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Pay de Devil! A Philosophical Analysis of Devil Mas as a Response to Evil in
Trinidad.

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ABSTRACT

There is a relative absence of Caribbean perspectives in philosophical discourses on the concept of evil. As such, this research attempted to articulate a Trinidadian philosophy of evil through the analysis of a quintessential cultural response to evil: the traditional devil mas. Semiological and post-structuralist theories informed the discourse analysis of scholarly research, video footage, and live interviews all related to the devil mas. These analyses revealed a rebellious, liberative, celebratory, and spiritual act of reclaiming power, wrapped in metaphysical assumptions and moral prejudices about and towards evil, framed within hierarchical binary oppositions (good versus evil, God versus the Devil, white versus black, and the sacred versus the profane). In the intersectional Trinidadian space, these binaries ambiguously dissolve in a creative yet violent vortex of meanings and possibilities, one which discloses evil masquerading side by side with good in a dance of power, continuously masking and revealing itself in a philosophy of pragmatism.

Key Terms: Evil; Devil Mas; Trinidad; Pragmatism; Semiology; Post-Structuralism.

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INTRODUCTION

Evil has worn a myriad of masks to parade across time and culture. On the island of Trinidad, paint-covered, oil-slick, and even ornately masked devils prowl the hills and roadways on an annual basis. Yet these devils are not simply personifications of evil. They are the product of a culturally rich and intersectional society that has stared evil in the face time and again and responded with satire, mockery, and indignation. Amidst the cycles of violence, suffering, and harm within the intersectional Trinidadian space, the devil mas embodies a pragmatic response to evil, one which is girded by metaphysical assumptions and steeped in moral prejudices,[1] all of which converge in a rebellious, liberative, celebratory, and spiritual act of reclaiming power.

Despite the abundance of Western literature on the concept of evil, there is a relative absence of Caribbean philosophies of evil amidst the scholarly research. Such philosophies are inscribed into the very foundation of Caribbean cultural forms. This project proposes that the Carnival mas[2] of Trinidad, specifically, traditional devil mas, is a quintessential cultural representation of the island's historic response to evil. As such, the project engages in a philosophical enquiry into the devil mas with the intent of articulating a Trinidadian philosophy of evil.

Certainly, there are a plethora of cultural responses to evil in Trinidad. Numerous folklore and traditional mas characters either directly or indirectly respond to evil. An analysis of each of these responses is certainly beyond the scope of this project and as such, the research is delimited using the following parameters. Firstly, this research solely focuses on a single aspect of the Carnival—traditional devil mas—due to its unique subversion of iconography traditionally

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[1] A Nietzschean concept relating to the value judgements of good and evil inherited from one's culture.

[2] Mas is a diminutive term that refers to the performance of traditional and contemporary Carnival masquerade.

associated with evil. Additionally, the project focuses exclusively on the devil mas forms of Trinidad only. Although the island constitutes one half of a twin-island Republic nation, the numerous distinctions in the socio-cultural and historical development of both islands uniquely shape their philosophies and perceptions of evil. Furthermore, by orienting the analysis of devil mas towards the embedded philosophies of evil, this research project offers a narrowed thematic analysis of the mas, one which was not found amidst the literature on the history, meaning, and development of devil mas.

This research is certainly relevant to the realm of Caribbean studies since the historical attitudes towards evil embedded within the devil mas both shape and reinforce present-day attitudes and perceptions of violence, suffering, and injustice. Decoding some of the dominant ideologies present within the mas will not lead to a complete understanding of evil in Trinidad, but it may facilitate a deeper understanding of the philosophies that guide individual and collective action. That is, it draws us closer to answering the question: why do people respond to evil in the ways that they do? This research project endeavours to answer this question by analysing the metaphysical assumptions and moral prejudices embedded within the traditional devil mas form, and in so doing, enhance documentation on Caribbean philosophies of evil.

Any Trinidadian philosophy will be equally intersectional, subjective, and flawed as the very language used to reach its consensus. Notwithstanding this fact, this research seeks to achieve the following objectives: to examine how language has been used to communicate perceptions of evil, to outline the ways in which evil has been historically understood in Trinidad, to interrogate the role of devil mas as a response to evil, and to excavate some of the metaphysical assumptions and moral prejudices embedded within the devil mas.

The research methodology employed to achieve these objectives is situated within the qualitative paradigm. Data have been obtained through a review of the literature (a mixture of books, journal publications, and archival data) and video footage (documentaries and recorded interviews) on philosophies of evil and perspectives on the Trinidadian devil mas. Additionally, these secondary sources are cross-referenced with primary data collected from semi-structured, in-depth interviews with devil mas practitioners. The analytical lens of this research is informed by the works of Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida. Their semiological and post-structuralist theories informed the discourse analysis of the devil mas and its underlying philosophies.

The review of the literature and analysis of the data are elaborated over three chapters. The first chapter seeks to provide the conceptual framework for the research and to justify the study's methodology. Here, the controversial concept of evil with its multiplicity of meanings is explored from a Western philosophical standpoint and then situated within the socio-historical context of Trinidad. The second chapter briefly explores the birth and evolution of devil mas before engaging in a semiological reading of the mas through deconstructive analysis of the data drawn from both interviews and the literature. Finally, the third chapter offers a post-structuralist analysis of the metaphysical assumptions and moral prejudices identified in chapter two, towards articulating a Trinidadian philosophy of evil.

At the core of this research lies a curiosity about evil and an earnest desire to rationalize a response that is grounded in the very essence of *Trinidad-ness*. The project acknowledges that no definitive answers could ever be gleaned from the devil mas or any other cultural representation. Nevertheless, this project wades through the murky waters, embracing the ambiguity, the chaos, and the undecidability of the cultural texts, to add to the Caribbean discourse on the concept of evil.

CHAPTER ONE

The Concept of Evil

The concept of evil is an enigma. It poses, perhaps, the most thought about yet unanswerable questions that face humanity. Nevertheless, scholars and laymen alike have philosophized on the nature of evil, and this has birthed a plethora of theories, myths, and theodicies. The word "evil" itself has inspired vehement arguments by both sceptics and revivalists, who either decry the ambiguity and usefulness of the term or recognize its place in social, political, and philosophical discourse. The concept is certainly embedded in the Trinidadian psyche. A quick search for "evil" in the digital databases of the three most popular newspapers in Trinidad yielded over 3700 hits in the last eight years alone. As such, this chapter takes up the concept of evil, baggage and all, and provides a brief overview of some of the main Western philosophical thoughts on the nature of evil. It also examines how the language is used to articulate evil and explores how its nuanced connotations manifest within the socio-historical context of Trinidad. Additionally, methodological considerations for this research are discussed here in an attempt to bridge the gap between the existing literature on evil and cultural studies theories on representation and signification, and how they operate within the Trinidadian devil mas.

