

## THE PANMAN

by Khalick J. Hewitt

From the beginning of the steelband movement, the panman had to struggle for his place in Trinbago society. He was denied social mobility and had to find his own status and pride even in his own surroundings. Although the steelband was in the community there was a love-hate relationship between the community and its steelbands. That love-hate relationship forced many parents to prevent their children from playing pan. A young man sometimes had to hide to join a steelband and hope that his parents did not discover his participation or involvement. There were times when a parent would go to the panyard to see if their son was playing pan. If caught playing pan, a young man could be beaten and embarrassed in front of his friends. This resulted because during colonialism many in the African community saw the steelband as low culture. The Churches were against the steelbands and assisted the ruling British to treat the locals to a dose of indoctrination that all things European were better than non-European things. Since the steelpan was a black invention it suffered the indignities of a non-European instrument. It became an outcast in its birth place. Every religion condemned the steelband movement.

Long before he was called a panist, the life of the panman was surrounded with many trials and tribulations in his new homeland, Trinidad. The panman struggled to present the world with his gift while he suffered many indignities, including exclusion from the society and most times from his own community. Still, he was able to transform the indignities and inhumane treatment from the enslavers and others who tried to stem his growth and humanity. His ancestors, who were brought to the island as enslaved peoples and in spite of the slavery conditions and indoctrination, were able to pass on bits of their religion, art, culture and values to their descendants.

The panman's art was derived from his roots going back to Africa. Although his ancestors were enslaved and brought to Trinidad and Tobago (Trinbago), they were able to pass on bits of their culture, religion, art and culinary tastes to their descendants. Most importantly, his African ancestors brought the drum to the new world which they passed on to their descendants, whom I still call Africans. All Trinbagonians are known by their place of origin: Indians, Portuguese, Syrians and Chinese. The African descendants continued to beat the drum until it was banned by the British colonials. After the drum was banned on the island, Africans created the tamboo-bamoo and finally their young men invented the steelpan in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Unlike other instruments that others brought to the island, the steelpan is strictly a Trinbago invention, created by the teenage sons of ex-slaves who used their talents and skills to create a 20<sup>th</sup> century instrument. Later, it became the national instrument of Trinbago and an international instrument for the world.

After emancipation, the groups in Trinidad were Africans, Indians, Chinese and whites who settled on the island. But, that cosmopolitanism only put the Africans and Indians at the bottom of the social structure. Emancipation removed the physical restraints of enslavement from Africans and most of the poor Africans flocked to areas like Laventille, Maraval, Gonzales, St. James, Morvant, Belmont and Woodbrook. Among them were

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groups of Africans from the Mandingo, Ibo and Yoruba nations who fled to the Laventille area. Another group called the Radas fled to the areas of Belmont and Gonzales. And, the African middle-class moved to Belmont and Woodbrook. These groups practiced their musical and artistic crafts like drumming, stick-fighting, cambolay and playing mas, brought from Africa by their ancestors, long before they saw the French in costume.

Although the African's middle passage sojourn to the Caribbean was a result of enslavement by the Europeans, many Africans were able to maintain their music and culture and pass it on to their descendants. That was done through a mixture of transformations and imitations leading to the development of the steelpan. The African working-class were still able to forge a presence on the nation with their new musical invention. The nation's responded by employing ordering their police to destroy the steelpans and arrest the panmen. Many panmen were fined or sent to jail for disturbing the peace. But, in spite of the early barriers and prejudices against the steelband movement, many young men could not refuse the calling to play pan. Roy Brown was such a young man.

From the gallery of Roy's home, Roy felt the cool air blowing through the bedroom window as he listened to his grandfather relating the early stories of the steelband movement. It was a topic that grabbed his attention like no other. He loved to listen to his grandfather, Cyrean Brown talk about the steelbands, especially the steelband clashes on carnival day. Even though his grandfather never played pan he liked to talk about the steelband's early development, especially the annual steelband fights on carnival day. Old Mr. Brown played sailor mas "USS Fleets In" with All Stars when the band was on Charlotte Street in the garrot at Maple Leaf club. At that time, people like Joe Bell, the Zachary brothers and calypsonians Nap Hepburn and the Mighty Sparrow played sailor mas with the band. His grandfather would tell him how people used to line up on Charlotte and Duke Streets to see Sparrow. All Stars was never involved in the steelband riots. Old Mr. Brown told Roy that, in spite of the steelband riots, he was proud of the black man's invention, the steelpan. Roy dreamed of being a panman someday.

Old Mr. Brown was very proud of the steelbands, especially since he witnessed its birth in the 1930s. He retired as chief clerk at Furness Withy Shipping Company and received a pension. He lived with his son Cecil and Cecil's wife Daisy and their three children. Old Mr. Brown's wife died a few years ago and he never remarried. They were married for forty years. Old Mr. Brown used to say, "You can't replace forty years." After his wife's death his son had to plead with him to move in with him. Old Mr. Brown was a proud man. When his wife was alive he never had to depend on his son. They lived in a three bedroom house at Lodge Place, near Piccadilly Street, with their son Cecil and his brother and two sisters... Now that she was dead it was different. He could not stay in that big house by himself. It reminded him too much of the beautiful memories he spent with the first Mrs. Brown. He thought: 'Now I would have my grandchildren to spend my time with.' So, he moved in with his son.

Old Mr. Brown was a Garveite who followed the teachings of Marcus Garvey. He was also

a strong supporter of Uriah “Buzz” Butler,” the local labor agitator who fought for worker’s rights in the oil companies. Mr. Butler prided himself as the Chief Servant of the working class. Marcus Garvey was a Jamaican nationalist who instilled in his followers an African nationalism and a pride in all things African long before there was the Pan African movement. Garvey later moved to the United States and preached about the glories of early Africa and its descendants’ inventions. He later founded a movement called Universal Negro Improvement Association. The organization’s magazine “The Black World” reached the Caribbean, where they had a large following. Many Africans at that time were nationalists who followed African affairs all over the world.

Roy lived with his parents in a three bedroom house with a large back yard. Sometimes, Roy would invite his friends to pitch marbles in the yard, where his family kept two dogs. One was a little black and white dog called “Ruby.” The other everyone called “No Name” because it had no name. Belgrade Street is a narrow street that can only hold one car at a time. Whenever there is a parked car on the street and another car wants to pass, it has to climb the sidewalk. The street runs from the south on Laventille Road to the north at Quarry Street. It is a street with many private homes but unknown for any famous people or activities, except for its soccer team, Beldukes. The team played soccer in the prestigious Mervina soccer league. Roy was a member of Beldukes soccer Club. Beldukes was named after two streets, Duke and Belgrade where most of the strikers lived and limered. Roy had two other siblings: Janet and Brenda. Janet attended St. Rose’s Girls School on Charlotte Street and Brenda attended Providence Girls School on Belmont Circular Road, Belmont. Roy was the oldest child. He attended Rosary Boys School on Park Street, Port of Spain. Before that he attended Rose Hill School that was a few blocks away from his home.

Roy and his sisters were forbidden by their parents to enter the neighborhood’s panyard at any costs. In the old steelband days, parents did not want their sons (never daughters) to join a steelband because some steelbands were always engaged in fights, especially during the carnival season. The girls were forbidden to talk to a panman. Roy’s father was a former panman who had fought in some of the battles and steelband clashes among Casablanca, Invaders and Tokyo steelbands. He did not want to see his son involved in the steelband rivalry and fights. That life style was not for Roy. He wanted Roy to surpass him and go on to higher education. After all, that was what the new political leader promised the young people when he said to them: ‘The young people carry their future in their school bags.’ The new political mantra was “Free education for the young.” The Brown’s intended to take advantage of that call.

Mr. Brown’s education was limited to the primary education he received at Rose Hill Catholic School which was situated on Schuler Street, near Laventille Road, Port of Spain. But, Mr. Brown received a good foundation from his teachers who instilled a pride of learning to their students. As a result, Mr. Brown became an avid reader. He read a lot of Lopsang Rampa novels which he bought at the Strand Book’s Store on Duke Street. He carried a Lopsang book in his back pocket wherever he went. The Lopsang books talked about developing the inner self based on Chinese philosophy. Mr. Brown considered

himself a philosopher. He would often say things to Roy like: 'Monkey does know which tree to climb' and 'Moon does run until day catch it.' His favorite was: 'Fear is the dungeon of a man's liberty,' which he quoted to Roy many times.

Mr. Brown bought the three daily newspapers: "The Daily Mirror," "The Guardian" and "Evening News" which his children read. Both the Mirror and Guardian were morning papers. The Evening News was an afternoon daily paper that came out around 4:00 p.m. from Monday through Friday. It was delivered to the Browns and other neighbor's homes by a paper carrier whom everyone called "Papers." Also, Mr. Brown wanted his children to know what was taking place in the world since they lived on a small island in the Caribbean. It was Roy's responsibility to go to John's Chinese shop every morning to buy the newspapers before going to school. It was a task he liked because he got to see his friends and got in a little play before school.

Roy's parents was a combination of middle-class and working-class. Mrs. Brown was middle-class woman who believed that the steelband was not the right place for her son. Mr. Brown came from a proud working-class family who aspired to be middle-class. Both parents feared the weekly encounters with the police who sought night and day to stem the growth of the steelbands. The police enforced the laws of the British colonials against the steelband and an arrest would certainly lead to jail time. Like other parents in the neighborhood, Roy's parents were aware that a prison record would bar their child from whatever employment existed, especially in the civil services. They had great ambitions for their son because he was a bright young man. When Roy did not pass the exam to enter one of the three top colleges, his parents decided to send him to one of the private schools. So, Roy took and passed the exam to enter Ideal High School situated on Oxford Street in Port of Spain. Ideal was one of the popular private schools in Port of Spain which was owned and operated by Mr. Ellis, a member of the African middle class.

There were many African-owned and operated private high schools in Port of Spain with names like Ideal on Oxford Street, Osmond on French Street, Minerva and Progressive on Henry Street, Fatima Institute and Woodbrook on Tragarete Road, Woodbrook and St. Thomas on Darceuil Lane, Belmont. All of them catered to both boys and girls. The private high schools provided young people, who failed the nation's school leaving exam and could not enter the three top colleges St. Mary's, Fatima and Queen's Royal, with an opportunity to finish high school.

The private high schools developed because there was no continuing education for students who did not pass the nation's school leaving test. If you failed the school leaving exam you were destined to a low paying job. There was no opportunity to return to school later to finish your education. As a result, many poor parents apprenticed their young men with a local artisan to learn one of the popular trades: tailoring, masonry, carpentry or shoe making. Other parents, who were lucky enough to afford some extra money, sent their children to one of these private-high schools to complete their education. These private schools provided a comparable education as the top three colleges but without the prestige. Many of these students went on to great careers in areas like teaching, nursing

and the civil service. All the schools mandated uniforms for their students. They followed the British model for school children. Male students wore short sleeve shirts in colors of white, cream, grey or blue with khaki short pants and Jim boots (sneakers). Female students wore grey, blue, green, or grey overalls or skirts that stretched below the knees with white bodices and shoes.

These areas were controlled by the new government. At that time, the private sector did not hire Africans or Indians. As a result, the new government became the country's largest employer for many Africans and Indians, some of whom also worked on the docks, the cane fields and the oil fields. The Indians had their own primary and private high schools in the country-side where most of them lived. They too suffered discrimination based mainly on religion. All the schools, primary through college, were of a Christian religious denomination. Most Indians belonged either to Hindu or Muslim faiths. A few Indians, who became the Presbyterians made them acceptable for the Christian schools.

Most Trinidadians of African descent lived in the nation's capital, Port of Spain. Among the African middle-class who resided in Belmont and Woodbrook, there were many lawyers, teachers, professionals, doctors and politicians. The Africans who resided in the other areas were poor and working class and engendered the birth of steelband movement. In the beginning, the African middle-class avoided steelbands like the plague. They forbade their children from joining or playing in a steelband. For some, it was due to the many fights among the steelbands. For most, it was just simply class prejudice. Many middle-class Africans feared that if their sons were caught playing pan they would be arrested or labeled a badjohn and would be further ostracized from society.

The African working-class followed the prejudices of the African middle-class in locked step and developed a love-hate relationship with the steelbands. Many believed that their son's participation in the steelband would be a hindrance to their social mobility as a result of the stigma that Trinbago society attached to the steelbands. That created a dysfunctional relationship between the steelband and its communities that you can still see today. As a result, most parents kept their children away from the panyard, including children whose parents played pan. The remnants of colonialism left its scars on Africans as both classes suffered from societal discrimination. The African middle-classes, who were often light-skinned, believed that European music was high culture. Many of them saw steelband music as noise and the band's presence as a nuisance to the neighborhood.

The dysfunctional relationship continued as many communities boasted of having a panyard in their area, yet forbade their children from visiting a panyard or playing in a steelband. The panyards housed the steelband where the panmen practiced their craft. There were panyards with steelbands like *Sunland*, *Rising Sun*, *Amboys*, *Casablanca*, *Dem Boys*, and *Dixieland* in Belmont; *Desperadoes*, *Midlanders*, *Harlem Boys*, and *Joyland Synco* in Laventille; *Tokyo in John John*; *Renegades*, *City Syncopators* and *City Symphony* behind the bridge; *All Stars in the Garrot* on Charlotte street; *Sputniks on* upper Charlotte street; *Merrymakers* in Cobeaux Town; *Ebonites* and *Harmonites* in

Morvant; *North Stars, Sufferers, Crossroad, Crossfire, Symphonettes, Cairo, Blue Stars, West Side Symphony and Sun Valley* in St. James; *Melo Stars and Merry Tones* in Diego Martin; *Boys Town* in Carenage; *Starlift, Night and Gale, Hit Paradars, Green Eyes, and Invaders* in Woodbrook; *Southern Symphony, Free French, Southern Marines, Tropical Harmony and Antillean All Stars* in the South land; *Hilanders* in lower Laventille; *Kintups* in St. Anns and *San Juan All Stars and East Side Symphony* in San Juan. All these steelbands could count on the support from members of their community who provided most of their panmen, flag women, mas players and pan pushers.

