

Tout Moun

Caribbean Journal of Cultural Studies

*DREADNESS: The Mystic Power, Philosophy and
Performance of Shadow 1941-2021*

Vol. 7: No. 1 ▪ November 2022

<http://www.mainlib.uwi.tt/epubs/toutmoun/index1.htm>

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“AH HAVE A MESSAGE TO GIVE YUH”:
THE MIGHTY SHADOW COUNSELS MEN
ON AFFAIRS OF THE HEART



O’Neil Joseph

“When Shadow released a new tune, as a man you had to stop and listen. The man gave us real good counsel on dealing with man and woman business. Things to make you check yourself, shake your head and have a good laugh.” (Aldwyn Greig)

“Shadow is a man on the ground. He knows the things men had to deal with. So, when he comes out and perform ‘Yuh Looking for Horn’, it was a warning to those young men who want to have a woman but don’t have money. It does not work like that, and Shadow had to remind them.” (Bernie Jack)

Winston Bailey, known as “The Shadow”, was undeniably one of the most enigmatic, compelling and controversial calypsonians that rose to prominence in the latter half of the twentieth century. Shadow’s vast discography includes many calypsos that interrogate the dynamics of male/female relationships. These calypsos brilliantly capture the risk and sometimes ridiculousness of love. According to Aldwyn Greig, an Afro-Tobagonian man born in 1955, Shadow’s calypsos, especially those that offered advice on “man and woman business” commanded his attention and prompted self-reflection. Similarly, Bernie Jack, a Tobago-based calypsonian who was popular during the mid-twentieth century, pointed to the calypso “Yuh Looking for Horn” as an example of how Shadow counselled younger men on the critical relationship between economics and intimacy. The statements made by Aldwyn Greig and Bernie Jack suggest that Shadow’s calypsos that positioned men as the subject, can serve as an invaluable resource for scholars attempting to understand Trinbagonian masculinities and by extension, Trinbagonian femininities. This essay examines the manner in which Shadow used calypso as a vehicle for commentary on navigating the ebb and flow in

intimate relationships. Using content analysis as a methodological approach, three of Shadow's calypsos will be analysed in this work. These calypsos are *Modern Housewives*, *Yuh Looking for Horn* and *The Horner Man Crying*. An assessment of these calypsos reveal three major themes or pieces of advice that Shadow offered to men. These themes are, men must seek employment before enjoyment, modern women are no longer taking abuse from men and men cannot take horn.¹ More broadly, a discussion of these themes allows us to explore the incidence of intimate partner violence, infidelity and how complex gender roles and expectations are in the Trinbagonian/ Caribbean context and how calypsos can help us understand the diverse and curious ways that people negotiate these complexities. Taken together, an examination of these three calypsos indicate quite convincingly that Shadow meaningfully contributed to constructing and deconstructing Trinbagonian masculinities, notions of gender roles and male/female sexualities resulting in far reaching social and cultural impact.

The use of content analysis as a methodological approach to exploring the messages embedded in calypso is not new. Scholars such as Gelien Matthews, William Aho and Gordon Rohlehr have interrogated the lyrical content of calypsos performed by Calypso Rose (Linda McCartha Sandy-Lewis), The Mighty Sparrow (Slinger Francisco), Zandolie (Sylvester Anthony) and many others. In a broad sense, content analysis is "the study of recorded human communications" (Babbie 304). Moreover, the "essence of content analysis is identifying substantive statements—statements that really say something" (Gillham 71). In this essay, content analysis is particularly valuable as a methodological tool because the social context "is central to the interpretation and analysis of the material. In fact, it is not only the manifest content of the material that is important but also the latent content is also [sic] that taken into consideration" (Kohlbacher 26). Such an approach facilitates a comprehensive assessment of complex social phenomena presented in each calypso. Beyond content analysis, this essay is in dialogue with the scholarship of Patricia Mohammed, Linden Lewis, Halimah

¹ Horn-To cheat, have an affair or have an intimate relationship with another person that is not an individual's significant other (wife, husband, boyfriend, girlfriend).

Deshong and other scholars who have explored the gendered dimensions of Caribbean societies. In an attempt to amplify/build upon the work of these scholars, this essay also utilizes data from interviews conducted with six Afro-Trinbagonian men and two Afro-Trinbagonian women who speak about gender relations in the twentieth century and the impact of Shadow's music on their lives and their ideas about manhood. These interviews were conducted during the period 2016-2020 as part of a larger doctoral dissertation which centred the voices and life histories of several women and men in Trinidad and Tobago. All respondents were born during the period 1940-1960 and self-identified as working-class. In these interviews respondents were asked about the socio-cultural and economic factors that influenced their ideas about what it means to be a man or woman. During conversations about calypso and gender dynamics in Trinidad and Tobago, respondents, on their own accord, pointed to the influence of Shadow and Calypso Rose in particular. I will employ excerpts from these conversations in this essay.

