

**Voices of
Resistance:
Slavery and
Post in the
Caribbean**

**Audio and letter
transcripts**

**Please do not remove
from the museum.**

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This exhibition includes descriptions of the violent and harsh conditions faced by enslaved people.

Historical documents using racist terms to describe enslaved people are on display and transcribed in this document.

Introductory film

Ayesha:

“We’re really excited that more people seem to be aware of the coal workers and their journey. Normally when you’re researching this history you’re getting a colonial perspective. I really feel grateful that our tour is trying to honour those who did the work, those who basket by basket had to lift that heavy load on their head back and forth to the ship.”

Ruby:

“If they loaded a hundred baskets per day they’d end up with a dollar and that was you know how they earned their living.”

Jane:

“It’s important to know how things happened and what they were like. In the case of the coaling women particularly because they were so independent. The fact that they started a strike was almost unheard of.”

Marie:

“Queen Coziah is known to be the leader of the 1892 Coal Workers’ Strike when the coal workers were given Mexican tokens instead of silver dollars which they were originally paid in.”

Nadine:

“Although the banks had decided and the government had decided to no longer accept these coins the coal workers were still being paid in these coins.”

Ayesha:

“They weren’t able to feed their families and they took a stand for themselves.”

Ruby:

“The Dollar fo’ Dollar event is a celebration, a commemoration of the 1892 strike.”

Ayesha:

“Hundreds of women, coal labourers, took to the streets of Downtown Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, and

protested for better pay. Seldom in history had an event like that took place.”

Leniese:

“Having no knowledge of the history, culture or origin, is like a tree without roots. It’s very important to know where you came from.”

Ruby:

“People’s stories need to be told. If we don’t tell our own stories, somebody’s going to tell it for us and they’re going to tell it the way they want it.”

Ayesha:

“This tour is an opportunity to uplift them, uplift their strength, draw inspiration from their courage and to celebrate the essence of who they were.”

Song

For what we want: dollar fo' dollar. What we need: dollar fo' dollar. We want, we want: dollar fo' dollar. We need, we pay: dollar fo' dollar. What we want: dollar fo' dollar. What we need: dollar fo' dollar. We want, we want: dollar fo' dollar. We need, we pay: dollar fo' dollar.

‘Ribbons, Unfolding’ map

Green Ribbon – Food

Jollof rice for lunch or dinner with dodo. The children love it. It makes you feel good. Ackee and salt fish is our national dish – eat at any time. Fried dumplings. Yam. Pounded yam. In the olden days we used the mortar to pound it. It makes me think of home. Eat it with egusi.

Soil, prepare the ground, roots of plantain. – suckers – plant it - water it – clean it regularly – plant blossoms – grows to maturity – ready for harvest.

Doro wat, a spicy chicken stew. Plantain, green banana. Tomato. Casava. Kpokpoi, fermented corn dough. Palm oil. We plant peas to make rice and peas. Pepper pot. Ox tail. Hardo bread. Pepper prawns. Scotch bonnet.

Pimento. Chadon beni. Teff flour. Takes time to make. Add yeast and wait three days. That’s injera. Cocoa. Rice and peas. Pepper prawn. Tej (honey wine).

We always bring a plate. Gifting food no matter how little we got.

Salted to preserve.

Food tells our stories.

Brown Ribbon – Culture

Don't pass your nest. Duppie know who fi frighten.

Reggae. Talking drums. Carnival. Anansi stories at school. Mum braids hair on Sunday. Singing. Dancing. Plaid. Madras fabric. Sunday best. Kente Ankara. Wax cloth. Ethiopian women usually wear a kemis. A kemis is comfortable, warm and usually made from cotton. Aso oke gele. Beads. Folk dress.

Wrapper to carry my baby on my back so I can still work. Ora people.

Stay in your lane.

Christian. Muslim. Catholic. Ancestor worship. Hindu. Buddhist. Spiritual. Languages. Mother tongues. Ethiopian dress. Swish-sway. Carnival time. Bacchanal. My tongue don't speak it but my ear understand it and my heart feel it.

Ribbons. Unfolding. Stories need telling. Just because you read the book doesn't mean you know the story. I can't remember what my grandmother used to say, then I find myself saying it!

Fresh braids. Sunday best. Ankara Kente. Patterns. Tradition. Rituals. Done again. Repeat for comfort. Fresh braids. Sunday best. Plaid dress. Steel pans. Pounded yam. Steel pans and drum. I dance, dance,

dance until I feel free. Language spoken in different tongues. Locks.

Yellow Ribbons – Freedom

I celebrate my country's independence. It's an important date to me. Being with my family. Practising my religion. Speaking my language. Free to express myself. In nature, outside with God.

What is the cost of freedom and how much is it worth? I am independent and free to be myself. It is important to know where you come from to know where you are.

Sometimes I have to leave my culture at home, but when I meet others from my country I can be me.

Rastafari. We all have our season. Poetry and imagination. Talking as sisters. Things in common, a common bond. Speak my mind. Outspoken. Outside. Telling my story. Given time.

Carnival to express my joy. Growing food. Soil was free, father can grow his own. Don't need to borrow or beg. Freedom to pray. Expression. Singing. Dancing. In nature. Outside.

Fresh air. Independence. Ethiopia 1896 Battle of Adwa. Free from being colonised. Haile Selassie. End slavery. Never controlled. 1962 Jamaican Independence. 30th

Nov 1966 Barbados. Money. Ghana Independence in
1957. In my own home. To speak my own mind.
Meditating. Drinking wine. I am nightly blessed.
Respecting our differences. Listening. Safety.
Acceptance.

Blue Ribbons – Resistance

I am someone who speaks up but I wonder if I would
have been brave enough, Fear can't stop people
sticking together. Seeing someone be fearless is
powerful – it makes me think what is possible.

Laughter. Standing up for each other. Supporting each
other. Holding the family together. Gifting. Crayfish from
the river for a hand of bananas. Speaking up. Going to
church. Finding ways to give.

Speaking my own language. Patois.

Yoruba. To have my own name. Knowledge is power
and power is strength. Protecting my culture.
Hardworking, proud and strong. Strong black woman.
Empress. Courageous. Powerful. Don't work. Lie down. I
haven't spoken with anyone like this. Feels good. I can
be myself. Share my culture and learn about others.