Western Philosophies of Evil: A Brief Overview

Musings on the origin and nature of evil can be traced to the roots of Western philosophy through the works of Plato. While Plato did not offer a systematic inquiry into the nature of evil, such ideas are interwoven into his metaphysical and epistemological theories. Plato's theory of

forms, extrapolated from the famous cave allegory[3] in *The Republic*, suggests that perfect exemplars of goodness, justice, and beauty exist in a reality distinct from our phenomenal world. Our world is composed of distorted reflections of these perfect forms. For Plato, evil then is a negative quality born from the privation of absolute perfection and goodness in the phenomenal world (Chilcott 28). Cherniss adds that Platonian theory identifies other sources of evil, including evil as a "necessity" or the errant cause derived from the pre-cosmic chaos of the universe (25), and evil as an indirect and incidental result of the soul[4] intentionally moving its objects but in the absence of truth (29). Evil as the privation of goodness, as necessary chaos, or as an indirect result of the absence of truth, rationalizes evil in the broad sense through a nebulous abstraction, but these definitions do not aptly address extreme acts of moral evil.

In Kantian philosophy, evil is situated within humanity as an innate propensity to subordinate the moral law. Kant describes a radical evil that corrupts the will[5] by compelling an agent to adopt self-conceit as their guiding principle (28). This propensity itself does not make an agent evil. Rather, it is the action of prioritizing self-interest over the moral law that creates an evil character (Kant 31). Kant's conception of evil seems surreal and out of touch in a world riddled with extreme acts of terror and violence, yet his theory offers a compelling concept: radical evil.

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[3] Plato's cave allegory of human nature and the effects of knowledge (enlightenment) and ignorance depicts humanity as shackled in a cave facing a blank wall. All that is visible are the shadows on the wall, cast by objects moving in front of a fire behind them. The shadows, though inaccurate representations of the real-world objects, form the basis of humanity's reality unless they are freed from their shackles and allowed to see what is behind them and what exists beyond the cave (Cornford 227-235).

[4] For Plato, the soul is the principle of all change and motion in the phenomenal world (Cherniss 26).

[5] Kant describes three stages of corruption of the will: frailty (a failure to perform morally right actions due to a weakness of will); impurity (moral behaviour motivated by incentives other than the moral law); and perversity (an inversion of order that prioritizes self-interest over the moral law) (25).

In *The Origins of Totalitarianism,* Hannah Arendt reinterprets radical evil, not as a "vice of selfishness" (Jasper Correspondence 166), but rather as a feature of totalitarian control[6] (459). This conception of radical evil is more palatable than Kant's but certainly not without flaw. Arendt herself eventually rejects this notion of radical evil, explaining that,

> It is indeed my opinion now that evil is never "radical," that it is only extreme, and that it possesses neither depth nor any demonic dimension. It can overgrow and lay waste the whole world precisely because it spreads like a fungus on the surface. It is "thought-defying," as I said, because thought tries to reach some depth, to go to the roots, and the moment it concerns itself with evil, it is frustrated because there is nothing. That is its "banality." Only the good has depth that can be radical ("Correspondence-Scholem" 6).

Arendt's claim of the banality of evil is greatly contested, yet as she demonstrates in *Eichmann in Jerusalem,* evil need not possess monstrous motives. Adolf Eichmann[7] did not adhere to the conventional norms of villainy. Through systematic 'rank and file' work, Eichmann permitted heinous crimes against humanity. Stanley Milgram's 1974 social psychological experiments demonstrate this banality of evil by showing how blind obedience to authority led ordinary people to administer electric shocks to familiar participants in a learning test. Philip Zimbardo endorses this idea with what he terms, "The Lucifer Effect," which transforms ordinary people into perpetrators of evil through a process of deindividuation.[8] Milgram and Zimbardo's findings highlight a sinister and terrifying normality of evil and support Arendt's demystified conception of evil.

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[6] Arendt argued that evil was a phenomenon by which human beings are made superfluous- completely dispensable and stripped of all civil rights, morality, and individuality, under totalitarian regimes (*The Origins* 447-459).

[7] Adolf Eichmann was tasked with managing the logistics involved in the deportation of Jews to extermination camps during the Holocaust. He was convicted in 1960 and subject to a widely publicized trial for crimes against humanity by the Israeli government.

[8] Deindividuation is the indulgent and often deviant behavioural changes that result from the perceived loss of individuality and personal responsibility when one feels a sense of anonymity in a crowd or group (Festinger et al. 382).

Despite Arendt's assertion that evil is without demonic dimension, the banality of evil need not stand in opposition to the longstanding relationship between evil and the supernatural. The myriad of perspectives on evil suggests that a sense of pluralism and subjectivity is embedded within the concept. This is particularly evident when evil is considered from a theistic perspective. Much like the secular discourse on evil, the theological problem of evil has been subject to numerous logical and evidential arguments, each with various degrees of abstraction and delineated on axiological and deontological terms. Two of the most popular responses are the free will defense[9] and John Hick's soul-making theodicy.[10] These arguments attempt to reconcile the goodness, omniscience, and omnipotence of God with evil—suffering and destruction in the world.

The list of theories explored here is by no means exhaustive. However, they do attest to the multiplicity of meanings embedded within the concept of evil. The word itself seems to carry connotations of chaos, errancy, subordination, self-interest, radicalism, frailty, impurity, perversity, banality, suffering, destruction, and the supernatural. Evil is also coloured by concepts not explored here, including criminality, sadistic voyeurism, psychopathy, and Machiavellianism. Furthermore, evil seems to be defined both by what it is and by what it is not. That is, evil is defined by the presence of impiety, cruelty, violence, and malevolence, but also by the absence of goodness, truth, rationality, civility, and morality. This rich vocabulary attended to the concept of evil is indicative of the variance in perceptions across time and culture. Moreover, the meanings ascribed to evil, conveyed by the language used to articulate the

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[9] Alvin Plantinga's free will defense seeks to invalidate the logical problem of evil by demonstrating that there exists no logical contradiction between the existence of God and evil (12-29). Plantinga elaborates that the moral value of humanity's free will could justify the existence of moral evil (29-55).

[10] John Hick's soul-making theodicy argues that the existence of evil and suffering in the world could be justified if they are interpreted as trials or a process of 'soul-making,' designed to strengthen humanity through the development of virtues that make us fit for communion with God (333).

concept, provide an entry point into one's metaphysical assumptions, moral prejudices, and general worldview (Hamblet). These structures underlying the language form a conceptual framework by which an individual or group define what evil is and what it is not, and according to Hamblet, this framework is historically and experientially developed. As such, in order to articulate a Trinidadian philosophy of evil, it is necessary to consider the history and the experiences that have shaped the island.

Colonialism, Crime and Obeah: A History of Evil

Trinidad is known to the world as the birthplace of the steelpan, calypso, limbo, and the modern Carnival. It is renowned for its rich heritage, geographic wonders, and its vast oil and gas sector. Yet amidst these positive descriptors, the dark underbelly of the island is marred by a history of colonial injustice, alarmingly high crime rates, and whispers of obeah[11] and black magic.

Recorded history traces the roots of evil on the island to the genocide of the Yaio, Nepuyo, Chaima, Kalina, Warao, Kalipuna, Carinepogoto, Garini, Taino, and Aruaca peoples at the hands of Spanish colonizers. The history that followed for centuries to come was also steeped in horrific violence and suffering. Firstly, the atrocities of slavery embodied Arendt's radical evil, whereby African bodies were dehumanized, stripped of all civility, morality, and individuality, and made superfluous (457). The continued pursuit of capitalist endeavours by the colonial powers next introduced indentureship, marked by exploitation, coercion, and the threat or actual use of force (Brereton 2). In the nineteenth and twentieth century, inequity in its many forms pervaded resulting in the Hosay Massacre, police brutality and murder during the numerous

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[11] Obeah is a "hard-to-define term," which can connote, "religious healing, spiritual harm, African tradition, cultural mixture, herbal medicine, legal intervention, and illegality" (Crosson 152).

revolts across the decades (Canboulay riots, water riots, labour riots of the 1920s and 1930s, and the 1970 black power revolution), and the political insurrection of 1990.

