



The University of the West Indies
St. Augustine Campus
Faculty of Humanities and Education
Caribbean Studies Project
HUMN 3099

Student name: Michael Jeremy REYES
Student ID no.: 816006773
Degree Program: BA History
Supervisor: Dr. Gelien MATTHEWS

Title of Thesis:

SECULARISM IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, 1962–1976

Word count: _____

Declaration

1. I declare that this thesis has been composed solely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in whole or in part, in any previous application for a degree. Except where stated otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work presented is entirely my own.
2. I authorise The University of the West Indies to make a physical or digital copy of my thesis/research paper/project report for its preservation, for public reference, and for the purpose of inter-library loan.

Signature of Student: Michael J. Reyes Date: 12 / 04 / 2024

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WEST INDIES
The Office of the Board for Undergraduate Studies

INDIVIDUAL PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

This declaration is being made in accordance with the University Regulations on Plagiarism (First Degrees, Diplomas and Certificate) and should be attached to all work submitted by a student to be assessed as part of or/the entire requirement of the course, other than work submitted in an invigilated examination.

Statement

1. I have read the Plagiarism Regulations as set out in the Faculty Handbook and University websites related to the submission of coursework for assessment.
2. I declare that I understand that plagiarism is the use of another's work pretending that it is one's own and that it is a serious academic offence for which the University may impose severe penalties.
3. I declare that the submitted work indicated below is my own work, except where duly acknowledged and referenced.
4. I also declare that this paper has not been previously submitted for credit either in its entirety or in part within the UWI or elsewhere.
5. I understand that I may be required to submit the work in electronic form and accept that the University may check the originality of the work using a computer-based plagiarism detection service.

TITLE OF ASSIGNMENT – SECULARISM IN TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, 1962–1976

COURSE CODE – HUMN 3099

COURSE TITLE - CARIBBEAN STUDIES PROJECT

STUDENT ID - 816006773

By signing this declaration, you are confirming that the work you are submitting is original and does not contain any plagiarised material.

I confirm that this assignment is my own work, and that the work of other persons has been fully acknowledged.

SIGNATURE - Michael J. Rogers

DATE - 01/01/2024

ABSTRACT

This dissertation argues that from 1962, to 1976 Trinidad and Tobago functioned not as a fully secular state but rather as a Protestant constitutional monarchy closely linked with Protestant Christianity in its three branches of government, which were largely inherited from its British colonial past. It integrates viewpoints from Ryan, Bhargava, Mahabir, Gildea, Cranmer and Garcia Oliva to place the dominance of Christianity in the government into context. The first chapter portrays Trinidad and Tobago's secularism as a model that navigates influences amidst Afro-Trinidadian political dynamics and cultural variety. The second chapter discusses how Christianity influenced the identity, laws, honors and educational policies of the state. It is evident, in the nation's Christian themed national songs that seek guidance from the Christian God and controversial symbols for the country's non-Christians, like the Trinity Cross. The articles in the Concordat emphasize how denominational schools shaped content by challenging *laïc* ideas of neutrality and inclusivity. Therefore, this research aims to initiate discussions about the role of religion in Trinidad and Tobago's government. It also provides insights into debates on secularism and religious participation in state affairs.

Keywords: secularism, secular state, religion, constitutional monarchy, Commonwealth realm, Trinidad and Tobago, parliamentary politics, nationalism, religious denominations, Christianity

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	i
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	ii
LIST OF FIGURES	iii
LIST OF APPENDICES	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
LITERATURE REVIEW	5
CHAPTER ONE: Demarcating the Spiritual and Temporal Spheres.....	13
CHAPTER TWO: The Interconnectedness between the State and Christianity	30
CONCLUSION.....	43
WORKS CITED	45
APPENDIX A: St Edward’s Crown	A
APPENDIX B -Map of Trinidad and Tobago 1960	B
APPENDIX C – London Gazette 26 May, 1953, Royal Styles.....	C
APPENDIX D – Coronation Oath	D
APPENDIX E – National Anthem of Trinidad and Tobago.....	E
APPENDIX F – Coronation Oath.....	F

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Religious composition of Trinidad and Tobago in 1960.....	16
Figure 2: Religious composition of Trinidad and Tobago in 1970.....	17
Figure 3: Indo vs Non-Indo-Trinidadian Population in 1960	18
Figure 4: Mace of the House of Representatives	26
Figure 5: Trinity Cross, from NALIS	36
Figure 6: Sir Solomon Hochoy in ceremonial uniform wearing his orders of chivalry, courtesy Trinidad Express “Sir Solomon Hochoy Arima Old Boy”	37
Figure 7: Order of Saint Michael and Saint George collar	37
Figure 8: Coat of Arms of Trinidad and Tobago	38
Figure 9: St Edward's Crown. The coronation crown of the monarchs of England	A
<i>Figure 10: Trinidad and Tobago (Shaded Relief Map)</i>	<i>B</i>

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: St Edward's Crown

APPENDIX B -Map of Trinidad and Tobago 1960

APPENDIX C – London Gazette 26 May, 1953, Royal Styles

APPENDIX D – Coronation Oath

APPENDIX E – National Anthem of Trinidad and Tobago

APPENDIX F – Coronation Oath

INTRODUCTION

The state and religion exist in their own spaces, but they often connect to legitimize each other and achieve political goals.¹ However, if a state purports to be secular, it should, as in the thoughts of Abbé Raynal, have the common welfare of the people be the prevailing principle in all matters within the state, and dogmatic ideas should not disrupt it.² Although numerous publications discuss the political, religious, and ethnic composition of Trinidad and Tobago, not a single corpus captures the essence of the secular state model that existed in Trinidad and Tobago as an independent realm with a Protestant monarchy by law, and all the key authors of the new state were of primarily Christian stock over a diverse population. Therefore, this study will enhance documentation on the practice of secularism in Trinidad and Tobago in a coherent language. It will be useful for future research on the mutual aims of the state and religion while adding a new perspective to both the political history and religious history of the country. **Therefore, in delineating the nature of the state, it is reasonable to argue that between 1962 and 1976, Trinidad and Tobago was not a secular state disconnected from religion and tolerant of religious pluralism, but rather a Protestant constitutional monarchy that upheld Christian-inspired laws and traditions over a denominationally heterogeneous population.** This

¹ Rajeev Bhargava, 'Secular Politico-Legal Regimes in Religiously Homogenous and Diverse Societies', in *Routledge Handbook of Law and Religion* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 229–32.

² Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 239–40.

constitutional monarchy was a Trinidadian continuation of the power of St Edward's Crown³ seated at Port of Spain

This study was constrained by the following parameters: chronologically, geographically, thematically, and by the *grands hommes politiques*.⁴ It **chronologically** confines itself to the years 1962–1976, during which the 1962 Constitution, which organized the nation as a constitutional monarchy, was in effect.⁵ ⁶ It will also identify relevant historical, political, and legal details that transitioned through the era. **Geographically**, this study was limited to the political boundaries of Trinidad and Tobago⁷ and the instrumental institutions in the state together with transnational royal sites of interest. This work **thematically** examines the political and religious impacts upon the nation. These parameters also cover examining the actions of the great men of state.

³ Catherine Pepinster, 'From Crown to orb...Everything You Need to Know about the

Coronation's 5 Sacred Objects', Premier Christianity, 21 April 20234,

<https://www.premierchristianity.com/features/from-crown-to-orbeverything-you-need-to-know-about-the-coronations-5-sacred-objects/15374.article>. See Appendix A

⁴ Thomas Carlyle, *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, & the Heroic in History: Six Lectures; Reported, with Emendations and Additions* (D. Appleton & Company, 1841), 2.

⁵ 'Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz. 2, c. 19.' (1962), sec. 3.

⁶ 'Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago Act, 1976, 25 Eliz., No. 4' (1976), sec. 3.

⁷ Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, 'Trinidad and Tobago (Shaded Relief Map)',

University of Texas Libraries, 1969, <https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas.html>. see

Appendix B

This paper has two objectives. It intends **to outline and examine** the ways in which secular authorities have connected with predominantly Christian denominations in the accomplishment of state goals such as political legitimacy and education, and **to identify** a model of secularism that describes independent Trinidad and Tobago. The results produced from this study intend to fill the noticeable gap in secularist thought in the academic discourse of Trinidadian politics.

This study consists of a literature review, two chapters, a conclusion, a works cited list, and appendices. This literature review examines Trinidad and Tobago's relationship with religion during its constitutional monarchy era, aiming to define the Trinidadian secular model coherently. It looks at scholarship on the historic religion-state axis of the nation. It analyses past literature on state institutions and religion through the lens of the social sciences. It also reviews past authorship on religious pluralism in this state. Chapter 1, entitled *Demarcating the Spiritual and Temporal Spheres*, creates clear categorizations to understand the roles of religion and state in post-independent Trinidad and Tobago. It explains this study's understanding of the word secularism and the secular state. Likewise, it examines the religious demographics of the nation throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Also, it looks at the socio-political systems and institutions influenced by religion. Similarly, it identifies the *grands hommes politiques* who shaped the formation of the independent state. Chapter 2, entitled *The Interconnectedness between the State and Christianity*, discusses the blending of the secular and religious spheres. It analyzes how state affairs invoked the *Divine*. It also considers the role of religion in parliamentary affairs. It also explores Christian symbolism and its significance in the state apparatus. It also deliberates on the prominence of religion in public policy. It additionally reviews the religious beliefs of the great men and their impact on the law and politics.

This dissertation is both a **political history** and a **religious history** of the evolving nature of the execution of statecraft in the Commonwealth realm of Trinidad and Tobago during the years 1962–1976. Therefore, this work is simultaneously a study of Trinidadian and Tobagonian political history and part of the history of the British monarchy. The approach to this research is both **qualitative** and **quantitative**. It relies heavily on written material from **primary documentary sources** and **secondary documentary sources**.

Both primary and secondary data were collected. Primary documentary sources included Parliamentary Hansards from both the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago and the House of Commons of the United Kingdom from the 1966 Throne Speech and 1962 Trinidad and Tobago Independence Bill respectively, newspaper articles, pieces of legislation such as the 1701 Act of Settlement, constitutions such as the Trinidad and Tobago 1962 Constitution, contemporary quantitative data sources such as United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1974, judicial cases such as *Abbott v Attorney General of Trinidad and Tobago*, No. No. 739 of 1977 (High Court (Trinidad and Tobago) 5 May 1977) and the *Sumayyah Mohammed v. Board of Management of Holy Name Convent Secondary School* (1994), national Songs: "Forged from the Love of Liberty" by Patrick Castagne, Parliamentary practices and ceremonies such as Oaths of Allegiances, and Concordat Articles detailing the influence on public education policy. Quantitative data provided statistical analysis to observe demographic trends and the socio-political impact. One major example in this work included demographic data from the UN Yearbook to contextualize the ethnic and religious demographics of Trinidad and Tobago in 1960 and 1970. Evidently, these sources indicate that this work falls with the genre of political history. Quantitative data such as political speeches and prayers as found in secondary sources showed the impact of religion in the running of the state.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Trinidad and Tobago was a protestant constitutional monarchy that inherited laws influenced by Christianity. However, it encountered difficulties in effectively engaging with its diverse religious communities. Frequently, discussions about a nation's political-religious dynamics revolve around the foundation of ethno-political biases. This literature review seeks to explore studies on how the connection between government and religion changed in Trinidad and Tobago as it shifted from a crown colony to becoming an independent monarchy. This literature review aims to gain insight into Trinidad and Tobago's framework. First, it analyzes past literature on the historic relationship between the Trinidadian state and religion through the lens of key scholarly works on the religious and political clashes between Afro-Trinidadians and Indo-Trinidadians. Second, it examines scholarship on the relationship between governing institutions and religious denominations by integrating existing social systems, such as the cooperationist model. Third, it examines how the country dealt with its religious pluralism.

