that devastating and irreversible trauma demanded of the African strategies both confrontational and creative. He had to adapt, but he did not give up Africa. Survival languages (kweyol), a multi-masked Xtianity (Orixa), the coding of social commentary (dance-languages, masquerade, music) were creative weapons against the annihilating pressure of slavery. Genetically the kaiso is a 'picanny' of this tradition. (p. 4)

Dick Spottswood's liner notes to the LP *Calypsos from Trinidad: Politics, Intrigue & Violence in the 1930's* is a commentary on the tone of belligerence and defiance in calypsos of the era,

> Kalenda and tamboo-bamboo represented the defiant and sometimes violent extremity of black Creole society that did not conform with colonial ideals of decorum. Another aspect of symbolic defiance in these songs is the use of French - Creole for the lyrics. Throughout the nineteenth century, this served as a semi - secret dialect in opposition to English, the language of political control in Trinidad. Like the stickmen before them; calypsonians took powerful names as symbols of their ability. Their lyrics present a continuous and inventive three-way stream of boasts of (stick) band or individual prowess, and threats. Such dialogues are in the manner of old-time verbal contests between two Pierrots, or pays rois - gorgeously dressed Kings of Carnival stickbands or, individual territories whose Carnival competitions ended in violence and were constrained by official license from 1892. Although contests between groups of stickfighters were banished from carnival in the 1910s, their symbolic role as an antithesis of colonial ideals of propriety was taken over by territorial-based bands of tamboo-bamboo players. (Spottswood, 1991)

The album has been reissued as CD 700401, and can be accessed via Arhoolie/Folklyric, El Cerrito, Ca., 1991.

Globalization

Although most of the discussion so far has been localized to Trinidad the relationships that have been outlined have implications for Trinidadians living abroad, and for global

populations of non-Trinidadians, for whom the symbols portrayed by carnival, calypso and soca music, and their related carnivalesque activities has meaning. This latter contingent is comprised of two groups, persons for whom carnival and calypso music is part of their cultural heritage, and those who have undergone some degree of acculturation.

The tendency of immigrant groups in multi-cultural environments to cling to their traditional music is a means of maintaining group identity and is explained by the 'ethnic identity' hypothesis (Allen and Groce, 1988, p. 4).

Ethnic identity stems from social identity theory which was previously outlined in chapter 2 as advanced by Tajfel and Turner (1986), and which places emphasis on the individual's need for positive self-esteem and group identification. The ethnic identity theory therefore places emphasis on identification with, and salience of ethnic group membership(s) and proposes that affirmation to ethnicity is more salient among groups that have faced greater discrimination in order to maintain self-esteem.

Toloyan (1996) has shown that diasporic communities attempt to maintain (real and/or imagined) connections and commitments to their homeland and reorganize themselves and act as a collective community. In doing so, they contribute to a global cultural mosaic, a global community with a culture of its own (p. 3-35). For example, Razo has pointed to the Cahuita community in the Limon region of Costa Rica, noting that the calypso has been "a vehicle by which Afro-Trinidadian and Afro-Caribbean culture has been preserved" (2010, p. 1). Citing two sources she has informed that those cultural artifacts had been transported there by migrating Afro-Caribbean employees of the railroad and the fruit processing industry, and developed as a music form that expressed Afro-Costa Rican culture and a strong identifying factor of Costa Rica. However, the calypso never became mainstream because the Cahuita community was marginalized by the predominantly white society that identified with Europe (Razo, ibid.). Further citing Monestal, Razo has additionally informed us that the calypso rhythm is a foundation for several modern Costa Rican genres such as the chicky chicky, a hybridization of cumbia and calypso that hat had been popular in the 1980s (ibid.).

There is consensus across disciplines between studies pertaining to diaspora, identity, culture and acculturation, that identities are constructed through the intermingling, mixing and moving of cultures. Hermans and Kemper (1998) have described examples and have argued that equating culture with the geographic space of the nation does not fully capture the

complex relationship between global cultures and the construction of self. They reasoned that within a world where the local and the global are merging and creating new 'contact zones', the hybridization of cultural practices and meanings often leads to the creation of multiple identities (p. 1117).

Hall (1992) has corroborated by pointing out that, contemporary movements and globalization impulses force us to abandon conceptions of similarities between national cultures in favor of hybridized, 'diasporized', and heterogeneous notions of culture (p. 356).

Petillo (2008) has stated that,

> In spite of the ethnic and cultural plurality that has been extant in the Caribbean, the African presence informs the core of the region and gives shape to its innermost identity. Since the majority of Caribbean people have an African ancestry, the survivals of West African linguistic, cultural, artistic and religious elements are still evident across the Caribbean…The calypso [and soca] represents a significant aspect of this continuum between Africa and the New World. (p. 1)

Now, due to migration from the previous contact zones of the colonial period, these elements are constantly being transported and assimilated among communities within post-Colonial contact zones. Calypso and soca have an added advantage over many of the other music genres that are having global impact since they are the main engine of the visual spectacular, carnival.

As reported by Patton (1994), Hall (1992, p. 20-236) has defined identity in terms of production and not as an accomplished historical fact, noting that one aspect of thinking about cultural identity was the idea of a shared culture, a true self inside the other artificial selves that surround it. "Hall," Patton stated, "views cultural identity as, a matter of becoming as well as being, not so much the recovery of the past as a positioning by and within existing narratives." Hall's views may have provided clues to the polarization of the calypso genre from being once rejected by certain factions of society to being embraced by all factions of society. Bhatia and Ram (2001) have stated that,

> Post-colonial and diaspora theories force us to think beyond fixed national and cultural boundaries and rather think more in terms of moving cultures where here and there, past and present, homeland and host land, self and other are constantly being negotiated.

Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989, p. 21) have reminded us that post-colonialism is a continuous process of resistance and reconstruction (p. 21). Other post-colonial theorists such as Said (2004 [1978]) and Bhabha (1994) maintain that the notion of self is constituted by historical, political and social forces. The dynamics peculiar to the socialization processes

extant at 'contact zones' within multi-cultural communities are rationalized by the Berry's proposed fourfold classification model of acculturation strategies:

- Assimilation (Berry and Sam, 1997, p. 297)
- Integration (Berry, 1998, p. 119)
- Separation (Berry and Sam, 1997, p. 297)
- Marginalization (Berry, 1998, p. 119) which has been influential in cross-cultural psychology in studies pertaining to acculturation.

Behavioral shifts are among the psychological processes experienced by individuals and groups undergoing acculturation. Group identity, as noted before, is displayed as symbols in both the physical and socio-cognitive realms. The music (calypso and soca), and the types of music behavior associated with West Indian carnivals - dancing, masquerading, performing and listening - provide aspects in both symbolic realms. The symbolic representations provide a means of transformation for both the participant and the spectator.

The behaviors exhibited by respondents have been, and are in the process of being socialized in several global communities. This is revealed by the multi-ethnic turnout but more so by the observable assimilated behavioral responses exhibited by non-Trinidadians and non-West Indians at annual carnival celebrations in Europe (Notting Hill and Rotterdam) and in North America (Brooklyn, Miami, Orlando, Atlanta, Los Angeles and Toronto) where calypso and soca music function as the engine of the festivities.

Recent additions to the list of venues include Japan, Dubai and China. The following lyrical excerpts from Mighty Sparrow's *Mas in Brooklyn* and *Toronto Mas* had alluded to the socialization of Trinidadian culture in North America and Canada respectively some six decades ago.

> **Mas in Brooklyn**
> *Let me tell you something*
> *'Bout Labor Day in Brooklyn*
> *Everybody jumping*
> *Labor Day in Brooklyn*
> *Every West Indian jumping up like mad*
> *Just like on Carnival Day in Trinidad*
> *Yankee and all listening to the steelband beat*
> *Rolling in canal just like in Charlotte Street*
>
> *You could be from St. Clair or John John*
> *In New York all dat done*
> *It ain't have no who is who*
> *New York equalize you*

Bajan, Grenadian, Jamaican, "toute moun"
Drinking dey rum beating dey bottle and spoon
Nobody can't watch me and honestly say
They don't like to be in Brooklyn on Labor Day

Chorus

And if you hear them with Mas' Play Mas'
Mas' in you Mas' Play Mas'
Even though ah feeling homesick
Even though ah tired roam
Just give me meh calypso music
Brooklyn is meh home

The Mighty Sparrow

Toronto Mas

Every year Toronto putting on a big show
Carnival they call Caribana
Jigging to a sweet tune, sweating in dey costume
Playing dey Mas' in Canada
See them how dey jumping up and down
Fighting to do we thing
Shaking up dey bomsie out of time
Chipping with an awkward swing

See them how they bumping thicker than a dumpling
Woman in the place like lanty peas
Talking like Barbadian, talking like Jamaican
Telling you dey from the West Indies
A little bit of sunshine get them red
So they staggering in the band
And when the liquor fly up in dey head
They tackling any man

Chorus

They wild,
Toronto gone wild
Playing Mas'
Trinidadian style
Steelband beat,
Music sweet
And all them white woman
Go be in the street

The Mighty Sparrow

In keeping with the foregoing literature referenced earlier in this chapter, both calypsos bring into focus the tendency among migrant minority groups to maintain and demonstrate their intrinsic and assimilated identities by establishing and converging upon selected venues in

order to participate as a ‘unified’ group. The calypsos also comment on the reciprocal assimilation and socialization of cultural norms by contingent groups once those cultural norms have become established and maintained by their curators and recognized by the contingent groups. The repetition of the associated activities effect establishment, maintenance, and recognition of the identities and behaviors that are being integrated and assimilated.

Once again the study has shown that calypso and soca music have continued to be mechanisms, and occupy central roles as part of several mechanisms that have been responsible for establishing socialized behaviors, establishing and maintaining identity, and effecting attitudinal change and cultural transmission globally.

In the next chapter recent waves of syncretism will be discussed in the context of change. The study will examine how change has altered the calypso genre, how it has impacted past and present generations of Trinidadians; and explore implications that the findings of such inquiry may hold for future generations of Trinidadians at home and abroad, and for contingent global communities.

Chapter 5
Change and Analysis

The study has revealed so far that musical syncretism had begun in Trinidad quite early in the creation of an indigenous music form and had resulted in the propagation of calypso music. Although syncretism had continued to take place during the period between the 1950's and 1970's perception of innovation within the genre was not blatant. From the mid-1980's onward however, innovation began to affect the structure (pulse, sound, distribution of function among instrumentation, melodic and harmonic structure and so on) thereby producing a distinctively new strain, soca. This new strain and its derivatives have been providing symbols and meaning for contemporary generations of Trinidadians and by association, other global contingents. In the field of ethnomusicology music is perceived as both a product of culture and as a contributing factor to the propagation of culture. One or more of Seeger's statements have become theoretical foundation for that field of study. He has stated that,

> Music is a phenomenon prolonged by social growth-a culture…not only a product of culture but also a formative factor that contributes to the development of culture. (Seeger, 1933, p. 143, 148)

Notions of the nature of change and its relationship with culture are upheld across disciplines. Merriam (1964), commenting on change and culture has written that,

> Change is a constant in human experience…no culture escapes the dynamics of change over time. But culture is also stable, that is, no cultures change wholesale and overnight; the threads of continuity run through every culture, and this change must be considered against a background of stability. (p. 303)

The main idea that can be inferred from the preceding quote and the one below is that examination of any music genre over time will reveal change. Kroeber's statement below in reference to language and music is representative of the general anthropological view in past and present.