Letter transcripts

Letter from Andrew Cook at Shady Spring, 3 August 1833

PH(L)03/36

Shady Spring Jamaica 3rd August 1833

My Dear Sir

The arrival of the June packet has in a great measure relieved us of the nervous apprehension which the original proposals of the Colonial Minister had excited in the minds of all who were dependent on the existence of the colonies. The proposition of giving the owners of slaves something approaching to a reasonable compensation for the loss of their property, and the withdrawing of the most absurd & utterly ruinous clause compelling the master to pay hire to the negro, whether he wanted his services or not- have set reasonable people to consider how the measure can be met,- & brough safely into operation.- It is however loaded with difficulties but if they are firmly & [temperately?] encountered they may be overcome - at least the greater part of them.-

I am happy to say that from what I observe of the members of our assembly, they now appear to feel,

even the most violent of them, the necessity of muting the proposed measure with calmness & moderation.- Had they manifested the same feeling two years ago – or even last season – and passed an act essentially ameliorating the condition of the negro – it would have satisfied the British nation, & Jamaica property would this day have been more secure than ever it was.- Should the new act be brought peacefully into operation, I can see nothing to prevent the work of a well peopled estate from proceeding, in a degree proportionate to the limited quantity of labour. The weak handed small sugar estates must a great many of them - be thrown up - or turned to some less complicated cultivation.-

I have explained to the head people at B. Mountain & G. Hill the principle parts of the change of condition contemplated for them.- They expressed themselves much pleased & promised a great many good things in return – good behaviour – plenty of work & plenty of sugar for [Massa”?].- I have also taken much pains to impress on the overseers the necessity of disciplining their own habits to meet the approaching change of system – when they will no longer have the authority or power of enforcing their orders, which they have hitherto possessed and then the negroes around them will be as much protected by the laws as they themselves are.- I must however in justice both the Mr. Sproat & Mr. [Beveridge?] say that their treatment of the people since

you left the island has been such as to give no reason of complaint.- Living as I do close to B. Mountain it is much to say that no negro has ever come with a complaint of any kind to me, since I have had charge of the estate;- and the only occasion I have had of speaking to [Beveridge?] in time of disapprobation, was on the complaint of a women whom he had confined in the stocks for two weeks without informing me of the circumstance.- His idea was (that of many other overseers)- that is he did not inflict corporal punishment on a negro, he had a right to keep her in the stocks as long as he pleased.-

The negro houses at Blue Mountain for the accommodation of the Grange Hill people are very nearly completed, & in a few weeks I intend getting down about 35 able people to assist in the putting in the plant for the 1835 crop.- The few people from G.H. who were at B.M. when you were in the country, & who at that time wished to return have lately asked me for houses on the estate, as they now preferred remaining.- This is readily assented to, & have given them every encouragement & assistance in rendering themselves comfortable; and apart from what I could observe of the disposition of the people at Grange Hill when I was there on Tuesday last & had a long "talk" with them; I think there will be no difficulty in inducing some families to remove permanently to B. Mountain.- They now see that

I am quite in earnest as to having their assistance at the estate - when required- and they cannot but observe by the labour that is bestowed in providing comfortable accommodation for them, that their wants will in every respect, be attended to, as those of the estate people.-

If I can manage to effect the migration of ten or twelve families [?] to the commencement of the new system, it will be of immense advantage to the estate. You know how defective the physical strength of the Blue Mountain is, & how much the permanent accession of twenty or thirty labourers would tend to render the work easy to all – I find I was under an erroneous impression as to the mode of paying the taxes this year.- I was led to think that only half the amount was to be called for in this month, & the other half in February next year.- Under this consideration I only provided for half the amount in the Bill I drew in June.- I have by this packet drawn for £100 Stg. in addition – the amount of which as Martial-Law-account due by the parish of G. Hill of £80 will make up the other half of the taxes - amounting altogether to £530.13.10. I doubt not you will approve of my drawing for the additional sum to keep clear the accounts of the estates.-

The people at Blue Mountain are generally healthy. The two invalid men Troy and [Dinqual?] to whom you called my attention have been under a course of alternative

medicine, but I fear without affording them an essential benefit. The boy [M Green?] is at present better but his disease proceeds from hereditary taint & medicine cannot be expected to do much for him.

We have been unfortunate in losing several cattle at B. Mountain as you will see by the return. This however I cannot charge to any neglect or want of care on the part of the overseer, or negroes in charge of the stock. There are three or four more cattle now suffering from cough, which have been separated from the others. Thirty of the heifers at Grange Hill have been spayed and of which three died almost immediately after the operation. The others are doing well.- As soon as I can dispose of them, I will purchase twelve good young cows from [Manchester?] and St. Elizabeth.- The present breed of cattle on the pen is very inferior indeed. The people at G. Hill are very healthy.- The hooping cough has not quite disappeared from among the children, but it is now very mild.

The Ginger is coming up well- There is a piece of nearly two acres planted.- Which although we cannot expect to give much return the next year, will enable us to expand the field. I directed one of the cane piece near the works to be prepared for the indigo - but I found on my next visit to the property that the land was not such as we could expect the plant to grown luxuriantly on;- and what

was deserving of consideration the only spring from which we could have a supply of water was that at the works from which all the people take their supply of water.- I have therefore attended to the suggestion of Mr. [Beveridge?] & chosen a new piece of land at a considerable distance from the works- which will be cleared & planted immediately- before we require the people at B. Mountain.- There I a spring of water convenient - and a few large tubs & plenty of water is all that is requisite for the manufacture of the indigo.- The overseers house at Grange Hill is nearly completed. They require a little window glass which I will procure in Kingston.

Your next crop from B. Mountain will be I think about 200 hhds.- and that I consider even under the new system may be expected as the average crop [hereafter?] – ‘that is for twelve years’ –

The cultivation of that estate has hitherto been carried on in a most slovenly manner. They have extended cane fields over the property without regard to convenient locality – soil, or whether it was a gravelly hill, or a brick mould level.- This system shall no longer exist.- The scattered table land cane fields must be abandoned, & the flat around the works cultivated in a proper farmer like manner.- The flat which is now in guinea grass, through which the road leads to the works we intend

putting in cane this fall for 1835 crop.- The guinea grass turf will be planted on the Chapel Hill, & be equally as convenient for the supply of the pens, & take away the barren appearance which that elevation at present has from the house. –

With regard to relative economy of importing [herring?] from England, or purchasing them on [shads?] in the country – the market fluctuates so much in Kingston that I can hardly offer an opinion – at present [shads?] are dear 50/ [cury?] - The [herrings?] by the Claremont from Liverpool were 26/- stg.- which with exchange, freight etc. would amount to much the same.- It will perhaps be as well to send out the quantity written for among the supplies & trust to the Kingston or Morant Bay merchants for what more we may require. This is a serious expense in conducting an estate, and from which the owner should be relieved on giving up to the negro to much of his time on the new bill [contemplates?] – which will enable the negro not only to procure every comfort of life but to enrich himself if he chooses to be in industrious.