First, to understand the historic context of the temporal and sacred natures of the Trinidadian state during its transformative period as a constitutional monarchy, it is necessary to delve into previous scholarship that examines the relationship between the state and religion. While analyzing the 1995 general elections, Selwyn Ryan theorized that there was an undeniable clash of cultures between the Afro-Trinidadians, including their culture and religion, and the Indo-Trinidadians, also including their culture and religion, who both vied for cultural and political dominance over the other while challenging the viability of multiculturalism in a state with evenly

balanced dominant ethnic groups.⁸ Indeed, Rajeev Bhargava observes that states that prioritize the domination or hegemony of a religion tend to be religion-centered and thus less at ease with toleration and religious liberty, while secular states try to undermine religious domination for inclusivity and equality of all citizens, as in Trinidad and Tobago's case where religion and ethnicity are intertwined.⁹ In the legal case of *Sumayyah Mohammed v. Board of Management of Holy Name Convent Secondary School* (1994), Cynthia Mahabir exemplified the long-standing tension between Christian hegemony and non-Christian elements in Trinidad and Tobago. Mohammed argued that the school violated sections 4(a), 4(b), 4(c), 4(d), 4(f), 4(h), and 5(2)(h) of the 1976 constitution regarding her religious liberty to wear a Muslim hijab as part of her school uniform, aligning with her personal religious beliefs; however, the school rebutted that the Concordat permitted them to prohibit her from wearing the hijab at school to uphold its Catholic character.¹⁰ In societies that are both secular and religiously plural, the goal is to create cultural spaces for all while promoting a collective identity, towards the nation, which poses its own challenges.¹¹

⁸ Selwyn Ryan, 'The Clash of Cultures in Post Creole Trinidad and Tobago', *Caribbean Dialogue* 3, no. 2 (1997): 12.

⁹ Bhargava, 'Secular Politico-Legal Regimes in Religiously Homogenous and Diverse Societies', 242.

¹⁰ Cynthia Mahabir, 'Adjudicating Pluralism: The Hijab, Law and Social Change in Post-Colonial Trinidad', *Social & Legal Studies* 13, no. 4 (2004): 441.

¹¹ Mahabir, 439.

However, some scholars argue that the connection is more teleological as observed by Robert Gildea in his exploration of religious diversity in post-colonial France. In the French model of secularism (Laïcité), the nation is civic rather than ethnic,¹² and there is a rigid division between individuals in the public sphere and religion,¹³ which inhabits the private sphere. Here, religion and religious pluralism have no place in public affairs, serving the unified national identity. This republican notion contrasts with the divine authority a monarchy entails and challenges the prevailing trend of examining the Trinidadian state-religious historical relationship from an ethic-based perspective. Frank Cranmer and Javier Garcia Oliva support Gildea's work by acknowledging how the state restricts religious control for the sake of all in France, including in matters of education and marriage recognition, and in pre-Erdogan Turkey, where sacred religious feelings had no interference in statecraft.¹⁴

Therefore, Ryan, Bhargava, and Mahabir provide a clear explanation of the ethnic and religious tensions present in Trinidad and Tobago's political system. In contrast, Gildea's examination of Laïcité and the perspectives of Cranmer and Garcia Oliva on France and Turkey emphasize the drawbacks of focusing solely on ethnicity. These views imply that we can gain a deeper understanding of the interaction between religion and state by examining it from a

¹² Robert Gildea, 'Laïcité, Republic and Nation in Post-Colonial France', *Contemporary*

European History 27, no. 1 (February 2018): 137,

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777317000492>.

¹³ Gildea, 141–42.

¹⁴ Frank Cranmer and Javier Garcia Oliva, 'Church-State Relationships: An Overview', *Law &*

Justice - The Christian Law Review Vol. 162, no. 1 (2009): 9.

teleological perspective. This implies that overarching philosophical and civic principles influence the state's approach to religion. This study deviates from previous research that focused on ethnicity to explain the relationship between the state and religion in Trinidad and Tobago. Instead, it will fill the gap in a philosophical-based model to explain the nature of secularism as it existed in the Trinidadian state.

Second, to understand the complex relationship between governing institutions and religious denominations in post-colonial Trinidad and Tobago, it is essential to refer to older research on the matter. Bhargava sees the state-religion relationship functioning within three possible theoretical frameworks: cooperation as a means to an end; cooperation at an institutional level; and cooperation through public policy and law.¹⁵ This was mostly the case in the Trinidadian realm, as the monarch owed her institutional legitimacy partly on religious grounds and the government cooperated with religious bodies in education for public policy via the Concordat. Cranmer and Oliva further identified four supra-systems of church-state relations over Bhargava's models: erastianism, theocracy, cooperationism, and separation.¹⁶ As a result, Trinidad and Tobago may best fall under the cooperationist system where the state and religions work together in the form of providing services, although the Head of State partially falls under a foreign system of erastianism. As Bagehot argued, government in the Westminster system (which Trinidad and Tobago inherited) consisted of two broad parts to operate: the dignified part and the efficient part. The dignified part, the monarchy, demanded reverence and awe for the sanctity of power, and

¹⁵ Bhargava, 'Secular Politico-Legal Regimes in Religiously Homogenous and Diverse Societies', 229.

¹⁶ Cranmer and Oliva, 'Church-State Relationships', 4.

the efficient part, such as the Prime Minister, executed those powers.¹⁷ Therefore, without religious sanctification, a constitutional monarchy would lack reverence and resemble an artificial creation devoid of august majesty.¹⁸ This is one reason why a majority Christian population with strong Christian values willingly accepted a Protestant monarch as their head of state.

However, after *Sumayyah Mohammed v. Board of Management of Holy Name Convent Secondary School* (1994), Mahabir questioned whether Trinidad and Tobago really had a liberal legal system and whether it was the best way to maintain pluralism and social cohesion.¹⁹ Mahabir further noted an intriguing occurrence: that Faiz Amin (who supported Sumayyah Mohammed in the case) commended then-Prime Minister Patrick Manning on his steps to review the law, which Amin said were not in the best interests of Afro-Trinidadians and Indo-Trinidadians despite being silent on reciprocating the same religious accommodations for Catholics, Protestants, Hindus, and the like in Muslim schools.²⁰ The information suggested that the dominant Christian-majority elite and the laws enacted during the protestant constitutional monarchy a few decades ago did not accommodate the faiths of non-Christians. Premdas echoed this sentiment by claiming that they

¹⁷ Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, ed. Paul Smith, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge, 2001), 5.

¹⁸ Bagehot, 41.

¹⁹ Mahabir, 'Adjudicating Pluralism', 439.

²⁰ Mahabir, 440–41.

believed that the ruling PNM and dominant Creole culture followed a segmentation model of control to discriminate against the Hindus.²¹

Looking back at the monarchy's historical backdrop, it becomes evident that Bhargava's models and the overarching systems identified by Crammer and Olivia had a significant impact on the structure. While this collaboration has brought about efficiencies and social unity, it has also highlighted perceived disparities among Christian religions, as emphasized by Mahabir and Premdas. This insight could contribute to an understanding of the framework for future studies on state religious dynamics in Trinidad and Tobago.

Third, various authors hinted that there were challenges to religious pluralism in Trinidadian society because the law and elites tended to favor Christian homogenization. After analyzing the 1994 ban on hijabs in Trinidadian schools, Mahabir came to the conclusion that the country's overall British Protestant and Christian legal political heritage remained the norm, making religious diversity less accommodating and still a challenge.²² According to Ryan, the post-independence era political elite consisted of an Afro-Saxon aristocracy that perpetuated Afro-Creole, Christian, and western cultural and political supremacy over a diverse state.²³ For instance, those in power dismissed the arguments of Indo-Trinidadians contesting Afro-Creole cultural

²¹ Ralph Premdas, 'Chapter 6: Ethnic Conflict in Trinidad and Tobago: Domination and Reconciliation', in *Trinidad Ethnicity*, ed. Kevin A. Yelvington (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1993), 144.

²² Mahabir, 'Adjudicating Pluralism', 450.

²³ Ryan, 'The Clash of Cultures in Post Creole Trinidad and Tobago', 21.

hegemony on airwaves as quaint and a foreign ethnic genre.²⁴ Again, one must recall Sumayyah Mohammed v. Board of Management of Holy Name Convent Secondary School (1994), which sought to apply pluralist principles in a multi-faith society.²⁵ The difficulty of maintaining religious pluralism and liberty under a system based on Christian principles is a highlight. By allowing denominational schools to preserve their religious character, the 1960 Concordat secured their presence.²⁶ This setup illustrates a system, as Cranmer and Olivia posited, in which the government backs religious organizations.²⁷ This configuration showcases a system as explained by Cranmer and Olivia where the state supports religious establishments. While the Concordat strived to uphold schools' identities, it also potentially sidelined students who did not belong to the school's faith group. According to Cranmer & Olivia's analysis of the cooperationist model in Belgium, the government recognized the cultural contributions of various religious groups and viewed them positively in meeting essential societal needs. This was because religious bodies functioned similarly to voluntary groups and therefore earned social and financial assistance from the government.²⁸ The Belgian model of supporting denominational schools is comparable to the policy in Trinidad and Tobago.

²⁴ Ryan, 21.

²⁵ Mahabir, 'Adjudicating Pluralism', 439–41.

²⁶ J.S. Donaldson, 'Concordat' (1960), sec. 3,

<https://data.miraquetemiro.org/sites/default/files/documentos/Concordat%20of%201960%20TT.pdf>.

²⁷ Cranmer and Oliva, 'Church-State Relationships', 10.

²⁸ Cranmer and Oliva, 10.

Thus, it is evident that the religious and legal policies in Trinidad and Tobago during the era of constitutional monarchy were complex. Mahabir, Ryan, and Cranmer & Olivia provide strong support for the thesis that the state favored Christian religious groups while creating disparities for others. The sources excel in their examination of governance and religious diversity, but they struggle to fully grasp the intricate socio-political dynamics of Trinidad and Tobago.

In conclusion, this literature review explored past scholarship on the evolving relationship between the state and religion with respect to Trinidad and Tobago during its transformative period as a constitutional monarchy while trying to formulate a coherent delineation of the Trinidadian secular model. First, through ethnic-based research, scholars such as Ryan, Bhargava, and Mahabir studied the cultural clashes and religious tensions of the era. Contrastingly, Gildea, Cranmer, and Garcia Oliva's works highlighted the limitations of ethnic perspectives via their teleological approach to studying secularism. Second, Bhargava's frameworks and the supra-systems identified by Cranmer and Olivia identified certain efficiencies and social cohesion among denominational groups and the state, they also highlighted the inequities faced by non-Christian faiths under the constitutional monarchy. Third, the comprehensive analyses by Mahabir, Ryan, and Cranmer & Olivia clearly demonstrate the state's unequivocal favoritism towards Christian groups. From 1962 to 1976, Trinidad and Tobago operated more as a Protestant constitutional monarchy adhering to Christian-influenced laws and customs than as a secular state accommodating religious diversity, using frameworks established by scholars to elucidate non-secular states. This analysis yields insights for historians, political researchers, and policymakers striving for genuine inclusivity.

CHAPTER ONE: Demarcating the Spiritual and Temporal Spheres

Between 1962 and 1976, Trinidad and Tobago was not a completely secular society devoid of religious influences in the state. It was a cooperationist model where Christian influences dominated the state's systems and personnel over a diverse population, as espoused by Bhargava, Cranmer, and Oliva's writings. This chapter defines how Trinidad and Tobagonian secularism acted within the cooperationist model from 1962 to 1976 by integrating Christian influences within a predominantly Christian framework, while accommodating non-Christian religious pluralism in its political, legal, and educational systems. First, it uses Bhargava's cooperationist model to explain the balance between the *comportements politiques* of the prevailing Christian, Western, Creole, and Afro-Trinidadian influences versus the non-Christian, Oriental, and Indo-Trinidadian influences. Second, it looks at how religious and ethnic demographics influenced the nation's politics during the 1960s and 1970s. Third, it examines the state's political institutions and their interactions with religion.

