

Strategic Historiographical Interventionism and the Cosmopolitan History of Trinidad and Tobago in Bridget Brereton's *History of Modern Trinidad 1763-1962*; *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1890*, and *Law, Justice and Empire the Colonial Career of John Gorrie 1829-1892*.

## PART ONE

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### Abstract

This paper seeks to explore the contribution of Emerita Professor Bridget Brereton to the historiography on Trinidad and Tobago. Often, the historian's attempt to recount the past is influenced by several factors, including what others have written hitherto, their interpretation of historical events, and the way in which they present personalities and communities. Regarding cosmopolitan Trinidad and Tobago and the Caribbean, these and other influences have worked to produce contesting historical narratives. Such narratives, conditioned additionally by the experience of colonialism, slavery, racism, class and gender conflicts, have not only skewed historical representations at times but also imposed on scholars the need to produce more balanced historiography. This paper assesses the contribution of Bridget Brereton against the background of this challenge, particularly, by examining three of her inter-related publications: *History of Modern Trinidad, 1783-1962* (1981); *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad 1870-1890* (1979); and *Law, Justice and Empire: the Colonial Career of John Gorrie 1829-1892* (1997). It seeks to determine the role of these publications in the evolution of a cosmopolitan, postcolonial historiography of colonial Trinidad and Tobago.

In this paper, I put forward the critical role Bridget Brereton has played in the development of the historiography regarding the island of Trinidad. By way of introduction, I propose to examine some of the historiographical works that

preceded her entry into this arena, as well as those that were contemporaneous with her writings. I propose thereafter to review three of her publications: *Race Relation in Colonial Trinidad, 1870-1900* (2002), *A History of Modern Trinidad 1763-1863* (1989) and *Law, Justice and Empire: The Colonial Career of John Gorrie, 1829-1892* (1997). They will be discussed in terms of what appears to be their order of importance in relation to the social history of Trinidad. In the first instance the texts are first discussed individually before engaging in an overall appraisal.

It was the Jamaican-born Franklin W. Knight, today a leading African-American historian and scholar, who recently reminded us that “the Caribbean has always had a history” and that “historians have tried to capture that since Columbus wrote his famous journal in 1492.”<sup>1</sup> Knight’s observations resonates in a hemispheric and even global context, respecting which Trinidad and Tobago is both micro-cosmic and in need of greater self-revelation. The point is not lost on Trinidad and Tobago scholars. It is a Caribbean challenge in need of being further addressed. Where it is necessary we are to disturb our neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup>

Selwyn Cudjoe in *Beyond Boundaries: The Intellectual Tradition of Trinidad and Tobago in the Nineteenth Century* informs us of “an existent tradition of writing, cultural practices, custom, use of language etc., *evident* in tracts, novels, newspapers, travel writing dramatic performances, open-air theatre, sermons and poetry that scholars seldom examine”.<sup>3</sup> And it is George Lamming who well-intentionally forewarned that “a whole planet collapsed in the Caribbean archipelago, and that as we [scholars academics and activists] reflect on the whole range of the region’s political culture we attempt to colonise an enterprise which starts us on multiple journeys towards nurturing a whole which we recognise but can’t very readily define, and whose definition a correct self-knowledge

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<sup>1</sup> Franklin W. Knight “Eric Williams and the Construction of a Caribbean,” Paper presented at a Centenary Conference, “New Perspective on the Life and Work of Eric Williams,” St. Catherine’s College, Oxford University, September 24-25, 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Verene A. Shepherd, *I want to Disturb my Neighbour: Lectures on Slavery, Emancipation and Postcolonial Jamaica* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2007).