Every Sunday morning, Mrs. Brown attended the early morning church services at Trinity Cathedral Church on Knox Street, Port of Spain. It was the church where she got married. At 5 a.m. Mrs. Brown would get dress in her black and white polka-dot dress and her hat. All the women wore beautiful hats when they left the house to walk to church. Mrs. Brown would walk down Duke Street to Frederick Street and turned left on the corner towards Trinity Anglican Church. On the church steps she would meet the Irish minister who always greeted his parishioners with a warm smile. Across the street was the Grey Friars Church for the white residents. Only a few African elites like lawyers and doctors attended Grey Friars. Some say that the church was founded by white South Africans.

After church services, Mrs. Brown walked to the nearby George Street market to do her Sunday morning marketing. She bought meat (beef) and a live chicken, vegetables, provision, water cresells (greens), callaloo bush, crab (with blue eyes), ochroes, onions and lintel peas or red beans to cook for her family. The Sunday lunch was the most important meal in Roy's home. It was the only time of the week that the family gathered around the large table to eat together. During the week every one ate on their own. If you went to school you came home for lunch but ate alone. Many men, like Roy's father, never came home for lunch. Instead, some of them carried lunch prepared by their wives or girl friends and ate it on the job. Sometimes like Mr. Brown, they ate at the Breakfast Shed, a restaurant that sold home food. The Breakfast Shed was owned and operated by a group of African women.

Sunday mornings at the George Street market was a cultural affair for housewives and women with families. They could not afford to shop at the Hilo supermarket, where the goods were more expensive. The women went to the George Street market on a Saturday or Sunday morning to buy food to cook for the week. Everyone had their favorite vendors. Mrs. Brown favorite vendors were: Mr. Freddie who sold pork; Mr. Luke and Mr. Mike who sold beef; Mrs. Miller who sold sweet bread and cakes; Mrs. Harrylal who sold crabs; Mr. Wiltshire and Flizie who sold fish; Mr. Latchman who sold coconuts and Ma Briton who sold local fruits like pomerack, mango, five fingers, tankabeen, grew-grew bef, chataigne, peawah, plum and chinette.

The market had two centers, one inside and the other on the pavement. The pavement was always crowded with buyers haggling to get the best prices. George Street was smelly and often times nasty and wet. But, people ignored that because it provide them with an opportunity to meet others and old talk. If you walked down George Street, you

could hear someone call out, "Sammy, how you doing? Long time no see." That was the signal for a conversation to begin which could last for hours. Many times, fights would erupt as buyers argued with sellers over the price of goods. That brought the market police to keep order and arrest anyone who continued after a severe warning.

The week days in the Browns' home started around five o'clock Monday morning when Roy's father would be the first to get up. Cecil Brown had to be on the wharf at 7 a.m. He took a shower in the bathroom that was outside the house. It was too expensive to have an indoor bathroom. As Mr. Brown showered he sang one of the popular songs by Frank Sinatra, Nat King Cole or Sam Cooke, three of his favorite singers. At times, he would sing a calypso by Sparrow or Kitchener.

Mrs. Brown was the next person to arise from bed. Her first task was to make Mr. Brown's Spanish coffee. She sweetened it with condensed milk, not cow's milk and prepared hops bread with Australian sausage or New Zealand cheese for Mr. Brown. Her next duty was to wake the children and get them ready for school. On her way to the kitchen she would call out to the children: 'Everybody rise and shine.' Woe to any of the children who remained asleep after she awakened them. One time, Roy overslept only to feel some cold water pouring down his head. Mrs. Brown's rule was 'no sleeping in her house after sun rise'. Roy never overslept again. The girls were always up before Roy. When the children were ready for school, Mrs. Brown made sure they had some pocket money. As she kissed them goodbye she warned them, 'Do not beg or take anything from anybody.'

Mr. Brown left the house for work before the children left for school. He rode his Raleigh bicycle down Duke Street, with his lunch carrier attached to the back of the bicycle, to the docks to Wrightson Road where he worked. At that time, the country had four brand-name bicycles: Humber, Phillips, BSA and Raleigh. Raleigh was considered the best because it had three speeds. Mr. Brown bought a Raleigh bicycle. Mr. Brown treated his bicycle like a car. He cleaned and oiled it daily which kept it bright and shining. If he had to stop off he never left the bicycle unattended. He would chain it against a lamp post. Or, he would ask someone to keep an eye on it for him if he was making a quick stop.

That bicycle was Mr. Brown's third love after his wife and children. His fourth love was gambling every Friday night at Lucky Jordon's club. Once, he nearly lost it when he left it downstairs Hilland Hall. Mr. Brown went to pay his monthly fees at the Hilland Hall Friendly Society in Belmont. The Society was one of the many benevolent clubs around the country that the African middle-class organized. Each member would pay monthly fees. The fees were used to distribute loans, health, hospital and burial coverage to a needy members since they could not get insurance coverage for those things from the foreign insurance companies. The Brown family was proud members. Old Mr. Brown was a founding member of the Lodge Place Friendly Society. His wife was a member of St. Paul Street Lodge.

It was Sunday morning before breakfast. The trees were swinging as the gentle breeze ripped through the house curtains. Ruby barked to say that she was hungry. The milk-

woman left the usual quart of cow's milk on the Brown's steps as she did for the past five years. She was an old Indian woman from San Juan. Her name was Dewan. No one knew her last name so every one called her Dewan. It was rumored that she was from an Indian community called Chaguanas and that her family had plenty cows and goats. She sold cow's milk to all the houses on Belgrade Street. Every morning she would leave the milk on the steps and collect the payment at the end of the week. Some people, like the Browns bought both cow and goat milk, especially for their children. Mothers believed that cow and goat's milk made their children stronger.

Every Sunday, the family gathered together, first for breakfast then for lunch. At night time, the family did not eat dinner but drank tea with bread and butter or cheese and sausage. The girls would eat with their brother at the dinner table while Mrs. Brown would sit in the kitchen with a warm cup of cocoa and a slice of hops bread and cheese.

Breakfast and lunch were the big meals in the Brown's home. It was a neighborhood's custom. The children were not allowed to eat snacks between meals. During lunch, the family would sit around the large table while Mrs. Brown talked about the children's school grades and who got into trouble during the week. Sometimes, Mr. Brown would talk about problems on his job. Mr. Brown was always retiring from the job but knew he had to continue working because he wanted to save enough money to send his children to good schools. The island had one University and Mr. Brown hoped that one, if not all of his children would attend it.

Mrs. Brown liked to engage in small gossip and would talk about the neighborhood's families. Her pet complaint was the children whose cricket ball came into her yard when they played a game of cricket. When that happened, the children had to beg and plead to Mrs. Brown to let them get the ball. She would pick out a boy whom she considered decent and tell him to open the gate and get the ball. The Browns had a large fence with a gate that protected the house from unwanted strangers. Mrs. Brown would often say that a gate protected those who looked out from those who looked in. The gate had a small bell on the top and you had to ring it a long time before Mrs. Brown would answer. She always knew when someone was at the gate but acted like she needed protection from unwanted intruders. Ruby always barked when someone approached the gate.

As Mrs. Brown looked around the kitchen to gather things to prepare the breakfast, she wondered, 'Should I try something different?' It was always about trying something new, especially for the girl children. She wanted them to learn how to cook and prepare meals for their future husbands. With Roy it was different. He would get a wife to cook and prepare meals for him. But, no man would marry a woman who could not make breakfast or cook his meals, especially his Sunday lunch. A man may not eat at home during the week, but on Sundays he was present for Sunday lunch. Sometimes, in the poor homes without a man during the week, the man would appear on Sunday for his Sunday lunch.

Sunday was also a day to catch up on the children's weekly activities. Most men worked a full week and were seldom home. Sunday morning was a day for men to attend to homely things like the children or fixing things around the house. Mr. Brown used his carpentry

skills to do repairs like fixing the couch or kitchen chairs and table whenever they were broken. Mrs. Brown enjoyed her house chores. She never complained about the work even though she also ran the parlor. Mrs. Brown's mother prepared her to be a house wife like her mother was prepared by her grandmother. That training ran in the females members of the Holder family and other Trinbago's male-dominated families.

As Mrs. Brown entered the kitchen she smiled and her deep dimples showed. She inherited her deep dimples from her grandmother. She took some salt fish (cod fish) from the refrigerator. It would be boljol, hops bread with hot cocoa sweetened with condensed milk for breakfast that Sunday morning. She took some onions, tomatoes and cooking oil from the cabinet where she kept those things. Within twenty minutes she had made the boljol and called her family to the table. As they were eating breakfast there was a loud cry from Mrs. Brown. She forgot to buy zaboca (avocado) for the boljol. You just could not have boljol without zaboca. It was custom. There are some meals that go together like black eye peas and rice, crab and callaloo with a hot pepper in the callaloo, mauby and sweet bread, corn beef and rice, ochro and rice and a roti with a banana solo drink. Immediately, Mrs. Brown turned to Roy and said, "Boy, go buy a zaboca from Mr. Singh's shop."

Mr. Singh owned the neighborhood's shop on Schuler Street. Roy's mother shopped there because she was able to buy most of her groceries on credit. Mr. Singh's shop sold cooking oil, pitch oil, dettol, coffee, ovaltine, milo, milk, rum, Carib beer and Guinness and Mackeson stout. Oh yes, and needle and thread for the adventurous woman. It was even rumored that Mr. Singh sold condoms to adults. Then, it was not called condoms but was called "French rubber." I don't know why. Roy did not use one until he was about 19 years. His mother always warned him that if he got any girl pregnant he would have to marry her. She would have no bastard grandchildren in her house. Roy did not think about marriage so he followed her advice. He knew that most of the girls he liked would not pass muster with his mother. His wife would have to have high pedigree which came with skin color.

Mr. Singh provided credit to the wives and girlfriends of the panmen from the three panyards in the area and the stevedores who worked on the Wharf. Mr. Singh liked to give them credit because they paid on time since panmen always had money from gambling on the weekends and stevedores were paid weekly. The professionals got paid monthly so Mr. Singh seldom granted credit to their wives and girlfriends. Mr. Singh used to say: "They only come to my shop for credit and when they get paid they go the shops downtown." However, when it came to mothers without a man in the house, Mr. Singh was most generous. He had a soft spot for children even though their mothers were the hardest to pay on time. After each purchase, Mr. Singh would write the customer's names in an old copy book together with a list of each purchase. At the end of the week they were expected to pay for the week's credit. He did not charge any interest.

Every Saturday morning was pay day at Mr. Singh's shop. The wives and girl friends would line up to pay their weekly debt with money they received from their husbands or

boy friends on Friday night. Sometimes, a woman would complain to Mr. Singh that her husband or boy friend lost all the money gambling but she would have the money next week. When that happened, Mr. Singh would only say: 'Doh worry, you ain't going no where.' Malicious people would say that Mr. Singh was sleeping with the woman that is why she ain't going anywhere.

Roy heard his mother's call and jumped up from the table. He put on his Jim boots (sneakers) and ran to Singh's shop for the zaboca. He loved zaboca, especially with salt. The shop was closed. Never mind, he called out to Mr. Singh who lived at the back of the shop. Mr. Singh shop was never closed even though it was Sunday. He was Hindu and did not attend church like many of his customers. He answered, 'who dat?' Roy responded, 'Is Me, Mr. Singh.' He explained to Mr. Singh that his mother forgot to buy zaboca. Mr. Singh smiled and passed the zaboca through an open window. He returned and all was well at the Brown's breakfast table. Roy hurried and ate his breakfast because he wanted to read the Sunday comics that came with the newspaper. The Daily Mirror carried foreign comics like Mandrake, Phantom, Dick Tracy and Dagwood and Blondie. There was also a character called Mr. Jigs. Roy always wondered why there was no pan in the stories. The only instruments featured were violins, guitars or pianos. What Roy did not realize was that the comics came from America whose writers never saw a steelband or a pan.

As Roy's mother prepared the Sunday lunch she sang one of her favorite church songs, "Rock of Ages." As she cut up the beef and chicken she called Roy to the kitchen. He had to help. First, she told him to spread out the rice on the table. He had to pick the rice. In those days, the rice contained many small stones and non-rice elements. You had to clean the rice before cooking it. That job was for the children. As Roy cleaned the rice his only thought was the panyard. He planned to cut school and go to the panyard to play pan. He knew the consequences but he did not care. He loved pan. His mother called him again. This time it was to cut up the vegetables. As Roy cut up the onions, chive and tomatoes he imagined himself playing a tenor (soprano) pan with the girls watching him as he played. As he cut up the cabbage and ochroes he started to whistle. His mother yelled at him to stop. Whistling in the house was not permitted. It was an African superstition that she learned from her mother who told her that whistling in the house brought death in the family. Mrs. Brown had other superstitions like turning backwards to enter the house if you entered after midnight. Or, not wearing a hat in the house.

Next, Mrs. Brown had work for Roy's two sisters. Their job was to do the dishes, set the dishes and prepare the lunch table. After breakfast and dinner the girls had to wash the dishes and put them away in the large cabinet in the kitchen. On a weekend, the girls cleaned all the rooms and help Mrs. Brown to wash all the clothes. On a Sunday night, Mrs. Brown did the ironing on the large kitchen table. Whenever you pass by her house if you looked through the window you saw her ironing. If you called out for Roy she would look up. A child would remember his manners and say, 'Good night Mrs. Daisy, is Roy home.' Children called adults by their first names with "Mr." or "Mrs." Attached to it. If Mrs. Brown did not like the child she would say, 'Yes, he is home but he cannot come out side,

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he is studying.' That was enough to send the child away. Mrs. Brown's children were known to be good students who always did their homework and were never late for school or miss a school day. If any of the children was sick they had to spend the day in bed. So, rather than staying all day in bed the children did not get sick.

