THE UNFINISHED Conversations Series



Do Southink the legacy of tacial savery and colonialism impacts you today? What does freedom mean to you? Orkadiéré, Senegal, 2021

THE UNFINISHED Conversations Series

An Experiment in Curatorial Practice

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We are giving you the responsibility to tell our stories to the World.

Conversations in Orkadiéré, Fouta Region, Senegal – June 19th, 2019.

Director's Note

It was a most unusual occurrence. Ordinary people in a village in Senegal with long histories of slavery and colonialism, making it clear that they were willing to tell the stories of their lives to strangers on the condition that these strangers, in turn, make these stories known to the world. The proclamation of "tell our stories to the world" was a desire of the formerly enslaved and colonized not just for a voice but about the reclamation of history—of untold, often erased histories. It was an understanding that history-telling is about making human stories because it is humans who make history through our activities, putting our stamp on time, not just marking it but giving it meaning and significance.

The historical processes of racial slavery and the European colonial project from the 15th century onwards operated not as two separate social systems of domination but rather had a deep relationship to each other, feeding off each other. It was the various European colonial projects which established the silver mining plantations in Latin America, so that by the late 16th century, silver mining impacted the European economy and (for a while) Spain became the dominant European colonial power as silver became the currency of choice in China and Europe. The Spanish operated the world's largest silver mine in Bolivia, in a place called Cerro Rico de Potosí. There, they created systems of forced labor first upon the Indigenous peoples and then upon Africans who they enslaved. The early European colonial project brought, in its wake, slavery in many forms. We are now familiar with these various histories and how, within

these colonial projects, race-making became the foundation of the different colonial societies, providing the glue of belonging and life meanings to the white inhabitants. Racial slavery in the Americas (New World) was not just a system of racial domination of forced labour, which operated, as W. E. B. Du Bois would make clear, under a system of "arbitrary will" of the master. It was a system of domination in which forms of human classification become an archive through which conceptions of inferiority, subhuman and ideas of disposability were drawn from to become the overarching common sense of the dominant masters and elite. In such a context, history as a human activity and its making was not only erased for the racialized and colonized—they did not exist. Hence, one of the most important philosophers of Western thought could proclaim that Africans had no history. Here, we might also wish to recall the recent statements by some world political leaders that Africa and Africans are less than normal countries and had no history until Europeans arrived.

With such a context, history becomes one ground from which the profound struggles of the previously enslaved and colonized launch their attempts to bring themselves into the world. It becomes part of their world-making. Such activities will, in the end, recast conventional histories that we are all commonly taught. However, when we shift our focus from the colonial archive with its godlike authority—even when we "read it against the grain," and turn our eyes to another archive, that of the oral and memory—not only are different stories foregrounded but the nuance concrete process

of history within a group, village or community reveals multilayered moments of human activity. Interestingly, we might then be forced to think about new categories of people's activities. And to think of these categories in languages which we have not yet fully grasped.

The Unfinished Conversations Series project, as it unfolded, became a historical and curatorial practice. As conventionally understood, the work of curation involves selection and interpretation. In such a practice, the curator is the supreme authority. In The Unfinished Conversation Series, this practice was overturned. Instead, we were guided by the multiple stories told. Secondly, the project created a new archive. Working with the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History & Culture exhibition team, we also had to find ways in which the traveling exhibition itself could integrate these untold stories as visual testimonies about the histories of racial slavery and colonialism. This double work of creating a new archive while integrating it into a historical exhibition made the project a distinctive one.

This present exhibition draws from the vast archive that the Simmons Center has attempted to collect over the past years. When completed, it might be the single largest archive of voices and memories about slavery and colonialism. There are many things unique about this archive, but one stands out. Its rich intellectual content belongs to the over 150 individuals all over the world who were interviewed. They own the copyrights to their thoughts and voices.

Recognizing that their memories and voice would now be firmly theirs, the group of over 50 people that night in a village in Senegal proclaimed that the Simmons Center now had a responsibility to make the world aware of these different histories. It is within that spirit that we present this exhibition. The exhibition could not have happened without the sustained and remarkable work of Ph.D. candidate Yannick Etoundi.

ANTHONY BOGUES

Director of the Ruth J. Simmons Center for the Study of Slavery & Justice, Brown University



Mamoudou Dembel Guissé, griot (storyteller, historian and musician) interviewed in Orkadiéré, Senegal, in 2021. Dembal Guissé passed away in 2022.

"This project is an invitation to reflect on and learn from the past in order to understand today, as we envision a different tomorrow."

In Slavery's Wake: Making Black Freedom in the World. Edited by Paul Gardullo, Johanna Obenda, and Anthony Bogues. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Books, 2024. (pp.19)

Introduction

Racial slavery and European colonialism were foundational planks of the making of the modern world. However, that historical story has yet to be fully told. Catalyzed by the Ruth J. Simmons Center for the Study of Slavery & Justice in 2013, the Global Curatorial Project was formed to tell that story. Its mission was to develop an international exhibition showcasing how these global systems shaped the modern world. The project foregrounds the experiences, lives, ideas, and ways in which the enslaved and the colonized attempted to "make a way out of no way." As it unfolded, new issues emerged—if the voices of the enslaved and the colonized were going to be foregrounded, then how do we create a curatorial practice to achieve this? Out of this unfolding, a new archive was born—The Unfinished Conversations Series.

Digitally archived at the John Hay Library, *The Unfinished Conversation Series* is a living repository composed of more than 150 interviews that have taken place in nine languages across four continents. Drawing inspiration from the idea of the Black cultural theorist Stuart Hall, that cultural identity and history are not fixed but an "ever-unfinished conversation," this oral history project was an experiment in decolonial curatorial practice. In this new archive, the descendants of the enslaved and the colonized shared their lived experiences and historical memories.

The exhibition is a glimpse into the living repository that has been collected and is part of a broader constellation of initiatives, which includes the international exhibition *In Slavery's Wake: Making Black Freedom in the World*, publications, documentaries, and a digital humanities project.

Curatorial Note

In late Spring 2025, *The Unfinished Conversations*Series digital archive will be made available to the public. It is an important milestone as the project was years in the making and realized through the collaborative work of partners and institutions that make up the Global Curatorial Project. Over the years, it has inspired a number of public-facing initiatives, including publications, documentaries, workshops, and, most notably, the traveling exhibition *In Slavery's Wake: Making Black Freedom in the World*, which opened in December 2024 at the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History & Culture before making its way across the Atlantic world.