<sup>3</sup> Selwyn Cudjoe, *Beyond Boundaries: The Intellectual Tradition of Trinidad and Tobago in the Nineteenth Century* (Massachusetts: Calaloux, 2003).

could make irrelevant.”<sup>4</sup> He avers, “The wider we cast the net the more conscious we are of the omissions we would be guilty of.” Faltering cognisance of this reality has often been one of the shortcomings of reconstructing the West Indian past. It is particularly so with respect to efforts regarding the island-histories and particular mainland territories of the regions. The historiography on Trinidad (and Tobago) explicates this prognosis. Pierre-Gustave Louis Borde’s *Histoire de l’île de la Trinidad sous le gouvernement espagnol* (1498-1798), published in Paris in 1876, was in no small measure committed to romanticising the island’s predominantly French culture during the last years of Spanish rule.<sup>5</sup> E. L. Joseph aptly described Pierre McCallum’s *Travels in Trinidad* as little more than a collection of scurrilously levelled accusations against Thomas Picton, the colony’s first British governor.<sup>6</sup> But Joseph’s *History of Trinidad* itself was, by the admission of its publisher, the result of his staunch British attitude, and essentially pro-Spanish, anti-French comportment. Remarkably, the publisher perceived it to be the first accurate history of the island.<sup>7</sup> Lionel Mordant Fraser’s two-volume *History of Trinidad*, published in 1891, was virtually an ode to the governor, for the most part limited to the relations between Trinidad and revolutionary St. Domingue. Notwithstanding, it is part of the islands and region’s historiography. In 1961 Gertrude Carmichael, a librarian at the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, published her *History of the West Indian Islands of Trinidad and Tobago*,<sup>8</sup> an invaluable text, all the more because most historical works previously published had limited themselves to 1837. Historians can often reveal more than intended

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<sup>4</sup> See George Lamming, ed., *Enterprise of the Indies* (Port of Spain: The Trinidad and Tobago Institute of the West Indies, 1999), vii.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre-Gustave Louis Borde, *The History of the Island of Trinidad under the Spanish Government*, trans. A. S. Mavrogordato, 2 vols. (1876; Port of Spain, Trinidad: Paria Publishing, 1982). Borde’s texts are still cited by scholars, sometimes in terms of his comments on Carnival, Afro-Carib and French-Carib dance. Regarding the Cedula of Population, see Carl C. Campbell, *Cedulants and Capitulants* (Port of Spain, Trinidad: Paria Publishing, 1992).

<sup>6</sup> See Pierre Franc M’Callum, *Travels in Trinidad, during the months of February, March, and April, 1803: In a Series of letters, addressed to a member of the imperial Parliament of Great Britain* (Liverpool: W. Jones, 1805); and Pierre Franc M’Callum, *A Political Account of the Island of Trinidad from its Conquest by Sir Ralph Abercrombie* (London: Cadell & Davies, 1807).

<sup>7</sup> E. L. Joseph, *History of Trinidad Joseph* (Trinidad: Columbus Publishers, 1938). See inner part of the folded front cover leaf of the text.

<sup>8</sup> Gertrude Carmichael, *The History of the West Indian Islands of Trinidad and Tobago, 1498–1900* (London: Alvin Redman, 1961).

through what they knowingly or unknowingly overlook or oblviate. This is seen in historical accounts before and after Carmichael's, some well known, others less familiar, even to historians.

Carmichael's was certainly the most important of the histories in terms of the period it covered and its reach into social domains of the society. It is no wonder that Eric Williams' first historical text on the colony found such fertile soil for the cultivation of an anti-colonial history. All of the lived-history of the bulk of the people of the region, and the developments of the century after emancipation, with its mounting crescendo of dissent, resentment and defiant militancy, intensifying almost at the very start of the twentieth century and during the inter-war years, suggested the need for such a text. Williams had been well prepared for materialising it, having previously attacked the centrepiece of colonialist historiography with *Capitalism and Slavery*.<sup>9</sup> It was the age of decolonisation. Once developments at Malborough House had signalled the all clear for the independence of Trinidad and Tobago, Williams abandoned work on the first of a three volume series he was compiling on primary written sources pertaining to West Indian history and began the construction of a new *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*. Completed and published on the eve of the country's acquisition of political independence, it was the first wide-ranging and chronologically-extensive narrative written from a nationalist perspective albeit polemical. For many, it offers little regarding the contribution of Europeans to the society. But it was not only the Europeans who were marginalised. Williams was kind to his friends and devastating to his enemies.<sup>10</sup> Anticipating his critics, he warned that the aim in writing the book was not literary perfection or conformity with scholastic canon, but to provide the people of Trinidad and Tobago on their Independence Day with a National History, and, further, that "if some do not like the book, that

