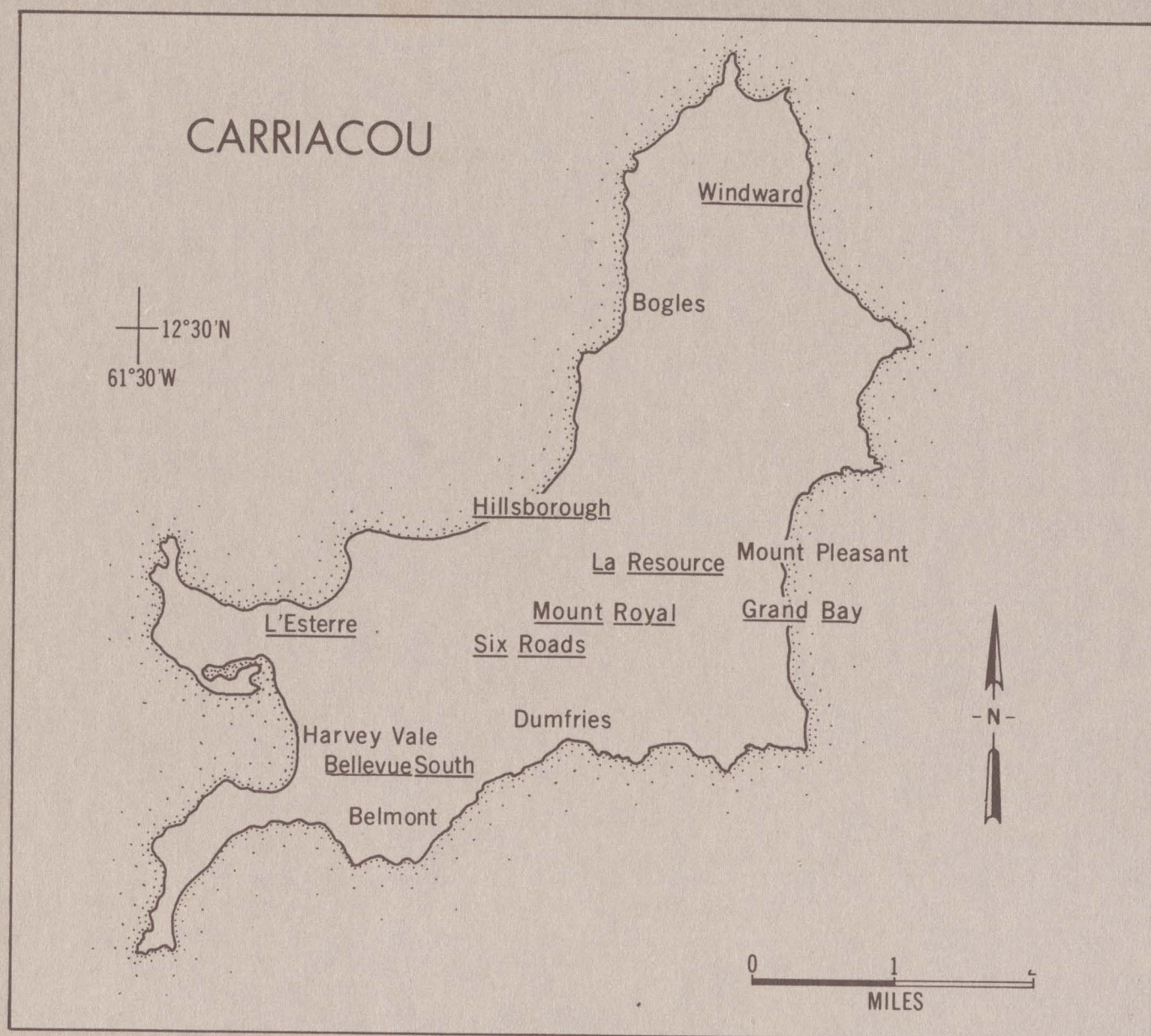




The Big Drum & other Ritual & Social Music of Carriacou

PHOTOGRAPHS, RECORDINGS AND NOTES BY DONALD R. HILL

Produced in cooperation with Indiana University Archives of Traditional Music



MAP SHOWS CARRIACOU, WITH LOCATIONS WHERE RECORDINGS WERE MADE

COVER DESIGN BY RONALD CLYNE

ETHNIC FOLKWAYS RECORDS FE 34002

**RITUAL AND SOCIAL MUSIC
OF CARRIACOU
A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF THE
WORLD'S MUSIC WITH DOCUMENTATION
AND EXPLANATORY NOTES**

Produced in cooperation with
Indiana University
Archives of Traditional Music
Folklore Institute, Bloomington
Series Editor: Frank J. Gillis

SIDE A:

1. "Cromanti Cudjoe" (Beg Pardon Big Drum song). (1:37 min.)
2. "Ibo and Dem" (Nation Big Drum song). (1:30 min.)
3. "Ju Belle" (juba Big Drum song). (1:30 min.)
4. "January Has Gone Away" (Patois song). (1:12 min.)
5. "Lillian" (calypso). (2:08 min.)
6. "Good South" (calypso). (4:34 min.)
7. "Raycan" (calypso). (1:47 min.)
8. "Mama Liza Canbulay" (kalinda Big Drum song). (:52 min.)
9. "Juvay Mama" (Carnival jab-jab). (1:18 min.)
10. "Ladies and Gents" (Carnival speech). (:35 min.)
11. "Political Discrimination" (calypso). (1:33 min.)

SIDE B:

1. "Hello in Africa" (Carnival wild Indian mas'). (:39 min.)
2. "Mas' in Madison Square Garden" (Carnival steel (Carnival steel band). (1:13 min.)
3. "Mas' in Madison Square Garden" (Carnival string band). (1:12 min.)
4. "Who Go Cut the Wood Tirina?" (Pass play ring game song). (:39 min.)
5. "Christmas Serenading" (hosannah bands). (2:47 min.)
6. "First Figure" (lancer's dance). (1:20 min.)
7. "Bam Bam We Want to Soldier" (joining wedding song). (1:06 min.)
8. "In the Mood"/"Yankee Doodle" (joining wedding music). (1:32 min.)
9. "The Lord Is My Shepherd" (hymn). (1:22 min.)
10. "I'm a Born Believer" (sankey). (2:10 min.)
11. "Ring Down Below" (shanty). (1:13 min.)
12. "Second Figure Waltz" (quadrille). (1:41 min.)
13. "If I Was a Black Bird" (ballad). (3:40 min.)

Photographs, recordings and notes by Donald R. Hill,
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Assistance with lyrics and glossary
by Winston Fleary and Stephen John

Master tape prepared in the recording laboratory of the
Archives of Traditional Music
by Wayne Gunn and Donald R. Hill

Carriacou, the largest of the Grenadine Islands in the southern Caribbean, lies 140 miles north of Venezuela, between St. Vincent to the north and Grenada to the south (see cover map and Map 1). It is seven and one-half miles long and three and one-half miles wide. On the island live 6,000 people primarily of West African descent, although American Indian, northwest European, and East Indian racial characteristics are evident in some people.

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**The Big Drum
& other Ritual
& Social Music of
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PHOTOGRAPHS, RECORDINGS AND NOTES BY
DONALD R. HILL

DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ARE INSIDE POCKET

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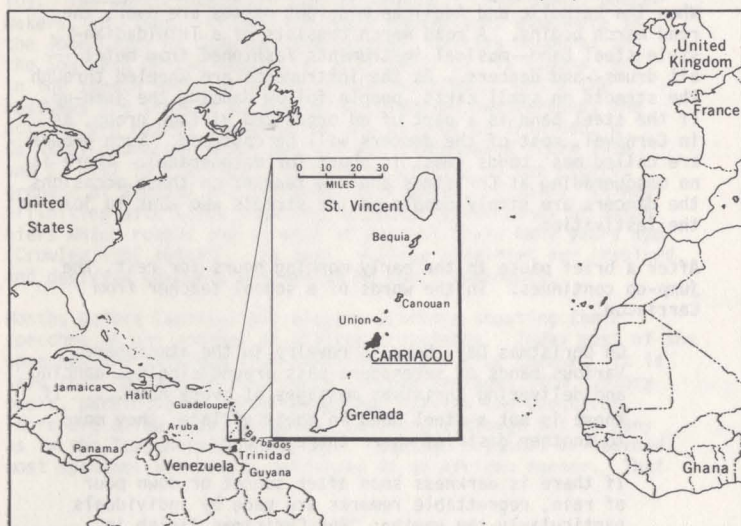
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Archives of Traditional Music

Ethnomusicological Series

Series Editor: Frank J. Gillis

Carriacou People*¹

Carriacou, the largest of the Grenadine Islands in the southern Caribbean, lies 140 miles north of Venezuela, between St. Vincent to the north and Grenada to the south (see cover map and Map 1). It is seven and one-half miles long and three and one-half miles wide. On the island live 6,000 people primarily of West African descent, although American Indian, northwest European, and East Indian racial characteristics are evident in some people.



Map 1. General map showing the Grenadine Islands in the Caribbean Sea. Map on record album cover shows Carriacou, with locations where recordings were made (underlined).

After the island changed hands twice between the French and the British, the latter gained firm control in 1783. Since that time Carriacou has been administered as a parish of Grenada. In 1967 the islands gained local autonomy by becoming an "associated state." Under this form of government the people controlled their internal affairs while the British retained authority over foreign policy. On February 7, 1974, Grenada and Carriacou became an independent country, amid social unrest in Grenada and rumors of an Anguilla-style revolt by Carriacouans against Grenadian domination. In March, 1979, the government leadership changed hands in a bloodless coup led by an opposition coalition which included Carriacouan interests.

The economy of Carriacou is an interesting mixture of subsistence activity, a money economy, and wage-labor migration. The islanders grow corn and beans for their own use and cotton for sale. A few people fish for household consumption, for local marketing, and for sale on neighboring islands. Until quite recently, building sloops and schooners was a major occupation

*Words with a special meaning in Carriacou are underlined the first time they appear in the text and are defined in the glossary.

in several of the coastal villages. Cattle, sheep and goats are raised for sale and a few of the people own or drive taxis. Many people own shops--indeed, Carriacou is an island of shopkeepers--although most of the shops are meeting places and only secondarily commercial establishments.

Since there is very little wage labor available on Carriacou, most men seek work elsewhere, leaving an unusually large female population on the island. For this and other reasons, an uncommon household, mating and kinship system has developed. There are two predominant household types: the first includes a man, his wife and their children, and the second consists of an unmarried woman, her children, and perhaps her mother and grandmother. Adult men residing on the island are expected to marry and their wives are expected to remain faithful for a lifetime. However, most married men also have one or more girlfriends or lovers. "Keeping," the West Indian term for co-residential mating without formal marriage bonds, is proscribed by the islanders. The mating system as well as other social rights and obligations are linked to lineages called "families" and "bloods."

Many people still believe that ancestors play an active part in one's everyday life and thus they hold rituals for the Old Parents (the dead). These include Sacrifices, Thanksgivings, and a ritual cycle which lasts many years. Since the world of the Old Parents mirrors the social structure of the living, such activities as healing, crop preparation, sailing, and migration are of major concern in ritual affairs.

Music and Folklore

Reflecting their Old World heritage, the music of the islanders is influenced by many West African (Akan language speakers, Ibo, Congo), British (England, Scotland, Northern Ireland), and French musical and lyrical genres. One of the most recent statements on the general features of African and Afro-American music comes from Lomax (1970). Grouping the two together, he characterizes their song style as follows:

non-tense, vocally,
quite repetitious, textually,
rather slurred in enunciation,
lacking in embellishment and free rhythm,
low on exclusive leadership,
high on choral antiphony
especially high on overlapped antiphony,
high on one-phrase melodies--the litany form,
very cohesive, tonally and rhythmically in chorus,
high on choral integration or part-singing,
high on relaxed vocalizing,
and highest on polyrhythmic (or hot) accompaniments.
(Lomax 1970:189)

Lomax probably used Big Drum songs--the songs which accompany dancing and drumming--to classify Carriacouan music with respect to world musical cultural areas (Lomax 1970:194), thereby underestimating European influences of the ballad and other forms. Clearly, the rhythm and melody of the Big Drum exhibit many African features including the dominance of percussion, a "metronome sense," polyrhythm, multiple meter, off-beat phrasing of melodic accents, and overlapping antiphony (terms from Waterman 1952:207-18). Lomax is justified in grouping this Carriacou music with that of equatorial Africa and certain other Caribbean islands, particularly Haiti. Other Carriacouan music shows less pronounced African influence.