The legacy of trauma left behind by colonialism remains an epidemic that continues to fester in the twenty-first century. Atiles-Osoria acknowledges that "colonial rule in the Caribbean was based on the normalization, legalization and naturalization of violence… torture, dispossession and plunder" (349). These centuries of sustained violence, though not the only influencing factor, certainly laid the foundation for the present-day culture of violence observed in Trinidad (Brereton 2). Within the last few decades, crime rates have been at an all-time high with the murder toll rising from an average of 328 deaths per annum between 2000-2010 to an average of 472 deaths per annum between 2015-2020 (Seepersad 39; Totals Crime). This general upward trend has been observed over numerous categories of criminal offences, including gang-related crime, robbery, kidnapping, and gender-based violence (Seepersad 18-21; Totals Crime).

The culture of violence in Trinidad is not the only "gift" bestowed by European colonizers. The forced Christianization of the First Peoples and the enslaved Africans, which coercively associated Christianity with goodness and Indigenous and African religions with evil, bred prejudicial attitudes that still permeate contemporary society. A Ndyuka Maroon describes "obiya" as "an all-encompassing, all-pervasive and all-inspiring force... present in all modes of being" (qtd. in Bilby 46), yet anthropologist Brent Crosson confers that obeah is predominantly perceived as spiritual harm in Trinidad. He attributes this to the "colonial false consciousness model," whereby the internalization of colonial discourse has created contemporary attitudes of ambivalence towards obeah (153). In her research on obeah in Jamaica, Dianne Stewart observes that the meanings of obeah are polyvalent, "simultaneously dissonant and harmonious, contesting any unidimensional interpretations" (36). Certainly, a similar polyvalence is observed

in Trinidad, where obeah is often cited as a source of evil yet figures like Mother Cornhusk[12] and Pa Neezer[13] are revered and were regularly sought after by members of the community during times of difficulty. Perhaps, the residents of the islands were actively seeking an evil source, or more likely, the internalization of colonial discourse created a double consciousness where two value systems co-existed, "Anti-African colonial logic and the positive embrace of African-inspired religious practices," which inhabited their subjects at different times (Crosson 153-54).

The many evils that have plagued the island throughout its history have left an indelible mark on the population's psyche. It has fostered responses to evil that attempt to rationalize violence, to cope with suffering, to demand justice, to reclaim power, and to prevent future harm. Many of these responses are enshrouded in mysticism and the supernatural, giving rise to rich cultural forms like traditional devil mas. The mas, therefore, functions as a cultural representation of Trinidadian responses towards evil. These responses are informed by philosophies of evil—the metaphysical assumptions about the nature of evil and moral prejudices towards it. The question then arises, how can the multiple meanings embedded within these cultural representations be excavated to articulate a Trinidadian philosophy of evil? This research project proposes a way forward through a semiological and post-structuralist approach as elucidated in the works of Roland Barthes and Jacques Derrida.

Semiology and Post-structuralism: Towards a Methodology

The belief that human beings are *homosignificans* (meaning makers) lies at the core of semiology. It further postulates that humans construct meaning through the creation and

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[12] Lennie Catherine Brizan (1917-2003), better known as Mother Cornhusk, was a spiritual healer, practitioner of herbal medicine, and renowned 'obeah woman' from Moruga, Trinidad.

[13] Elliott Samuel Ebenezer (1901–1969), better known as Pa Neezer, was a spiritual healer and renowned Orisha elder from Fifth Company Village, Trinidad, who was revered throughout the island as a powerful 'obeah man.'

interpretation of signs. Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure defined the sign as a "two-sided psychological entity" composed of the signifier[14] and the signified[15] (66). Though rooted in linguistics, this model was fundamental for the development of both semiology and structuralism. This is evident in the work of French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss, who adopted a structuralist approach to the study of myths. He postulates that myth is language that exhibits more complex properties than ordinary linguistic expression (210). Using this structural linguistic framework, Lévi-Strauss uncovers the "structural principles underlying all the specific and historically variable manifestations of culture and myth" (Strinati 96).

In his book *Mythologies*, French cultural and literary critic Roland Barthes built on the works of Saussure and Lévi-Strauss emphasizing the semiological approach in the study of myths. Barthes interprets myths as a second-order semiological system, a composite of the Saussurean linguistic sign system and the mythical system, in which the *signification*[16] is built on the dyadic structure of the *form* and the *concept* (See fig. 1). However, unlike the empty Saussurean signifier which wholly adopts the meaning of the signified, the form (mythical signifier) becomes ambiguously impoverished, though not empty, and takes into itself the implanted history of the concept. Barthes explains that,

> The meaning will be for the form like an instantaneous reserve of history, a tamed richness, which it is possible to call and dismiss in a sort of rapid alternation: the form must constantly be able to be rooted again in the meaning and to get there what nature it needs for its nutriment; above all, it must be able to hide there. It is this constant game of hide-and-seek between the meaning and the form which defines myth (117).

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[14] The signifier was defined by Saussure as the sign's sensory sound-image (66).

[15] The signified was defined by Saussure as the abstract concept of the sign's referent (66).

[16] The signification is the myth itself, the totality of the linguistic sign, which becomes the signifier on the mythical level (called the **form** to distinguish from the linguistic signifier), and the signified on the mythical level, called the **concept** to distinguish from the linguistic signified (Barthes 115-120).

It is through this semiological reading of the myth that Barthes believes the mythical schema is connected to history and reveals how the myth functions in the interest of society (128).
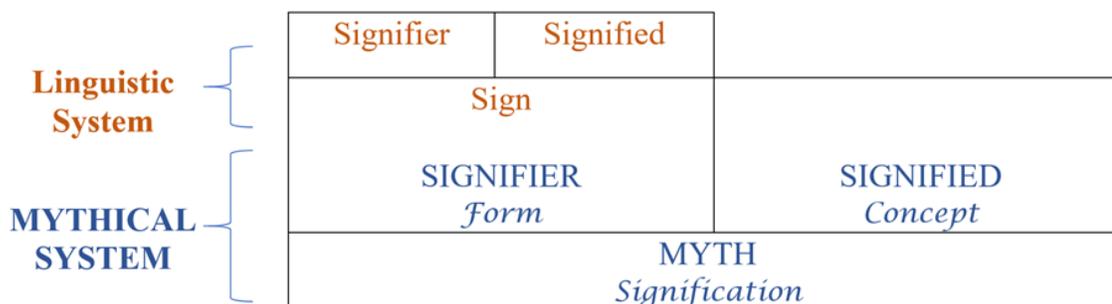
Fig. 1 The Semiological Structure of a Myth (Barthes 113).