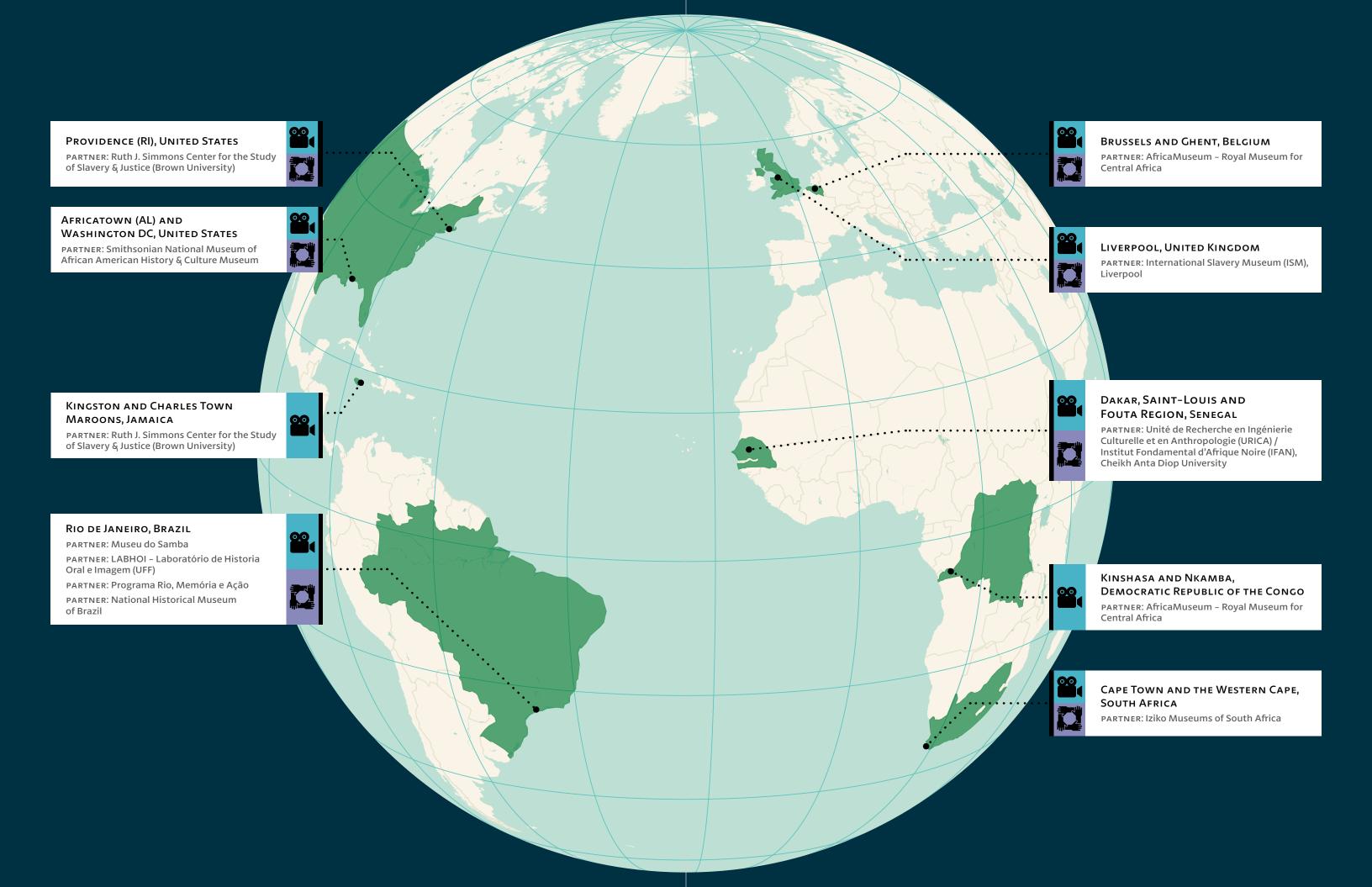
This exhibition, The Unfinished Conversations Series: An Experiment in Curatorial Practice, is part of this constellation of initiatives showcasing this digital archive. In the gallery space of the Simmons Center, one of the project's primary instigators, the exhibition acts as an unveiling, where for the first time, members of the university community will get to see the stories collected, through the words and portraits of those who were interviewed. At the same time, it marks the culmination of years of dedicated work by many undergraduates, graduates, faculty, and staff who have been heavily invested in the logistical production of this archive. Brown University students were among the first to actively engage with this new set of histories in ways that highlighted the project's innovative practice around memory and oral history. As part of this team of student researchers, I recall our group conversations where we sought to make sense of this archive by weaving together common threads across the various locations. This exhibition is indebted to those early reflections and the enriching opportunity to learn from and help build this project.

The Unfinished Conversations Series digital archive has often been called a living repository. It is a living repository because it is a collection of voices that reveal how the past continues to shape people's lives and how those experiences are excised from the conventional archive. More importantly, these stories are told through people's intimate memories, feelings, and sentiments and the trajectories they have taken to make sense of this history. With more than 150 interviews, the project invites self-reflection on how the wake of racial slavery and colonialism still weighs on our everyday lives, particularly as those in power discredit these legacies. While this exhibition is only a glimpse into this repository, the selection of passages allows one to learn from these stories, draw links with one's own lived experiences, and question, in light of this history, one's own meaning of freedom. In doing so, much in the footsteps of Stuart Hall, this selfquestioning of one's place vis-à-vis this history, or, in other words, how one makes sense of this history for oneself, is an "ever unfinished conversation."

As curator, it has been a true joy bringing into view this digital archive that I have been involved with for the past few years. While much can be gained from the stories featured in this exhibition, above all, I invite you to take the time and go watch *The Unfinished Conversations Series*.

YANNICK ETOUNDI

Ph.D. candidate, History of Art & Architecture 2024–2025 Interdisciplinary Opportunities Graduate Fellow at the Ruth J. Simmons Center for the Study of Slavery & Justice



A Brief History of The Unfinished Conversations Series

In 2013, the then Center for the Study of Slavery & Justice (CSSJ) launched a series of conversations. From these conversations in 2014, the Global Curatorial Project (GCP) began as a network of curators and scholars who shared a belief that museum exhibitions to date failed to engage fully with the legacies of racial slavery and colonialism locally or from a global perspective. Through a series of meetings and workshops held during 2014-2018 in the United States, the Netherlands, South Africa, and the United Kingdom, the initiating group created partnerships across global institutions, while also developing methodologies of practice to guide its exhibitionary development and collaborative public history scholarship. From these discussions, the vision of creating a global traveling exhibition that would tell more complete and intentional stories about the racial slave trade and colonialism emerged.

A study organized by the CSSJ of over 90 exhibitions and/or public/cultural events that took place from 1991–2015 from the United States; Western Europe, the Caribbean; South America; and those on the continent of Africa was essential in informing GCP partners about the current state of exhibitions about racial slavery and the Transatlantic slave trade. The research found that overall the exhibitions lacked a global perspective and did not prominently feature the voices and experiences of the enslaved. Very few focused on the small and large acts of resistance enslaved people undertook to carve out freedom for themselves and their communities, often focusing instead on white abolitionism.

Visual minutes from a 2017 planning meeting with the Liverpool Black community hosted by the Global Curatorial Project at the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool, United Kingdom. Drawing by visual minutes taker Claire Stringer.



Many of the exhibitions failed to help visitors make connections between today's experiences of global anti-Blackness and a deeply entrenched history of racial slavery and colonialism.