French influence on the music of the islanders is nearly as basic as West African, and can be heard in a type of hymn once sung at wakes, in the quadrille dances, and in the language of some of the older Big Drum, calypso and creole songs. British influence is felt in the quadrille, lancer's dance, shanties, hymns, and ballads.

Sub-Saharan African instruments (the goat skin drums, the hoe blade, and the chac-chac) accompany the Big Drum, while European and Mediterranean instruments (fiddle, triangle, cuatro, guitar) accompany the lancer's dance. Several sorts of African instruments have apparently disappeared: some people say that the ba (an aerophone usually made of bamboo), the bamboo tamboo (stamping tubes of variable lengths which are struck against the earth and hit with sticks), the sansa and mosquito drum were once common, but solid evidence for the existence of the latter two instruments on Carriacou is lacking.

Since 1834, when islanders migrated to Trinidad in search of wage labor, Carriacouans have been exposed to a great many Caribbean musical influences. In the twentieth century the

range of this emigration extended to Panama, Venezuela, Aruba, England, and the United States. Thus, it is not surprising that they have assimilated Latin American and North American musical elements. In the village of Windward, for example, the older British ballad tradition has merged to some extent with country-western music learned from U.S. personnel stationed at Caribbean military bases or oil refineries. In London and New York, Carriacouans who met Jamaicans borrowed rock steady and reggae; from Blacks in the United States they picked up soul music. Finally, in the last decade, radio stations have gone into operation in the Caribbean, broadcasting North and South American popular music. In a Carriacouan rum shop today one hears popular music as often as the traditional forms.

Although all music on this recording is ultimately linked to Old World traditions, some is not readily identifiable as exclusively West African or European. "I'm a Born Believer" (disc Side B/Band 10), while clearly showing African influence, is an Anglo-American hymn. Patois calypsoes are not simply West African praise songs, nor is patois the same as French. Shanties existed in both "aboriginal" Britain and West Africa. These genres, then, are best described as synthetic Caribbean music which blends Old World forms, gradually shifting from one form to another, as in sankeys (Herskovits 1966), or rapidly shifting from one to another for purposes defined in the social context of the performance, as in ritual and popular music (Marks 1974). The latter shift, from European-like melody to African-like melody (litany), is found in some Caribbean cult music and in "Raycan" (disc Side A/Band 7). When one moves from the verse ("European") to the chorus ("African") in this context there is no ritual significance. The contrast between verse and chorus is used to heighten musical excitement. Similar shifts occur more frequently in Afro-Cuban popular music (salsa).

It is possible, then, to roughly describe the antecedents of the music on this recording as African, European or Caribbean (realizing that the latter label is contextually, not historically defined). This analysis, with respect to melody, rhythm, instrumentation and lyrics, is given in Table 1.

TABLE 1

HISTORICAL ELEMENTS IN THE MUSIC OF CARRIACOU
(excludes scale and harmony)

Key A = mostly African influenced
E = mostly European influenced
M = Mediterranean, including North Africa and Spain
C = new genre, combined Old World influences to form a Caribbean type

song	melody	rhythm	instru- ments	lyrics
SIDE A:				
1. Big Drum: Cromanti	A	A	A*	C
2. Big Drum: Ibo and Dem	A	A	A*	C
3. Big Drum: Ju Belle	A	A	A*	C
4. Patois song: January	C	C	M	C
5. Calypso: Lillian	C	C	M	C
6. Calypso: Good South	C	C	C	C
7. Calypso: Raycan	C(E-A)	C	C	C
8. Big Drum: kalinda	A	A	A*	C
9. Carnival: jab-jab	C	C	C	C
10. Carnival: speech	A	C	-	E&C
11. Calypso: politics	C	C	E&M	C

SIDE B:

1. Carnival: wild Indian mas'	A	A	-	C
2. Carnival: <u>steel band</u>	C	C	C	(C)
3. Carnival: saxophone	C	C	E&M	(C)
4. Pass Play: Tirina	A	A	-	C
5. Christmas serenades: Joy to the World	E	C	C	E
I Hung my Jawbone	-	-	-	C
Hosannah opening speech	-	-	-	C
It's Christmas Day	C	C	M	C
Hosannah closing speech	-	-	-	C
6. Lancer's dance: First Figure	E	E	E	-
7. Wedding joining: Bam Bam	C	A	C	C
8. Wedding joining: In the Mood	C**	C**	C&M	-
9. Prayer meeting: The Lord	E	E	-	E
10. Prayer meeting: Born Believer	C	A	-	E
11. Shanty: Ring Down Below	C	C	C	C
12. Quadrille: Second Figure	E	C	C	-
13. Ballad: Black Bird	E	E	M	E

*The drums used for all Big Drum dances are played in sets of three in the West African pattern. However, they are constructed

of rum barrels, European-style containers made in the West Indies. In an African style, the skin is fixed to the drum head with two strips of pliable wood which are fitted to the circumference of the barrel.

**Shows influence from the United States.

The Music in its Social Setting

Most traditional music as well as some popular music is performed for a social purpose. Local names for the various styles of music are sometimes derived from the event with which they are associated, e.g., Big Drum, road march, kalinda. Music is performed for festivals and other occasions marked by the church calendar, rites of passage (particularly death rituals), seasonal rituals, dances, and daily tasks. Table 2 shows the music associated with the church calendar and the rites of passage.

In Carriacou there is a strong correspondence between climatic conditions and the social-religious calendars. Most social events occur during the dry season when there is less garden work and when the animals have been "leggo" (let go) to forage for themselves. The important church events--Christmas, Carnival and Easter--fall within this period. All Saints' and All Souls' Days, November 1 and 2, are celebrated after the major corn harvest but before the pea and cotton crops are in.

Christmas

In late November or early December the hosannah bands begin their Christmas serenading (disc Side B/Band 5). A hosannah band comprises the children of a family or a group of peers who are usually the same age and sex. Instrumentation, if any, consists of a string band or percussion instruments, such as the dups (biscuit tins beaten with a stick), or, until the 1960's, the bamboo tamboo. The hosannah band stops at each yard and serenades.

On Christmas Eve night there are many string bands in Town. When the Catholic and Anglican midnight masses are over, the road march begins. A road march consists of a Trinidadian-style steel band--musical instruments fashioned from metal oil drums--and dancers. As the instruments are wheeled through the streets on small carts, people follow dancing the jump-up. If the steel band is a part of an organized village group, as in Carnival, most of the dancers will be costumed. Such groups are called mas' bands (mas' is short for masquerade). There is no masquerading at Christmas and New Year's: on these occasions the dancers are simply people on the streets who want to join in the festivities.

After a brief pause in the early morning hours for rest, the jump-up continues. In the words of a school teacher from Carriacou:

On Christmas Day there is revelry in the atmosphere. Various bands of serenaders pass around singing, dancing and delivering Christmas messages at every home.... If there is not a steel band in their village, they move to another district where there is one.

If there is darkness soon after sunset or down pour of rain, regrettable remarks are made by individuals particularly the youths: "Boy Christmas finish in truth?" (David 1967-68)

Until the last few years, road marches were held every day between Christmas and All Fours' Day, the third of January, when the men of Windward village play the card game "all fours" against the men from the rest of the island.

Carnival

By January, people are well into plans for Carnival. Some improvise an old mas' costume (individual "old clothes" masquerades in which the person expresses traditional ideas or current events through his costume, a skit, or a song), or a theme for a mas' band. Young men practice for speech mas', the main attraction of Carnival Tuesday.

Based on French, West African and British traditions, the carnival probably dates from the late seventeenth century. It has undergone changes from time to time, particularly in conjunction with the much larger but more recent Carnival in Trinidad where, since the 1830's, many Carriacouans have settled.² Today in Carriacou one finds separable strata of Carnival events: those which came about during the French occupation or the early British control of the island, some nineteenth-century Trinidadian influence, and activities which have been borrowed from Trinidad since World War II. The old style Carnival consisted of casual

calypso singing, Canbulay family feasting and stick fighting on Sunday night, Juvay morning old mas', traditional band masquerades, and speech mas' on Shrove Tuesday morning. The new events consist of organized Queen of the Bands, Queen of Carnival, and calypso competitions in the week before Carnival, dances for young people in the Hillsborough school, and steel band jump-ups on Juvay morning and Shrove Tuesday.

Sunday night before Carnival, families prepare food in their yards for Canbulay dinner. This event may have its origins in Trinidad, where ex-slaves, once forced to put out cane fires, commemorated this activity on emancipation day (E. Hill 1972:23). Canbulay came to be associated with Carnival and with stick fighting. Kalinda, the music of stick fighting (disc Side A/Band 8), is probably of African origin (E. Hill 1972:25).³ Although once widespread on Carriacou, stick fighting is now confined to La Resource, an isolated community. While the drummers "beat" a kalinda song, two opponents jump into the ring, an open area in front of the drummers, shouting or singing, "Who not my friend don't come in the ring" (Dick 1972). The "batonniers" execute highly stylized poses as each attempts to strike blows to the head or body of the other with the "baton" (stick). Injury (drawing blood) or retreat is the mark of defeat. Stick fighting, in addition to its entertaining aspects, is a means of enacting personal or village rivalries, a function of Carnival in general.

On Juvay morning, steel bands roam up and down the streets of Hillsborough while small groups of people dress in masquerades. One common traditional masquerade is jab-jab, in which a group of two or more young men smear themselves with soot, beat on biscuit tins, and play the roles of the devil and his son (disc Side A/Band 9). In wild Indian mas' a group of about five men dance in irregular fashion and speak an imaginary Indian language (disc Side B/Band 1).

The big event of the traditional Carnival occurs on Shrove Tuesday. This is the speech or history mas' (disc Side A/Band 10). The participants are called paywoes,⁴ shortnees, peacemakers, or kings. It has its rough equivalents elsewhere in the John Canoe of Jamaica, the Bahamas, British Honduras and the Southern United States (E. Hill 1972:12), in Guyana, and in the speech bands of Tobago (Abrahams 1968). While the costumes are similar to several Trinidadian masquerades, the actions are nearly identical to the pierrot of Trinidad, a Carnival character which has all but disappeared (Carr 1956 and E. Hill 1972:28-30). It is also similar to the pierrot grenade of Grenada and Trinidad (Carr 1956). Finally, it has affinities with stick fighting, especially the bands of batonniers which roamed the streets of Port-of-Spain many years ago (Crowley 1956:194-95). In both, village rivalries are involved and derisive comments are hurled at one's opponents.

Months before Carnival the players practice shouting their speeches to one another at village crossroads. Today most of the speeches are passages from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*. It is said that "brainy fellows" once learned passages from history books, particularly those concerning William the Conqueror. There are a few local speeches, however, although not as many as in the Tobagonian speech mas'. Whether original or learned, most speeches are boasts delivered in an African manner. That

is, they are presented in call-and-response fashion, with interplay between the speaker and his backers--friends from the shortnee's village who give their verbal and sometimes physical support.

A paywo wears a shirt of cotton and satin with triangular pieces of cloth, mirrors, and bells attached.⁵ Below is a description of his whip, head gear, cape, mask, and boots:

The stick was called a bull. It was binded [sic] with wire and was held in the right hand of a [paywo]. The head dress was padding made from cloth and covered with a cap. Usually the peak of the cap faced the back of the individual. They wore a beautiful cape made of satin and lined with heavy material. The cape was worn so that the heavy blows received in the battle may not penetrate on the individual's back. They wore heavy boots and a mask on their face. (David 1967-68:35)

Well before Carnival, young men watch the performances of their peers and informally select the man who is the strongest, knows the most speeches, and has the best delivery. The speeches are shouted in short, explosive phrases as the player stamps his foot and strikes the bull across the cape of his opponent. The leader of each village is called a king, and the second best a peacemaker. Another sort of peacemaker is the referee, a respected elder of the village. Usually, the same man will be king in a village year after year.

On Shrove Tuesday morning the masqueraders "play mas'" for the first time in full costume. They begin in the small villages where there are competitions to "select" the king and peacemaker (everyone already knows who it is to be). Once this is done, they play against masqueraders from the next village, and once again a "selection" is made. This continues until all areas of the island have been visited, although today less than one-half of the villages participate. The group of masqueraders, their backers and the peacemakers, becomes very large. At about 11:00 a.m. there is the last battle in Hillsborough square. The players from the south of the island, the Banroy, play against those from the north of the island, the Heroes. Well over 1,000 people--more than one-sixth of the island's population--might be present.