This research project adopts a similar semiological lens and attempts to read the traditional devil mas characters of the Trinidadian Carnival. Through this approach, the devil mas is analysed as cultural signs that utilize the mythical language to convey its messages. Here, myth is understood as the unravelling of a cosmology, and the devil mas constitutes a living language, whose performance communicates a complex Trinidadian cosmology. Additionally, the analytical lens of this research is informed by cultural studies principles. As such, the devil mas is also treated as cultural texts,[17] and Jacques Derrida's concept of deconstruction[18] informs the reading of these texts. That is, the devil mas is not constituted as symbols or as alibis of evil, thereby demystifying or undoing the signification of the myths but rather, they are read as the very *presence*[19] of the embedded meanings in the form and concept (Barthes 127). In

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[17] Cultural texts are not limited to the written word but are inclusive of all objects, actions, and behaviours that reveal cultural meanings (Malley and Hawkins).

[18] Deconstruction is a Derridean concept defined *sous rature* as an approach to unravelling the metaphysical assumptions and structures that underlie cultural texts, not with nihilistic intent, but rather to free the text from its axiomatic philosophical constraints and to reconstitute what is already inscribed in a manner which embraces the undecidability of the text (Derrida, *Of Grammatology*; *Speech and Phenomena*).

[19] The allying of presence with truth is a metaphysical assumption that remained uninterrogated in Western philosophy for centuries. Plato's cave allegory identified a false quality in representations (the shadows on the cave wall) and the existence of some "true being" or unmediated presence (524). However, later philosophers like Heidegger and Derrida postulated that meaning cannot exist outside of a medium, and therefore there is no unmediated presence. Thus, there is a complex interplay of meaning, truth, presence, and absence, within representations (Bell).

structuralist terms, the social structures and binary oppositions present within these cultural signs/texts are identified. However, unlike Lévi-Strauss' structuralist analysis of myths, this research does not focus on classifying the commonalities but embraces the polysemic nature of representations by analysing the overflow of possible interpretations. This research also transitions from structuralist to post-structuralist thought by questioning the binaries of meanings, the moral prejudices, and metaphysical assumptions present within these cultural representations, all while uncovering how these ideologies form the basis of an intersectional Trinidadian philosophy of evil.

CHAPTER TWO

The Devil + The Mas: A Semiological Analysis

Theism and belief in the supernatural have given rise to beings who are responsible for the moral and natural evil that plague humanity. These beings are found in a range of religions and cultures. However, the diversity among theistic perspectives creates ambiguity in how these beings are understood, especially among those who exist outside the confines of the strict dualities, like the rigid good-evil dichotomy, that undergird Western culture. Such ambiguity would have certainly reared its head with the cultural clash between the animist worldview of the enslaved Africans and the Western dualism of the European colonizers. The forced Christianization of the enslaved, coupled with the demonization of their religions, culture, and even skin colour, birthed a love-hate relationship with the most feared 'god' in the Christian pantheon—the Devil.

The Dawning of the Devil

In Christian cosmology, evil is quite often personified, and the Devil serves as the embodiment of absolute evil. Despite the absence of such a being in the Hebrew Bible, Christian fundamentalism positions the Devil as a "god opposite," a Manichee[20] view that traces its roots to the dualistic cosmology of Zoroastrianism[21] (Sankeralli 47). The Devil, who stands as the head of a host of hellish creatures and demons, elicits a visceral terror that rivals the fear of God.

In Trinidad, fear and repugnance for the Devil are evidenced by the hostility and attitudes of disgust adopted by the *Port-of-Spain Gazette* in its early descriptions of devil mas. In 1858,

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[20] Manichaeism is a religious movement that centres on the dualities of spirit and matter, good and evil, and light and darkness.

[21] Zoroastrianism is an ancient Indo-Iranian religion whose dualistic teachings on Ahura Mazda, the all-good creator-deity, and its evil counterpart, the destructive spirit Angra Mainyu, may be identified as a plausible source for the dualism that became a feature of later Graeco-Roman culture and Christian philosophy.

one writer complains of "the hooting of a parcel of semi-savages... exhibiting hellish scenes and the most demoniacal representations of the days of slavery," while others lament about the "annual abomination," "diabolical festival," and "fruitful source of demoralization," in the following decades (qtd. in Hill 17). Charles Day's *Five Years' Residence in the West Indies* provides one of the earliest visual descriptions of what can be assumed to be devil mas, or at the very least, its progenitor. Day recalls a procession of nearly naked bodies, chained and "bedaubed with a black varnish" during the 1848 Carnival (314). This account conjures images of the Jab Molassie,[22] the earliest known form of devil mas, whose origins "is lost in the annals of history and remain shrouded in mystery" ("This is Home" 0:12-0:15)

Although historians are unable to pinpoint the birth of devil mas, several writers have documented the evolution of the mas form. Among them, Professor Daniel Crowley, who describes the presence of a variety of devils in the Carnival, most of which belong to the jab family (214). The most popular among these is the Jab Molassie, with their signature blackened bodies, smeared with molasses or some other substitute. Crowley identifies other variants over the years including "The Unburied Dead," and "The Original Adam," whose bodies were "covered in yellowish mud and strung with eight still-living krapo (*bufo marinus*)" (214). Mas-maker and artist Brian Wong Won recognizes these mas forms as forerunners to the mud mas of Jouvay.[23] Wong Won further adds that the roots of paint application in Jouvay lie in the Jumbalasi masque, which Crowley distinguishes as another derivative of the molasses devils. Further experimentation in the mas led to the emergence of red, green, and blue devil bands,

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[22] Jab Molassie, the Patois term for "Molasses Devil," derived from the French terms *diable* (devil) and *mélasse* (molasses).

[23] Jouvay is a Kweyol expression derived from the French term *J'ouvert* (daybreak) and refers to the predawn Carnival ritual that "un/consciously resuscitates and reinterprets... [the] ancestral, topical, grotesque and satirical masquerade forms" of the original Kambulay (George and Gibbons 71).

including the now-famous Paramin Blue Devils.[24] A particularly unique member of the jab

family is the Jab-Jab. These rope-wielding jabs are often called "Coolie Devils" or "Pretty

Devils" due to the Indo-Trinidadian presence in the mas and the brightly coloured costumes

which bare traces of the batonnier costumes of the nineteenth century (Crowley 214). Another

important development in the mas came with the introduction of the devil band (also called the

dragon band), whose beginnings have been traced to 1906 with the work of Patrick Jones and

Gilbert Scamaroni (Procope 275). Influenced by artworks of the Devil and the retinue of hell,

Jones organized mas bands each year which featured a series of devils, categorized into three

character-groups: imps, beasts, and gownmen.

Jab Se Yò Nèg!

The devil mas has undergone significant changes during the course of its evolution, yet

one thing remains unchanged: the mas weaponizes fear of the Devil. Therefore, in analysing the

devil mas, this project interrogates that which beckons the masquerader to become this being that

is widely feared and regarded as the face of evil. One answer is found in Dr Hollis Liverpool's

1983 dissertation, where he proposes that,

> In playing the Devil, the ex-slaves were actually hitting out at the Christian faith that
> filled their minds with the fear of mortal sin, fire, and the Devil…. Accordingly, on
> Carnival day, they mocked the Church and resisted its teachings and its hold over them
> by playing the Devil. When they blackened their faces and played 'Jab Molassie' or
> 'Molasses Devil', they were showing their contempt for the molasses as well as the
> Christian faith and the white man (111).