The Shadow, Calypso and Masculinity: A Brief Note

Shadow was born in Belmont, Trinidad but grew up with his grandparents in Les Coteaux, Tobago (Jacob). His career as a calypsonian, however, began in 1970 when he appeared in Slinger Francisco's, The Mighty Sparrow, Young Brigade Calypso Tent (Meschino). By 1974, Shadow captured the Road March title with his hit single "Bassman". His other calypso for that year, "I Come Out to Play", was also widely acclaimed. Throughout his career, Shadow's music conveyed compelling messages and wise counsel on navigating harsh economic circumstances, death and intimate relationships. Shadow has also been lauded for his unapologetic celebration of blackness, his creativity and efforts to uplift working class people (Mason; Weekes; Jacob). However, Shadow and his supporters often felt that he was disregarded by the judges in calypso competitions despite consistently producing hard-hitting social commentaries. As such, the dominant literature on Winston "Shadow" Bailey positions him as the "uncrowned king" of calypso (Jacob; Mason; Titus).²

² See Shadow's achievements of winning the Calypso Monarch in 2000, and Road March and International Soca Monarch in 2001.

In Trinidad and Tobago, calypso has served as a mirror that clearly reflects the social, economic and political realities of the country at a particular point in time. Patricia Mohammed contends that "music and song allow us to archive and retrieve events, people, places and emotions that are stored in time" (Mohammed 2). Shadow's calypsos provide us with a set of ideas about the evolving gender politics in Trinidad and Tobago and how these shifting gender ideas impacted men and women, their emotions and decisions. Gordon Rohlehr argues that "calypso is a living tradition of overwhelmingly, though not exclusively, male discourse about everything under the sun...the calypso is a text that holds clues to the construction of masculinity" (326, 334). Therefore, if calypso serves as a script that reflects, shapes and articulates models of Trinbagonian masculinity, then calypsonians, like Shadow, must also be framed as agents who construct hegemonic masculinity. Scholars such as Donna Hope and Raewyn Connell suggest that people in the creative arts along with other groups of people with social and cultural dominance, "regulate and manage cultural ideals through the articulation of experiences, fantasies and perspectives and project their interpretations of and reflections on gender relations into the society" (Hope 8; Connell 255-256). Even further, Connell posits that hegemonic masculinity is presented as part of a "hero" narrative in sagas and ballads (Connell 185-86, 249; Hope 4). This "hero narrative" is clearly manifested in the early calypsos of performers such as Philip Garcia, better known as "Lord Executor". In his calypso, "They Say I Reign Too Long", Lord Executor positioned himself as a hero, warrior and undefeated champion. He sang:

They say I reign too long
Forgetting that me constitution is strong
The Lord Executor can hold his own
Tell them in Calypso I'm the cornerstone.

Lord Executor associated himself with attributes such as toughness, power and dominance. This characterization was common among male calypsonians and according to Hope Munro-Smith, reflected the sentiments of Afro-Trinbagonian and Afro-Caribbean labouring-class men and "their contest with other masculinities"

(Munro-Smith 32-55). Other Caribbean scholars suggest that Afro-Trinbagonian and Afro-Caribbean masculinities were also characterized by loose sexual conduct and an unyielding desire to demonstrate sexual prowess (Barrow; Brown; Hope). These characterizations of Afro-Caribbean men were also common in the calypsos of Shadow, *The Mighty Sparrow*, *Zandolie* and others.

In many instances, masculinity is simply understood as a set of ideas that shape how men behave, think, relate to women and function in society. However, Linden Lewis explains that “masculinity is not merely about how men relate to women, but about how men relate to other men, how they seek the approval, honour and respect of other men, and how they weigh and ponder the sanctions of other men” (262). In this regard, Shadow, who frequently assumed the position of a good friend, a Godfather, uncle or wise elder, offered counsel to men from a position of power. However, some may question the impact that Shadow’s counsel had on men. How do we know that some men weighed and pondered on his advice? Music Sociologist, Simon Frith, argues that the meaning of a song eventually depends on “the sense listeners made of the songs themselves” (119). Additionally, people make sense of the messages offered in music within the context of their social and physical environment and diverse lived experiences. To understand how men make sense of some of Shadow’s calypso, we look to oral testimonies. As briefly discussed in the introduction of this essay, Aldwyn Greig explains that “When Shadow released a new tune, as a man you had to stop and listen. The man gave us good counsel...Things to make you check yourself” (Greig n.p). When probed about which of Shadow’s calypsos made him “check himself”, Greig laughingly explains, “Horner man crying was really a calypso that make me stop and think because as a man sometimes you have a little lady on the outside and you think that wifey just at home. I never really think about what I would do if she had somebody. I really can’t deal with that brother. So, Shadow was right, and I had to tighten up” (Greig n.p). This testimony by Greig indicates that he interprets Shadow’s message as a warning that he needed to reconsider his decision to engage in acts of infidelity, because like the protagonist in Shadow’s calypso, he did not believe that he would be able to cope with his wife breaching their marital vows. Thus, by closely examining the calypsos that Shadow has deposited into the cultural archive of

Trinidad and Tobago, we can assume how calypsos informs and reflects male behaviours, roles and attitudes in intimate partner relationships.