The rivalry between the Heroes and the Banroy is not the end of such activity, however. Often during the conclusion of the mas', the players and their backers are pitted against the police, who are attempting to keep order. The police are Grenadians, not Carriacouans. In 1972, for example, masqueraders and the police battled on Fort Hill overlooking Hillsborough. Hence, the island, in the last of the battles, stands in opposition to the government itself.⁶ This division between the metropolitan society and the folk society is endemic to Carriacouan culture generally.

Speech mas' players are admired for their synthesis of physical and mental power. Together, these qualities epitomize the values many Carriacouans feel are necessary for a young man to successfully migrate and bring credit and money to his family.⁷

TABLE 2

THE MUSIC OF CARRIACOU CLASSIFIED BY SETTING AND FUNCTION

occasion for which the music is performed	time	location	local name for musical type	disc Side/Band	performers, age and sex	instruments, voices
THE CHURCH CALENDAR: CHRISTMAS						
serenading	evenings	yard	hosannah bands	B/5	family groups, girls, boys or men	vocal, string bands, (guitar, cuatro, banjo, fiddle, dups, pans, ba, bamboo tamboo, steel), steel band
mass	Christmas Eve	churches	carols	B/5	anyone	vocal only
jump-up	Christmas morning	Hillsborough	steel band	B/2	teenage boys	pans
BOXING DAY						
mass	afternoon	churches	hymns	B/9	anyone	vocal only

TABLE 2, continued

occasion	time	location	local name for musical type	disc Side/ Band	performers, age and sex	instruments, voices
NEW YEAR'S DAY						
jump-up	morning	Hillsborough	steel band	B/2	teenage boys	pans
THE CHURCH CALENDAR: CARNIVAL						
calypso competitions	several night performances in the months before carnival	in village schools (tents)	calypsoes, combos	A/5,A/6, A/7,A/11, B/2,B/3, B/5	men under 30, one woman in her 50's	vocal plus combo (guitar, chac-chac, bass, organ, wood block, traps, congo drums)
Queen and band competitions	week before carnival, nights	Hillsborough school	calypsoes, combos and steel band	same as above.		
stick fighting	Canbulay night	La Resource village	kalinda	A/8	teenage boys, adult men	Big Drum (cot, two bulas), conch shells, chac-chac, steel, vocals
dance	Canbulay night	Hillsborough school	combo	same as above.		
old mas'	Juvay morning	island-wide	jab-jab, wild Indians, others	A/9,B/1	anyone	dups, many other percussion instruments
bamboo tamboo bands	from Juvay morning until Shrove Tuesday night	island-wide	bamboo tamboo	not on recording	men and boys	bamboo stamping tubes
road march	Juvay morn' 'til Shrove Tuesday night	island-wide	steel band	same as above.		
speech mas'	Shrove Tuesday morning	Hillsborough and many villages	paywo speech	A/10	teenage boys, men to 30 years of age	vocal only
THE CHURCH CALENDAR: LENT AND EASTER						
masses	day and night in the week before Easter	churches	hymns	B/9	everyone	vocal
procession	Easter Sunday afternoon	Hillsborough	string band	B/6,B/12	men	violin, quatro, banjo
THE CHURCH CALENDAR: ALL SAINTS' AND ALL SOULS'						
pass play	each night	L'Esterre	local name not known	B/4	teenagers (boys and girls)	vocal only
masses	mornings and nights	churches	hymns	same as above.		
candlelight procession	All Saints' night	Hillsborough and Windward	hymns	same as above.		
Big Drum dance	each night	L'Esterre	Big Drum	A/1,A/2, A/3,A/8	old men and old women	same as above plus oldoe
RITES OF PASSAGE: WEDDING						
groom's fête	night	yard of groom's family	Big Drum	same as above.		
bride's fête	night	yard of bride's family	Big Drum	same as above.		
joining	morning	crossroads between bride's and groom's houses	string band	B/7,B/8	same as above	
fighting the flags	morning	at joining	string band	same as above.		
dancing the cakes	morning	at joining	string band	same as above.		
reception (couple present)	afternoon	bride's yard	string band, steel band	same as above. same as above.		

TABLE 2, continued

occasion	time	location	local name for musical type	disc Side/ Band	performers, age and sex	instruments, voices
RITES OF PASSAGE: WEDDING (cont'd)						
reception (couple abroad)	evening	house of bride's or groom's family	quadrilles by string band	same as above.		
RITES OF PASSAGE: MORTUARY CEREMONIES						
wake	night of death	house of deceased	cantiques	not included on recording	anyone	vocal
			Nancy stories	" "	old men	spoken
			breaking barrel, hymns	B/11 B/9,B/10	men same as above.	vocal, barrel, sticks
burial	4:00 p.m. on the day after death	government or family cemetery	hymns	B/9,B/10	same as above.	
prayer meeting (third night, nine night, and forty night)	3rd, 9th, &/or 40th night after death, annually	yard of deceased	hymns	B/9,B/10	same as above.	
memorial masses	annually in mornings	churches	hymns	B/9	same as above.	
Stone Feast	several years after death, day and night	yard of deceased	hymns, cantiques, same as above. shanties, breaking barrel, Nancy stories, Big Drum			

Calypso

Calypso singing flourishes during Carnival season (disc Side A/Bands 5, 6, 7, 11 and Side B/Bands 2 and 5). In Carriacou this genre seems to have developed mainly from Trinidadian sources, yet some calypsoes have much in common with Patois songs (disc Side A/Band 4), kalindas (disc Side A/Band 8), and other Big Drum songs which use topical lyrics (the belair for example). Originally calypsoes were sung in Patois.⁸ Norman Le Blanc, according to the great Trinidadian calypsonian, Lord Executor, was the first singer to compose in English in 1898 (Carr 1972: Program 9). Today most calypsoes are sung in English.

Calypso is sometimes called "kaiso," a word shouted by the calypsonian or the crowd while he is singing. Errol Hill believes that a possible origin for this term is the Hausa word "kaicho," an exclamation (1972:62). The composing of calypsoes partially or totally in Patois and the use of the term "kaiso" are today more common on Carriacou than on Trinidad.

For four or five months preceding Carnival, calypsonians test their tunes and lyrics on the islanders to find which are the most favored. The words are usually topical and sometimes contain explicit sexual references. Some calypsoes are virtually indistinguishable in melody from American popular or band music while others show strong Latin American influence. Most calypsoes retain the West African elements of call-and-response melodic phrasing, offbeat phrasing of melodic accents, litany, and a "metronome sense" (Waterman 1952:207-18).

What is distinctly Trinidadian about calypso singing in Carriacou is the organized competition of singers. This development is probably less than thirty years old on Carriacou. In the months before Carnival, calypsonians perform in tents, usually at a village school. A series of competitions is held from which a Calypso King is selected to reign during Carnival. Other than the ephemeral status achieved during these few brief days, a Calypso King gains no special place in Carriacouan society.⁹

The calypso competition is similar to the competitions held to choose the best masquerade band, the Queen of the Bands, and the Queen of Carnival. Intense rivalries between the competing villages sometimes cause cancellation of one or more of the events. Each of these formal activities is a Trinidadian import whose significance has been growing steadily in recent years, concomitant with the weakening of kalinda and speech mas'.

The steel band (disc Side B/Band 2) was developed in Trinidad as a replacement for the bamboo-tambo, itself a replacement for drums, in the late 1930's and the early 1940's (Hill 1972: 43-54). It consists of metal oil drums cut in different lengths

and suspended from iron stands. All but the bass drums are tempered to three or more tones. A steel band contains boom (bass) pans, cello (tenor) pans, guitar (alto) pans, and ping pong (soprano) drums. The melody is played on the ping pong, which may produce more than twenty tones. The steel band road march has become the main Carnival attraction, replacing kalinda and speech mas'. Functions of the older Carnival events, the enacting of rivalries and the masquerading, have been retained.

All Saints' and All Souls' Days

The only other time of the year on the church calendar which claims island-wide participation is the first and second of November, All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day. These holidays are peculiarly suited to the folk religion of the islanders with its ancestral emphasis. Masses are said in the Catholic and Anglican churches, candles are blessed for a family's dead, and a list of dead relatives is read by the priest during the mass. After mass, people clean the graves of their ancestors, offer libations of rum and soda, and light candles. The Catholic priest in Hillsborough leads a candlelight procession to the government cemetery, where brush which has been cleared from the grave sites is burned. In L'Esterre village, after the candles have been lit in the cemetery, many of the people walk down to the "cross" (crossroads) to watch or participate in the pass play (disc Side B/Band 4), a ring game played by teenagers. In the past, a Big Drum dance was celebrated at the Harvey Vale government cemetery. That this occasion is disappearing indicates a weakening of the folk religion.

The activities of All Saints' Day and All Souls' Day express the principles of generational and sexual separation, allegiance to the ancestors and lineage, continuity between the living and the dead, and differences between the church and folk religion which may be reconciled on a convenient occasion. An understanding of the place of the Big Drum and the pass play music on the island provides insights into the economic, social and religious customs of the people.

The Wedding

Music played both to entertain and to satisfy religious tradition is a part of all weddings. Occasionally, Big Drum dances (disc Side A/Bands 1, 2, 3, and 8) are held both at the groom's and bride's houses. Today, since many couples marry in New York City or in England, quadrille dances (disc Side B/Band 12), instead of the Big Drum celebration, are sometimes held at the parents' houses. If so, the same ritual opens the dance, except that the accompaniment is by string band and not the Big Drum.

Significantly, both the Big Drum and the quadrille dances are sponsored by the oldest generation on the island. This music, especially the Big Drum, connects the senior generation with the Old Parents. Similarly, the playing of the Big Drum signifies that the old heads, the senior generation, are the respected leaders of the living. Hence, we see that as long as the Big Drum is performed at weddings, the parents' control over their children (the prospective groom and bride) is very strong. Indeed, all marriages were at one time arranged by the is erected and, at times, a Big Drum dance is celebrated.

There are three major events on the day of a wedding in Carriacou: the joining of the families in the morning, the wedding ceremony in the church, and the reception. String band music is usually played at the joining, when the families of the bride and groom are united near the bride's house (disc Side B/Bands 7, 8 and 12).

There is no music at the church ceremony, although string bands sometimes accompany the couple and their party to and from the church.

The string band provides the entertainment and ritual music at the reception, although not as often as once was the case. Formerly, when the groom's mother entered the yard through two coconut palm arches she was ritually welcomed by the bride's mother to the accompaniment of the string band. Today, the formal entrance into the yard has lost much of its significance. A steel band is sometimes employed at receptions. Once again, the string band is associated with the ancestors and the elders while the steel band is associated with youth. The latter music represents an intrusion into the wedding customs and, beyond that, a change in the social structure as well: it is the choice of the bride and groom, not the parents.

Mortuary Customs

With the possible exception of the wedding, the most elaborate rites of passage are the funeral activities. These include a wake, a series of prayer meetings (a third night, nine night, sometimes a forty night, and an annual prayer meeting), formal church masses, and finally, the Tombstone Feast (or Stone Feast) several years after death, when a tombstone for the dead person is erected and, at times, a Big Drum dance.

A Carriacouan wake is succinctly described by Canute Caliste of L'Esterre village:

Well, in the wake they gather a crowd, seat them, pray, tell Nancy stories. They talk about, and then they have all the drink, and then they get up. They make a Parents' Plate, kill beast and cook food and put on the Table; and then they sing. (Caliste 1971:4).

In the 1950's, activities at a wake were more varied than today. Hymns are still sung, but cantiques (Patois hymns) and Nancy stories (folktales) are becoming rare. One can still hear riddles at wakes but not as a part of the organized story telling.

Most hymns sung at wakes were originally from the Anglican, Catholic, or Sankey and Moody hymnals. Catholic and Anglican hymns are sung at the death of an adult regardless of his religious affiliation. Hymns are also sung during the series of prayer meetings.

The Tombstone Feast, or Stone Feast, is the last mandatory rite after the death of an adult. The tombstone is set on the grave so that the spirit may finally rest. In the early 1950's the Big Drum was played at most Stone Feasts. Today, because of local encouragement, the organization of a Big Drum group in New York, and the funding of Big Drum dances by Carriacouan migrants in New York, dances at Stone Feasts and other occasions have increased markedly, after waning in the 1970's.