Galvanized by a shared commitment to developing a traveling exhibition which would center the voices and experiences of the enslaved, the GCP organized conversations with local activists, scholars, and community partners in Leiden (the Netherlands); Cape Town (South Africa), Liverpool (United Kingdom); and Washington, DC (USA) from 2014-2018 allowing the network to immerse itself in a locale and understand how this history shaped and was understood within different global communities. At the same time, GCP discussions around the exhibition's scope were deeply shaped and informed by the current events and conversations of that time, including the increased visibility of global grassroots movements such as Black Lives Matter, Decolonize the Museum, protests in Ferguson, as well as #SayHerName. The emergence of increasing national and institutional reckonings at museums, institutions of higher education, and corporations about the foundational role and financial wealth accumulated through participation in racial slavery and the slave trade were also gaining significant momentum at this time and shaped the GCP and The Unfinished Conversations Series. The landmark creation and opening of the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History & Culture (opened 2017), the reopening of King Leopold's colonial Royal Museum of Central Africa (AfricaMuseum in Belgium) in 2018, the critical interventions such as the Afterlives of Slavery exhibition (2017) at Amsterdam's colonial anthropological Tropenmuseum and the Musée d'histoire de Nantes decolonial visitors' guide A Closer Look were all part of this movement towards historical reckoning and acknowledgement of a collective past shaped by the history and legacies of racial slavery.

The robust and engaging conversations among a diverse set of scholars with various national experiences highlighted the differences in foundational national myths, historical erasures, and the complexities of telling a unified global story in one exhibition. An early conversation in 2015 in Leiden tells the story of how Africa's participation in the Atlantic slave trade became a major issue. Minutes from the meeting read as such:

"It was discussed how in France they are already speaking about this and having meetings with scholars and curators, but it is a difficult topic of conversation in the UK and US but is integral to contemporary engagement. It has been deliberately omitted in the UK and US because it would be hard to engage the community around this so it will be important to think through exactly how to do this. African partners will want to have this as part of the discussion, and the truth is very important it will help to look at Africa differently. ... The discussion is difficult to have because Blackness is complicit in enslavement and [we don't want revisionist historians to say] ... see, we told you, it wasn't that bad. The problem is one of complicity. The colleagues from Nantes noted that in France they don't speak of complicity, they speak of economic relationships. It is important to have a conversation about this and how it is presented."

The initial conversations in Liverpool and in Senegal created the framework for what would later be *The Unfinished Conversations Series*. What emerged from this process was a decades long experiment in exhibitionary interventions, knowledge creation, development of new oral history archives, and building networks of partnerships.

SHANA WEINBERG

Associate Director, Public Humanities Programs
Ruth J. Simmons Center for the Study of Slavery & Justice,
Brown University

Building a Digital Archive

The Unfinished Conversations Series project highlights the significance of collective memory, generational knowledge, and the power of community. As an archival collection, it allows communities to preserve and share their stories. For audiences and researchers, it provides an opportunity to connect with the contemporary voices of those living in the wake of racial slavery and colonialism, and to reflect on those legacies as they navigate their own lives. By practicing shared authority over materials, it places power back into the hands of people who were previously subjected to extractionist research and collecting techniques. As part of a traveling exhibition, it allows communities to see themselves represented in spaces historically denied to them and encourages the world at large to acknowledge their trauma and reckon with it.

From an archival processing perspective, the collection presented a unique challenge, as each location worked with a different film crew, and each partner institution had its own curatorial needs, using this instance as a foundation for future projects. To support future collaborative collections and provide context for researchers, a processing manual was created to document decision-making, programs and tools used, and any issues of note. The oral history interviews, transcripts, and their translations are available to the public through the Brown Digital Repository. The processing manual, images, environmental/b-roll film, and any other supplementary materials are available to the public through the Special Collections Reading Room at the John Hay Library at Brown University.

I served as the archivist for this project over the course of two years, during which I accessioned, processed, and arranged over 26 terabytes of digital objects collected in the process of recording oral histories across eight countries. I oversaw and collaborated with seven student researchers who helped identify themes, provided local tagging, and summarized the oral history interviews to assist the curatorial team in selecting materials for the traveling exhibition. Additionally, they explored the ethics surrounding oral histories, assisted with archival processes, and several went on to produce the documentary displayed alongside the exhibition.

The collaborative nature of every step of this project cannot be understated. Each person approached the materials with a level of cultural competency and emotional vulnerability that the subject matter required and more. My hope is that the network of partner institutions continues to expand so that more oral history interviews are conducted upon this foundation and that *The Unfinished Conversations Series* continues to evolve. In the face of revisionist ideology, I hope that archivists, professors, and curators continue to use their positions of power to decolonize the way we perceive history and memory-keeping.

BIANCA PALLO

Global Curatorial Project Archivist at John Hay Library, Brown University (2022–2024)



a fifth-generation resident of Africatown and a descendant of Charlie Lewis (brother of Cudjoe Lewis), one of the last enslaved Africans brought to the United States illegally on the Clothilda in 1860.



Daniel Ndoluvwualu Nadia was interviewed in 2023 in Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo. Ndoluvwualu Nadia passed away in 2023.

THE UNFINISHED CONVERSATIONS SERIES INTERVIEWS

ERASURES

The voices of the enslaved and the colonized remain largely silenced in institutional archives. They are erased. Such erasures have profound effects on their daily lives. Through their voices, memories, and sentiments, these descendants share their own perspective on their life experiences and their past.



Valongo Wharf (Rio de Janeiro, Brazil)

The Valongo Wharf (Cais do Valongo) was an important disembarkment dock for enslaved Africans arriving in Rio de Janeiro in the early nineteenth century. Brazil was the site of importation of the majority of enslaved Africans to the New World. The archeological site was unearthed in 2011 during proprietary work for the 2016 Olympics. Today, it is officially listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.



I really like the phrase that Milton Guran [Brazilian anthropologist and photojournalist] used at the time: "it was a conspiracy of good." A conspiracy of good, in which all people,

regardless of religion or political ideology, agreed that Cais do Valongo deserved to be a World Heritage Site, that was fantastic. [...] So, Valongo is what it is because the people who lived there, the people who stayed there, kept that story alive in their memories and were able to tell us about it, even at the time the file was being built.

CLÁUDIO HONORATO

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (translated from Portuguese)



I found out about slavery, I suppose, in my late teens, early twenties. [...] Over the years, in relation to the true nature of its impact upon global history. It just never come across

to us in the way it should do. And the status quo still remains in that respect. It's still not part of the British education system. I don't think it will be, particularly in the context of the type of government that we have today and who are in denial basically about the Transatlantic slave trade.

RAY QUARLESS

Liverpool, United Kingdom



At home, did we talk about colonization, about Leopold II, about Belgian colonization?
Of course, we did not talk about it. We don't talk.
I still felt that there was something. I have always

asked myself questions about our meetings with the Belgian priest who was there. I think they always wanted to hide that, that they didn't want to draw the link, discuss it.

MIEZI BERNADETTE LUSAKALALU

Brussels, Belgium (translated from French)



Freedom Village, I just heard it for the first time. From what we are told, it was the white man who had come to join our grandparents. It was recently that I had echoes in the research

you are doing that Lampsar was a Freedom Village.
Otherwise, I have never read or heard it anywhere.
This is new for me. Now, what can back it up are the statements we have received. Lampsar's story is lost in the archives. Nobody can consult them. [...] Currently, we can no longer have access to this archive. Why do we no longer see these archives on Lampsar?

BADARA SECK

Lampsar, Senegal (translated from Wolof)

NEW COSMOLOGIES & IDENTITIES

Communities that were enslaved and colonized created new cosmologies — belief systems, religious practices, and ways of knowing — to grapple with their circumstances. Through spiritual practices, cultural resistance, and distinctive forms of politics, they carved out their own sense of self and place in otherwise dehumanizing environments. These new cosmologies and identities highlight the rich polyvocality of Black life while paying attention to historical specificity.



Nkamba (Democratic Republic of the Congo)

Nkamba, also known as Nkamba New Jerusalem, is the birthplace and resting place of Congolese spiritual leader and prophet Papa Simon Kimbangu (1887–1951). Drawing from Kongo beliefs, Christianity, and Garveyist ideology, Papa Kimbangu led a peaceful movement calling for the freedom of all people of African descent. Today, Nkamba is the spiritual headquarters of the religious and socio-cultural movement Kimbanguism, one of the largest African Indigenous churches.



I think that what has most frustrated the colonial authority, was the way Papa Simon Kimbangu launched his mission, especially his famous phrase: "Our brothers who had been

sold in the Americas will return here to the Congo [...] I came to liberate the people of the Congo, and the entire Black race of the whole world." I repeat, "I came to liberate the people of the Congo, and the entire Black race of the whole world. The Black man will become White, the White man will become Black."

PAUL DILUNGANE DIA MAWONGA

Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo (translated from French)



I embrace my being
Black. Especially as
a person who grew up
in Europe, where I'm
often identified as part
of the African diaspora,
I find it very logical to be
Black and to give it my

own meaning. [...] And I'm inspired by [Aimé] Césaire, mainly, but also by [Frantz] Fanon, to rediscover and, and, and recognize that humanity through my being Black. So a Black Flemish. Yeah, so I'm a Black Flemish.

SIBO KANOBANA

Ghent, Belgium (translated from Flemish Dutch)



Samba comes from a social movement, where a social group organizes itself to reoccupy a place from which they were expelled. [...] You will have several examples of how

these groups are going to be organized, and samba schools [are] a Black class organization movement, on the other hand... because of the cultural bias—an expression that is part of everyday life.

NILCEMAR NOGUEIRA

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (translated from Portuguese)



Well for me, I can say
I am a true blue. I'm
a Maroon [formerly
enslaved Africans and
their descendants who
escaped from racial
slavery and formed their
own communities] from

me head to me toe [...] Even though I might be born in Jamaica, my traditions live, or my culture lives within me as if it was maintained by my foreparent and my grandparent. And so we still have that Maroon intention, that Maroon liberty, that Maroon tradition within us. We are, of course, a state within a state. But we maintain who we are, as that state, that is in the state of Jamaica.

COLONIAL MARCIA DOUGLAS 1976-2024

Charles Town Maroons, Jamaica

CONTEMPORARY LEGACIES

The legacies of racial slavery and colonization continue to shape our contemporary societies. Anti-Black racism structures Black life.

The shadows of colonialism haunt many African and Caribbean countries. The statistics about Black life show how, in various aspects of human living—health, education and access to economic and social rights—Black people remain dominated.



Clothilda in Africatown (United States)

Mural painting of the Clothilda slave ship in Africatown. The Africatown community, outside of Mobile (Alabama), was formed by the descendants of enslaved people on the Clothilda, the last known U.S. slave ship to bring captives from Africa to the United States in 1860. The Atlantic slave trade was banned in the United States in 1808.



Well, here in Africatown of course, when they brought the enslaved people over, it was supposed to be outlawed in this country, but they did it anyway. [...] Just like the family back then

didn't obey the law and did this anyway, the people are trying to enforce their will upon these people, enslaved people from Africa, that's happening today where people are forcing their will upon the Africatown community against the will of the people that are here today.

JOE WOMACK

Africatown (AL), United States



Being Black in Brazil is dangerous, above all, it's violent, it's being subject to unimaginable violence—and as a Black woman, that violence is only more specific and horrible. To be Black in

Brazil is to have a lot of courage, a lot of resilience and a lot of desire to continue... Of continuing in this country, of waking up every day, getting out of bed, going to work, returning home, kissing your parents, your children, your grandmothers. It takes a lot of courage to be Black in our country.

LAÍS ROCHA

Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (translated from Portuguese)



So the oppression of Black people stems right back to the enslavement of our people. And in Liverpool, we have kind of—with Liverpool being the capital of the slave trade— that oppression

has continued. And we're still struggling today for things like health. We have poorer health outcomes. We don't have the employment opportunities. We're failed in the education system. And so, yeah, the legacy of slavery. Slavery is racism today.

KERRY NUGENT

Liverpool, United Kingdom



So if you look at what farm workers [on the wine estates] how they are today, I think very little has actually changed on some farms, yes. But by and large it, very little has changed,

so. The master-slave mentality still exists... on many of the farms. I see my grandmother, I see, myself on the farms. Everyday, I see the, the legacy. The legacy of alcohol, and the 'Dop system' [outlawed system of paying workers in cheap wine] alive on the farms today. In some areas where we work, the rates of fetal alcohol syndrome is still some of the highest in the world. It exists...

MERCIA ANDREWS

Cape Town, South Africa

MAKING FREEDOM

Freedom-making was both the clarion call and practice of the enslaved and the colonized. Archives have ignored or erased these practices. Yet, these practices open up different ways for us to live today. They open our imagination about possibilities of living.



2022 Cape Town Farmworkers' Protest March (South Africa)

In April 2022, farmworkers from the Western Cape led a protest march in Cape Town, to advocate for better working conditions and land reforms to ensure more equitable access to ownership. This protest was part of a longer wave of demonstrations, which also included the 2012 Western Cape Farmworkers' Strike led mainly by female farm workers and supported by the Rural Women's Assembly of South Africa. The 2012 Strike marked the first time in the history of the Western Cape that farmworkers engaged in radical mass activity.



If you're not free in your heart to feel that what you're doing, you're trying to help or make a better world, then you will see the difference.
Because some people, like you say, live in those

other countries have never, never knew what we went through. [...] We be lucky if a person brought us a flower off the side of the road some time and give it to us. Not that we got to die to get our flowers, but I think it's freedom when people'll give you flowers while you can still smell them. I love flowers because they're freeing.

LORNA GAIL WOODS

Africatown (AL), United States



We know that the origin of our slave status was violence and ignorance [...] Now we who had suffered this injustice should begin to understand how we were forced to accept

the separation between ourselves, saying that we are slaves of such a group and you people are slaves of another group, when we are all relatives. We must unite in order to reunite our new forces for the fight. This is at the origin of the creation of our association Endam Bilali [association of formerly enslaved people and their descendants].

ABDOULAYE NDIAYE

Orkadiéré, Fouta Region, Senegal (translated from Pulaar)



Kimbanguism [is]—
like freedom, it's
Kimbanguism that
makes us into a human
person. Initially, we were
not human, we were not
human. We received
a Christianity which had

enslaved us, which trampled on us. But Kimbanguist Christianity came to rehabilitate us. So, freedom in Kimbanguist Christianity, it's a freedom that makes us into full-fledged individuals, that has freed us, given us the opportunity to express ourselves, that gave us the possibility of... becoming human persons.

SUZANNE MATONDO

Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo (translated from French)



We shall overcome tomorrow's uncertainties,

We shall overcome the man-made shackles that binds our sit and our stand.

We shall overcome the

hands that compensates us from the tickey pocket, that just about covers our life policies.

We shall overcome the hunger pains that will be replaced with fresh manna for every day.

We shall overcome these diseases that infiltrates our carnal bodies, that is only for this earth.

We shall overcome but it won't be by power nor by might.

But by the very spirit that's within us.

LORNA SOLOMON

Cape Town, South Africa



Freedom? Well I think freedom is something that comes with rights and responsibilities. You know, I would say that, certainly in the decolonial context, the freedom must be to self-

identify as we are, right? It must be the freedom to denounce, in no uncertain terms, all of the ills and the evils of slavery and colonization, you know, and the freedom to set a path for ourselves to self determine our future ourselves based on our own perceptions of realities and our own principles and aspirations.

MARCUS GOFFE

Kingston, Jamaica

THE UNFINISHED CONVERSATIONS SERIES AS CURATORIAL PRACTICE

The Unfinished Conversation Series was an experiment. It was a curatorial practice of public history recorded through the voices and historical memories of participants. Here, in passages taken from a set of interviews conducted with the curators, they reflect on the project's innovative practice and significance as it brought to light new histories.



Paul Tichmann and team in Cape Town, South Africa.

So from the start of the Global Curatorial Project, the idea of the legacies of slavery, slavery's wake, that was one of the central ideas, that it's not just about this history that we are looking at, but it's also about how has this history shaped our lives today? How has it shaped the space we live in? And how does it continue to impact on people's lives? And so The Unfinished Conversations Series is really about that. It's about looking more closely at that legacy. And it actually tied in with one of the things we had been talking about and had been concerned about at the Slave Lodge [Iziko Museums of South Africa], that a lot of the focus on slavery was on urban slavery, but we knew that the rural areas had really been impacted. But also that it was not just about the Western Cape and that it goes beyond even into other parts of South Africa. And so The Unfinished Conversations Series was really a good opportunity to bring in the story of those of the rural areas, but also then to look at that legacy in terms of workers on the farms.

PAUL TICHMANN

Social Historian and Researcher, South Africa

I think that with The Unfinished Conversations, we managed to have what may be the first testimonies about the continued memories of the Transatlantic slave trade by people who grew up and lived in the region of the ancient Kongo kingdom. So I think that's very important and that it can really become a basis for further research. It was also, I think, the first time that an attempt was made and then specifically as regards [to] the colonial era to have testimonies from people not only from Belgium but also from Rwanda and Burundi that were governed by Belgium on behalf of the United Nations and its predecessor since the end of the First World War, they having been German colonies previously until they gained independence in 1962. And so what we tried to do, and that was not always obvious in Belgium, was to have a good balance of testimonies of people of Belgian, Congolese, and Rwandan descent.

DR. BAMBI CEUPPENS

Anthropologist, AfricaMuseum/Royal Museum for Central Africa, Belgium & Democratic Republic of the Congo

I think because it begins with people today, and asking them what does Transatlantic slavery mean to you? And so it starts from that understanding, that relationship with this history and how people make sense of it in the world that they're navigating. But then it also conveys to the listener how this is still impacting people's lives on an individual level. [...] It's connecting you with a person, and that person's telling their story. It's not being filtered through curatorial voice.

MILES GREENWOOD

Curator, International Slavery Museum, United Kingdom

I think this is a very important project in the sense that we have been able to connect the histories, the stories that people tell us in different places and find the similarities in the experiences of individuals in so many different Atlantic regions. That, to me, is really important. I also like the idea that we can travel to places and just bring those experiences and also objects, that different groups can attribute different meanings to them. So I like very much this idea that it is an Atlantic project, you know, with all the challenges, right, that have been happening. But the fact that there is a shared experience created so many years ago, like centuries ago, that this still exists, in one sense, it's important, and on the other hand, it shows that those societies, they have in common a racist structure that we still need to be aware of and fight against.

DR. KEILA GRINBERG

Curator, University of Pittsburgh/Brazil

The Unfinished Conversations Series were started in Senegal. [...] Now, I can say that Senegal is a laboratory. It is a laboratory, and it is one of the oldest laboratories to explore these processes. You have possibilities of looking at the Trans-Saharan and the Atlantic and having the two interact within the same space for even centuries. And even in the current debates, it is still a laboratory on how identities are negotiated and how commemorations should be carried out, who's left in and who's left out, the role of power. [...] Also it was, in terms of curatorial practice, it was an experiment. We wanted to do something new, collect stories in a different way, develop new kinds of relations with the communities we were engaging, and make sure that certain practices in terms of collecting and curating aren't reproduced.

PROF. IBRAHIMA THIAW

Curator, Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN), Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar, Senegal



View of the Charles Town Museum and Asafu Yard. Interviews were conducted with the Charles Town Maroons in Jamaica.

CONSTELLATION OF PROJECTS



PHOTO BY MAANSI SRIVASTAVA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES.

In Slavery's Wake: Making Black Freedom in the World

In December 2024, In Slavery's Wake: Making Black Freedom in the World premiered at the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History & Culture (NMAAHC) after ten years in the making. With more than 100 objects, 250 images, and 10 multimedia interactives and films, the exhibition tells a global history of Transatlantic trade, capitalism, exploitation, and racial violence, but

also the means through which the enslaved, the colonized, and their descendants resisted these global systems. The Unfinished Conversations Series interviews are central to the exhibition as they put this history in direct conversation with the everyday experiences of those who lived it through their own voices.

The exhibition is really a large project I would like to suggest in reckoning, a large project in transformational justice that is masquerading as an exhibition. [...] The first thing it does is help us recognize that this history is not relegated to any one place or space, but is a global story that shapes our world. The second connection that it demands is one that says, this is not something that's out of the past, but it is very much connected to our lives in the present. And then the third and maybe the most important thing that it does is demand that we look at this history not simply through a lens of exploitation or subjugation or violence, although all of those things are true about this history and its legacies, but that we must look at this also through the lens of freedom. And when you look at this history through the lens of freedom, especially through the freedom-making practices of Black folks around the world, you immediately have a different resonance and understanding of what freedom means. This is what this exhibition promises to bring to the world in terms of a new kind of storytelling.

DR. PAUL GARDULLO

Curator, Smithsonian National Museum of African American History & Culture, United States In Slavery's Wake, Making Black Freedom in the World. Both of those sort of elements are sort of currents that run inside each other through the show. So yes, we're learning about the emergence of slavery and colonialism, how these systems are intersecting and how they're shaping our world, our economies, our environments, our understandings of each other, of race, of difference. At the same time, we're also learning about practices of Black freedom-making. For us, it's not just that the world has been shaped by these huge systems, but also the world has been shaped by the people who had to navigate them, by the people who made freedom for themselves, in sometimes really intimate ways and sometimes grand ways. Right. We're talking about revolutions. We're talking about new cosmologies. These things have shaped the world that we're living in as well. And so for us, freedom-making is essential to this story. We can't really overstate how horrific this history is and the sort of violence that has been enacted. But at the same time, we wouldn't be telling the full story if we weren't elevating the stories of freedom.

JOHANNA OBENDA

Curator, Smithsonian National Museum of African American History & Culture Museum, United States

ARTIFACTS

As a collaborative project, the exhibition brings together artifacts from the collections of partner institutions. The artifacts below are from Brown University Library Special Collections and the John Carter Brown Library. They were featured in a section entitled "Abolition in Action."



Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society collection box, c. 1836

Rhode-Island State Anti-Slavery Society, Brown University Library, Special Collections.

This c. 1836 wooden abolitionist collection box proclaims "Deliver me from the Oppresion of Man." A clipping attached to the front reminds donors that "it is the duty of every Abolitionist to lay up at least one cent per day in support of this cause, and that it is in the power of every man, woman, and child to adopt this plan without injury, by depriving themselves of the luxuries of life.



Request for freedom certificate of Slave Marcelina (1881)

Cuban Slavery documents. Brown Digital Repository. Brown University Library.



Histoire de Toussaint-Louverture chef des noirs insurgés de Saint-Domingue

Paris, Chez Pillot, frères, libraires, sur le Pont-Neuf, no. 5, an x, 1802. Courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library (E802 .C867h).

"That's Marème Ndiaye [born Diarra] who represents for us a figure of defiance who doesn't accept in any way to be dominated despite her generosity."

MOUHAMADOU BAH, 2022

During filming in Senegal, some of the stories collected were used to reconstruct the life of antislavery and anticolonial figure Marème Diarra. Diarra's great-grandson Mouhamadou Bah recounted Diarra's shared memories of his great-grandmother as part of *The Unfinished Conversations Series*. Through these stories, a portrait of Diarra was created by Senegalese artist Akonga (Chérif Tahir Diop) and was featured in the exhibition *In Slavery's Wake*.

Who Was Marème Diarra?

Marème Diarra was a Bambara woman from Segou, (present-day Mali). At age 20 she was deported to Mauritania for disagreeing with the enslavement of war captives. She eventually fled Mauritania to prevent her daughter, Rokhaya, and two sons, Bilal and Ahmad, from being enslaved. They walked over 200 kilometers (124 miles) to French colonial Senegal, where slavery had been legally abolished. Diarra and her children settled in Diel Mbam outside of the colonial capital of Saint-Louis. Diel Mbam was a haven for newcomers from Saint-Louis and was home to other escapees of Mali's Bambara community.

Diarra knew that enslaved people who set foot in colonial Senegal became free, as the settlements in the French colonies had abolished slavery. However, the rights of these newcomers remained restricted. Marème Diarra rejected the presence of French colonists who came to Diel Mbam to trade and recruit for the colonial army.

Excerpt taken from Biography of Marème Diarra at the Seachable Museum—Smithsonian National Museum of African American History & Culture.



Portrait of Marème Diarra, by Akonga (Chérif Tahir Diop), 2023.

PHOTO BY SMITHSONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY & CULTURE.



To learn more about Marème Diarra, scan QR code.

DIGITAL PROJECTS

As The Unfinished Conversations Series archive is made available, it has inspired several public-facing initiatives that utilize digital platforms. These digital tools are part of the project's innovative practice and help share people's stories unfiltered by curatorial voice. Video-recorded interviews, in addition to environmental footage captured in each location, have so far been used to develop a digital humanities website and two documentaries.



Curator Johanna Obenda interviewed by Yannick Etoundi in Washington, DC, 2024.

PHOTO BY MICHAEL ANDERSON.

Archiving on the Brown Digital Repository

The Unfinished Conversations Series collection is accessible through the Brown Digital Repository (Ms.2022.010). In addition to the video-recorded interviews, transcripts in the original languages and English are available for consultation. The collection is also supported by a series of video-recorded interviews of the Global Curatorial Project curators who share insight into the project's curatorial practice and informative context around major themes that emerged in each location.



Scan the QR code to access the full *The Unfinished Conversations Series* collection.



Digital Humanities Website

In partnership with the Center for Digital Scholarship at Brown University Library with Studio Rainwater, and Jake & Co., a website centering *The Unfinished Conversations Series* collection has been developed as a resource for educators and scholars. The website highlights some of the video-interviews from the digital archive and provides additional resources on several themes raised during the interviews.

The Global Curatorial Project team on stage at the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History & Culture after the premiere of the documentary The Unfinished Conversations Series: Telling New Stories in December 2024.

PHOTO BY IMAGINE PHOTOGRAPHY DC/HEAVEN BROWN.



Scan the QR code to access the digital humanities website, documentaries as well as other initiatives developed with *The Unfinished Conversations Series*.

Ruth J. Simmons Center for the Study of Slavery & Justice THE UNFINISHED CONVERSATIONS SERIES

WORKING WITH THE ARCHIVE



From the left: Project archivisit Bianca Pallo, UC researchers Yannick Etoundi, Laura Tamayo, Nélari Figueroa Torres, Dillon Stone, and Simmons Center Associate Director of Public Humanities Programs, Shana Weinberg.

PHOTO BY JANELLE APONTE.

Over the years, a number of Brown University students helped bring this project to fruition.

They were directly involved in revising and editing transcripts for the full oral history archive that is housed at Brown University's Digital Repository, as well as identifying audio-visual content for the traveling exhibition In Slavery's Wake: Making Black Freedom in the World. With a deep understanding of The Unfinished Conversation Series archival collection, here are some of their testimonies.

I gained significant insight into the Afro-Brazilian experience, which differs from my personal life experience with the Azorean-Cape Verdean context. I witnessed many parallels, differences, and the stories of people sharing the reality of racial slavery and its aftereffects.

DANIEL EVERTON '24 A.M.,

2022–2023 *The Unfinished Conversations Series* Researcher and Graduate Archivist

Particularly captivating for me was the physical and facial expressions of the interviewees. It was through these non-verbal modes of communication that a deeper understanding of the intimate ideas they were expressing was able to be reached.

GUSTAV HALL'24

2023–2024 The Unfinished Conversations Series and Documentary Researcher

The voices from these interviews made me realize that the particularities, nuances, and urgencies that arise from oral histories are not deviations from an exhibition or project's overarching theme or organizing goal. Rather, these particularities and nuances, although often hyper-specific and local, are the tuners and correctives that should shape and drive thematizing work such as exhibition-making and archive building.

KENNEDY JONES '23 A.M.

2021–2024 The Unfinished Conversations Series and Documentary Researcher

Memory was constantly at work, either directly or indirectly, spoken or unspoken, throughout these interviews. I was continuously struck by how memory was operating in the oral history collection and how, for many interviewees, refusing to forget had become a crucial strategy (not a cure) for world-building and reimagining.

DILLON STONE '25

2023 The Unfinished Conversations Series Researcher

Being one of the few people to actively engage with large sums of this material has been the most authentic and brilliant way in which I have learned about colonialism and enslavement. Oral histories have the power to humanize historical accounts that are often devoid of accuracy and care—given how history is controlled by colonial institutions.

NÉLARI FIGUEROA TORRES '25

2023–2024 *The Unfinished Conversations Series* and Documentary Researcher

During interviews, each narrator shared with me wisdoms that I will never forget and revealed global systemic injustices that I had not previously been cognizant of as someone living in the U.S. It is the echoing of their words in my ears that guided my research presentations and interview summaries.

LAURA TAMAYO '25

2023 The Unfinished Conversations Series Researcher

[A]s part of the Global Curatorial Project and the Simmons Center, I anticipate the discussions centered on the ways to bring these histories forward to actively and creatively educate and engage the broader public, thus making for memorable experiences at the Simmons Center and various exhibition spaces around the world.

Dr. Sherri Cummings '22 Ph.D.,

2020–2021 The Unfinished Conversations Series Graduate Proctor

While the oral history interviews reaffirm the violent and suffocating legacies of racial slavery and colonialism, importantly, their voices and sentiments foreground moments of hope, joy, and resiliency that are intrinsic to the Black human experience.

YANNICK ETOUNDI '26 PH.D.,

2023–2025 The Unfinished Conversations Series and Documentary Researcher

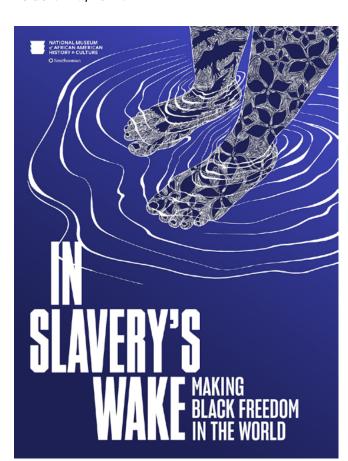
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In Slavery's Wake: Songs of Freedom Playlist

Beyoncé, "Freedom"

Bob Marley & the Wailers, "Babylon System"

Boukman Eksperyansn, "Wet Chan"

Burning Spear, "Slavery Days"

Gil Scott-Heron, "The Revolution Will Not Be Televised"

Grande Kallé et l'African Jazz, "Indépendance Cha Cha"

GRES Acadêmicos do Grande Rio, "Resistência"

Harry Belafonte, "Give us our Land (Mabayeke)"

Hugh Masekela, "Colonial Man"

Jorja Smith, "By Any Means"

Keur Gui, "France à Fric"

Les Pionniers de la Musique Congolaise, "Ata Ndele"

Mahalia Jackson, "We Shall Overcome"

Tiken Jah Fakoly, "Y'en a marre"

Scan the QR code to access the full playlist from In Slavery's Wake: Making Black Freedom in the World.





From the left: Samba musical artists Thiago Sereno, Alcino Amaral, Marcelo Amaro in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Alcino Amaral was interviewed as part of The Unfinished Conversation Series.

Ruth J. Simmons Center for the Study of Slavery & Justice THE UNFINISHED CONVERSATIONS SERIES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS & DEDICATION

This exhibition is dedicated to the memory of:

Mamoudou Dembel Guissé, Senegal (2022)

Daniel Ndoluvwualu Nadia, Democratic Republic of the Congo (2023)

Anna Swarts, South Africa (2024)

Colonel Marcia Douglas, Jamaica (2024)

Acknowledgments

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Curatorial Team

Yannick Etoundi, Lead Curator

Anthony Bogues

Kiku Langford McDonald

Shana Weinberg

Exhibition Design & Installation

Erin Wells Design

Ben Kaplan

Exhibition Catalog

Elise Kirk

Erin Wells Design

Institutional Partners of the Global Curatorial Project

Ruth J. Simmons Center for the Study of Slavery & Justice at Brown **University (United States)**

Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of African American History & Culture (United States)

International Slavery Museum -Liverpool (United Kingdom)

Museu do Samba (Brazil)

LABHOI - Laboratório de História Oral e Imagem (UFF) (Brazil)

Programa Rio, Memória e Ação (Brazil)

National Historical Museum of Brazil (Brazil)

Unité de Recherche en Ingénierie Culturelle et en Anthropologie (URICA)/IFAN-UCAD (Senegal)

AfricaMuseum / Royal Museum for Central Africa (Belgium)

Iziko Museums of South Africa (South Africa)

Wereldmuseum Amsterdam / Research Center for the Study of World Cultures (Netherlands) (2014 - 2018)

The Legacies of British Slave Ownership Project (United Kingdom) (2017 - 2018)

Staff at the Ruth J. Simmons **Center for the Study of Slavery** & Justice

Prof. Anthony Bogues

Natasha Astrid Rosario

DeChambeau

Sabina Griffin

Kiku Langford McDonald

Africa Smith

Reina Thomas

Shana Weinberg

Faculty and Staff Partners at Brown University

Prof. Geri Augusto

Jennifer Betts

Chance Boas

Ashley Champagne

Karen Eberhart

Joseph Mancino Joseph Meisel

Bianca Pallo (Project Archivist)

Patrick Rashleigh

Maiyah Rivers (2016-2022)

Tarika Sankar

Amanda Strauss (2019–2024)

Khanh Vo

Hilary Wang

Elizabeth Yalkut

Brown University Student Research team

zuri arman

Victoria Cheff

Dr. Sherri Cummings

Bridget DeLaney-Hall

Yannick Etoundi

Daniel Everton

Nélari Figueroa Torres

Julia Gettle

Will Johnson

Kennedy Jones

Dr. Marie Larose

Gustav Lloyd Hall

Karyn Mota

Dr. Anni Pullagura

Dillon Christophe Stone

Laura Tamayo

Malcolm Thomas

Susana Turbay

Smithsonian Institute National Museum of African American History & Culture Staff

Dr. Lonnie G. Bunch III

Dr. Kevin Young

Dorey Butter

Dr. Paul Gardullo

Trudy Hutcherson Dr. Kate McMahon

Gabrielle Chantal Miller

Kelly Navies

Johanna Obenda

Ivie Orobaton

Fleur Paysour

AFRICATOWN, AL (UNITED STATES)

Africatown Project Team

Gabrielle Chantal Miller, site organizer & interviewer

Tiffany McNeil, videographer

Johanna Obenda, site organizer & interviewer

Africatown Participants

Jordan Barnes

Joleigh Bush

Stephanie Coates

Thurman B. Coates

Arlean Horton

Brandon Hoyt

Marcus Kyles

Emmett Lewis

Nina Major

Patrick Munnerlyn

Jennifer Prince

Destineé Rogers

Larry Ruffin

Derrick Tinsley

Samuel Waller

Rev. Christopher Williams Sr.