I fear I am fatiguing you with a too long letter.- I am thankful to be able to say that my health is now pretty good. I am able to go about & attend to business – but I am obliged to shelter myself as much as possible from the direct rays of the sun.- The house of assembly

meets on the 27th inst. Lord Mulgrave is still as unpopular among the planters as ever – I cannot see why he should be so. He has in my opinion exhibited, on most trying occasions, a great degree of proper firmness & resolution.- and in every instance of dismissing magistrates, he has done exactly what he should have done.-

I remain with best wishes

My dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours

And Cooke

Letter sent on HMS 'Mutine', 26 March 1834

PH97/22

Names of People from G. Hill who have settled at B. Mountain -

Wm. [Briant?] 1st class	} 2nd class	} Brother & [sisters?] - one family -
Peggy Graham		
Clarissa		

Mary Waters 1st class	} a family -	
Penny Brown 1st class		
Penny's Children		} Not at work
{ Robert Hamilton		
{ Fanny Hamilton		
[Alick?] 1st class		

Robert [Christie?] - Cooper
Cecilia Christie - aged
Henry Phelp - Cecilia's son - 1st class

} a family -

Elizabeth Jones 2nd class
Letitia Hains - 1st class

} mother and daughter -

Catharine Field 1st class
James [Niffin?] 1st class
Rosanna Bennet 1st class

} not connected

Tho. Dale
Susanna Grant

} 1st class – occupying the same house -

Geo. Richardson 1st
class

Wm. McKenzie 1st
class

Louisa Fowles 2nd
class

Brother and sisters – their
mother Ann Phelps not yet
come [over?]

Elizabeth Frazer 1st class

James Rae 1st class

not connected -

Letter to Mrs Dickson, 1810

PH97/04

Jamaica 9th February 1810

Madam

In consequence of the death of Mr [Tho. Hamilton?], I have received the power of attorney for the management of your estate Moorehall, and return you my best thanks for the same and for the confidence you have thereby [reposed?] in me - I can now only assure you, that my best [exertions?] shall be at all times used for forwarding & promoting your interest.

I was surprised to find you had so much sugar on hand at this season of the year and none of it at the [Barquadier?], understanding that the Chesterfield had [run?] it out for the purpose of carrying home your sugars and that of some other friends of my [correspondents?], Messrs [Frame, Fletcher, Yates, & Co.?]. I directed the overseer to send down the sugars as fast as possible for that ship, and hope, he may have from 130 to 140 Hhds sugar down in time - I hope on receipt of this, I shall have the pleasure of receiving your instructions fully concerning the shipping and [consigning?] your Estate's produce, [?], and you may rely they will be on my part most [pointedly?] attended to

—

I have written Messrs [Frame, Fletcher, Yates & Co.?] to keep insurance on the Chesterfield for your sugars and am most respectfully

Madame

Your most ob. servant

J.[?].Green?

Letter to Henry Long, 15 December 1832

PH96/02

Lucky Valley, Clarendon

December 15th 1832

Dear Sir

I had the pleasure of addressing you on the 10th ulto. acknowledging the receipt of your forward of the 4th Sept. -

The weather for some time past has been dry in Clarendon, which is against the lately planted canes. We are now preparing for crop at Lucky Valley, and I hope to cut canes early in next month. - The Negroes out healthy and appear contented and obedient.

By a Law that passed last [session?] of the assembly, part of the current years taxes become [payath?] in February, in consequence, I expect to draw on Messrs. Rutherford & Co. by next Packet for about £100 stg.

-

The Clarendon Militia Mount Guard on the 24th inst. and continue on duty to the 3rd of next month. The militia of the adjoining parish, St. John, were ordered on duty last week, but I believe more with a view of checking some Runaway Negroes that had been killing cattle, than any other cause of a more serious nature.

The last post stated that a negro had been taken up in Westmorland who had been sent there to invite the

Negroes of that parish to join those of Trelawny to revolt.- More troops are ordered to St. James, and it is said the Governor intends to make that part of the island his head [?] during the holidays.

It is very probable the present Packet will be postponed until the [business?] of the present [session?] is finished. Had the proceedings of the assembly and the latest [accounts?] of the tranquillity of the island, I must beg to refer you to the news papers by the Packet.-
With my best wishes, for the health of yourself, Lady Long and family.

I remain

[dear?] sir

Yours faithfully & obliged serv.

J. Miller

Letter to Sir Henry FitzHerbert, 1826

PH(L)03/35(a)

Blue Mountain

June 1 1826

My Dear Sir Henry,

I hope by the time you receive this that the Barclay will have arrived safe with her valuable cargo. She sailed on the 17th of May – my anxiety was very much relieved by yours of the 2nd of March I am sorry to hear of your late indisposition. I had the influenza on the 18th ult. with strong fever but thank God it now begins to wear away. Indeed I feel very thankful for your good prayers for my safety – you by no means undervalue the loss of that amicable youth Mr [Ulton?], the Bishop told me he met with an irreparable loss he had appointed him one of his examining Chaplains, as for poor [Liversedge?] we must never forget him. I have known him ride 70 miles in one day in search of lean stock. I think he was consumptive, you are perfectly right as to the primary causes of our diseases, strong meats and strong drink, I believe to be the cause of the dreadful mortality which reigns amongst the adventures to this Country. I always was an advocate for a [stove or grate?] - the Liverpool ship Clarendon have excellent [stoves?] for their [?] very safe, the [greater?] that would answer would be such as was on board the Barclay if you send out any pray send plenty of length of flues. I should like to try one on each Estate first. I hope by next year by Gods Blessing to be enabled to remove my Family from one estate to the

other I must first establish B M in a regular train at the same time I confess what you say on that subject to be perfectly correct it will add much to the improvement of the negroes and will tend to attach them more strongly to one person. I am very glad you approve of my expedition to Vere, the men were very grateful I had provided them with a piece of beef for their dinner it was a gratifying sight to see them enjoy themselves with their repast – you speak to highly of my poor services I can only assure you that the remembrance of your kindness and the wholesome advice you gave me when we were together as made a lasting impression, and one as legible to my mind at the moment as yr letter now before me and in those letters I still continue to find such excellent Rules advice and instructions, they form the chief standard of my actions and my companion in my hours of retirement I may say they cheer me through my [various?] trials and struggles and conflicts – I regretted that I mentioned the little foible of Mr. Mahon but it would be impossible for me to hide anything from yr knowledge I am happy to say that all goes on well as I could wish with him – [Jimmy?] was conducted home by his son Wm. Grant the head Mason where he now resides with his family We do not call on him for any service, all yr directions respecting him shall be strictly attended to – Leticia Graham died in Kingston in 1824 I hope in time to discover the remainder of the delinquents.