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<sup>9</sup> Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Capitol Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), xi-xxii. Bridget Brereton, "All ah we is not one: Historical and Ethnic Narratives in Pluralist Trinidad," *The Global South* 4, no. 2 (2010): 218. Web, 30 November, 2014; Bridget Brereton, "Contesting the Past: Narratives of Trinidad and Tobago's History," *New West Indian Guide* 81, nos. 3 & 4 (2007): 169-96, Web, 30 November, 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Kirk Meighoo, *Politics in a Half-made Society: Trinidad and Tobago 1925-2001* (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2003).

was their business.”<sup>11</sup>This reminds us of a similar comment from his mentor, C. L. R. James, in *The Black Jacobins*.<sup>12</sup> To this author, such bombast subtracts neither from James nor Williams. *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* constitutes a Herculean achievement by any measure. Williams's diaries, today still largely unexplored by historians, points to his tireless work on the text, from start to finish, over a mere two months.<sup>13</sup>

The written history of Trinidad and Tobago has always been articulated through different voices, albeit hardly disinterested ones: the hunter, the hunted, the apologist, the protagonist. Few scholars have attempted to give expression to the working class or to the various voices via a democratic historicity. Brereton is one of them. Hers has been an attempt to ventilate the different narratives, to allow the constituencies themselves to have their presence and say, rather than to stage-manage the acting and commentary of the actors.

Often critics ignore the circumstances under which history is written. Brereton's extensive writings provide us the opportunity to give pattern to her orientation. Impossible as it is to discuss all her work in this short essay, I have opted to consider her contribution through the three volumes mentioned in the title of this paper: one, a general history of Trinidad; another, a social history of the island; a third, the history of an official who served in a range of other British colonies before serving in Trinidad and Tobago. The selections allow us to consider in various ways Brereton's treatment of the relationship between the rulers and the ruled, and to a significant extent that of the notable characters and groups and their roles and functions. Moreover, in one instance some of the characters overlap as *dramatis personae* and provide an extensive and far-reaching context for understanding Brereton's treatment of colonial authority, authority-figures and subject-peoples. To my mind this arrangement allows us to place Brereton on trial, even if at

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<sup>11</sup> Eric Williams, *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (Port of Spain: PNM Publishing, 1962).

<sup>12</sup> C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobin: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the St. Domingue Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1963), xi.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Toussaint, "The Eric Williams' Diaries," in *The Fires of Hope* vol. 1, Series Editor, Debbie Mc Collin (Forthcoming).

best it could only amount to a preliminary hearing. The assumption is that there is a case to be made for Brereton, actually, for future generations seeing her in a particular light.

I shall begin with Brereton's *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad*, chronologically the first of the three monographs, and among them the text most singularly devoted to her explication of the social history of the island. This book emerges directly out of her doctoral thesis and contains ten chapters, which attempt to document the social history and resulting race relations of nineteenth-century Trinidad. Chapter One introduces the work and sets the outline for its discourses. Chapter Two details the social environment in terms of the statistical data on the demographic settings, the geographical distribution of the principal towns and communities, the over-concentration of the population on the western littoral fringe of the island, and the communication problems between the urban and rural areas. There is an elaboration of the economic environment, allusions to the evolution of the colonial state's policy on Crown lands, and the conflict between the sugar interests and the small man as this relates to the accessibility of these lands. There is also elaboration of the colonial agricultural economy: sugar and cocoa, operating against the background of Crown Colony government, cyclical depression in the global cane-sugar market, attempts to diversify local agriculture, and attempts to create saving institutions for the labouring classes. All of these are set against the determination of the white community to continue to control the local economy in a land regarded nonetheless by the typical European-descended mind as "no colony for British settlers,"<sup>14</sup> and one in which "all labour to be performed by the hands under the sun must be left to men of the coloured races."<sup>15</sup> The remaining chapters elaborate the social conflicts, challenges and achievements of the different social groups, and of the society as a whole. Remarkably, across the text Brereton's data present themselves as stridently probing, logically conceptualized and neither distracted nor detained by phobic disdain for any groups in the society.

