

# DARK BULLION

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## PROJECT DESCRIPTION

*Dark Bullion* is a historical audio series project that explores the Atlantic slave trade. Rather than revisiting the well-documented horrors of the trade, the project examines lesser-known themes and contradictions. The series begins in mid-17th century in West Africa.

AI-generated voices proved instrumental in developing this particular project.

### Research Note

The content of *Dark Bullion* is drawn from historical records, traveller accounts, and European enslavers' reports from the Atlantic Slave Trade period. Every effort has been made to ensure the narrative is as historically accurate as possible, while also taking into account conflicting interpretations among historians. The project does not aim to simplify the past but to present its complexity and contradictions with care.

### Editorial Note

For accessibility, the pronunciation "Voodoo", more familiar to general audiences is used. However, in the context of West African religious traditions, the appropriate spellings are Vodou or Vodún.

Please consult ***Dark Bullion Study Guide*** ou ***Dark Bullion Quick Reference*** for further information.

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## EPISODE DESCRIPTIONS

### Dark Bullion EP01: A PORTAL TO OBLIVION

This episode explores **Ouidah, Dahomey in 1685**, a key West African trading port deeply involved in the **Atlantic slave trade**. It details the dynamics between European powers like the **Royal African Company** and African rulers. Key aspects include the trade of captives for weapons, **the Tree of Oblivion ritual**, and the extensive involvement of various European empires in the trade... The episode also touches on the symbolic depiction of Black figures in European art.

### Dark Bullion EP02: WEST AFRICAN PEOPLES

This episode examines 17th-century **European stereotypes about West African peoples**, contrasting them with the rich diversity of cultures like the **Yoruba, Fon, and Mandé**... It details their political systems, economies, traditions, and clothing... The narrative highlights the **complex reality of West African kingdoms**, their internal trade networks, linguistic diversity, and varying degrees of resistance to the **Atlantic slave trade**...

### Dark Bullion EP03: CAPTIVE MARKETS

This episode investigates the developing mechanics of the **Atlantic slave trade**, emphasizing the immense suffering involved. It details methods of capture, including warfare, kidnappings, and false **accusations of witchcraft**... The episode explores the market **dynamics of assessing and trading captives**, the roles of African and European traders, and the evolution of violence... It also notes efforts by communities, like the **Tofino**, to evade enslavement.

### Dark Bullion EP04: PAPER BULLS

This episode explores how religion shaped the Atlantic slave trade. It traces the Church's reinterpretation of the **"Curse of Ham"** as justification for slavery, contrasts it with biblical passages against enslavement, and highlights the **complicity of popes** and the **Church of England**. Alongside, it examines African **spiritual traditions such as Vodou**, their survival in the Americas, and the Church of England's recent admission of its historic ties to slavery.

### Dark Bullion EP05: WOMEN OF WEST AFRICA

This episode examines the **complex and multifaceted roles of women** during the Atlantic slave trade period in West Africa. It profiles the **Mino (Agojié)**, Dahomey's all-female military regiment, and explores women's positions as **traders, political advisors, and warriors**.

It highlights three remarkable figures: **Queen Agontimé**, who rose from captivity to become a Candomblé priestess in Brazil; **Queen Nzinga Mbande** of Ndongo and Matamba, a diplomatic and military leader who resisted Portuguese colonization; and **Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita**, a religious visionary challenging both church authority and the slave trade.

The episode also details the unique practice of **woman-to-woman marriage in Dahomey**, emphasizing how women navigated survival, power, and legacy in a society where they could be simultaneously victims, traders, and architects of their own destinies.

## Dark Bullion EP06: INVENTORY

This episode examines the **barracoons** and other holding facilities where captives awaited transport across the Atlantic. It details the **systematic assessment**, categorization, and commodification of enslaved people through European traders' documentation practices. The episode draws on historical accounts like **Alexander Falconbridge's testimony** to reveal the clinical brutality of the sorting process, while exploring how the financial infrastructure developed for the slave trade (**ledgers, insurance policies, and banking systems**) would shape modern commerce. The episode also draws **parallels between gold mining and human extraction**, and contrasts European and African concepts of time.

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## EP01: A PORTAL TO OBLIVION

**[00:00:11.980] - Akissowa**

*His remembrance shall perish from the Earth, and he shall have no name in the street.*

**[00:00:27.720] - Harriet**

**Episode 1: A portal to oblivion.**

October, 1685. We're in **Ouidah**, in **Dahomey**, on the Coast of West Africa. The birthplace of Vodou. The **Kingdom of Dahomey**, covers only about 10,000 square kilometers, running down from Abomey in the north, home of the Royal Palace, to the South, where the Port of Ouidah greets the black Atlantic Ocean. The north of Dahomey borders onto future Burkina Faso, the west onto future Ghana, and the east onto future Nigeria.

**[00:01:31.780] - Christopher**

Strategic trading ports-wise, Liverpool in England is 6-8 weeks away, depending on wind conditions, the number of stops, and perils of the sea. Kingston, Jamaica, and Havana, Cuba, in the Caribbean, are 5-7 weeks away, and New Port, Rhode Island, in the Americas, is 7-9 weeks away.

**[00:01:57.690] - Harriet**

Ouidah's location and its trade networks makes it an ideal commercial center. It's well known for fish, salt, and sundry commodities. What will really put Ouidah on the map, though, is its infamous involvement in the Atlantic slave trade.

**[00:02:14.940] - Christopher**

The three European slave trading powers, **Portugal**, **England**, and **France**, are firmly established in Ouidah, seemingly maintaining amiable, although extremely complex working relations with the African rulers, but power struggles among the Europeans are weakening their overall authority.

**[00:02:36.940] - Harriet**

At the market square in Ouidah.

**[00:02:39.320] - Akissowa**

While the women are selling their wares, captives of war and slave raids are being auctioned and traded, some for cowry shells, some for rum and tobacco, many for weapons.

**[00:02:53.450] - Christopher**

These days, 15 young male Africans can be acquired in exchange for a solid European cannon.

**[00:03:07.830] - Akissowa**

The Europeans have clearly identified the twofold benefit as they see it, of trading weapons with Africa.

**[00:03:18.080] - Harriet**

First, an instant supply of enslaved people. *Divide*.

Second, arming warring tribes to fight more efficiently. *Control*.

Thereby guaranteeing an endless stream of future captives for their trade. *Conquer*.

**[00:03:35.220] - Akissowa**

The world powers will continue interfering in Africa, supplying more efficient weapons to warring communities, to divide, to control, to conquer. And when the slavery abolition period finally begins, they will take possession of the African continent. They will slice it up and colonize it, prolonging enslavement under a more acceptable name for a further 150 years.

**[00:04:09.690] - Christopher**

Back here in the market square in Ouidah, some of these poor captives are destined for a swift and perhaps merciful end. For according to Dahomey tradition, a significant number of captives are required to be sacrificed, ceremoniously beheaded in honor of the ancestors. This auction square will, some 30 years hence, become the site of the Portuguese Fort, **o Forte de São João Baptista de Ajudá**, built in collaboration with the king of Ouidah.

**[00:04:54.840] - Akissowa**

And on this same spot in the 1960s, the Ouidah Museum of History, dedicated to exploring the legacy of enslavement, will aptly be established at the Fort.

**[00:05:09.430] - Harriet**

Back to the captives. They will be marched, manacled together the 4 kilometers from the square to the barracoon, in readiness to be canoed out to the waiting slave ship. But first, they are made to participate in a Vodou ritual.

**[00:05:28.840] - Akissowa**

They are forced to circle around a giant tree with its branches like arms reaching up into the skies. Nine times around the tree for men and seven for women. The enslavers call it the tree of forgetfulness. The tree. The tree of oblivion.

**[00:05:55.620] - Christopher**

The intention of this outlandish ritual is to erase all memory of their family, all memory of their identity and their homeland, thereby rebranding them, as it were.

**[00:06:10.650] - Akissowa**

And as the captives stagger in circles around the tree, it appears to steal their memories, drawing them in through its bark, up through its roots, into its very core. The tree has become a vault.