I assure you I always inspect our Hospital and never will [?] at the neglect of our Doctors, the young woman that dies at Grange Hill is the one mentioned which died of apoplexy – you will find I had occasion to call Dr. Cooke to order I am happy to say it as done him some good he

is now very attentive and if bleeding is required he now remains to see how it operates on the patient - with regard to Mr. Leacock I well know how you feel on the subject if you wish me to honour him with your monitions I must wait on him at the Rectory as he completed the [connection?] of yr people at their Baptism this prophet as never since visited his children.

I will mention one circumstance which occurred on their memorable day – one of the old infirm African women which was so [?] that she could not walk from her house, where she has been confined for many years past, on the list being called over he found one absent poor [Leversedge?] told him of the condition of the old woman, but all to no purpose he Mr. L sent his chaise and the old lady like the rest was admitted to enlist under the same Banner with himself but mark the sequel no chaise to convey home this new born Christian, the great work complete and off went our worthier Priest never more to return. The poor old woman had to be carried home by her friends after being deserted by her new Christian friend - These are the men who have their minds fixed on the other side the Atlantic – such a man as this is not worthy of your notice he is a disgrace to his Cloth the principle qualification this gent possesses is being famous a the Long Bow; I am very sorry to find I did not explain the dimensions of the [steps?] to the engine they rise 8 inches by 14. I feel very much gratified to find that I have done as your prescribe by making a purchase of Mr. Taylor I paid him a visit a few days after his arrival and purchased 20 Barrels of [shads?] and 2 [?] at first very cheap and paid the cash down, he was very thankful he is much [?] and I fear Mr.

Laing will [shew?] him no Quarter. I am in great hopes that Mr. Laing at the Pen will answer he makes every effort to our strip his [?], he is sober and attentive – it is very rare to find a good steady pen keep Mr. Laing was about 4 months with me at B.M. – the employ as head B. Keeper the only one of the old stock you say you cannot too highly commend my firmness in resisting the charges made against the Estate, but you will find all my remonstrance in vain, the infamous act. Current for 1825 which now lays before me will convince you all I can do is vain the act. embraces all the old charges, the corn paid in cash. Mr. L had an act. with [Dunkleys?] and you was made the convenience – should anything happen to me I send you the copy of a letter sent by me to Mr. L on the receipt of this act., with a answer to two letters wherein he hits me very hard on Barbados Economy. I now refer you to his paper – you will find by a former letter that I removed Colin Graham and put him under Mr. Rickets your plan in respect to a [?] I think a very good one – you are now in possession of a very favourable act. of Colin – I am happy to hear you was pleased with our negroes good behaviour at Xmas you are perfectly right I wonder we have not yet had an open Rebellion – I served our cloth on the 26th the people thanked me but [said?] that next year they hoped I will give them more. I told them I could make no promise but I could tell them that if sugar did not sell better next year that their master would have to sell half of them to pay Taxes, this of course put a stop to the demand and one woman of the name Nancy Brown threw up her cap in the air but I had the lady seized and confined in the dark hole which I have now made this [?] the disturbance which I [?] believe was near at hand she was redeemed

on the next day by [?] hostages – the cap was slightly damaged and any one that had any [?] was at liberty to have it exchanged without going to excess or stimulating the others to revolt – with respect to the religious instruction of the negroes you may rely on it I will pay the strictest attention I said some time since that it was my intention to have a Sunday School on the Estate at the same time I trust that I [assigned?] good reason for so doing that Sunday Schools was established at Morant Bay, and that in our Church exclusive of Estates, that my intention was to prevent the people from wandering in the heavy seasons, this was my motive and no other I assure you I look [than?] upon young ones as my Household as a charge put into my hands, but I shall be guided entirely on this lead by your special instructions, as for our Clergy believe me I do not think there exists on grain of sincerity about the, they are all for procuring a name at home, the [humbug?] of the day must and will ultimately cripple the cause of Religion, the public prints which are copied into our press is most infamous, the most vile abstracts of Mr. Stephens pamphlet are not appearing in the Gazette – I shall await the reprimand which I expect from you in proposing the teaching of the negroes to read but before I answer it I send the foregoing apology I have represented the way and manner in which I have hitherto acted with no other motive than that you should give me [?] which I trust is now so fully laid down that I cannot err, and should I be so fortunate as to procure a [Mororian?] for Perrins I shall give him as a guide [?] from yr letter. Which I trust embrace all that you wish at present – with respects to Mr. Clarke I am truly sorry that he should suffer himself to be duped by the old standards – I assure you I met

with more opposition from those young men than the whole Island put together, this bunch of [?] ignorance, does me much evil. Mr. [Haggerty?] made application that I would take him back but I will neither take him back nor send him back, we were not able to find out who it was that entered the house, the state of Grange Hill I must reserve until next for instead of visiting that estate I must now go to view to see crop over as I have this week a demand of 12 head of my fine steers from B.M. they have exhausted the pen of cattle and I must go down this sacrifice of stock will ruin us altogether. I sent 12 to Perrins 4 to the pen exclusion of 18 mules with respect to the [?] which I have appointed I assure you that I had cause & just cause to make a change – the application made to me for this [?] I have given more offence in this respect than you could form any possible idea of, I chose the Mr. Ivres because they were no speculations they I assure you have done no justice but you must be well aware that every thing in the way of [?] has been thrown in their way [?] so far that when Mr. Biggar purchased our rum from them at 8/6 pr Galn he sent others to purchase it for him - Mr. Laing on the other hand declared that it was [?] yr interest that the rum ought to go home as it would realise 4/6 in England up to this day I have sold 70 puncheons of rum £1325 the expense will not exceed £100 as the attorney pays – will have to deduct the factors commission from his 6 per cent. I am extremely sorry to find you received no letters by the last packet as you will find me engaged in close warfare, I will do as you direct I directing my letter to the care of Mr. Nelson & Co the [?] will I hope convey home not yet arrived the last of perrins produce – from the uncertain state of shipping I