Through the mechanism of the Big Drum dance or prayer meeting, the Tombstone Feast is a means by which middle-aged people are obligated to maintain respect for their parents or grandparents, for the Old Parents in general and, indeed, for the society. While all the funeral rituals unite the living with the dead, the Tombstone Feast also serves to reunite migrant Carriacouans with their island. Migrants will sometimes return to Carriacou when they have saved enough money to entomb a parent or grandparent.

Most music in Carriacou is situationally defined. As the context of which music forms a part changes, the music itself changes. For example, as the focus of social authority is changing from the elders to the young, a process which has been especially strong since the migration of many Carriacouans to England in

the middle 1950's, the lancer's dance is being replaced by calypso and reggae.

Notes to the Recordings

Side A opens with three Big Drum selections (disc Side A/Bands 1, 2, and 3). A Big Drum dance is held to placate the dead and to entertain the living. It may be part of house openings, launchings, Tombstone Feasts, maroons, Sacrifices, Thanksgivings, Canbulay Carnival (kalinda), shop openings, weddings and All Souls' Night activities. It is also performed for honored guests, such as the Premier, and for tourists.

Three drums are used in the Big Drum (Figure 1). The bulas give the basic beat and are always played in groups of two, placed on either side of the third drum, the cot or cutter drum. Each of the drums is made from a rum barrel with staves thinned by hammer and chisel to yield a better sound. One end is open and the other is covered with goat skin. The bulas are played flat on the ground while the cot drum is tilted slightly. The cot is distinguished from the bulas by a string of pins stretched across the head to give a raspy sound when struck. The cot drummer plays more complex rhythms than the other drummers.

Chac-chacs (maracas), made from a boli (calabash) and filled with dried corn seed, always accompany the drums. During the first Cromanti songs to be played at any performance, the oldoe, a hoe struck with a piece of iron, is beaten. A group of four to eight singers completes the Big Drum group.

In the 1970's, when these songs were recorded, most of the drummers were men, with the exception of a woman in Petite Martinique, and most were in their sixties or seventies. The majority of singers were women. Today (1979), the older performers have passed this knowledge on to a new generation, and its continuance is secure for the immediate future.

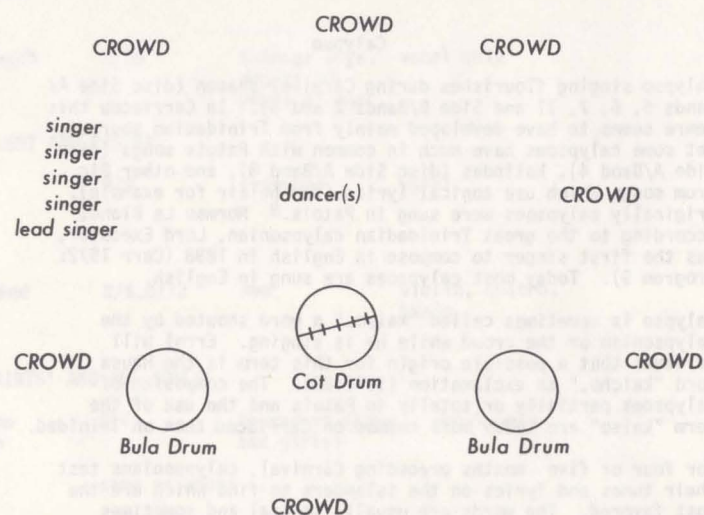


Figure 1. The ring for a Big Drum Dance.

Typically, a Big Drum song is begun by the lead singer, followed by a chorus, chac-chacs, bulas and finally, the cot. The lead singer directs the other singers, and the drummers and dancers, by exchanging visual or verbal cues with the appropriate party. Often one of the lead singers or a chantwell (a male lead singer) jumps into the ring to start the dancing. Others join in, although there are rarely more than three dancers in the ring at any one time. Sometimes the dancer holds one or two towels. When she does, the performance is stopped by throwing the towel on the cot drum or by touching the head of the drum.

The cot drummer positions himself slightly in front of the bulas. The dancers face the cot drummer. The female singers sit to one side of the ring, and if there is a male chantwell, he sits with the drummers. The remaining two sides of the ring are made up of spectators or potential dancers.

Big Drum songs may be classified by function. While all entertain, most also have religious import. The Cromanti songs are called Beg Pardons, and are played at the beginning of most Big Drum dances after a warm up *belay* (belair) or two have been performed. They let the ancestors know the dance has started. The oldoe is

beaten, asking the ancestors to come and join the dance. The arrival of the ancestors is signaled by a quickening of the beat of the cot drum or by dogs entering the ring. No one is allowed to dance while the spirits are in the ring. This is called a free ring.

Many of the Big Drum songs, called nation dances, are named for specific West African groups from which most Carriacouans claim descent. These designations are generally thought to be inherited patrilineally, except for the Cromanti Nation, which is inherited matrilineally.

Nation dances begin with the Cromanti. After the free ring, the sponsor, an old head who represents his or her lineage segment, gives thanks to the ancestors by pouring rum, water and soda on the ground. Since each Nation of Carriacou is supposed to be present, the Big Drum celebration serves to renew the society. Transgressions against the ancestors, and by extension the social order, are punished. Occasionally, the sponsor is not granted the favor of the dead, and the dance must be performed again. If good will cannot be restored between the Old Parents and the votary, death follows.

After the Nation dances have been performed, the people turn to secular dances (belays, kalindas, churrups, bongos, hallacords, jubas, or carisos) for entertainment. Informants say that the ancestors enjoy these dances because they like to see the people happy.



Figure 2. Big Drum ensemble.

SIDE A

A/Band 1: "Cromanti Cudjoe: (Beg Pardon Big Drum song).

Caddy John, cot drum; Prince Lawrence, bula drum; Fernan' Mitchel, bula drum; Sugar Adam, oldoe; Mary Fortune, chac-chac; Lucien Duncan, lead singer; Mary Fortune, singer; Grace Roman, singer; Faith Lawrence, singer.

Recorded at Mary Fortune's and Sugar Adam's house in Belle Vue South on Friday, October 1, 1971, 3:00 p.m. (1:37)

It was raining intermittently. This performance was organized by the writer for recording purposes.

Song text:

Translation:

Cromanti Cudjoe (lead singer)	(Call) Mr. Cudjoe of the Cromanti Nation
Say mala(d) Nu sa waybayno (lead)	Wake up Mama Nu! (singer)
	Sing the song that there is sickness,
Aye you drummer eh! (lead-- chac-chac begins)	Drummer, play....

Cromantis are played on many occasions, since the Cromanti Nation is considered to be the First Nation (the founders of the society).¹⁰ When the Beg Pardon ritual is not necessary, they sing, "Say nacion Nu sa waybayno (Wake up Mama Nu! Singer, sing the songs of the Nations)." Although Cromantis are usually played at the opening of any Big Drum dance, it is only for a Sacrifice that actual ritual forgiveness, the Beg Pardon, is requested from the ancestors. In this song Cromanti Cudjoe and Mama Nu, male and female ancestors of the Cromanti Nation, are asked to join the dance and cure the sickness in the family. Thus, as sung here, "Cromanti Cudjoe" is a Beg Pardon.

A/Band 2: "Ibo and Dem" (Nation Big Drum song).

Caddy John, cot drum; Prince Lawrence, bula drum; Fernan' Mitchel, bula drum; Mary Fortune, chac-chac; Lucien Duncan, first lead singer; Mary Fortune, second lead singer; Grace Roman, singer; Faith Lawrence, singer.

Recorded at the Grand Bay Maroon on Thursday, May 13, 1971, at 9:00 p.m. (1:30)

This recording has been faded out.

Song text:

Translation:

Ibo Ibo, (lead singer)	Ibo [Nation],
Lay lay la! (lead)	Laugh, enjoy yourself!
Ibo and dem (lead)	An Ibo woman is involved with someone! (e.g., gossip about her sexual affair)

Lay lay la! (chorus)	Laugh, enjoy yourself!
Ibo Ibo, (lead)	Ibo [Nation],
Lay lay la! (chorus)	Laugh, enjoy yourself!
Ibo want dem oh! (lead)	The Ibo woman wants them!
Lay lay la (chorus).	Laugh, enjoy yourself!
Ibo warn dem... (chorus)	She warns them ("Don't interfere with my business.")...

Unlike the first Big Drum song which was played for my benefit, this one was recorded at a social function--a community Maroon*. The name maroon is applied to a wide variety of interconnected events: cooperative work groups, community activities called to avoid a possible unpleasant occurrence, or family Beg Pardons in which forgiveness from the ancestors is requested to obviate some misfortune such as sickness, bad fishing, or drought. One sort of Maroon is called in several villages annually, at the close of the dry season, in order to give thanks for the year's harvest, to make sure that the beginning of the rainy season will not be delayed, and to have a good time (a "pleasure"). "Ibo and Dem" was recorded at such a Maroon, identical in type to the fête described below:

The Dumfries Maroon is held annually. A portion of the food cooked from each saraca is put together at the Six Roads junction. The food is distributed to all present.... A flag, usually red in colour, is put up at the junction. Each relative involved in cooking, brings a tray of food to the junction and all the trays are put in a straight line. Some food is taken from each tray and is preserved on a Table for the dead. Another portion of food is taken from each tray to feed the late visitors and the drummers....

The distribution of food lasts from about 4:30 p.m. to 6:30 p.m. At about 7:30 p.m. there is a Big Drum at the junction. The ladies dance with a flaired [sic] skirt and the men with a towel in each hand. The Big Drum lasts for about three hours. (David 1967-68:21)

The saraca is the Parents' Plate, food ritually prepared in the homes of "relatives" (members of a lineage segment whose elders are responsible for the maintenance of the Maroon). This food is first placed along the roadside, usually at a spot mentioned in a dream message. Some of it is taken from that spot for the Plate in the bedroom of the elder who is the leader of the Maroon. In addition to the dead, the drummers (and to a lesser degree the singers) are well fed. What is left is offered visitors, and if there are scraps, they are thrown on the ground at about sunset for the children. This curious custom is called grapay.¹¹

The role of "child" in ritual provides a link between generations and the dead--that is, the elder is the child of the ancestor. Yet a young child has no *gravitas* in this society: children often get the last food to eat on routine occasions, and a dead child is rarely entombed. At the appropriate time in most rituals, however, the people cater to children, since in a dream the ancestor will request that children be fed. Perhaps the dream itself represents the elder's wish to have been better treated when he was a child. In any case, grapay is a significant cultural pattern emphasizing the parent-child relationship.

According to Sugar Adam (1971), Maroon is a "pleasure." This means that although it often includes the Cromanti Beg Pardons

*The community Maroon is capitalized to distinguish it from the other, less significant maroons.

and the cycle of Nation dances in addition to the secular dances, no Beg Pardon ritual is performed, as would be the case in a Sacrifice. Other informants claim that a Beg Pardon could be part of a Maroon. Normally, the Big Drum for a community Maroon is concluded shortly after midnight.

A/Band 3: "Ju Belle" (juba Big Drum Song).

Sugar Adam, cot drum; Caddy John, bula drum; Fernan' Mitchel, bula drum; Mary Fortune, chac-chac; Lawrence Mitchel, chantwell; Lucien Duncan, singer; Grace Roman, singer; Faith Lawrence, singer; Caddy John, singer; Fernan' Mitchel, singer.

Recorded at a Tombstone Feast in Brunswick, on Friday, May 14, 1971, shortly before midnight. (1:30)

This recording has been faded out.

Song text:

Me gal oh nunca dansay kaway
(kawe), (chantwell)
(chorus mumbles the same line)
Oh yo nunca dansay kaway,
(chantwell)

Nunca dansay kaway. (chorus)
Ju belle nunca dansay kaway girl,

Ju belle nunca dansay kaway...
(chorus)

Translation:

My girl does not dance the
"strut,"

Oh, does not dance the "strut,"

Does not dance the "strut."
Pretty juba girl does not
dance the "strut,"

Pretty juba girl does not
dance the "strut"...

Variations of first line:

Ju Noel nunca dansay kaway....

Ju Noel ("Christmas Morning,"
a man's name) never dances
the "strut"....

Ju belle juba dansay kaway....

Pretty juba girl dances the
juba dance, the "strut"....

Juba is an African rhythm found throughout the New World. The Juba was also an African tribe in Carriacou.