"Employment Before Enjoyment"

It has been argued that in the Caribbean there is a great degree of insecurity in heterosexual intimate partner relationships primarily because of money issues (Finden-Crofts; Senior). More specifically, it is believed that "the giving of money and sex are the primary defining acts of a relationship. Without one, the other may be withdrawn" (Miller 173). This "exchange" or "transactional relationship" is what Justin Finden-Crofts refers to as the "give to get attitude towards male/female relations" that was well articulated in the calypsos emerging after the second World War (Finden-Crofts 179). In *Modern Housewives* (released in the 1970s) and *Yuh Looking for Horn* (released in the early 2000s), Shadow paints a vivid portrait of how money influences intimacy. In *Modern Housewives*, Shadow positions himself as the central character and explains his experiences with modern-day women. He notes:

Women nowadays does only love on Fridays
They quick to join matrimony but only for security
They don't care bout husband; they always have a sideman
And if you give dem a lash... when you sleeping dey burn out all yuh
moustache
Every Friday evening my gyal is ah darling
She kissing me, ah feeling nice
Inside d' house like paradise
Monday, money finish
She start watching me like rubbish
And if I touch she hand Tuesday night
She running for cutlass to out mih light

In this verse, Shadow indicates, that on Fridays, payday, the home is filled with affection and warmth. From his perspective, money sweetens a wife who entered

marriage for financial security. Certainly, the tradition at that time was that in selecting a partner, a woman as the financially dependent party should prioritize the qualities which indicate a man's ability to provide for her. During the early to mid-twentieth century, for women, marriage was almost always leveraged for improved life chances. A key code of courtship was that a man had to demonstrate to the parents of his betrothed his ability to provide for a wife and children (Jack). The criteria included belonging to a respectable family, a proven track record of industriousness, land ownership through inheritance or purchase, owning a garden, animals or having some stable form of employment (Jack). The objective for young women was to acquire some degree of status by marrying into a respectable family, thereby improving her status as a result of the assets and efforts of her husband. Husbands, in turn, expected "... a good woman who would take care of him, the house and the children" (George). Shadow suggests that such a romance was conditional and short-lived. The home turns cold once the money is done because the wife withholds all forms of affection. In fact, according to Shadow, she becomes angry and disgusted by the very sight of her husband. One study conducted in the United States of America at the end of the twentieth century suggests that women prioritized a man's money over other factors such as his physical appearance and career (Nurse 25). The loss of income or rather, a small income or temporary lack of money makes a man less sexually appealing to his spouse, and in turn, he deals with feelings of low self-worth, loneliness and "reduced sexual potency" (Miles 98). In fact, in an interview with Carron Jackson, an Afro-Trinbagonian woman, born in 1956, she explains, "yuh cyah get wet for no broke man, yuh just doesn't feel for him and he does know. That is why man must work hard to get money. As a woman, you not supposed to be downtrodden by money issues and you have a man. Everybody knows he has to take care of you" (Jackson n.p). Therefore, a man's deep desire to be employed and financially stable, is not only linked to ideas of self-worth and self-sustenance but is shaped by traditional ideas of femininity and women's expectations within a relationship.

Women's dependence on men for economic support has been shaped by several macro socio-economic factors. Olive Senior argues that during the early to mid-twentieth century, Caribbean societies failed to provide the resources to facilitate women's