First, to understand the connection between secularism and its application in Trinidad and Tobago during the 1960s and 1970s, one must consider the socio-political particularities of the nation. At its most basic definition, secularism entails structuring political, legal, and constitutional affairs to eliminate religious influences and institutions from the public sphere.²⁹ If we remember

²⁹ Richard Mohr, 'The Christian Origins of Secularism and the Rule of Law', *Law and Religion in Public Life*, 1 January 2013, 47,
https://www.academia.edu/1549528/2_The_Christian_origins_of_secularism_and_the_rule_of_law.

Bhargava, Cranmer, and Oliva's models, a secular state can either have a cooperationist relationship with religion by engaging with it as a means to an end, at an institutional level, or through public policy and law.^{30 31} In the Trinidadian realm, the cooperationist model³² was particularly evident. For example, in the education sector, the state needed to make use of the already existing denominational schools in its objective of creating an educated population, although that was not the initial strategy. In 1968, the government formulated the Education Plan, which it hoped would completely overhaul the primary-to-secondary education system by transferring the 12-year-old population to the junior secondary school system. However, the plan failed partly due to public resistance, and the government had to retain the competitive Common Entrance exam for spots in the already existing denominational secondary schools.^{33 34} This was in harmony with the 1960 Concordat, where the government pledged financial support for the

³⁰ Bhargava, 'Secular Politico-Legal Regimes in Religiously Homogenous and Diverse Societies', 229.

³¹ Cranmer and Oliva, 'Church-State Relationships', 10.

³² Cranmer and Oliva, 10.

³³ Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Education, *Mid-Decade Report of Trinidad and Tobago on Its Progress towards Providing Basic Education for All* (New York: UNESCO, 1995), 1–4, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000221970>.

³⁴ Rita Pemberton et al., *Historical Dictionary of Trinidad and Tobago* | Michael Toussaint; Debbie McCollin; Rita Pemberton; Gelien Matthews | Download (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 399–400, <https://b-ok.lat/book/5582342/9b0530>. (see Appendix A: A List of Denominational Schools in Trinidad and Tobago).

denominational schools while allowing them to maintain their religious character.³⁵ Furthermore, Trinidad and Tobago had a racial factor in its secular equation because, according to Ryan, it presented itself as a Creole culture, rooted in an Afro-Trinidadian, Western European, and Christian framework as the foundation of its cultural narrative. Arguably, this framework intended to foster a Trinidadian-brand of nationalism, but it largely ignored the Hindu and Muslim Indo-Trinidadian heritage as part of this national identity.³⁶ Mc Letchie came to a similar calculation by stating that if a subject was a Christian, they had greater accessibility to official institutions.³⁷ From the colonial era to the post-constitutional monarchy era, the protestant Christian ethic and the island's Catholic ethic ruled, as Mahabir's earlier study of the Sumayyah Mohammed case demonstrated.³⁸ Interestingly, there was an underground ideology against the Christian influenced secular model in Trinidad by the infant Jamaat-al-Muslimeen, who had ambitions of transforming the nation into an Islamic state, according to Jamaal Shabazz, a Jamaat-al-Muslimeen member questioned by the Commission of Enquiry into the 1990 Attempted Coup.³⁹ Given the prevalence

³⁵ Donaldson, Concordat.

³⁶ Ryan, 'The Clash of Cultures in Post Creole Trinidad and Tobago', 13–15.

³⁷ Alison Mc Letchie, 'The Parasitic Oligarchy? The Elites in Trinidad and Tobago' (PhD Thesis, University of South Carolina, University of South Carolina, 20²13), 34, chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2934&context=etd.

³⁸ Mahabir, 'Adjudicating Pluralism', 450.

³⁹ Wade Bailey, 'Jamaat al Muslimeen : From Drug Gangs to Terrorism.', *Terrorism in the Caribbean.*, 2020, 6,

of Christian religious influences in power and the relative lack of non-Christian ones, the ascendancy of Western and Creole cultural norms, and the ethnic differences between Afro-

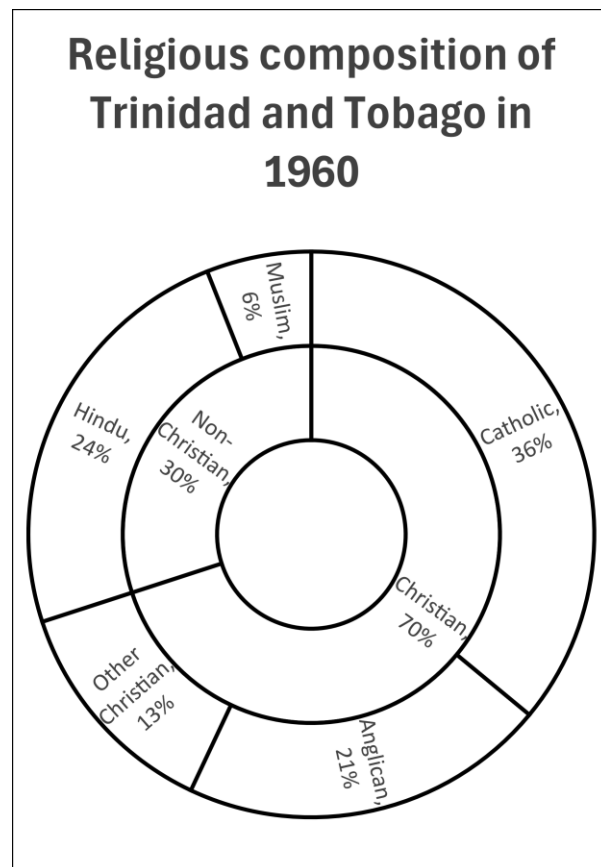


Figure 1: Religious composition of Trinidad and Tobago in 1960

Trinidadian and Indo-Trinidadian, we can understand how the early secular state in Trinidad and Tobago employed the cooperationist secular model.

Second, understanding the religious and ethnic demographics of Trinidad and Tobago during the 1960s and 1970s is crucial for comprehending the Trinidadian secular model. To make sense of the Trinidadian secular state, it is important to acknowledge the political representation of ethno-religious groups in the halls of power.⁴⁰ In the 1960 census, Trinidad and Tobago's total population was 827,957.⁴¹ In

https://www.academia.edu/43331435/Jamaat_al_Muslimeen_From_drug_gangs_to_Terrorism.

⁴⁰ D.M. Heer, *Social Statistics and the City* (Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1968), 11.

⁴¹ United Nations / Nations Unies, *1962 Demographic Yearbook Annuaire Demographique*.Pdf (New York: Statistical Office of the United Nations, 1962), 402,

<https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic-social/products/dyb/dybssets/1962%20DYB.pdf>.

1970, the population was 945,210.⁴² According to the 1960 and 1970 censuses, the religious demographics of the nation included the following: Its Catholic population was around 36% in both 1960 and 1970; its main protestant denomination, the Anglican (Church of England) population, was at 21% in 1960 but declined to 18% in 1970; the Presbyterian, Methodist, Moravian, Seventh-Day Adventist, and other Christian denominations were collectively 13% in 1960 and 8% in 1970, many of which were unstated; the Hindu population was approximately 24% in 1960 and 25% in 1970; and the Muslim population remained

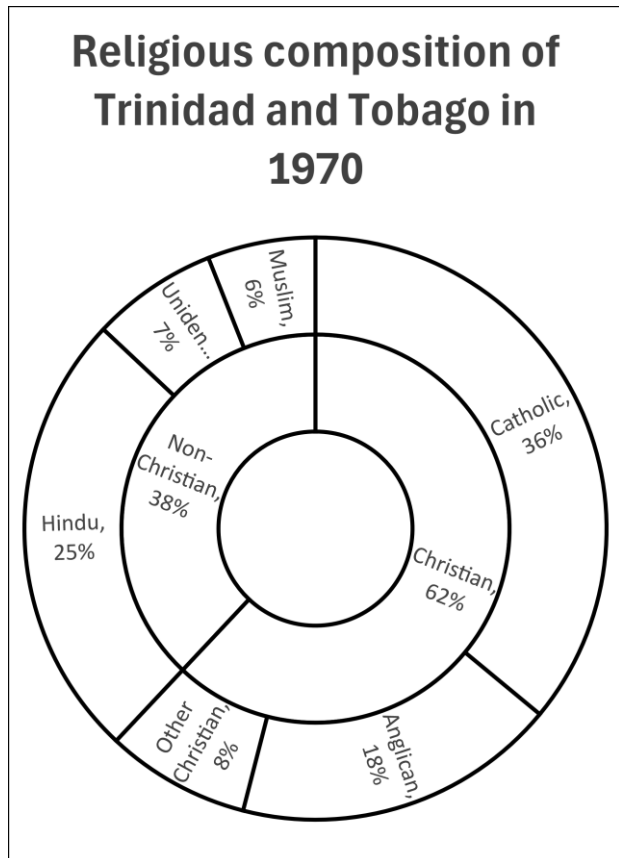


Figure 2: Religious composition of Trinidad and Tobago in 1970

around 6% in both 1960 and 1970.⁴³ This means that the population was 70% Christian and 30% non-Christian in 1960, of which 34% were protestant and 36% were Catholic. Equally, in 1970, 62% of the population freely identified themselves as Christian, making the other 38% non-

⁴² United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1974* (New York: United Nations, 1975), <https://doi.org/10.18356/058b447f-en-fr>.

⁴³ Jack Harewood, *The Population of Trinidad and Tobago*, C.I.C.R.E.D. Series (Paris: United Nations, 1975), 109.

Christian. In 1960, Afro-Trinidadians, White-Trinidadians, Chinese-Trinidadians, Mixed-Trinidadians, Amerindian-Trinidadians, and Syrian-Trinidadians collectively comprised 61.5% of the general population, while Indo-Trinidadians made up 37.9% of the general population.⁴⁴ Indeed, Woden argued that the religious upbringing and beliefs of the office holder, even if an office of power is not religious in nature, inform its policies and decisions, influencing their interpretation of global

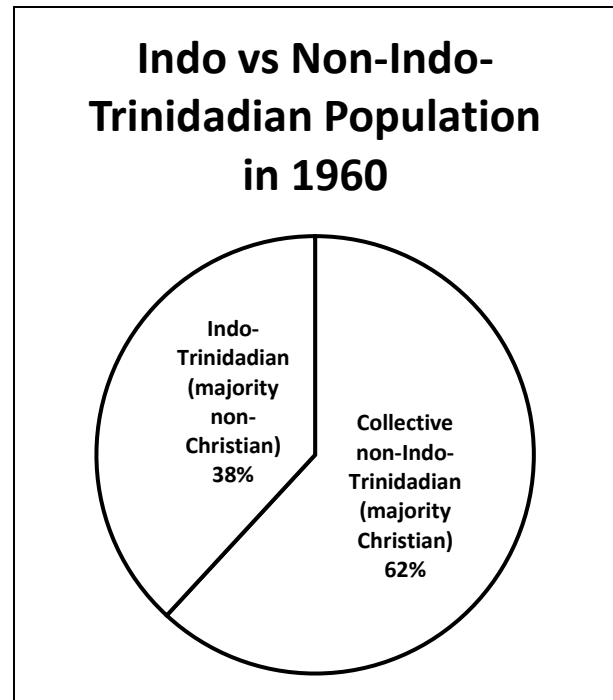


Figure 3: Indo vs Non-Indo-Trinidadian Population in 1960

governance.⁴⁵ Therefore, this data suggests that Trinidad and Tobago was predominantly a Christian country, with Christian denominations exerting a significant influence on their faithful. This influence, in turn, shaped the overall socio-political landscape of both Christian and non-Christian citizens, ultimately shaping the country's secularism model. This mode can be attributed

⁴⁴ Adrian Chatfield, 'Chapter 4: The Roman Catholic Church in Trinidad', *Sociology of Trinidadian Religion*, 1989, 24–25, https://www.academia.edu/39971141/Chapter_4_The_Roman_Catholic_Church_in_Trinidad.