> Human speech [and…] music accumulate and develop from age to age…[and] inevitably alter…from generation to generation by fashion or custom…it is impossible for [them] to remain the same: in other words, [they are] a social thing. (Kroeber, 1917, p. 172)

Preliminary inquiry during field work associated with this study revealed that there were perceptions of both change and stability in calypso music among the Trinidadian public.

These perceptions had begun to surface with the emergence of soca music during the mid-eighties and had escalated to a point of indignation a decade later, once the new strain began to threaten the survival of older calypso strains. This ambivalence became the impetus for both an analysis of both strains, and a survey to determine

- whether change had occurred; (the main focus of the survey)
- which groups were experiencing perceptions of change;
- which groups were experiencing perceptions of stability;
- which groups were experiencing both perceptions simultaneously;
- which groups were oblivious to change to the genre;
- whether those perceptions were being felt before the emergence ob soca;
- whether they could articulate those perceptions;
- what emotions did the possibility of change evoke in them;
- who they thought was responsible for the changes that they perceived, and;
- what changes did occur. (the main focus of the musical analysis)

Upon listening to calypsos from a corpus dating from the turn of the twentieth century up to the present it became quite obvious that changes had occurred. Whether those changes have been superficial or structural are to be determined by further rigorous scrutiny and followed up by subsequent inquiry. Blacking (1977) has addressed musical change. Citing Nettl (1964, p. 232), he has said that,

> Musical change…is not caused by contact among people and cultures or the movement of populations; it is brought about by decisions made by individuals about music-making and music on the basis of their experiences of music and attitudes to it in different social contexts. (p. 12)

Katz (1970) has suggested that continuous change within the style and change of the style must be considered significant by the participants in the music. Her statement is of prime significance to this discussion since the perceptions of change about calypso music had been mainly reported by members of the older generation of Trinidadians. I began by launching random informal inquiries among two sectors of society at first; the older folk and members of the younger generation. I simultaneously launched a similar inquiry among the public and among practitioners within the music performance and production arena. I discovered that members of the older generation of Trinidadians have insisted on maintaining traditions and embracing sentiments that had established and continue to establish their construct of identity and indigenous culture, and therefore interpreted innovation of any kind, especially the

innovation of progeny, as change. It must be remembered that they had been the curators of calypso music and are currently participant in a 'dying' but still extant calypso culture, the ascendency of which is being challenged by the identifiable new and dominant music strain soca being propagated by the younger generations of Trinidadians. Resultantly ingrained traits of resilience and combativeness extant among them have resurfaced, in rebellion against the loss of their cultural norms to progeny and contemporary external influences.

The term 'dying' is used above since numbers among participants in calypso culture of old have dwindled, practitioners among them have become inactive, public interest and taste have shifted, and some of the functions that the calypso once served are no longer applicable to the contemporary society. Most people that comprise the contingent labeled "the younger generation" did not experience the hardships of slavery or the pressures of social, political and cultural repression that followed in its aftermath. Although they have enjoyed the freedoms that had been defended, fought for, and won by their forefathers, their cultural expression has been driven by a different impetus. Also, in the tradition of younger generations, they have been relentless in their pursuit of recognition, identity and change by way of cultural and stylistic innovation.

Elder (1985) has contemplated the context of the relationship between the calypso genre and mechanisms that facilitate identity construction and maintenance. Commenting on the function of the calypso and its ancestor the calinda in Trinidad he has written,

> It is amazing how the attitude (of the slaves) to slavery is projected through the kalinda, and when people say that the calypso which descended from the kalinda has lost its role or forgotten its social function, they are saying that that biting, satirical, protest, fight-back attitude projected in the kalinda has lost out in the modern calypso, that's what they are talking about.

Linkages between social function, content, and performance contexts have been explored by Rohlehr (2004); he has stated that,

> Of these elements, function is the one that has changed least over time. This is probably because function has always been multi-faceted. Calypso music today still performs most of the functions of its ancestor-musics: celebration, censure, praise, blame, social control, worship, moralizing, affirmation, confrontation, exhortation, warning, scandal-mongering, ridicule, the generation of laughter, verbal warfare, [and] satire. (p. 164)

The literature corroborates the viewpoint that calypso has not lost its role nor has it forgotten its social function. Analysis of post-colonial calypsos undertaken during this study has further revealed that although the genre has retained its function of protest it no longer finds impetus in rebellion. During a significantly sufficient period of deconstruction upward social mobility

has become more attainable by a larger cross section of the contemporary grassroot society, human rights have been restored, the yoke of repression has been broken, empowerment among out-groups and socially repressed groups has been enabled, and positive identities have been established and maintained. Resultantly, cultural and artistic expression has progressively reflected and continues to reflect a different collective social attitude than during the colonial period and the transitory period leading up to the post-colonial period. It can be said then that the zeitgeist and collective consciousness of Trinidadian society has changed.

During ethnological research associated with this study professional involvement in music performance and production prompted and afforded me an opportunity to launch inquiries among two sectors of society: the general public and practitioners within the music performance and production arena. I began noticing and documenting several aspects of change.

A Socio-Cultural Approach

Methodology

A survey was conducted among 180 participants by the implementation of the following steps:

Step 1: The participants were categorized under two headings, Random Participants (R) = N 80 and the Control Group (C) = N 80.

Step 2: Each group was sub-divided evenly as follows: Practitioners (P) =N 40 and Non-Practitioners (NP) = N 40 of 'Old Time' calypso and of 'Modern' calypso.

Step 3: Further sub-division assigned each group of participants to two sub-categories: Young Practitioners (YP) = N 20 and Young Non-Practitioners (YNP) = N 20, and Old Practitioners (OP) =N 20 and Old Non-Practitioners (ONP**)** = N 20.

The ages of the 'Young' participants ranged between twelve and thirty-five, and the 'Old' participants were forty-five years and older. Each of the resultant eight groups was comprised of an equal number of male and female participants. The illustration below is representative of the designation of participants.

Random Group = N 80

Practitioners Non-Practitioners

RYP = N 20	RYNP = N 20
ROP = N 20	RONP = N 20

The Control Group = N 80

Practitioners	Non-Practitioners
CYP = N 20	CYNP =N 20
COP = N 20	CONP =N 20

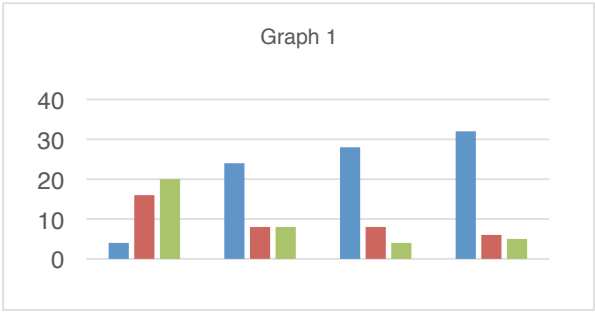
Legend: R-Random, C-Control, Y-Young, O- Old, P-Practitioner, NP-Non-Practitioner

Fig. 46: Table showing the allocation of participants to groups. Generated by the author

Data Gathering Process

The data generated by the survey was collected and plotted on graphs 1, 2 and 3, and is illustrated in figures 48, 49 and 50 respectively.

Step 4: All of the participants were asked the following question before they listened to the selected samples of recorded calypso music: "Has calypso music changed?"



Legend: R-Random, Y-Young, O-Old, N-Non, P-Practitioner

Blue-Yes, Red-No, Green-Uncertain

Fig. 47: Quantitative data from Step 4: Responses of all participants before listening session. Created by the author

Observation 1: The data collected revealed that 88 participants answered "Yes", 40 answered "No" and 32 were "Uncertain".

Observation 2: The distribution of "Yes," "No" and "Uncertain" answers were as follows:

	"Yes"	"No"	"Uncertain"
Old practitioners	32	6	2
Young practitioners	28	8	4
Old non-practitioners	24	8	8
Young non-practitioners	4	16	20

Step 5: The participants belonging to both groups listened to recorded examples of "Old Time" Calypso and of "Modern Calypso" after which they were asked the same question, "Has calypso music changed?"

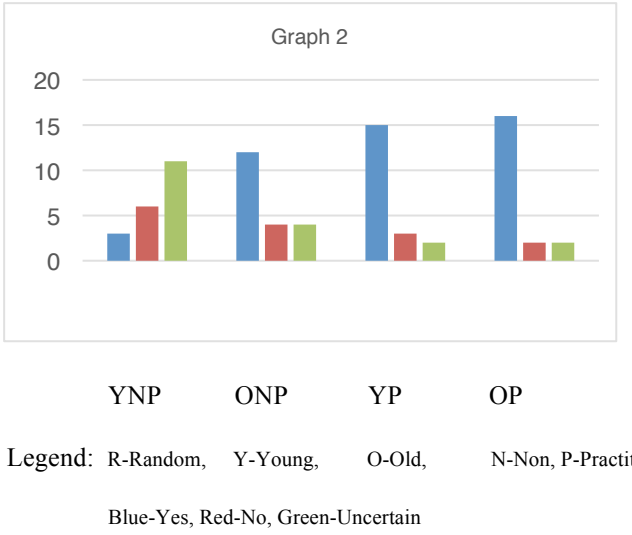
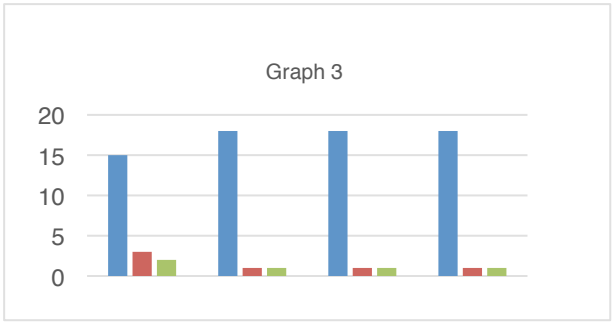


Fig. 48: Data from Step 5: Responses of Random Group after listening session. Created by the author.

Observation: The data collected reflecting the responses of members of the Random Group after the listening session revealed that that 46 participants answered "Yes", 15 answered "No" and 19 were "Uncertain".



Legend: R-Random, Y-Young, O-Old, N-Non, P-Practitioner

Blue-Yes, Red-No, Green-Uncertain

Fig. 49: Data from Step 5: Responses of the Control Group after the listening session. Created by the author.

Observation: The data collected reflecting the responses of members of the Control Group after the listening session revealed that 69 persons answered "Yes", 6 answered "No", and that only 5 persons were "Uncertain".

Interpretation of the data collected and plotted on the three graphs

a. Generally, more participants answered "Yes" than "No". This was consistent among the participants of all groups, in all instances, and among participants belonging to both age categories.

b. There were more "Yes" responses and fewer "No" and "Uncertain" responses among Practitioners and older participants as opposed to Non-Practitioners and younger participants.

c. There was an increase in "Yes" responses and a decline in "No" and "Uncertain" responses among participants of the Control Group after the listening session.

Analysis

The data collected overwhelmingly showed that there was a significant degree of consensus among Trinidadians that change had occurred in calypso music. Further probing during my field research led to the discovery that some practitioners had deliberately set out to bring about change. It also led to the following insight regarding why the perception of change was

stronger among practitioners and older members of the community. I discovered that members of the older generation perceived change due to the following reasons:

- They had two sources of reference from which comparisons could be made and resultantly were more capable of perceiving and reporting change as it was occurring.
- 'Old Time' calypso music was their cultural norm. It was part of the fabric that had established and maintained their identity; it was the expression of their cultural values; and it was a vital link with the past to which they still clung. Any deviation from the norm, especially pertaining to innovation of tradition was interpreted as change and was not easily accepted.