economic independence. Additionally, gender ideologies hindered women's upward social mobility. In terms of post-primary education, Carl Campbell contended that during the early twentieth century "parents valued the education of boys more than that of girls because of the greater probability of future gain from employment" (Campbell 235). As such, parents were less likely to pay for girls to attend secondary school which ultimately limited their employment prospects. It must also be borne in mind that in the wider society, women's employment and self-sufficiency were not encouraged. For many, "the ideal career for women was the unpaid private career of mother and wife. To be a virtuous, skilful mother and wife was the highest ideal of womanhood" (Campbell 237). Therefore, it is not surprising that as the twentieth century progressed less women were accounted for in the formal economy. In Tobago, for instance, the 1931 census reveals that approximately 4, 264 or 64 percent of adult women reported that they did not work outside the home (The 1931 Census of the Colony of Trinidad and Tobago 166D). Some women explained that their husbands preferred for them to stay at home with their children because a working wife undermined a man's reputation and respectability (Burriss-Phillip 3). It has also been suggested that these requests for women to stay at home and not work was a strategy employed by husbands who feared "losing control over women's movements and social interactions" (Peake and Trotz 146). Looking beyond Trinidad and Tobago, in Guyana, during the mid-1800s women account for close to 50 percent of the country's labour force. However, by 1966 women constituted "just over a fifth [of the labour force]. It was in this period women's identities were to shift from being producers to reproducers" (Peake & Trotz 146-150). Among those women who continued to work in the formal economy, they were employed in factories and low skilled, poorly paid sectors (Yelvington 788-792). This state of affairs resulted in a considerable proportion of impoverished women "who end up with families to support. This leads to a further vicious cycle of 1) dependency relationships with men; 2) a distortion of male/female relationships since there is for the woman a strong economic motive for seeking and maintaining such relationships" (Senior 181).

Given some women's motivation to enter matrimony for economic security, many men viewed women as scheming. The core of the relationship was essentially a contractual

agreement whereby sexual services were traded for money and the provision of resources (Peake and Trotz 144). As such, when Shadow's money was finished, he was denied any form of affection from his partner. It must be noted that Shadow was not the only calypsonian who told stories about women withholding affection and sex from their spouses due to a lack of money. The Mighty Sparrow, in his 1969 rendition, *No Money No Love*, told the story of a woman known as Ivy who refused to stay with her spouse who had no money. Sparrow explained:

Ivy pack up she clothes to leave
 Because John was down and out
 All alone he was left to grieve
 She had a next man in South
 She said openly
 "I really love you Johnny
 But you ain't have no money
 So what will my future be
 Even though you love me?"

Indeed, love alone was not enough to sustain a relationship and therefore, Ivy was prepared to leave Johnny. At the turn of the twenty-first century, Shadow continued his mission of offering wise counsel to men where women and money were concerned. In this era, he positioned himself as an elder, a man with a wealth of experience on affairs of the heart. In his calypso, *Yuh Looking for Horn*, a young man, identified as his godson, asked him for advice about his intention to marry a young woman, Rosita, whose beauty had captivated him. Shadow began by asking him a series of questions:

You working?
 You joking?
 You Stealing?
 You dealing?
 You learn trade?
 You are a smart man?

A magician?
You have good grades?

His godson's response to each of these questions was "no". Shadow, using his authority as a trusted elder and father figure, counsels the young man:

Why you want to marry? You don't have no money
You ent working nowhere You don't have a pay day
You think it's so the thing does work
You think it's so
I wish you luck
Without money to buy honey
You're headin' for misery
She want hairdo and callaloo
And you ent have nothing

Somebody will horn you
You better believe it
Somebody will horn you
I hope you can take it, partner.

This rendition offers clear insight into the construction of masculinity. Masculinity is inextricably intertwined with ideas of labour, economic power and the traditional gender role of the breadwinner. Lewis argues that "the male breadwinner is at the core of the construction of masculinity" (254). The concepts of manhood and masculinity "were/are linked to power, status, control, and the execution of his role as provider and breadwinner" (Mohammed 54). Thus, employment and a steady stream of income is critical to being a man. This idea is often deemed as the norm in the western world (Nurse 25). Throughout Caribbean history, Black men and women were controlled by a complex economic, political, ideological and cultural system, slavery. We are reminded by Lewis that "we cannot think of the body without duly considering the socioeconomic and political context within which the body operates. Any

consideration of the body in the Caribbean must, at some point, come to terms with the role of peripheral capitalism and the impact of the neo-liberal agenda on the body of labourers" (243). The transformation of Caribbean islands into slave societies required the labour of enslaved Black men. More specifically, the business of setting up plantations "generated a greater demand for muscle power... [the trade in captured Africans], responsive to this preference, delivered a 65 percent male 'cargo' to the region" (Beckles 228). From the seventeenth century to present, Black men have primarily worked in blue collar jobs and therefore, directly affected by the capitalist system.

It is critical to note that in this discussion of masculinity and economics, Shadow in many ways spoke to and from the experiences of working-class Afro-Trinbagonians. This distinction is necessary because not all men in Trinidad and Tobago and the wider Caribbean are impacted in the same way by the economic system. Indeed, "masculinity is intertwined with class, race, ethnicity, age, sexuality and nationality" (Nurse 7). To be sure, Hilary Beckles asserted that "Black men embarked on a Caribbean experience within the context of institutional environments that reflected the conquistadorial ideologies and interests of white patriarchy" (228). In the post-emancipation era, most Black men continued to constitute an economically marginalized group. One scholar suggests that "middle and upper class men continue to secure participation in the operation of the apparatuses of the state, the economy and the corporate structures of the region" (Lewis 240). However, working class men (overwhelmingly Black and Indian), continue to deal with the grim realities of turbulent and unstable economic conditions. Shadow's godson who was unemployed and had no source of income is one such man. According to Shadow, the fact that he had not sorted out his financial situation was a clear indicator that he was not ready for marriage. Above all, his role as a husband and future father was to financially support his family.