⁴⁵ Quentin Wodon, 'Faith and Spirituality Informing Public Policy: Joseph Wresinski and Our Understanding of Extreme Poverty', *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 16, no. 2 (3 April 2018): 6, <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2018.1469839>.

to a dominant-majority model, in which the majority Christian elite shaped state policies and societal norms by representing the majority Christian population and tradition, while also accommodating minority religions.

This thought naturally leads us to examine the religious and ethnic demographics of the nation's political class. The 1700 Act of Settlement legally required the Queen and members of the Royal Family, in direct line of succession for the Trinidad and Tobago throne, to be protestant Christians. Quote:

“... the said Crown and Government shall from time to time descend to and be enjoyed by such Person or Persons being Protestants as should have inherited and enjoyed the same in case the said Person or Persons so reconciled holding Communion professing.”⁴⁶

This point is relevant because, as a Commonwealth realm, Trinidad and Tobago shared a monarch with the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth realms.⁴⁷ Therefore, all governments in each realm must agree upon succession laws. This was demonstrated as recently as 2015, when the then-remaining 15 Commonwealth realms changed the Act of Succession, thereby ending male-primogeniture in favor of absolute primogeniture and removing the prohibition of a member of the

⁴⁶ ‘Act of Settlement’, 12 & 13 Will 3, c. 3 § (1700),

<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/Will3/12-13/2>.

⁴⁷ Ellis Clarke, ‘Milestones Along the Way to Our Present Achievement’, in *Trinidad and Tobago: The Independence Experience, 1962–1987*, ed. Selwyn Ryan (St Augustine: Institute of Social and Economic Research, UWI, St Augustine, 1988), 168.

royal family marrying a Catholic from ascending to the throne.⁴⁸ Notably, the other occupants of the great offices of state in the era, namely the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, and the Speaker, were also all Christians. The first Governor-General from 1962–1972, Sir Solomon Hochoy, was a Catholic. He attended the Arima Boys’ Roman Catholic Primary School and St Mary’s College.⁴⁹ He is buried in the Botanical Gardens⁵⁰ with a large cross inscribed with the Christogram IHS. The Roman Catholic Archdiocese described his successor from 1972–1976, Sir Ellis Clarke, as a pillar of the local Roman Catholic community who distinguished himself by his contributions in public life through his strong ethical (i.e., Catholic-Christian) values upon his death in 2010.⁵¹ Finding an academic source that unequivocally stated the religion of Dr. Eric Williams, the People’s National Movement (PNM) Prime Minister from 1962–1981, was admittedly difficult. However, his parents, a black father and a French-creole mother, from the

⁴⁸ ‘Commencement of Succession to the Crown Act 2013’ (House of Commons: UK Parliament, 26 March 2015), <https://questions-statements.parliament.uk/written-statements/detail/2015-03-26/HCWS490>.

⁴⁹ Ashton Ford, ‘Sir Solomon an Arima RC Old Boy’, *Trinidad Express Newspapers*, 28 March 2021, https://trinidadexpress.com/opinion/letters/sir-solomon-an-arima-rc-old-boy/article_179ba902-9029-11eb-a2c3-a7a9f1df4126.html.

⁵⁰ The National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago, ‘Tombs of Solomon Hochoy, Gov. Hill Etc’, *National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago* (blog), 2021, <https://nationaltrust.tt/home/location/tombs-of-solomon-hochoy-gov-hill-etc/>.

⁵¹ *Trinidad Guardian*, ‘RCs: He Was Pillar of Church’, *Trinidad & Tobago Guardian*, 3 January 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.tt/article-6.2.456429.701740ce54>.

lower classes of Port of Spain, implied that he was a Christian.⁵² He studied at Queens Royal College in Port of Spain, a secondary school that aimed to produce colored Englishmen in the West Indies.⁵³ He studied at the prestigious Oxford University from 1931-1938.⁵⁴ The far-leftists of the Black Power movement of 1970 described him as an ‘Afro-Saxon’ who had assimilated white values due to the forced denial of our African heritage.⁵⁵ Arnold Thomasos served as House Speaker and PNM MP for Arima from 1961 to 1981.⁵⁶ Before entering politics, he was Head Teacher at La Pastora, San Rafael R.C., and then Headmaster of Boissiere Village R.C. School.⁵⁷ On the other side, the opposition political figures were predominantly Hindu. Rudranath Capildeo, the Democratic Labour Party (DLP) Leader of the Opposition from 1962–1967, grew up in a Hindu

⁵² Colin A. Palmer, *Eric Williams & the Making of the Modern Caribbean* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 5.

⁵³ Palmer, 6.

⁵⁴ Palmer, 7.

⁵⁵ Paul Sutton, ‘Black Power in Trinidad and Tobago: The “Crisis” of 1970’, *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 21, no. 2 (July 1983): 117, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662048308447426>.

⁵⁶ Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, ‘Clytus Arnold Thomasos – Parliament’, Parliament Of The Republic Of Trinidad And Tobago, 2022, <https://www.ttparliament.org/members/member/clytus-arnold-thomasos/parliamentary-career/>.

⁵⁷ Kazim Abasali, ‘Arnold Thomasos’, *Arima Community Info Resource Centre* (blog), 15 April 2017, <https://arimacirc.wordpress.com/arnold-thomasos/>.

home in rural Caroni but studied at Queens Royal College and then the University of London.⁵⁸ However, Vernon Jamadar, another Hindu succeeded him in 1967.⁵⁹

If we recall Ryan's work, he believed that the post-independence era ruling class was that of an Afro-Saxon aristocracy that perpetuated Afro-Creole, Christian, and western cultural and political supremacy over an ethnically and religiously diverse state in a struggle for dominance against the forces not part of these groupings.^{60 61} The PNM and UNC reflect the demographics of this ethnic and religious struggle between Afro-Trinidadians and Indo-Trinidadians, as well as between Christians and non-Christians. Therefore, the statistical data of the country's religious and ethnic demographics during that era significantly contributed to the development of the Trinidadian secular model.

⁵⁸ Kirk Meighoo, 'Rudranath Capildeo: Troubled Genius, Honoured Son, Unsuspecting Statesman. 2004. QRC 2004. Edited by Garth O'G Alleyne. Port of Spain: QRC Publications Committee, Pp. 168-177.', *QRC 2004*, 1 January 2004, 3, https://www.academia.edu/39820633/Rudranath_Capildeo_Troubled_Genius_Honoured_Son_Unsuspecting_Statesman_2004_QRC_2004_Edited_by_Garth_O_G_Alleyne_Port_of_Spain_QRC_Publications_Committee_pp_168_177.

⁵⁹ Dr. Hamid Ghany, 'Beware of the Ides of March', Trinidad Express Newspapers, 3 March 2024, <https://www.guardian.co.tt/opinion/beware-of-the-ides-of-march-6.2.1940303.a1d35491ea>.

⁶⁰ Ryan, 'The Clash of Cultures in Post Creole Trinidad and Tobago', 12.

⁶¹ Ryan, 21.

Christian Smith did a study of religion on American adolescents during the 1960s and he concluded that American youth share much in common with American adults in that they mimic the aspirations, lifestyles, practices and problems they have been socialized in.⁶² This means that religious upbringing on children influences them as adults with political power because they both consciously and unconsciously internalize the moral and ethical teachings of their faith and see the world as such. Therefore, it is reasonable to deduce that youth educated by Christian education in Trinidad and Tobago and the imperial metropole would be in harmony with Christian-inspired laws and practices when in power.

Third, Trinidad and Tobago's political institutions defined its secular state model and religion. On August 31st, Queen Elizabeth II became Queen of Trinidad and Tobago rather than Queen of the United Kingdom.⁶³ Members of the executive, legislature and judiciary had to swear or affirm their allegiance to her before they assumed office, much to the delight of UK parliamentarians, such as Reginald Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies.⁶⁴ Executive power resided with the Queen, but, but the Trinidadian Cabinet exercised the prerogative.⁶⁵ The 1962–1976 Constitution placed executive authority in the Queen, and Her local representative, the

⁶² Christian Smith, *Soul Searching: The Religious and Spiritual Lives of American Teenagers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 191,

<http://archive.org/details/soulsearchingrel0000smit>.

⁶³ *Parliamentary Debates*, Commons, 5th ser., vol. 662, (1962).

⁶⁴ Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz. 2, c. 19.

⁶⁵ Fred Phillips, *Commonwealth Caribbean Constitutional Law* (London: Cavendish Publishing Ltd, 2002), 27.

Governor-General, and his subordinates, the Cabinet, exercised it on Her behalf.⁶⁶ The Queen, anointed by God, was sovereign, not the people. Now as an independent realm, Trinidadian ministers conducted executive power in Her Majesty's name rather than British ministers doing it.⁶⁷ Also, as theorised by Walter Bagehot, the efficient and dignified parts bolstered the monarchy's role as a legitimizing the transition between colonial executive power and independent executive power.⁶⁸ The Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago adopted and furthered the monarchical Westminster system because of prevailing British colonial political structures drafted by British civil servants in Whitehall.⁶⁹ Constitutionally, Parliament consisted of the Queen, the Senate, and the House of Representatives.⁷⁰ The local Governor-General represented the Queen as the titular Head of Parliament.⁷¹ Trinidad and Tobago politicians wanted the shared continuity of British

⁶⁶ Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, sec. 56 (1)-(2).

⁶⁷ 'Trinidad and Tobago Independence Act, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz. 2 c. 54' (1962), sec. 1 (1).

⁶⁸ Bagehot, *The English Constitution*, 5.

⁶⁹ Hamid Ghany, 'Parliament in Trinidad and Tobago 1962-1987: The Whitehall Model at Work', in *Trinidad and Tobago: The Independence Experience 1962-1987* (St. Augustine: The Institute of Social and Economic Research, The University of the West Indies, 1988), 175.

⁷⁰ Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, sec. 22.

⁷¹ George Maxwell Richards, "The Role of the Head of State in a Bicameral System of Governance", in *Evolution of a Nation: Trinidad and Tobago at Fifty* (Hertford: Hansib Publications, 2012), 124.

legislative practices, as admitted by Dr. Eric Williams, who propositioned that if the British Constitution was suitable for Great Britain, it was good enough for Trinidad and Tobago with necessary modifications.⁷² The Queen remained at the centre of Parliament, as all legislation had royal assent in Her name.⁷³ The Queen remained at the centre of Parliament as all legislation needed royal assent in her name. As well, Erskine May's Parliamentary Practice, the handbook of British Parliamentary procedures, frequently served as a reference point for the standing orders in both Houses of Parliament. For example, Surendranath Capildeo MP quoted from it to raise a point-of-order against Basil Pitt MP during his Humble Address of Thanks to Her Majesty the Queen on the Throne Speech.⁷⁴ The continued reverence for British parliamentary traditions extended to its baubles, such as the ceremonial mace. Both the Lords and Commons need the mace present in order to sit.⁷⁵ In colonial and independent Trinidad and Tobago, the mace of the House of Representatives still bears semi-religious Christian ornamentations from the British colonial

⁷² Hamid Ghany, 'Emancipation and Magna Carta', Trinidad and Tobago Guardian, 31 July 2016, <http://www.guardian.co.tt/article-6.2.356541.7935fb27dc>.

⁷³ 'Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz. 2, c. 19.' (1962), sec. 44 (1).