thought it expedient to insure 100 [?] and 50 hds for London and you had stated in a former [?] that I was to ship only as much as would pay for the supplies, but [?] I find your instructions are to ship to Liverpool from Perrins which I will in future comply with - I have received a letter from Mr. Nelson and Adams – the advice which they give me [shows?] them to be men who are determined to act with justice they advise me to sell our Rum if a fair price offers – this advice is certainly not consistent with their interest, it is a circumstance on which I shall pin my faith that they are not only yr Merchants but your friends I am truly sorry to inform you of the death of Francis Park our cooper. A fine young man from his [?] and readiness to learn his business I frequently spend one hour as day to instruct him but sorry am I to say that I frequently found him intoxicated by 9 am. I done all I could to [reclaim?] him I at one time disgraced him and confined him but all to no purpose even his family used every effort – the influenza was more than he could stand every attention was paid him from our Doctor who visited him twice a day but he had not stamina sufficient to stand the shock – within a few hours of his dissolution he requested me to allow him something to drink to keep him up – the Doctor tried bleeding but was obliged to desist or he would have died under his hand – over his grave I presented them (the negroes) a striking proof of drunkenness – he became so depraved that the Book Keeper could not allow him to bung up a puncheon of Rum for in their presence he would drink at the Bung Hole our neighbours fill their Rum stills over night with [?] wines or first [?] and the negroes have access to the cocks of the still by which means they obtain this worst of spirit –

Wm Henry our Head Cooper is fully as bad and I have sent him to Vere were the conection is entirely cut June 3rd I received letters from Mr. Mahon he informs me he has sent on my mules to the Pen (were I have to say) they have killed another – this I can stand no longer. I have likewise received news from G. Hill the Head Cattle Man and one mason absconded – Grange Hill June 5th. I could not reconcile it to my mind to leave the Parish without paying a visit here I had not long arrived when the cattle man made his appearance it appears that 4 days since one of our fine steers wilst grazing fell down a precipice and broke his back when [Jn Haynes?] absconded this was the second offence of this nature – the custom here is that when any negro begs his Master for forgiveness after absconding he receives a note for the overseer now in this case two men were actually in the [?] yard sitting down until I came on the estate and then came up to bid defiance to the overseer by procuring the customary pardon this [?] I at once checked. I administered what I conceived to be justice the lash of the law - I am sure you will sympathise with me when you hear my sad story – when my colleague visited here the other day he distributed money amongst the negroes – [view?] this in its proper light and you will then see how I stand with those people – I have this day rode round the Estate and am happy to inform you that we are now getting on with our grass [?] N29 & 30 planted in guinea grass the cases in N28 will in a few days be cut and then thrown up for g. grass No42 & 27 established in g. grass. No15, 20 to 24 will all be thrown up for common pasture the old cane pieces will throw up very [?] common grass which will keep up our stock during the time we are clearing the back lands for corn

and grass. I find the Hospital in a leaky state and must immediately new roof it I will purchase shingles on my way through Kingston – the negroes are now fast recovering from the influenza and the working stock [look?] well – the breeding cows are now improving –

Perrins June 9th

on my way through Kingston I purchased [superior?] shingles at 75/- per thousand for G H the market dull & gloomy Rum at 2/11 sugar very low our Molases sugar at 33/4 – on my way through Spa Town I called on Mr. Laing but he will not give way the act current is shameful so much so that I dare not [sign?] it – I should at once incur your displeasure and that most justly, I have done all in my power. My objections are founded on facts only, if in relating those facts I have in my way departed by making use of improper [?] or indecorous language I can only say that my behaviour corresponds with his accounts.

Mr. L placed them in my hands to sign it and I have returned it – he says, it is my ignorance which prompts me to act in the manner I now proceed. He says Sir Henry urges me Mr. Laing to extend the commission beyond the present rate even this I have no objection to but I cannot nor will not put my name to any act which contains a palpable falsehood, he cannot deny that part of my letter wherein he overrates the crop 60000lb of sugar and 6000 gals of Rum – his commission certainly is only 28/- per hundred lb. but if he calls 80 lb 100 and 100 gals stretched to 120 [less?] commission on empty casks at 45/- when he sells them for 33/-, this would be

on my part (to use your own words) if I signed the act most culpable weak and foolish- as for my ignorance and inexperience and ungentlemanlike language which Mr. L lays to my charge, must be decided by yourself - the only abilities which I can set off as an apology to ignorance is my present information to inexperience my application to ungentlemanly language plain and [?] facts - our engine Lady FitzHerbert by name is in fine order all the mistakes which [Mr. Murdoc?] committed are now corrected and we hope to finish crop in July – as the May seasons have been very moderate, a Brig sails next week with 106[?] and 20 puncheons, the Niagra the Jamaica will sail about the same time with only 14 [?] she could not give room for more – the Loretta arrived since I came down and we are now making for her – I am now about commencing a novel manufacture, claying sugar for England. I find the duty is now made equal. In my next I will write for the quantity of sugar pots as required We shall make fully 300 [?] here if the weather premits us to take if of - from the [?] of shipping you will find I wrote Mr. Nelson & Co to insure 100 [?] and 50 [?] I rather think you would not wish me now to cancel the insurance – we shall ship at least 220 [?] to Liverpool this will depend entirely on the weather in a few days we shall complete 200 after which we shall have 90 acre of our best canes to cur