By becoming the Devil, the formerly enslaved were seditiously showing contempt for their

oppressor and his tools of colonial empire—the church doctrines that attempted to shackle their

minds. In agreement, interview participant and devil mas player Lalonde Ochoa remarks, "We

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[24] The community of Paramin is renowned for its rich devil mas heritage. The absence of cane and molasses in the
hills of Paramin led to the innovative practice of mixing Crown Blue laundry soap with grease to create the signature
blue devil mas (Pierre 01:25-02:05).

don't believe in your Devil, but you believe in it, so we going to show you it… We'll take what you're afraid of and make you afraid of us in it" (11:46-12:33). This reading of the devil mas emphasizes the spirit of rebellion associated with the Carnival and reconfigures the devil concept. Here, the image of the Devil as the rebellious angel who defied the will of God—the white man's God who permitted the harm and suffering of the enslaved—is brought into focus.
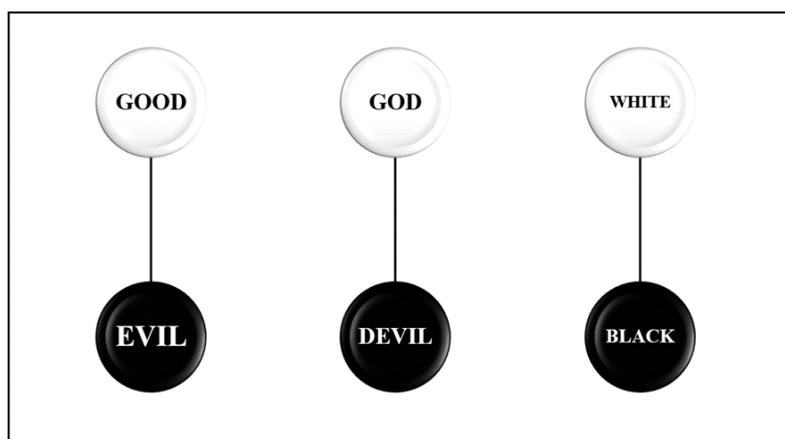
Fig. 2 The Binary Oppositions present in the Devil Mas.

Liverpool and Ochoa's reading of the devil mas also alerts us to the presence of several binary oppositions that are at play and which are collapsing unto one another: good versus evil, God versus the Devil, and white versus black (See fig. 2). This polarized morality is captured in the Kalinda lavway: "Jab se yò nèg Me Die se nom la-blâ," (The Devil is a black man, but God is a white man). Today, these words are chanted over the devil rhythm[25] by mas practitioners as a way of channelling the spirit of the devil mas—a way of becoming. However, in its original usage, the song acted as a prayer to invoke the satanic spirit which imbued the stick fighter with power (Rohlehr 24). Professor Maureen Warner-Lewis describes this internalization of evil as a

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[25] The Devil Rhythm is the specific beat played on metal tins and pans that accompany the procession of a devil band. There are several variations of the rhythm and it is not uncommon for individual bands to have their own version.

psychological response to a culture that elevated whiteness and deprecated any expression of African-ness (212). This was a common response among the jamette[26] class of the time and many would claim to be of "the Devil's party" (Pearse 192). Like stick fighting, the devil mas is imbued with the ethos of the jamette culture, what Pearse describes as the "reversal of the values of respectability and a flamboyant rejection of the norms of the superstructure" (192).

The colonial empire has made blackness synonymous with evil. As such, any affirmation of evil and the Devil by the jamettes was simultaneously an affirmation of blackness. Moreover, teaching-artist and mas enthusiast Marvin George argues that plantation society was "premised on the notion of white supremacy, so the minute some dark-skinned people blacken themselves more than they already are, they are disrupting the organization of the place" (31:37-32:04). The devil mas, therefore, constitutes an affront to white supremacy and a subversive affirmation of black identity. For Jab Molassie player Seychelle Ross, the notion of celebrating blackness is interwoven into her mas playing. Ross indicates that she sits most comfortably in the black devil mas due to the strength and transformative power of the colour black (07:29-08:03). Another player, Dwayne White, echoes this sentiment while sharing his journey of contemporizing the mas and finding his identity in it. White reveals that he created the character Abaddon, inspired by Abyssinia, the famous devil immortalized in the late Winston "Shadow" Bailey's "Pay de Devil." In becoming Abaddon, White dons a wreath of weeds[27] and smears his skin with black and gold, "to symbolize the royalty in us" (28:25-31:48).

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[26] Jamette, from the French *diamètre* (diameter), referred to the "underworld" or class of people below the 'diameter' of respectability (Pearse 188). The label is indicative of the stratified nature of the society built on the binary structures of civility versus vulgarity and wealth versus poverty.

[27] This practice is cited by Crowley in his description of nineteenth and early twentieth-century devil mas (214). The wreath of weeds was a mark of royalty and high status in the Roman Empire. Its usage in the mas may also be a mockery of the crown of thorns worn by Jesus Christ (proclaimed to be the King of the Jews) during his crucifixion.

Pay de Devil!

The celebration of black identity and rebellion against supremacist culture led to demands for justice and calls for reparations.[28] In the devil mas, this is embodied in chant, "Pay de devil, Jab-Jab!" and performance, where the devils torment bystanders and only leave when they are paid money. According to Liverpool, paying the devil is a way to "even up the score in a world where white skin was a passport to pleasure and wealth" (117). For Eustace Pierre, the leader of the Undertakers (a Paramin blue devil band), there is a symbolic relationship between the devil and money. Money acts as a symbol of empire and therefore the devils are enslaved to it (Pierre 08:20-08:39). To possess money is to possess power, and therefore the call "pay de devil" may also be read as a demand for power in the pursuit of liberation.

Liverpool also offers an alternative reading of "pay de devil," one which inverts the binary oppositions explored above. He asserts that it was the white man who was in fact the Devil, and who "had squeezed out all the oils from their bones by his demands and who continued to demand money from them" (Liverpool 112). As such, in singing "pay de devil," the enslaved were mocking the white man and his greed for money. Liverpool's interpretation exposes another dimension of the mas with new possible meanings to unpack.

Mimesis and the White Devil: An Interlude

Ridiculing and mocking the white planter class was a central tenet of the jamette Carnival. The Dame Lorraine ball is a quintessential example of this. In the Minstrel mas, which

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[28] The reparations debate around the world posits that those benefitting from slavery and colonial injustice should make amends with the descendants of the enslaved primarily through financial repayment and other systematic initiatives aimed at offsetting economic and social inequities. In the Caribbean, several nations have engaged in reparatory justice conversations and in 2013, CARICOM instituted a reparations commission which outlined a ten-point reparation and reconciliation plan, inclusive of formal apologies, repatriation plans, and developmental plans across several sectors: health, literacy, culture, and technology.

ridicules the white man and blackface culture, a double mimesis is at play where the masqueraders are mocking the white man mocking the black man. As such, it not implausible that a similar phenomenon is at play in the devil mas. Errol Hill questions whether "the black varnish applied to already dark skins might suggest a direct imitation of the makeup of white planters masquerading as the Nègue Jardin" [29] (24). Further on in Charles Day's account, he notes the use of "white flesh-coloured masks" and "woolly hair carefully concealed by handkerchiefs," (314). As such, there seem to be numerous layers of mimesis informing the possible meanings of the devil mas: an imitation of devils and an imitation of slavery combining to form a "slavery is hell" equation, as well as the simultaneous imitation of the white planter class and devils, suggesting a relationship between the two (Harris 111).