Later in the calypso, Shadow suggests that Rosita would want "hairdo and callaloo" in addition to perfume, hot rice and a box of fried chicken, all of which his godson would be unable to pay for given his lack of finances. Shadow, however, does not consider the possibility that Rosita would be able to provide these wants for herself. Researchers

such as Raymond Smith and Edith Clarke have discussed Afro-Caribbean men's failure to adequately provide economic support for their families and even insisted that the idea of a male breadwinner was not a reality for many Afro-Caribbean families. Certainly, at the time of this calypso, 2000/2001, many women were employed and taking care of their own affairs. Was this an oversight? Or was Shadow reinforcing the idea that a man's primary role was still ensuring economic support for his wife and children? In contemporary society, "men's masculinity and perception of self-worth is most often defined in terms of their work and their ability to be providers for their family. Male breadwinners are portrayed as real men" (Nurse 15). Further, unemployment is often perceived as a personal failure among some men. In Trinidad and Tobago and other countries such as Guyana, Haiti and Jamaica, unemployment and other unfavourable economic circumstances have persisted and hindered men's and women's access to gainful employment. In Guyana, Lewis suggests that structural adjustments in the bauxite industry, widespread cutbacks, and the dismissal of workers significantly affected Afro-Guyanese men, resulting in a "dislocation [of] familiar gender roles for men, leaving them groping for ways to traverse this new territory" (9). In Trinidad and Tobago, unemployment was evident since after the first World War. Furthermore, during the period 1970-1996, there were more unemployed men than women in Trinidad and Tobago and the unemployment rate for men was at 13.6 percent (Downes 2-6). Given these troubling economic circumstances it is understandable that many men would have financial challenges as relatedly, relationship challenges when they were unable to provide. While satisfying women sexually remains central to the masculine project, economic provision is also a critical pillar in shaping the idea of "manness". Shadow's godson's lack of an income undermined the foundation upon which his masculinity was to be constructed. Similar to the sentiments expressed in *Modern Housewives*, Shadow declares that a broke man triggers feelings of disgust and annoyance in their spouse. He warns his godson and men in general, that when a wife sees other people with things that she desires and you are unable to provide, "she will feel to hit you". Shadow's message to men was clear: Seek employment before enjoyment.

“Woman Not Taking Lash Again”

Anthropologist and ethnomusicologist, Jacob Elder, was among the earliest Caribbean scholars to interrogate the contentious, volatile and antagonistic relationship between men and women in calypsos (24-30). Women were frequently the subject of calypsos. While women’s roles as caretakers, homemakers and mothers were sometimes highlighted, some academics note that women were repeatedly depicted as “scheming” and were the targets of verbal abuse and embarrassment in the “crudest terms possible” (Senior 168; Elder 24-30). William Aho’s assessment of over three hundred calypsos released during the period 1969-1979 revealed that “one fourth of all the calypsos dealt with male/female relationships, and nearly all of these were negative to women” (Gottreich 7). It is within this climate that Shadow’s *Modern Housewives* must also be analyzed. Shadow explains:

These modern housewives, these people could take lives
 This is a problem I can’t solve they really don’t know what is love
 Anytime they ‘marrid’, they start playing wicked
 And you cannot lash dem at all; for this is a woman’s world
 Ah now buy mih two balls to play mih golf, I meet mih gyal kissing up
 Rudolph
 Ah turn and I hit d’ woman a cuff; somebody next door bawl out that’s
 enough
 Now I let her go she run for a blade
 I want to sleep but mih shadow fraid
 Whole night I ain’t close mih eyes at all
 I fraid if I sleep she cut off mih balls

In this verse, Shadow adopts the traditional misogyny and mistrust of women typical of the male calypsonian in the early to mid-twentieth century. In this instance, Shadow is afraid to even fall asleep for fear of what this woman who is “playing wicked” could possibly do to him in revenge. He contends that this woman was unfaithful and ready to retaliate if he attempted to “discipline” her. Furthermore, he exclaims that these

modern housewives "really don't know what is love." One must then ask, what did twentieth century Afro-Trinbagonian men view as love? Or more specifically, "how does a woman demonstrate that she loves a man?". One interviewee, Carlton Pierre, explains, "Every man can tell when a woman loves them. She listens to you and respects you. You may have an argument the morning or you rough her up in the morning because of some little thing and by evening things good. She has to love you more that you love she" (Pierre n.p). Another interviewee, Alvon James, clarifies that:

"A woman has to let a man be a man. No set ah questioning about what you were doing. A woman who loves you would understand that. Yes, you and the wife may have a little fight but that comes with marriage and my wife is a little hasty so sometimes I had to show her that I am the man. I am in charge of this house. But it was love and she cannot betray you" (James).