**[00:06:28.300] - Harriet**

Of memories and mementos. And after death, the captive's amnesiac spirits are condemned to wander for eternity, lest they try to return to Dahomey to wreak vengeance on those who sold them. If the people of Ouidah could gaze into the future, this is what they would see. On the second day of June, in **the year 2024**, war. The Tree of Oblivion still stands unbowed. Night swiftly falls on Ouidah, and in the darkness comes the sudden spatter of raindrops on the leaves, and down crashes the rain. The caked Earth soon turns to dark, swirling mud.

**[00:07:30.490] - Christopher**

An angry, relentless river of rain pouring down on Ouidah throughout the night.

**[00:07:36.650] - Akissowa**

As though summoned by Heviosso, the Vodou god of thunder, lightning, and rain, to manifest his wrath.

**[00:07:51.140] - Harriet**

And the next morning, the tree will be found, the tree of oblivion, uprooted, torn asunder, and rent in twain.

**[00:08:04.080] - Christopher**

"This is no ordinary fall", will declare a town official.

**[00:08:08.180] - Harriet**

He will say, "The tree literally split in two, revealing male and female parts". And a local Vodou religious dignitary, will still be in shock 10 days after the dramatic end of the tree of Oblivion (which had been replanted in the twentieth century to commemorate the original tree ... but no less sacred).

**[00:08:23.790] - Christopher**

He will describe it as an incomprehensible phenomenon because the tree was supposed to live forever.

**[00:08:38.350] - Harriet**

We return to 1685.

**[00:08:44.290] - Akissowa**

The slave ship, named, ironically, **the Prosperous**, awaits at the Port. It is commanded by slave trader captain, Henry Clarke, on behalf of the Royal African Company.

**[00:08:58.000] - Christopher**

The Royal African Company. They will hold the distinction of having shipped the greatest number of enslaved Africans to the Americas during the Atlantic slave trade.

**[00:09:11.130] - Harriet**

You're probably wondering why such God-fearing people as the British Royal family haven't stepped in and put a stop to this, this abhorrence. Well, the company's governor and chief stockholder happens to be none other than...

**[00:09:25.640] - Christopher**

King James, the second of England.

**[00:09:31.270] - Harriet**

In his prior role as the **Duke of York**, he had many enslaved people branded with the initials D-O-Y. However, now as the **King of England**, it might not be quite as acceptable to brand people with one's initials.

**[00:09:46.600] - Christopher**

No, perhaps not.

**[00:09:51.870] - Akissowa**

*Dark, El Dorado. Black, Bullion.*

In the mid-1600s, the **Royal African Company** set up along the West Coast of Africa, better known to them as the Gold and Slave Coasts, to trade in both commodities.

*Dark Bullion.*

They installed six forts on the Gold Coast and a post in Ouidah.

*Dark Black Bullion.*

In 30 years, their income from slave trading has exceeded gold.

**[00:10:34.260] - Harriet**

At this stage of the slave trade, British slave owners back home in England are seemingly blissfully unaware of the extent of the atrocities perpetrated by their king on on their behalf.

**[00:10:47.770] - Christopher**

While King James II strengthens England's grip on the slave trade, other major European powers are doing the same.

**[00:10:56.020] - Harriet**

**France:** King Louis XIV establishes the **Code Noir**, the Black Code, creating regulations for slavery in the French Caribbean. In the interest of maintaining control and attempting to discourage uprisings, the code authorizes slave owners to punish or mutilate their human chattel.

**[00:11:17.930] - Christopher**

It also defines enslaved people as movable property. Other European empires present in the West African trade.

**Spain:** they outsource slave trading to English and Portuguese traders, allowing them to sell Africans in the Spanish Caribbean.

**Portugal:** they transport captives from mainland West Africa to slave hubs in Sao Tomé, a volcanic island, some 500 kilometers away, and Cape Verde, further afield before shipping them to Brazil.

**[00:12:01.580] - Christopher**

**The Dutch Republic:** From their forts along the Gold Coast, they export captives to their slave hub in Curaçao. **Denmark, Sweden, Brandenburg, Prussia**, all partners in crime. They set up slave trading companies and forts along the Gold Coast, from where they ship captives to plantations in the Caribbean.

**[00:12:24.670] - Harriet**

In fact, it's simpler to mention the European countries not involved in the trade. The slave rush is truly underway... Meanwhile, back in Europe, a noble woman, **Françoise Marie de Bourbon**, the youngest illegitimate daughter of **King Louis XIV**, in sumptuous attire, stands outdoors near a fountain. She is dressed in a rich green and gold gown with elaborate lace and embroidery and a sash draped across her body. She gazes outward with a poised and serene expression, her left hand resting on the head of the young page boy beside her.

**[00:13:05.590] - Harriet**

The page boy, dressed in an ornate pink and gold outfit, carries a small basket of flowers and looks up at the noblewoman admiringly. His posture and placement in the composition, establishing a physical as well as a racial hierarchy, suggest a subservient role. Typical of how black servants are often depicted in European aristocratic portraits of the period, such as the one we are looking at now. The presence of black figures asserts the wealth, status, global power, and exoticism of the sitter.



**[00:13:54.280] - Christopher**

These paintings quite literally reframe the reality of child slaves during the slave trade. *Gilt*, yet lacking of guilt.

## EP02 : WEST AFRICAN PEOPLES

**[00:00:19.230] - Harriet**

The weeks, months, necessary to cover the distances between continents in the 17th century make Africa and the Americas seem, to some European minds, like parallel worlds. This perhaps contributes to the thinking that African people are limited to traders and captives and very little else, with certainly no culture or acceptable religion. European slave traders now feel they have identified or rather stereotyped, the traits and temperaments of enslaved people captured from different parts of Africa. This, in turn, influences their market value.

**[00:01:12.280] - Christopher**

For instance, the **Yoruba people**.

**[00:01:15.830] - Harriet**

Perceived traits.

**[00:01:18.150] - Christopher**

Religious, spiritual, somewhat resistant, but generally more compliant than other slaves.

**[00:01:26.130] - Harriet**

Usage.

**[00:01:27.410] - Christopher**

A variety of tasks, including field work and skilled labor.

**[00:01:36.670] - Harriet**

The Coromantee people from the Gold Coast, which becomes Ghana.

**[00:01:41.620] - Christopher**

Perceived traits.

**[00:01:43.080] - Harriet**

Considered strong, brave, and resilient. However, they are rebellious and prone to resistance and uprisings.

*Usage:* Hard labor due to their perceived physical strength for which planters also fear them. They require harsher punishments and efforts to divide and conquer them to prevent troublemaking.

**[00:02:05.560] - Christopher**

The **Igbo people**: perceived traits more submissive and less physically strong.

**[00:02:10.730] - Harriet**

Less physically strong, prone to melancholy and suicide.

**[00:02:14.960] - Christopher**

Usage because of their perceived docility, preferred for domestic work or non-arduous tasks. However-

**[00:02:22.060] - Harriet**

"However, their high rate of suicide is a real problem."

**[00:02:26.130] - Christopher**

Complain the European slave traders.

**[00:02:35.390] - Christopher**

We know that the European traders apply their own grossly simplified ethnic categorizations, but we don't know who the peoples of West Africa really are.

**[00:02:53.440] - Harriet**

In reality, West Africa in the 17th century is a vast, complex region of Kingdoms, city States and profound traditions.

**[00:03:03.290] - Christopher**

The Yoruba, for example, are a cultural and linguistic group whose heartland lies in present day Southwestern Nigeria, with communities extending into Benin and Togo. They speak dialects of the Yoruba language with highly developed oral traditions. Their divination systems and complex art forms are already profoundly entrenched.

**[00:03:30.800] - Akissowa**

The Yoruba are not a single tribe, but rather a network of closely related polities, bound by language, spiritual belief, and cultural heritage.

**[00:03:44.590] - Harriet**

Before the Atlantic slave trade reaches its peak, these societies thrive, each with its own political systems, economies, and beliefs.

**[00:04:07.220] - Christopher**

We see many images by Dutch, Portuguese, and English traders depicting Africans, but we have to wonder how accurate they are.

**[00:04:17.910] - Harriet**

These depictions present exaggerated features based on stereotypes where the enslaved are naked or minimally dressed to justify their subjugation. Indigenous art and sculpture like Ife Bronzes, Akan Gold weights, and Benin Plaques offer more precise representations of hairstyles and adornments.

**[00:04:47.770] - Christopher**

And what about clothing?

**[00:04:50.090] - Harriet**

That depends on status, occasion, and trade access. For instance, coastal elites have access to imported textiles, while inland groups rely on local weaving traditions.

**[00:05:04.670] - Christopher**

We mostly hear about the **Fon people**.

**[00:05:07.310] - Harriet**

They are from Dahomey in the Southernmost part of West Africa. They speak Fon. Their traders, warriors, and rulers of emerging coastal Kingdoms. Their clothing, indigo-dyed cotton wraps, embroidered tunics for the elite, gold jewelry, cowry shells woven into hair.

**[00:05:36.390] - Christopher**

And what about further north?

**[00:05:39.290] - Harriet**

To the north, we have **the Mandé peoples**, which includes the **Mandingo**, descendants of the Mali Empire. They are merchants, blacksmiths, and scholars, spreading Islam and trade across West Africa. The Mandé mostly wear long tunics and silver jewelry.

**[00:06:01.480] - Christopher**

The Mandé are prominent in the gold and kola nut trade and resist large-scale European enslavement longer than many other communities. By now, it should be clear that there is a fair amount of gold in the region.

**[00:06:17.780] - Harriet**

Which was one of the key attractions for the Europeans, the Portuguese in particular, in the first place.

**[00:06:30.890] - Christopher**

And what about the Wolof and Serer ethnic groups?

**[00:06:37.710] - Harriet**

These groups control the West coastal areas of Senegambia, present day Senegal, and the Gambia. They're farmers, warriors, and fishermen, balancing Islamic influences with ancestral traditions. Wolof nobles wear braided hair woven with beads, flowing robes and gold earrings.

**[00:07:02.910] - Christopher**

Then we have the Hausa people from city states in present day Niger and Nigeria.

**[00:07:11.050] - Harriet**

They are merchants and metal workers connected to the trans-Saharan trade. They can be recognized by their richly embroidered caftans and turbans and trademark ornate shields.

**[00:07:26.050] - Akissowa**

Their warrior **queen Amina** reigned until the beginning of the 17th century. She refused to marry, preferring instead to choose temporary husbands from the legions of vanquished foes after battle.

**[00:07:44.660] - Christopher**

As for the **Fulani people**, they are tall, slender, and of distinctly lighter skin color.

**[00:07:53.120] - Akissowa**

They're nomadic herders and travel with their cattle and homes, dome-shaped houses that are easy to set up, dismantle, and load onto donkeys and horses. Local rulers often allow them access to their land for grazing. The Fulani are among the first ethnic groups in West Africa to widely adopt Islam.

**[00:08:16.010] - Harriet**

And this is where it becomes a little complex.

**[00:08:19.750] - Akissowa**

Some Fulani people begin to actively participate in the Atlantic slave trade while drawing the line at trading Muslim people.

**[00:08:31.900] - Christopher**

The **Kru people** of the Ivory Coast, seafarers and traders fiercely resisting the slave trade.

**[00:08:39.500] - Harriet**

The **Akan people** of the Gold Coast. They're predominantly gold miners and traders warriors. Their kings enrobe themselves in kente cloth, a textile of brightly-colored, handwoven strips of silk and cotton.

**[00:09:00.250] - Akissowa**

The peoples of West Africa, referred to by the Europeans simply and wrongly as Africans, speak dozens of different languages and hundreds of dialects. No single tongue unites them. And yet they understand each other. Multilingual traders move between Kingdoms, speaking Hausa in the Sahel, Diula along the Mandai roots, Fon, Akan, or Yoruba. In the market towns. Some speak five or six languages. Others trade in gestures, tone, or ritual. Meaning is not just spoken. It is bartered, signalled, interpreted, like value itself.

**[00:09:52.060] - Christopher**

All of these communities, as yet unaware of the full extent of the devastation to befall them.

**[00:09:58.800] - Harriet**

Some will resist and others will reshape their kingdom to meet the new demand.

## EP03: CAPTIVE MARKETS

**[00:00:17.330] - Akissowa**

*No words.*

**[00:00:19.690] - Harriet**

*No words.* Our story will attempt to avoid terms like cruelty and brutality. They fall short.

**[00:00:28.630] - Akissowa**

*No. No words.*

**[00:00:31.060] - Harriet**

They belong to lesser slaveries, far removed from the systematic protracted torture that transpires throughout the Atlantic slave trade.

*No. Words.*

There are no words yet created to capture the magnitude of that suffering. Opening.

**[00:00:52.080] - Christopher**

European enslavers will sometimes give African traders goods, such as weapons and alcohol, often destined for the king in advance of receiving captives. To minimize the risk of traders failing to come up with the goods, the Europeans demand pawns.

**[00:01:09.390] - Harriet**

In response, the traders will leave a relative or associate on the slave ship as a pawn. When or if the traders keep their part of the bargain, their pawn will be freed before the ship departs.

**[00:01:32.720] - Christopher**

In Dahomey and West Africa in general, kidnappings are commonplace. Motivations include political conflicts, religious practices, and economic pressures, etc. Warfare has been the primary means of capturing people for forced labor and/or ransom as bargaining chips in negotiations between rival tribes and Kingdoms. The state also sponsors bounty hunters, bandits, and brigands to carry out kidnapping raids.

**[00:02:06.440] - Harriet**

The European demand for enslaved Africans continues to rise, and so do the many justifications for capturing and selling people into slavery. Kidnapping alone is no longer enough. Accusations of witchcraft are particularly effective. Witchcraft and Vodou are often mistakenly interchangeably used. The European notion of witchcraft or sorcery is tied to

wrongdoing, evil acts, curses, and malicious intent. It is something to be feared, condemned, and punished.

**[00:02:46.970] - Akissowa**

**Vodou**, on the other hand, is a religion, complex and deeply woven into the lives of West African societies. It can be a force for harm, retribution and spiritual warfare, but more often for good, healing, Guidance, protection.

**[00:03:02.950] - Harriet**

But for those seeking captives to sell, the distinction doesn't matter. A simple accusation of witchcraft is often enough to condemn the innocent to slavery. Any misfortune, such as illness, a failed harvest, hair loss, business loss, and of course, death, can be blamed on sorcery.

**[00:03:39.640] - Akissowa**

Enslavers organize elaborate trials that ensure the accused have little or no chance to prove their innocence. There are poison tests where the accused must drink a substance. If they die, their guilt is confirmed and their family is sold.

**[00:04:01.310] - Harriet**

If they survive proving their innocence, the accuser's family faces enslavement instead. There are water ordeals where the accused is flung into a river or lagoon.

**[00:04:13.990] - Akissowa**

If they float, they are guilty.

**[00:04:17.610] - Harriet**

If they sink, they are innocent.

**[00:04:20.630] - Akissowa**

But more often than not, they drown, and their kin are sold into slavery. There are fire ordeals where the Accused must walk across hot embers or hold a burning iron. If they are really and truly innocent, they will supposedly not be burned. Some accused are simply ostracized, leaving them without protection until they are captured and sold.

**[00:04:58.940] - Harriet**

A system with only one true winner.

Women are particularly vulnerable to being accused of witchcraft. Their roles as healers or midwives make them easy targets when things go wrong.



**[00:05:15.620] - Christopher**

Coincidentally, across the Atlantic in late seventeenth century **Massachusetts**, where slavery is on the rise, the **Salem village witch hunts** and trials intensify. The goals there, too, are power, revenge, and settling grudges.

**[00:05:31.790] - Harriet**

The same Puritans who hunt American women as witches also adopt the chattel enslavement of Africans, assigning both to a status of subjugation. They reinterpret the Bible passage, *Leviticus 25:46*.

**[00:05:48.960] - Christopher**

"You can bequeath them to your children as inherited property and can make them slaves for life."

**[00:05:57.110] - Harriet**

Massachusetts codifies slavery, not just as a condition, but as movable property, a permanent hereditary legal status.

**[00:06:14.120] - Akissowa**

Back in West Africa, many begin to see the slave trade itself as a form of witchcraft, a dark sorcery through which European witches and their local collaborators enrich themselves. In addition to theft, adultery, or treason, new crimes are invented, and the unwary are drawn, sometimes tricked, into committing them. Fines are imposed, which the accused cannot pay, and so are sold into slavery, sometimes for the profit of the very judges who condemned them.

**[00:06:52.380] - Christopher**

In West Africa, the **trans-Saharan slave trade** operated for centuries before the arrival of the Atlantic or trans-Atlantic slave trade. Caravans transported captives on long, perilous journeys across the Sahara to North Africa, where they were enslaved and shipped to the Mediterranean Coast, Europe, Arabia, and the Western hemisphere.

**[00:07:20.200] - Harriet**

Additionally, local enslavement existed within West Africa. This system differed from chattel slavery, sometimes resembling forms of indentured servitude attitude, allowing for a degree of social mobility, with the possibility of children of the enslaved being born free, and some slaves even having slaves of their own.

**[00:07:43.850] - Christopher**

*Slave of my slave, of my slave, of my slave.*

**[00:07:49.230] - Harriet**

But let's not minimize or romanticize this lighter shade of slavery. It also involves harshness and coercion.

**[00:08:03.810] - Christopher**

In the slave markets of the 17th century, trade is brisk. Men, women, and children are assessed, bargained over, purchased or exchanged.

**[00:08:13.670] - Harriet**

For instance, a young man with battle scars. He's assumed to be strong, experienced, useful for the punishing labor ahead, and therefore is priced higher. A child clinging to its mother, the mother's value is often set by whether to be sold alone or as part of a lot.

**[00:08:40.090] - Christopher**

Children provide for a stock of trained from the ground up future slaves. The cost of a child is based on size, weight, and perceived age. Thus, a young child purchased cheaply will become a highly profitable commodity.

**[00:08:59.920] - Harriet**

Skilled weavers, blacksmiths. These types of captives may be reserved, and they're worth debating because the traders know they could fetch a better deal elsewhere.

**[00:09:12.610] - Christopher**

Competition isn't solely between Europeans. It also exists among African traders incited by them. Some African traders operate independently, freelancing in the trade. They navigate shifting alliances, trying to outmaneuver established merchant families who dominate the most lucrative ports.

**[00:09:33.250] - Harriet**

The currency of the trade, European cloth, firearms, beads, or iron bars, is as varied as the captives. The value of a person depends on who is trading, what's in demand, and which port they arrive at.

**[00:09:50.760] - Christopher**

A European trader who bought enslaved Africans at the market and resold in the Americas for an obscene profit can later be challenged by the buyer if they are dissatisfied with their investment. For instance, a buyer discovers one of his enslaved is mentally ill.

**[00:10:16.290] - Harriet**

Mental illness which arises in the first place from the trauma of capture and inhumane treatment in captivity.

**[00:10:22.350] - Christopher**

That enslaved person is therefore non-productive. The buyer will be within his legal rights to claim compensation against his trader for having knowingly sold him damaged goods. You will notice we tend to use the masculine here. This is a male dominated world.

**[00:10:47.510] - Harriet**

Because of the long, treacherous voyages and the rough conditions of coastal forts, European women are rarely seen on the African Coast, and certainly not at the markets. They participate remotely.

**[00:11:04.920] - Christopher**

Wealthy women in Europe invest in slave trading ventures, inherit shares in companies like the Royal African Company, and manage estates that depend on enslaved labor, they can reap the benefits of the trade without ever setting foot on an African shore.

**[00:11:27.080] - Harriet**

In contrast, female African merchants are very much present at the markets. Some belong to powerful trading families that control the flow of captives to European buyers.

**[00:11:39.530] - Akissowa**

At the auction blocks, these women and their male counterparts haggle over prices with European buyers based on age, health, and skills. The sellers inflate the value of their captives by exaggerating their strength. While the buyers attempt to lower prices by pointing out imperfections.

**[00:12:02.740] - Christopher**

The European traders now tend not to venture beyond the Coast. They prefer to rely on African merchants to bring them captives to market.

**[00:12:15.810] - Akissowa**

The coastal areas are becoming déserted as more people are sold into slavery. Entire villages are relocating inland to reduce the risk of being captured.

**[00:12:34.110] - Harriet**

One ingenious example of evading kidnapping is that of the Tofinu people, part of the Ajitado group. And so taking advantage of the Fon people's religious fears of water. They have been

constructing, since the 16th century, the **water village of Ganvié**, to escape the Fon warriors slave raids.

**[00:12:54.080] - Christopher**

The name Ganvié, in the Fon language, loosely translates to we survived or we are saved.

**[00:13:12.980] - Akissowa**

To satisfy the European traders' growing hunger for slaves, African warrior enslavers are also venturing further inland to hunt down their victims.

**[00:13:22.890] - Christopher**

The upshot is that damage and diseases are caused by marching captives longer distances to the Coast, making it increasingly difficult for traders to obtain what they consider slaves in decent condition.

**[00:13:41.990] - Akissowa**

As the slave trade period progresses and the slave numbers increase, enslavers, ever fearful of uprisings, increase the violence, which in turn makes them more fearful, thus setting a vicious circle into motion. Into perpetual motion.

*And so... Violence.*

**[00:14:05.590] - Harriet**

*Violence. Begets fear.*

**[00:14:06.760] - Akissowa**

*Begets fear. Begets violence. Begets fear. Begets violence. Begets fear.*

## EP04: PAPER BULLS

**[00:00:16.620] - Akissowa**

The Church and European theologians reinterpret the Bible...

**[00:00:23.160] - Harriet**

*Holier than thou*

**[00:00:24.970] - Akissowa**

...to argue that slavery of Black people was part of a divine plan, thereby reinforcing the notion of African inferiority, of hierarchy, and of the slave master's racial supremacy.

**[00:00:49.240] - Harriet**

The so-called **Curse of Ham** comes from the Book of Genesis, Genesis 9: 20-27, to be exact. It's important to be precise here. After Noah becomes drunk and falls asleep, his son Ham, who should have averted his eyes, looks at him naked and makes the mistake of telling his brothers. When Noah awakened and finds out, he curiously curses not Ham, but Ham's son, Canaan.

**[00:01:30.000] - Christopher**

Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants, shall he be unto his breatheron? Unto his breatheron. You see, no mention of skin color or of Africa. Although one might consider the Bible to be myth or metaphor, this story is still of the utmost importance.

**[00:02:00.000] - Harriet**

Because the Church's retelling of the Curse of Ham became a divine endorsement, a sacred excuse for slavery. In the early centuries of Christianity, the passage was mostly interpreted as a moral story of family respect.

**[00:02:23.140] - Christopher**

But beginning in the Middle Ages and accelerating with the rise of the transatlantic slave trade, the Church falsely claims that Ham was the ancestor of African peoples, and that his supposed curse justifies the perpetual enslavement of black people.

**[00:02:42.400] - Harriet**

This interpretation, later widely discredited, allows Christian empires to present slavery as not only acceptable but beneficial to the souls of the enslaved who could now be converted.

**[00:02:56.360] - Akissowa**

By contrast, the Bible passage, Exodus 21: 16, speaks with stark clarity.

**[00:03:05.920] - Akissowa**

*Whoever steals a man and sells him.*

**[00:03:14.340] - Akissowa**

*Or is found in possession of him, shall be put to death.*

**[00:03:19.560] - Akissowa**

This verse, regarded as hostile to the institution of slavery, is banned from public reading in many British colonies. It does not serve the narrative perspective.

**[00:03:51.320] - Christopher**

In the early stages of the Atlantic slave trade, the Roman Catholic Church plays a pivotal, yet contradictory role. On one hand, it issues papal bulls, explicitly endorsing the subjugation of non-Christian peoples. On the other, it sporadically appears to condemn certain forms of slavery, typically with narrow geographic or ethnic limits.

**[00:04:18.920] - Harriet**

In the late 15th century, we find **Pope Innocent VIII**, who, it has to be said, does not live up to his name. He personally receives enslaved Africans as a gift from the Spanish monarchy and distributes them among his Cardinals and Roman elites, thereby sanctioning human chattel.

**[00:05:01.160] - Akissowa**

His successor, **Pope Alexander VI**, a man not of virtue, but of vice. Before being elected Pope, he is known for his affairs, including one with a girl of noble origin who is only 15 years old, while he himself is 58. He openly acknowledges children he fathered with his mistresses...

**[00:05:25.120] - Harriet**

*including the infamous Lucrezia Borgia*

**[00:05:28.220] - Akissowa**

... and advances his family's fortunes through papal power, a thoroughly corrupt and immoral person.

**[00:05:36.780] - Harriet**

Although Alexander VI's **Papal Bulls** do not explicitly endorse the institution of slavery, they are routinely interpreted by colonial powers to reduce people to lifelong bondage in the Americas and thus validate the colonisation of the new world.

**[00:06:08.440] - Christopher**

Not all voices within the Church accept slavery without question. Some clerics, missionaries, and later theologians begin to question the morality of a system that claims to save souls while destroying lives. But these voices are often marginal. The Church of England becomes more prominent in the 18th century as Britain dominates the transatlantic trade. Anglican clergy and bishops reap rich economical benefits from enslaved people farmed out to plantations in the colonies.

**[00:06:54.480] - Harriet**

Whether Catholic or Protestant, the message is the same. Slavery can be tolerated, even sanctified, if it serves the purposes of faith and empire.

**[00:07:12.240] - Akissowa**

*Woe unto you, Scribes and pharisees, hypocrites, for ye are like unto whited sepulchers, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within, full of dead men's bones, and of all uncleanness. Even so, ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within, ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity.*

**[00:07:44.520] - Harriet**

While the Church issues paper bulls and distributes enslaved Africans among the elites. The people of Dahomey have their own Vodou gods. For example, Hevioso, God of Thunder, Lightning, and Rain. Remember, the tree of forgetfulness? ... And Sackpata, the divinity of smallpox, who can either heal or inflict both insanity and disease on humans.

**[00:08:16.300] - Akissowa**

However, even in Vodou, there is a single great creator. In Fon belief, she is **Mawu** or **Mawu-Lisa**, moon and son, mother and father in one. But people don't pray to them directly. Instead, they call on Legba, **Papa Legba**, the gatekeeper between the creator and humanity. Papa Legba stands at a spiritual crossroads and gives... or denies permission to speak with the spirits. He is believed to speak all human languages.

**[00:09:02.360] - Christopher**

In colonial reframing, missionaries and scholars interpret Vodou through a Christian lens, attempting to remap each spirit onto a saint or deity. They come with their scripture, their

schools, their medicine, and brute force. They declare, "Our God is stronger than yours, for he commands Kings, builds ships, and conquers empires".

**[00:09:30.000] - Harriet**

Enslaved Africans carry more than their labour across the Atlantic. They bring with them spiritual traditions. In the Americas, these beliefs reappear as Vodou in Haiti, **Santerio in Cuba**, and **Condomble in Brazil**.

**[00:09:55.080] - Christopher**

Appearing to adopt Christianity serves as a protective strategy, a way to preserve their own gods behind the appearance of orthodoxy. They reinterpret the Catholic saints as representations of their own African deities and use processions to mask their possession rituals. In this way, a fusion emerges. Part survival, part resistance, part reinvention.

**[00:10:28.340] - Harriet**

And centuries later, the **Church of England** begins to examine its past. In 2019, it launches an internal investigation into its financial ties to the slave trade. What follows is a formal admission of guilt, but not a full one. The Church acknowledges a specific case, where in the 18th century, **Queen Anne's Bounty**, a Church fund set up to support poor clergy, invested heavily in the South Sea Company, a company trading in enslaved people.

**[00:11:01.920] - Akissowa**

Some argue that the company's ventures in slavery were unprofitable or short-lived, but over 34,000 Africans were transported by the **South Sea Company**. And to investors, the venture offered the same motivation as any other enterprise, return on capital, whatever the cost. The Church of England does not mention its broader entanglement and complicity with the institution of slavery as a whole.

**[00:11:32.060] - Harriet**

As a gesture of repair, the Church first proposes a £100 million fund. That figure is quickly revised to £1 billion, which is a wish, not an allocated sum. And still, historical revisionists attempt to minimize, deny, or dilute the Church's historical responsibility, often with selectively used data and unsourced claims. They question the research and downplay the connections. They claim that the ties were too distant, the involvement too minor, and the damage done too long ago.

**[00:12:14.300] - Akissowa**

*Whoa, Unto you, Scribes and pharisees, hypocrites. For ye make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind-thou blind pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also. Woe unto you.*



## EP05: WOMEN OF WEST AFRICA

**[00:00:09.160] - Dawn**

Mother, daughter, trader, fighter, Queen,

**[00:00:18.880] - Dawn**

Women of West Africa, during the Trade.

**[00:00:24.020] - Dawn**

Throughout the Atlantic slave trade period, West African women are involved in all aspects of daily life. Unconfined to traditional gender roles, they may also be traders, political figures ... Or warriors.

**[00:00:42.740] - Christopher**

At the crack of dawn, they begin training in the palace courtyards.

**[00:00:51.480] - Dawn**

Come closer now.

**[00:00:52.700] - Christopher**

They master the cutlass, the club, the razor-sharp machete.

**[00:00:57.500] - Dawn**

Their silent footfalls.

**[00:01:02.900] - Christopher**

Their exercises include scaling thorn walls, climbing over barriers of acacia branches that can tear skin and cloth.

**[00:01:12.900] - Dawn**

Listen.

**[00:01:17.400] - Christopher**

In battle, they advance in formation, some carrying muskets acquired through trade, others wielding traditional weapons with precision. European observers describe them moving like shadows through tall grass, [Dawn: And ... as if out of ... thin air] appearing suddenly and surrounding the enemy's camp.

**[00:01:52.780] - Dawn**

In Dahomey tradition, women have long been hunters and guardians. These particular women, extremely disciplined fighters, are known as **Mino, Our Mothers**, also referred to as **Agojié**. They are an all-female military regimen serving Dahomey from the 17th to 19th centuries.

**[00:02:22.860] - Christopher**

These women are recruited from sources such as foreign captives, free Dahomean women, and the **king's wives, known as Ahosi**. Some volunteer, others are forcibly enrolled.

**[00:02:40.260] - Dawn**

Yes, well, particularly if males complain to the king about their behaviour.

**[00:02:46.720] - Christopher**

Later European accounts exaggerate these roles into exotic myths of Amazons. But these women, warriors of West Africa, aren't mere curiosities. They're part of societies where survival demands every available strength.

**[00:03:11.160] - Dawn**

When Dahomey falls under French protection at the end of the 19th century, the women's regiment is dissolved, fading out a long line of female military tradition.

**[00:03:32.360] - Dawn**

Along the Coast, women help to sustain the trade, selling food, cloth, and water to departing ships. In some cases, they act as intermediaries, connecting European merchants with local chiefs. A few enter strategic unions, such as temporary marriages, giving foreigners access to local networks in exchange for goods and influence. Some women inherit or exchange enslaved people through marriage and dowries.

**[00:04:15.040] - Dawn**

In the palaces, they may be queen mothers, princesses, or advisors influencing wars, the fate of captives, and entire communities. In the markets, women remain the central figures of authority. They establish the price of goods and negotiate with both African and European buyers, at times competing with one another in the trade.

**[00:04:56.360] - Christopher**

Their influence extends far beyond the stalls affecting the flow of goods and of people.

**[00:05:05.580] - Christopher**

Thus...

**[00:05:06.680] - Dawn**

thus, the paradox.

**[00:05:09.340] - Christopher**

During the Atlantic Trade Period, a woman, at different stages of her life, can be victim or trader.

**[00:05:18.380] - Dawn**

And in times of crisis, they take up weapons themselves.

**[00:05:22.340] - Christopher**

In certain communities, the women become warriors, defending their towns and villages when the men are away at war.

**[00:05:33.960] - Dawn**

Among the Yoruba people, women may also accompany armies as camp defenders or suppliers. Their presence in battle isn't symbolic. It is crucial.

**[00:05:48.060] - Dawn**

In precolonial Dahomey, **male and female equality** is apparent in all facets of society. In politics, economics, religion, military, and of course, enslavement. This surprisingly progressive, gender-equal society is clearly inspired by the **importance of Mawu-Lisa** to the Dahomeans.

**[00:06:17.920] - Christopher**

According to Dahomean legend, in the beginning, there was Mawu-Lisa, the God-goddess of two faces. Mawu, the female side.

**[00:06:28.120] - Dawn**

Whose eyes are the moon.

**[00:06:29.460] - Christopher**

Whose eyes are the moon. And Lisa, the male side.

**[00:06:33.060] - Christopher**

Whose eyes are the sun. Whose eyes are the sun. The duality Mawu-Lisa...

**[00:06:38.620] - Dawn**

... represents the central balance of the universe.

**[00:06:53.060] - Dawn**

Female servants, field-hands, and carriers are often deemed more valuable than their male counterparts are.

**[00:07:00.560] - Christopher**

They're especially prized as porters, believed to be able to endure heavier loads over longer distances than men.

**[00:07:09.940] - Dawn**

In Abomey, the capital of Dahomey, princesses and noble women barter enslaved captives.

**[00:07:16.900] - Christopher**

But here, fortunes can be dramatically reversed.

**[00:07:20.120] - Dawn**

And a woman can find herself in diametrically opposing roles in society.

**[00:07:24.580] - Christopher**

Let us meet three of the most remarkable female heroes of West Africa from the Atlantic slave trade period.

### ***Agontimé***

**[00:07:40.240] - Dawn**

First, we have **Agontimé**.

**[00:07:44.080] - Christopher**

During a war with the Northern territories, she is captured and brought to Dahomey. Her expertise in ritual and medicine quickly becomes renowned, enabling her to rise up through Dahomean society.

**[00:08:10.620] - Dawn**

Dahomean nobility prefer Outlander women of **the Mahi people** from the north, they believe they make better wives and healthier mothers.

**[00:08:19.920] - Christopher**

When the reigning **king, Agonglo**, learns of her, he makes her one of his wives. Thus, she becomes **Queen Agontimé**, mother of the **future King Ghezo**. But her position at the palace will not last

**[00:08:38.860] - Dawn**

We can find no surviving portrait of Agontimé, but oral histories describe her as adorned in indigo cloth and coral beads, with hair beautifully braided in the royal style. However, we know her more for her legacy than for her look.

**[00:09:03.500] - Dawn**

Time passes at the palace, and...

**[00:09:07.860] - Christopher**

A conspiracy leads to the assassination of King Agonglo. His son, born of another wife, ascends to the throne. The newly crowned son rounds up suspects in his father's assassination and sells them as slaves to Portuguese traders.

**[00:09:32.660] - Dawn**

Among them is Queen Agontime, who, beaten, banished, and back to square one, is sent to Brazil.

**[00:09:43.200] - Dawn**

Now considered fallen nobility, Na Agontimé, arrives in **Salvador de Bahia**. But once again, thanks to her spiritual powers, she, like the proverbial Phoenix, rises.

**[00:10:00.000] - Christopher**

No longer a Queen nor a slave, but now a priestess. She establishes a center for **Candomblé**. A blending of Portuguese Roman Catholicism, and traditional religions. Brought to Brazil by enslaved Africans. Candomblé will endure to the present day.

**[00:10:28.980] - Dawn**

But, what do we know of Agontimé's life following her rebirth in Brazil?

**[00:10:34.680] - Christopher**

Well, there are conflicting reports of her escape back home to Dahomey.

## ***Nzinga***

**[00:10:55.680] - Dawn**

Agontimé is not alone as a powerful female figure of the slave trade period. We also have Nzinga or **Nginga Mbande**.

**[00:11:10.500] - Christopher**

Far from Dahomey, on the West central Coast of Southern Africa...

**[00:11:14.460] - Dawn**

In present day Angola.

**[00:11:15.610] - Christopher**

... lie the territories **Ndongo and Matamba**. Here Nzinga Mbanda or Nzinga Anna de Souza Mbanda, to use her full Christian baptism name, is born into the ruling class.

**[00:11:29.460] - Dawn**

As a child, Nzinga is favoured by her father. She is not considered a rival heir, so she can therefore receive his full attention, including military training. He teaches her to fight, and she shows early skill with the battle axe, the weapon of choice of Ndongo warriors.

**[00:11:56.300] - Christopher**

Nzinga is taught to read and write in Portuguese by visiting missionaries. She later becomes Queen Nzinga Mbanda of Ndongo and Matamba. At this stage, the Portuguese colonists are continually advancing inland from their coastal base at Luanda.

**[00:12:20.940] - Dawn**

However, Nzinga isn't a simple consort or lesser queen dependent on male authority. She is a respected sovereign. And Portuguese records even refer to her as King, a title she embraces to assert her authority in a male dominated world.

**[00:12:49.620] - Christopher**

Accounts, mainly from Portuguese chroniclers and Jesuit missionaries, describe her maintaining a harem of young men.

**[00:12:59.380] - Dawn**

All dressed as women.

**[00:13:04.840] - Dawn**

In European engravings, Nzinga is depicted as tall and slender with an upright bearing and sharp gaze. She is shown in feathered headdress, bow or spear, in hand, dressed both as warrior and queen. In council, she appears robed in rich fabrics and shimmering gold.

**[00:13:37.420] - Christopher**

She proves herself a formidable diplomat, negotiating treaties while also waging war... When necessary. At her first recorded audience with the Portuguese governor in 1622, it is said she refused to sit on a mat placed at his feet.

**[00:13:55.700] - Dawn**

A position of submission. Instead, she orders one of her attendants to kneel using his back as a chair, enabling her to meet the governor, eye to eye.

**[00:14:12.360] - Dawn**

And so, Nzinga plays a long political game. She converts to Christianity and adopts the name **Dona Ana De Souza** in honour of her Portuguese godparents, when it suits her diplomacy. But she later allies with the Dutch against Portuguese.

**[00:14:31.400] - Christopher**

She reorganises Matamba into a refuge for escaped captives and continues fighting for decades. Her reign shows the impossible choices African rulers face, trading captives for weapons, resisting European encroachment when possible, and adapting to survive.

***Beatriz Kimpa Vita***

**[00:15:07.000] - Dawn**

Our next African female hero is **Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita**.

**[00:15:13.140] - Christopher**

We are in the Kingdom of Kongo (present day Angola).

**[00:15:21.080] - Dawn**

In 1684, Beatriz Kimpa Vita is born into a noble family. Her father is a regional commander the standard of the King's army.

**[00:15:33.040] - Christopher**

In the fractured Kingdom of Kongo, weakened by decades of civil wars that feed captives into the slave trade machine, Beatriz Kimpa Vita as a young woman, is regarded as a religious visionary.

**[00:15:51.120] - Christopher**

Her nobility status allows her to study, and she receives Catholic teachings from the local Capuchin missionaries.

**[00:16:00.000] - Dawn**

By this stage of the slave trade, Portuguese missionaries have largely succeeded in converting the Kingdom of Kongo population to Catholicism. Kings are crowned with Christian rights. Nobles bear Christian names and churches are widespread.

**[00:16:18.640] - Christopher**

After experiencing visions, Beatriz Kimpa Vita declares,

**[00:16:23.580] - Dawn**

*Santo Antonio de Pádua, fala através de mim.*

**[00:16:30.540] - Dawn**

*Saint Anthony of Padua, speaks through me.*

**[00:16:37.340] - Christopher**

As a preacher in the early 1700s, she calls for the reunification of Kongo's rival factions and condemns the enslavement of fellow Congolese as a sin.

**[00:16:49.220] - Dawn**

Her movement, known as Antonianism, mixing Christian and Kongo beliefs, gathers followers across the kingdom.

**[00:16:57.100] - Christopher**

She proclaims that Jesus and the saints are African and are located in Kongo itself. Her aim is to end the civil wars that have been plaguing the kingdom since the arrival of the Portuguese.

**[00:17:19.820] - Dawn**

But while on missionary work with a man she looks upon as her protector and guardian angel, she, despite her teachings of chastity, has a relationship with him, and she becomes pregnant.



**[00:17:34.180] - Dawn**

Thus, she begins to doubt the validity of her possession by St. Anthony, and therefore of her **Antonianism movement**. Kimp Vita believes that this sin has stripped her of virtue and could lead to her eventual downfall.

**[00:17:57.260] - Dawn**

Her Antonianism movement is supported by important people such as the King's wife. But one fears that things might not go well for Beatriz Kimpa Vita.

**[00:18:09.840] - Christopher**

Things do not go well for her. To her opponents, she is a dangerous heretic running around loose, challenging both church authority and local rulers who profit from the trade.

**[00:18:27.080] - Dawn**

Kimpa Vita's political influence is a threat to King Pedro IV and the Portuguese administration that support him. At the age of just 22, she is arrested, along with her partner and their newborn child. The order comes from the king, urged on by Portuguese Capuchin monks.

**[00:18:52.240] - Christopher**

Kimpa Vita is burned at the stake for heresy. Her child is also required to be destroyed, but its life is spared. It is baptized and given to the church.

**[00:19:11.500] - Dawn**

According to missionary reports, her message attracted entire villages. Her words were spreading fast. Unfortunately, far too fast for her own good.

**[00:19:24.260] - Dawn**

There are no existing portraits, but later depictions imagine her clothed in white, head covered, slender and youthful.

**[00:19:38.300] - Christopher**

Beatriz Kimpa Vita is one of the few female voices remembered from this period. A Prophetess seeking to counter the disintegration of her people at the height of the slave trade.

## ***Woman to Woman Marriage***

**[00:19:55.560] - Dawn**

We return to Dahomey. One of the particularities here is the practice where a woman takes another woman as a wife.

**[00:20:12.420] - Christopher**

These marriages are more common among wealthy women of noble and royal families.

**[00:20:18.940] - Dawn**

They do not necessarily imply homosexual relations. In a society where lineage and inheritance are essential, **woman to woman marriage** enables women to ensure ensure their family name survives, their property remains secure, and their influence endures.

**[00:20:37.700] - Christopher**

A prosperous but childless woman can pay bride dues for a wife, or in some cases, for several wives. That wife might then bear children fathered by a trusted male (a relative or companion). Those children would not belong to him. They would be considered the offspring of the woman-husband. Husband and heirs to her compound and her wealth.

**[00:21:07.780] - Dawn**

There is no discredit attached to such unions. On the contrary, the woman husband is respected for the size of her household and the people under her authority. This is another example of how in a world governed by survival of the fittest, Dahomean women found ways to adapt and thrive.

**[00:21:37.320] - Dawn**

Warriors, priestesses, Queens negotiating with foreign powers or woman-husbands, creating their own dynasties. These exceptional women, were architects of their own survival. However, most women of West Africa, during the slave trade ... had no such power, no such choices. Yet, they too, left their mark.

## EP06 : INVENTORY

### **[00:00:00.000] - Robinson**

Inventory: an itemized list of current assets such as, one, a list of goods on hand, two, a catalog of the property of an individual or estate.

### **[00:00:19.100] - Robinson**

#### **Episode 6, Inventory.**

**1685.** We return to the Port of Ouidah, in Dahomey. Here, enslaved people captured further inland encounter a multitude of troubling and unfamiliar sights, sounds and sensations. The infinite expanse of the Atlantic Ocean, the booms and rumbles from across the water as if from some far-off, restless creature. A massive vessel as imposing as a fortress, inexplicably managing to float on the waves. Men with straight hair and faces white as though their skin has been removed. The fierce barking of these pale men in incomprehensible foreign tongues.

### **[00:01:20.640] - Robinson**

And rumour has it, highly likely spread by the pale men themselves, that they are known to cook and eat their victims. Out there, across the water, at a safe distance from the sandbanks, slave ships watch and wait. Due to insufficient quotas of captives, departures must often be postponed. The captives collected so far must therefore remain longer in storage, in limbo, in the barracoons.

### **[00:02:01.720] - Rosemary**

From the Portuguese barracão and the Spanish barracón. Barracoon: a large shed or barrack. Such a simple word. These fortified enclosures dot the Coast. Some are attached to European forts and built of stone with thick walls and iron gates. Others are simpler structures of wooden palisades with thatched roofs, constructed inland near trading posts.

### **[00:02:37.940] - Robinson**

Here in Ouidah, barracoons stand within walking distance of the sea. At Anomabo, on the gold Coast to the west, they cluster near Cape Coast Castle, one of the largest fortresses on the African Coast.

### **[00:02:55.280] - Rosemary**

What began in 1653 as a Swedish timber trading post, modest and provisional, has become, 30 years later, a formidable British stronghold. Stone walls of imported brick, governor's apartments. First captured from the Swedish by the Danes before being seized by the British.

**[00:03:20.490] - Robinson**

The British have been here 20 long years already, long enough to rebuild, to expand, to make themselves at home.

**[00:03:30.760] - Rosemary**

As the slave trade intensifies, they adapt the architecture accordingly. Dungeons that once stored gold and goods now store people. Space beneath the bastions, dark, dark, and hairless. Redesigned for maximum capacity, the British will hold thousands of enslaved people here before transporting them to the Americas, the industry of waiting, where trading posts become prisons. Cape Coast Castle will remain standing in present day West Africa, a testament to European permanence.

**[00:04:27.300] - Robinson**

At Bonny, in the bite of Biafra, To the east, barracoons line the River Delta.

**[00:04:35.100] - Rosemary**

Inside the barracoon, the captives are divided up. Men separated from women, women from children. Some women are permitted to continue nursing infants. Men are shackled together in groups.

**[00:04:50.320] - Robinson**

The spaces are cramped, shrouded in darkness, with faintest shafts of daylight skittering through gaps in the walls and roofs, like a grotesque painting. The floors of bare earth and stone grow filthy.

**[00:05:13.040] - Robinson**

Lizards.

**[00:05:14.160] - Rosemary**

*The orange-headed agama lizard.*

**[00:05:16.900] - Robinson**

Scuttle...

**[00:05:17.540] - Rosemary**

*A sign...*

**[00:05:18.120] - Robinson**

..hither and thither.

**[00:05:19.410] - Rosemary**

*...of fortune or of ill omen.*

**[00:05:23.380] - Robinson**

Disease spreads at an alarming rate. The guards are African, lured and corrupted by European remuneration. Some are hardened soldiers of the local royalty. Others are hired hands, mercenaries who understand enough Portuguese or English to take orders. They are armed with whips and keys.

**[00:05:55.080] - Rosemary**

Inside the barricoon...

**[00:05:57.280] - Robinson**

Languages collide. A Yoruba woman may find herself attached next to a Mandé woman.

**[00:06:06.080] - Rosemary**

An Igbo child might call out for a mother who speaks a Akan.

**[00:06:11.280] - Robinson**

Communication passes through gestures and randomly shared words. But mostly there is confusion inside the barricoon.

**[00:06:21.380] - Rosemary**

And the only understanding fully shared is that of... Captivity.

**[00:06:40.420] - Robinson**

The waiting can last days, weeks, or months. Each day, the captives are taken outside briefly and forced to exercise to remain strong enough for the arduous voyage ahead.

**[00:07:00.000] - Rosemary**

They are fed once, perhaps twice a day. Yam's boiled into mush, sometimes cassava, occasionally dried fish, rank with age.

**[00:07:14.400] - Robinson**

Water is scarce and often foul. The food portions are calculated to sustain just enough strength for the voyage... No more.

The greater the number of captives brought over to the Americas, alive, the greater the bonus for the captain.

**[00:07:38.080] - Rosemary**

During the moments of exercise, some will attempt to escape.

**[00:07:44.140] - Robinson**

If a man breaks free and scrambles toward the forest, he may be lucky or be quickly caught and made an example of as a warning to the others. Some resist in quieter ways, a direct gaze at the captor, forcing them to guiltily look away, a refusal to eat, choosing to starve sooner than submit.

**[00:08:14.740] - Rosemary**

They share their names, repeating them over and over and over. Repeating them *like prayers*. In the hope that someone will remember them Some will not survive the barricoon.

**[00:08:39.680] - Robinson**

Children succumb to feavers. The weak sicken first, and the elderly cannot endure the months of waiting. The remaining captives understand that they, too, could be next. The traders log these losses in tidy columns of their ledgers and make adjustments. Slave ship departures are postponed. More captives are brought from inland, and the barracoons fill, the space inside shrinks, and the time stretches.

**[00:09:26.560] - Robinson**

This, dear listener, is the waiting ground, neither home nor destination. Limbo.

**[00:09:42.980] - Rosemary**

**The Business.**

**[00:09:53.020] - Rosemary**

Outside the barracoons and the holding fortresses, the sorting process is underway. European factors move among the captives, assessing each body as they would livestock, height, weight, visible scars, teeth, eyes, the sorting, muscle tone, the assessment, the calculations.

**[00:10:15.980] - Robinson**

These practices, here in 1685, will remain unchanged for a hundred years. A century later, a surgeon named Alexander Falconbridge who served on multiple slaving voyages, will describe them in precise detail in his account of the Slave Trade on the Coast of Africa.

**[00:10:40.720] - Amy**

Falconbridge writes... *When the Negroes whom the black traders have to dispose of are shown to the European purchasers, they first examine them relative to their age.*

**[00:10:53.020] - Rosemary**

Men are valued highest. Between 15 and 30, good for plantation labor.

**[00:11:00.980] - Robinson**

Women are next. Childbearing age is preferred, obviously. Then come the children. The very young are risky investments. If they don't survive, they represent a loss.

**[00:11:14.390] - Rosemary**

But if they do, they symbolize decades of unpaid labor for each of their successive owners.

**[00:11:22.760] - Robinson**

They are worth their weight in gold.

**[00:11:31.460] - Rosemary**

The elderly, the visibly ill, and the disabled are a problem.

**[00:11:37.400] - Amy**

Falconbridge: *they* (the European purchasers), *then minutely inspect their persons and inquire into the state of their health. If they are afflicted with any infirmity or are deformed or have bad eyes or teeth, if they are lame or weak in the joints or distorted in the back.*

**[00:11:58.140] - Robinson**

In short... They are rejected. This does not bode well for them.

**[00:12:05.860] - Amy**

Falconbridge: *The traders frequently beat those Negroes which are objected to by the captains and use them with great severity and have frequently been known to put them to death.*

**[00:12:34.140] - Robinson**

Once the selections have been made, inventory and verified by the chief factor, property must be marked. One wonders how the trauma of this moment and the absolute uncertainty of what lies ahead impacts the psyche of the captives.

**[00:12:53.460] - Amy**

*Falconbridge: it frequently happens that the Negroes on being purchased by the Europeans become raving mad, and many of them die in that state, particularly the women.*

**[00:13:08.000] - Robinson**

Falconbridge continues.

**[00:13:09.980] - Amy**

*While I was one day ashore at Bonny, I saw a middle-aged stout woman who had been brought down from affair the preceding day, chained to the post of a black trader's door in a state of furious insanity.*

**[00:13:25.460] - Robinson**

The barbarism involved is considered a mere byproduct of the process. Ownership has to be clear at all costs. Each trader has his mark, his ensign.

**[00:13:46.100] - Rosemary**

The timing of departures from the coasts is carefully calculated. The peak of the Yam harvests in West Africa falls between August and November. Slave ship captives favour this season to depart with their stock of captives and provisions for the long voyage ahead.

**[00:14:18.460] - Robinson**

European management of the trade is ruthlessly efficient. In correspondence between factors and company directors in Europe, captives are not people. They are units. Inventories contain such dry information as...

**[00:14:36.540] - Amy**

... estimated values, losses to date, net value after losses, etc, and evoke challenges such as dysentery, fever, and attempts to escape. And they define measurements such as a healthy young man, one prime unit, the standard, a woman, three quarters value of the male unit, a child, one third...



**[00:14:58.600] - Robinson**

These meticulous records...

**[00:15:00.000] - Amy**

*... to one-half, depending on age,*

**[00:15:02.380] - Robinson**

... will one day serve to condemn the trade they so conscientiously condoned. The ledgers being kept at Cape Coast Castle and Ouidah are among the earliest systematic records of the Atlantic slave trade to survive the centuries.

**[00:15:24.380] - Rosemary**

The Royal African Company's documentation, which began in 1684, just a year ago, will be held for posterity at the National Archives in Britain. They include inventories, wage records, and lists of the living and the dead. A Royal African Company record entry (dated 1708) on the subject of the falsities and mischiefs of the private trader will read:

**[00:16:00.120] - Amy**

*'tis alleged by the company that the natives on the Coast enjoy the whole benefit of the trade, taking advantage of different traders to advance the prices of Negroes and their own goods, and to depreciate our merchandises. And they add in discourse, the price of Negroes is now about £10 per head in Africa, whereas formerly, it was not above three.*

**[00:16:31.780] - Robinson**

The company clearly did not recognise the irony of their report.

**[00:16:38.420] - Rosemary**

The report will also note :

**[00:16: 38.420] - Amy**

*the product of negroes, then Purchased on the Coast for £29,360 is £4,083, out of which take off the common mortality during the time of purchase and term of the voyage, which in this time of open trade by delays, is seldom less than 15%, which is 732 negroes.*

**[00:17:16.060] - Rosemary**

During the voyage, common mortality, seldom less than 15%.

**[00:17:30.000] - Robinson**

The Richard Rawlinson Correspondence is a collection of documents from these same forts containing over 3,000 letters detailing disputes and daily operations. These records survived because they had to. Official company documents were required by shareholders, insurers, and the Crown.

**[00:17:58.680] - Rosemary**

Journals, thickly bound in leather to protect them from time and the elements.

**[00:18:04.220] - Robinson**

They are preserved not as historical testimony, but as corporate records.

**[00:18:09.900] - Rosemary**

The names, numbers, transactions, iniquities in beautiful handwriting. To protect their financial interests and investments, trading companies establish insurance policies against all manner of eventualities, the storing period, dead captives, the crossing and beyond.

**[00:18:37.820] - Robinson**

The traders recover their investment either way through delivery or through insurance claims.

**[00:18:46.360] - Rosemary**

The financial instruments being perfected here, such as ledgers to track human cargo, mortality rates, and profits, will be used on all sides of the Atlantic.

**[00:18:59.180] - Robinson**

Insurance underwriting for enslaved people will become one of America's earliest forms of industrial risk management. The meticulous bookkeeping required to track captives as commodities will inform accounting practices for generations to come.

**[00:19:20.140] - Rosemary**

Over in London, the Bank of England, founded in 1694 to finance Britain's Wars, will provide commercial facilities for the Atlantic Trade, such as current accounts for slave traders, overdrafts, loans to Britain's trading enterprises, the East India Company, Royal African Company, and South Sea Company. At one point, the bank will own two plantations in the Americas, including their enslaved workforce, held as security on an unpaid debt.

**[00:20:10.440] - Robinson**

The bank's governors and directors include slave traders and plantation owners. Their wealth generated from slavery, becomes bank stock, the capital that underwrites Britain's military operations, protecting these selfsame trade routes.

**[00:20:33.660] - Robinson**

Do you remember? We spoke about how the British and the Portuguese, after initially being attracted by the discovery of gold along the Coast, eventually find slave trading more profitable? The correlation between both trades is profound.

**[00:20:51.680] - Rosemary**

On the gold Coast, gold dust is panned from rivers, alluvial mining, grain by grain, and measured with brass weights.

**[00:21:00.000] - Robinson**

These raw materials are extracted, stored temporarily, and shipped to Europe for refinement into coins, into bullion.

**[00:21:11.400] - Robinson**

On the slave Coast, human beings are also extracted, measured, valued, stored temporarily in barracoons, and then shipped abroad. Raw material refined for labor, for productivity.

**[00:21:27.840] - Rosemary**

Both trades use the same infrastructure, the same forts, the same ledges, the same careful accounting. Insurance policies for human cargo use the same language as those covering gold shipments. The Bank of England's records make no distinction.

**[00:21:46.120] - Robinson**

Both are assets.

**[00:21:47.410] - Rosemary**

Both generate returns. Even the coins bear witness to the connection.

**[00:21:53.400] - Robinson**

The Guinea minted from Gold Coast gold.

**[00:21:56.370] - Rosemary**

Marked with the Royal African Company's elephant symbol. The same company shipping both commodities.

**[00:22:04.160] - Robinson**

Gold transformed into currency.

**[00:22:06.700] - Rosemary**

Human beings transformed into wealth. The same alchemy, the same meticulous documentation The same, the same, the same, the same, the same.

**[00:22:32.360] – Rosemary : Time.**

**[00:22:35.820] - Rosemary**

The European traders and colonisers speak constantly of the future, far-flung future markets, contracts, and profits. Future lands to confiscate and colonise.

**[00:22:48.060] - Robinson**

Time for them is a grid extending endlessly forward.

**[00:22:52.160] - Rosemary**

For the captives, time is the past and the now, rooted in what is experienced or the immediate future, the coming harvest.

**[00:23:01.040] - Robinson**

The next moon, the rains.

**[00:23:04.980] - Rosemary**

For them, soon means when circumstances allow, not a fixed point on a European trader's pocket watch. Here, the traders impose their timeline, the crossing time, the decades and centuries time.

**[00:23:22.260] - Robinson**

The new world time.

**[00:23:26.120] - Rosemary**

This is all meaningless to the captives, and so they wait... In limbo time.