The notion of the white man as the Devil best finds expression in the devil band. Here, the gownmen, characters such as Lucifer, Satan, Gentleman Jim, Bookman, and Queen Patroness, are outfitted in regal, Tudor-styled costumes (or in the case of Gentleman Jim, formal business attire), and wear large head-masks that bear traditional devilish features (Procope 278). Visually, the mas juxtaposes evil and the Devil with European-ness and whiteness, thereby making them synonymous. The Devil as a white man reverses the black-white binary (See fig. 3), and in so doing, serves as a direct rejection of colonial discourse. This response through the mas form coexists alongside the resistance through subversion explored previously. Each response operates within the Western binary logic, but the presence of both in the mas creates a

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[29] The Nègue Jardin, the Patois term for "garden slave," is a defunct mas form rooted in the pre-emancipation era. During the upper-class Carnival celebrations, white planters would imitate the enslaved by blackening their skin and dressing in rags. In the Jamette Carnival of the post-emancipation era, the mas was reimagined using brightly coloured, ornate costumes which satirically mocked the white planters attempt to imitate the black man.

contradiction in the and/or logic. How can the Devil be simultaneously black and white, simultaneously good and evil?
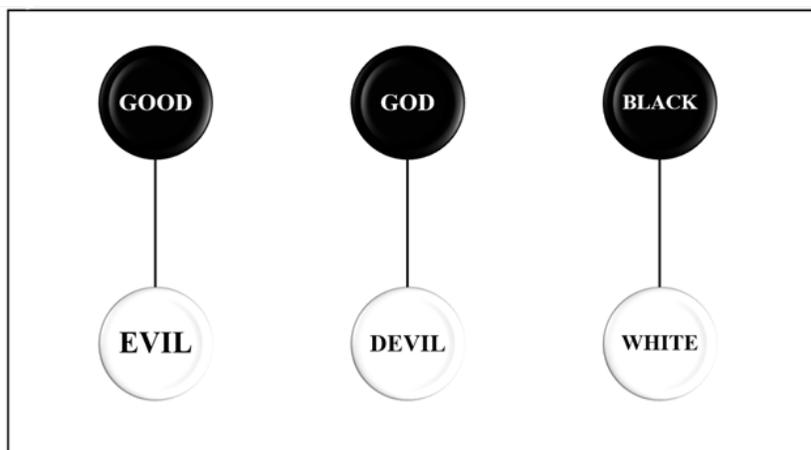

Fig. 3 The Reversal of the Binary Opposition in the Devil Mas.

It is necessary to highlight here that the discourse on traditional mas has been dominated by talks of the enslaved mimicking their colonizers. Liverpool emphasizes the mocking of the white man and church doctrines, while Hill and Harris probe the layers of mimesis in the mas. These studies are built on the works of Day, Pearse, Anthony and Carr,[30] and Leon,[31] all of which ground Carnival mas traditions in the mimicry of European culture. Though not intentionally, these readings of the mas form part of a paradigm that unconsciously portrays the enslaved Africans as dispossessed property, a "whole community of people [who] could not have anything and could only produce and have by mimicry" (George 12:55-13:48). The aim here is neither to discount the power of mimesis nor to deny its presence in the mas, but to read the mas as a form of memory and a re-presentation of fragments of meanings drawn from the slavery experience, European and Asian contact, and especially, the remembered masquerade traditions on the African continent. George elaborates that "by holding unto the things that you know are

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[30] Michael Anthony and Andrew Carr's 1975 text *David Frost introduces Trinidad and Tobago*.
[31] Raphael de Leon's 1986 text (posthumously published) *Calypso from France to Trinidad: 800 Years of History*.

your own, you are possessing yourself in a context that tells you to forget—that is reparations"[32]

(50:30-50:49). While the first half of George's statement supports the assertion above, the latter

clause is highly contestable and deviates from the dominant reparations narrative. He positions

reparations as a restorative process, one in which the enslaved and their descendants play an

active role. Through this lens, the devil mas is seen as repairing colonial damage by making

conscious that which is already inscribed.

The interlude forces us to consider who is the devil demanding payment and offers a

pluralistic response. It also positions reparations as a dynamic process of healing. In the literal

sense, "pay de devil" is a call for money, but the reparations statement of the mas may not only

be financial. For mas player Dwayne White, "pay de devil" is a call to "pay us, not as the Devil,

but as Caribbean people… Pay us not with liquid cash, even though we get paid cash… [but] pay

us in gratitude, pay us with respect" (10:25-11:12). "Pay de devil" then can be read as a call for

that which has been denied, both the material (access to wealth and resources) and the immaterial

(respect, gratitude, and basic human rights).

Peering through the Mas: Spirituality and Ancestral Veneration

Interestingly, payment is not reserved for the living alone. All interviewees for this

research recognize the importance of paying respect to their ancestors through the mas. For Ross,

the ritual of the mas allows her to commune with her ancestors and keep their spirit alive—they

are reincarnated through her. She states that "The person that is constantly with me is my

grandmother (deceased)… Every time I transform into jab it is her that I become: the fearless

woman, the woman that would cut down any man… fearless, sensual, soft, yet still hardcore"

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[32] For a full explanation of George's expanded view of reparations (one which includes financial repayment by the beneficiaries of colonialism, but also, one in which the onus is predominantly, though not solely, on the beneficiaries to bring about healing), see Appendix C (30:23-51:00).

(09:03-10:15). The presence of ancestral veneration in the devil mas alludes to an underlying spirituality, yet this seems counterintuitive since the Devil is widely considered the antithesis of holiness. Here, the sacred versus profane binary opposition manifests itself. How can the vulgar be sacred? How can the devil mas make the unholy holy? Perhaps, answers may be found by shifting the analytical lens.

Thus far, the semiological reading of the devil mas has focused on the devil concept. However, the mythical speech of the devil mas is enriched by an underlying semiological chain that lies in the mas form (See fig. 4). The mas form, therefore, carries a rich history that drains into the devil concept to create the signification. The meanings embedded here—the interplay between the actions of masking and ritual performance (the signifier) and the historic, moral, and spiritual meanings (the signified)—exist in a dynamic state marked by a play of absence and presence. The sacred versus profane binary thrives on the ambiguity that arises from this game of hide-and-seek that defines the myth (Barthes 117). Ochoa explains that amidst the devil portrayal and connotations of evil, "our DNA senses that primordial power, that ancestral energy that is peering through the window that is Carnival and mas" (16:57-17:09).
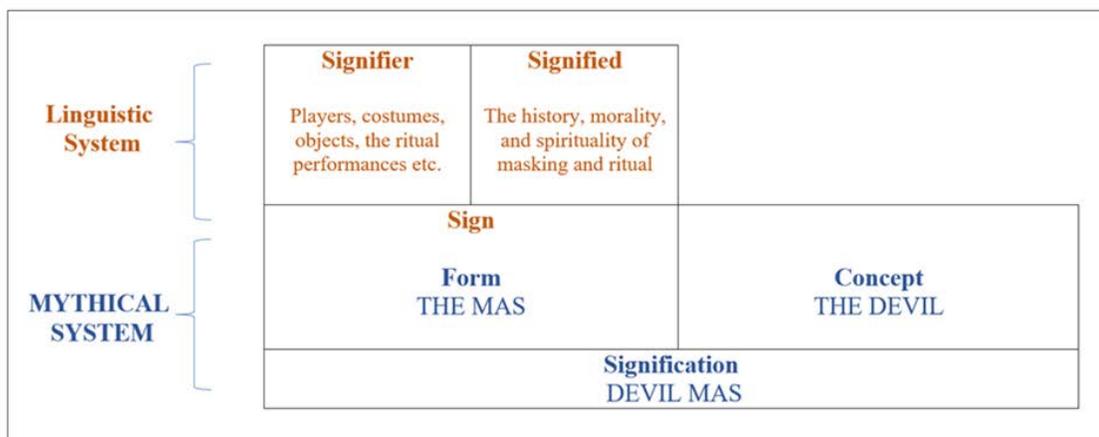

Fig. 4 The Semiological Structure of the Devil Mas.

Whether consciously or unconsciously, the devil mas serves as a medium for spiritual connection. This is most apparent in the Jab-Jab tradition of the Alfred family in Couva, Trinidad. Like Ross, Ronald Alfred, a third-generation Jab-Jab player and leader of the Original Jab-Jab Band, acknowledges the ancestral connection within the mas, "If I hit you, its not I alone hitting you; its me and many more. And when my time up and I leave the face of this earth physically, I will play still… [Just as] My father and my grandfather still play; I feel their presence" (Alfred 05:24-05:35; "Part 3" 08:58-09:04). Alfred also recognizes the intrinsic relationship between faith and the mas, stating that, "in preparation for this mas, its not just throwing a costume on and going out there, there are certain rituals of praying and fasting" ("Part 3" 01:47-01:56). In so doing, Alfred positions the mas as a spiritual practice, one in which the rope-jab practice parallels the whipping observed during manifestations in Kali worship.[33] From this perspective, the mas is read as a holy experience and an encounter with the divine.

The relationship between masking, ancestral consciousness, and divine presence is as old as civilization and religion itself. As Njoku explains, religion served as a "baseline in a nonlinear impulse response" that birthed masking traditions across cultures, including West Africa (29). As such, the devil mas not only responds to the evils of slavery and colonial empire but also functions as an invocation of a "rich repertoire of inherited masquerade dances" (Njoku 27) that are renewed, rediscovered, and re-presented in the Trinidadian space (George 16:45-17:53). Ochoa acknowledges that, through the mas,

> We are touching a part of our DNA that we can't articulate… something we lost or
> forgot… our past, our history, our ancestors, but we can't recognize them because we

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[33] Devotion to Maa Kali, the fiercest form of *Devi* (supreme feminine divinity) and the embodiment of pure Shakti (cosmic power/energy), is popular across Trinidad. However, worship of the divine mother is heavily stigmatized due to fear of the ecstatic pujas (devotional rituals) offered in the goddess' name. Kali pujas in Trinidad usually involve the manifestation of gods like Kal Bhiro, Munesh Prem, and Kali herself, and whipping is used to demonstrate the purity of the devotee and to testify the transcendence of suffering and pain through recourse to shakti/Maa Kali (McNeal 159).

weren't taught to be in touch with them… We think to be in touch with our ancestors is 'Devil thing'… [Through the mas] we are constantly trying to reconnect to that part of our DNA that vibrates every time that we see mas, see liberation, and sense power (15:36-15:51, 30:28-30:21, 17:13-17:26, 32:16-32:22).

The devil mas interprets and responds to evil in an ambiguous and multidimensional way. The semiological reading illuminates a fundamentalist devil concept that personifies evil and a mas form with a rich history of ritual performance. When merged, the concept and form create the devil mas myth, a performance of Trinidadian cosmology that communicates resistance, rebellion, a rejection of colonial discourse, the reclamation of power, liberation, a celebration of blackness, demands for justice and reparations, re-presentation, renewal, invocation, spirituality, ancestral veneration, and divine presence. Embedded within these meanings are binary structures (God versus the Devil, good versus evil, black versus white, the sacred versus the profane) and non-dualistic worldviews that contradict one another and defy the Western logic. The very presence of these contesting moralities and metaphysical ideologies should create cultural dissonance. The question arises then, how do these contradictory metaphysical assumptions and moral prejudices excavated from the devil mas simultaneously find expression within the Trinidadian space?

CHAPTER THREE

Evil at the Intersection: A Trinidadian Philosophy of Evil

In chapter one, the concept of evil was situated within the Trinidadian context and it revealed that evil adopts nuanced meanings across various sub-contexts: genocide, slavery (historical), coercion, exploitation, insurrection (political), prejudice, inequity (psycho-social), criminality (legal), obeah (spiritual), and violence (cultural). The Trinidadian vocabulary of evil is far richer than the terms listed above, but these select words emphasize that evil is a subjective moral judgement informed by individual and collective perspectives. Perhaps, the sceptics are right and the term "evil" should be discarded altogether on the grounds of its ambiguity. Yet this research counters that such ambiguity is a vortex of meanings and possibilities, one which should not be dismissed because of its complexity. Certainly, it would be impossible to unravel all of the complexities that shape Trinidadian perspectives of evil, but some of the dominant metaphysical assumptions and moral prejudices about and towards evil are revealed through the devil mas.

Deconstructing the Binaries

The semiological reading of the devil mas uncovered several binary oppositions at play. Traditionally, these binaries are held in a violent hierarchy where one term (evil, Devil, black, profane) is subjugated to an inferior position by the other (good, God, white, sacred). However, when operationalized in the devil mas, the hierarchical ordering of these binaries is constantly in flux. That is, the ordering is shaped by a continuous dance of power that exists in contradiction with Western dualism. Here, another binary seems to emerge: Western colonial logic, articulated in a field of dualities, versus the animistic beliefs of the First Peoples, Africans and Indians, framed by non-dualism. If these worldviews are pitted against each other, this research falls head-first into the trap of dualism from which it seeks liberation. Similarly, if the concept of evil

is naively engaged, then the philosophy this research articulates is locked into the good versus evil duality. To dissolve dualism in the creative vortex of possibility, it is necessary to reframe and engage the complexities of and at the intersection (Sankeralli 51).

What appears to be juxtaposing and colliding cosmologies are present within the Trinidadian space—what is typically labelled *pluralism*. However, this concept of irreducible difference does not adequately explain how a multiplicity of meanings, like that excavated from the devil mas, flows into and presents itself in our Trinidadian context. Perhaps, our plural society is better reframed as what Sankeralli describes as an intersectional space, a communal meeting place for diverse cultures, religions, and peoples (57).

At the intersection, Western philosophies are present. Perceptions of evil gleaned from interview responses bear a striking resemblance to Platonian, Kantian, and Arendtian conceptions of evil. White represents evil as nepotism and white-collar crime (Arendt's banality of evil) (25:50-27:44), and also corroborates Ochoa's account of evil as self-interest and political corruption (Kant's radical evil) (White 24:13-24:25; Ochoa 25:59-26:05). Ochoa labels ignorance, bigotry, and racism as evil, and Ross describes evil as protecting abusers through silence and inaction while victims continue to suffer (Plato's privation theory of evil) (Ochoa 28:43-29:32; Ross 12:48-13:54). This research is not insinuating that these Trinidadian perceptions of evil are solely the result of Western influence. Similar insights may be found in the animist religions (Indigenous religions, Yoruban Ifá -Orisha religious traditions, and Hinduism) that took root in Trinidad. At the same time, neither is there any overriding need to dismiss possible Western influences. Trinidadian philosophies, like all philosophies, represent humanity's pursuit for meaning amidst the universal mysteries of life and death and have emerged in a nonlinear, organic way. The Trinidadian space is, to quote Aimé Césaire, a

"rendezvous of victory," where all of these worldviews and philosophies intersect and find a place (55).

A Philosophy of Pragmatism

Within the intersectional space, the hermeneutic circle is completed, and the Trinidadian philosophy of evil is revealed through the devil mas. Take, for instance, the concept of evil and violence. While evil is often defined in terms of violence, in the Jab-Jab devil mas, violence serves a holy purpose. The rope jabs have likened themselves to warriors engaging in martial arts ("Part 3" 03:28-03:34), and for these warriors, violence facilitates spiritual, ancestral, and communal connection. The Jab-Jab mas embodies the spirit of contestation and aesthetic violence that is weaved into the very fabric of the Carnival. The intersectional Trinidadian space, which vibrates to the Carnival pulse, was born from systematic evil: colonialism, genocide, slavery, and indentureship, violent processes that paradoxically serve as a vortex of creation. Here, the binaries of destruction and creation, chaos and order, collapse and violence discloses possibility. As seen in the devil mas, evil, good, violence, creation, the holy, and the profane all coexist on the same plane, interacting within a heterarchical relationship.

In the Trinidadian space, a philosophy of evil born of the devil mas discloses our material reality: good and evil are continuously masked and revealed as they masquerade side by side on the island's streets in a dance of power. As Trinidadians navigate their violently creative space, perceptions of evil are constantly in flux and contextually determined in negotiations governed by pragmatism.[34] Good and evil then are not opposites but exist on a pragmatic continuum (Sankeralli 47). When we play the Devil and 'pay de devil,' patterns of violence and creation are

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[34] Pragmatism is a school of philosophy that finds meaning in the practical consequences of an applied concept, policy, or theory. That is, it evaluates the merit of ideologies based on utility, workability, and practicability.

internalized and spiritually channelled through the mas. To engage the Devil, evil, blackness, and obeah, is to channel ancestral and spiritual power, which leads to victory, to liberation from suffering, and towards pragmatic blessings—the practically experienced good things of life. Such is the nature of our intersectional space: simplistic good versus evil dualism exists when the Western language of evil enquires into the radical violence visited upon our space, yet simultaneously dissolves in a vortex of ambiguous intersecting practices—Indigenous, African, Indian, Asian, European—that engage good and evil towards practical ends.

CONCLUSION

In the intersectional and violently creative Trinidadian space there exists a rich language of evil coloured by the various sub-contexts (political, legal, psycho-social, spiritual, and cultural) in which evil manifests. These nuanced meanings are predominantly influenced by the island's violent history of colonialism, crime, and obeah. Within the intersection, the traditional devil mas represents a cultural response to evil and a performance of Trinidadian cosmology that communicates rebellion, liberation, celebration, and spiritual power. A semiological reading of the mythic language of the devil mas unveils that these embedded meanings are wrapped in metaphysical assumptions and moral prejudices about and towards the nature of evil, framed in binary oppositions with a hierarchical ordering: good versus evil, God versus the Devil, white versus black, and the sacred versus the profane. Post-structuralist analysis reveals that power dances across the binaries and dualism dissolve in a vortex of meanings and possibilities, disclosed by the radical violence visited upon the Trinidadian space. From these analyses of the devil mas, a philosophy of evil emerges: evil is continuously masked and revealed as it dances side by side with good, and pragmatism governs its daily negotiations within the Trinidadian space. This philosophy of evil is not the only one at work within the Trinidadian space. Supplemental or even contrasting philosophies may be embedded within other mas forms, folklore characters, and the various religious practices within the intersection. As such, future research can consider other cultural forms present within the Trinidadian space. Additionally, the cultural forms of Tobago, as well as other Caribbean islands, are ripe for research in order to articulate the philosophies that inform perceptions of evil within the wider Caribbean space.

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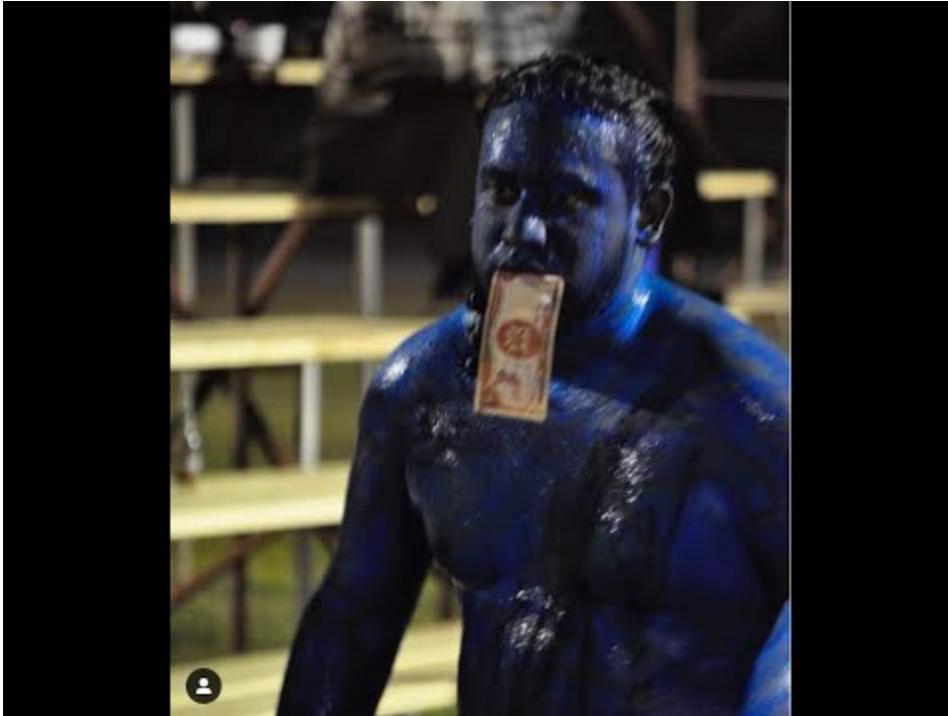
APPENDIX A

Interview Recording 1: Dwayne White on Devil Mas and Evil in Trinidad.

Video 1: Interview with Dwayne White conducted on 13 February 2021 by Rondell Mungal. Source: www.youtube.com/watch?v=93U00US8RU8

APPENDIX B

Interview Recording 2: Lalonde Ochoa on Devil Mas and Evil in Trinidad.

Video 2: Interview with Lalonde Ochoa, conducted on 10 March 2021 by Rondell Mungal. Source: www.youtube.com/watch?v=91pyG01JYJs

APPENDIX C

Interview Recording 3: Marvin George on Devil Mas and Evil in Trinidad.

Video 3: Interview with Marvin George, conducted on 8 April 2021 by Rondell Mungal. Source: www.youtube.com/watch?v=2jb9nSnlhqQ

APPENDIX D

Interview Recording 4: Seychelle Ross on Devil Mas and Evil in Trinidad.

Video 4: Interview with Seychelle Ross, conducted on 16 February 2021 by Rondell Mungal. Source: www.youtube.com/watch?v=vIyeO3z8VyA