Mrs. Brown continued with her cooking routine for the Sunday lunch. Roy finished picking the rice. She boiled the rice in one pot while she seasoned the meat. Then, she prepared the salad with cucumbers, water cressels, lettuce, tomatoes and olives. She always used olives because it reminded her of her mother who did the same thing. Next, she peeled some oranges to make orange juice. Mr. Brown liked freshly squeezed orange juice. Then, she prepared to make the macaroni pie. Roy loved macaroni pie. Everything was done from scratch. Then, Mrs. Brown thought: 'I will bake some sweet bread.' So, she got the flour and a little yeast with some raisons. Raison sweet bread was her specialty. She often told her children, 'No bakery could make style on me.' She was proud of her raison sweet bread. And, Roy liked raison sweet bread.

The girls washed the dishes and placed them on the table for lunch. Mrs. Brown had taught them how to set the table for Sunday lunch. Soon, lunch was ready. The children had to wash their hands before coming to the table. Mrs. Brown sat at one end of the table and Mr. Brown sat at the head of the table. The children sat around the table. When everyone was seated Mr. Brown started the Sunday lunch prayer. He was not a religious man but he liked to thank the ancestors for giving him the strength to provide for his family. He said out loud: 'I thank the ancestors for giving me the strength to provide for my family.' 'May my ancestors protect my children from ignorance and harm.' Roy always complained that his father got the best piece of the beef or chicken, especially the drum sticks. Mrs. Brown always served Mr. Brown first the way she saw her mother serving her father. She missed her parents who never came to see her after she moved out of the house. She would visit them every month. Sometimes she carried the children, when they were still small, to see their grand parents. Christmas was a special visit because her mother bought toys for the children. Her father would give each of the children five dollars. For years after her marriage, Mr. Brown refused to visit her parents. Whenever she asked him to go he would say, 'When they come by me I will go by them.'

One Sunday afternoon, Lennox took his girl friend Jeanette to the Strand cinema on Tragarete Road to see the movie "An Affair to Remember." It starred Cary Grant and Deborah Kerr. He loved that movie. It was not like the 12: 30 westerns he saw on a Saturday at one of the three neighborhood cinemas: Royal, Odeon and Pyramid. He would not take a girl to see a movie like "The Fastest Gun Alive," which starred Glen Ford and Broderick Crawford as Vennie Harold. He remembered his grandfather telling him that a badjohn from Renegades steelband start calling him-self Vinnie Harold after the 'badjohn' character in the movie. That was the way many steelband members got their aliases. All panmen had an alias. There were many badjohns with names like Chet Swan, Snake Eye, Mr. Lee, Joe Dog, Peas Eye, Pink Eye, Scorpion, Bogart, Utah Blaine, Banlon, Big Sax and Palance. These badjohns talked to their adversaries with speeches from those western movies: 'Triple X will be fencing tomorrow, interference will be met by

gun fire,' taken from the western "Red Sundown." Many steelbands also gave their bands movies names. Steelbands like Invaders, Tokyo, Renegades, Armed Forces and Desperadoes took their names from movies of the same names.

After the movie, Lennox and his girlfriend Jeanette went to "The Diaries" restaurant on Phillip Street. Jeanette liked the banana split. The Diaries was one of the posh restaurants that served the middle-classes. Not too many Africans from behind the bridge visited the Diaries since it was on Phillip Street, in the western region of the City. Lennox had the strawberry ice cream. He liked strawberry ice cream because he once saw a movie where they were eating strawberry ice cream. The Diaries made a mean banana split with nuts sprinkled on the top. As they walked up Tragarete Road to catch a taxi on Green corner, Lennox said to Jeanette, 'I go be a panman one of these days when I grow up. I want to play pan bad. I don't mind if I get licks from my father, he can't stop me.' His girl friend wondered why Lennox wanted to be a panman. She was not too particular about panmen. She lived with her parents in Belmont in a large house on Pelham Street. Her mother used to tell her horrible stories about panmen and how they treated women. Her mother used to say: 'Keep away from panmen, they like to beat women and they always fighting. They are a bunch of ragamuffins'.

But, Jeanette knew a popular steelband in Belmont called Dixieland. They were a group of college students who did not get into fights. Some of them were white. She never visited their panyard. As far as she knew, she never spoke to any panman. At carnival time in the night, when she was sitting on her verandah, she would hear the band playing their calypso music. She attended St. Joseph Convent on Pembroke Street, Port of Spain. She never heard any of the girls talk about pan or panmen. The convent school was one of the three prestigious schools for middle-class girls, the others being Holy Name and Bishops. She knew that the nuns and priests did not like pan. Many of them were Irish and considered the local music irreligious. For them it was too loud and too much wild dancing. The nuns used to tell the students that if the listened to steelband music they would go to hell.

Lennox and Jeanette waited on Green corner for a taxi to take them to Charlotte and Queen Streets where they would get a Belmont taxi to take her to her home on Pelham Street. While waiting for the taxi, Roy looked into his pocket and discovered that he had no money left. Lennox decided that they should walk from Green corner to Belmont. Jeanette did not want to walk and complained about the distance. Lennox insisted that they walked. He did not tell her that he had no money. Instead, he told her that she was lazy and privileged. He said to her, 'Other girls walk, why you can't?' But, Jeanette was no ordinary girl. She went to a convent school and belonged to a middle-class family in Belmont. As they walked, they argued until they reached her home. She went home crying. She liked Lennox but never introduced him to her parents. She never visited his home behind the bridge. But, he was her first boyfriend. One night he told her that his father used to beat pan. She looked shocked. She heard stories from her parents about the steelbands and the constant fighting among them. She even heard her mother calling panmen hooligans. Her grandmother called pan music devil music. She decided to stop

seeing Lennox. The next few days she was cold to Roy.

Lennox lived with his parents near a steelband's panyard which was situated down the road at the back of Skipper's Club. Lennox's mother, Claire Barrington was a very private and quiet woman. She was born in Belmont and graduated from Holy Name Convent. So, everyone who knew her family was surprised when she married a man from behind the bridge. They were more surprised when she decided to move to the East Dry River district with her husband. 'You could at least stay in Belmont,' her mother told her. Even though they did not accept a black-skinned husband for her it was still better if she remained in Belmont. At least they could keep an eye on her. She married George Barrington who lived at 24 Lodge Place, near St. Paul Street, Port of Spain. She loved her husband who treated her well. Although he was an old panman he never hit her. And, he was a hard working man who maintained his family. When he took her to meet his parents she was impressed. Even though they lived behind the bridge and were dark-skinned they seem to share some of her values. They were church going people who attended the Moravian Church on Laventille Road., near Piccadilly Street.

Mrs. Barrington was a light-skinned African woman. She had a beautiful face that said she had an easy life growing up as a child. Her quiet nature allowed her to get along with almost everyone. She had high cheek bones and curly hair. And, she was also tall and slim for a local woman. Most Trinidadian women are short like the men and carry plenty of meat on their bones. Coming from Belmont gave her status and prestige that women from behind the bridge envied. There were many middle and upper class light-skinned Africans living in Belmont and Woodbrook. Many of them never visited the East Dry River district, behind the bridge. And certainly their children were forbidden to visit that area. Before she married Mr. Barrington, Mrs. Barrington worked as a sales clerk at Glendenings Limited which was one of the popular downtown stores on Frederick Street. It was there she met Lennox's father who used to buy his shirt and pants material at the store.

One morning, Mr. Barrington came to the store to buy some material to make a shirt to wear to a wedding. He wanted no ordinary shirt so he went to Glendenings which was known as the store with great shirt materials. When he went to pay for the materials he saw Claire Holder who was the cashier. It was love at first purchase. If you listened to Mr. Barrington repeat the story it went like this. He was looking for the money to pay the cashier and as he looked up he saw Claire. She was very serious. He smiled at her and asked her why she was so serious. She did not reply. He asked her where she lived and she asked why he wanted to know. Then he went to plan B. He asked her if she wanted to see a movie that evening. She replied that she did not know him. He then told her that he would come by the store at four o'clock to take her to the movies. He left and returned just as the store was closing. When she saw him she smiled. They left for the movie and the rest was history. After they married, Mrs. Barrington stopped working. The truth is that it was Mr. Barrington who stopped her from working. The women in his family never worked out of the house after they got married. Before the children came they partied every weekend at the various clubs. George Barrington was a good dancer and Mrs. Barrington was a good dancing partner.

Mrs. Barrington's light-skin complexion was representative of the mixing of groups on the island. It also displayed all the prejudices of British colonialism and its remnants, left after Trinidad received its Independence from Britain. Mrs. Barrington would say hello to you if you were brown skin but not if you were black. If you were black she would wait for you to say hello and then be short with her response. There were a few chosen boys and girls who benefited from her social largesse but she would not speak to the rest, especially if she saw them liming on the block. She was always busy with her three children. Whenever she had the time she would travel to Belmont where she still had friends. Some nights you would see her with Roy coming returning from one of her visits. The boys knew not to call out to Lennox when he was with his mother. They would silently say, 'Look Lennox and he mother coming, don't call him.' But, Lennox could not resist saying to his friends, 'What happening fellas? I go see you when I come back.'

While women in the neighborhood visited Mrs. Barrington, she never visited any of the homes in the neighborhood. Whenever you saw her on the street she was always going somewhere else. She was a Holder from Belmont who kept her distance from dark-skinned Africans. She would say that she was not prejudiced but felt that 'class was class' and the two may never meet. She belonged to the Anglican Church. Every Sunday morning she attended the Trinity Cathedral on Knox Street. Trinity Cathedral was one of the famous protestant churches in Trinbago. Everyone was surprised when she married Lennox's father, who was dark-skinned. Some saw that as a contradiction. The skin color prejudices reached African communities through shades of color and the class system. Even in the working class communities light-skinned Africans felt better than dark-skinned Africans. Her father was Portuguese and her mother African. That combination was not unheard of, especially in Port of Spain where a few Portuguese families lived among the Africans.

Lennox had two sisters, Yvonne and Carol. The Barrington girls never went outside to play. All their friends belonged to the schools they attended. Yvonne wanted to be a teacher and Carol liked nursing. Those were the two professions opened to young African women from behind the bridge. The boys in the neighborhood knew that they were off limits. If Mrs. Barrington saw you talking to her girls you had to face Mr. Barrington who did not play when it came to his two girls. Like the time when Carlton decided that he did not fear Mr. Barrington so he would make a move on one of the girls. Unfortunately for him, it was Mr. Barrington who saw him. He ran away but Mr. Barrington did not follow him. Mr. Barrington rode his bicycle straight to the boy's home. There he told the boy's mother that if he caught her boy talking to his daughter again she better prepare for a funeral. That ended any more advances.

Lennox's father was a Baptist even though he was raised in the Anglican faith. After he became a man and was no longer controlled by his parents he joined Leader Hunt and Sister Majorie's Holy Redeemer Baptist Church at Gonzales, Port of Spain. The Baptist Church in Trinbago is unlike the Baptists in America. The local Baptist Churches is a mixture of the old African religions and Catholicism. The Baptists suffered discrimination

from the two established religions on the island, Catholic and Anglican. Most of their followers were working class and African. I can't recall any African middle-class person openly belonging to a Baptist church. But, a few of them did. Mr. Barrington was also a carpenter who made chairs for the white folks who lived at Cascade, St. Ann's, Glenwood Park, Woodbrook, St. Clair and Glencoe, six of the white suburbs on the island. The few whites who lived on the island were separated from the majority population of Africans and Indians. They only interacted with the non-whites through work. Their members filled the bank and private sector jobs in the downtown areas.

The white people on the island hired a few Indians as their servants and some Africans tradesmen worked for them. The whites preferred to hire Indian women as servants because they did not want African women in their houses. But, they would hire African men for laborious work. Lennox's father built and repaired furniture for them. He made a little extra money because he was always in demand. Mr. Barrington was always suspicious of white people because he believed that they never meant Africans any good since they enslaved Africans in the past. He also worked on the wharf on Wrightson Road, Port of Spain and owned a little store. Everyone called the store "Crix Parlor." Everyone wondered why the parlor was called Crix when the owner's was named Mr. Barrington. The rumor was that before Mr. Barrington bought the parlor, the previous owner sold crix biscuits to school children. The children started calling it Crix parlor so the name stuck.

After Mr. Barrington bought Crix parlor, Mrs. Barrington operated it in the day time and Mr. Barrington helped at night, except Friday nights. On Friday nights, Mr. Barrington went to gamble at Lucky Jordon club on Prince Street, Port of Spain. The Crix parlor sold cakes, Tide and Breeze detergents, Tiger balm, Termergine, Limacol, Lux and Palmolive soaps, sugar, tea, fruits, crix and mopsy biscuits and candy (cough drops, Kaiser Ball, paradise plum, chewing gum and halay). Mrs. Brown was also a homemaker. She was in charge of raising the three children. She taught them respect for elders, manners, no swearing or singing calypsos in the house, especially during the Lenten season. She believed that even though they were raised behind the bridge they really had Belmont roots. Whenever there was a need to discipline Lennox she called on Mr. Barrington. If there was a boy problem with the girls she called on Mr. Barrington. But, in everything else Mrs. Barrington was in charge. She was also in control of the household's finances.

Every Friday night when Mr. Barrington came home from work he would give his wife his paycheck. She would give then him some money which he used to gamble at the club. If you asked Mr. Barrington for a loan he would tell you, 'I have to ask Mrs. B.' that is how he referred to his wife. He never called her by her first name. It was always Mrs. B do this or that. It was if he wanted to make sure everyone knew she was married. Even when he spoke to his children he referred to his wife he would say: 'Ask Mrs. B if she cooking any food today?' You seldom saw Mrs. Barrington if you visited the house. She was always in the kitchen or bedroom. She never joined Mr. Barrington when his friends visited the house, except on Christmas day. I never heard Mr. Barrington complained so I imagined that it was okay with him. Christmas day was when Mr. Barrington invited his steelband friends. Although Mrs. Barrington frowned on the panmen's presence she would never

insult Mr. Barrington's friends. However, after they left she would talk about it all night and sometimes for days.