Carlton Pierre's explanation of love paints a picture of a woman who is supportive, forgiving and emotionally sensitive to her husband. She also has to love him more than he loves her. This requirement, however, is not strange. The Mighty Sparrow, in one of his classics, *Grampa's Advice*, explained that he was told that when a man has two women in his life, he should never marry the one he loves. Instead, a man should marry the woman who loves him because she would make him happy. His grampa's words were clear, "A woman must love you more than you love she, before you jump in matrimony." Alvon James' definition of love indicates that a woman should give a man his freedom and not subject him to probing about his activities or whereabouts. She should also be loyal and complicit in whatever actions are considered as a "man being a man". Such a definition prompts memories of Garfield "Ras Shorty I" Blackman's *16 Commandments*. In this calypso, Ras Shorty I or Lord Shorty, as he was known in 1963, explained that a woman who loves him must obey the commandments he has given to her. These commandments included, "thou must come to me whenever I call, and when I say shut up don't even whisper at all, thou should realize I am one man who want to be free as the breeze but if you want to go to the lavatory ask for permission please." The testimonies offered by Carlton Pierre and Alvon James indicate strongly that women's demonstrations of love should reflect submissiveness

and subordination. Moreover, the testimonies offered framed arguments with their spouses, “roughing up” and fighting as a normal part of a relationship that the woman should be able to quickly overcome. Alvon James, in particular, highlighted that a woman cannot betray her husband. It has been argued that “the fact that men bemoan women’s faults often reveals how deeply they are affected by what they perceive to be women’s betrayals and cunning manoeuvres in love and marriage” (Mohammed 18). Indeed, Shadow, in this calypso, *Modern Housewives*, appears deeply shaken and angered by the fact that he caught this woman “kissing up Rudolph”, a clear breach of the marital contract and a vicious attack on his manhood and self-esteem. In fact, his anger and rage led him to “hit d’ woman a cuff”. Without doubt, this verse captured the casualness of intimate partner violence that often characterized male/female relationships during that period. Violence was often the result of a bruised male ego.

Bridget Brereton’s examination of the culture of violence in Trinidad and Tobago revealed that wife-beating was common among all social and ethnic groups and practically went unchallenged, uncriticized and therefore viewed as normal (Brereton 8-12). Moreover, Brereton argues that wife-beating was perhaps even more common among Indian families to the point where “Saturday night beatings became almost a domestic routine” (Brereton 10). Similarly, Patricia Mohammed contends that much of this violence which took place within the home or in the streets was driven by drunkenness and deemed normal. Moreover, it was very unlikely for neighbours or onlookers to get involved unless “the victim was in actual danger of death” (Mohammed 169-70, 212-13). Indo-Trinbagonian men were framed as major perpetrators of violence. In fact, “Between 1872 and 1900, there were 87 murders of Indian women, of which 65 were wife murders” (Brereton 7). This trend of Indian wives being murdered persisted well into the twentieth century. For instance, in May 1955, Ramsook Ramlochan, a labourer from Fyzabad in Trinidad was placed before the court for beheading his wife Minwartee a mere three weeks into their marriage (Trinidad Guardian). However, in recent times it has been argued that academic and economic opportunities have contributed to the emergence of “A New Indian Man” in Trinidad and Tobago, who is characterized by excellence in fatherhood and family life and thriftiness (Ramsaran and Lewis). Nevertheless, violence against women was

constructed as normal and natural, especially in instances where women were suspected of infidelity, or their general conduct challenged the established gender structure.

Shadow, being a calypsonian who studied and skilfully presented the sentiments of the time, also indicated a shift in the gender order by the 1970s whereby these modern housewives were retaliating, and "neighbours", although still not becoming physically involved, were voicing their displeasure with acts of violence, sometimes by simply yelling, "that's enough". While acknowledging that women were disproportionately the victims of intimate partner violence, one historian made it clear that women were also perpetrators of violence that was "impulsive and implosive" and in response to violence from men (Brereton 2, 8). Women were fighting back. In *Modern Housewives*, Shadow captured this challenge to masculine authority that started taking place within the domestic sphere. In this instance, it was clear that he had lost his imagined control and power over his wife. This was a major problem because as Slinger Francisco, *The Mighty Sparrow*, explained "man like to feel that he's superior and feel woman should feel they are inferior... [and feel like] he has control over women's lives and labour" (Rohlehr 353-354). Given that this woman "run for a blade" and was caught kissing another man, there was no way that Shadow could feel like he was superior and in control. This calypso reinforces the notion that marriage is a battlefield where husbands and wives were engaged in a relentless struggle for power. Rohlehr in his 1990 work argues that the dominant script about love Caribbean style presented by the calypso is primarily that of lust and implicit mistrust. What we can learn from calypsos like *Modern Housewives* and *16 Commandments* is that violence is often the result of conventional ideas about men's absolute authority and stereotypes about what it means to be a man. However, women are contesting intimate partner violence. Shadow's advice to men is clear, "woman not taking lash again".