This song is sung in several versions depending upon whether a woman or man is dancing. The kawe (here pronounced "kaway") or "strut" is common to several dances and to stick fighting.

The "Ju Noel" variation was originally sung for Christmas Eve fêtes in "the Big Road" (Hillsborough), where many Noel people live today. The road march with the steel band seems to have replaced the Big Drum on this occasion.

"Ju Belle" or "Ju Noel" is sung at most Big Drum celebrations after the Nation dances have been completed. By this time most people are relaxed and some are drunk. The occasion for this recording was a Stone Feast for the dead mother of Mr. Thomas, the host. The Big Drum began at the house where she had lived, where a few Cromantis, as well as songs of her Nation, were played. Rum and water were sprinkled on the earth for her. Then, after about a half hour, the drummers and singers moved to the Host's house, where the opening ritual was repeated.

It should be noted that Sugar Adam, 81 years old, is playing the cot drum on this selection. Seventeen months earlier he suffered a severe stroke which left him partially paralyzed for a time. I saw him play only two or three selections in the span of twenty months. He says that he doesn't like to play since his hands are "heavy" now.¹²

A/Band 4: "January Has Gone Away" (Patois song).

Morgan Longland, vocal; Augustus Providence, guitar.

Recorded in Longland's rum shop in Hillsborough on Tuesday, March 31, 1970, at 11:00 a.m. (1:12)

The first verse has been deleted. The verses heard on the recording have been filtered to remove the low frequencies (wind noise).

Song text:

January has gone away and he left trouble behind (repeat).
But should in case you meet February tell him January has
waiting on him (repeat).

Sing, "Ti za fayso, tifatini bon la sukayso." (repeat).

[Possible translation of part of Patois verse: "...it is good,
this calypso"]

Neither the singer nor the man playing guitar are Carriacou born: Morgan Longland is from St. George's, Grenada, but married a Carriacouan woman many years ago. Augustus Providence is from St. Vincent. The song is typical of the many English and patois songs in Carriacou, Grenada, and Trinidad. Some are quite old while others are topical songs of recent composition.

A/Band 5: "Lillian" (calypso).

Desmond Bristol, guitar and vocal.

Recorded in Mendes' restaurant and bar in Hillsborough on Tuesday, March 24, 1970. (2:08)

Song text:

[Oh] yes, I tell you Lillian,
All through you slackness you lose ah man. (repeat)
For you too careless to be me wife,
And it seems through mistakes nearly cost me life,
You doped me twice in the talkarie,
But this time you parched this standhome for me.

The first month I spent at home with you,
I had the most funny sentence I ever know.
I noticed that all me hair was dropping out,
And every tooth was shaking inside me mouth.
Me fingernail was dropping and all,
And in the morning, girl, me mouth was bitter like gall.
But, girl, the thing that make matters worse,
You nearly killed me dead with a double dose.

You had a light below the bed,
The purpose was to try to humbug me head.
Inside it you had a donkey gall,
With gomavalos and a few jumbie parasol.
Pigeon peas in a honey comb.
That was for me to get the sweetness at home.
These words were written around the bed:
'Satan take he grave seal and take he soul!'

An so right away I went to Perryland,
And I took this bowl to an obeahman.
I wanted to find out what it meant,
And it-cost me three dollars and sixty cents.
He said, 'The light is not very bad,
But then the cover of the mixture may set you mad.
The honey and the comb that she had inside,
Was just to poison you mind from women outside.'

That is why I tell you Lillian,
All through you slackness you lose ah man.
For you too careless to be me wife,
And it seems through mistakes nearly cost me life.
You doped me twice in the talkarie,
But this time you parched this standhome for me.

This calypso is a modification of the AABC classic form dominant in Trinidad between the 1920's and the late 1950's, a form still common in Carriacou. In "Lillian," the girl attempts to use obeah (magic) potions and formulas to keep her boyfriend away from other women. The boyfriend consults an obeahman (magician) to counteract her magic with some of his own. The line, "Satan break he grave seal and take he soul," is noteworthy. "Negromancy" (necromancy) is the most powerful type of magic since it involves the manipulation of the dead for evil purposes. By "having dealings with" the dead body, an evil person can get the soul to do its bidding. Usually, however, love magic is rather frivolous, and herein lies Bristol's humor.

Men have had a very dominant position in this society, a dominance achieved through their nearly complete control--up to the late 1950's--of the money supply. This dominance is expressed in the lineage system, the family structure, child rearing practices, and in the folk religion. Recently, however, their authority has waned. More and more women are emigrating to achieve financial security. The tensions resulting from this fundamental change are manifest in "Lillian."

A/Band 6: "Good South" (calypso).

Vocal, Husband Augustine (the Mighty Tangler); accompanied by two electric guitars, electric bass, trap drums, cymbals, bongo drum, congo drum and wood block (the "Sunrise Combo").

Recorded in the L'Esterre Rosary School, about 9:30 p.m. on Sunday, April 5, 1970. (4:34)

The original opening of this piece, after the remark "Let's go," has been deleted.

Song text:

Let's go!
La da die, one more time!
La da da da die.

This is my country,
and I don't want you to misunderstand me.
Is here I was born
but I really don't like the things that going on.
If you come from North you stand a chance,
but if you from the South you could go to France.

That's the way things going these days,
I find is advantage in many ways.

Ah tell you,
The oil they always boasting about,
they getting all the drops from South.
South have cocoa and coffee,
to talk 'bout cane--we have plenty.
And all the oil that they drilling,
right down in South that we finding.
Government will get vexed one day I know,
and turn the capital from Town to San Fernando.

You hear me?
Oh la da die die.

Yes, a southern athlete,
the amount of hardship they often meet,
Don't care how you good,
they don't ever treat you the way they should.
Man, they say South's the country,
and Port-of-Spain is the city.
Ah don't want to make them feel small,
but without South there is no Trinidad at all.

Ah tell you,
The South produce the Lord Byner,
Duke, Lord Shorty and Composer.
You can't forget Yoland Pompie,
who fought Archie Moore quite valiantly.
It not only have offices,
But night clubs and business places.
Ah know some people go say ah fas',
but without South tell me how long north will last?

You hear me?
Oh da da dee die,
La da da da die,

A calypsonian,
in South he don't get no recognition.
He goes up to Town,
with the same tune the man bringing the house down.
When he singing in South they say he not so hot,
but if he singing in Town he become a real big shot.
Man, they getting on heaven knows,
like if San Fernando is in Barbados.

Ah tell you,
The South have all the cane and oil,
for planting the most fertile soil.

In sports we always show brilliance,
but southerners do get a chance.
The South haven't discovered yet,
constant panorama winners.
Ah saying this, you go say ah mad,
but the South is the stronghold of Trinidad.

You hear me?
Oh da da dee die,
Oh da da dee die.

You might go in Town,
and see lots of big shot walking around.
You will never know,
all of them is people from San Fernando.
You could stay in the South and try all you want,
you have to go to Town to become important.
The thing that north want to put to you,
while you in South you en have any value.

Ah tell you,
South have the best Indian singers,
and all the champion stick players.
The South produce Papa Niza,
the late, great king a' obeah.
In any fields that you could name,
the southerners could claim with fame.
It's time wake up and learn to know,
and respect a man from San Fernando.

Outside!
La da da dee die.
Clap hands for the Mighty Tangler--South Calypso King of
Trinidad and Tobago!

Husband Augustine (Tangler) won the South Trinidad Calypso
Competition in 1970 with "Good South" and one other calypso.
Although born in Harvey Vale, Carriacou, Augustine lives
in Trinidad.

"Good South" is about competition and status differentiation
between Port-of-Spain, the Trinidadian capital and its environs
(referred to as "Town"), and San Fernando, Trinidad's second
largest city, and the countryside around it (collectively referred
to as "South"). The distinction between "Town" and countryside
is common in the Caribbean: towns developed as commercial centers,
seaports, and conduits for the "high culture" of the mother
country; in the countryside the plantation life-style was
dominant.

Augustine begins the song with "This is my country," even though
he is from Carriacou. Many small islanders, particularly calyp-
sonians, find it useful to identify with Trinidad rather than
with the island of their birth.¹³ Some native Trinidadians con-
sider small islanders "backward" and for this reason discriminate
against them.

The accompaniment is typical of present-day West Indian combos.
All the string instruments are electrified. They were purchased
in shops in Trinidad and brought by sloop or schooner to Carriacou.¹⁴

A/Band 7: "Raycan" (calypso).

The Sunblister's Combo with "Poco," lead guitar and organ,
and Steady Allert, trap drums, plus congo drum, second guitar
and bass. The bass, organ, and guitars are amplified.

Recorded at the Carnival Calypso finals at Hillsborough
School, Thursday, February 18, 1971, at 10:45 p.m. (1:47)

This recording has been faded out.

Although presented here as an instrumental, this calypso was
originally broadcast by West Indian radio stations in a vocal
rendition. "Raycan" was composed for the 1970-71 Carnival
season by Lord Short Shirt of Antigua (1971). The lyrics,
a commentary on the relationship between West Indian men and
women, contrast with Carriacouan values. Although modern in
instrumentation and beat, "Raycan" shows continuity with the
past. The AABC form in the first verse is one retention from
classic calypso. The chorus, in its call-and-response phrasing,
is another. When sung by people in Carriacou, it goes like this:

She love Raycan (lead)
Raycan (chorus)
Drunken Raycan (lead)
Raycan (chorus)
Liming Raycan (lead)
Raycan (chorus)
Ten-cents Raycan (lead)
Raycan (chorus)
Afro Raycan (lead)
Raycan (chorus)
Hippie Raycan (lead)
Raycan (chorus)
Jailbird Raycan (lead)
Raycan (chorus)
Raycan with the big rum bottle in he hand (lead).

A/Band 8: "Mama Liza Canbulay" (kalinda Big Drum song).

Caddy John, cot drum; Fernan' Mitchel, bula drum; Fenderson
Lawrence, bula drum; Mitchel Lawrence, Chantwell; all the drummers,
chorus.

Recorded at the conclusion of the stick fighting in Mt.
Desire on Juvay morning, February 22, 1971, at 5:30 a.m. (:52)
This recording has been faded out. Some of the low fre-
quencies have been filtered out to reduce wind noise.

Song text:

Translation:

Mama Liza Canbulay (chantwell)	Mama Liza, (it is time for the Canbulay)
Hay Liza (chorus)	Hay, Liza!
Haylay Mama Liza Canbulay (chant- well)	It is sad, Mama Liza's (not at the) Canbulay
Oh Liza (chorus)	Oh, Liza
Mama Liza moreeday (chantwell)	Mama Liza is dead [?] ...
Haylay Liza (chorus, drums begin here)	
Haylay Mama Liza Canbulay (chant- well)	

Kalindas are songs which a chantwell sings for stick fights or
on any occasion when the Big Drum dance is performed. Many are
praise songs about the chantwell's abilities.

In Trinidad, chantwells were often calypso singers. They sang
kalindas in the calypso tents with band accompaniment rather
than with the drums of the stick fight. Indeed, the calypso
tent is the successor to the kalinda ring and the masquerade
band tents popular in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad between 1881, the

date of the Canbulay riots, and World War I (E. Hill 1974:290-91). Lines like, "I am a young Creole so brave and bold" and "I am the Duke of Iron, defying all pretenders," which are taken from kalindas, are common in calypso. Lord Beginner, a famous Trinidadian calypsonian, began his career as a chantwell and stick-fighter in the 1920's.

A/Band 9: "Juvay Mama" (Carnival jab-jab).

Vocal and dups (biscuit tins struck with the hands).
Recorded in Hillsborough on Juvay morning, Monday, February 22, 1971, at 10:00 a.m. (1:18)
This is part of a continuing routine. It has been faded in and out rapidly.

Song text:

Up the road! (spoken)
Juvay mama...

In Carriacou and Grenada the jab-jab masquerades are among the most popular in Carnival. Sometimes bands of jab-jabs roam the streets, as they did during the 1971 Carnival in Grenada, smearing anyone they see with mud. Occasionally they stop tourists or other defenseless people, harass them, and beg for a penny to pay the devil:

Job Job [sic] were asking for money in the way that they were sent by the devil. The man in chain is boling [bawling], whaley [wailing] 'Job Job [sic], ah want the penny to pay the devil.' The person behind is pretending that he is the devil beating his son to ask for money to pay the devil for his freedom. Many people pay them because they are afraid of them thinking that when these job job [sic] keep following them they will dirty their cloths [sic]. (Dick 1972)

In Carriacou jab-jabs smear themselves with charcoal. In Trinidad some jab-jabs dress in a costume which is similar to the paywo's gemet (Crowley 1956:214-15).

A/Band 10: "Ladies and Gents" (Carnival speech).

St. John Joseph, speaker.
Recorded in Brunswick on Wednesday, January 20, 1971, at 7:30 p.m. (:35)

Text of speech:

Ladies predom [?], gentlemen predomical [?]
When I use this word "ladies and gents"
I do not mean nothing to offend you.
I just mean "Good morning to the ladies predom [?]
and gentlemen predomical [?]"
How do you admire my gemet this morning?
My gemet is shining like a morning star.
I have this bull in my hand which is made of chicken bark.
I has this bell in my hand which rings the gate of hell.
I has a shoe on my foot which is made of engine tire.
I have my job [?], Willie Boy
If I should drop this bull upon your back it shall tear
clothes from skin,
skin from flesh,
flesh from bone, and

Leave you a standing skeleton.

This speech was recorded during a speech mas' practice session at the crossroads in Brunswick village. The speaker wore no costume since he was merely trying out his speeches on his peers. On Carnival Tuesday, when the masqueraders reign in full costume, their speeches are virtually lost in the uproar of the crowd.

The Trinidadian pierrot is similar to the paywo masquerade:

At Carnival time...the Pierrot roamed the streets of the City entertaining the crowd, but a dramatic change took place upon sighting another Pierrot. Like the stick-fighting gang of former years in their relation to a district, each Pierrot assumed overlordship of a territory consisting of a couple of streets or more, and resented intrusion by another into his domain. One of them is still remembered for his opening speech: 'I am King of Dahomey, but I also rule over many countries that I have conquered.' (Carr 1956:282)

It seems likely that the paywo was brought to Trinidad from one of the small islands, perhaps even from Carriacou itself. It probably represents the oldest strata of French and West African Carnival culture on the island of Carriacou, though today most of the speeches are adapted from the works of English authors.

A/Band 11: "Political Discrimination" (calypso)

Desmond Bristol, guitar and vocal; harmonica played by an unknown Carriacouan.

Recorded during a Christmas serenade at my home in Hillsborough on Thursday, December 24, 1970, at 11:45 p.m. (1:33)
After the guitar and vocal and a few bars into the harmonica solo, one verse and part of the next has been cut out. The recording is faded sharply at the conclusion of the harmonica solo.

Song text:

Desmond have a problem, right here in this land,
This GNP and GULP slang, I can't understand.
When we look at the other countries, how they living
in Unity,
What is wrong with we, I does sit down and grind me teeth.

Remember, Indians come from India, Negroes from Africa,
We both try together, and we both suffer.
Somebody please tell me, why we shouldn't agree?
Forget political discrimination and let's live like
a new nation.

The first verse of this song fragment alludes to the disagreements between Grenada's two political parties, the GNP (Grenada National Party), headed by the Honorable Herbert A. Blaize of Carriacou, a former Premier; and the GULP (The Grenada Union Labour Party), the ruling party before the recent coup, formerly headed by the Grenadian, Eric Matthew Gairy. The hint of antagonism between East Indians and Blacks in the second verse reflects the situation in Trinidad, not Grenada, where the East Indian population is small and more completely integrated into the Black majority. In Carriacou there is only a handful of East Indians.

SIDE B

B/Band 1: "Hello in Africa" (Carnival wild Indian mas').

Male vocal chorus.
Recorded on Juvay Morning, Monday, February 22, 1971, at 10:00 a.m. in Hillsborough. (:39)
This recording has been faded in and out.

Song text:

Hello in Africa (lead) nonsense talk (lead)
Hello in Africa (chorus) Hello in Africa (chorus)

Various American Indian Carnival masquerades have been popular in Carriacou, Grenada, and Trinidad for well over one hundred years. The wild Indian mas' of Carriacou is similar to the red Indian mas' of Trinidad (Crowley 1956:205). The masqueraders wear red and white crepe paper shirts and hats. They carry small clubs and snake through the street, one after the other, sometimes singing a glossolalia reputed to be an American Indian language. Here they sing "Hello in Africa," in honor of the "Africa Ancient and Modern" masquerade band which they preceded.



Figure 3. Paywos battle on Shrove Tuesday.



Figure 4. Carnival wild Indian mas'.

B/Band 2: "Mas' in Madison Square Garden" (Carnival steel band).

The Solar Symphony steel band of L'Esterre village.

Recorded on Carnival Tuesday, February 23, 1971, at 3:00 p.m. in Hillsborough. (1:13)

This recording is a part of a continuing piece which has been faded in and out.

This road march, a calypso composed especially for the steel band, has been selected over more polished examples of steel band music because it is typical of street activity during Carnival. The tune, a small part of which is heard here, was played by the "Solar Symphony" for well over one hour. The "Solar Symphony" led Shrove Tuesday revelers through the streets of Hillsborough. Although people from all over the island joined in the dancing, most participants were from the village of L'Esterre.

"Mas' in Madison Square Garden" was a very popular road march. It was composed by Lord Kitchener (1971), Trinidad's "Road March King," for the 1971 Carnival season. The lyrics (not on the recording) refer to the annual calypso and reggae shows which have become popular in the West Indian community in New York City. Such performances are a cultural renewal for West Indians, especially Trinidadians, who have not been home for many years:

Play mas darling don't stop
You must move on while you jump up
Have ah good time ah gay time
In crazy Manhattan
Is mas in Madison Square Garden (Kitchener 1971:4)



Figure 5. Solar Symphony Steel Band.

B/Band 3: "Mas' in Madison Square Garden" (Carnival string band with saxophone).

Saxophone, cuatro, banjo and chac-chac.

Recorded during Shrove Tuesday jump-up on Main Street in Hillsborough on Tuesday, February 23, 1971, at 4:00 p.m. (1:12)

This recording has been faded in and out.

The instrumentation of this selection takes us back several decades when the saxophone was more popular than it is today. Accompaniment for calypsoes recorded in the 1930's and early 1940's included the saxophone, clarinet, trumpet, piano and string instruments. This instrumentation has been replaced by the electrified string combo. However, the older instruments, with the exception of the piano, are played for road marches since the electrified combo is not easily moved.

Changes in the musical style of calypsoes have mirrored these changes in instrumentation. The North American jazz influence illustrated in this selection replaced the French and Spanish sound of the string bands (banjo, cuatro, guitar, chac-chac and fiddle) by the late 1920's.

B/Band 4: "Who Go Cut the Wood Tirina?" (pass play ring game song).

Male vocal with hand clapping.

Recorded in L'Esterre at the Pass Play on All Saints' Night, Monday, November 1, 1971, at 8:00 p.m. (:39)

This is part of a long tune which has been faded in and after several verses is faded out.

Song text:

I have wood to cut Tirina	Oh wa, Tirina
Who go cut the [my] wood Tirina?	Who go cut the wood Tirina?...

The pass play is a ring game unmarried teenagers play on All Saints' and All Souls' nights. Boys line up on one side and girls on the other while in the center of the ring one boy or girl dances to the singing of the group. Songs similar to the Big Drum and shanties are sung during the game.

In the 1950's this tune was recorded in Trinidad, accompanied by the bamboo tamboo (Cook 1956).

B/Band 5: "Christmas Serenading" (carol, speeches and calypso).

Male vocal and chorus with string bands (hosannah bands).

Recorded at my house in Hillsborough on Thursday, December 24, 1970, between 9:30 p.m. and midnight. (2:47)

Section 1: "Joy to the World" (carol with reggae beat).

Male chorus led by Desmond Bristol with Gordon Cayanne, Billy Lynch, two brothers of Gordon Cayanne, and one other man.

Song text:

Joy to the world the Lord is come
(meaningless syllables sung in background)
Let earth receive the King!
(reggae! reggae!)

Let every heart, prepare him rule
And heaven and nature wonder,
And heaven and nature sing,
And heaven, and heaven, and nature sing.

He rules the world with truth and grace,
And makes the nations prove,
He come to make his blessings flow.
The wonders of his wonder (repeat)
And wonders, and wonders of his love.

Section 2: "I Hunt My Jawbone" (speech).

Gordon Cayanne, speaker.

Text of speech:

I hung my jawbone on a fence.
Someone pass and took it.
My jawbone eat,
My jawbone talk,
My jawbone eat with knife and fork.
(i.e., You don't have to teach people to eat)

Section 3: "Hosannah Opening Speech" (speech).

Gordon Cayenne, speaker.

Text of speech:

Mistress and master,
I give you no time nor chance to ask what band we are,
For we are the Soul Brothers straight from Mt. Pleasant,
Now come to put you in the remembrance of Christmas,
Which comes only once a year,
And we feel you should have your equal share.

Section 4: "It's Christmas Day" (calypso).

Guitar and lead vocal, Desmond Bristol; chorus,
unknown male singer.

Song text:

It's Christmas Day, (chorus)	It's Christmas Day, (chorus)
We could sing because we en	We en care what nobody say.
'fraid (lead)	(lead)
It is Christmas Day, (chorus)	It is Christmas Day, (chorus)
We en care what nobody say. (lead)	We could sing because we en
It is Christmas Day, (chorus)	afraid (lead)
Now here what I have to say: (lead)	It is Christmas Day, (chorus)
	Jus' hear what I have to say:
	(lead)

Drink up your liquor, Fall in the gutter, Hug any man and, Kiss any woman, And don't care what people say, Just tell them it's Christmas Day.	Drink up your liquor....
--	--------------------------

Section 5: "Hosannah Closing Speech" (speech).

Desmond Bristol, speaker.

Text of speech:

Mistress and master,
We thank you for this kind present you have patronized
our bands with.
May the Lord return it to you as he did in the Harvest
of Festivals.
May your joys be numberless and your sorrows be few.
May your child, children, or grandchildren rise up in
heaven and call it blessed.
May the peace and Unity dwell within your home.
May God be with you until we meet again.

I have spliced together here parts of two different hosannah bands which met outside our house on Christmas Eve. As a hosannah band approaches one's house its members sing one or two songs. If the serenaders think there is someone at home they will sing "Open Your Door for Me." Once the occupant of the house has come to the yard a reveler will recite the first speech. Another song follows. At this point the host is expected to offer rum to adults and pennies to the children. If the host refuses he may be badgered with a speech:

Oh God our help in ages past,
Our hope for money to come,
To pay the dribbling debts we owe,
And drink the balance in rum.

Once the rum or money has been offered, the band sings another tune and then thanks the host with the final speech. This speech, with its emphasis on the family and on unity in the home, reflects commonly-held Carriacouan values. Indeed, Unity is the watchword within families; it is the essence of being a Carriacouan.

Of interest musically in this sequence is the "reggae" rendition of the carol, "Joy to the World." However, it should be noted that Carriacouan reggae in 1970 had little in common with the Jamaican original. Also of interest is the way in which Desmond Bristol has adapted the hit tune, "Keep the Carnival Clean" (1965), composed by Lord Blakie, a calypsonian from Trinidad. Bristol borrowed the tune and some of the lyrics, thereby applying Carnival values to Christmas. Below is Blakie's chorus (two versions) alongside Bristol's:

Blakie

This is Carnival,
We don't want no fights or
no threats.
This is Carnival,
Hooligan don't mash up we fête!

This is Carnival,
Eh! Hear way Lord Blakie say:
No fighting,
Bottle pelting,
Stone throwing,
Cutlass passing,
It's them hooligan
not me,
I say keep the Carnival clean.

(second version)

Eh! Hear way Lord Blakie say:
Drink if you drinking,
Jump if you jumping,
Play if you playing,
Till last Wednesday morning,
It's them hooligan
not me,
I say keep the Carnival.

Bristol

It's Christmas Day,
We could sing because we
en 'fraid.
It is Christmas Day,
We en care what nobody say.

It is Christmas Day,
Now hear what I have to say:
Drink up your liquor,
Fall in the gutter,
Hug any man and,
Kiss any woman,
And don't care what
people say,
Tell them it's Christmas Day.

(second version)

Just hear what I have to say:
Drink up you liquor,
Fall in the gutter,
Hug any man and,
Kiss any woman,
And don't care what
people say,
Tell them it's Christmas Day.

B/Band 6: "First Figure" (lancer's dance).

String band with Cecil Chase, banjo; Simon Alexander, first guitar; unknown musician, second guitar; Milton Coy, fiddle; M. Caldwell Roberts, triangle; Kaison Augustine, cuatro.