⁷⁴ *Queen's Speech Debate on the Address*, The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the First Session of the Second Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago which Commenced on the 25th Day of November, 1966, Session 1966 (Port of Spain, 1966), 14–15.

⁷⁵ 'Mace (The)', UK Parliament, 2023, <https://www.parliament.uk/site-information/glossary/mace/>.

era.⁷⁶ Interestingly, despite postcolonialism in the executive and legislative branches of



Figure 4: Mace of the House of Representatives

government, the crown remained firmly entrenched in the judicial branch because the Privy Council remained the country's final court of appeal. The Queen was the font of all justice, and the Privy Council advised the Crown on how to exercise that justice throughout its realms.⁷⁷ As it was during colonial times, the Privy Council remained the highest court of appeal. For example,

⁷⁶ 'The Maces – Parliament', Parliament of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, 2022, <https://www.ttparliament.org/about/the-maces/>.

⁷⁷ Richard Clayton QC, 'Will the Caribbean Court of Justice Replace the Privy Council?', UK Constitutional Law Association, 21 September 2021,

the Queen could utter the word "approved" on the final appeal of a man on death row.⁷⁸ Constitutionally, one may appeal to Her Majesty in Council following a local Court of Appeal ruling in certain instances such as final decisions in any civil, criminal, or other proceedings that require an interpretation of this constitution.⁷⁹ An example of this colonial institution's continual exercise of justice in the independent realm was the case law of *Abbott v. Attorney General of Trinidad and Tobago*, which agreed to the execution of the convict Stanley Abbott in 1977.⁸⁰ The case began under the Independence Constitution. Also, during this period, in continuation with English legal practice, esteemed barristers affixed the title of Queen's Council (QC)⁸¹ proudly to their names, as did high-ranking judges who held the reference style of "Your Lordship".⁸²

If one remembers the work of Bhargava, one may infer that the relationship Queen Elizabeth II as Head of State in a diverse state as Trinidad and Tobago was akin to a partial disconnection where the state, or in this case, the Head of State, is connected to one specific

⁷⁸ Robert Hardman, *Her Majesty: The Court of Queen Elizabeth II* (New York: Pegasus Books, 2012), 184–85

⁷⁹ Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz. 2, c. 19., 1962, sec. 82.

⁸⁰ *Abbott v Attorney General of Trinidad and Tobago*, No. No. 739 of 1977 (High Court (Trinidad and Tobago) 5 May 1977).

⁸¹ Court Reporter, 'Lawyers Threaten Boycott', 23 March 1976, 1.

⁸² Court Reporter, 'Hayatali Hits the Lawyers', *Trinidad Express*, 30 March 1976, 1.

religion, the Church of England, to support it.⁸³ In a society where there are clear retentions of Christian influences in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government, it is no wonder that perceived constitutional breaches on freedom of religion did not come to the forefront post-monarchy, as witnessed by the *Sumayyah Mohammed v. Holy Name Convent* case written about by Mahabir.⁸⁴ Thus, the political institutions of Trinidad and Tobago undoubtedly retained strong Christian influences across the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government. It reflected a continuity of British colonial traditions, inspired by Christian beliefs of statecraft. The Trinidadian state adhered to secular principles such as freedom of religion, toleration, and equality but only to a certain degree.

In conclusion, this chapter defined Trinidad and Tobagonian secularism during the period from 1962 to 1976 followed a cooperationist model that incorporated Christian influences into a mostly Christian framework, while also accommodating religious diversity in its political, legal, and educational systems. First, the secular state in Trinidad and Tobago during the 1960s and 1970s applied a cooperationist model that navigated between Christian influences and the nation's Creole cultural norms. It favored Afro-Trinidadian political dynamics over Indo-Trinidadian ones. Second, it looked at the religious and ethnic demographics of Trinidad and Tobago during the era and how the Christian and Afro-Trinidadian and Western majority shaped the country's secular model, state policies and cultural norms by using a dominant-majority approach. Third, Trinidad and Tobago's political institutions were deeply rooted in British colonial traditions that retained

⁸³ Bhargava, 'Secular Politico-Legal Regimes in Religiously Homogenous and Diverse Societies', 234.

⁸⁴ Mahabir, 'Adjudicating Pluralism', 441.

strong Christian influences across the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. The broader significance of this chapter on future research is that it may allow future researchers to examine the correlation between Trinidad and Tobago's religious, ethnic, and cultural dynamics influenced its evolving model of cooperationist secularism from 1962 to the present.

CHAPTER TWO: The Interconnectedness between the State and Christianity

Religion, particularly the Christian religion, had a broad range of both conscious and subconscious influences over the state of Trinidad and Tobago. This chapter addresses the dominant and enduring influence of Christianity over the secular state in Trinidad and Tobago from 1962-1976 on matters of national identity, its legislature, its national awards, and public education policies. First, it discusses the numerous Christian-themed appellations to God in the new nation's patriotic songs. Second, it affirms how the Christian religion was deeply intertwined with the parliamentary traditions of Trinidad and Tobago through oaths, prayers, and references to the divine in official ceremonies and speeches. Third, it assesses how Christian symbolism was significant in the Trinidadian state. Fourth, it examines how Concordat articles 2, 3 and 4 show the potential for significant religious power over public education policy.

First, there were many ways that state affairs invoked the divine. There were Christian-themed references to God in the new patriotic Trinidadian songs, yet they were vague enough to encompass other religious interpretations of Him. The Ministry of Education mandated it during daily morning assemblies in schools to promote patriotism and instill a conscientiousness of God in the future adults of the nation.⁸⁵ Various national songs demonstrated this, such as: Patrick Castagne's national anthem "Forged from the Love of Liberty," which ends with the poignant

⁸⁵ Ministry of Education, *Patriotism Policy 2023-2027* (Port of Spain: Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 2023), 4.

words, "And may God bless our nation";⁸⁶ Majorie Padmore's beloved patriotic melody "God Bless Our Nation";⁸⁷ and George Carlton Sampson's stirring patriotic song "Our Land of Sun and Seas," which invokes, "Send down thy blessing on our lands, O God, and grant us freedom. We offer God to thee!"⁸⁸ Last but not least, we should not forget that, as a Commonwealth realm, Trinidad and Tobago also had a royal anthem, which was the old colonial anthem, God Save the Queen. Its invocation to the divine being is rather obvious: "God save our gracious Queen! Long live our noble Queen! God save the Queen! Send her victorious, happy, and glorious. Long to reign over us. God save the Queen!"⁸⁹ Christian composers wrote these songs, reflecting a predominantly Christian national identity that resonates with Ryan's perspective on Christianity's dominance in the country. This belief prompted the future United National Congress (UNC) government and its supporters in 1995 to implant their Indo- and Hindu influences in the state apparatus to feel more

⁸⁶ McLinton Robinson, *Social Studies for Common Entrance Students: Standards IV and V - A Two-Year Programme*. (Port of Spain: Robinson Publications, 1998), <https://www.nalis.gov.tt/Resources/Subject-Guide/National-Songs>.

⁸⁷ Gloria Pollard and Elton Nelson, *My Land: A Social Studies Review for Primary and Secondary School Students and Teachers* (Port of Spain: Charran Educational Publishers, 1982), <https://www.nalis.gov.tt/Resources/Subject-Guide/National-Songs>.

⁸⁸ Pollard and Nelson.

⁸⁹ The Royal Household, 'National Anthem', The Royal Family, accessed 24 June 2024, <https://www.royal.uk/encyclopedia/national-anthem>.

represented.⁹⁰ The invocation of the Christian Divine in state hymns and practices, like morning assemblies, reflected the state's affinity for Christianity over secular principles.

Second, religion and Parliament in Trinidad and Tobago had a connected relationship from the very beginning. John Locke, a 17th-century protestant English liberal philosopher and parliamentarian, argued in his influential writings that one could not trust anyone to be in government if they denied the existence of God, salvation, and damnation.⁹¹ New members of Parliament, for example, swear the following Oath of Allegiance upon assuming office:

I, [name] do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Her Heirs and Successors, according to law. So help me God.⁹²

In contrast, France's version of secularism, *Laïcité*, is religion completely separated from politics to the point where no one enters office by swearing upon the Bible or any other holy book, and the

⁹⁰ Ryan, 'The Clash of Cultures in Post Creole Trinidad and Tobago', 12.

⁹¹ Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*, Ninth Edition (Boston: Pearson, 2014), 54–55.

⁹² Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz. 2, c. 19., 1962, sec.

105 (1) 1. Oath of Allegiance

French find such a concept to be strange.⁹³ Admittedly in Trinidad, the constitution also permits those who do not wish to invoke the Divine for their office to use the following oath instead:

I, [name] do solemnly and sincerely affirm and declare that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, Her Heirs and Successors, according to law.⁹⁴

Evidently, during the Independence Day ceremony on August 31, 1962, Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, read the congratulatory words of the Queen, which said,

“I pray that God bless and keep Trinidad and Tobago in all the years that lie ahead
~ signed Elizabeth R”⁹⁵

In his address to the new nation about its responsibilities to democracy, Dr. Eric Williams quoted Psalm 133:1⁹⁶

⁹³ Nicolas Tenaillon, ‘Pourquoi les présidents américains jurent-ils sur la Bible ?’, Philosophie magazine, 20 January 2021, <https://www.philomag.com/articles/pourquoi-les-presidents-americaains-jurent-ils-sur-la-bible>.

⁹⁴ Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz. 2, c. 19., 1962, sec. 105 (1) 2. Affirmation of Allegiance

⁹⁵ *This Land of Ours*, Documentary (The Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 1962), <https://youtu.be/GVlcBLX6UHU>.

⁹⁶ *The Holy Bible: King James Version* (Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), bk. Psalm 133:1, <http://archive.org/details/holybiblekingjam00hend>.

“Behold how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!”⁹⁷

Similarly, throne speeches usually end with calls to God. In the Throne Speech of February 8, 1966, the protestant Queen Elizabeth II ended by saying,

“I pray that Almighty God will give Us the strength and the steadfastness to keep the path which We have freely elected to pursue, and I wish My Parliament success in all its deliberations”⁹⁸

Again, in the Throne Speech of November 25, 1966, the Catholic Governor-General, Sir Solomon Hochoy, ended by saying,

“I welcome the new members of both Houses and I invoke the blessing of Almighty God on you and your labours.”⁹⁹

⁹⁷ *This Land of Ours.*

⁹⁸ *The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the Fifth Session of the First Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, Which Commenced on the 8th Day of February 1966 in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*, vol. Volume 7, Session 1966 (Red House, Port of Spain: Office of the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, 1966), 6.

⁹⁹ Joint Session of the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, *The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the First Session of the Second Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, Which Commenced on the 25th Day of November 1966 in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*, vol. Volume 8, Session 1966 (Red House, Port of Spain: Office of the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, 1966), 9.

Also, no parliamentary business would ever commence without a prayer. According to both the 1961 Standing Orders of the House of Representatives¹⁰⁰ and the 2000 Standing Orders of the Senate, the first order of business is the recitation of prayers by the presiding officer of each House. Its prayers have been arguably exclusively Christian since the first Parliament. Although it tries to come across as multi-confessional, In the House of Representatives, the prayer reads:

Almighty God, we give thanks to You, the Creator of the Universe and humbly beseech you to direct and prosper the deliberations of the members of this House here assembled for the advancement of Your Glory and the trust and welfare of the people of Trinidad and Tobago. Grant that peace and happiness, truth, and justice, may be established among us for all generations. Amen ¹⁰¹

The first line recalls Revelation 11:17 and Genesis 1:1, respectively.

“We give thee thanks, O Lord God Almighty.”

“In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth.”

Additionally, "amen" always concludes Christian prayers. "Amin" is a Muslim cognate. There is no Hindu equivalent. Thus, the influence of Christianity remains evident in the

¹⁰⁰ Made by the Governor under the provisions of section 8 of the Trinidad and Tobago

(Constitution) Order in Council, 1961, *Standing Orders of the House of Representatives*

(Port of Spain: Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, 1961), no. Standing Order 13 (a).