"Man Cannot Take Horn"

These modern housewives, according to Shadow, always had a sideman—a bitter pill for a husband to swallow. The theme of the "side man" was a popular one during the

1970s and 1980s. For instance, in her 1973 release *Wha She Go Do*, Calypso Rose, contends that wives only get respect from husbands when they rebelled. She also explains that “no one man can satisfy a woman” and therefore, as Rohlehr interprets it, women were encouraged to “supplement their diets with an outside man and give their husbands serious opposition” (Rohlehr 363-364). Thus, Shadow’s complaints about modern housewives having an “outside man” was not strange. In fact, it reflected the sexual politics of the day and the twentieth-century feminist ideology of sexual equality between men and women (Matthews 51-54). Shadow’s calypso, *Horner Man Crying*, tells the story of a young, strong muscular man who enjoys extra-marital conquests, until he is horned. Shadow laments:

Ah big strong muscle man
 Like he had a mission yea yea
 Terrorizing old man
 Messing with they woman
 He use to be grinning
 But like time catch with him
 He ent grinning no more
 He face always sour

The horner man crying
 The horner man bawling
 What goes around
 Comes around
 It went around and came around
 Somebody horn the horner man

The gyal had a husband
 They call him stupid man
 But I love the padna
 For he, was a smart man yea yea yea
 He wait for he wife to have another man

And that one was horning the horner man
Fighting and pulling knife
He take away the horner man wife

He used to be happy
When he horn somebody else
Since he get a good horn
Ah see him cry like he now born
The big man getting on like a child
He need something to make him smile
The same woman he use to horn
Is the same woman that make him bawl

In this calypso, Shadow highlights what Rosalind Miles defines as a man's attempt to establish his superiority over other men (Rohlehr 341). The notorious "horner man" was boastful about his sexual prowess and ability to distress other men by engaging with their women. Thus, in this narrative, Shadow masterfully illustrates how some men can dominate other men. In this instance, perceived sexual superiority and being a "big, strong, muscle man" is framed as being superior to perhaps a seemingly less sexually skilled man, and a man with a narrower build. The calypso also frames male sexual activity and satisfaction beyond the marital bed as normal. Some scholars argue that it is "characteristic of all Caribbean family systems, that a married man mate extra-residentially... Marital unions are so stable that such an affair on the man's part does not break up his marriage" (Otterbein 71). Otterbein remains adamant that male infidelity is an expectation in West Indian societies. Barry Chevannes is among the researchers who support Otterbein's findings, noting that in the Caribbean "A man is not a real man unless he is sexually active [with multiple women]" (217). In a discussion with women in Tobago at the turn of the twenty-first century, anthropologist Julia Archer noted that women on the island believed that "there are different rules for men and women" (Archer 116). In terms of sexual freedom and privileges, one respondent, Denise, explained "It's fame for he and shame for she", which implies that men acquire status for having multiple sexual conquests, but

women faced negative sanctions for similar behaviour (Archer 121). The participants in Archer's study also explained that "Men like to keep their companion home and go out with other women and have fun...men like to have six or seven women to be macho. Are there good husbands in Tobago? Yes, they give their wife everything she needs. But they still have a woman on the side" (122). Therefore, the "horner man", framed by Shadow is not only representative of the state of affairs in the society, but important to the identity of manliness that is carried with pride by some men.

Masculinity is also associated with competition. Shadow asserts that when the undefeated champion becomes the loser, "he bawl[s] like a new born baby". In fact, it has been argued that the greatest embarrassment is reserved for the man whose horn becomes public (Rohlehr 377). His wife engaging in extra-marital affairs was an attack on his social honour. Further underscoring the gravity of such a situation, Patricia Mohammed explained that "the dishonouring of a man and his masculinity through the female body has been and remains literally a blow below the belt for masculinity" (Mohammed 56). The comments of a man's peers who learns of him being horned constitute a major part of this hurt that a man deals with. Without doubt, "manhood is affirmed through homosocial enactment and male validation... the machoism found in Latin America and the Caribbean is premised on securing and bolstering the male "reputation" (Nurse 8). A man who has lost his prized possession, his woman, to another man, has in fact lost his "mastery" over his spouse and has also lost his crown to another man. Among men, "masculinity was [and still is] associated with notion of kingship/championship and attendant notions of controlled territory, turf or province" (Rohlehr 327). This kingship is "won, asserted and maintained" through skill and continued high performance, mastery and control. A man who has been horned is relentlessly taunted, for he has lost his title. One man explains, "men will laugh yuh to scorn and if yuh decide to hide...they will say yuh getting tabanca... you is ah sorf man, d' woman wuk yuh over and of course it mean that you can't control yuh woman, yuh jus come out, yuh is a little boy. They may even say yuh tool ent wukking" (Jones). The belittlement of a grown, married man as a "little boy" who cannot "control" his wife and assertions of his sexual impotency means that he has lost the respect of his peers. Indeed, such behaviours and sanctions not only reinforce

infidelity and domestic violence, but it reinforces control of women and women's bodies and sexual violence as part of being a man. Therefore, Mohammed is correct when she argues that "in deconstructing patriarchy we must see masculinity as being negotiated between men and men for the visible gains which power allows: money, status, privilege, control over one's life and livelihoods, access to one's own and other men's women" (62).

Peter Wilson suggested that Caribbean women conformed to the ideals of Victorian womanhood. Women as the bearers of respectability prioritized marriage and upholding the values espoused by the Church (Wilson 75-78). However, Shadow's calypsos challenge the idea that Caribbean women were sexually passive. In the twentieth century and at present, "Trinbagonian women exercise autonomy and control their sexuality too. Members of both genders horn their partners. And despite a general societal emphasis on what Peter Wilson called 'respectability,' women's sexuality is neither passive nor limited to monogamy" (Kerrigan 4). According to Calypso Rose, horning is necessary when wives are neglected and left unsatisfied at home. In this regard, Shadow's advice to men aligns with the recommendation given by Rose in her 1987 tune "Side Man Sweet". She counselled:

Don't believe when you out there cheating
Your wife ain't horning
It's tit for tat and that is a fact
It's time to pay respect and stop the damn cheating act!

Alongside Calypso Rose's celebration of women's sexual agency, Gloria Wekker's ground-breaking work, *The Politics of Passion*, can also be referenced to discuss the complex sexual traditions of women. Wekker's study of Afro-Surinamese women centred the mati whereby "women have sexual relations with men and women, either simultaneously or consecutively" (Wekker 2). Traditionally, Afro-Caribbean women's heterosexual activities are framed as transactional and as a necessity for women of the working class who must engage in sex with men because they require a man's financial support to sustain them and their families. As such, because men need sex, "sex then

becomes one of the strategic assets women can control and use for economic gain” (Wekker 117). Wekker found that for many women who only engage in sex with men, there is a lack of sexual knowledge and sexual fulfilment unlike the mati who has “extensive sexual knowledge, skills, terminology and experience as to what feels good and what does not, and in general they convey a more definite sense of how fun sex is to them in itself rather than merely as an instrument of economic security” (Wekker 156). Wekker’s research, like Shadow and Rose’s calypso, strongly indicate that among Caribbean women who dare to challenge notions of respectability, sex and intimacy are imbued with pleasure, emotional satisfaction and a sense of agency. At the turn of the twenty-first century, research coming out of Barbados indicated that there is a pattern “of aggressive sexual initiation, infidelity and concurrent multiple partnering among adolescent girls” (Barrow 14). Additionally, Figueroa in his 2006 work noted that in Jamaica “30–40 percent of [young] women may be having multiple sexual partners in the past year” (3). Taken together, the sub-text of Shadow’s *Horner Man Crying* shows that some Caribbean women’s construction of self is not reliant on traditional ideas of sexual respectability. However, among Caribbean men fragile masculinity is demonstrated by the likelihood of emasculation as a result of women’s adultery/infidelity (Deshong).

Conclusion

While many people chuckled or laughed out loud at the issues Shadow presented in his calypso love songs, a closer examination reveals that he continually offered wise counsel to men on a range of issues such as the nexus between economics and intimacy, intimate partner violence and infidelity. Even more significantly, his music reflected and shaped gender relations and highlighted how complex gender roles and expectations are in the Trinbagonian/ Caribbean context. This analysis of Shadow’s calypsos reflects the sentiments of our times. Globally, the nature of gender relations is being renegotiated and in reorienting the discussion on the ways in which males and females interact, socio-cultural and historical precedence is crucial. One of the contemporary debates surrounds the persistent trend of violence against women. Through an assessment of the calypsos of the twentieth century, it is obvious how

prevalent and normal it was for women to be abused. Well established religious ideas, gender ideologies and disparities in economic resources and power contributed to the subordination of women in their intimate relationships. Indeed, calypso can help us understand the complex and contentious gender relations that exist now and in the past. This genre can also be used in our collective conversations about dealing with inter-personal conflict and violence.

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