In Chapter Three, "The White Elite," meticulous attention is paid to differentiation within the local white community. It is a striking and witty commentary on the complexity of

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<sup>14</sup> Brereton, *Race Relations*, 17

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

Trinidad's white colonial society during Victorian times. What is interesting is that Brereton allows the African-descended to speak virtually unplugged; hitherto, they were so subalternly perceived that in the local historiography, their opinions were absent, muted or obfuscated when historians treated with white-on-white issues. For example, the reader is brought face to face with the "birds of passage," a reference to those British men who stayed a few years, earned large salaries, and then moved on.<sup>16</sup> Citing Froude in J. J. Thomas' *Froudacity* (1889), Brereton willingly concedes that these Anglo-West Indians believed that "being Anglo-Saxon they had a right to dominate any country in which they found themselves."<sup>17</sup> Satirically, Brereton tantalizingly cites an editorial which commented that among such Englishmen, "those with capital went to Australia, with brains to India and with neither to the West Indies."<sup>18</sup> The British Government, more particularly the Colonial Office, we are told, brought them out and "it was their delight to lord it over the people who paid their salaries."<sup>19</sup>

Brereton also introduces us to other categories of whites who belonged neither to the official class nor remnants of the ex-slave-holding class with its Bourbon mentality, but were forced to depend on their brain, capital and energy to make a living in Trinidad. They had come to Trinidad, settled down and identified with the Creoles (as opposed to the "birds of passage").<sup>20</sup> Then there were the Creoles themselves whom we are skilfully admonished to regard as an integral part of the society, native as much as the non-white population, but who, although a great many of them had the physical characteristics of the white race, were, in sociological terms, marginal, not to our own local, tropical society,<sup>21</sup> but to the metropolitan. Considerable attention is therefore devoted to the French Creole, the leading sector within the white Creole community, whose identity was hinged to their exaggerated deference to birth and breeding.<sup>22</sup> Brereton differentiates them from the British Creoles and we are also alerted to the conflicts and tension between the white expatriate and Creole communities.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 35

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 35-59.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 64-89.

With Brereton, it is not only what was said but also how images are conveyed. We are provided with graphic allusions of the white Creole community with the French at the forefront exhibiting their pomposity at various levels: driving through the streets in their carriages, gathering on afternoon for tea and dinner, the males appearing in court to be made to honour their responsibilities to their coloured children born out of wedlock. We are made to see them as constantly challenging the white expatriates for control over the economic and political institutions, and over issues of governance and administration.

The white creoles, whether French, British or otherwise, were also being challenged by the rising black and coloured middle class. This is discussed in chapters Four and Five. The former examines the role of education in the evolution and upward mobility of this class; the latter elaborates how coloured and self-made blacks fanned out into a number of professions: law medicine, teaching, the clergy, journalism, and the civil service. Brereton distinguishes between those who were of “French free coloured origin” and those who were not descended from the established free-coloured planters, pointing out that members of this last group had to strive to establish themselves through education and specialised skills. We are introduced to many prominent descendants from the French free-coloured lineage, but are equally exposed to those blacks and coloureds who pulled themselves up by their own bootstrap, without the head start of having a partially white ancestry, such as J. J. Thomas<sup>24</sup> and Samuel Carter.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> See, J. J. Thomas *The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar* (Port-of-Spain: Chronicle Publishing, 1869). See also by the same author: *Froudacity: West Indian Fables Explained* (1869; London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1889). This last was a reply to “*The English in the West Indies*,” by J. A. Froude. Through the last publication by Thomas, a crafty dismissal of the Euro-centric baubles of Froude, James wrote himself into the history of Trinidad for all times.