Members of the younger generation on the other hand did not readily perceive change because in most instances unfamiliarity with 'Old Time' calypso music resulted in the absence of a basis for comparison. They had not undergone a long enough period of latency during which a depository of material from foregone eras could be accumulated and used as reference. In addition, unless they were involved in the performance and/or production of music from the 'Old' school they did not readily pay attention to differences between the music from the two eras.

The findings naturally led to the conclusion that change was a perception or construct of a certain group of people made at a given time about a specific period. This concept is not new in that it shows a parallel with statements by Blacking (1977) that,

> Inventiveness therefore flowers in certain sections of societies according to the 'requirements' of the time, and whether or not music is affected at a particular period may depend upon its place in the sociology of the knowledge of the society. (p. 10)

Blacking (1977) has re-emphasized generalizations made by Willard Rhodes (1958, p. 48) about music with the goal of "locating the critical moments of cognitive change that constitute musical change" (p. 23). Although Blacking suggests criteria by which musical change may be qualified he does not provide a model of empirical methodology for making such a distinction, nor has any subsequent study of musical change unearthed guidelines that can be applied universally. Blacking has additionally suggested that since music is one of the essential foundations of human society all cases of musical change must always be considered in their social context. He has suggested also that,

> If the concept of musical change is to have any heuristic value it must denote significant changes that are peculiar to musical systems, and not simply the musical consequences of social, political, economic, or other changes…To qualify as musical change, the phenomenon described must constitute a change in the structure of the musical system, and not simply a change within the system. (Blacking, 1977, p. 2, 7)

Whether the changes that have been perceived have altered the structure of the musical system of the calypso genre or whether they have occurred within the system may well exceed the scope of this discussion. Features that have been perceived as change have become more noticeable as 'Old Time' calypso music is paralleled with post-World War II calypso leading up to, and especially after, the emergence of soca and its subsequent offshoots. Some of the following observations made during this study about calypso and soca music may well qualify as change once a universal model has been established:

- Soca strains are usually more suited to dance than intellect;
- The sonorous inflections and litany-like melodies and the lyrical schema that characterized the Oratorical calypso have been eroded by minimalism and syncretism;
- In some instances, the foregoing characteristics have been totally replaced as in the strain Groovy Soca, a strain created by infusion of North American pop music;
- Assimilation and deliberate usage of other regional music forms have been steadily increasing. Resultantly, syncretism of intrinsic and non-intrinsic rhythms, instruments, music forms, music practice and language of East Indian (Hindi), Haitian (zouk), Jamaican (dancehall), Dominican (merengue) and other music forms of Latin persuasion, that were previously excluded, have now become standard practice;
- Generally, tempos have been considerably and deliberately sped up;
- Soca has established a clearer division between dance music and art song than the division that had been established by the oratorical calypso and Road March lavways;
- Contemporary generations respond to 'Modern' strains of calypso music, generally labeled 'Soca' differently from the way in which their forefathers responded to 'Old Time' calypso;
- Often, soca texts do not generally express a philosophical or political point of view;
- In the more modern soca strains, rhythm has been given precedence over text;
- The AAB form (verse, chorus, and band chorus) is not as popular;
- Instrumental improvisation has been minimalized, sometimes eliminated;
- Sometimes, except for the bass, instrumental accompaniment has been reduced to percussion alone;
- Singing style has been altered;
- The melodic and harmonic range has been diminished. Sometimes only one or two chords outline the harmony;
- Emphasis has shifted from the verse to the chorus;
- Choruses have reverted to the one or two-line lavway and are more repetitive.

Except for the second observation all the observations have been incorporated in Bunji Garlin's *Bring It*. Some of the observations related to rhythmic, melodic and harmonic innovations will be discussed later in the context of change to the genre versus change within the genre. Observable differences that have appeared because of the input of younger generations and the ascendency of soca music as their predilection have been manifest in jargon, topicality, performing style, pulse, tempo, instrumentation, melodic and harmonic minimalism, the incorporation of new external cultural influences, re-assignment of rhythmic patterns among instruments, and the almost complete elimination of redress as a function. Some of these differences will be interwoven into the concluding discussion of the study to support arguments and posits that have been advanced in this and previous chapters.

One of the questions that has arisen however, of as equal significance to this study is, "What is the relationship between the changes in calypso music production, society, and identity?" Perhaps this question is better answered by employing a second method of inquiry.

A random selection of calypso recordings was reviewed and analyzed. The corpus included music from four stylistic periods beginning with the latter half of the nineteenth century to 1919, continuing with the early 1920's to the late 1940's, and 1950 to the mid-1970's, and ending with the period from the mid-1970's onward. A compilation of calypsos from the first half of the 1900's had been performed and recorded by some still active musicians of that era. The recordings were made in the 1980's and released on two long-playing records, *Kaiso 1* and *Kaiso 2*. A theatrical performance commemorating the lives of several "Old Time" calypsonians had been undertaken and an accompanying compact disc made. Both the stage production and CD bore the same name, "*Ah Wanna Fall*." The renditions were performed by several contemporary and 'Old School' calypsonians and musicians and featured compositions of their counterparts of yesteryear. The recordings were a deliberate attempt to capture the feel, spirit, sound and nuances of a bygone era. These recordings and numerous original recordings of music from the same era (the early to mid-1900's) that have been salvaged on CD and that were sometimes still available on long-playing records, were listened to comparatively. The following material was included among the original recordings listened to: *Roaring Lion Sacred 78's*, which exclusively featured performances rendered by The Roaring Lion from the 1920's onward; *The Golden Age of Calypso: Dances from the Caribbean Islands*, which featured 1930's performances by The Roaring Lion, The Growling Tiger, King Radio, The Caresser, Atilla The Hun, Houdini, The Harmony Kings, Keskidee Trio, and Codallo's Top Hatters; and *Calypso Breakaway 1927-1941*, which

features The Growler, Lord Executor, Lord Beginner, Lord Invader, Al Philip's Irene Syncopations, and all of the calypsonians featured on sample #2 above with the exception of The Harmony Kings.

Based on a sound and performance model change as well as stability was detected. Initial analysis indicated that the music contained on both sets of recordings was similar, sometimes identical in terms of vocal and instrumental performing style, sound, instrumentation, and melodic and harmonic texture. Thus, it was not very difficult to organize the music replicated into groupings in accordance with stylistic practice and eventually, era. The corpus of music was then organized in chronological order and a search was initiated for the slightest hint of change among both the original recordings and the replicated samples within genres and as well, between eras. Closer analysis revealed the following:

- The harmonic structure of the sans humanité genre, the minor and major mode lavways, and the two most popular harmonic progressions used in the oratorical form had remained unchanged;
- The oratorical calypso broke tradition with the calinda model abandoning the call-and-response format and employing eight instead of four lines to a stanza. This represented a change in the melodic structure;
- The new and diversified melodies that began to appear in calypsos around the early 1920's broke tradition with the stock ones that had been constantly regurgitated and refitted with new lyrics;
- More melodies tended to be written in major keys and therefore produced a brighter sound, a departure from the plaintive lament of their minor key forerunners;
- The continuity of some of the rhythmic characteristics that had established the calypso tradition also appeared to have been broken at first, but upon closer scrutiny, were perceived to have been redistributed among other instruments within the ensembles.
- The periods between 1920 and 1930, and between 1940 until shortly after Independence in 1962, seem to have been the most significant periods in terms of the impact of rhetorical calypso on Trinidadian society.
- From the mid-1980's onward, with the emergence of soca and its derivatives, there has been a very significant increase in instances of cross-pollination with other genres of music. This has affected melodic, rhythmic and harmonic style.

The implications realized were threefold; either change in Trinidadian society had taken place and music culture began to naturally and automatically reflect society's new moods and consciousness; or musical innovations had been deliberately made that suited the attitudes of a changing society and consequently new images that had begun to appear matched and molded new identity perceptions and roles within a changing post-colonial society.

This study proposes that the musical changes that have been perceived were caused by a combination of both sets of implications in keeping with Blacking's suggestions for determining change as outlined above.

As it has turned out, the texts of calypsos have gradually become subordinate to the music as certain functions (redress for example) became de-emphasized and others, celebration and dance for instance, became emphasized, as dictated by the new norm of the majority group within the 'new' society: progeny, the younger generation. The observation and complaint that "calypso music is dying out" and that "no one goes to the calypso tents anymore" are well founded; however, the observers and the plaintiffs are one and the same; the older generation of Trinidadians. The truth of the matter is that members of that contingent who had been the practitioners and audiences of yesteryear have been dying and contemporary practitioners and audiences have a different agenda. They are occupied with celebration and dance rather than protest and rebellion.

The impact of compositions intended for dancing has been continuous and has intensified during the last twenty-five years since the emergence of soca, a calypso strain derived from a deliberate process of innovation. This new strain with its hybrid derivatives dancehall soca, groovy soca, chutney, ragga soca and coalpot have mainly targeted the dance market, and are representative of change that has been introduced by a new generation of high-energy partygoers. At the undertaking of the writing of this dissertation one of the most popular and enduring examples of soca music that has toppled international markets had been The Mighty Arrow's mega hit *Hot Hot Hot*.

One of the main features of party soca music that has been retained in transmission is its ability to seduce audiences into choreographed submission to instruction. The performer has accomplished this by assuming a role similar to that of the chantwel or aerobics instructor, and by reiterating themes and slogans outlined by the song titles within the texts. Socas such as *Bump and Wine*, *Jump and Wave*, *Get Something and Wave*, *Follow the Leader*, *Wine on a Bomsie*, *and Jump Up and Get Orn Bad*, *and slogans such as* "Lift Yuh Leg Up", "Wave Yuh Rag" and "Moving to the Left, Moving to the Right" elicit the desired responses. This recent strain has ushered in or rather reintroduced a dance style involving collective crowd participation akin to line-dancing associated with country music of the south-western United States. I reiterate 'reintroduced' because such responses among calypso audiences, whether choreographed, solicited or spontaneous, had been socialized long ago in Trinidad. The eliciting of collective choreographed responses has been a feature of many calypsos and

folksong/dance games such as *Limbo* and *Brown Girl in the Ring,* in which 'We' (Trinidadians) had participated in our youth. Partial texts of the two songs just mentioned have been presented in order to demonstrate the feature under discussion.

Limbo

I want a woman to limbo like me,
Limbo, to limbo like me

Traditional

Brown Girl in the Ring

Now show me your motion,
Tra la la la la

Traditional

Examples of folksong/games from the Caribbean have been well documented in the 1962 field recordings of Alan Lomax, and in the books *Song Games from Trinidad and Tobago* and *Folk Song and Folk Life in Charlotteville* written by Elder. The collective response under discussion had been a main entertainment feature of sailor bands during street parading in earlier times, and was commonly engaged in by the general public during casual jump-up. Further elaboration on the embeddedness of such responses to calypso music among Trinidadian society is found in the following report by Cummings (2004).

> Barrack-yard dwellers would go out in their numbers and "jump" to their hearts content. For a few seasons the youths of the barrack-yards deserted their gateway status for a "jump-up" band led by a particular adult in the role of "teacher". He sang his instructions and the youths replied in song, "Yes teacher". The class was a popular innovation and success led the teacher to become more daring. His instructions became so bawdy and suggestive that the adults discouraged the youths from attending and chased the teacher off the streets. (p. 94)

Nowadays however the type of suggestion and bawdiness alluded to in the quote above have become the order of the day and the standards by which the popularity and economic success of compositions are measured. That this choreographed behavior in response to the calypso is now being elicited in response to soca traces a line of continuity and reemphasizes the capability of the genre to elicit choreographed behavior among audiences. It also shows patterns of socialized behavior peculiar to a specific group of people thereby annexing the discussion about identity. In order to expand upon these posits I offer my own testimony.

I can confirm from first-hand experience that collective response to music is not restricted to the dance floor or to the streets during carnivalesque activities. In the tradition of *The Electric*

Slide and *La Macarena*, selections such as *Follow the Leader* for instance have been successfully used by physical education teachers in North America to illicit group response during their class sessions. The best and most recent example of group response to soca music that I have seen at a non-carnival related event occurred during performances by Marshall Montano. He has consistently hypnotized international concert audiences sending them into two-hour dance frenzies due to his ability to transform the venue into a carnivalesque arena. I was present at his 2007 and 2008 performances at the Antillean Feest in Hoofdstraat, Belgium, where he has been a consecutive main attraction. His stature as a soca artiste and ambassador of the genre parallels and perhaps even surpasses that of the Mighty Sparrow's in the field of calypso music.

David Rudder is another performer who has captured international audiences as well. With his blend of soca and calypso he has continuously managed to engage his audiences in dance while at the same time jogging their intellect. He has found unique ways of integrating symbols that provide meaning for old and as well as new generations of Trinidadians. As reported by Lorraine Leu, Rudder sees dancing as "a way in which people listen to music." She has reported about the skillful and popular singer/songwriter.

> Rudder has managed to get the Trinidad public dancing to songs which tackle issues ranging from political corruption ("*Madness*" and "*Panama*") to advocating solidarity between Caribbean and Latin peoples ("*Bahia Girl*", "*Caribbean Party*" and "*Rally Round the West Indies*"). Rudder does not see dancing to music and thinking about music as incompatible. (Leu, 2000, p. 47)

Rudder's viewpoint is in keeping with Simon Frith's argument that dance represents an important way of listening to music and is both a physical and a mental exercise. In my opinion Rudder has been able to boast these accomplishments for the following reasons:

- His persona, the quality of his performances and accompanying music have always been super intense and his idiosyncrasy credit is high.
- The texts of his calypsos echo his sentiments as well as the individual and collective feelings and opinions of his audiences and, according to Burke (1966), the symbolic act becomes greatest "when the artist's and the reader's [listener's] patterns of experience closely coincide" (p. 152-156).
- The images projected by and during his performances of the texts are very vivid and they match the individual and collective identity perceptions of his audiences.

The following statement by Birgit Abels (2011) might offer further insight as to why Rudder's performances of calypsos outlining political issues are capable of eliciting dance responses among audiences. He has stated that "music makes sense on both the sensual-

sensory and the intellectual-cognitive level. In between these levels we localize our reference points and identifications."

As inferred from Clynes (1982), a decision to perform music can lead people to share emotion through the link of their common participation in sequences of movement because of the basic biological and psychic unity of the species. "The emotional gestures…have precise representations in the brain" (p. 52) and so the collective feelings and thought generated becomes the basis for cultural communication thereby enabling a merger of cognitive and affective parameters through music performance (including dance and ritual).

As has been stated previously and has been an underlying posit across related disciplines, the cognitive-emotional process that shapes the social identities of individuals and the collective identity of groups creates a 'state' of readiness and commitment to unified action and susceptibility to suggestion. Rudder's performance of *One More Officer* at a fête initiated the extension of the cut-off time that had been allotted to the event. The audience began to chant the slogan, continued to dance, and would not leave the facility until coaxed by Rudder himself. The police were rendered powerless and may have even enjoyed the breach too, since as Trinidadians their identity perceptions were also in alignment with the images presented by the spectacle.

Conclusion

Limitations

This study has been driven by my personal experience growing up and becoming a musician in Trinidad. The way I have acquired my insights into calypso can impossibly be fully reconstructed afterwards. I have sought to complement my knowledge by studying the literature, by analyzing the music and by doing a survey. However, none of this can be considered definite evidence of my propositions.

The aim of this study has been to demonstrate that calypso is not merely a reflection of Trinidadian cultural history but that it has been an instrument of social and cultural transformations as well.

The Role of Calypso

I have attempted to make this plausible by showing that the calypso genre has fulfilled the following roles in Trinidad society:

1. AS 'VOX' POPULAR IT HAS BEEN ONE OF THE MAIN VEHICLES BY WHICH NEWS, SOCIAL COMMENTARY AND REDRESS IS DISSEMINATED, AND AS A RESULT IT HAS BECOME A SOURCE OF INFORMATION AND ENTERTAINMENT, AND AN INTEGRAL PART OF EVERYDAY LIFE.

Over time such types of recurrent behavior become the building blocks of the identities by which groups are defined, and by which individuals grow susceptible to suggestions and inclined toward unified action. I refer to the following theories and posits as arches of support:

- The social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978, 1981, 1982) and the self-categorizing theory (Turner, 1987) which share the common posit that the identities formed by individuals reflect group membership. Group membership in turn defines the relationship between individuals and the culture from which they derive the shared identity meanings of the group;
- Smith-Lovin's (1988) successful argument that a range of social identities is used by people to represent how they envision themselves in interaction. The argument is congruous with findings from research by Stryker and Serpe (1982) that have linked role patterns with internalized meanings of individuals;
- The affect control theory (Heise, 1979; Smith-Lovin and Heise, 1988; MacKinnon, 1994), the central premise of which proposes that people act to maintain alignment of their

> identity meanings with the impressions created by local social interaction, either through actions or reinterpretations of events. The theory has also shown that identity meanings act as reference signals to control behavior, and that they are represented symbolically by cultural artifacts such as books, films, language, food, and music.

It has been demonstrated in this study that the text of certain calypsos and the images conjured up by those texts have been designed to influence collective choreographed behavior and unified thought among audiences and practitioners alike, as exemplified by the use of instructional slogans such as in *Limbo Like Me*, *Wine Yuh Waist Mama*, and *Follow The Leader* to elicit choreographed dance movements while playing mas, at fêtes, or during aerobic and gymnastic class sessions; redress calypsos that address disparity, and solicit solidarity, as was successfully accomplished by the Mighty Sparrow's *Calypso Boycott* (p. 66); and the respective deliberate instances of the incorporation of calypsos, first by the Carnival Improvement Committee in 1939 to eulogize Trinidad in order to boost tourism (p. 50), and by the UNC government in the 2000's to encourage support and demerit their opponents during pre-election campaigns. These strategies are congruous with Patton's (1994) notion of social text since the texts, the performers, and the performances themselves when delivered in front of specific audiences, conjure images and elucidate symbols which create meaning for those audiences via "symbolic performance" (p. 56).

This process is also referred to by rhetorical theorist Kenneth Burke (1966, 1968), who has shown that language can be used as a means of creating unity and corporation through its interaction in social and rhetorical contexts. According to Burke, language becomes "verbal parallels to a pattern of experience" and the symbolic act becomes greatest "when the artist's and the reader's [listener's] patterns of experience closely coincide" (p. 152-156).

In Trinidadian society this concept holds true because the patterns of experience of the calypsonian and those of his/her local audiences coincide. This feature has been consistent among the works of all calypsonians throughout the evolution of the genre because they have always come from the same cultural milieu as their audiences and have both shared similar socio-political experiences. An example is *ragga soca* which came into vogue during the late 1990's, and is a blend of Jamaican dancehall music and jargon (Patois or broken English), or as referred to by Leung (2009), Jamaican Creole English and Trinidad soca rhythms. Two prominent artistes, Bunji Garlin and Maximus of the younger generation of grassroots milieu, popularized the genre which was instantly embraced by young audiences and by grassroots audiences in both Trinidad and Jamaica. Leung has described the new genre as "an

innovation that uses JCE features in systematic ways to negotiate and index a specific experience and identity of the Afro-Trinidadian underclass" (p. 509).

The ingredients that hybridized the two parent genres present images and symbols with which both contingents identify; those ingredients constitute the pulse of both the young generation of West Indians and the marginalized peoples of the Caribbean basin – the underclass. In the tradition of calypso and reggae, Jamaican dancehall and ragga soca have provided marginalized peoples of the Caribbean with a voice. Both genres have been attracting the attention of global audiences who may or may not have experienced repression and/or social displacement; audiences comprised of the younger generation particularly those with ancestral ties to the Caribbean, but not excluding contingents from 'foreign' cultures since both genres have become pop culture via assimilation and social media.

Stokes' (1997) argument that music is meaningful because it provides means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries that separate them, can now be reiterated in support. "Musical performance", he writes, "as well as the acts of listening, dancing, arguing, discussing, thinking and writing about music, provides means by which ethnicities and identities are constructed and mobilized" (p. 5).

2. AS SOCIAL TEXT IT HAS CHRONICLED MAJOR EVENTS, HAS PRESENTED MEANINGFUL SYMBOLS BY WAY OF ITS RHETORIC AND PERFORMANCE, AND IT HAS BROUGHT ABOUT AWARENESS AMONG THE GENERAL PUBLIC, STIMULATED DIALOGUE, AND TO SOME DEGREE, HAS FOSTERED A SENSE OF EMPOWERMENT AMONG THE REPRESSED MASSES.

However, by merely documenting events and exposing social injustice, the calypso falls short of having effected change. It is by its alignment with the machine that has constantly and consistently resisted cultural repression that it has exerted a significant degree of persuasion.

3. AS AN ARM OF THE ARSENAL THAT ROSE UP TO REPUDIATE COLONIAL IDEOLOGY IT BECAME AN AGENT OF SOCIAL INFLUENCE AND CHANGE.

As has been shown by literature cited in this study, (1) state powers have consistently sought to consolidate control and rule by suppressing cultural manifestation, especially when it is expressed by the masses (St. John, see chapter 1), (2) conversely, social change and struggle for cultural ascendency usually involves some degree of intergroup interaction and confrontation, and (3) the calypso genre has been, from its inception, imbedded in the conflict between repressive regimes and the socially repressed Jamette sector of Trinidadian society (Elder, Liverpool, Hill, Rohlehr, see chapter 4).

Elder (1998) emphasizes the functions of the genre mentioned above, as a transmission of its ancestor, the calinda, which is still re-enacted during present day carnival celebrations.

> Cannes brulees, (Canboulay) is basically a ceremony symbolizing cane burning that Africans in Trinidad devised to celebrate their freedom from slavery in 1838…a symbolic ceremony in which its psychological images take various forms and are manifested in a variety of artistic behaviors - music-making, poetics, vernacular languages, dramatics, dance, and other acrobatic gestures…it is a ceremonial protest…with roots in several identifiable West African tribal rites. (p. 38)

All the symbolic icons and activities that represent defiance of colonial ideology are displayed during canboulay. Included among them are the *flambeaux* (torches), the drum and drumming, the blowing of the bull horn, songs of defiance (calindas), stick-fighting, the wearing of masks, masquerade processions, erotic dancing and postures, the portrayal of African royalty, and satirical portrayals of Europeans.

4. AS A CULTURAL TRANSMITTER, IT HAS BEEN INTEGRAL TO THE CONSTRUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF MULTIPLE IDENTITIES.

Its voice has been heard loudest and most clearly at every juncture of the carnivalesque arena; there, all the identities that have been constructed and maintained over centuries are displayed and performed. The identity theory (Stryker, 1980, 1987; Stryker and Burke, 2001) states that "identities are internalized role expectations".

It has been accepted that in the most general scenario identities serve as behavioral guides for individuals. Turner's (1987) social identity and self-categorization theories have established that group identity is displayed in symbols such as flags, monograms, uniforms, slogans, music and so on.

The loudest expressions of calypso music have come via its association with carnival. They become audible and visible at that time, and unlike on any other occasion the genre is given total license then. Or rather, it assumes total license, thereby impacting Trinidadian society in its entirety through participation in or abstinence from the associated festivities of the carnival ritual. All the behaviors exhibited at carnival time can be correlated to the foregoing identity theories outlined in chapter 3. They can also be corroborated by a perusal of the functions of the genre outlined in chapter 4.

Some of the identity theories presented in chapter 3 share the underlying posit that the cognitive-emotional process which shapes the social identities of individuals and the collective identity of groups (the 'we-ness'), creates a 'state' of readiness and commitment to

unified action and susceptibility to suggestion. Moscovici (1976) has proposed that the function of social influence is to maintain social control and that every person must have the same values, norms, and judgment criteria (p. 17). He has shown that "such cohesion and attraction strengthens the degree of influence" (ibid).

Calypso and Social Influence

It follows therefore that race, ethnicity, cultural supremacy, and social status can be considered strong indicators of the salience of processes of social influence. The context of the term 'social influence' as used in this study has been twofold and refers to:

- any change of opinion or behavior collectively exhibited by one group, and
- any behavior collectively engaged in by individual members of one group, that is a consequence of the actions of individuals or members of another group.

Taken in this context, it becomes clear that social influence and social control are reciprocal processes, as supported by the literature. This study has repeatedly shown that over time attitudes have changed toward calypso, and because of calypso. The anti-social stigma that once characterized it has been removed and calypso has ascended to the status of national music of Trinidad and Tobago. The once considered 'outcasts of society', the Jamette sector, influenced an entire nation into adopting the calypso genre as the collective expression of Trinidadian culture, a process fraught with conflict. Through innovation and persistence, they produced several unique indigenous cultural artifacts that have helped to propagate calypso music. In tandem, the cultural artifacts, the steel drum, the carnival ritual, the calypso and soca genres have continued to create symbols by which the polyglot Trinidadian society and its citizens have been and continue to be identified with internationally. History has documented that, despite extensive organized socio-cultural repression institutionalized by Europeans and successive powers and perpetrated against the peoples along the African diaspora, certain formalized socio-cultural practices and traditions among Africans have not been eradicated. Furthermore, those practices and traditions have been transmitted to the descendants of this diasporic global community, thereby becoming a source of empowerment that has enabled them (Africans an African descendants) to reconstruct their lost identity, to construct and maintain new identities, to attain upward mobility, to influence assimilation, and to become the cornerstones of the arsenal that had risen to rebel against and repudiate colonial ideology.

The calypso art form as it had been defined and redefined during the colonial period has crystallized but has not been lost. The multi-faceted functions which it once served,

celebration, blame, ridicule, humor, entertainment, disseminator of news and gossip, form of livelihood, and festivity have remained intact. The order of salience of those functions has changed and festivity has become paramount. This has occurred with the ascendency of party soca and its derivatives in an era when visual stimulation has gone viral. In tandem with the imagery and exoticism displayed at carnivals around the world, soca music has become one of the main agents of persuasion, or rather, enticers of cultural assimilation and ethnic unification. I substituted enticers for agents of persuasion because the processes of syncretism, assimilation and acculturation are not effected by force. This is also in keeping with the model for group and individual relations in culturally plural societies developed by Sommerland and Berry (1970), and Berry (1974, 1980), which have established the four options – assimilation, integration, segregation-separation and de-culturation – and have helped to provide a framework for research on intragroup relations (Berry, 1976; Berry, Kalin and Taylor, 1977; Berry, Wintrob, Sindell and Mawhinney, 1982).

One essential feature that has been observed in the 'new' contact zones that have been emerging in this post-modern era is related to the direction that the flow of influence has taken. During the colonial period, the displaced peoples were forced to assimilate Eurocentric culture whereas Europeans were free to choose one of the options outlined above. In the post-modern era the flow has been reversed and the once displaced, and in many ways still displaced peoples, by asserting their identities, have become the source of influence. The identities they have forged are autonomous and not guided by the perceptions and expectations of outsiders. The acceptance and assimilation of their expression by the dominant, and contingent cultures with which they interact is not coerced.

This study has shown that calypso has not merely reflected the social consciousness of Trinidadian society, but that as rhetorical oral performance it is a constitutive act (Baumann 1975) which provides alternate patterns of persuasion and social influence, and symbols, images, or identity meanings that present means by which identities are individually and collectively constructed and mobilized. Burke (1966) has referred to the images that rhetoric provides as verbal parallels and has stated that rhetoric is confined to that which is "designed to elicit a 'response' of some sort…it helps to form attitudes" (p. 174). What has been emphasized is that the goal of rhetoric is persuasion.

Calypso and Conflict

The study has also demonstrated that calypso music has not merely been a backdrop to the socio-cultural, ethnic and political conflict that had ensued but was at times at the center of that conflict. It must be remembered that stick fighters had fought in defense of 'yards' or 'gayapes' and as was customary, calinda songs were sung during such encounters. The burning of cane fields by slaves in Trinidad was an act of sabotage during which the perpetrators sang songs of defiance in coded language and danced the calinda – the song, dance and competition being of a confrontational nature. The song *Joe Talmana* even eulogized the leader of the 1881 insurrection in which the battalion comprised of stick fighters fought against Captain Baker, the then-chief of police and the authorities. These events demonstrate the degree of unity and solidarity among the ranks of the batonniers and the function of their music form as part of the arsenal that challenged the British Crown Colony.

That their songs had been customarily sung in coded African dialect and continued to be sung in the coded language Creole, that they were accompanied by drums which had been banned, that their function was to bolster their fighters, insult, threaten and intimidate their rivals, was interpreted as unveiled defiance by and against the authorities; hence the suppression of many forms of African expression and the right of assembly. As this study has also shown, the spirit of defiance and confrontation was transmitted to calypso via the calinda, and similar subsequent repressive and sometimes harsher measures were extended to it as well. The fact that calypsos were relentlessly employed and had enabled forms of redress and protest to be leveled against the colonial and subsequent repressive regimes has identified the genre as an integral part of the mechanism that sought to repudiate ideologies and accompanying breaches of humanity perpetrated by those agencies.

The features that have been outlined speak to the related function of the two song styles (calinda and calypso) and the unbroken line of cultural continuity between them. As has been demonstrated, both cultural continuity and function have been linked to the identity theories that have been presented in support of the positions taken.

As a tool of empowerment, calypso performance enabled the Negro male to reassert his 'lost' masculinity, the chantwel and the stick fighter to assert their combative prowess, the ex-slave to redefine his identity and gain cultural dominance, and women to challenge and change

chauvinistic mechanisms and stereotypes of the male dominated society. As a result, alternate collective attitudes and behaviors have become socialized.

Calypso music has survived the onslaught of repression mainly because it had continued to be a main voice of open resistance to repression, had become an important source of cohesion among opposing contingents during the unification of society, and because it had remained integral to the daily activities and social institutions within the grassroots mainstream. As those activities and social institutions became socialized, calypso music and some of its associated practices acquired mainstream acceptance while at the same time, ambivalence toward them diminished. Calypso music in all its forms has been inducted into the national theatre of Trinidad and several other islands, particularly those once considered to be part of the French and British Caribbean. The music form has continued to remain a symbol for, and the principal cultural expression of the peoples of that region, at home and abroad.

History has revealed that the calypso genre evolved from its position at the bottom of the socio-cultural ladder that had once defined the habitat of the Jamette sector of Trinidadian society, to become the dominant cultural expression of that nation. It was the repressed expression of an oppressed people, a people who resisted, endured and overcame the yoke of oppression that had been imposed upon them for centuries by way of colonial imperialism. As has been shown, the fight for the elimination of disparity, the repudiation of imposed ideology, the eradication of social and racial prejudice, social ascendency and the assertion of identity in pluralistic societies especially in the face of repression always involve conflict. Perusal of the historical chronology presented in this study has revealed numerous incidents that substantiate the forgoing claims.

If one is to accept therefore the validity of the evidence that has been documented by way of historical fact, as an example Elder's report discussed in chapter 1, and if one is to accept the argument advanced by Nettleford (2003, p. 138-139) in the same chapter, then the political process of the repressive regimes did not impede the role of the calypso as an identifying force or as an agent of social influence in Trinidad nor among the other diasporic Afro-based communities within the boundaries of the Caribbean.

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The Mighty Sparrow Volume Three. Ice 92202, 1992.

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List of Calypsos

Acid Test - The Mighty Chalkdust

Advice to West Indians - The Growling Tiger

Ah Went Away - Andre Tanker

Always Marry a Rich - Itch Itchy Woman - Frank Parker

Ave, C. D. C. - Anonymous

Attack with Full Force - Sugar Aloes

Bad Johns - The Mighty Sparrow

Bad Talking People - The Mighty Kitchener

Bahia Girl - David Rudder

Banana Boat Song (Day-O) - Harry Belafonte

Barbadian Carnival - The Mighty Spoiler

Barrack Room Scandal - Panther

Beautiful Land of Iere -The Growling Tiger

B. G. Bargee - Bill Rogers

Blow Kangaroo - Anonymous

Bodicea - Cedric Le Blanc

Brass Crown - Lord Superior

Bring Back the Ole Time Cat-O-Nine - Invader

Bring It - Bunji Garlin

Bring Back the Old Time Days - Nappy Myers

Britain, Give Us Our Freedom - Atilla the Hun

Brown Skin Girl - King Scratch and the Bay Street Boys

Bump and Wine - Spice and Company

Callaloo - The Mighty Terror

Calypso *Blues* - Nat King Cole

Calypso Music - David Rudder

Caribbean Man - Black Stalin

Caribbean Party - Anonymous

Caribbean Party - David Rudder

Carlton the Peeping Tom - The Mighty Sparrow

Carnival - Ziegfield

Carnival Boycott - The Mighty Sparrow

Carnival Ooman - David Rudder

Cat-O-Nine Tail - Lady Iere

Chicken Crowing for Day - Anonymous

Chinese Burial - Lord Melody

Chinese Children - The Mighty Terror

Chinese Cricket Match - Dictator

Chinese Scandal - Lord Melody

Christmas Eve Night - Atilla the Hun

Cipriani - Lord Mentor

Civilized Indians - The Mighty Terror

Clear the Way When the Bamboo Play - Caresser

Coconut Woman - Harry Belafonte

Coke Is Not It - The Mighty Sparrow

Conch Ain't Got No Bone - Blind Blake, George Symonette

Congo Bara- Anonymous

Congo Man - The Mighty Sparrow

Creolized Indians - Eisenhower

Daddy Gone - Bill Rogers

Dem Policemen - Atilla the Hun

Dollar Wine - Soca Boys

Don't Blame the PNM - The Mighty Striker

Don't Break It Ah Say - King Radio, the Roaring Lion & the Growling Tiger

Don't Stop the Carnival - Harry Belafonte

Dora Fat Pork - The Mighty Terror

Do What You Want - Natalie Yorke

Double or Nothing - "GB" Ballantyne

Drink a Rum and a Puncha Creama - Lord Kitchener

Dr. Kitch - Lord Kitchener

Do What You Want - Natalie Yorke

Education - The Mighty Sparrow

Emancipation Centenary - Atilla the Hun

Enough Is Enough - Singing Sandra

Federation - The Mighty Sparrow

Female Woodcutter - The Mighty Terror

Fire Brigade Water the Road - Atilla the Hun

Fire Down Below - Jeri Southern

Five Cents a Day - Atilla the Hun

Five Year Plan - Atilla the Hun

Follow the Leader - Soca Boys

Get Something and Wave - Blue Boy (a.k.a. Superblue)