¹⁰¹ ‘15th Sitting of the House of Representatives - 4th Session - March 15, 2024’, *House of Representatives* (Port of Spain: Parliament Channel, 15 March 2024),

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O18cmJk-e1I&t=93s>.

parliamentary practices of Trinidad and Tobago through its oaths, prayers, and references to the divine in official ceremonies and speeches.

Third, Christian symbolism was significant in the Trinidadian state. The Order of the



Figure 5: Trinity Cross, from NALIS

Trinity Cross,¹⁰² the highest national award, clearly demonstrated this. The Trinity Cross, established in 1969 by Letters Patent from the Queen of Trinidad and Tobago,¹⁰³ stood as the nation's highest honor,¹⁰⁴ except the Victoria Cross and the George Cross.¹⁰⁵ Modeled after medieval Catholic and post-Reformation chivalric orders, the Trinity Cross incorporates Christian symbolism, which some Hindus and Muslims viewed as exclusionary due to its Christian connotations¹⁰⁶— the cross representing a Christian symbol and the Trinity a

¹⁰² NALIS Trinidad Public Libraries and THA Tobago Public Libraries, 'THE TRINITY CROSS', NALIS Trinidad Public Libraries and THA Tobago Public Libraries, 2024, <https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1j1eCv95OtXblLv6b57RvcsCZ27s>.

¹⁰³ Lord Hope of Craighead et al., *Sanatan Dharma Maha of Trinidad and Tobago v. The Attorney General of Trinidad and Tobago*. [2009] UKPC 17 (28 April 2009) Privy Council Appeal No 53 of 2008, (Privy Council 28 April 2009).

¹⁰⁴ Lord Hope of Craighead et al., paragraph 1.

¹⁰⁵ Lord Hope of Craighead et al., paragraph 1.

¹⁰⁶ Lord Hope of Craighead et al., paragraph 2.

Christian interpretation of divinity.¹⁰⁷ Despite its multireligious context since Indian migrations began in 1845,¹⁰⁸ the Trinity Cross has remained contentious, leading to a legal challenge in 2004. Although Judge Jamadar J acknowledged constitutional concerns regarding religious discrimination, the Letters Patent of 1969, grounded in Royal Prerogative, retained legal standing, highlighting ongoing tensions between religious symbolism and constitutional rights in Trinidad



Figure 6: Sir Solomon Hochoy in ceremonial uniform wearing his orders of chivalry, courtesy Trinidad Express "Sir Solomon Hochoy Arima Old Boy"

and Tobago.^{109 110} On December 3, 1962, the Queen bestowed the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George upon Sir Solomon Hochoy,¹¹¹ K.C.M.G., O.B.E., Governor-General of



Figure 7: Order of Saint Michael and Saint George collar

Trinidad and Tobago, promoting him to the Most Distinguished Order of Saint Michael and

¹⁰⁷ Lord Hope of Craighead et al., paragraph 3.

¹⁰⁸ Lord Hope of Craighead et al., section The 1962 Constitution.

¹⁰⁹ Lord Hope of Craighead et al., paragraph 4.

¹¹⁰ Lord Hope of Craighead et al., section The 1962 Constitution.

¹¹¹ Ford, 'Sir Solomon an Arima RC Old Boy'.

Saint George as a Knight Grand Cross (First Class).¹¹² As a Christian, he would have accepted these honors, but a non-Christian subject might not have displayed them so prominently. The country's coat of arms was also deeply rooted in Christian values. According to the Ministry of Foreign and CARICOM Affairs, the gold helmet facing front represents the Queen; the three gold



Figure 8: Coat of Arms of Trinidad and Tobago

ships represent the Trinity and Columbus' ships; and the Three Peaks commemorate both Columbus' decision to name Trinidad after the Blessed Trinity and after he saw the Southern Mountain Range.¹¹³ The name of the country itself, Trinidad, is Spanish for the Trinity, the Christian Godhead. Allegedly, when Christopher Colombus and his crew saw land with a mountain that had three peaks on his third voyage on July 31, 1498, they recited the Catholic

Salve Regina in joy, as it coincided with his promise to name the next land he would discover in honor of the Christian Holy Trinity, One God.¹¹⁴ Should the name Trinidad become excessively

¹¹² Authority, 'Honours and Awards', *The London Gazette*, 4 December 1962.

¹¹³ 'Coat of Arms', Ministry of Foreign and CARICOM Affairs, accessed 12 April 2024,

<https://foreign.gov.tt/about/trinidad-tobago/coat-arms/>.

¹¹⁴ Robert Kerr, F.R.S. Edin, and F.A.S. Edin, *A General Histoy and Collection of Voyages and Travels Arranged in Systematic Order: Forming a Complete History of the Origin and Progress of Navigation, Discovery, and Commerce by Sea and Land, from the Earliest*

discriminatory in the future due to its lack of representation for the Christian population and its shift from a secular perspective, Michael de la Bastide suggests that a logical solution would be to rename the nation.¹¹⁵ Thus, the symbolism of this religiously heterogeneous state reflected a deep-rooted Christian triumphalism.

Fourth, religion had a substantial impact on secular public education policy. One of the clearest examples of this in the Trinidadian state was the Concordat. Articles 2, 3, and 4 may have breached the notions of secularism. Article 2 states that:

In denominational schools, no books or apparatus to which the denominational authority formally objects, will be introduced or imposed.¹¹⁶

This was a potential breach of secularism because it allowed religious authorities to veto educational materials, thereby influencing the secular educational content and undermining the state's neutrality in education, ideally the idea of principled distance, according to Bhargava.¹¹⁷ One dangerous historical precedent of a compromised educational curriculum that prioritized religious sensitivities over secular educational standards was the Japanese Ministry of Education

Time to the Present Time, vol. Volume III (London: T. Cadell, 2004), sec. IX,

<https://www.gutenberg.org/files/12325/12325-h/12325-h.htm>.

¹¹⁵ Lord Hope of Craighead et al., *Sanatan Dharma Maha of Trinidad and Tobago v. The Attorney General of Trinidad and Tobago*. [2009] UKPC 17 (28 April 2009) Privy Council Appeal No 53 of 2008,.

¹¹⁶ Donaldson, Concordat, art. 2.

¹¹⁷ Bhargava, 'Secular Politico-Legal Regimes in Religiously Homogenous and Diverse Societies', 239.

and its role in promoting Shintoism in schools, which in turn fed the nationalistic and militaristic fervor to fight for Japan as a Divine Nation centered on its divine Emperor from the Meiji era to WWII.¹¹⁸ Another issue with the exclusion of apparatus objected by religion would be the would be the Index of Forbidden books by the Catholic Church which mostly included works critical of the theology, history and government of the church or works they deemed to affect good morals. Such an article in the Concordat could be used to stifle freedom of thought in schools.¹¹⁹ Next, article 3 stated that:

In denominational schools (unless the Denomination concerned otherwise gives its consent) the religion of the particular denomination which owns the school will be taught exclusively and by teachers professing to belong to that Denomination.¹²⁰

This was a potential breach of secularism because, as Bhargava emphasizes, it challenges inclusivity and equality in states that prioritize religious preferences.¹²¹ Allowing religious schools to hire based on religious affiliation could violate secular principles by compromising the neutrality of state-funded education. Historical precedent led to instances of religious exclusivity

¹¹⁸ N. J. (Nicholas Jay) Demerath, *Crossing the Gods : World Religions and Worldly Politics* (New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press, 2001), 147–48,
http://archive.org/details/crossinggodsworl0000deme_e9t1.

¹¹⁹ Francis S. Betten, *The Roman Index of Forbidden Books, by Francis S. Betten, S.J.—A Project Gutenberg eBook*, Second Edition (St Louis, Missouri: B Herder, 1909), 16–17,
https://www.gutenberg.org/files/61165/61165-h/61165-h.htm#i_1.

¹²⁰ Donaldson, Concordat, art. 3.

¹²¹ Bhargava, ‘Secular Politico-Legal Regimes in Religiously Homogenous and Diverse Societies’, 233.

and discrimination, such as the prohibition of diverse perspectives in the educational environment and, in extreme historical cases, acts like book burning to maintain religious purity.¹²²

Subsequently, Article 4 stated that:

The right of appointment, retention, promotion, transfer and dismissal of teachers in Primary Schools will rest with the Public Service Commission. A teacher shall not be appointed to a school if the denominational board objects to such an appointment on moral or religious grounds. Similarly, if a teacher be found unsatisfactory on these very grounds, moral or religious, the denominational authority shall have the right to request his removal to another school after due investigation. For these reasons it is proposed (provided the legal and constitutional arrangements allow) "that vacancies as they occur in all schools should be advertised and applications submitted in the first instance to the respective Board of management which will examine them and forward them all, with their recommendations, to the Public Service Commission for final action."¹²³

This was a potential breach of secularism because, as Cranmer & Oliva highlight, it reflects the cooperationist model where religious bodies influence state functions. By granting religious bodies undue influence over public educational administration and allowing religious vetoes on secular authority decisions, secularism is violated.¹²⁴ The historical precedent established a system in

¹²² Betten, *The Roman Index of Forbidden Books*, by Francis S. Betten, S.J.—A Project Gutenberg eBook, 7.

¹²³ Donaldson, Concordat, art. 4.

¹²⁴ Cranmer and Oliva, 'Church-State Relationships', 17.

which religious authorities wielded significant influence over public institutions, thereby undermining the secular framework that aimed to guarantee equal treatment and neutrality in state affairs. In summary, the Concordat articles underscore the significant religious influence on public policy in Trinidad and Tobago, challenging the secular principles of state neutrality and inclusivity in education.

In conclusion, this chapter addressed the dominant and enduring influence of Christianity over the secular state in Trinidad and Tobago from 1962–1976 on matters of national identity, its legislature, its national awards, and public education policies. First, state hymns and morning assemblies reflected Trinidad and Tobago's state preference for Christianity over secular principles, if one uses its penchant for Christian theology as a barometer. Second, the power of Christian influences within the parliamentary practices of Trinidad and Tobago was evident. This was true for the admission of oaths, the prayers conducted daily in both houses, and references to the divine in state ceremonies and speeches such as Throne Speeches. Third, there was a deep-rooted Christian triumphalism in the symbolism of this religiously heterogeneous state, such as the Trinity Cross and the Trinity in the Coat of Arms. Fourth, the Concordat articles 2, 3, and 4 underscore significant religious influence on public education policy in Trinidad and Tobago, challenging secular principles of state neutrality and inclusivity in education. This chapter showed how much of an impact Christianity had on Trinidad and Tobago's secular state formation, and it should hopefully be a topic of interest for future researchers.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, in delineating the nature of the state, this dissertation argued that between 1962 and 1976, Trinidad and Tobago was not a secular state disconnected from religion and tolerant of religious pluralism, but rather a Protestant constitutional monarchy that upheld Christian-inspired laws and traditions over a denominationally heterogeneous population. The literature review explored past scholarship to delineate the Trinidadian secular model. First, Ryan, Bhargava, and Mahabir studied cultural clashes and religious tensions through ethnic-based research. However, Gildea, Cranmer, and Garcia Oliva pointed out the limitations of such a perspective. Second, Bhargava's frameworks and the supra-systems identified by Cranmer and Oliva, such as the cooperationist model, identified certain efficiencies for social cohesion. Third, Mahabir, Ryan, and Cranmer & Oliva argued the country's favoritism towards Christianity. Chapter One defined Trinidad and Tobagonian secularism from 1962 to 1976 as a cooperationist model that incorporated Christian influences into a mostly Christian framework while also embracing religious diversity in its political, legal, and educational systems. First, this specific cooperationist model navigated between Christian influences and the nation's Creole cultural norms, which favored Afro-Trinidadian political dynamics over Indo-Trinidadian ones. Second, the model examined the religious and ethnic demographics of Trinidad and Tobago during that era, as well as the policy approaches of the Christian, Afro-Trinidadian, and Western dominant-majority groups. Third, British colonial traditions deeply rooted Trinidad and Tobago's political institutions, retaining strong Christian influences across the executive, legislative, and judicial branches. This chapter highlights Christianity's extensive influence on Trinidad and Tobago's secular state from 1962 to 1976. It examined Christianity's role in national identity, the legislature,

national awards, and public education policies. Thus, this dissertation will hopefully create a larger discussion about religion in the politics of Trinidad and Tobago.