<sup>25</sup> Samuel Carter was a coloured printer owner and publisher, who owned published several newspapers, including *The New Era* and *San Fernando Gazette*. Other coloured newspaper proprietors shared Carter’s philosophical and business perspective. See *Race Relations*, 86-109; also, Melisse Thomas-Bailey, “E-Consciousness: Economic Black Consciousness in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Trinidad and Tobago,” in Heather Cateau and Rita Pemberton (eds.), *Beyond Tradition: Reinterpreting the Caribbean Historical Experience* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2006), 224-247.

The pervasiveness of late nineteenth-century discrimination is therefore well brought out in the text. The European whites discriminated against the white French creoles who in turn discriminated against descendants of the French free coloureds, who joined them in discriminating against the blacks. Readers are also presented with numerous cases of discrimination against, and prosecution of, prominent blacks and coloureds and made aware of the extent of their resentment against this treatment. Interestingly, we are introduced to one of the earliest calypso bards, Hannibal, who was given to ridiculing blacks:

I ain't black, I ain't white  
If it comes to blows or a fight  
I'll kick the black man to save the white...

God you is a white man  
I want to know the truth  
Who but the devil  
Could mek these nigger brutes.<sup>26</sup>

Having cited this example of the late-nineteenth-century exposition of the "Curse of Ham," Brereton moved quickly to point out that there were blacks and coloureds who did not practice discrimination against their black kith and kin, but instead devoted their energies to the promotion of black pride and achievements.<sup>27</sup>

The next three chapters preoccupy themselves with the pursuit, deviation from, and frustration of, this agenda, firstly in the urban and then rural communities, and within the context of African religious continuities. The development of black urban enclaves is therefore examined against the background of increased African inter-island migration to Trinidad in the 1870s and 1880s, and newly emergent urban communities and challenges.<sup>28</sup> There is, for example, discussion of Afro-Barbadian immigrants to the island and their tendency to attract opprobrium for every ill in the society, notwithstanding the arrival of hordes of immigrants from other West Indian colonies, and the fact that, unplanned and disorganized as urban development was, it was bound to exacerbate destitution and criminal activity in the capital city

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<sup>26</sup> Ibid., 104.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 104-109.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 130-151.

and surrounding areas.<sup>29</sup> Brereton paints a vivid picture of unplanned housing [barracks yards and yard dwellers], juvenile delinquency, vagrancy, petty crimes, prostitution, the neglect of family institutions, and the loose association of unemployed men and women formed into bands for drinking, gambling and fighting—bands which came to take over the carnival during the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>30</sup>

But for Brereton, and rightly so, it was not all negative. Many blacks had been drawn to the city in search of work, and many women had found employment as domestics, washerwomen and seamstresses, or had established small businesses as petty traders, shopkeepers and hucksters. Likewise, men had found jobs as porters, janitors, messengers, and cab drivers. Some had been employed as dockworkers. Some worked in bakeries and breweries. According to Brereton the majority were employed as artisans and were skilled craftsmen and construction workers such as carpenters, masons, mechanics, tailors, shoemakers and printers. However, for many, life in the capital city was compounded by the fact that they had no employable skills, and there was little or no prospect of getting a job. Some among this group often ran afoul of the law, and were often in violent confrontation with the police. The judicial system they faced was inadequately staffed with inefficient magistrates. Urban overcrowding compounded the situation. For Brereton the result was “epidemics, death and a mass of human misery.”<sup>31</sup> The rural scenario, though, was less depressing.<sup>32</sup>

With all of this Brereton found it possible to discuss the blacks and their involvement in riotous bands, and how these connected with the annual carnival parade, illegal gambling including *whe whe*, and black protest and agitation.<sup>33</sup> Brereton also found it necessary to discuss the “soul of the black folk,” the religiosity of the local African community.<sup>34</sup> Notwithstanding her representation of the whites throughout the text as the dominant culture, she contends that, on the basis of sheer demographics, longevity within the society and reinforcement through various streams of immigration, blacks were at a certain level the most dominant cultural grouping,