Give Her the Number One - Ronnie Butler

Gloria - The Mighty Sparrow

Governor Jerningham - Norman Le Blanc

Grinding Massala - The Mighty Killer

Handyman - Lord Kitchener

Hold Him and Wuk Kim - Lady Shabba

Hold Him Joe - Macbeth

Hold Your Man - Calypso Princess

Horn Your Man - Calypso Princess

Hot, Hot, Hot - The Mighty Arrow

How Hitler Invaded Poland - Lord Ziegfield

I Dare You - Dextra

I Have Never seen a White Christmas - Frankie Atwell

Impressions of Chamberlain and Hitler - King Radio

Indians Adopting Creole Names -The Mighty Killer

Indian Dinner - The Mighty Killer

Indian Party - King Fighter

Indian Wedding - King Fighter

Ish - Cro Cro

Jamaica Farewell - Harry Belafonte

Jammin' a Sweet, Sweet Soca Beat - Clarence Charles

Jook for Jook - The Mighty Sparrow

J'ouvert Barrio - Anonymous

Jump and Wave - Anonymous

Juve Manioca - Anonymous

Kaiso in Hospital - The Mighty Chalkdust

Kalenda Chant - Anonymous

La Belle Trinidad - Anonymous

Lai Fung Lee - Lord Kitchener

La Macarena - Anonymous

Land of Calypso - The Roaring Lion

L'Annee Passée - Lionel Belasco

Lawyers of the Bar - Anonymous

Leave Me or Love Me - Lady Iere

Leave the Damn Doctor - The Mighty Sparrow

Limbo (the Limbo Song) - Calypso Mama (Maureen Du Valier)

Linstead Market - Anonymous

Lisa - Harry Belafonte

Lizard and Crapaud - Commander

Long Ago in Trinidad - Clarence Charles

Macco Man - The Mighty Sparrow

Madness - David Rudder

Mama Don't Want No Peas, No Rice, No Coconut Oil - George Symonette

Man Like to Feel - The Mighty Sparrow

Mas in Brooklyn - The Mighty Sparrow

Matilda - Calypso Eddie, King Radio, Harry Belafonte

Mattie Rag - Anonymous

May May - The Mighty Sparrow

Misconceptions - The Mighty Chalkdust

Missing Home - Carl Jacobs

Miss Ruby - The Mighty Sparrow

Money Is King - The Growling Tiger

Mr. Herbert - The Mighty Sparrow

Mr. Johnny - Lady Excellence

No More Hard Work - Singing Sandra

Not a Damn Seat for Them - Lord Kitchener

Number 69 - The Mighty Sparrow

Palet - Calypso Rose

Panama - David Rudder

Pan Talent - The Mighty Terror

Parables - The Mighty Sparrow

People Go Mind Your Business - Anonymous

Play Ball - Lord Christo

Please Mister Don't Touch My Tomato - Calypso Mama, Marie Bryant

Pogo Stick - The Mighty Sparrow

Portrait of Trinidad - The Mighty Sniper

Portuguese Dance - Pharaoh

Positive Vibration - Watchman

Pressure - Carol Jacobs

Pudding - Calypso Rose

Put We Back - M'ba

Rally Round the West Indies - David Rudder

Red House Incident - Atilla the Hun

Rise of the British Empire - The Roaring Lion

Roast Corn for Rosie - Spitfire

Roll, Isabella, Roll - Anonymous

Romantic Chinaman - The Mighty Killer

Rum and Coca Cola - Lord Invader

Run Your Run (Run Away Kaiser Williams) - Lord Inventor

Run Your Run (Adolf Hitler), Adaptation - Lord Beginner

Run Your Run (Capildeo), Adaptation - Anonymous

Sans Humanité Sortie - Atilla the Hun

Sans Humanité Calypso - The Roaring Lion

Sans Humanité Calypso - Houdini

Sans Humanité Calypso- Atilla the Hun

Sans Humanité Calypso - Lord Executer

Sans Humanité Calypso - Chinee Patrick

School Days - The Mighty Sparrow

Shango - The Growling Tiger

Shanti Om - Shorty

Sixty Million Frenchmen - The Mighty Sparrow

Slave - The Mighty Sparrow

Sly Mongoose - Phil Madison

Soft Man - The Mighty Penguin

Soca Fever - Shorty

Sons and Daughters of Africa - Beginner

Sponger Money - George Symonette

Stickman - Zandolie

Street Vendor - Lord Melody

St. Thomas - Sonny Rollins

Sweet Charlie - Anonymous

Sweet Trinidad - Lord Funny

Tan Tan - Anonymous

Teaser - Beckett

Ten Thousand to Bar Me One - Lord Invader

Ten to One Is Murder - The Mighty Sparrow

The Changes of the Indians - Cobra

The Electric Slide - Neville Livingston

The Fall of France - Growler

The Gold in Africa - The Growling Tiger

The Greatest Love - Puppet Master

The Guinness Stout Jingle - The Mighty Sparrow

The Law is an Ass - Short Pants

The Najib Elias Jingle - Lord Melody

The One Foot Cock - Crazy

The Outcast - The Mighty Sparrow

The Slave - The Mighty Sparrow

The Stafford Incident - The Growling Tiger

The Tisane de Dubon Jingle - Anonymous

The Toddy Jingle - Atilla the Hun

The United Indian - The Mighty Striker

There's a Brown Girl in the Ring - Traditional

Thunder - The Mighty Duke

Trini to the Bone - David Rudder and Carl Jacobs

Toronto Mas - The Mighty Sparrow

Trouble in Arima - Lord Kitchener

Unite African - The Mighty Shadow

Village Ram - The Mighty Sparrow

Vote Them Out - Deple

War - King Radio, The Roaring Lion and The Growling Tiger

We All Is One - The Mighty Sparrow

Wear Yuh Balisier on Election Day - The Mighty Sparrow

We Go Down a Union - Anonymous

We Jamming - Calypso Princess

West Indian Federation - Atilla the Hun

Willie Dead - The Mighty Sparrow

What the Queen Face Doing on My Money - Lord Melody

When Ah Dead Bury Meh Clothes - Anonymous

Why Mih Neighbor Vex with Me - Railway Douglas

Wood in the Fire - The Mighty Sparrow

Woop Wap - The Mighty Duke

Workers Appeal - The Growling Tiger

Wule, Gloria, Wule - Anonymous

1900 Masquerade Calipso - Traditional

Zingay - Traditional

Biographies of Some Major Calypsonians

Atilla the Hun - Raymond Quevedo was born in Trinidad on March 24, 1892. He began his singing career in 1911 and was the first calypsonian to hold public office. He was elected to the Port of Spain City Council in 1946, and later in 1950 was elected to represent East St. George County in the Legislative Council. He won the Calypso Crown Competition in 1946 with *Daily Mail Report* and in 1947 with *Million Dollar Jail*. Atilla died on February 22, 1962 in Trinidad and was posthumously awarded the Trinidad & Tobago Public Service Medal of Merit-Gold, for Public Service and Calypso in 1972.

Calypso Rose - Linda Mc Cartha Monica Sandy-Lewis was born in Tobago on April 27, 1940. She began writing songs at age 15 and to date has more than 800 to her credit. She originally used the sobriquet Crusoe Kid and turned professional in 1964. She won the Calypso King and Road March competitions in St. Thomas with her first recording, *Cooperation*. Her mega hit *Fire in Me Wire* was the first calypso to be sung during two consecutive carnival seasons (1966 and 1967). She dominated the field by winning the Calypso Queen competition for five consecutive years between 1972 and 1976. In 1977, *Gimme More Tempo* enabled her to become the first female calypsonian to have ever won the Trinidad Road March competition. The following year she repeated the feat with *Come Leh We Jam*.Via calypsos such as *Pudding* and *Palet* which introduced the 'sexually inadequate male' image, Rose pioneered the challenge against the 'phallocentric male' image perpetrated by male calypsonians. She paved the way for her female counterparts in the male-dominated calypso arena. She has resided in New York since 1983, performs occasionally, and is the most decorated female calypsonian (see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Calypso_Rose.)

Growling Tiger - Neville Marcano was born in Trinidad on March 5, 1916. Before becoming a calypsonian in 1934 he was a boxer, and had won the Bantam-weight championship in 1929. His minor key calypsos reflected the African griot singing style. He won the Calypso Crown Competition in 1939 with *The Labour Situation in Trinidad*, becoming the first Calypso Monarch of Trinidad and Tobago. He opened doors to recording opportunities in the US for calypsonians that followed. He died in 1993 during his retirement.

Lord Executor - Phillip Garcia was born in Trinidad, of Venezuelan parentage and, as a privileged youth, had received a college education. He first appeared around 1900 and immediately revolutionized calypso by championing the change-over from Patois to English which had been pioneered by Norman Le Blanc and Senior Inventor. He is also accredited with cementing the eight-line minor key calypso which replaced the four-line single tone calypso structure. He was a master of extemporaneous compositions on any topic and his forte was Picong and War. However, he was equally adept at commentary and his relentless and merciless attack on Crown Colony Government paved the way for the political commentators who emerged between the late 1930's and the 1950's.

Lord Invader - Rupert Westmore Grant was born in Trinidad in 1916. He began his career in 1930 and left Trinidad in 1941 to record calypsos for Decca records in New York where he was instrumental in popularizing the genre. He is perhaps better remembered for his composition *Rum and Coca Cola*, which was recorded and popularized by the Andrew Sisters. It had been the topic of a famous on-going lawsuit involving copyright infringement, for which he was eventually compensated. He left New York in 1956 to reside in England and while there, he performed in Europe. He died in New York on October 15, 1961.

Lord Kitchener (Kitch) - Aldwyn Roberts was born in Arima, Trinidad on April 18, 1922. He started his career in 1937 at age 15 and won the Arima Calypso King competition from 1938 to 1941. In 1948 he migrated to England where he resided for some fifteen years. He has been dubbed 'The Grand Master of Calypso' for the following reasons: He penned all of his compositions, he won ten Road March titles, eighteen of his compositions have enabled Panorama (annual national steelband competition) winners, more than any other calypsonian, his compositions celebrate the steel drum, and their melodic and harmonic structure have been contoured to suit and facilitate steelband interpretation. Additionally, he was one of the main 'People's favorites'. In 1969 he was awarded the Trinidad & Tobago Humming Bird Medal-Silver, for Calypso. Kitch died on February 11, 2000, in Trinidad.

Lord Relator - Willard C. Harris was born in Trinidad on January 22, 1948. He won the Junior Calypso Monarch title in 1955, the Buy Local King competition in 1970, and the Calypso Monarch competition (originally the Calypso King competition) in 1980 with *Food*

Prices and *Take a Rest*. However, it is his summary of the cricket match between India and the West Indies, *A Lovely Day for Cricket*, for which he may be best remembered. It remains a classic in calypso history. As his sobriquet and renditions indicate, Relator is one of the best narrators of calypso. He can be dubbed 'The Chameleon of Calypso', because of his uncanny ability to impersonate any calypsonian. He is also versed in the art of Extempo, and is accomplished on the guitar and Venezuelan cuatro. These attributes along with his charisma, knowledge of the genre, and his ability to engage his audiences, have kept him in international acclaim. He has performed with Andy Narell and the WDR Big Band of Germany thereby taking the art form to new heights.

Lord Shorty (aka Ras Shorty) - Garfield Blackman was born in Trinidad in 1941. His career began in the early 1960s and he started to become noticed in 1963 after his release Cloak and Dagger. By integrating East Indian percussion instruments and innovating traditional calypso rhythms during the mid-1980s, he created a new beat Soca, which was first heard in his hit *Endless Vibrations*. He was diagnosed with cancer in May 2000 and died two months later on July 12.

Mighty Chalkdust - Hollis Urban Lester Liverpool was born in Trinidad on March 5, 1941. He has been the most consistent and prolific of the commentators of political calypsos. He has won the Calypso Crown competition eight times and was a finalist in the Calypso Monarch finals in 2012, 2013, 2014 and 2016. In 1976, he was awarded the Trinidad & Tobago Humming Bird Medal Silver for Contribution to Calypso. Chalkie is an educator and historian as well and has served as Director of Culture of Trinidad and Tobago. Dr. Liverpool holds a Ph.D. in history and ethnomusicology from the University of Michigan (1993). His publications include *Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago* (1977), *Kaiso and Society* (1986), *Calypsonians to Remember* (1987) and *Rituals of Power & Rebellion: The Carnival Tradition in Trinidad & Tobago 1763-1962* (2001).

Mighty Shadow - Winston Bailey was born in Trinidad on October 2, 1941 but grew up with his grandparents in Tobago. He is another great story teller, and began singing at an early age. He won two Road March titles, one in 1974 with *Bassman*, and the other in 2001 with *Stranger*. He also won the Calypso Monarch Crown in 2000. Shadow is included in this

list of calypsonians because of his innovation to the harmonic structure of the traditional | I IV V | progression. He replaced it by a Plagal cadence hence | I V IV |, which he utilized in the choruses of some calypsos, such as *Tension* and *Feeling the Feeling*. Shadow is a recipient of the Trinidad & Tobago Humming Bird Medal (Silver) for Music.

Mighty Sparrow - Slinger Francisco was born in Grenada on July 9, 1935. He was endowed with one of the most sonorous of voices, attractive stage persona and the art of rendition. By consolidating the techniques of the great calypsonians that preceded him (the Mighty Killer, Lord Kitchener, and the Roaring Lion) he transformed himself from Little Sparrow to the Mighty Sparrow rising to ascendency in 1954. Birdie is one of the most decorated calypsonians to date. He has won both the Road March Competition and the Calypso Monarch Competition at least seven times, and some of his calypsos have produced Panorama winners. He was awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the University of the West Indies and is celebrated as the 'Calypso King of the World'. Sparrow still continues to record, perform and woo international audiences.

Roaring Lion - Rafael De Leon (aka Hubert Rafael Charles) was born in Trinidad on February 23, 1908 and spent his early years in orphanages where he learned to play the clarinet. He made his first appearances as a calypsonian in 1927 at the Railway Douglas tent. During the early 1930s he and Atilla the Hun opened their own tent and were contracted by Eduardo Sa Gomes, a local businessman, to record in New York. During the 1940 he shifted between three of the more popular tents, and in 1951 left to perform in England. Upon his return to Trinidad in 1963 he performed at a few leading calypso tents until the late 1970s. During his retirement he wrote a weekly column for a local newspaper and published a book, *Calypso from France to Trinidad: 800 Years of History*. He has penned many favorites, two of which, *Mary Ann* and *Ugly Woman*, were re-recorded and popularized by Harry Belafonte. In 1981 Lion received the Trinidad & Tobago Humming Bird Medal Silver for Culture, and before his death on July 11, 1999 he re-recorded some of his golden oldies for Ice Records.

Wilmoth Houdini - Wilmoth Hendricks (aka Edgar Leon Sinclair) was born in Trinidad. His singing career, during which he penned numerous calypsos of the oratorical strain, extended from the late 1920s until the 1940s. His major contribution to the calypso arena

however was the improvements he made to the calypso tent environment during the early 1920s. His improvements (better lighting and seating accommodations, enforced dress code and performance standards, enhancements among musical instruments, creation of sections separation the stage from the audience, police supervision, and relocation of venue from nefarious neighborhoods to suburban outskirts) helped to generate greater revenue by targeting a more affluent clientele.

Summary

This study, *Calypso, The Trinidadian Experience*, has sought to establish links between calypso music and the construction and maintenance of identities, and to locate the genre as a mechanism (or as part of a broader mechanism) that has exerted on-going social influence within Trinidadian society and by assimilation within global communities. It has chronicled the evolution of calypso music from its emergence in Trinidad to recent times, and has highlighted contingent institutions, peculiar traditions, and salient trends and events that have shaped the socio-political and cultural landscape there during the colonial and post-colonial periods.

The study is descriptive and explorative, and follows an interdisciplinary route that has integrated historical fact, socio-anthropological philosophy, psychological theory, post-colonial study, and musicological and ethnomusicological axioms. The study has also contemplated and incorporated thought that has become generally accepted theory among some of the interrelated disciplines referenced. It has analyzed a large corpus of written material, and audio/visual recordings of music performance, and participation in calypso and carnival-related events by practitioners and audiences alike.

Although the main foci of the study have been localized to the island of Trinidad, the Caribbean basin where the calypso genre has been prolifically propagated, the lenses of scrutiny have been extended beyond those borders. During the past thirty-five years major changes have taken place, changes that have come by way of hybridization, migration, and changing social dynamics. Some of the ways in which the genre traditionally served its functions within Trinidadian society in the past have changed. For instance, although calypso's function of protest is still extant it no longer informs rebellion. As a result, reliance on the genre's functions as tabloid and vox-popular has diminished.

This is evidenced by poor attendance by Trinidadians at calypso tents which had once been a major forum for social awareness, 'collective effervescence', and entertainment. Patronage at some of the other types carnival shows (Demarche Gras, Kiddies Carnival, and so on) has also been declining. Such outcomes are attributable to one or more of the following reasons:

- The issues which had previously fueled protest (repression, disparity, class-discrimination) are no longer extant or relevant within modern society and therefore the masses have enjoyed a period of complacency and well-being;

- The tastes, pulse, and consciousness of Trinidadian society have changed and therefore other forms of entertainment are being sought;
- The musical style of calypso music is now regarded as old-fashioned and other musical styles are found to be more appealing;
- The younger generation, as is the nature of prodigy, require and demand change and are deliberately innovating compositional devices, and replacing old ones;
- Commercialism, technological advances, and assimilation have ushered change;
- With the emergence of soca and other hybrid genres presently in vogue the function of celebration and dance has superseded storytelling and the kind of topicality of yesteryear.

Calypso music has been superseded by soca music. This hybridized strain which emerged during the mid-1980s, coalesced into several sub-genres (like chutney, groovy soca, and rapso for example) that have been as viable as calypso music. Soca music has been embraced and identified with internationally by people throughout the Anglo, Franco, Hispano and Dutch-Caribbean, and also by peoples of North, Central and South America, Europe, Asia and beyond. There are several reasons for this global identification with soca music by peoples within and as well outside of the 'Trini' in-group, that is to say peoples of other nationalities and ethnicities.

Firstly, one must remember that although Trinidad had been the center stage of the development of calypso, simultaneous degrees of evolution had been taking place in several other countries. Secondly, carnival celebrations have always been a common cultural forum for the peoples of the Caribbean and Central America, and it still remains a major vehicle for the dissemination of its music. This means that the carnivalesque behavior exhibited by those peoples have been internalized; it is part of their cultural identity, they respond to the associated images in a unique way. The images of their culture and their responses to those images have become assimilated among global communities by contingency.

Thirdly, in comparison to calypso, hybridization has been more rampant between soca and other music forms extant among 'zones of contact'. Although they both share features belonging to the West African and *musica criollo* pantheons, soca music more closely resembles music genres such as meringue, samba, punta, poco, and cumbia. As dance music its simplistic duple meter pulse is quite familiar and easily internalized. Additionally, these and other strains referred to, boast several common functions: escape, wanton abandon,

sexual expression, rapture, instrumentation, phrasing, performing style, rhythm, lack of melodic improvisation, and melodic and harmonic minimalism.

The trend of musical interchange has continued as is evidenced by a perusal of reggaeton, the relatively recent genre that has emerged via the integration of elements of the calypso (rhythmic pulse and melodic contour), performance style and jargon of the Jamaican dancehall music culture, and the incorporation of Spanish lyrics. Another hybridized genre that is currently in vogue in Europe is afro-house which has incorporated all the elements of the music forms referenced. Common musical features, products of acculturation, that can be identified among the new hybrid strains are:

- the steady duple-meter downbeat supplied by the bass drum;
- the presence of a recurrent *tresillo* or modifications of it played by the snare drum or another member of the percussion family;
- chant-like melodies repeated within a narrow pitch range;
- sparse lyrical content, and
- limited harmonic range and variation.

This study, then, can be a springboard into the investigation of ways and means by which music systems and music behavior of quite different cultures are being integrated across cultures. Perhaps music and dance can be used to initiate cohesion among contingent ethnicities in global settings given the tendency toward hostilities at 'zones of contact'. It can also shed some light on the merging of cultures in relation to the formation of new hybrid cultures and artistic innovations such as soca, reggaeton, and afro house for example, and awareness and adaptation of 'the Other'.

The dissertation begins with an introductory section that outlines the central issues of the study. Here, the thesis question is stated, and the following premises are established: that the calypso genre in Trinidad was not limited to being merely a reflection of the social consciousness of the people, that it was part of the machinery that rose up to repudiate colonial ideology, that it exerted social influence, and that it provided building blocks for identity construction and maintenance. In this section central issues, strategies that will be used to address those issues, and concerns pertaining to limitations are presented.

In chapter 1 an overview of posits that have been advanced by several scholars from disciplines belonging to the field of social science is provided. Also, a chronological perusal

of the socio-historical events that have impacted Trinidadian society is undertaken in order to highlight the backdrop against which the story unfolds.

In the second chapter etymological and anthropological evidence attempts to trace the origins of calypso and further clarifies the relation between calypso and a number of similar music forms that have been simultaneously propagated within the region.

In chapter 3 theories from the fields of psychology and sociology relevant to the construction and maintenance of identity, minority influence, and interaction between groups is highlighted in relation to calypso. This is done in order to provide a springboard that will enable correlations to be made between generally accepted theories in those fields and socialized behaviour patterns peculiar to Trinidadian society.

In chapter 4 the potential of calypso music and its functions are explored within the scope of decolonization and its affiliation to anti-colonial institutions and associated activities. The potential of the art form to articulate, provide meaningful images, maintain identity, and to instigate social reform is discussed.

Change, the perception of change, and factors affecting change and stability are tackled in the fifth chapter, by ethnological inquiry, involving total immersion, silent, aural, and visual observation, dialog, the incorporation of questionnaires, listening and performing sessions, and analysis of a vast corpus of calypso music.

Finally, in the conclusion the findings have been summarized.

Samenvatting

Het onderzoek *Calypso, The Trinidadian Experience* beoogt verbindingen te leggen tussen calypso-muziek en de vorming en daarna de instandhouding van identiteiten. Tevens lokaliseert het de calypso als een mechanisme —of een deel van een veel breder mechanisme— dat een blijvende sociale invloed heeft veroorzaakt op en binnen de Trinidadse samenleving en bij gevolg ook op samenlevingen elders ter wereld.

Het onderzoek documenteert de evolutie van calypso-muziek vanaf haar ontstaan in Trinidad tot en met de huidige tijd. Speciale aandacht ging uit naar een variëteit aan instituties, meer bijzondere tradities, en opvallende trends en gebeurtenissen die het socio-politieke en culturele landschap gedurende de koloniale en postkoloniale perioden vorm hebben gegeven.

Het onderzoeksproject is descriptief en exploratief, en volgt een interdisciplinair pad waarop historische feiten, socio-antropologische filosofie, psychologische theorie, postkoloniale studies en (etno)musicologische axioma's zijn geïntegreerd. Ook de gedachtewereld van algemeen geaccepteerde theorieën van aanpalende disciplines is in ogenschouw genomen en geïncorporeerd, alsmede data van mijn eigen etnografisch onderzoek. Ik heb een groot corpus van geschreven materiaal en audiovisuele opnamen van concerten alsmede deelname door uitvoerenden en publiek aan calypso- en carnaval-gerelateerde evenementen geanalyseerd.

Hoewel de kern van het onderzoek gelokaliseerd was op het eiland Trinidad —middenin het Caraïbisch gebied waar de calypso sterk verbreid is— is wel degelijk ook buiten deze begrenzing gekeken. Gedurende de laatste 35 jaar hebben veel veranderingen plaatsgevonden, ten gevolge van hybridisatie, migratie en de wijze waarop de sociale dynamiek zich ontwikkelde. De wijzen waarop het genre in het verleden zijn traditionele rol in de Trinidadse samenleving vervulde, zijn, kortom, veranderd. Hoewel, bijvoorbeeld, de protestfunctie van de calypso nog aanwezig is, vormt zij niet meer de bron van informatie voor opstandige bewegingen. Als resultaat hiervan is de functie van de calypso als nieuwsvoorziening en 'vox populi' verminderd.

Tegenwoordig worden de calypso-tenten, die ooit verzamelplekken waren van sociaal bewustzijn en collectief en bruisend vermaak steeds slechter bezocht. Ook de klandizie van allerlei typen carnaval-shows (b.v. voor kinderen) is afgenomen. Dit alles wordt veroorzaakt door één of meer van de volgende factoren:

- wat vroeger protest opriep (repressie, ongelijkheid, discriminatie) is niet meer aanwezig en als gevolg niet relevant meer in de moderne samenleving; de massa verheugt zich in een periode van zelfvoldaanheid en welbevinden;
- smaak, puls en bewustzijn binnen de samenleving van Trinidad veranderden en daarom zijn andere vormen van entertainment en vermaak opgekomen;
- de stijl van de calypso wordt heden ten dage als ouderwets beschouwd en andere muzikale stijlen worden thans als meer aantrekkelijk ervaren;
- de jongere generaties vragen natuurlijkerwijze om verandering en vernieuwen met opzet compositiemethoden, die de oudere vervangen;
- vercommercialisering, de opkomst van nieuwe technologie en het zich hierin voegen, hebben evenzeer verandering veroorzaakt;
- met de opkomst van soca en andere hybride genres die nu in de mode zijn, is de functie van het vieren en de dans uitgetild boven het 'verhalen vertellen' en het presenteren van de actualiteit van het verleden.

Calypso-muziek is overgenomen door soca-muziek. Deze hybride tak van de muziek die in het midden van de jaren '80 opkwam, riep allerlei sub-genres op (b.v. chutney, groovy soca en rapso) die even gangbaar werden als de calypso. Soca-muziek is omarmd door en heeft een internationale plek verworven bij bewoners van de Anglo-, Franco-, Hispano-Caribbean, alsmede in gebieden met Nederlandse invloed; maar ook bij de bewoners van Noord-, Centraal- en Zuid-Amerika, Europa, Azië en elders. Er zijn diverse redenen waarom mensen binnen en buiten de 'Trini'-invloedssfeer —andere nationaliteiten en van andere etnische afkomst— zich wereldwijd zijn gaan identificeren met soca-muziek.

In de eerste plaats moet bedacht worden dat er, hoewel Trinidad het centrum van de ontwikkeling van de calypso is geweest, vergelijkbare evoluties hebben plaatsgevonden in diverse andere landen. Ten tweede: carnavalsfestiviteiten zijn altijd een gemeenschappelijk forum geweest voor volkeren in het Caraïbisch gebied en in Centraal-Amerika; nog steeds is het een belangrijk instrument bij de verspreiding van de muzikale component ervan. Dit betekent dat 'carnavalesk' gedrag door bewoners van genoemde gebieden geïnternaliseerd is. Het is deel van hun culturele identiteit en ze reageren op de beelden die er een rol in spelen op een unieke manier. Tevens zijn deze beelden en reacties op basis van toeval geassimileerd door gemeenschappen, wereldwijd.

In de derde plaats heeft —in vergelijking met de calypso— bij de hybridisering van genres soca een veel beweeglijkere positie ingenomen te midden van andere muzieksoorten. Hoewel beide elementen delen die tot het rijk van de West-Afrikaanse muziek en de musica criollo behoren, heeft soca meer gelijkenis met genres als meringue, samba, punta, poco en cambia.

Als dansmuziek is haar eenvoudige tweedelige ritmiek gemakkelijk te internaliseren. Daarnaast is er sprake van nog een aantal andere gemeenschappelijke functies en feiten: ontsnapping, baldadigheid, seks, extase, instrumentatie, frasering, uitvoeringsstijl, ritme, gebrek aan melodische improvisatie, en minimale melodische en harmonische ontwikkeling.

De trend van muzikale uitwisselingen is alsmaar verder gegaan, zoals blijkt uit het recent ontstaan van reggaeton, een genre dat elementen van de calypso (ritmiek en melodiewerking) integreert met de uitvoeringsstijl en het jargon van de danszaalcultuur en met de introductie van Spaanse teksten. Een ander hybride genre dat thans in Europa 'en vogue' is, is afro-house, dat alle hierboven genoemde elementen omvat. Er zijn op grond van acculturatie enkele gemeenschappelijke kenmerken van deze nieuwe muzieksoorten te benoemen:

- regelmatige tweedeligheid met een accent op de eerste tel, geaccentueerd door de 'bass-drum';
- de aanwezigheid van een steeds terugkerende 'tresillo' gespeeld door de kleine trom (of een ander slagwerkinstrument);
- steeds herhaalde eenvoudige, religieus aandoende melodieën met een zeer kleine ambitus;
- weinig relevante tekstinhoud;
- beperkte variatie in het harmonisch bouwwerk.

Het onderhavige onderzoeksproject kan een springplank zijn naar verdere research over de wijzen waarop muziek van verschillende culturen zich gedraagt en door die culturen heen wordt geïntegreerd. Wellicht kunnen muziek en dans worden gebruikt om samenhang aan te brengen tussen bij toeval aanwezige etnische groepen in de globaliserende wereld, ook al vanwege de tendens dat in de velden waar contact wordt gemaakt een schurende werking kan ontstaan. Op grond hiervan kan ook zicht ontstaan op het vermengen van culturen in relatie tot het vormen van nieuwe hybride culturen en artistieke innovaties, zoals die van b.v. de soca, reggaeton en afro-house. Hiermee kan ook het bewustzijn en de aanpassing van 'the Other' duidelijk worden.

Het proefschrift begint met een Introductie, die de centrale thema's van het onderzoek neerzet. De onderzoeksvraag wordt er geformuleerd, met de volgende aannamen: dat de calypso in Trinidad niet beperkt bleef tot puur een reflectie aangaande het sociale bewustzijn van de bevolking, dat zij deel was van een mechanisme dat in opstand kwam tegen koloniale ideologieën, dat de calypso sociale invloeden had, en dat de calypso bouwstenen bevatte voor het vormen en onderhouden van een eigen identiteit. In dit onderdeel worden ook de

strategieën die gaan worden gebruikt om de centrale thema's te behandelen, gepresenteerd, alsmede de bezorgdheden over de mogelijke beperkingen die zich ter zake zouden kunnen voordoen.

In Hoofdstuk 1 volgt een overzicht van de posities die zijn ingenomen door diverse wetenschappers in disciplines die gelieerd zijn aan de sociale wetenschappen. Tevens wordt een chronologie van de socio-historische gebeurtenissen gepresenteerd die invloed hebben gehad op de Trinidadse samenleving, teneinde licht te werpen op het decor waarin het verdere betoog zich zal afspelen.

Hoofdstuk 2 tracht de oorsprong van de calypso op basis van etymologische en antropologische gegevens op te sporen; tevens behandelt het de relatie tussen de calypso en een aantal gelijkwaardige muziekvormen die zich tegelijkertijd in de regio verbreidden.

In Hoofdstuk 3 wordt aandacht gevraagd voor theorieën in de domeinen psychologie en sociologie die relevant zijn voor de constructie en het onderhoud van identiteit en de invloed van minderheden; de interactie tussen groepen in de samenleving wordt getoond in de relatie tot calypso-muziek. Dit is gedaan om een springplank te verschaffen die het mogelijk maakt verbindingen te leggen tussen algemeen geaccepteerde theorieën in deze domeinen en de maatschappelijke gedragspatronen die kenmerkend zijn voor de Trinidadse samenleving.

In Hoofdstuk 4 wordt onderzocht wat de potentie van calypso-muziek en haar functies kunnen betekenen binnen het proces van dekolonisatie, alsmede hoe zij in verband kan worden gebracht met antikoloniale instituten en hun activiteiten. Tevens wordt besproken wat de potentie van de calypso was bij het articuleren en verschaffen van betekenisvolle beelden, bij het behoud van identiteit en bij het doen veroorzaken van sociale hervormingen.

Tenslotte wordt in Hoofdstuk 5 het onderwerp 'verandering' behandeld, de waarneming ervan en de factoren die haar en het fenomeen stabiliteit beïnvloeden. Hier speelde etnologisch onderzoek een rol en een volledig opgaan in alle aspecten van het onderwerp: stille, auditieve en visuele observaties, dialoog, het gebruikmaken van vragenlijsten, luister- en uitvoeringssessies, en een analyse van een groot corpus calypso-muziek.

In de conclusie worden de bevindingen samengevat.

Curriculum Vitae

HIGHER EDUCATION

1968 South East Port of Spain Secondary school, Trinidad
General Certificate of Education O' Level: English, Spanish, Math, Art

1968 Royal School of Music, England
General Certificate of Education O' Level: Music

1992 Miami Dade Community College, Wolfson Campus, Miami, Florida
Associate of Arts with Honors, Music

1994 University of Miami, Florida
Bachelor of Arts, Music Education

1998 Florida International University
Master of Arts, Music Education

PERFORMING EXPERIENCE

1970-1999 **RECORDINGS, LIVE SHOWS AND TOURS: GUITAR**

Calypso and Reggae

Frankie Atwell, the Rockafellas, Johnny Lee and the Hurricanes, Deltones, Andre Tanker, the Mighty Sparrow, Machel Montano, David Rudder, Joe Higgs, the Wailing Souls, Safari, the Mystic Revealers, the Reggae Ambassadors and Burning Spear

Rhythm and Blues

The De Barge Family, Letta Mbulu and Caiphas Semenya, Barry White and The Love Unlimited Orchestra, Jon Lucien, Stix Hooper, Paulinho Da Costa, Stephanie Mills, Aretha Franklin, Smokey Robinson, Luther Van Dross, and Melissa Manchester

THEATRICAL

1985-1987

Musical Director

'Ti Jean and His Brothers' by Derrick Walcott, 'Mother Courage and Her Children' by Bertol Brecht-University of the West Indies, and 'The Joker of Seville' by Derrick Walcott-The Trinidad Theatre Workshop

ACTING, RADIO AND TELIVISION COMMERCIAL

1979-1994

Television Commercials

Pepsi, Budweiser, Carlsberg, Caribbean Cruise Lines, and Visa Card

Movies

BJ and the Bear, Agatha Christie's Caribbean Mystery, and South Beach

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

1986-1987	Department of Creative Arts, the University of the West Indies, St. Augustine, Trinidad: Music Theory
1991-1992	Miami Dade Community College, Wolfson Campus, Miami, Florida: Caribbean Music, the Trinidad Steel Drum
1997-1998	Florida Memorial College, Miami, Florida: Music Theory, Applied Guitar
1998-	Citrus Grove Elementary School, Miami, Florida: General Music Education-Grades 2-5 Miami Dade College, Miami, Florida: MUL 1010-Music Appreciation Central & Western European Music: The Middle-Ages to the Romantic Era MUL 2380-Jazz and Popular Music in America: 1840 to the 21st Century