WORKS CITED

- ‘15th Sitting of the House of Representatives - 4th Session - March 15, 2024’. *House of Representatives*. Port of Spain: Parliament Channel, 15 March 2024.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O18cmJk-e1I&t=93s>.
- Abasali, Kazim. ‘Arnold Thomasos’. *Arima Community Info Resource Centre* (blog), 15 April 2017. <https://arimacirc.wordpress.com/arnold-thomasos/>.
- Abbott v Attorney General of Trinidad and Tobago, No. No. 739 of 1977 (High Court (Trinidad and Tobago) 5 May 1977).
- Act of Settlement, 12 & 13 Will 3, c. 3 § (1700). <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/aep/Will3/12-13/2>.
- Affairs, United Nations Department of Economic and Social. *United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1974*. New York: United Nations, 1975. <https://doi.org/10.18356/058b447f-en-fr>.
- Authority. ‘Honours and Awards’. *The London Gazette*, 4 December 1962.
- Bagehot, Walter. *The English Constitution*. Edited by Paul Smith. Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought. Cambridge, 2001.
- Bailey, Wade. ‘Jamaat al Muslimeen: From Drug Gangs to Terrorism.’ *Terrorism in the Caribbean.*, 2020.
https://www.academia.edu/43331435/Jamaat_al_Muslimeen_From_drug_gangs_to_Terrorism.
- Ball, Terence, and Richard Dagger. *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*. Ninth Edition. Boston: Pearson, 2014.

- Betten, Francis S. *The Roman Index of Forbidden Books, by Francis S. Betten, S.J.—A Project Gutenberg eBook*. Second Edition. St Louis, Missouri: B Herder, 1909.
- https://www.gutenberg.org/files/61165/61165-h/61165-h.htm#i_1.
- Bhargava, Rajeev. ‘Secular Politico-Legal Regimes in Religiously Homogenous and Diverse Societies’. In *Routledge Handbook of Law and Religion*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2015.
- Carlyle, Thomas. *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, & the Heroic in History: Six Lectures; Reported, with Emendations and Additions*. D. Appleton & Company, 1841.
- Chatfield, Adrian. ‘Chapter 4: The Roman Catholic Church in Trinidad’. *Sociology of Trinidadian Religion*, 1989.
- https://www.academia.edu/39971141/Chapter_4_The_Roman_Catholic_Church_in_Trinidad.
- Clarke, Ellis. ‘Milestones Along the Way to Our Present Achievement’. In *Trinidad and Tobago: The Independence Experience, 1962-1987*, edited by Selwyn Ryan, 163–74. St Augustine: Institute of Social and Economic Research, UWI, St Augustine, 1988.
- Clayton QC:, Richard. ‘Will the Caribbean Court of Justice Replace the Privy Council?’ UK Constitutional Law Association, 21 September 2021.
- <https://ukconstitutionallaw.org/2021/09/27/richard-clayton-qc-will-the-caribbean-court-of-justice-replace-the-privy-council/>.
- ‘Commencement of Succession to the Crown Act 2013’. House of Commons: UK Parliament, 26 March 2015. <https://questions-statements.parliament.uk/written-statements/detail/2015-03-26/HCWS490>.
- Constitution of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago Act, 1976, 25 Eliz., no. 4 (1976).

Court Reporter. 'Hayatali Hits the Lawyers'. *Trinidad Express*, 30 March 1976.

———. 'Lawyers Threaten Boycott', 23 March 1976.

Cranmer, Frank, and Javier Garcia Oliva. 'Church-State Relationships: An Overview'. *Law & Justice - The Christian Law Review* Vol. 162, no. 1 (2009): 4–17.

Demerath, N. J. (Nicholas Jay). *Crossing the Gods : World Religions and Worldly Politics*. New Brunswick, N.J. : Rutgers University Press, 2001.

http://archive.org/details/crossinggodsworl0000deme_e9t1.

Donaldson, J.S. Concordat (1960).

<https://data.miraquetemiro.org/sites/default/files/documentos/Concordat%20of%201960%20TT.pdf>.

Ford, Ashton. 'Sir Solomon an Arima RC Old Boy'. *Trinidad Express Newspapers*, 28 March 2021. https://trinidadexpress.com/opinion/letters/sir-solomon-an-arima-rc-old-boy/article_179ba902-9029-11eb-a2c3-a7a9f1df4126.html.

Ghany, Dr. Hamid. 'Beware of the Ides of March'. *Trinidad Express Newspapers*, 3 March 2024. <https://www.guardian.co.tt/opinion/beware-of-the-ides-of-march-6.2.1940303.a1d35491ea>.

Ghany, Hamid. 'Emancipation and Magna Carta'. *Trinidad and Tobago Guardian*, 31 July 2016. <http://www.guardian.co.tt/article-6.2.356541.7935fb27dc>.

———. 'Parliament in Trinidad and Tobago 1962-1987: The Whitehall Model at Work'. In *Trinidad and Tobago: The Independence Experience 1962-1987*, 175–92. St. Augustine: The Institute of Social and Economic Research, The University of the West Indies, 1988.

Gildea, Robert. 'Laïcité, Republic and Nation in Post-Colonial France'. *Contemporary European History* 27, no. 1 (February 2018): 136–48. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960777317000492>.

God Save the Queen - 85th Birthday of HM, Queen Elizabeth II at Westminster Abbey. Accessed 23 October 2020. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j7ujvOWWfpY>.

Hardman, Robert. *Her Majesty: The Court of Queen Elizabeth II*. New York: Pegasus Books, 2012. <http://gen.lib.rus.ec/book/index.php?md5=18ded2d4f344681605c8bdbe2b776271>.

Harewood, Jack. *The Population of Trinidad and Tobago*. C.I.C.R.E.D. Series. Paris: United Nations, 1975.

Heer, D.M. *Social Statistics and the City*. Cambridge, MA: Joint Center for Urban Studies, 1968.

Her Majesty's Stationary Office. 'Eleventh Supplement'. *The London Gazette*, 26 May 1953. <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/39873/supplement/3023/data.pdf#view=Fit&toolbar=1>.

Joint Session of the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago. *The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the First Session of the Second Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, Which Commenced on the 25th Day of November, 1966 in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*. Vol. Volume 8. Session 1966. Red House, Port of Spain: Office of the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, 1966.

Kerr, Robert, F.R.S. Edin, and F.A.S. Edin. *A General Histoy and Collection of Voyages and Travels Arranged in Systematic Order: Forming a Complete History of the Origin and Progress of Navigation, Discovery, and Commerce by Sea and Land, from the Earliest Time to the Present Time*. Vol. Volume III. London: T. Cadell, 2004. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/12325/12325-h/12325-h.htm>.

Lord Hope of Craighead, Baroness Hale of Richmond, Lord Carswell, Lord Brown of Eaton-under-Heywood, and Lord Mance. *Sanatan Dharma Maha of Trinidad and Tobago v. The*

- Attorney General of Trinidad and Tobago. [2009] UKPC 17 (28 April 2009) Privy Council Appeal No 53 of 2008, (Privy Council 28 April 2009).
- Made by the Governor under the provisions of section 8 of the Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1961. *Standing Orders of the House of Representatives*. Port of Spain: Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, 1961.
- Mahabir, Cynthia. 'Adjudicating Pluralism: The Hijab, Law and Social Change in Post-Colonial Trinidad'. *Social & Legal Studies* 13, no. 4 (2004): 435–52.
- Mc Letchie, Alison. 'The Parasitic Oligarchy? The Elites in Trinidad and Tobago'. PhD Thesis, University of South Carolina, 20²13. chrome-extension://efaidnbmnnnibpcajpcglclefindmkaj/https://scholarcommons.sc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2934&context=etd.
- Meighoo, Kirk. 'Rudranath Capildeo: Troubled Genius, Honoured Son, Unsuspecting Statesman. 2004. QRC 2004. Edited by Garth O'G Alleyne. Port of Spain: QRC Publications Committee, Pp. 168-177.' *QRC 2004*, 1 January 2004. https://www.academia.edu/39820633/Rudranath_Capildeo_Troubled_Genius_Honoured_Son_Unsuspecting_Statesman_2004_QRC_2004_Edited_by_Garth_O_G_Alleyne_Port_of_Spain_QRC_Publications_Committee_pp_168_177.
- Ministry of Education. *Patriotism Policy 2023-2027*. Port of Spain: Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 2023.
- Ministry of Foreign and CARICOM Affairs. 'Coat of Arms'. Accessed 12 April 2024. <https://foreign.gov.tt/about/trinidad-tobago/coat-arms/>.
- Mohr, Richard. 'The Christian Origins of Secularism and the Rule of Law'. *Law and Religion in Public Life*, 1 January 2013.

https://www.academia.edu/1549528/2_The_Christian_origins_of_secularism_and_the_rule_of_law.

NALIS Trinidad Public Libraries and THA Tobago Public Libraries. 'THE TRINITY CROSS'.

NALIS Trinidad Public Libraries and THA Tobago Public Libraries, 2024.

<https://www.google.com/maps/d/viewer?mid=1j1eCv95OtXbLLv6b57RvcsCZ27s>.

Palmer, Colin A. *Eric Williams & the Making of the Modern Caribbean*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

Parliament of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. 'The Maces – Parliament', 2022.

<https://www.ttparliament.org/about/the-maces/>.

Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago. 'Clytus Arnold Thomasos – Parliament'. Parliament Of The Republic Of Trinidad And Tobago, 2022.

<https://www.ttparliament.org/members/member/clytus-arnold-thomasos/parliamentary-career/>.

Parliamentary Debates. Vol. 662. Commons, Series 5, 1962.

Pemberton, Rita, Debbie McCollin, Gelien Matthews, and Michael Toussaint. *Historical Dictionary of Trinidad and Tobago | Michael Toussaint; Debbie McCollin; Rita Pemberton; Gelien Matthews | Download*. London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2018.

<https://b-ok.lat/book/5582342/9b0530>.

Pepinster, Catherine. 'From Crown to orb...Everything You Need to Know about the Coronation's 5 Sacred Objects'. Premier Christianity, 21 April 2023.

<https://www.premierchristianity.com/features/from-crown-to-orbeverything-you-need-to-know-about-the-coronations-5-sacred-objects/15374.article>.

Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection. 'Trinidad and Tobago (Shaded Relief Map)'.

University of Texas Libraries, 1969. <https://maps.lib.utexas.edu/maps/americas.html>.

Phillips, Fred. *Commonwealth Caribbean Constitutional Law*. London: Cavendish Publishing Ltd, 2002.

Pollard, Gloria, and Elton Nelson. *My Land: A Social Studies Review for Primary and Secondary School Students and Teachers*. Port of Spain: Charran Educational Publishers, 1982.

<https://www.nalis.gov.tt/Resources/Subject-Guide/National-Songs>.

Premdas, Ralph. 'Chapter 6: Ethnic Conflict in Trinidad and Tobago: Domination and Reconciliation'. In *Trinidad Ethnicity*, edited by Kevin A. Yelvington, 136–60. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1993.

Queen's Speech Debate on the Address. The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the First Session of the Second Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago Which Commenced on the 25th Day of November, 1966, Session 1966. Port of Spain, 1966.