Lennox was his mother's favorite child. She spoiled him and raised her girls. He was also one of the popular boys in the community. He was good looking, tall and was a mixture of African on his father's side with a mixture of African and Portuguese background from his mother's side. On his mother's side, his grandmother was African and his grandfather was Portuguese. From childhood, Lennox was a superstar. He had charisma, finesse and grace and all the girls loved him. He also had a quiet nature and loved the steelpan. As a young man, Lennox loved four things: steelpan, cinema, parties and liming. Sometimes, he would visit three or four panyards in one week during carnival. In those days panmen spent a lot of time in their panyards from Christmas through carnival. They would be found cleaning the pans or the yard, building racks, tuning or painting pans or just liming in the panyard talking with one other. There was always a lime in the panyard. If you were looking for a panman you checked the panyard. If he was not there you left a message. Soon, he contacted you.

One day, Lennox decided that he was going to play one of the steelpans. He went to the panyard. He climbed over the back fence and gazed at the shiny steelpans in the panyard. There was the bass, cellos, guitar and tenor pans. He could not believe that those drums of steel could make such beautiful sounds that people call music. It was a rainy afternoon so he believed that no one would come to the panyard. He was very lucky because he was sent home early from school due to the heavy rains. Whenever it rained heavy the schools closed. Lennox started to play one of the pans but he knew that he was playing with fire. If he was caught he could get a *calpet* to the head. There was a gate but the panyard was never locked. After practice, one of the panmen would pull in the gate and put an ordinary latch on it.

In those days, a young man could not enter a panyard and touch any of the pans. But, Lennox still decided to play the pan. Suddenly, he heard a loud noise. It was one of the panmen from the band. He had seen Roy enter the panyard. He waited until Lennox took out his pan sticks and touched the pan and then shouted: 'Boy, who send you? How all you young people have no respect. If I didn't know your father I would hit you a clout or beat your tail.' Lennox remained silent because he knew that if he said anything he would get two set of licks, one from the panman and the other from his father when he went home. The panman chased Lennox out of the panyard, yelling: 'Don't come back in this panyard.' Before Lennox arrived at home his father received the message that Roy was in the panyard. Lennox's father said nothing.

That Friday afternoon, as Lennox came home from school he knew that he was going to get licks from his father. The day before, when he ran away from home and went to the panyard, Mrs. Barrington told him to do his homework. While Lennox was doing his homework his friend Sylvan called him to go the panyard. He knew that his mother would not be pleased. And, his father forbade him many times from visiting the panyard. His father was very strict. His mother was also strict but when it came to sharing licks it was

his father who did the beating. The funny thing was that Mr. Barrington was an old panman who played in the Casablanca Steelband as a young man.

Mr. Barrington played the tenor (soprano) pan in Casablanca steelband (Blanca). At that time, the band's stalwart panmen were Philmore 'Boots' Davidson, Oscar Pile, Stout, Leslie "Tanker" George, Fred "Lilbit" Hackshaw and Francis "Patsy" Haynes. Their main badjohns were Baron, Bitterman, Cecil Dead, Desmond Beard and One-man. Later, Boots, Kenny Hart, Tanker, Mr. Stout and Lilbit left Casablanca with some of the other panmen to form City Syncopators (Synco). A few years before, Renegades had left Casablanca to form their own steelband. Cecil Dead was the first captain. Later, the famous badjohn Stephen 'Gold teeth' Nicholson was another Renegades captain. When City Syncopators broke away from Casablanca Mr. Brown stopped playing pan. And, even though he played mas with Synco, he never became a panman for the band. He believed that it was a betrayal to leave Blanca and beat pan with another band. Plus, he was getting older and going to the panyard after work was becoming more tiring. Now, he had a family three children to support.

After Synco broke away from Blanca, the band elected a new captain, Philmore "Boots" Davidson. Steelband leaders were called captains then. The band was first housed at Quarry Street in the Crescent in Kenny Hart's back yard. Kenny was a founding member of the band. After Boots left for England with the first national steelband, Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra (TASPO), Kenny became the captain. TASPO was the first steelband to tour Europe. Although Synco never won a Panorama competition, they became one of the largest sailor steelbands on carnival Tuesday playing "USS Detroit." Also, they won the soloist competition in the music festival when Kelvin Hart captured the first prize with his rendition of "Stardust." They went on to win best prize for their rendition of Poet and Peasant in the 1966 music festival competition, capturing the Margaret Russell Trophy. That victory was something the band could boast about because everyone expected North Stars, the most popular steelband in the music festival, to win that trophy.

Some of the founders of Synco were: Lilbit, Tanker, Gubby, Bujune and his two brothers, Bulb, Topy, William Turkey, Topsy, Walker, the Shine brothers, Kenny and Kelvin Hart. Later, the band moved to Morgan's Club where it remained for years. During that time, panmen like the Tash brothers, the Shine brothers, Bounsin and his brother Ranga, Selwyn and his brother Curtis McSween joined the band. The band practiced from Wednesday through Friday nights every week. On weekends the band would play out at different fetes as was customary in those days, when steelbands played at fetes after the carnival season. Steelbands played in clubs like Legion Hall, Paragon, Perseverance, Shell, The St. Paul Street Center, Seamen Waterfront Workers Trade Union, St. Cecelia's Hall, Stork Club, Philmore Hall, Hilland Hall, Good Samaritan Hall and Guardian Sports Club.

When Mr. Barrington found out that his son was in the panyard, he did not say a word to him although he was furious. But, Mr. Barrington knew that it was bound to happen. He

did the same thing as a child. His mother punished him for weeks when she was told by a neighbor that he went to a panyard. His father did not agree with his mother even though she asked for back-up from him. Mr. Barrington remembered her saying to him, 'You want to be like them hooligan boys and them.' Now, it was his turn to make a decision. He wondered, 'Will I follow my mother?' He would talk to his friend about it. Whenever Mr. Barrington had a problem he talked it over with Sam, his best friend. Their friendship went back to their days as students at Gloster Lodge Road School and as panmen in Casablanca steelband. Sam was always the wise one who looked at all the angles. He would tell him what to do.

Lennox knew that he would soon get some licks from his father. It was only a matter of time. For weeks his father said nothing to him about the panyard incident. But, Lennox knew that the licks were coming. That fateful day, his father called out to him: 'Lennox, bring the belt and come.' Immediately, Lennox cried out loud: 'Don't beat me daddy.' His mother said nothing. A woman could not interfere when a man was chastising a child. If she interfered she faced some licks too. It was easy not to interfere because Mrs. Barrington did not like steelbands. She learned the prejudices of her class against the steelband. She married a former panman but that was different. He did not know better but she can guide her son from following that lifestyle. She always wanted to move back to Belmont because her family was there. But, Mr. Barrington would have none of that. Over the years they had arguments about it. He told her, 'My navel string bury here. When you met me I was living here. Why should I move to Belmont? I don't know anybody in Belmont.' She knew it would come to this. Pan was in Lennox's blood. His father was a panman.

Now it was licks time. As Lennox approached his father, he started to tremble. Lennox's father held him over his knees and started to beat him on his buttocks with a belt shouting: 'I told you to keep away from the panyard. Like stick break in your ears.' After every stroke his father said to him: 'Why you don't like to listen?' After a couple of strokes Roy's mother intervened. She called out: 'Stop, you want to kill my son.' A woman could only intervene when a father is chastising a child but only after the father established his authority over the child. That was the African tradition that Africans in Trinidad inherited from their ancestors. Lennox's father stopped and admonished him: "Don't let me hear you went to a panyard again." Roy ran to his mother who hugged him and said: 'Boy, you must listen to your father when he talk to you.' The neighbors heard about the panyard affair. They talked about it for weeks. Lennox's friends teased him about it. 'You better don't let your father catch you in the panyard or is licks for your tail.'

The beating did not stop Lennox from visiting the panyards, especially around carnival time. As carnival approached, and unknown to his parents, Lennox started to visit a few panyards in the area. He visited Synco, City Symphony, Hilanders and All Stars. Although he had many school friends like Bradshaw, Skies, Claude, Bambi, Ben up, Barbie, Herbert, George, Aloma, Beverly and Sandra who lived up the hill, he did not visit Desperadoes or went down Bason Street to hear Renegades play. There was always a fight between these two bands with their young gangs: Thunderbirds and Lawbreakers.

Lennox worried that if a fight broke out while he was visiting these panyards and he got hurt, his father would kill him with licks. It was not that Lennox was scared but he just did not want to get his father into trouble. If you touch George Barrington's son or any of his children your days were numbered. Everyone knew that. And, the golden rule among steelbands then was that you never strayed from your neighborhood's band. If you did, you could encounter a beating from another steelband's members. Lennox knew that from listening to his grandfather's tales about the steelband movement. Lennox was brave but he was not a fool.

Lennox was not like other teenagers who joined steelbands and were always fighting. He did not participate in the gang rivalry among the steelbands. He just loved to play the steelpan. Lennox's favorite panyard was the one next to his home because there was a club next door to the band called Skipper's Club. All the *jamettes* used to hang out around Skipper's club. At nights, the saga boys and their women would visit the club to gamble and lime. Lennox liked the 'saga buy' life style. He liked to watch the beautiful women who came to the club to see their boyfriends. Many times a saga boy would see him and asked him: 'Boy, your father know you visiting clubs?' Lennox would just smile. Sometimes, one of the women, especially Irma Payne, would ask him if he wanted a sweet drink. He would say: 'No lady.' It was rumored that Ms. Payne liked young boys. Some say that is how she kept young. Lennox did not take the bait. That was to come later when he became a panman.

Soon, Lennox was a regular in the panyard. He wanted to keep it a secret from his father. But his presence was no secret because most of the panmen used to shop at his father's parlor. Lennox felt comfortable among them. He started seeing himself as a panman. The elders liked him because he was always respectful and did not have an attitude like some of the other boys who came around the panyard. The band was trying to change it's image from being a badjohn band and did not encourage bad behavior in the band. The band's new captain was Phillip 'Thunder' Charles. Thunder liked Mrs. Barrington but he was also friends with Mr. Barrington. He knew that if her husband only found out how he felt about Mrs. Barrington there would be a fight between them. So, he kept his distance except to say good morning or good night to her. He did not care to start anything with Mr. Brown because once started it would have no end until one of them was dead. He was getting too old for these fights. He decided to talk to Mr. Barrington about Lennox. He had seen Lennox in the panyard playing one of the pans and he liked what he heard. But, he knew that people did not like their sons to join steelbands. 'Anyway, George is an old panman so he might not mind,' he said to himself.

Thunder remembered the last time he was in a steelband riot and how he chopped Eddie Sankar from Sun Valley Steelband. He went to court for six months before they dismissed the case. For years after that incident, every carnival day his band and Sun Valley would get in a fight. Of course, he and Sankar are friends now. Thunder's sister and Lennox's mother were friends. She was one of the first women to join the police service in Trinidad and graduated from the police barracks with fifteen other police women. That impressed Roy's mother. She would say: 'Thunder's sister has ambition, I proud of her,' as if

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Thunder's sister needed her approval. Thunder believed that since the band was no longer engaged in fights it would be easy for him to convince Lennox's parents to accept their son as a panman, especially his father. His mother was another story. He knew how she felt about panmen and steelbands. 'They are low class and have no ambition,' he heard her say many times. 'Why don't they get out of that panyard and get a job?' she often asked him. He would reply: 'Them boys ain't bothering anybody Mrs. Barrington.'

The steelband that Lennox wanted to join was famous for its Sailor mas during the carnival. Every year, the band played "USS Brooklyn on leave," which was a sailor band. The band sometimes had almost two thousand masqueraders on a carnival Tuesday. Most of their panmen were saga boys (good dressers) and had lots of women. They were able to attract many women supporters for the band. Every steelband had their famous women supporters. All Stars had their Irma Payne, Christine, Marline, Wendy, Ingrid, Alma, Cherry, Mayfield and Yvonne "Bobooloops" Charles; Renegades had Sakina, Gemma, Gloria and Marlene; City Symphony had the Mills sisters and Angela, Winnie. Desperadoes had Pearly Swine. The steelband that grabbed Roy's interests had women supporters like Merle Grant, Jocelyn Sobers, Cynthia Christian and her sister Mary and Zoeley. On carnival days, some of these steelbands women waved their band's flag. People called them flag women.

Among the working-class, their jobs like driving taxis, stevedores, barbering, shoemaking, and tailoring gave them access to some of the women in the community. But, the other serious competitor was the panman. If you could play pan well you had plenty women. Besides pan, the other non-wage activity that attracted some of the women was soccer. If you were a member of Malvern, Dynamos, Colts or Maple soccer club (teams that had mostly African members) you had it made with the women. But, the panman reigned supreme in the fetes. Once, when All Stars played at Legion Hall on Richmond Street, all the saga boys and their pretty well-dressed women attended. At least, one Saturday a month steelbands played in the different fetes around the town.

Whenever a woman attended one of those fetes she would talk about it for weeks. You could hear her saying, 'I had a good time last week. It was fete for so.' It was a thrill to see women with their husbands or boyfriends walking down Duke Street to Henry Street to catch a taxi to go to Legion Hall or Guardian to attend a steelband fete. At these fetes Steelbands played together with one of the popular orchestras like Norman "Tex" Williams, Cecil Fitt, Clarence Curvan or Fitz Vaughn Bryon. Old Years night was the biggest fete of all at Seaman Waterfront Workers Trade Union Hall where Sir Sel Duncan Orchestra held court. They called it Pink and White Affair. I guess it was because the men wore black suits and women wore white dresses with pink roses. That was the night the working-class gathered to have their new year's ball.