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<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 110-115.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., 116-129.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 112 -113

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.,130-131.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.,166-175

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 153-159.

although theirs was not the culture of the dominant classes.<sup>35</sup> Given this scenario, despite their pandering to white culture and Christianity, the African-descended community succeeded in maintaining many aspects of their ancestral culture.<sup>36</sup>

This argument was the prelude to an exploration of their cultural retentions, in particular religion, through which many other cultural aspects were intertwined. It provided the background for a discussion of the Rada community, the wake, drumming, obeah, religious syncretism between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism and retained ancestral African religious forms. Thus, Brereton was able to identify and delineate the Shango (now Orisha), the Shouter/Spiritual Baptists, the many African drums, dances, tamboo-bamboo, and emerging genres of calypso, including those with Venezuelan influence.<sup>37</sup> She was able to differentiate easily, perhaps while not intending primarily so to do, between the calypsonian and *chantwelle*, between the *jamette* and the pimp, and between the badjohn and the stick fighter.<sup>38</sup>

In the penultimate chapter, Brereton discusses the Indian immigrant community, which she describes as a new element in the Caribbean society, their language, physical appearance and culture so strikingly different that they were considered to be separate and apart from the host society. Brereton recognises from the onset the many difficulties and challenges confronting this group: the exploitative conditions of their indenture, their evolution as another segment within an already segmented society, the negative perception of the Indian by others in the society, and difficulties provoked initially by their internal differentiation, especially between Hindus and Moslems. She discusses also their protests and agitation, the opening up of Crown lands to the Indians and the development of conflicts between Indians and Africans during the decades of the seventies and eighties. She explores how, despite the many challenges, the Indians held fast to their religion and culture: indeed, how, as a result also of the commutation of their return passages for land, they began to establish villages, and to form settled rural communities, increasingly so as the India-born gave way to the Trinidad-

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<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 152-3.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 153 -159.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

born—the Creole Indian. For Brereton the Indians' contribution to the sugar industry made them the most important group that migrated to the island in the nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup>

The final chapter brings the various strands of the preceding discourses together, reflecting Trinidad as a significantly divided society during the last decades of the nineteenth century. But Brereton addresses this development, not only as the result of local dynamics, but more importantly, and indispensably so, as the result of their interplay with international developments and conceptualisations regarding race. Her attention here is focused on the development of Social Darwinism, social anthropology and scientific racism.<sup>40</sup> Her canvas is wide. We get a sense of the intensified imbibition by some opinion makers of the notion of the natural inferiority of the non-white community, more particularly that of the 'negro', and of the uncritical acceptance of this view as the persistent cause of the poverty of Haiti.<sup>41</sup>

But for Brereton there were complexities regarding the range of seemingly self-evident propositions emerging from the dominant white culture. In terms of the international perspective some whites saw significant distinctions between the capability of Northern Europeans and Iberian European. For some scholars, it was difficult to locate the French within the hierarchy. For some in Trinidad, however, French culture was the more progressive culture. And in plural Trinidad, where some Afro-Europeans and Africans had done significantly well, the racist discourse carried on in international circle, had to be conducted locally in hushed tones. Nevertheless, not all whites believed in the inferiority of the African, and many among the latter did not believe this about themselves.

To her credit, Brereton seems ultimately to achieve much more than she actually intended. According to her, the purpose of the study was to examine the nature of society and race relations in Trinidad during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, with special reference to the white coloured and black groups.<sup>42</sup> The intention was to examine

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 170.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 194-5.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 196

society and race relations within these years that saw “few striking and momentous events” and were not obviously formative years.<sup>43</sup> Brereton also explored a number of sources that were hitherto less utilised in published historiographical works. These included newspapers and the writings of a number of contemporary historians and other scholars. It is clear that Brereton canvassed a wide range of sources and commentaries to solicit official, private, popular, individual, scholarly and less than scholarly opinions on Trinidad and its variegated society.

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid.