



The University of
the West Indies
Institute for Gender and
Development Studies



Issue 7 – 2013

Defining Women Subjects: Photographs in Trinidad (1860s–1960s)

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Abstract

This article proposes research methodologies for use in analysing photographs that represent and visualise women subjects of colonial Trinidad. Methodology has been developed on the basis of research undertaken into photographic material of the period in Trinidad from the 1860s to 1960s. The researcher encounters the historical photographs in the present, thus providing insight into the ways in which photographic technologies have visualised Trinidadian women and explores how these practices persist in contemporary visual culture.

Photography emerged as a mode of communication for ‘a developing capitalist *world order*’. No previous economy of visual technologies constituted a world order in the same sense, and it is from within this wider context that we may consider the complex creation, production and circulation of colonial photographs representing the woman figure. Photographic practice at the turn of the twentieth century was a contributive part of the imperial attempt to ‘unify the globe’ and equally became associated with the ‘myth’ of a universality of photographic language (Sekula 1981). Photographic practice contributed to a shift in the continuity of European ideas and thinking about the visualisation of the Other. Colonial photography determined the gendered construction of the colonial woman as subjected to heightened, fetishised, visual scrutiny.

Introduction

This article explores techniques and methods of the research process that are considered cornerstones to the analysis of colonial photographs of women. The first section, ‘Researching photographs as embodied and partial knowledge’, explores the articulation of the researchers’ perspective and viewpoint; ‘Postcolonial perspectives and visual representation of colonial women subjects’ examines the importance of visual analysis framed within the present conjuncture of postcolonial discourse; ‘Geo-political, historical and everyday contexts to photographic representations of women’ recognises the importance of site-specific historical and cultural contexts to the analysis of photographs; and lastly ‘Which photographs? Research choices—photographic genres and types’ is concerned with family photography as a genre, which is inextricably linked to the representation of women subjects.

Discursively contained in the article are two case studies as examples of textual analysis that, along with the reproduction of other images, reveal their complex and rich significations of women associated with the history of colonial Trinidad.

Researching photographs as embodied and partial knowledge production

Abstract from my Notebook of a Returnⁱ

As a school child and teenager in Guyana and Trinidad in the 1960s and 1970s, I became familiar with the illustrations published in our history and geography schoolbooks depicting the European ‘discovery’ of the Caribbean from the 1400s. [The year] 1492 was the key date from which everything else and all knowledge about the Caribbean seemed to flow. The black and white reproductionsⁱⁱ of woodcuts and engravings found in the schoolbooks were primary historic[al] references visualising the Caribbean. The illustrations were elaborate and fascinating for their detail and craftsmanship, whilst appearing grotesque and repelling for their content and depiction.

It wasn’t until the end of a secondary education in Guyana that I was introduced to the photographs of Indian indentured labourers featuring men standing in rows in the background, with significantly [fewer] women, usually squatting in front.ⁱⁱⁱ

*In 2000, as a researcher in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, I found two key texts for secondary education Caribbean history studies in Ishmael Khan & Son’s bookshop on Henry Street, Port-of-Spain. The now familiar images (illustrations and photographs) of colonial Caribbean were reproduced, visualising both the ‘discovery’ of the Caribbean islands and ‘life’ under colonial rule. At the National Archives offices in St. Vincent Street, I was referred to *The Book of Trinidad* (1992) in which the image types had been reproduced. This time, some of the illustrations were ‘redrawn’ or re-fashioned sketches of the previously described paintings, engravings and etchings.^{iv} The following year in 2001, whilst researching the material and galleries of the National Museum and Gallery in Woodford Square, I came across more reproductions of the image types described—the pictorial history of the Caribbean as reproductions of the original*

woodcuts, engravings, paintings and photographs, mounted and framed on display in the museum's exhibition rooms.

Referring to diary notes as a method of research is paramount to feminist approaches to visual analysis of photographs. It is through the research practice involving the autobiographical-personal notes and entries that we are able to make explicit our perspective and the position from which we speak; bring into consciousness the visual memories we evoke as we encounter each new photograph or image; contest the conventional rhetoric of history writing; and provide further insight into the ways in which we produce knowledge from photographs and other visual material. My research notes incorporate *but do not prioritise* a reflexive practice in researching photographs of Trinidad. By reflexive, I mean that I acknowledge and privilege an awareness of the visual material, whilst excavating and making known my relationship to the material. Photographs considered as *image types* place emphasis on the recurrent use of reproductions and emphasise the relationship between past pictorial conventions of illustrations and the iconic signs of photographs.^v Here I reflect a more visceral sense of how I encountered and recall historical imagery as someone from the Caribbean Diaspora. I recall imagery I have previously encountered and suggest the influence these have in considering the visual “tropes” of historical illustrations. I reflect on the contemporary reproduction of “image types” and how they give rise to questions of “authenticity” and “factual accuracy”. And I note the distinctive visualising practices that were developed for picturing different Trinidadian ethnic populations as they became the majority citizens of Trinidad.

The embodied action of research, the journey and the subsequent notes the researcher makes are inextricably linked, therefore, to the personal perspectives and memories she brings. A familiarity, *a priori* knowledge and the memory of photographs that are *much like the ones we are researching* haunt the ‘spectral’ dimension of the material being researched. We are deeply familiar with conventions of signs and concepts *a priori* of the photograph we are looking at. There is historical memory of the photograph where ‘*presupposed*’ and prior texts contribute to the question of its meaning and yet are not necessarily present in the photographs or imagery themselves.^{vi}

It necessarily involves an embodied awareness of the practice of research itself through a self-conscious and contested reflection on the materials and the places they are found in, such as the library, archive or family album. Autobiographical writing as diasporic ‘memory-talk’, to use Kuhn’s term, determines a differentiated research process through which to consider such historical photographs/imagery. This is inherent to questioning the assumptions often made about archives and records—that authority somehow comes from the documents themselves. Narratives involving memory and autobiography, instead, come *from having been there*, as Steedman (1986, 2001), Hirsch and Smith (2002), Alexander (2010), Kuhn (2007), and others remind us.

Overtly acknowledging the process of research also means to declare a partial vision at any one time and incorporates what Haraway (2002) proposes as a ‘situated’ vision to the material. The adoption of an autoethnographic research practice^{vii} that includes multidimensional and yet always partial perspectives has been pioneered by feminist

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historians, scientists, anthropologists and artists including Ahmed (2000), Chen and Minh-ha (1994), Fusco (2008), Haraway (2002), Minh-ha (1989), McGrath (2002, 2007), Pink (2001), Sandoval (2000), Seremetakis (1996) and Stoler (2002). Haraway continues, ‘vision is *always* a question of the power to see...the split and contradictory self is the one who can interrogate positionings and be accountable... the topography of subjectivity is multidimensional; so therefore, is vision.’ Those of us creating, engaging and researching visual projects, Haraway contends, have the responsibility of being consciously aware of the perspectives we adopt in dealing with the visual. This, I argue, is also particularly pertinent when considering colonial visual material and its association with racism, gender, privilege, fear, fantasy and representation of the colonial subject.

Postcolonial perspectives and visual representation of colonial women subjects

Researching photographs as representations of the woman figure involves considering the material as inherent to the colonial project, particularly in relation to race and privilege. It also involves reflecting on the material in the Foucauldian sense of the present moment, that is, as a researcher familiar with contemporary postcolonial discourse and perspectives. We engage with colonial photography through the contemporary postcolonial prism including Fanon’s seminal text on the psychological state of the black man; Sandoval’s writings on feminism and oppression; Said’s concept of Orientalism; Spivak’s proposition of the subaltern; Gilroy’s configuration of the black Atlantic; and Hall’s writings on difference. It is from this knowledge we are able to consider retrospectively how photographs portray the colonial woman plantation worker.

Postcolonial and contemporaneous approaches to exploring photographs— individually and collectively—are of primary importance to exploring the representation of women in colonial photography. This necessarily involves observing all things about the photograph, its context of production and reception —including the way the researcher encounters the collection in the archive—exploring the taxonomy of the photographic collection and closely researching the content, contexts and aesthetics of each photograph and of each photograph in relation to the next.

Of primary importance is that images are not only about how they look, but how they are looked at. Consideration can, therefore, be given to the women subjects in the photograph as well as to who is doing the looking. Representations of her visually uphold racial and gender difference as recurring tropes and markers of difference. Fanon’s seminal text (1986) *Black Skin, White Masks*, originally published in 1952, is significant in conceptualising the psychology between racism, colonialism and the scopic drive. Writers continue to critique and expand on notions of race, its relationship to colonialism and the scopic drive of the European that “fixes” and objectifies the racialised Other.^{viii} Bhabha (1990) proposes that this fixity and objectifying firmly embed the stereotyping process, suggesting the look as being particularly charged when it crosses the colour line because of its association with the regulation of sexual activity between black and white.

As a colonial process, photography contributed to the operation of repeatedly representing the colonial subject as primitive, childlike, mentally deficient and sexually charged or in need of civilising. Photography as a visualising technology for colonialism, I argue, partially fulfilled the (white) male psychic need to consign visually the black

body to a safer preserve. Research methods for textual analysis of colonial photographs of women, therefore, involve a ‘reading’ of the image as a form of representation of the colonial subject and acknowledge the active process and fetish involved in the ‘gaze’ embedded in photography. Photography as a signifying system involves what Burgin describes as a scene (the photograph) and the ‘*gaze of the spectator*’ or ‘a viewing subject’ (Burgin 1982, 146).

Analysis of women in colonial photographs also allows us to consider the construction of masculinity and, in particular, to acknowledge the predominance of the male gaze in determining the meaning of images of women. It is widely acknowledged that men historically (if not contemporaneously) have controlled the production of images. The scopic drive is typically considered to be a masculine one embedded with an entitlement to look at women, whilst women also watch themselves being looked at, as Mulvey (1996) and others have explored. This visualisation or objectivisation of women is, therefore, a consequence of the male colonial gaze. As McGrath describes, photography is most often embedded with a ‘heterosexual visual economy’ in which the ‘woman’s body...excites the hand and eye’ (McGrath 2002, 1). Willis and Williams (2002) also argue that the colonial traveller journeying to the colonies found that an ‘element in the picture-making process was undoubtedly the titillation of the photographers themselves, who were at least temporarily freed from the moral restrictions of their Western cultures’ (Willis and Williams 2002, 19-21), and who were exacerbated by a sense of liberation and *risqué*. Feminist historians, art critics, media and photography theorists—including Allouha (1987), Espinet (1993), McGrath (2002), Minh-ha (1989), Mohammed (1998), Reddock (1985, 1987, 1994, 1998), Shepherd, Brereton and Bailey (1995), Shepherd (2002), Willis (2010), Williamson (1984), and Young (1996)—have thoroughly explored the complex and recurring tropes deployed to signify or represent the woman figure, whether in popular culture, literature or photography. Young perceptively comments that ‘although black women were seen as “not-male,” they were not seen as women in the same sense that white women were. Since slavery, African females had been seen as at once women—inasmuch as they were sexualized, reproductive and subordinate—and not-women, that is not pure, not feminine, not fragile but strong and sexually knowing and available’ (Young 1996, 64).

The photographs representing women from the 1860s to the 1960s, found in Trinidad, mostly functioned and were purposed as colonial documentation, visual confirmation of what happened and what was there, imputing a currency of “truth” and unequivocal evidence to the events and records of the period. Their credibility, legitimacy, and value is assured through the archive and collection process that we find them in, whether these are collections found in official archives or personal collections. As photographs were most often taken by those in positions of authority, with the financial and ideological interest and power to envision the colony (colonial administration, landowning families, travelling photographers), they are imbued with the convention of historicising images as seemingly objective and transparent—a window through which to look.

From our present perspective, we are mindful of the original function and purpose of the photographs taken in the period: They may have been commissioned as evidence of an example of ‘good’ colonial governance, or privately commissioned by plantation owners

to signify and represent their wealth in the colonies, or merely taken by travel photographers as postcards to encourage tourism and exploration of colonial landscapes, or to sell as portraits to families who could afford it. Photographic technologies contributed to the visual perception and clear distinction between the colonised and the coloniser. Methodology for visual analysis, therefore, necessarily involves seeking the origins of production, who commissioned the photograph, who took the photograph, to what end were they taken, as well as prioritising and noting gender-specific influences involved in the creating and staging of the photographs.

The exploration of photographic technologies, the development of photographic conventions and how they influenced the portrayal of colonial women subjects are invariably also important as methods for analysis. The early and rapid development of photography technologies from the 1850s to 1930s meant photography emerged as a significant part of a European visual economy with a compulsion to order and a desire to dominate world populations alongside those considered the ‘enemy within’. The European visual economy or visualising science during this period scrutinised in forensic detail the habits and physiognomy of all others but the ‘normalised’ European male figure.