I have received an answer to N.1 & 2 from Mr. Laing this answer is I presume only written for you and not to me I will only notice now what concerns yr interest - He answers me as to Windsor Castle estate he here makes a [?] the fact is there is no [?] Mr. G.H.W. Hamilton confesses he never saw one it was a mere licence to

use our Run of Back Land as to the canes cut at Windsor Castle he at length agrees to allow us £250 with respect to [Mr. Murdoc?] I have made full and ample discovery but it is by far too Black for me to relate at present – with respect to the 7 puncheons of corn sold by Mr. Hamilton he say Mr. H sold to purchase [?] for his employer – this appears strange as Mr. Laings charge for [?] is for M.B. upwards of 30£ - the answer to the charge for [?] he advises it to be sold – to [Mr Bucher?] charge he give it all his support – with respect to the commission he says the Kingston weights one no [?] that a hog of sugar will leave on its way to Kingston from 56 lb to 112 and a puncheon of rum from 8 to 111 galn – to contradict this man is quite useless but I can prove to yr satisfaction that our sugar does hold out its weight since we have removed our factorage and the sum has never yet been deficent – but with regard to the [warfarger?] weight – at [Monchinial?] they have not the means of weighing sugar and to sum up this is in a very few words the sugar is weighed in Mr. L counting house and the shameful over charge on 60000 weight of sugar and 6000 gals of Rum still stands unaltered – with respect to the [manumised?] people he voluntarily gives up – the cattle he says was sold by a Mr. A [?] to Mr. Walter Taylor attorney for very good revenue this was true they were sold to [Hollad?] Estate and are to this day the finest cattle in planting garden rivers this is a fact. the stones brought for Perrins he says on inspection he found them to be inferior and gave 20/ more for other, this was rather strange as he generally wrote me 2 or 3 letters a week it was his duty to report the change – this is certainly lame. The [?] he entirely shifts from – the last person he speaks of is Mr. Noyes

this gent you must recollect was our late engineer at G H whom I [objected?] to pay until he either paid or returned articles which he had borrowed & since that period Mr. L sold Mr. N a horse at a very exorbitant price and when I see Mr. L in Spa Town he said he should pay if Mr. Noyes (i.e. pay himself for the horse this is the answer to the application which I made for the funds which he has in hand namely sold from St. Helens from the 1st of Jany up to date 414.6.8

old copper sold about 100.

purchase money for Francis Gordon 120

£624.6.8

Exclusive of his gross etc. 122.9.2

this act although it stands in the plantations Book placed to his act he will not acknowledge it he says Sir Henry's horses eat all, to this let us add 250£ for canes sold Windsor Castle 60£ for the rent of the mines, In all Mr. L could bring forward if he chose £1000 which would more than pay our taxes this I represented but all to no purpose he says we must draw by next packet – I lay those facts now before you as they stand this I trust will convince you that I have been actuated by the best of motives when I addressed Mr. L by the enclosed letter it is I confess harsh but I could even gone further there are items which I have passed over which would disgrace him very materially. for instance – for 6 [?] strong shoes – 4-16-8 and again June 13/1825 [?] paid James

[Bugdon?] for sundry clothing for your tenants £69 - now I can prove that instead of your 4 [tenants?] he added 2 of it his own. clothes at your expense – I could go on still further but when you see this act it will speak for itself – I am at this moment holding fast to the wreck of your property here

Letter to Sir Henry FitzHerbert, 1831

PH97/29

Kingston 14th March 1831

Dear Sir,

I have received your favor, January the 4th - By the last Packet I drew for £600 on Messrs Nelson, Adam & Nelson and for £105 on Mr. Percival, to pay the balance of Messrs. Ivers account, in post, I have got their accounts to forward you by the first safe opportunity.

-

I have shipped on the Paragon of London, Captain Phitwell 30 hhds Sugar, 20 puncheons Rum from Blue Mountain, one hogshead of Sugar fell from the [slings] in taking in; but it is of course included in the Bill [landing?]. This Brig has sailed. I am shipping 30 hhds Sugar on the Nancy, Captain Wilkinson to sail early from Morant Bay and I have lodged an order for shipping on The Lady FitzHerbert, Captain Ferrier, who has commenced loading, I wish you would inform me how many hogshead you wish shipped on this vessel, as Captain Ferrier expects large shipments annually from Blue Mountain – I have shipped 30 hogsheads sugar on the Brig [Overton?], Captain Harvey, for Liverpool she will be the first vessel from Salt River & sails in all this month. I have lodged an order for shipping 40 hogshead Sugar on the Govenor Harcourt, Capt. Ford, now loading at Salt River she will sail early.

I hope you have effected insurance on about 400 hhds sugar, 200 puncheons Rum, from Jamaica to London &

Liverpool upon ship or ships warranted to sail, on or before the first of August.

I wish you also to insure say 16, 18 or 20 Tons logwood from St. Helens which I am getting down for Captain Harvey's Brig, as he has promised to take it. This wood I got cut, chipped and carried out of the woods by a jobber upon [halves?].-

I sold lately 14 heads of fat stock from St. Helens at £18 rounds, payable at 2 months to a good Butcher, this is about the best price to be obtained at present- Lumber, in consequence of the ports being opened to the Americans, is now very cheap. Staves here, I purchased at £16 per thousand and at Morant Bay £18 for both Estates – and finding we required more puncheon packs than what was imported from England I purchased from a cooper here one hundred for £100 currency, just about one half the price you paid sterling; I now regret that I wrote for one – I am happy to inform you that I think our Sugar on both Estates much better than last years, it is considered her very fine- The shipment by the G. Harcourt is of a superior quality to that of the [Overton?] as you will judge by the samples which will be sent you – I send you herewith a manumission paper to sign and return. The woman Elizabeth Haigle who wishes to make herself and two children free, is the daughter of Frances [Gordon?] who you manumitted when here, she [?] £130 cash to your credit with Messrs J & G. Ivers, which is the full value of [yr?] three, in fact three able negroes in the present day might be purchased for the same sum- I have got all the Returns since July ready to send you, Crop accounts, Merchants accounts & c. I

think it will be as well to send them by Captain Ferrier-
[?] promised to pay if I will give him a little time which I
have agreed to do, I can at any time compel him to do
so, or got to jail for three months, but I will not distress
him- I left St. Helens yesterday morning, the weather
has been very dry for some months but the stock are not
suffering yet. The ship Lady [Canning?] that sailed from
Salt River last august was lost at sea, Poor Capt. Allen
took charge of a large parcel of returns which were up to
July, and directed to Mr. Percivals care for you, they are
of course all lost.

I remain dear Sir, respectfully,

Your faithful & obt. Servant

P. Mahon

To Sir Henry FitzHerbert Bart.

Stamps are now done away with upon manumission by
an Act of the House of Assembly of Jamaica.

Letter to Henry Long, 6 February 1832

PH98/13

Clarendon, Jamaica, 6th Feby 1832

Dear Sir,

I have had the pleasure of receiving your favour of the 29th November and am happy to learn of the health of yourself and family.

I assure you it will afford me much satisfaction to use every means of economy in the management of your Estate, and to avoid as much as possible every expense, which I am fully sensible is so necessary in the present times, when produce is so low in price.

-

I expect the present crop will be about 130 Hhds sugar, to the manufacturing of which every attention shall be given, both as to the quality and size of the Casks.- I have no doubt but the new Cisterns have tended to increase the quantity of Rum, and the low boiling of the Sugar has [caused?] the molasses to drain [better?] and yield more than formerly.- More Sugar might have been expected had not the Canes suffered so severely by draught in the spring, and took much supplying which caused them to grow irregularly.

-

I am of opinion it would not be advantageous to fatten Cattle in the island with Molasses.- Guinea Grass answers every purpose, and at times there is difficulty in selling fat Cattle, there can be no doubt that the best thing that can be done with Molasses is to convert them

into Rum, there is surely such a thing known as selling Molasses in the island, though I am of opinion the [Americans?] would purchase, if the duty were not too high on them in America.

I consider that about £300 Stg. will pay the Estates contingencies that become due in August next, but the accounts are not yet got in.- Nothing can be expected from the Wharf or the Pen,- we have been at considerable expense in [piling?] at the Wharf, erecting a Crane and [?] House and enclosing the yard with a stone wall, this last expense I would not have [contrived?] in the same year with the Piling had not some of the shippers threatened to take away their custom, if the yard was not made more secure, the Piling and [shed?] repairs of the Wharf were absolutely necessary for 1830 [Wharf?] accounts have been extremely ill paid, and very many still remain uncollected so that I am apprehensive the proceeds of the Wharf and Pen will not pay the expenses of the Wharf with the Overseers salary.- The Overseer now conducts the business of the Pen and Wharf with the assistance of the Bookkeeper.- No considerable expense will again be required at the Wharf for a length of time to come, unless it may be repairing the Stores, which can be done by negroes [manually?]

We are not much understocked both in [?] and Steers at Lucky Valley with no hope of being supplied from Longville Park, however I shall do all I can without purchasing at least to a [considerable?] extent.

-

We are now cutting Canes at Lucky Valley and have

made 15Hhds Sugar, we would have commenced crop sooner had we not all been taken from home on Militia Duty. I hope the progress of the Crop will not be interrupted for a considerable time to come, tho' the weather is [showery?] and against Sugar making.- The Negroes are healthy and behaved quietly and [reasonably?] during the [?] disturbances.

-

In consequence of the Rebellion of the Negroes in Trelawney, St James and Hanover; Martial Law was [past?] on the 30th December and has been continued since.- The Clarendon Regiment of Militia was ordered to Trelawney and was relieved in this parish by a detachment from the Kingston Militia. I only came from Trelawney a few days ago, and am on the eve of returning there, unless our Regiment should be ordered to return to Clarendon.- The Rebels are now pretty [well put?] down, and nothing further is to be apprehended from [them?] though they must be completely conquered and none left in the woods before it would be right to remove the Troops from the quarter, and this may take a considerable time to effect, owing to their mode of Warfare by [concealing?] themselves in woods and caves.- They have been guilty of every barbarity.- Very many have been taken and executed, and others received military floggings.- They have been so severely punished and in that prompt and decisive manner, that showed them have little chance they had of success and which [ought?] to convince them in that part of the island of the folly of again attempting to revolt, whatever the Negroes in other parts of island may do.- It has been reported that a [general?] insurrection of the negroes in Trelawney, St. James and Hanover had been intended

on Monday the 2nd January by refusing to work and setting Fire to the Estates in that district, but owing to the interference of an attorney of an Estate with matters he ought to have overlooked [and?] left the [overseer?] to settle, the Negroes of the property showed symptoms of insubordination about a week before the Christmas holidays, and which perhaps has been the means of [saving?] the island from a general insurrection, by putting the Militia on the alert and the quick arrival of Troops in that quarter before the plans of the Rebels were [ripe?] The Negroes in that part of the island appear to be [greatly?] [?].- In our march through the confines of Trelawney we were hailed with joy by the small Settlers as [far?] as we could hear them, chiefly [females?] who were greatly [worried?].- The destruction of property in St. James, Hanover and Trelawney is immense.- The Baptist preachers are greatly blamed for this insurrection, and many [culprits?] at the plan of execution confessed they had been misled by the [Sectarians?], many of them have been taken into custody, but they are so cunning, it will be difficult to convict them. It is a well [ascertained fact?], that the Negroes who had been most indulged and in whom most confidence had been placed [were?] foremost in the Rebellion. Wishing I may in my next letter be enabled to acquaint you [that?] peace and order are restored in this our happy island.

I remain, dear sir,

Your faithful & obliged serv.

J. Miller

To,
Henry Long Esq.

P.S. February [11th?] the preceding was written early in the [week?], thinking I should have occasion to return to Trelawney on Militia Duty, but I have just learnt that Martial Law has been taken off, the particulars I shall not learn until the arrival of to-morrows post and must beg to refer your to the News papers by the Packet for the latest news from Jamaica.- There has been much rain during this week, but to-day [bids?] to be fair.

J.M

Culture bearer interviews

Why is it important to understand and preserve your culture?

Ayesha:

“In order to build self-confidence and awareness of yourself and to have an identity, to go through this world knowing who you are, it is important to be inquisitive and to dig deeper. Find out more about your past.”

Ital:

“What we went through, we don’t have to go through it again and this will be a clear example. I think it’s a real powerful thing because we still haven’t been getting our unification where it should be. You know, so I think it’s very important that we learn it and know it, and I love being a part of it.”

Nadine:

“We need to honour the people that we sit on their shoulders. If it wasn’t for these, these coal workers coming forward where would we be with regard to labour

rights, to salaries, to understanding of who we are as a people. We need to advocate for our rights and these are women who advocated for our rights. And so it's important to understand that we are here because of this advocacy.”

What does honouring the coal workers mean to you?

Malachi:

“It means many things. At first it means remembering, remembering their experiences during that time, remembering their livelihood, remembering their names, and then on top of remembering, it means continuing to live the values that they espoused through their work and to build upon the work that they did during that time. It’s more than just a commemorative event once a year every year. The commemorative event isn’t just to remember the past but it’s a form of staying motivated in the present to continue advocating for our rights and the rights of others to live and exist well in the community.”