Richards, George Maxwell. 'The Role of the Head of State in a Bicameral System of Governance'. In *Evolution of a Nation: Trinidad and Tobago at Fifty*, 123–26. Hertford: Hansib Publications, 2012.

Robinson, McLinton. *Social Studies for Common Entrance Students: Standards IV and V - A Two Year Programme*. Port of Spain: Robinson Publications, 1998.

<https://www.nalis.gov.tt/Resources/Subject-Guide/National-Songs>.

Ryan, Selwyn. 'The Clash of Cultures in Post Creole Trinidad and Tobago'. *Caribbean Dialogue* 3, no. 2 (1997): 7–28.

- Smith, Christian. *Soul Searching : The Religious and Spiritual Lives of American Teenagers*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- <http://archive.org/details/soulsearchingrel0000smit>.
- Sutton, Paul. 'Black Power in Trinidad and Tobago: The "Crisis" of 1970'. *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 21, no. 2 (July 1983): 115–32.
- <https://doi.org/10.1080/14662048308447426>.
- Taylor, Charles. *A Secular Age*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Tenaillon, Nicolas. 'Pourquoi les présidents américains jurent-ils sur la Bible ?' *Philosophie* magazine, 20 January 2021. <https://www.philomag.com/articles/pourquoi-les-presidents-americains-jurent-ils-sur-la-bible>.
- The Holy Bible: King James Version*. Hendrickson Publishers, 2004.
- <http://archive.org/details/holybiblekingjam00hend>.
- The National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago. 'Tombs of Solomon Hochoy, Gov. Hill Etc'. *National Trust of Trinidad and Tobago* (blog), 2021.
- <https://nationaltrust.tt/home/location/tombs-of-solomon-hochoy-gov-hill-etc/>.
- The Parliamentary Debates Official Report in the Fifth Session of the First Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, Which Commenced on the 8th Day of February, 1966 in the Fifteenth Year of the Reign of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II*. Vol. Volume 7. Session 1966. Red House, Port of Spain: Office of the Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, 1966.
- The Royal Family. 'The Queen's Coronation Oath, 1953'. Text, 2 June 1953.
- <https://www.royal.uk/coronation-oath-2-june-1953>.

The Royal Household. 'National Anthem'. The Royal Family. Accessed 24 June 2024.

<https://www.royal.uk/encyclopedia/national-anthem>.

This Land of Ours. Documentary. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago, 1962.

<https://youtu.be/GVlcBLX6UHU>.

Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962 (1962).

Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz. 2, c. 19. (1962).

Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz. 2, c. 19. (1962).

Trinidad and Tobago Independence Act, 1962, 10 & 11 Eliz. 2 c. 54 (1962).

Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Education. *Mid-Decade Report of Trinidad and Tobago on Its Progress towards Providing Basic Education for All*. New York: UNESCO, 1995.

<https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000221970>.

Trinidad Guardian. 'RCs: He Was Pillar of Church'. Trinidad & Tobago Guardian, 3 January 2011. <http://www.guardian.co.tt/article-6.2.456429.701740ce54>.

UK Parliament. 'Mace (The)', 2023. <https://www.parliament.uk/site-information/glossary/mace/>.

United Nations / Nations Unies. *1962 Demographic Yearbook Annuaire Demographique.Pdf*. New York: Statistical Office of the United Nations, 1962.

<https://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic-social/products/dyb/dybsets/1962%20DYB.pdf>.

Wodon, Quentin. 'Faith and Spirituality Informing Public Policy: Joseph Wresinski and Our Understanding of Extreme Poverty'. *The Review of Faith & International Affairs* 16, no. 2 (3 April 2018): 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15570274.2018.1469839>.

APPENDIX A: St Edward's Crown



Figure 9: St Edward's Crown. The coronation crown of the monarchs of England¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Pepinster, 'From Crown to orb...Everything You Need to Know about the Coronation's 5 Sacred Objects'.

APPENDIX B -Map of Trinidad and Tobago 1960



Figure 10: Trinidad and Tobago (Shaded Relief Map)¹²⁶

¹²⁶ Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, 'Trinidad and Tobago (Shaded Relief Map)'.

APPENDIX C – London Gazette 26 May, 1953, Royal Styles

The London Gazette, 26th May, 1953, proclaims the Royal Style and Title in a Commonwealth Realm¹²⁷

Rumb. 39873

3023



ELEVENTH SUPPLEMENT TO The London Gazette OF TUESDAY, 26th MAY, 1953

Published by Authority

Registered as a Newspaper

FRIDAY, 29 MAY, 1953

BY THE QUEEN

A PROCLAMATION

ELIZABETH R.

Whereas there has been passed in the present Session of Parliament the Royal Titles Act, 1953, which Act recites that it is expedient that the style and titles at present appertaining to the Crown should be altered so as to reflect more clearly the existing constitutional relations of the members of the Commonwealth to one another and their recognition of the Crown as the symbol of their free association and of the Sovereign as the Head of the Commonwealth, and which Act also recites that it was agreed between representatives of Her Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, Pakistan and Ceylon assembled in London in the month of December, nineteen hundred and fifty-two, that there is need for an alteration thereof which, whilst permitting of the use in relation to each of those countries of a form suiting its particular circumstances, would retain a substantial element common to all:

And Whereas by the said Act the assent of the Parliament of the United Kingdom was given to the adoption by Us, for use in relation to the United Kingdom and all other the territories for whose foreign relations Our Government in the United Kingdom is responsible, of such style and titles as We may think fit having regard to the said agreement, in lieu of the style and titles at present appertaining

to the Crown, and to the issue by Us for that purpose of Our Royal Proclamation under the Great Seal of the Realm:

We have thought fit, and We do hereby appoint and declare, by and with the advice of Our Privy Council, that so far as conveniently may be, on all occasions and in all instruments wherein Our style and titles are used in relation to all or any one or more of the following, that is to say, the United Kingdom and all other the territories for whose foreign relations Our Government in the United Kingdom is responsible, Our style and titles shall henceforth be accepted, taken and used as the same are set forth in manner and form following, that is to say, the same shall be expressed in the English tongue by these words:—

“Elizabeth II, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of Her other Realms and Territories Queen, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith”.

And in the Latin tongue by these words:—

“Elizabeth II, Dei Gratia Britanniarum Regnorumque Suorum Ceterorum Regina, Consortionis Populorum Princeps, Fidei Defensor”.

Given at Our Court at Buckingham Palace, this twenty-eighth day of May, in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and fifty-three, and in the Second year of Our Reign.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN

LONDON

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

1953

Price Sixpence net

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN

S.O.Code No. 65-39873

¹²⁷ Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 'Eleventh Supplement', *The London Gazette*, 26 May 1953,

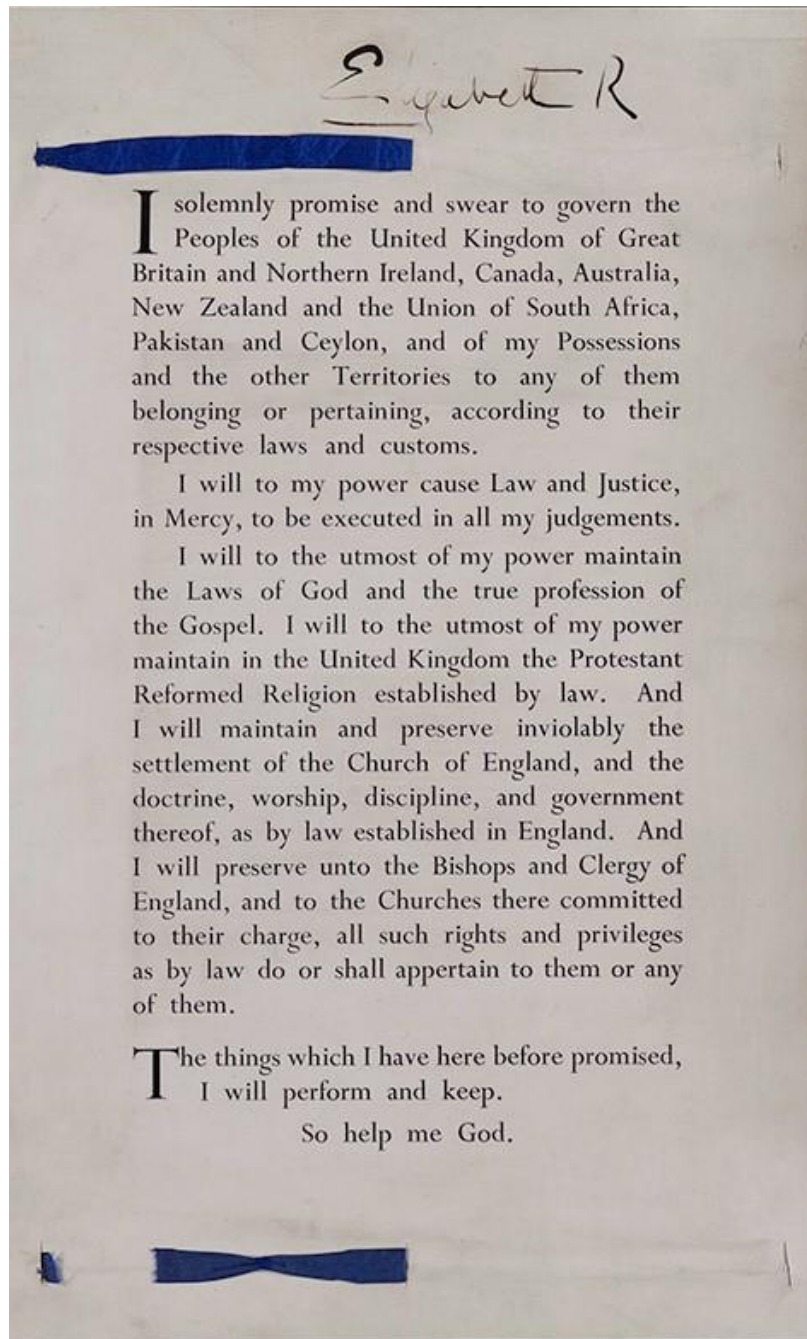
no. 39873,

[https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/39873/supplement/3023/data.pdf#view=Fit&](https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/39873/supplement/3023/data.pdf#view=Fit&toolbar=1)

[toolbar=1.](https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/39873/supplement/3023/data.pdf#view=Fit&toolbar=1)

APPENDIX D – Coronation Oath

Coronation Oath of Queen Elizabeth II in 1953¹²⁸



¹²⁸ 'The Queen's Coronation Oath, 1953', Text, The Royal Family, 2 June 1953,

<https://www.royal.uk/coronation-oath-2-june-1953>.

APPENDIX E – National Anthem of Trinidad and Tobago

National Anthem of Trinidad and Tobago 1962 to 1976, “Forged from the love of liberty” ¹²⁹

Forged from the love of liberty
In the fires of hope and prayer
With boundless faith in our destiny
We solemnly declare:

Side by side we stand
Islands of the blue Caribbean Sea
This our native land
We pledge ourselves to thee.

||: Here every creed and race find an equal place,

And may God bless our nation. :||

¹²⁹ McLinton Robinson, *Social Studies for Common Entrance Students: Standards IV and V - A*

Two-Year Programme. (Port of Spain: Robinson Publications, 1998),

<https://www.nalis.gov.tt/Resources/Subject-Guide/National-Songs>.

APPENDIX F – Coronation Oath

Royal Anthem of Trinidad and Tobago 1962 to 1976, “God Save the Queen”¹³⁰

God save our gracious Queen!

Long live our noble Queen!

God save the Queen!

Send her victorious,

Happy and glorious,

Long to reign over us:

God save the Queen!

¹³⁰ *God Save the Queen - 85th Birthday of HM, Queen Elizabeth II at Westminster Abbey*,
accessed 23 October 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j7ujvOWWfpY>.