Recorded at the lancer's dance for the Anglican Church Harvest in Beausejour (the Anglican rectory) on Friday, May 1, 1970, at 4:10 p.m. (1:20)

After "first figure" is spoken, a verse has been cut out.

Lancer's dances were becoming rare in Carriacou. As far as I am aware, this was the only one which was held during the twenty months I was on the island. By 1979, however, such dances were being revived. The lancer's dance was probably an English country or ballroom dance brought to Carriacou in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. It includes a number of dances (figures) which are performed in set sequence. Different tunes may be played for any one of the figures, but usually the same tune is played for the same figure. The dance is directed by an old head, an elder of the community, who is considered knowledgeable in the steps and their proper order. In 1970 one man was usually called upon to direct both lancer's and quadrille dances: the headmaster of the Hillsborough school, Rudolf "Harry" Noel.

Church harvests are fund-raising events organized by Catholic or Anglican priests. Ice cream, bakes (cakes), and other light refreshments are sold. People dress in their best clothes, walk around the church grounds and "old talk" (gossip).

B/Band 7: "Bam Bam We Want to Soldier" (joining wedding song).

String band with Brison Bristol, fiddle; Jones Corrión, bass; Alton Joseph, tambourine; unknown musician (probably Canute Caliste), triangle.

Recorded at the joining of the Augustine and the Lewis families at the crossroads in L'Esterre village on Sunday, April 25, 1971, at 1:50 p.m. (1:06)

This is a small part of a half-hour recording which includes the entire joining. This recording has been faded in and out.

Song text:

Translation:

Bam bam we want to soldier
Oui, Ton Ton eh!

We want to hit Ton Ton
(father of the groom)
on his backside!

The union of the bride's and groom's families, the joining, is usually completed by noon of the wedding day. In this case, however, the groom's family was late arriving at the bride's village. At a joining the family of the groom walks or rides a bus to meet the family of the bride in the vicinity of the bride's house. This time about 50 people left the road above the bride's house to meet the groom's family. They were led by the bride's father, carrying soda, scotch whiskey, and a glass for wetting the ground, the bride's mother, a man carrying the bride's flag (marked "In God We Trust PUP"--i.e., Peace, Unity and Prosperity), and four musicians. Men and women doused each other with perfumed water while others threw rice or talc. Many people sang "Open la da me way day" or "Bam bam, we want to soldier, oui Ton Ton eh!," both traditional joining tunes.

At the L'Esterre cross, the same spot where pass plays are held, the two families met and formed a ring. The bride's father wet the ground with soda and scotch so that the wedding would have ancestral blessings. The women continued to sing. As people were sprinkled with perfume and powder, the flag bearers clashed in the ring. Each bearer was an expert at fighting the flags. Sometimes standing back eyeing each other, sometimes making threatening gestures with the flags, the two fought, and, as always is the case, the groom's flag 'defeated' the bride's flag by crossing over on top of it, forcing the bearer to his knees and the bride's flag to the ground. The groom's flag was then placed on top of the other in triumph.



Figure 6. String band.

At this wedding, the dancing of the cake occurred after the families, already joined by the fighting of the flags, had left the cross and proceeded to the entrance of the bride's yard. Approximately 150 people watched as the musicians struck up a tune for the old women to dance, with the cakes on their heads or in their hands. Their mock sexual gestures drew laughter from the crowd. After the joining was completed, the families passed under two coconut palm arches at the entrance to the bride's yard where they prepared for the reception later that day.

The joining symbolizes the creation of a new household unit, the uniting of two families, the dominance of the man over his prospective wife, and the sexual union between the two.

B/Band 8: "In the Mood"/"Yankee Doodle" (joining wedding song).

String band with Mr. St. Hilaire, banjo; Mr. Benjamin of Petite Martinique, cuatro; unknown musician, chac-chac.

Recorded after the families had been joined in front of the bride's house on Sunday, November 29, 1970, in Windward Village at 12:25 p.m. (1:32)

Not all the music played for a joining is traditional. For example, a calypso entitled "Fire in Me Wire" is now played at most joinings. Carriacouans learned this song from the radio (sung and composed by Calypso Rose, a Trinidadian). "In the Mood" and "Yankee Doodle" were also heard on the radio. At most occasions when music is performed, tunes not directly related to the event are usually played after the traditional tunes, "Bam Bam" and "Open La Da," have been completed.

B/Band 9: "The Lord Is My Shepherd" (hymn).

Unknown female lead singer with chorus.

Recorded at a prayer meeting (a Tombstone Feast) in Top Hill on Saturday, April 18, 1970. (1:22)

Song text:

The Lord is my shepherd I shall not want.
He maketh me to lie down in green pastures.
Leave, oh leave, oh leave me not alone (repeated twice)
He is my shepherd, I shall not want.

The Big Drum dance is not performed at all Tombstone Feasts; as the drummers die or migrate and as expenses for the Big Drum grow, some people turn to the less prestigious prayer meeting. Although it is not part of Catholic or Anglican ritual, a prayer meeting is led by an acolyte or some other respected old head. Prayer meeting activities include hymn singing in the sponsor's yard, eating, and the preparation of ritual food for the dead, the Parents' Plate.

At about 8:00 p.m. the singing begins. First, hymns and prayers are alternated. Then the chairman of the prayer meeting asks for requests. A person might say, "Mr. Chairman, 202," referring to the hymn number. An elderly lady usually sings the first line and the others join in. For those who don't have hymn books, the chairman speaks each line before it is sung. Hymn singing is theatrical:

What is peculiar about the singing of prayer meeting hymns is that the words are dragged as if to emphasize the solemnity of the occasion. Gestures are made by individuals while they sing. It is very amusing to observe the manner in which those who sing compete against each other. (David 1967-68:15)

Sometimes the singers stop every half hour or so for another round of jack rum. Most of the people who continue to sing are women and children, especially teenage girls. Others gather in the yard to talk, drink, play dominoes or cards, visit the mourners in the hall of the house, or admire the Parents' Plate.

B/Band 10: "I'm a Born Believer" (sankey).

Male and female chorus with handclapping and yelling.

Recorded at an annual prayer meeting held by Mr. Steady Clement in Hillsborough on Wednesday morning, April 28, 1971, at 3:00 a.m. (2:10)

Song text:

(first line unintelligible) (lead)
I'm a born believer. (chorus)

After the slower hymns have been sung, the people sometimes belt out a few fast sankeys. Herskovits was the first to describe sankeys in Toco, Trinidad (1966:343-). Sankeys were brought from Trinidad by Carriacouan migrants who had converted to the Spiritual Baptist (Shouter) Church. In Carriacou, this sect is found in the southern part of the island, especially near Belmont and Belle Vue South. The people on this recording do not subscribe to the world view of the Spiritual Baptists and they sing "I'm a Born Believer" with humor.

B/Band 11: "Ring Down Below" (shanty, sung while "breaking the barrel").

Charlie Bristol, lead singer; male singers, chorus.

Recorded at a Tombstone Feast on Saturday, March 13, 1971, at about 11:00 p.m., in L'Esterre. (1:13)

This recording has been faded in rapidly after several verses have been sung.

Song text:

Oh, ring down ring down everybody, (lead)
Ring down below. (chorus)
Oh, ring down ring down I tell you. (lead)
Ring down below. (chorus)
Oh as going down yes I meet the devil, (lead)
Ring down below. (chorus)
Oh yes I meet the devil with a hell of a Bible, (lead)
Ring down below. (chorus)
Oh and the devil tell me he is praying for sinners, (lead)
Ring down below. (chorus)
Oh ring down, ring down everybody, (lead)
Ring down below. (chorus)....

"Breaking the barrel" once took place during a wake or Tombstone Feast for a dead sailor. On this occasion, however, the men sang shanties around the barrel only at my insistence. The object is to break a barrel, a symbol for a sloop or a schooner, by hitting several lashed pieces of wood against the inside. In this case a fifty-five gallon metal drum was substituted for the usual rum keg or biscuit barrel. In the performance the lead singer plays the role of the captain while the others act as the prospective crew. They alternate singing shanties with a skit about a captain signing on a crew for low pay.

This captain says, "Go ahead boys, we're going to get paid sometime.... Let's go to sea!" We going.

This captain playing. It's a frame of a boat you know. The captain says, "No man, not yet." He says, "When we reach port you all will be happy. Boy, let's go again."

...You have a piece of stick...in your hand that going right on the barrel. And you sing you songs. And they beat and they say, "Man, this captain is no good man."

The captain, a man, he have to stand up. He says, "Go ahead, get pay when we meet in port."

They say, "Get pay, what pay?"

Sometimes they break two barrels. (S. Clement 1971-72:1-2)

Shanties are sung on other occasions, particularly at schooner launchings.

B/Band 12: "Second Figure Waltz" (quadrille).

Canute Caliste, fiddle; Jones Corion, bass; Alton Joseph, tambourine; Canute Caliste's son, steel.

Recorded at a wedding reception in L'Esterre on Sunday, April 25, 1971, at 4:45 p.m. (1:41)

In Carriacou the quadrille is called an "English Quadrille." It is not known whether the quadrille was imported from England, a British-controlled island, France, or the French Caribbean. The quadrille in Carriacou has not taken the same direction as the quadrille in New Orleans where at the turn of the century it was one element in the development of "traditional" jazz.¹⁵

The instruments of the quadrille include the fiddle, a large tambourine, the bass, steel (triangle or steel rod), and sometimes maracas (chac-chac). The tambourine is struck with the back of the hand and is used for more complex rhythms, somewhat in the manner of the cot drum. The bass, which usually plays the primary rhythms, is a two-headed goatskin drum constructed from a biscuit barrel, galvanized trash barrel, or half of an oil drum.

B/Band 13: "If I Was a Black Bird" (ballad).

Mrs. Bethel, vocal; Mr. Bethel, guitar; the youngest Bethel son, cuatro.

Recorded in the Bethel's house in Windward on Saturday, March 20, 1971, at 11:30 a.m. (3:40)

This recording session was initiated upon my request.

Song text:

Though I am a poor girl my beauty is sad,
'Twas once I was courted by a fine sailor's lad.
He courted me truly by day and by night.
Now for a voyage he has gone far away.

Chorus:

Tra la tra la tee oh, (repeat two times)
Tra la tee oh la tee doe.

Promised to meet me by Belle Vue Square,
With a bunch of blue ribbons to crown up my hair.
If I should meet him I'll crown him with joy,
And kiss the sweet lips of my true sailor lad.

Parents despise him because he loves me.
Let them despise him and say what they wish.
Like life in my body I love the lad still,
For he is my true love wherever he goes.

If I was a black bird I would whistle and sing,
And fly to the ship where my true love sails in,
Upon the top rigging I'll there build my nest,
While I'll be a light on my true lover's breast.

Just as the Big Drum represents the least modified example of West African music in Carriacou, the ballad tradition is the least changed British and Irish music. The ballads "American City" ("Butcher's Boy"), "Paper of Pins," "Darby Ram," "Barbara Allen," and "Matty Groves" are well known and sometimes grouped with the newer American country-western songs which are also popular ("Red River Valley," "You are My Sunshine," and another Jimmy Davis tune, "Nobody's Darling But Mine"). Collectively, they are called sentimental songs.

As with the Creole songs, calypsoes, and children's songs, sentimental songs are performed on casual occasions. One may hear a ballad sung at a family gathering or in a rum shop.

"If I Was a Black Bird" is an Irish ballad. The rendition which Mrs. Bethel sings is similar to ballad 46 in O'Lochlain (1960:92):

If I was a black-bird, I'd whistle and sing
And I'd follow the ship that my true love sails in
And on the top riggings I'd there build my nest
And I'd pillow my head on his lily white breast.

I am a young maiden and my story is sad
For once I was courted by a brave sailor lad
He courted me strongly by night and by day
But now my dear sailor is gone far away.

He promised to take me to Donnybrook fair
To buy me red ribbons to bind up my hair
And when he'd return from the ocean so wide
He'd take me and make me his own loving bride.

His parents they slight me and will not agree
That I and my sailor boy married should be
But when he comes home I will greet him with joy
And I'll take to my bosom my dear sailor boy.

"If I Was a Black Bird" is related to the American variant, "The Wagoner's Lad" (Sharp 1932:123ff) and two other North American Ballads--"On Top of Old Smokey" and "I Ride an Old Paint" (White 1962:157-61).