Ayesha:

“To me it’s the ability to give voice to persons whose voices have not been heard. Persons who’ve been removed or haven’t been acknowledged in the text books and whose memories have sort of been forgotten. So this tour is an opportunity to uplift them, uplift their strength, draw inspiration from their courage and to celebrate the essence of who they were.”

Alphonse:

“So I have followed my great grandmother’s philosophy. Take care of yourself to be a man. And one of the things I remember distinctly about her is in the evening time when she was ready to go to bed she would take off her hat, and then she, and she always kept the catta. The catta was what they used to put the coal on their head when they were coal carriers and I guess that tradition stuck with her.”

Ruby:

“For me it’s extremely important to be able to tell the stories of people. So the fact that you will find references to these coal carriers in various aspects of Virgin Islands literature is really important. And for me having this and sharing that information is extremely important. And I started introducing the poetry into my narrative as I would talk about various places. And so these, these poems helped to capture give us a picture of the people who were involved in this, in this activity of coaling the ships. And you know, we get a sense of who they were and see them as people and not just as labourers who are doing the job.”

In what ways did African and Indigenous communities use cultural practices to convey secret messages?

Leniese:

“Well bamboula was forbidden because of course, the bamboula dance and back in those days send messages, when you move your skirt a different way, when you move your body a different way, it was a message so the planters or the slave owners, you know. So it was forbidden because of course we couldn’t communicate how we wanted to communicate on the plantation. So when we meet in a gathering, that’s how we communicate with the bamboula dancing back in that time.”

Marie:

“Bamboula was forbidden because it was feared. Bamboula was forbidden because communication between very strong minded, deep rooted, soul connected, fed up people who know that they needed to make move and make change. And if they wanted to change they had to communicate with each other. And so it may not have been directly through conversation, it could happen through song. And sometimes if it can’t

happen through words it would have to happen through the drum. So the drum was the main culprit of sending messages to not only people near, but far. So if the drum was banned, then no one would rally around the sound, wouldn't rally around a message and wouldn't hear from far to come and gather."

Ital:

"The drums again is something that we can't ignore. If drums are playing people is gravitated to it. Sooner or later people are going to come and see and want to be a part, what going on. What is that saying something? Yeah it is saying something. You know the drum represent to me the heartbeat in the rhythm of life. And again it has always been a part of our culture."

What challenges contribute to the underrepresentation of African Caribbean histories, and why is it important to uncover and share these stories?

Ayesha:

“I would say, in order to reawaken the knowledge of things that are hidden it takes persistence. It takes dedication. It takes commitment. It takes turning over every stone. I would definitely want to start, well advise persons to start with interviewing the elders. They are here with us for a time, and then after that, they are no longer. And when they leave if we don't record their stories that information is lost. Talk to your relatives. I mean, what more beautiful way is there to learn about history than through the eyes of those who came before you who share your bloodline. It's a beautiful thing.”

Ruby:

“Well, I think part of it was that people who were reporting information might not have seen the significance of the coal carriers. They were just workers, they were just labourers. And so that's why their information was not necessarily highlighted before. A lot

of times, to really get to the essence of something somebody has to be interested and has to go digging. So the fact that we now have access to the court records when Queen Coziah was put on trial after the strike and things like that, that gives us an insight into what was going on and what her life was like, you know.”

How important are images and oral histories to understanding the experiences of the coal workers?

Ayesha:

“I don’t think this tour would exist had I not seen that first image. And as they say, an image tells a thousand words, it’s so true. When you see those coal workers and the strength that they had to have in order to do the work that they did and you see that they are still standing and they don’t look beaten down. They still have a sense of dignity about them. They still carry the essence of themselves with them. That just captures it all for me. And to be able to pair that with the oral history of what did your grandmother tell you about this? Or what did her grandmother tell her that they can then tell you. It’s just a beautiful thing and it enriches our knowledge because for Black people, a lot of our stories have not been recorded, a lot has not been written down. So the information that we are going to get is from speaking to others.”

Jane:

“Well, they preserve a moment in history, every one of them, and in this case a particular section of time. And I

think we repeat history and we learn from it. I think it's very important particularly here where so many people, so many places, don't even have an idea of what we know. And I think it's really important for our kids to grow up with a sense of it."

What would you like people in London to know about St. Thomas?

Alphonse:

“The thing I like to say is the Virgin Islands is a community of love. One thing I try to tell people when they come to the Virgin Islands we always greet you with a good morning, a good afternoon, a good evening.”

Ruby:

“One of the things I tell my daughters all the time when they’re having any struggles, I say look at the women in our family. You know, they know who I am. They knew their two grandmothers. And when I go back into my own family’s history, my one grandmother was a part of the women’s suffrage movement for women in the Virgin Islands to get a right to vote. If you look within your own family, you find people of strength, people who, like the coal women had straight backs who carried their loads on their heads and who did it with dignity.”

Marie:

“We are still here. And, although parts may still be missing, parts of our culture, parts of our history, and part of even our ancestral souls, we are collecting them all back. We putting them all back together. And we’re going to have a grand time. We will continue to have a grand time enjoying each and every part that we uncover of our soul, of our ancestry, of our history.”

Nadine:

“I have the opportunity the blessed opportunity to teach history and to share history with individuals. The former Danish West Indies and now the Virgin Islands of the United States of America is a unique place in the world. You can hardly see it on a map, but here is where I think the western powers and the European powers and Africa come together in this space in a unique way. I mean, history happens here. And so, I invite you to look into the recent research of the Virgin Islands and come and visit the Virgin Islands so that you can walk through these historic buildings and get a understanding of who we are, and how your country was part of this, these islands.”

Dollar fo' Dollar film

Nadine:

“When you walk in these spaces I want you to feel like all your ancestors have come to you. When we think about our gatherings we think about revolution. We think about advocacy. We think about stepping forward on behalf of all the other citizens that have resided here.

Did you know that this was the headquarters of the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company. Now, they set up headquarters in 1843 on the island of St. Thomas.

These coins were what was paid to the coal workers. On September 7th in the newspaper, the government issued a statement to say they would no longer be accepting the Mexican coin. And they were told that they would be paid in these coins, coins that would not be accepted.

The coal workers were dancing the bamboula which they normally danced to go up the ramp, right? And to keep time and balance of those heavy baskets of coal. But now, as I said, they had tied their heads in a way that meant business.

They came asking, please we need to get food. But the owner of the bank, the bank board, closed their doors. And said no, we will not redeem.

When you walk in these spaces I want you to feel like all your ancestors have come to you.”