In those days, parties were separated and called: "two to six"; "Dutch party" and "fetes". The two to six parties started at 2 p.m. and ended at 6 p.m., hence the name. They were for small children. The Dutch parties started around 7 p.m. and ended around 10 p.m. It derived its name because you had to bring your own eats and drinks. They were for young

people. The adults attended fetes that started at 9 p.m. and ended at 3 a.m. There were always adults at the young people parties. There, both groups would intermingle with a watchful eye from the adults who kept a strong eye on the boys to ensure that they did not move on the girls. Some schools like Nelson Street Boys and Girls, Eastern Boys and Girls, Sacred Heart Girls, Providence Girls, Tranquility Boys and Girls, Richmond Street Boys, Belmont Intermediate Boys and St. Roses Girls held two to six parties on Easter and Christmas holidays and at carnival time for their students and friends.

When Lennox was sixteen years old his parents held a birthday party for him. They invited the neighborhood boys and girls. The birthday party was another place for boys to meet girls and girls to meet boys. All the beautiful girls came to the party. Christine, Diane, Leila, Patsy, Lorna, Janice, Gloria, Jennifer and Yvonne were the first ones to show up. They loved to dance and loved parties. Also, they all had panmen as boyfriends. The saga boys Rupert, Dan, Clyde, Clinton, Jim, Leslie, Calvin, Lennox, Tracy and Stafford were at the party. They played record music by Joey Lewis, Clarence Curvan, Fitz Vaughn Bryan and Hilanders. Hilanders was a young popular steelband with teenage panmen.

Hilanders steelband practiced at Mango Rose on Piccadilly Street. Its first captain was Kim Loy. The band had two hit tunes called "Gypsy Rondo" and "May the good lord." which the radio played every weekend. All the young people loved Hilanders. They were a new sound. After Kim went to America, the band's new captain was Bertie Marshall from Armed Forces steelband who came to Hilanders after Armed Forces broke up. Bertie created the electric steelpan and the double tenor steelpan. He was the arranger and tuner for another Hilanders bomb arrangement of 'Let every valley be exalted.' The Clarence Curvan orchestra was another teenage band from St. Vincent Street, Port of Spain. The orchestra's first hit tune was called "Teensville." Led by Clarence, the orchestra was made up of Roy Cape, Conrad Little, Darlington, Beverly Griffith (arranger) and Tobias. Roy danced the night away with his new girlfriend Christine, who kept her eyes on him whole night so that he would not stray. Everyone was caught up in the new dance called 'saga ting.'

It was customary for young panmen to join a steelband's stage side and to play at fetes with their various steelbands. If a steelband got into a fight at a fete, then those young men defended their bands sometimes with their lives. It was not unheard of to hear stories about some young panman being beaten or cut up in a fight at one of the fetes or clubs. One night there was a party at Miramar club. A big fight started between panmen from Renegades and Invaders steelbands. The rumor was that the fight started over a young woman named Sakina, who was Gold Teeth' woman. Gold Teeth was the notorious badjohn who worked as a bouncer at Miramar club. A panman from Invaders asked Sakina to dance. She refused and he slapped her. Not an unusual behavior among some panmen. Gold Teeth used to carry a razor which he used to cut the man's face. The fete ended as bottles and stones were thrown inside. People scattered and hurriedly left and headed home. Sometimes, these fights went into the carnival season ending in large steelband clashes on carnival day. Sometimes the police arrested a few of the panmen. If the party was at carnival time the judge held the case over until after carnival. The Judge

would threaten the steelbands that if they fought on carnival day he would hand out harsh jail sentences when the panmen trial came up later.

The day that Lennox decided to join the steelband next door he was studying for his teacher's certificate, which he passed. He then got a teaching job at Cavalry Boy's school, which was one of the neighborhood's schools near Piccadilly Street. By that time Lennox's father had mellowed and things were changing. The community steelbands had started to enlist a few middle-class boys in the community. Also, Mr. Barrington's friends started telling him: 'Leave the boy alone, he ain't troubling anybody.' Mr. Barrington thought to himself that if he could not prevent Lennox from becoming a panist he would make sure he became the best panist. But, he would wait until Lennox asked his permission. One day Mr. Barrington father talked to Thunder and told him: 'Whenever you see my boy in the panyard take care of him for me.' Lennox's mother did not approve. She had a fit when she heard that Lennox was visiting the panyard. She said to Lennox: 'I don't want any panman in my house. You would not let them boys mash up my place. I will speak to your father about this.'

At that time, parents whose sons joined a steelband exposed themselves and their parents' property to great dangers. The parents were afraid that steelband members would throw stones at the house or threatened the other family members with bodily harm. That thought was not far fetched. One Discovery holiday weekend at a fete, Ms. Mamet's son who lived next door and was a panman from Renegades Steelband got into a fight with a panman from Sun Valley, a steelband from Nelson Street. For the next a few nights some Sun Valley panmen threw stones at the house and broke a few windows. It was the talk of the neighborhood for months. Everyone was scared. Mrs. Brown was taking no chances with her son and her house. She would have to speak to Mr. Brown about this steelband thing. 'There would be no panman in my house,' she kept saying to herself.

But, Mr. Barrington had the final word in Lennox's home. So, Lennox decided to work on his father. What he did not know was that his father had already decided to permit him to play with the band. Although he had concerns and feared for his son, he knew that the steelband was in his blood. But, he would wait until Lennox posed the question. One night, Lennox approached his father who sat on the verandah smoking his pipe. Whenever his father smoked his pipe he was in a good mood. Lennox told him that he wanted to play pan in the band next door. He explained to his father that the band's fighting days were behind them and it was now a decent steelband so he did have to worry about fights. He mentioned that there were many policemen like Prime, Mondazi, Smart, Leach and Babb who all played mas in the band for carnival. His father knew that because they were his friends.

Often times, Mr. Barrington would spend Friday nights at the Lucky Jordon club on Prince Street gambling with them. Other times, he feted with them at the police fete at Guardian Club. So, that did not convince his father. He knew they would try to protect his son if there was a fight. What worried him was the stigma attached to steelbands. It did not matter if you were a decent young man, once you joined a steelband people branded you

a hooligan or vagabond. That was not for his son, he thought. Again, he said to himself: 'Maybe it will be different. Things seem to be changing.' He thought about the college boys who opened a band last week. These were students from the prestigious colleges like St. Mary's, Fatima and Queen's Royal College. 'Maybe it was time for me to change,' he thought.

Lennox believed that the mere mention of policemen playing in the band would seal the deal. In those days, policemen were highly respected by parents and feared by children. And, most of the policemen were of African descent. Also, many policemen lived in their respective communities. So, everyone in the community knew their policemen. And, policemen, like teachers, were seen as an extension of parents. Many times, a policeman would come to a home to inform the parents of a child's behavior on the street. They would warn the parent: 'Tell the boy to stay away from the corner or he go get into trouble.' That warning was enough for a parent to tighten the discipline on a child. The police were always on the look out for young men who belonged to a descent family. If they saw such a young man liming on the corner, especially on the Piccadilly Street's bridge, they would tell him to go home. If they saw him another time, they would threaten to arrest him. After that, it was hide and seek between the young man and the police as the young man continued to lime but would run home whenever he saw a policeman coming.

The next night, as Mr. Barrington and his wife laid on the bed old talking, she complained to him about her concerns for Lennox's safety if he joined the steelband. 'Nobody can touch my son, he told her.' She knew what he meant. It was only since he married her that he changed. She had no regrets even though her family objected to her marrying a panman. Mr. Barrington was kind and he took care of his family. She never had to beg her family for help even when they nearly loss the house through Mr. Barrington's gambling. She knew that Mr. Barrington opened the parlor so that they could make some extra money. Even though he told her that it was because he didn't want his wife to work. She believed that too. When she finished expressing her concerns, Mr. Barrington smiled. She knew it would be pointless because he already made up his mind. But, she gave her two cents anyway and Mr. Barrington gave his permission. Mr. Barrington was a gentle but firm man. He never argued with her. He would listen to her and then decide for the family. They were his primary responsibility as head of his household.

Soon, Lennox started going to the panyard every afternoon after school to attend practice sessions. He chose the double seconds pan as his favorite instrument. He was a quick learner even though he had to commit all the tunes to memory. Lennox's pan playing did not affect his studies so his parents did not interfere with his daily appearances in the panyard. As a matter of fact, Lennox seemed to be doing better with his grades in school. He felt proud to be a panman. His father was even prouder. Not, Mr. Barrington's friends. They asked questions like, 'Why you let the boy play pan?' They had their concerns and said, 'Just now he go be a badjohn.' Mr. Barrington replied, 'It only have one badjohn in my house, don't worry.'

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Lennox took his panmanship very seriously. Every practice evening Lennox would dress in his best clothes and put his pansticks in his back pocket and leave for the panyard. In those days, panmen dressed up to go the panyard because there were always beautiful girls in the panyard. Lennox was the first panman I saw playing with his wrists. He had a style of copping the notes on the pan to silence the sound before playing another note. Some say that he was better than Jack or Zeph, two of the best pan soloists at the time. Lennox became one of the band's leading panmen. But, Lennox was a saga boy who loved plenty women. He started seeing Barbara, a girl who lived at Success Village. Lennox soon left the band to join the Success Village steelband. He wanted to be near Barbara. The band had two popular arrangers, the Johnson brothers. One was a teacher and the other taught music. Their sister, Merle became a famous Panorama judge. The band was one of the steelbands that played in the bi-annual Steelband Music Festival. Lennox was the band's soloist. He won the soloists category outplaying Jack and Kelvin.

Carlyle Roberts approached the principal at Cavalry to permit him to open a steelband at the school. He felt that the time was ripe to open a student steelband at the school. The principal refused to allow it. Carlyle was not pleased. He believed that the principal was against the steelband because of latent prejudices. Soon, Carlyle left and started to teach at Nelson Street Boy's school. At Nelson Street School, Carlyle still continued to play pan. While teaching at Nelson Street School he tried to organize another steelband at the school. But, Carlyle met with strong resistance again from the school's principal. He decided to organize the teachers. This time Carlyle was adamant that there would be a student steelband at the school.

Carlyle began liming on Nelson Street and started playing soccer with the Plan Rangers, one of the top soccer teams in the area. All the while Roy believed that having a steelband for students, especially since a few of them lived on Nelson Street, was the right thing to do. But, it was not like today where there are steelbands in many of the schools and principals boast that their students play the country's national instrument. Back then, all the schools had an unwritten rule that forbade their students from getting involved with steelbands. If a student was found to be playing pan he could be expelled. Carlyle started to organize the other teachers in the school. He explained to them the social significance of having a student steelband in the school. 'This is our school,' he said. 'If we cannot have a steelband in this school where we could have it? Look up the street, we have two steelbands here, Blue Diamonds and Sun Valley. Why we can't have a steelbands for the school children?'

Carlyle decided to hold a teachers meeting. He got some of the teachers to agree and they decided to approach the school's principal. By that time, Carlyle was known for his skills as a panman at music festivals. It was coming close to Christmas time so he was very busy preparing for the annual music festival to be held at Woodford Square. The steelband association was holding its annual Christmas festival for the steelbands. They called it "Carols and Classics" because the steelbands were only permitted to play Christmas carols and Classical music at the show. All the steelbands were busy preparing for the popular Christmas festival. He decided to invite the school principal to the show.

He thought that if the principal was impressed with the show, perhaps he would give his permission. It was worth a try. The premier steelband at the time was situated in St. James, West of Port of Spain and was famous for its renditions of classical music and Christmas carols.

That year, the steelband association decided that they should appear only as a guest artist and not take part in the competition. Each steelband had to play a Christmas carol and a classical piece at the competition. The judges would choose the best playing steelband and that band would be carols and classics champion for the year. On competition night the principal appeared. Carlyle's band did not win the competition but he won first prize as soloist for the band. He liked what he heard and decided to grant Carlyle permission to open a student's steelband at the school.

When the steelband association decided to hold its first Panorama competition, every steelband in Trinbago, except All Stars joined the steelband association. They were all excited to play in the nation's first Panorama. Only steelbands that were members of the association were permitted to enter the competition. All Stars steel orchestra was not a member of the association so they could not play in the first Panorama. They entered their first Panorama three years later when they joined the association.

Competition was fierce for steelband supremacy in the Panorama. The arrangers drilled the panmen nightly beginning at the end of the Christmas holidays when most of the steelbands started their practice. Steelbands at that time had in-house arrangers from the band. It was not yet the time of absentee arrangers. Most of the bands had no sponsors so they could not afford to hire outside arrangers. More important, steelbands were too proud to have a nonmember arranger for the band. Steelbands were totally self sufficient with in-house arrangers and tuners. Carlyle was in the panyard every night.

As the time for Panorama drew near some steelbands practiced until dawn the next day. Carlyle would come home to sleep for a few hours. Then he got up and took a shower and return to the panyard around 2 p.m. the next day. One night, Carlyle decided to leave pan practice and visit some other steelbands. That was a rarity for panmen in those days because most panmen did not visit other steelbands. But, Carlyle wanted to hear City Symphony whose captain was Michigan. Michigan was also the band's tuner and arranger. City Symphony never won a competition but was always a force at the Panorama. Their fame came on a jouvert morning when the band played a tune called "Night and Day" as their bomb tune. It was sensational. Panmen still talk about it.

Carlyle arrived at the City Symphony's panyard around 9 p.m. with his friend Frankie. The band was practicing. As soon as they entered the panyard Frankie realized that something was wrong. The yard got silent. As he turned around he noticed one of the famous Silk hats bad boys. Frankie said to Carlyle, 'We better leave.' But, Carlyle was not afraid of anybody. He said: 'Whey you worrying about, I with you?' Soon, one of the Mills brothers approached us. 'How all you straying so,' he asked. Frankie was a little afraid but felt protected by Carlyle. The Silk hats fellow said again, 'Who bring all you here?' It

happened so fast. Carlyle drew a knife from his waist shaking it in the Mills brother's face. Carlyle asked him, 'What you going to do about it?' he asked. A question the guy could not answer. So he walked away. Carlyle and his friend continued to listen to the band which played their bomb tune "Night and Day" in preparation for the jouvert bomb competition that year. Carlyle was not a violent person. He never started a fight, but he did not back down from a fight. He once said, 'I ain't afraid nobody because we all could die.' Everyone knew that you never picked a fight with Carlyle unless you were prepared to go the distance. Plus, if you got into a fight with Carlyle, you had to deal with his father who wasn't easy.

Soon, the fights among the steelbands were decreasing. The country's new political leader arranged for the businesses to sponsor some of the steelbands. This was done to quell the fights during the carnival season. Sponsors let their bands know that if they got into any fights they would lose their sponsorship. Carlyle's band sought a sponsor for the band. When the band was offered a sponsorship Carlyle was very proud. He believed that the band would travel abroad to places like America and Europe. Carlyle approached the manager, Peter Birmingham of White Heather Club. Mr. Birmingham liked the band and promised to talk to his partners. He did and they decided to sponsor the band. But, there was one condition. The band had to change their name and use the sponsor's name. Roy could not accept that. So the band sought another sponsor.

Carlyle decided to approach the manager of Alchemist Drug Store on Duke Street. The store opened twenty-four hours every day. It was the neighborhood's hospital for simple illnesses like stomach aches, colds, tooth aches, fever and small cuts or bruises. If you woke up in the night with one of those simple illnesses you either went to Alchemist or sent one of the children to buy a remedy. It was also known to dispose unwanted babies for some women by providing medicine for the disposal. Mr. Mitchell, the owner was proud that he was asked to sponsor a neighborhood steelband. After all, he lived up Laventille and already assisted Desperadoes, the band from the Hill. It was all set. The band would receive printed jerseys and pants for any competition they entered. Also, Alchemist agreed to pay for transportation to and from the competitions. It was a deal. The band practiced night and day as the competition got close on the horizon. Now that the band had a sponsor it could concentrate on winning the Panorama.

The life of the panman was at times dangerous but exciting. There was the beauty of providing music for the people but sometimes the people complained about the arrangement. Pan supporters criticized their band's arrangement if they believed that it was missing something. Most of them could not read music but they had good ears. They knew a masterpiece when they heard it. One year, when Cavaliers finished playing their tune the crowd in the savannah knew the band won. They were right. On Ash Wednesday, the newspapers announced that Cavaliers won the Panorama.

In those days, the newspapers always published the Panorama results on Ash Wednesday. That way, if there was any disagreement about the winning steelband, at least there would be no fights on carnival day. I remember one time they announced the

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winning band on of Panorama night. It was not a popular win. The winning band did not appear on the main roads for carnival. They received threats from some steelbands that there would be fights if they passed down Park Street. The band did not want to get their instruments destroyed by other steelbands so they took another route. As the band reached Green corner they turned right into St. Vincent Street and headed to Marine Square, now called Independence Square. For years, the band continued to turn on St. Vincent Street to avoid a fight.

The captain of Carlyle's band asked the arranger to choose a calypso for the panorama competition. The arranger chose a calypso called "Sooky" by a Guyanese calypsonian. That would not do for some of the pan players. They called for a new calypso. The arranger refused. The captain held a meeting. After listening to the members, the captain decided that he was supporting the arranger's choice. Not a member disagreed. To do so, would have invited the wrath of the captain. The captain's word was law. The captain was known to issue a ban on members who disagreed with his decisions. He used to say, 'A steelband is not a democracy.' If you wanted to play at the Panorama you kept your mouth shut. If the band lost there would be strong arguments after carnival. If the band won they would praise the captain for his insight. The band lost. On Ash Wednesday morning, when the panmen gathered in the panyard to receive their pay, they started to argue with the captain. A fight broke out and the captain had to defend himself. Panmen were forced to take sides. The panmen who challenged the captain lost the fight and left the band.

Carlyle started seeing a girl from St. James. Her name was Gemma. She lived on Benares Street in St. James. Soon, he left his steelband and joined a steelband in the St. James area. It was easy to join the band even though he was not from the area because everyone knew of his skills as a panman. Also, the band was never in fights with any other steelband. And, Carlyle never participated in any of the steelband fights. But, Carlyle lacked discipline and loved chasing women. So, a band never knew when he would leave. His friends used to tell the captain, 'Cap, make sure no woman from San Fernando ain't come round the band because Carlyle go join a South band.' He had confidence in his pan skills and knew he was good. He was known to catch a tune after only hearing it a couple of times. Any steelband would be better for having Carlyle in their band. So, he did not like come to practice every day like the other panmen. He was too busy running after women even though he was still seeing Jeanette from Belmont.

The third night that Carlyle did not show up for practice the captain went looking for him. He knew that Carlyle limered on the bridge on Piccadilly Street where panmen gathered every night to talk about pan and women. On the discussion about pan, it was usually centered on which steelband was the best in some past Panorama or Bomb competition. Sometimes the pan conversation focused on the recent Panorama. The panmen and panjumbies (steelband supporters) dissected each Panorama or Bomb competition to determine who really won. Other times, they talked about past carnival fights and who started it. Or, who got cut up or chopped with a cutlass or who won a fist fight. When they finished the pan talk they turned to the state of women near and far and wide. Or, who

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was horning (being unfaithful) which man? Most panmen did not treat women well. They were known to abuse women. If a decent woman started dating a panman she lost whatever status she had in the community.

Carlyle's steelband's captain was a disciplinarian when it came to band practice. If you miss practice he would come looking for you. If he found you it could lead to a fight and most times the panman lost. The captain was strong with a reputation for beating Gold Teeth from Renegades in a fight at Miramar club a few years ago. People said, 'If you beat Gold Teeth you is badjohn.' So, the captain was feared. But, Selwyn was not afraid of any man. Since he always knew the tune and was always prepared he did not see the need to attend practice every night. And, he needed time to visit his women.

On the third night that Carlyle did not show up for pan practice, he was liming on the bridge on Piccadilly Street. Suddenly, someone said, 'Look your captain coming.' As Carlyle looked down Duke Street he saw the captain. As the captain approached Theodore's funeral home, Selwyn jumped off the bridge and waited. The captain spoke, 'Why you ain't coming to practice?' Carlyle answered, 'Like you is my father or what.' The captain said, 'No, but I could beat you like your father.' As the captain raised his hand, a voice from across the street cried out, 'That is my son, you can't do that.' It was Carlyle's father. The captain knew Carlyle's father because years ago their bands were locked in a big riot. The captain's band lost that fight so he knew this was not going to be easy. He said to Carlyle's father, 'This is your son, I only come to talk to him about practice.' Carlyle's father replied, 'Talk to him but keep your hands in your pocket.' The discussion was over. The three of them went to Chubby's Bar and Snackette to drink some beers.

After that incident, Carlyle started to attend practice regularly. His father talked to him about the matter. Carlyle respected his father. He remembered that when other fathers refused to permit their sons permission to join a steelband, his father didn't mind. So Carlyle listened to his father who said to him: 'If you want to beat pan, you have to be the best. How you think Jack, Patsy and Shoreland become such good panmen? Them boys used to be in the panyard every night practicing.' While he talked to Carlyle, his mother Mrs. Wilson looked on. She still did not like her son playing pan. But, it seemed that there was no trouble. 'No police ever come looking for him,' she thought. She was still suspicious but she kept her peace. 'If Mr. Wilson had no problem with it, it must be okay,' she consoled herself. But, she still had to face her family when she visited her mother in Belmont or saw her friends in town. 'Your son still beating pan?' they would ask. Mrs. Wilson's mother never accepted the fact that her precious daughter married a panman. She felt ashamed and told Mrs. Wilson so. Mrs. Wilson had faith that even though her son was a panman, he was not a badjohn or a vagabond as others believed. After all, she raised him.

The school's steelband was going well. Some of the parents were very excited. They saw a change in their children's behavior. Other parents were totally against the idea. They demanded that the principal excuse their children from joining the steelband. They saw the school's steelband as a breeding ground for violence and idleness. Also, the nearby

church was starting to preach, in their Sunday sermons, about the evils of steelband music and the bad influences on the children. Father Kennedy

The annual carols and classics concert in Woodford Square was coming up soon. Carlyle wanted the band to appear on the show. The band practiced three afternoons a week after school. The principal allowed the band to use the school yard to practice. He borrowed some pans from a few neighborhood bands. His vision was to have the school appear as a guest band. He talked to the president of the steelband association. It would be no problem. The president felt he could swing it with the executive committee. 'You know them big panmen don't like little boys band,' he said to Carlyle. 'But, we go work it out.' Carlyle said, 'What about them children steelband from Belmont up Belau Road?' 'Them from Belmont,' the president responded. Carlyle now had a full schedule: teaching, his steelband, the school steelband and dating women.

Even though Carlyle was seeing other women, his relationship with Jeanette was still going on. They knew each other since high school. Yes, there were other women but Jeanette stuck with him even though she hated panmen. She started to visit his home but would not visit the panyard. He was still living with his parents behind the bridge. On carnival day, Jeanette would be in the band pulling Carlyle's pan. She never liked pan but since her man played pan she was not going to be foolish and let some other woman pull his pan. Every woman knew you could loose your man to a woman who pulled his pan. The women used to say: 'Pulling the pan gets the man.' Jeanette might have been a convent girl but she would do anything to keep her man. She always stayed close behind Roy's pans. One Jouvert morning as Carlyle's band was on Henry Street heading to the Savannah, a woman was looking at Carlyle. He was very stylish when he played the steelpan. She eased up to the rack that carried his pan and started to pull it. Jeanette was in the band and saw the woman. She yelled to the woman: 'Leave my man pan.

Jeanette started to visit Carlyle's home. She liked to talk to Mrs. Wilson. And, Mrs. Wilson liked her because Jeanette was from Belmont. She hardly spoke to Mr. Wilson except to say good night. Mr. Wilson would silently reply: 'Good night to you too.' Then, she would go to the kitchen to talk to Mrs. Wilson. Mrs. Wilson always asked about her parents. She Brown would warn Jeanette that Carlyle had lots of women but he told her that he liked her the most. Jeanette felt comforted to hear that. She knew she could not do anything about Carlyle's women. That was the price for loving a panman. But, knowing that she was the favorite was helpful. She was in love with Carlyle and she liked his family. Well, she liked Mrs. Wilson.

Everyone in the neighborhood talked about Carlyle and Jeanette. They wondered how he won Jeanette's heart when they knew she was a convent girl and did not like pan. But, Carlyle was no ordinary panman. The neighborhood was full of young couples: Curtis and Judith; Rupert and Wendy; Jim and Lorna; Russell and Jennifer; Smart and Gemma; Michael and Clarita, Johnny and Rosie and Audra and Gloria. Mrs. Wilson liked Jeanette because she was from Belmont and she felt that Jeanette would lead Carlyle away from the pan. Mr. Wilson was suspicious of Jeanette. He would often say: 'I know her kind.

They feel they better than we.’ Once he told his son: ‘Belmont people don’t like town people.’ Mrs. Wilson shouted, ‘I from Belmont, how come I like you.’

Carlyle and Jeanette met at a Dutch party while they were both in high school. The party was held on French Street at one of her girl friend’s home in Woodbrook. She had lots of girl friends from Woodbrook. Whenever they had a party they invited Jeanette. She never saw too many dark-skinned girls at the party and hardly any Indians girls. But, there were a lot of brown-skinned boys. Most of the boys lived in the area on streets with names like Gatacre, Baden-Powell, Carlos, Anna, French, Hamilton and White. She knew of a few steelbands in the neighborhood with names like Invaders and Starlift. She remembered her friends trying to encourage her to play mas in Starlift steelband which had plenty of young people. The band was playing a mas they called “Shindig.” She wanted to play with Saldenah’s (Sally) mas band. Sally had his mas camp on Oxford Street and it was near to her home. A few of her friends were playing mas with Sally so she wanted to play with Sally.

At the Dutch party, Jeanette was enjoying herself when Carlyle came up to her and asked her to dance. She accepted. She never saw him before and didn’t know he was a panman. As a matter of fact, she thought he was from the area. He had a way with words and he could dance. She remembered that he had one of the new haircuts called a flat top. Her heart pounded as she thought about their first meeting. Carlyle asked for her address but she would not give it to him. She just said Belmont. He said nothing. They danced a couple of times and then he left her. She could see that he was popular with the other girls at the party. Every now and again she caught him looking at her and she would turn away from his gaze. She asked her friend Margaret about him. Margaret replied: ‘He is a friend of one of the girls who goes to Bishop’s. She brought him to the party.’ Carlyle did not ask her to dance for the rest of the night.

The next time that Jeanette saw Carlyle, it was on a sunny afternoon while she was walking home from school with her friends. He was liming with some other boys. Carlyle saw her but pretended not to. As she passed him he turned away. She did not call him because decent girls did not speak to boys on the street. That night, all she thought about was Carlyle. She even thought about him while she did her homework. She knew other boys but Carlyle was different. He was too sure of himself. She did not have a serious boyfriend so there was an opening for Carlyle. He made an impression on her and she could not get him out of her mind. She could not wait to tell her best friend Savatri Samaroo about him. She told Savatri everything and she believed that Savatri did the same. She knew Savatri since they were small children. Savatri lived with her parents on Myler Street, not too far from her house. They attended St. Margaret’s Catholic Church together as little girls and made their first communion and confirmation on the same Sunday. They went everywhere together.

The next day, after school Jeanette and Savatri were walking to the Central library on Belmont Circular Road. As they walked, Jeanette said to Savatri: ‘I met a boy at a party last weekend.’ Savatri wanted to hear more. She asked: ‘Where is he from?’ ‘I don’t

know,' Jeanette replied. 'But I like him.' As they continued walking to the library she saw Carlyle. Jeanette said to Savatri: 'Look, it's him. The boy I was telling you about.' Savatri looked at Roy and said: 'I know him. He is a friend of my cousin Boyie.' Boyie played pan in Starland steelband. As Jeanette and Savatri passed by Roy, Jeanette tried to avoid eye contact with Carlyle. But, she could see he was looking at her. Savatri said to her: 'He does lime by the Savannah with the boys from Cadiz Road.'

Every afternoon after school, Jeanette looked forward to seeing Carlyle by the Savannah. She liked to walk in the Botanical Gardens, near the Zoo. Sometimes after school, she and her friends would sit on a bench around the Savannah and look at the cars and taxis with their passengers traveling to Maraval and St. Clair. One afternoon she saw Carlyle sitting on a bench by the Savannah, near Jermingham Avenue. She wondered what he was doing there. As she tried to avoid his gaze he saw her and called her. She did not know what to do. He stood up and came towards her smiling. 'Where are you going?' 'I going home.' 'I saw you looking at me the other day by the library.' 'I was not looking at you.' 'You are the same girl I met at the party on French Street, what's your name?' She did not answer but walked away, her heart pounding so heavily she wondered if he heard it. He said to her: 'How you making style so?' 'I am not making style but I don't talk to boys on the street.' Carlyle said to Jeanette: 'Why you convent girls like to make style?' Roy had his heart set on Jeanette.

The Easter holidays were approaching. Every Easter Saturday, Sunday and Monday there were fetes and parties. There were also bus excursions to the beaches at Manzanilla, Balandra, Las Cuevas and Claxton. Others went to Dean's Bay in Carenage. Hilland Hall on Belmont Circular Road held an annual Easter party. Jeanette wanted to go but she did not know if Roy would ask her. Carlyle already knew that he was going. His parents were members of Hilland Hall Friendly Society and he was invited. On Easter Monday night every young person, who was somebody went to the party. They played the recorded hits of the popular local steelbands and orchestras: Hilanders, Silver Stars, Invaders and Starlift, Joey Lewis, Clarence Curvan, Joe "Chet" Sampson, Ansil Wyatt and Silver Strings. Carlyle invited Jeanette to the Hilland party.

On Easter Sunday night, all the beautiful young people gathered at Hilland Hall. Jeanette came to the party. She sat on one of the chairs provided for the young ladies. It was customary to have seats for the young girls. They would sit and wait for the boys to approach and ask them to dance. As Carlyle was on his way to the bar to get a rum punch, he saw Jeanette. She looked beautiful in her peddle pusher pants and flowered blouse. Her hair was straightened. She carried a little white handbag on her shoulders. 'This is it,' he said to himself. 'She's mine tonight.' He approached Jeanette and asked her to dance. She said no. He was not taking no for an answer. He asked why. She said she was already dancing with someone. 'Who' He asked? He decided to wait and see. She was only teasing him.

After five minutes she said: 'Okay, let's dance.' Carlyle was a great dancer. Jeanette liked the way he held her, not too close but tight enough. While dancing, Carlyle said to her: 'I

taking you home tonight.' 'You must be mad, my father coming to meet me.' They continued dancing. Suddenly, one of the girls at the party said: 'Roy, leave some for me.' Jeanette asked him: 'Who is that girl?' 'Nobody,' he said. Roy left her after dancing with her for five straight sets. He went to talk to some of his male friends. It was then it happened. One of Carlyle's girl friends attacked Jeanette in the bathroom. 'Why don't you leave my man alone,' the girl said. 'Which man you talking about?' Jeanette asked. 'You know who I talking about.' Jeanette knew the girl was talking about Carlyle but said nothing. The girl then left the bathroom. Jeanette was never so scared in her life.

After the party, Carlyle walked Jeanette to her home which was not too far away. While they walked, she asked him if he knew a boy called Boyie. 'Yes,' He said. He asked her: 'Who told you I know him?' 'My friend,' Jeanette answered. Carlyle dropped her at her gate and kissed her good night. Jeanette ran up the stairs and opened the door. Her mother was standing behind the door. She asked: 'Who was that boy you were kissing?' Her mother had been peeping through the bedroom window and saw her. Jeanette answered: 'I met him at the party.' 'Do we know his family?' the mother continued. 'No,' said Jeanette and hurried to her room.

The next day Jeanette's father approached her. He asked her why she did not wait for him at the party. She said that a friend dropped her home. 'What friend?' he enquired. She said a friend from her school. The mother said nothing but called Jeanette to her room. When they were inside the room, her mother asked her, 'Girl, why you lying to your father?' 'I not lying Ma,' she said. The boy you saw me with last night is my friend.' 'What kind of friend,' the mother asked. 'He is a friend from school.' 'How come I don't know him?' Jeanette remained silent. It was then the mother said, 'I don't mind you having a boyfriend but you must introduce him to us. We want to know his family.'

It was now three years since Carlyle and Jeanette started seeing each other. She had many arguments with her family over Carlyle. But, she loved him and was not going to give him up. The first time she found out that Carlyle was a panman she almost fainted. She would often see him and say hello. She really liked him. It happened when he invited her to go to a movie at Deluxe cinema. She told her parents that she and Savatri were going to the movies. She met him at the cinema alone. During the movie Carlyle put his hand around her shoulder. She did not resist. Then he started kissing her and she liked it. He attempted to put his hand under her dress but she resisted. He kissed her a couple more times and she kissed him back He tried again to put his hands under her dress but she held out, even though she was wet in her panties. She never felt that way before.

After the movie, they walked down Frederick Street to do some window shopping. As they walked Carlyle put his hand around her waist and she held his hand and smiled. As they reached Duke Street Carlyle turned right towards Lovers Lane by Sacred Heart Church on Richmond Street. Jeanette asked: 'Where we going?' He said: 'No where,' 'If we going nowhere I am going home,' said Jeanette. Carlyle turned around and they headed back to Frederick Street. They stopped at Stephen's store and looked at the furniture sets, beds and fridges. Then, Jeanette saw Savatri with her cousin, Boyie. Boyie called out to Carlyle

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and crossed the street to meet them. Savatri was surprised. Boyie and Roy started talking. Jeanette had to act fast. She told Savatri that if her mother asked her if they went to the movies to cover for her. 'No problem but I want to know the whole story tomorrow,' said Savatri and she left with her cousin.

The next day at school, Jeanette talked to Savatri about Carlyle. 'I didn't know you like panman,' said Savatri. 'What panman?' 'Carlyle does beat pan,' laughed Savatri. 'I didn't know that.' Jeanette told Savatri. Savatri continued: 'You never told me you had a panman boyfriend.' 'Are you dating him.' Jeanette remained silent. Savatri asked: 'What happened at the movies?' 'He kissed me.' 'What am I going to do?' 'What do you mean?' 'Savatri, I don't want no panman.' 'My cousin Boyie is a panman.' 'That is different.' 'Well, do you like Carlyle?' 'Yes, but he is a panman.' 'Is he nice?' 'Yes, but he is a panman. If my parents find out, my father will kill me.' 'I can't take him home to meet my mother and father.' 'What am I going to do?' Jeanette had a problem that many of her class face, how to navigate race and class in their affairs of the heart. It was a dilemma that would soon separate daughter from family. Now that she knew Carlyle was a panman what was she to do? She decided to talk to Carlyle about it.

As usual, she saw Carlyle liming by the Savannah. When he saw her he smiled. She asked him if he went to the panyard last night. He said no. 'Where were you?' she asked. 'What you asking me about?' Carlyle replied. 'I hear you does beat pan,' Jeanette said. He then said to her: 'I can't talk to you about this now. I have exams this week. I going to the library to study. Could we talk about it on the weekend?' Roy walked Jeanette to Queen's Park Café where they had an ice cream. She kept looking at Roy and said nothing. Then he turned to her and said: 'I might be a panman but I am not a badjohn. See you weekend,' and he left.

Since Jeanette found out that Carlyle was a panman she was uneasy and conflicted. 'He seemed so different,' she thought. She decided to put the pan thing out of her mind and concentrate on Carlyle. Maybe she could get him to stop beating pan. She started seeing Carlyle seriously and considered him her boyfriend. They were not having sex too often and she was careful of getting pregnant. Her mother told her about contraceptives and she was on the pill. The hardest part was going to be her friends at school, especially the ones from St. Clair and Goodwood Park. She was raised to avoid all panmen either in word or deed, especially the ones from behind the bridge where they used to have many steelband fights. She had to face Carlyle and break off this relationship. 'I still like him,' she whispered to herself.

The next couple of weeks would be tormenting for Jeanette. She still saw Carlyle but did not have the courage to talk to him about this pan thing. She decided to talk to Savatri's cousin. So, one evening she went home at Savatri. When she saw Boyie, said: 'Boyie come, I have to ask you something.' Boyie said: 'Not now, I have to go in the panyard.'

She looked at Savatri and said: 'What am I going to do?' Savatri said; 'Carlyle is not a bad looking fella, what you worrying about. Boyie said that he is not a badjohn he just like

pan.' 'I know Sav, but my parents will kill me if they found out. Them two white girls in school already teasing me about my panman boyfriend. Savatri said to her: 'Don't mind them, I sure they like panmen too.'

After Carlyle started his student's steelband he decided to tell Jeanette about the band. One night, Carlyle and Jeanette were walking around the Queen's Park Savannah as they normally did when he felt like it. As they walked, he kept talking about his school band. Jeanette was surprised. She asked: 'The principal let you open a steelband in the school?' She was shocked. She was now a social studies teacher and taught at her former school, St. Joseph. She said to Carlyle: 'That could never happen in my school. The nuns would never have pan in a convent.' He explained to her that pan was not a bad thing even though there were some badjohn steelbands like Tokyo, Despers and Blanca that only liked to fight. Carlyle never saw himself as a badjohn but as a panman. He tried to explain the difference to Jeanette. She knew that the nuns and the Catholic Church did not see any differences. They all believed that pan and its music was the work of the devil. They preached that belief to their parishioners.

The couple stopped at the Zoo Pavilion, a little eatery around the Savannah where they served drinks like rum punch, sour-sop, mauby and sorrel. They sat on the round chairs under the tapia roof. Jeanette started to cry. He asked: 'What happen?' 'I think I am going to lose my job,' she replied. He was shocked. He wondered: 'What did she do?' Jeanette said that people were talking about their relationship. He scratched his head and asked Jeanette: 'Talking about what?' 'They say that I am seeing a panman and they calling me names like panwoman. Not to my face but behind my back.' He kissed her and she smiled. She always felt good when he kissed her. He was so gentle. And, his hands were so soft for a panman. He took good care of himself. He drank but not too much and never got drunk. He did not smoke. He always ate home because he loved his mother's cooking. Surely she thought, there must be more panmen like him. He said to her: 'My mother don't like pan either. All you convent people don't like pan. But, pan is we culture. Those nuns better go back to Ireland or England where they come from.'

The last real badjohn panman was called him Toute. Toute fought in every steelband riot from the 50s until the 60s. He was there when San Juan All Stars try to pass through Desperadoes but met Tokyo before they mash up Hilanders pan. He was there when Casablanca banned Invaders from passing on Park Street for carnival. And, when Utah Blaine threatened Allowsingh in a gamble one night, he was there. When Lane run down Dr. with the longest cutlass anyone had seen, Toute was there. When Bull-Tull beat up his woman so bad that they had to take her to the General hospital, Toute was there. Remember when Granma throw hot oil on she man while he was sleeping one night, for horning her, Toute was there. When Sparrow shoot the man on Marine Square, Toute was there.

Toute was there when Sun Valley used to be fighting with Lawbreakers every carnival for years. When they smashup Sun Valley pan, Toute was there. When those San Juan badjohns mash up Cito's mas, Toute was with them. When they beat up Sandra's brother

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for thieving a mango, Toute was there. Toute used to cut his hair by George Beard barber shop on Prince Street. The shoemaker name Red Box used to make Toute's black and white shoes. Old man Skerrit on Mango Rose used to sew Toute's clothes. Toute loved christenings and weddings. He loved the free rum and food. You could not invite Toute to a party because there would be fighting. Toute could not hold his liquor. After three or four drinks, Toute looking for a fight. Once, he challenged Brokofoot Raymond from Renegades. They had to pull Broko from on top of Toute.

Toute used to lime in the Quaysay. He limed in John John with Marabuntas. He limed in Water Hole. When Nancy cut that boy in St. James, Toute was there. He knew Ghost and Dill Dill. When the policeman beat one of them Lawbreakers, Toute was there. When Prime went to arrest Cyrus on Laventille Road, Toute was there. When Scorpion cut Lance in Globe theatre, Toute was there. Toute saw many panmen abuse their women. He saw Turkey beat Norma and swell up her face and broke one of her legs because he saw her dancing with a man in Paragon. Turkey took Norma to the fete and told her not to dance with anyone. He told her that if she wanted to dance to call him. He put her on a chair and left to go to the bar for a drink with the boys. A sag boy named Currents asked Norma to dance and she forgot what Turkey told her. Toute beat Turkey and mash up the fete. That night, he beat up Norma too. Panmen liked to beat women.

One night Toute decided to take on Lawbreakers. The boys on the corner near Globe cinema on the saddle Road told Toute that the lawbreakers boys weren't easy. But, Toute had to prove himself. He took a taxi in the Quaysay and headed for Port of Spain. He heard that lawbreakers used to lime by Stanley's Drug store on Observatory Street. Toute dropped out of the taxi at Independence Square and walked up George Street. He had his cutlass in his waist and two iron bolts in his pockets. But, first he decided to stop by Blue Diamonds steelband. He heard that them Apple Jackers boys and lawbreakers were fighting. It was over one of them stupid women from Cavalry Hill. She went down Nelson Street and one of them Apple Jackers boys trouble she. So, Toute thought that he could get some of them Apple Jackers boys to help him take on lawbreakers. Sure, the leader said. And, Toute and his boys walked up Nelson Street to Prince Street. They then turned right on Prince Street. Toute did not understand why. 'Where al you going?' he asked. We can't pass up Nelson Street. 'Why?' 'Them boys and we have a riot.' 'A riot,' Toute said. 'But all you from the same street. What stupidity is this?'

Toute never liked the panmen from the West. 'They feel they better than we. And all ah we is panmen,' he would say to his friend Saint. Saint was from a steelband called All Aces from Maraval. Toute like to lime with Maraval people because they still have the country in them. And, they does beat any outsider for messing with their women. You can't go to Maraval and take their women. Just like Carenage. If you go to a party in Carenage you can't dance with their women. You have to carry your own woman. Once, they run Toute out of Pashley Street. He went to see a girl who had a man living on Pashley Street. They pelted Toute with bottles and stones. When Toes up run us from Ben bow, Toute was there. If you walk through Woodford Square you will see Toute arguing with the Square philosophers in the People's Parliament. Whenever you miss

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Toute, you could find him bathing down Staubles Bay. Toute liked to swim. Once he nearly drowned swimming at Barce Clarke in St. Ann's.

One night, Toute was gambling dice with Oscar, Jonathan and Kenrick under Mr. Marshall Parlor. One of the gamblers accused Toute of cheating. An argument started and words were exchanged. Toute hit the boy with a bottle. Toute did not know that the boy was Bigman brother. Someone went to call Bigman who came running down the road. Bigman had a cutlass and threatened to kill Toute. Toute ran up the road and came back with a gang of youth men. They beat Bigman and chopped off his hand. The police held Toute for that incident. The magistrate gave Toute three years in jail with hard time. When Toute was released from jail his friends kept a party for him at Don Carlos club. Toute talked about his time in jail and how he beat up them jail birds.

One Sunday morning Toute went to the panyard. Mack, Bertie and Scarface were in the yard. A few months ago, Toute and Mack quarreled about a cricket match. Toute said that the first batsman scored fifty runs. Mack said it was thirty-five runs. They argued and Toute picked up a piece of wood in the yard and hit Mack. Bertie hit Toute with a piece of iron. There was a big fight in the panyard. So, Toute got mad and start to mash up some of the pans. It was Scarface who had to hold Toute before he mashed up the whole steelband. After that incident, the captain banned Toute form coming in the panyard. Every carnival, Toute had to get permission from the captain to come in the yard. Toute liked to gamble. He played a game called wapee with the fellas at Don Carlos club. One Friday night Toute lost all his money. Toute broke a bottle and threatened to cut up the Casah. The club owner, Mr. Taylor put Toute on his banned list at eh top of the club for everyone to see. The banned list was placed on the top of the club's stairs for everybody to see upon entering the club. Famous names on that list were: Dr. Rat, Peter Blood, Bambi, Mc Sween, Mad Dog, Skies, Killer Maize, Bison, Papito, Little Axe, Suzy, Sax and Cha Cha. The list had some others badjohns from Lawbreakers gang.

One night Toute started to cuss his woman. He called her a jamette, and a wabeen. Toute liked to abuse women. But Janet, his woman, said that she ain't taking any more licks from Toute. When Toute started to beat Janet, she ran in the kitchen for a knife. She stabbed Toute so bad that he nearly bled to death. After that, Toute always threatened to beat Janet but he never hit her again. Janet told him: 'Men who like to beat woman can't sleep in a woman's house.' Toute moved out and went to live with Patsy. He beat Patsy and went to sleep. Patsy stabbed Toute to death in his sleep. Toute never had any children. There was no one to bury Toute. The fellas had to pass the hat in the club to raise money to bury Toute. Some of the fellas held a wake under John's shop. They buried Toute in Laperouse cemetery on Tragarete Road. No woman went to the funeral.

The morning dew came before Rose got up from her slumber. As she looked out the window she could see Joe heading to the panyard. 'Where you going so fast, Joe,' she said. Joe did not answer and kept walking. As he reached in the panyard, he looked around. 'What you looking for?' Ancil asked Joe. 'I looking for my hammer.' Joe is a pantuner. Since he was a panman he wanted to tune pan. It was not easy to tune pan for

a band. The captain was the tuner and arranger. But, Joe was good so the captain could not refuse when Joe asked to tune for the band. The band wanted a new sound. They only won two Panoramas and there new steelbands with great tuners who were winning the Panoramas.

The first pans Joe tuned were some discarded grape fruit tins that his mother threw into the dustbin. Little Joe took the grape fruit tins and decided to tune them. After he tuned them he put all thirteen of them on a table and started to play them. It sounded good to him and he decided to enter the children's music competition. The competition was organized by Ms. Hilda for all the children in the neighborhood. If you could sing or play an instrument you could enter the competition. Joe's parents were too poor to buy him an instrument. And he could not sing. So, Joe decided to improvise. He would play the pans.

Joe entered the 'Ms. Hilda's Laventille Children's Music Competition.' Ethel, who sang in her choir, was expected to win the competition. Others were betting on Harold, who everyone believed would become a calypsonian because he could sing calypso. But, Joe was not afraid. He had confidence that he could win. He was the only panman entering the competition.

On the day of the competition everyone in the neighborhood came to the community center where the competition was being held. When it was Joe's turn to play the audience was silent. Joe played 'In a calabash,' a popular calypso. He won the competition. From that day, Joe decided that he wanted to be a pantuner. Everyday he went to the panyard to watch the captain tune pans. Most pantuners did not like others watching them tune pans. They were always afraid that someone would steal their ideas. If you stood around a pantuner too long he would ask you to leave. Pantuners were very secretive. Every pantuner had something special which he believed made his pans sound different from other pans. True or not they believed that. A pantuner had no apprentice. He worked alone. Sometimes they would have little boys around the panyard to fetch them coffee.

Joe did not finish high school. After his last year at Bethlehem catholic school, Joe started working with a carpenter on Sorbrian place. Joe loved to use his hands. Everyone said that he was a good carpenter but he was not making any money. Ever since his father left his mother, he had to find a job to help his mother who was the sole bread winner in the family. His mother worked as a sales clerk at Ferreira's Store on Charlotte Street and did not make a lot of money. Joe decided that being a pantuner would bring him more money because steelbands were looking for good tuners. If you were a good pantuner, you could make a lot of money by tuning for different steelbands.

Joe's mother started to make sweet bread to sell on Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings. She was working in the store and selling sweet bread to make ends meet. On a Saturday afternoon, Joe would help his mother bring the sweetbread to the corner, in front of Cosmos shop, where she sold the sweet bread. The people liked Miss Mitchell sweet bread. Soon, people started to place orders because within an hour all the sweet bread was sold out. Miss Mitchell quit her job and started to sell sweet bread full time. She

agreed to pay Joe if he helped her in the week when he was not in the panyard.

As Miss Mitchell sweet bread became famous she started to bake bread. Soon, people were asking for cakes and bread pudding. One day Mr. Cosmos told her that he was closing the parlor. She asked him if he would rent her the space and he agreed. On Friday April 21, 1964, Miss Mitchell opened 'Mitchell's Bakery.' There was a long line waiting to buy Miss Mitchell sweet bread and cakes. Joe's friend from the panyard visited the bakery and bought sweet bread, bread and cakes for their families. The captain ordered special sweet bread for his other lady friend.

The carnival came and Joe was busy tuning pans for five steelbands. He tuned pans for his band; a band from San Juan; Diego Martin; Morvant and Petit Bourg. Everybody talked about the Joe sound. If Joe tuned pans for a steelband people would talk about the sound of the band. A policeman who was a member of the Police band started calling Joe 'Stravadari.' Joe used to ask what it meant.

Joe became famous and was in demand all through the year. When a steelband received a contract to travel abroad they came to Joe to tune their pans. If a steelband had to play in a fete they went to Joe to tune their pans. On Independence Day, the national steelband played for the president. Their pans were tuned by Joe. Soon, the pantuning became overwhelming. Joe took sick with exhaustion. He had to go to the General hospital for treatment. The doctor told Joe that he had to slow down. Joe decided to travel to Tobago for a vacation. There he would visit the nylon pool and the wonderful sights in Tobago. His mother did not want Joe to leave. The bakery was doing well. What would she do? Who would bring the sweet bread and cakes from home to the bakery? Miss Mitchell had to hire extra help while Joe was on vacation.

Joe spent two weeks in Tobago. He returned to Trinidad and went back to pantuning. He felt rested. It was his first vacation in all his life. If he did not get sick, Joe would not take a vacation. Pantuners did not take vacations. Joe moved out of his mother's house and moved in with a woman on Pall Mall Street. Ana was a dancer at the Pepperpot Lounge in St. James. Joe met her one night at the lounge when he went to hear a steelband. Joe tuned their pans and they got the job as resident steelband for the lounge. Every Friday and Saturday night the steelband played for the patrons. Joe was sitting by the bar when Ana came for a drink. Joe offered to buy her a drink. She accepted. They started to talk and Joe asked her to dance. Ana refused. She said to Joe, 'I dancing all night, I tired.' So they sat down at a table. Ana had a boyfriend who was the bouncer at the lounge. When Joe asked Ana if she had a man she said yes. 'Who?' His name is Bolo.

Bolo was a badjohn from Caroni. It was rumored that he killed a man in a fight in a club one night. The man was talking to Ana. The magistrate dropped the case because nobody would testify against Bolo. Bolo had a reputation for beating any man who talked to Ana. When she told Joe about Bolo, Joe said, 'A man can't stop a woman from talking to another man. He think he is your father?' As Ana got up to leave Bolo appeared at the table. When Bolo saw Joe he started to cuss Ana and threatened Joe. They started to

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fight and Joe hit Bolo with his hammer that he carried everywhere. They had to carry Bolo to the General hospital for stitches. Bolo spent three weeks in the hospital. In the meantime, Ana started seeing Joe.

Joe and Ana started living together. She moved in with Joe at his house on Pall Mall Street. Ana left the dancing job at Pepperpot and got a job at Miramar club. Joe used to tune pans for the Miramar steelband. He asked the manager to give Ana a job. The manager of Miramar liked the tone of the pans. When he found out that it was Joe who tuned the pans he gave Ana the job. Ana was a top dancer at the club. Every Friday night all the badjohns used to go to the club to see Ana wine. Everybody knew that she was now Joe's woman so nobody bothered her. If you want Joe to tune your band's pan you had to keep away from his woman.

Joe had a routine when he tuned his pans. He would get up around 4:00 a.m. and go to the Savannah to run. He would run around the Savannah, which is three miles in circumference. When he finished running he would buy some coconut water from the Indian man who sold coconut water on a donkey cart. Then Joe would run from the Savannah to his home. He would take a shower and dress for the panyard. He put his hammer in his back pocket and put the rest of his tools in a box. Joe always put his hammer in his back pocket. Then he would climb his bicycle and head for the panyard.

On his way to the panyard, Joe would pass by his mother's bakery and pick up some sweet bread and a coffee. Miss Mitchell started selling coffee and sweet drinks. Ana usually come home from the club late in the morning at 4 or 5 a.m. She slept until noon. Ana cooked dinner for Joe because he ate lunch by his mother. Ana covered Joe's dinner with a cloth and put it in the cupboard. When Joe came home at night he took his dinner from the cupboard and ate it. Then he would head to Miramar club to meet Ana.

Joe was getting tired of going to the club to meet Ana. He never liked his woman dancing in a club. But, when he met Ana she was already a dancer. How could he ask her to stop dancing? And, the money she made from dancing was good too. With the money she was making and the money he got from tuning pans, they were making real money. But, the fellas in the yard started to tease him about how his woman could wine under a razor blade. Joe didn't like that. One night he got into a fight with 'Rent a Tile,' a badjohn from Gonzales. Joe went to meet Ana at the club. When he entered the club she was dancing with 'Rent a Tile'. He called her and 'Rent a Tile' told her not to go. Joe pushed the man away from Ana. Ana started to cry and told Joe: 'When you meet me I was a dancer. Dancing with customers is my job.' He took Ana outside and they started to argue. He didn't hit her but told her that her dancing days were over.

Ana stopped dancing. She was now pregnant with Joe's baby. She wanted a girl but Joe wanted a boy. He told her: 'Someone has to follow in my footsteps. I can't tune pans forever.' Soon, the baby was on its way. Ana used to visit an old woman in Santa Cruz, who people said could tell if the baby would be a boy or a girl. Ana wanted to know. The old woman said that the baby would be a boy. In a way, Ana was happy. Even though she

wanted a girl, a boy would make Joe happy.

The baby boy was born on a Saturday afternoon of November 22. Joe named him Ellie, after the famous pantuner Ellie Mannette. Ellie Mannette was one of the best pantuners who started to tune pans before Joe was born. Joe liked the sounds of Ellie's pans. He used to go to Invader's panyard just to see Ellie tune their pans. And, Ellie was not one of those pantuners who used to hide from you. Joe said that Ellie used to like the young fellas around him when he was tuning the pans, especially when he was bringing in a note. He would say: 'Watch this and then he would touch the note lightly with his tuning stick. Joe said that it was a joy to watch Ellie tune a pan.

One night there was a steelband fight at Perseverance club in Maraval. One of the panmen hit a girlfriend of another panman because she refused to dance with him. Well, nobody can hit Bravado's woman and get away with it. So, Bravado jumped from behind his pan and hit the panman with a bottle to his face. The next thing happened was they started to mash up one another pans. Joe used to say: 'I don't know why panmen like to mash up other steelband's pans when all of them are panmen.' It was strange. What got Joe really upset was that he was the pantuner for both steelbands. He could not stand to see a pan mash up. It was as if somebody mash up his body.

Joe was getting sick and tired about all the steelband fighting and the mashing up of the pans. He wondered if the panmen truly liked pan the way they treated it in a fight on carnival day. Joe remembered one carnival day on Park Street, when three steelbands tried to pass each other on the street. One steelband was coming up Henry Street. Another steelband was coming down Park Street heading to Frederick Street, while the other steelband was coming up Park Street to wards Frederick Street. All three steelbands were heading to the Savannah for the Road March competition. As the Henry Street steelband reached Park Street, the flagwoman in the band started to wine and wave the flag, going into the other steelband. Suddenly, an iron man beating iron in the other steelband run to the flag woman and push her down in the canal. The flagwoman boyfriend was in the band and he drew his cutlass from his waist and ran into the other steelaband. He started to chop up their pans. The next thing Joe saw was panmen just mashing up each others pans with cutlass and iron bolts. That was the carnival that Joe decided to stop tuning pans. He and Ana had two more children, a boy and a girl. Ana finally got her girl child.