Under the guise of advancing medical knowledge, discovering the empire and its races or policing the state, photography was put to work in envisioning women, non-European races, those considered abnormal mentally or physically, and those considered a danger to social order. Critics and writers researching photographic collections from the 1850s onwards—at a time when photography emerged as a commercial and popular medium—have established a photography discourse of collections *in relation to* conceiving photography as social acts. Most notably, these include Sekula (1986) on Bertillon and Galton’s work of exploring social deviance and scientific policing; Tagg (1988) on prison and police archives; Taylor (1994) on the Kodak phenomenon; Willis and Williams (2002) on the black female body in a range of photographic archival material; McGrath (2002) on medical images of women from the archives in Scotland; Thompson (2006) on exploring photographs from tourist campaigns in Jamaica and the Bahamas between the 1890s and 1930s; Rose’s (2010) writings on family photography in public and domestic spaces; and Camp’s (2012) consideration of archive photographs of the African Diaspora in Europe.

These writers explore the ways in which photographic techniques and conventions helped determine their societal function. In approaching the photographs, much consideration is given to how the photographs are received, who they were made for (whether as police records, photographs associated with tourism and travelling, or medical visualisation) and who would have seen them at the time.

Case Study 1 explores an image found in the National Museum of Trinidad and Tobago archives.



Illustration 1: Anon. (unknown). *Untitled (Standing on either side)*^{ix} Laser copy: Port-of-Spain, The National Museum and Art Gallery of Trinidad and Tobago.

Geo-political, historical and everyday contexts to photographic representations of women

As in the case study analysis referred to earlier, methods for analysing photographic representations of women involve researching the historical contextual narratives from which emerge the visual depiction or the *mise en scène* of the photograph. Visual representations of place, people and events are better understood as set within historical contexts from which cultural identities and perspectives emerge and are set within the topology and terrain of specific locations, often involving scenes from the vernacular and everyday. The portrayal of women during this period is conceived in the case study as associated with everyday plantation space, whether the location be the domesticated space of the plantation house or the field. We are mindful, for example, of plantation labour systems during this period as creating and sustaining gendered divisions of labour, devastating familial relationships and instituting racial hierarchies.

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Illustration 2: Kempadoo, Roshini. (2006) “Mrs. Procope's family photographs”. Port -of-Spain.



The geo-political history of Trinidad, like many ex-British colonial Caribbean islands, is constituted from a history of plantation economies and colonial rule and, as such, has both common and highly distinctive historical narratives that might be associated with the island. Analysis of photographs of early colonial Trinidad with its majority population of mostly ex-plantation workers is further complicated by a unique history inextricably linked to the plantation labour system. That history includes a smaller percentage of slaves making up the overall Trinidad population than in other British colonial Caribbean islands; a noticeable percentage of “coloured” and “black freedmen” and various changes in colonial rule involving Spain, France and Britain;^x an indentureship (and British) labour system as a substitute form of labour after slavery that brought a significant Indian population from Calcutta and Madras;^{xi} an ever-changing mixed economy that transformed the dependency on cultivating sugar to include coffee, cocoa and citrus trade; a rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of the country’s economy due to Trinidad’s natural resources of petroleum (crude oil, natural gas, petrochemicals)^{xii} in the San Fernando area, southwest of the island; and the island’s being perceived by the US as a strategic military base located close to the Americas. Wider historical contexts pertaining to Trinidad’s history may be drawn from closely examining the detail of photographs for stylistic conventions associated with colonial woman subjects, including dress code, composition of the photograph, posture, the ‘gaze back’ from subject to photographer/viewer, and *mise en scène*. The photographic depiction of informal historical detail of the everyday provides exciting visual clues with which to research the wider particular history of the island and its women populations.

Which photographs? Research choices—photographic genres and types

Photographs taken in everyday life, snapshots in particular, rebelled against all of those photographic practices that reinscribed colonial ways of looking and capturing the images of the black ‘other’... these snapshots gave us a way to see ourselves, a sense of how we looked when we were not ‘wearing the mask’ ...
hooks, b. (1994, 50-51)

Photographic genres and types of photography chosen for the research process are crucial to expanding a visual analysis that explores women represented in colonial Trinidad. Where are representations of colonial women to be found? What genre might they be associated with and what were their purpose and function at the time they were created?

Case study 2 explores a portrait from a High Street photographic studio.