NOTES

1. This study is based on twenty months of field work in Carriacou (March 1970 to November 1971) and one year in Trinidad (November 1971 to November 1972). Research was funded by grants from the Midwestern Universities Consortium for International Affairs (MUCIA), the Fulbright-Hays Act, and the G.I. Bill. Recording tape was provided by the Archives of Traditional Music, Indiana University. In August 1978, I returned to Carriacou with members of the Big Drum Nation Dance Company, Inc.

Small sections of this paper have appeared in D.R. Hill 1977.

2. In the late eighteenth century a few French planters and their slaves may have emigrated to Trinidad from Carriacou to join other planters from the larger French islands. The Trinidadian Carnival probably began at this time (E. Hill 1972:7).

3. Crowley (1956:194) felt that stick fighting as practiced by Creoles in Trinidad--the same stick fighting found in Carriacou--was of English origin, although he may have since changed his position. The fact that the jargon and songs of the stick fighters are in French patois seems to indicate that stick fighting predates English influence in Trinidad. Winston Fleary, a Carriacouan who resides in New York, feels that stick fighting is a modified Hausa war dance.

4. Paywo is usually spelled as the French "pierrot" (clown). However, Carr feels that this spelling is not justified since the pronunciation in patois is closer to "pays' roi"--country king (1956:283). As he points out, the latter definition is more appropriate to the role of the paywo. In any case, I have spelled the Carriacouan masquerader 'paywo' and the Grenadian and Trinidadian masqueraders as 'pierrot'.

5. A description of this shirt, as worn by Trinidadian jab-jabs, is found in Crowley 1956:214-15.

6. In February 1974, the islands of Grenada, Carriacou and Petite Martinique became an independent country amid demonstrations, strikes and general civil unrest on Grenada. The government, headed by the Grenadian, the Honorable Premier Eric Matthew Gairy, was opposed by the middle class of Grenada and most of the people in Carriacou. In Brooklyn, expatriate Carriacouans held a rally to oppose Grenadian domination after independence. Some modeled their "movement" after the one on Anguilla, except that rather than seeking a return to colonial status, they sought independence from both Britain and Grenada. In March 1979, Gairy was deposed.

7. Speech mas', then, is a "concrete dialectic" or process by which the social structure of Carriacou is revealed.

8. In Carriacou, Patois is the name given to the local language which combines French with West African grammatical features. Elsewhere in the Caribbean, patois often indicates any combination of European and West African or American Indian languages.

9. Calypsonians are drawn from rich and poor families alike in the relatively classless society of Carriacou. In Trinidad, where there are clear class differences, poor youths make up the majority of calypso singers.

10. Although the people of Carriacou refer to Cromanti as if it were a tribal name, the term actually refers to a British fort on the Gold Coast (modern Ghana) from where slaves were shipped to the New World. Hence, those who came from this town were principally Akan-speaking people.

11. For parallels between this and customs found in Haiti, see Herskovits 1971, especially pp. 253-69.

12. Sugar Adam, at about age 65, may be heard singing on Folkways record FE4011, Side 1/Band 8 ("Chamba") and Band 10 ("Bongo") (Pearse 1956). It is likely that he is also playing the cot drum on most selections on this record. Mary Fortune is heard on Side 2/Bands 4 ("Hallecord 'Laja'"), 10 ("Hallecord 'Hele'") and 11 ("Dama"). Andrew Pearse recorded all these songs, according to Sugar Adam and Mary Fortune, in their yard, the same spot where "Cromanti Cudjoe" (A/Band 1) of this recording was made.

13. Exceptions are Small Island Pride (now deceased), Antigua's Lord Short Shirt, and of course the most popular calypsonian today, the Mighty Sparrow, originally from Grenada.

14. Other instruments heard on this album were made in Carriacou, usually by the musicians themselves.

15. An example of the use of quadrille melodies in jazz is "Tiger Rag." Jelly Roll Morton claimed composition of this tune as an example of how he "created jazz" (Lomax 1950:66).

GLOSSARY

bass: A membranophone with goat skins on either end. It is usually slung around one's neck and hit on one side with a forked stick and on the other with a cloth-covered stick. It is one of the instruments of the quadrille-type string band.

Beg Pardon: 1. A Big Drum tune played early in a Sacrifice in which the family who is holding the Big Drum asks pardon of the Old Parents (ancestors). 2. Any fête at which forgiveness of the ancestors is requested.

belay (belair): 1. A group of related dances common in the West Indies. In Carriacou there are several sets of belair dances, all exclusively for entertainment. They are often accompanied by topical songs. 2. The songs which accompany a belair dance.

Big Drum (dance): 1. A dance given to entertain and honor the ancestors. 2. A fête where Nation dances are performed. 3. The playing of three drums (the cot and two bulas) for a dance.

Canbulay: In Carriacou, the family feast on Sunday evening before Carnival. This feasting precedes the kalinda stick fighting. "Canbulay" is the Patois pronunciation of *cannes brûlées* (cane burning).

Carnival: A pre-Lenten festival which begins with the Canbulay dinner on Sunday night and ends on Tuesday at midnight when Lent begins.

Carriacou People: The phrase Carriacouans use to refer to themselves.

chantwell: A male lead singer at a Big Drum, including the kalinda (Carriacou). In Trinidad the chantwell is a stick fighter as well as a singer and is the leader of batonniere bands during Carnival. Some chantwells in Trinidad were also calypsonians.

churrup: A set of risqué Big Drum dances.

Congo: 1. A series of Big Drum tunes and dances. 2. A group of related families. 3. A snake. 4. A drum used in combos, the name of which has apparently been derived from popular Afro-Caribbean music or from the United States. It is also pronounced "conga."

Cromanti: 1. A series of Big Drum tunes, the Beg Pardons. 2. Related families. 3. The "first" Nation of Carriacou. 4. The term originally is derived from the slave port of Cromanti, Ghana, from where Akan-speaking people and their neighbors were shipped as slaves to the New World.

Cudjoe: 1. In Carriacou a family name of the Cromanti Nation. 2. Among Akan-speaking people of Ghana, "Monday" or the name of a male child born on Monday.

en (ent): "Ain't," is not.

gemet: The negre jardin jersey which a paywo wears during Carnival.

gomavalos: A cactus. Its bitter juice is sometimes put on a child's thumb to prevent thumbsucking.

humbug: 1. To annoy, to bother. 2. To put in a difficult situation; to stand in the way of; to not cooperate.

Ibo: 1. A series of Big Drum dances. 2. Related families take this name. 3. A group from the Eastern state of Nigeria.

John Canoe: A type of mummer found in Jamaica, and formerly, in the southern United States, who combines music with speech making. The music of John Canoe is similar to the fife and drum music of Mississippi, "mummies" of Nevis, the Speech Band of Tobago, and the quadrille of Carriacou.

jumbie: A spirit.

jumbie parasol: A toadstool or mushroom.

jump-up: 1. A dance to the music of the steel band. 2. The music and dance which takes place when a steel band is wheeled through the streets during Christmas or Carnival.

Ju Noel: 1. Christmas Day in Patois. 2. In the Big Drum song, a man's name.

Juvay (*jour ouvrant*): 1. Daybreak on Carnival Monday morning. 2. Between 5 a.m. and noon on Carnival Monday.

light: a candle used in obeah for magical manipulation.

maroon: 1. A helping (any cooperative work group). 2. An annual community fête to honor the ancestors with food and a Big Drum (Maroon). 3. A dream-message Sacrifice which is given as a result of a dream from an ancestor: this is a type of Beg Pardon in which forgiveness is requested. 4. Elsewhere in the Caribbean, a runaway slave or a society established by a group of runaway slaves.

Nancy: 1. The Caribbean equivalent of "Anancy," the trickster spider in the folktales of the Akan-speaking people of modern Ghana. Also Bo'Nancy or even B'Nancy. 2. A person in a Big Drum song, a Cromanti man. 3. Folktales.

negre jardin: 1. In Trinidad, the masque of the Canbulay Carnival (see Crowley 1956:194-97). 2. Patois for "garden nigger," the field slave.

Old Parents: 1. Dead members of one's family. 2. All the dead of Carriacou, including those whose names are forgotten.

Old Year's Night: New Year's Eve.

oui: Yes, is that right? "Oui" is used at the beginning, or, far more commonly, at the end of a sentence, as in "You pass by me house-oui?" (You came to see me, didn't you?).

pan: An idiophone, a steel drum made from an oil drum with one end cut off and the other end tempered and tuned. The tempered end is struck with a soft mallet to give the sound.

panorama: "Pan-o-rama," a concert where steel bands, the "pans," compete.

patois: 1. In Carriacou, the French dialect now spoken by a few old people (Patois). It was once the language of the island and today many Patois words are found in the English dialect. It was also the language in which calypsoes were first sung. 2. In the West Indies generally, any dialect (patois).

paywo: A masquerade of young men on Carnival Tuesday morning in Carriacou. The man trade speeches and fight among themselves before traveling from village to village. Synonyms are speech mas' players, history mas' players, shortnees.

pigeon peas: *Cajanus cajan*, the most common pea in Carriacou. It is often interplanted with cotton or corn, and bears from December to March or April.

pierrot: The Carnival masquerader in the pierrot grenade masquerade of Grenada and Trinidad (Carr 1956); also similar to the paywo of Carriacou and Trinidad.

Queen of Carnival: the winner of the Carnival Queen show who reigns as Queen opposite the Calypso King. The girl with the most elaborate costume of all the contestants.

Queen of the Bands: The winner of the competition between girls from each masquerade band.

reggae: A type of Jamaican popular music based on rock steady. It is heavily influenced by American rhythm and blues and soul music.

rock steady: A popular style of combo music and dance from Jamaica. It was very common during the late 1950's and early 1960's.

sacrifice: 1. Ritual killing of a cow, goat, sheep, pig, or most commonly, a chicken to placate the ancestors. A portion of the meat is prepared with other food and is set aside for the ancestors (sacrifice). 2. A fête associated with the ritual mentioned above (Sacrifice). A Sacrifice occurs as the result of a dream message from the dead. The sponsor asks the ancestors' forgiveness, for good luck in some future activity, or for rain.

sankeys: 1. Hymns sung at prayer meetings in the early morning hours after midnight. In Carriacou most sankeys are accompanied by hand clapping and mock possession. 2. In Trinidad the hymns of the Shouters. 3. Any song from the Sankey and Moody hymn book.

saraca: 1. Any sacrificial portion of food for the ancestors. 2. The Parents' Plate, Plate, Table, which is that portion of ritual or sacrificial food set in the bedroom of the recently dead for all the ancestors. The term "saraca" appears to be derived from a Yoruba word.

shango: 1. A cult of Yoruba origin, sometimes practiced in Carriacou by specialists brought over from Grenada (Shango). 2. The drumming music associated with the Shango cult (shango). 3. The Yoruba god of thunder (Shango).

Shango Baptist: The name given to the followers of Norman Paul by outsiders (they call themselves Norman Paul's Children). This religion combines West African and Protestant beliefs.

Shrove Tuesday: Carnival Tuesday, the last day of Shrovetide, the three days before Ash Wednesday, observed as a time of confession and absolution.

slack, to be: Refers to women who grant sexual favors indiscriminately.

small islander: In Trinidad, any person from the Lesser Antilles who is not born on that island. It generally refers to Grenadians, Vincentians, and people from the Grenadines (including Carriacou). It is considered a derogatory expression by many people.

standhome: A "light," a magical potion.

steel: The metal triangle and steel rod used as percussion in string bands or other small musical groups.

steel band: A musical unit of steel drums or pans.

steel drum/pan: An idiophone made from a 55-gallon oil drum. The top part of one end of the oil drum is cut off; the top of the other end is heated and indentations are punched into the metal top delineating from two to five pie-shaped sections which are then tempered and tuned.

string band: A musical group made up of fiddle, guitar, banjo or cuatro, chac-chac and sometimes a bass and tambourine.

talkarie: A type of East Indian curry popular in Trinidad.

Thanksgiving: 1. A fête held in one's home to give thanks to the ancestors for some specific reason, such as when one returns from England or when one survives a disaster. 2. A church mass held for the same reasons.

Town: 1. Hillsborough, Carriacou. 2. St. George's, Grenada. 2. Port-of-Spain, Trinidad.

Unity: 1. The joining at a wedding when the family of the bride comes together with the family of the groom. 2. A favored word expressing family or island-wide bonds.

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