Illustration 3: Anon. (unknown). “Untitled 3”. Photograph: Port-of-Spain: Mr. Dalla Costa, Film Processors Ltd.

Finding photographs representing women requires deep and forensic research that includes informal and formal archives.^{xiii} Colonial photographs are most often visually dominated by the European men as owners/colonisers of the island, whilst the postcolonial visual trope has emerged from the image and narrative of the liberated male ex-slave as an independent and free citizen. Photographs of women from the majority population of ex-colonial workers of Trinidad end up supportive and subservient to these twin visual narratives. Family album collections and high street portraits as informal archives are important and fruitful sources for photographs depicting women in opposition to and in dialogue with official national history. There is a long genealogy of feminist writers and photographers including Azoulay (2008), Spence and Holland (1991), Hirsch (2012), Kuhn (2002), Langford (2008), Rose (2010), Stoler (2002), Thompson (2006) and Willis (2005). They have explored the relationship between domestic or family photography as a genre and its value and importance as a genre to visualising women. In an analysis, then, of the domestic image that may include portraiture and self-portraits, documentation of social occasions and events including weddings and other civil ceremonies such as graduations or birthday celebrations, snapshots and family archives of earlier generations, we may be able to focus on women’s presence in photography. We can also pay further attention to other aspects that are symptomatic of this type of photography and its conventions, including the examination of gendered postures, questions of intimacy and displays of power, power relationships between photographer and the photographed, questions of civic duty and responsibility, as spectators exploring the photographs, and the inherent relationship between maintaining familial togetherness and the mobility of photographs (Rose 2010).

Formal portraits that are created as valuable family documentation are mostly curated and managed by women. The portrait found in Mr. Costa’s collection is symptomatic of a genre and photographic type that extends the way in which women had photographs taken of themselves. In engaging with different genres of photography—in this case the portrait—the researcher is able to examine and explore a differently negotiated envisioning practice.

Conclusion

The 1860s–1960s saw photography emerge from Europe that was within what Batchen suggests was the ‘peculiarly modern arrangement of knowledges’, (Batchen 1997, 186) and what Young describes as a ‘compulsion to order and construct taxonomies’ (Young 1996, 48). Researching and analysing different kinds of colonial photographs including high street portraits; family snapshots; formal social portraits; and other local photographers’ contributions become important counterpoints to the long history of envisioning women in the colony. As photography became popular and more readily available by the 1920s onwards, we are able to find photographs that reflect an emergent consciousness of liberation and citizenship. As women historians have pieced together the presence and action by women in colonial documentation, so too, the researcher is able to find alternative visual practices where women were able to partially or fully determine and control their own image.

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A 'postcolonial perspective' and research process for exploring Trinidadian (or Caribbean) women subjects in photography, therefore, necessarily must take into consideration photography's purpose and function as inherent to colonialism. Postcolonial perspectives of colonialism include geo-political explorations specific to the locale of Trinidad; photographic and archive theories of visualisation, typification and visual tropes; feminist approaches to research and knowledge; and acknowledgement of embodied and partial perspectives. Analysis of women subjects in photographs of colonial Trinidad emerges from reading against the grain (Stoler 2009) of the photographic archive in order to envision these women's presence in history.

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ⁱ The subtitle refers to my research notes and makes reference to Aimé Césaire's *Notebook of a Return to My Native Land*, first published in 1939.

ⁱⁱ Notable early illustrators, painters, and engravers of Caribbean and American events included Théodore de Bry (1528-1598); Agostino Brunias (1730 – 1796); and Antonio de Herrera (1601 – 1615). These have also been referred to in Patricia Mohammed's publication in 2009 entitled *Imaging The Caribbean: Culture and Visual Translation*. De Bry and de Herrera, ironically, did not travel to the 'New World' but relied on accounts and journals from the explorers to make interpretations about the voyages and details of what were found there. While the reproductions in the school texts mostly appeared in black and white, many of the originals were in colour, particularly the oil paintings of the later period.

ⁱⁱⁱ Several Caribbean scholars, including Samaroo Dabydeen (1987, 1996), Birbalsingh (1993) and Tinker (1974), have written extensively about the Indian indentured system in Trinidad and British Guiana. This includes details of the first ships carrying indentured labourers, the *Whitby*, which sailed from Port Calcutta to British Guiana on 13 January 1838, and the *Fatel Razack*, which left Kolkata on 16 February 1845 and landed in the Gulf of Paria, Trinidad, on 30 May 1845.

^{iv} The redrawn reproductions of etchings and engravings in Brereton and Besson's text *The Book of Trinidad* (1992) are credited to Shim. The book of some 424 pages contains an extensive number of black and white, and sepia-toned reproductions of photographs, illustrations, maps and written accounts, with an average of at least two reproductions per page. The title makes reference to a previous publication of the same name that was an album of photographs of Trinidad produced in 1904 and edited by T. B. Jackson. A digital edition of Jackson's book is available online as part of the NYPL Digital Gallery of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Libraries Division. See *The Book of Trinidad*, edited by T. B. Jackson, NYPL Digital Gallery (2004-2007). [Internet database] New York: Available from

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^v Lister and Wells' (2001) writing is helpful in considering the notion of image typification and its close relationship to the signification of photography. Referencing Baxandall's analysis (1988) of a fifteenth-century woodcut, they trace the way meaning is attributed to a pictorial image in which 'a certain kind of mark has been matched (and agreed by all who can understand the convention...) with a certain kind of object or quality of objects in the real world' (Lister and Wells 2001, 72). This is the way that the concept of a (pictorial) convention 'is extended to that of a "code"—an extended system of signs which operates like a language' (Lister and Wells 2001, 73).

^{vi} We are deeply familiar with conventions of signs and concepts *a priori* of the photograph we are looking at. Burgin introduces the term 'complex "intertextuality"' to refer to the condition of the photograph that 'engages discourse beyond itself' where '*presupposed*' and prior texts that are very much taken for granted contribute to the question of its meaning and yet are not necessarily present in the photograph itself (Burgin 1982, 144).

^{vii} For further information on autoethnography as a concept in approaching research, see Pratt (1991) and Russell (1999).

^{viii} Among such works on stereotyping and the notions of race as they relate to literature and visual culture are *Difference and Pathology: Stereotypes of Sexuality, Race and Madness*, by S. Gilman (1985). *Fear of the Dark: 'Race', Gender and Sexuality in the Cinema*, by L. Young (1996). 'Reframing the Black subject', by O. Enwezor (1997), in *Trade Routes: History and Geography*, the catalogue for the 2nd Johannesburg Biennale; 'The Other Question: Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism', by H. K. Bhabha in *Out There: Marginalization and Contemporary Cultures* (1990), edited by R. Gever Ferguson, T.T. Minh-ha, and C. West; F. Vergès' 'Creole Skin, Black Mask: Fanon and Disavowal', *Critical Inquiry* Vol. 23, no. 3, 1997, pp. 578-95 and *Monsters and Revolutionaries: Colonial Family Romance and Métissage* (1999),

^{ix} This is a title I provided to describe the photograph. The original found in the gallery was a laser copy.

There was no original to refer to, no title, no date or any contextual documentation such as an index card.

^x Coloureds (also known in French as *gens de couleur* or *affranchis*) and black freedmen were colonial categories or a process of 'racial accounting' that was used by the British. The first term referred to the population of mixed race who may or may not have been enslaved, the second referred to those of African descent who had acquired manumission or were free from bondage.

^{xi} Indian indentured labourers soon dominated the plantation labour force in Trinidad. As Brereton notes, by 1872 'they constituted 75.3 per cent of the total sugar estate labour force; in 1895 the proportion had reached 87 per cent' (Brereton 1979, 178).

^{xii} Trinidad's industrial base now accounts for some 40 percent of its GDP. These statistics are based on figures available for 2002/2003 and 2005 from the International Energy Agency: Data Services. See OECD/IEA. (2006). *Share of Total Primary Energy Supply in 2004: Trinidad and Tobago*. <http://www.iea.org/Textbase/stats/countryresults.asp?COUNTRY_CODE=TT&Submit=Submit> (Accessed 10 February 2007). And OECD/IEA. (2006). *Evolution of Total Production of Energy from 1971 to 2004: Trinidad and Tobago*. [Internet]

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^{xiii} I conceive of formal visual archive material as characterised by qualities that include photographs owned and administered by local, national, or regional institutions; photographs constituted officially and that have a system of access to professional researchers and in some cases the general public; and photographic collections conserved by professional archivists including curators, official administrators and librarians. Informal visual archive material is defined as photographs owned, administered and conserved by private companies or individuals whose access, publishing and use are subject to individual discretion and corporate decisions.