Barja Wilson

Joe Womack

Lorna Gail Woods

Mary C. Wright

BELGIUM

Belgium Project Team

Dominique Ankone, Flemish Translator

Bukas Basumbandek,

Lingala Translator Armand Bayala, Videographer

Christine Bluard, Royal Museum

for Central Africa

Sofie Bouillon, Royal Museum for Central Africa

Maurice Carney, translation support, Friends of the Congo

Dr. Bambi Ceuppens, site organizer & interviewer

Marie-Reine Iyumva, Royal Museum for Central Africa, interviewer

Diana Salakheddin, Royal Museum for Central Africa, Scientific Researcher/ PhD student

Paul Shemisi, Videographer

Sophie de Ville, Royal Museum for Central Africa

Belgium Participants

Bosefe Baluka Iyaku

Jaqueline Goegebeur

Gaspard Habumuremyi

Cécile Ilunga

Sibo Kanobana

Dieudonné Lakama

Miezi Bernadette Lusakalalu

Innocent Muhozi

Ken Ndiaye

Salome Ysebaert

RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

Brazil Project Team

Dr. Martha Abreu, site organizer & interviewer

Dr. Paul Gardullo

Dr. Keila Grinberg

Ademir Junior, Videographer

Aline Montenegro Magalhães

Vinícius Natal, project manager, site organizer, researcher & interviewer

Natália Pires Rodrigues,

Videographer & Photographer

Matheus Sinder, Research Assistant

Brazil Participants

Alcino Amaral, musician

Marcelo Amaro, musician

Cláudio Honorato

Maurício Hora

Mônica Lima

Thayssa Menezes

Caio Sergio Moraes

Nilcemar Nogueira

Renzo Pena

Erick Quirino

Lais Rocha

Ivanir dos Santos

Nathalia Sarro

Thiago Sereno, musician

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO (DRC)

DRC Project Team

Dr. Bambi Ceuppens, site organizer & interviewer

Michée Diansana

Kevin Elonga

Dani Kula

Pierrot Mukanya-Mufuta

Diana Salakheddin, Royal Museum for Central Africa

Paul Shemisi, Videographer

Bukas Basumbandek, Lingala Translator

DRC Participants

Jeanine Amusubi Yogolelo

Paul Dilungane Dia Mawonga

Ferdinand Lokunda Lokunda

François Kadiebwe Wa Kasangu

Rachel Kapombo Ilodi

da Silva

Betty Mafueni

Thérèse Mantu

Prisca Manyala

Suzanne Matondo

Anna Mawuna Nsiala

Pierre Giscard Mayona

Ntangu Zayionso

Déo Mpatu

Jona Mukamba Kadiata Nzeba

Rémy Muke

Yvonne Muleka

Daniel Ndoluvwalu Nadia

Léon Nguapitshi Kayongo

Debora Nsomwe

Daniel Ntumba Wa Tshilumba

Amour Otou-Etoundi

Jean François Tamba Mabiaca

Géraldine Tobe

Ernest Léon Viokolo Lelo

JAMAICA

Jamaica Project Team

Michael Anderson, videographer

Prof. Anthony Bogues, site organizer

& interviewer

Jonathan Garcia, videographer

Lennon Gray, driver

Yannick Etoundi, interviewer

Hans Salazar, videographer

Gabriel Soyka, videographer

Jamaica Participants

Sir Hilary Beckles

Marcus Goffe

Angela Henry

Prof. Robert (Bobby) A. Hill

Dr. Rupert Lewis

Hon. P.J. Patterson Dr. Verene Shepherd

Charles Town Maroons

LIVERPOOL, UNITED KINGDOM

Liverpool Project Team

Ayo Akinrele, RESPECT Member/ activist and Hope Uni student

Prof. Anthony Bogues, interviewer

Claire Benjamin, International

Slavery Museum

Richard Benjamin, International Slavery Museum

Stef Bradley, National Museums Liverpool (NML)

Darren Brady, Videographer

Julia Bryan, National

Museums Liverpool

Michelle Charters, RESPECT Member and Director International

Slavery Museum

Alexandra Creighton, site organizer

Lisa Edison, site organizer

& interviewer

Miles Greenwood, International

Slavery Museum

Sandi Hughes, UC 2017

Film Support

Ranmalie Jayawardana, International

Slavery Museum

Graham Jones, Owner of Defend

Vinyl record shop

Stephen Carl Lokko, Liverpool Museum Staff at 2017 Meeting

Jean-Francois Manicom, **International Slavery Museum**

Paul McMullan, Digital Content Producer, NML

Slavery Museum

Paul Reid, International

Maria O'Reilly, RESPECT Member

Michelle Peterkin-Walker, UC 2017 Film Support/RESPECT Member

Claire Stringer, UC 2017 Visual Minutes Taker

Liverpool Participants

Judith Cummings

James Diboe

Howard Gayle

Kerry Nugent

Olayinka (Yinka) Mutiu Adio Yesufu

Ray Quarless, UC 2017 Organizer/

Member

Colonel Marcia Douglas

Angela Henry

Nicky Blaze

Muhammad Elmi

Rita Martelli

Laurence Westgaph

UC 2022 Interviewee/RESPECT

Ruth J. Simmons Center for the Study of Slavery & Justice

SENEGAL

Senegal Team

Dr. Mouhamed Abdallah LY, co-organizer 2019, 2021

Fatoumata Camara, project manager, co-organizer 2023

Prof. Ibrahima Thiaw, co-organizer 2019, 2021, 2023

René Ndiana Faye

Youssou Mballo

Yvette Koussangué Senghor

Ibrahima Sow

Amadou Thiam

Youssou Touré

Abdoulaye Niang, WARC

Staff Member

Dr. Ousmane Sene, WARC Director

Marianne Yade, WARC Staff Member

2019 Senegal Field Visit Participants

Abdrahmane Diallo

Demba Diallo

Younouss Diallo

Fandièry Diarra

Louis Diarra

Maguette Mouna Diarra

Cheikh Bamba Diop

Djibi Gassambiri

Alioune Gueye

Hamady Konaté

Ousmane Mangane

Malick Niang Zaabi Ndiaye

Ramata Sadio

Ngor Sène

Mère Sow

Adama Sy

Demba Sy

Samba Sy

Abdoul Wahabou

Graduate Students at Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD)

Aicha Kamité

Ibrahima Oumar Sy

Amadou Thiam

Elhadj Youssou Touré

2019 Senegal Field Visit Global Curatorial Project Participants

Prof. Ibrahima Thiaw, co-organizer

Dr. Mouhamed Abdallah Ly,

co-organizer

Mouhamadou Deme, Interpreter

Fatima Diallo, Interpreter

Prof. Geri Augusto

Prof. Anthony Bogues

Dr. Bambi Ceuppens

Dr. Paul Gardullo

Dr. Kate McMahon

Maiyah Rivers

Shana Weinberg

Ablaye Ndiaye, WARC Assistant

Abdoulaye Niang, WARC

Staff Member

Dr. Ousmane Sene, WARC Director

Marianne Yade, WARC Staff Member

Senegal 2021 Team

Tahirou Diop

Marius Gouané

Aicha Kamite

Dr. Mouhamed Abdallah Ly

Dr. Aboubakry Sow

Ibrahima Sy

Amadou Thiam

Prof. Ibrahima Thiaw

Youssou Touré

Anna-Karima Wane

Senegal Participants

Amadou Bâ, 2021, 2023 Interviewee

Faty Ba UC 2019 Field Visit

Participant; UC 2021 Interviewee

Abou Mamadou Ba, UC 2021, 2023 Interviewee

Mouhamadou Bah, UC 2021,

2023 Interviewee

Moussa Diakité Bah, UC

2021 Interviewee

Mame Baledjo,

UC 2021 Interviewee

Alioune Badara Coulibaly, UC 2023 Interviewee

Dr. Eloi Coly, 2024 Participant

Jean-Louis Coly,

UC 2023 Interviewee

Baila Coulibaly, UC 2019 Field Visit

Participant; UC 2021,

2023 Interviewee

Dounamba Coulibaly, UC 2023 Interviewee

Oumar Diallo, UC 2019 Field

Visit Participant; UC 2021, 2023

Interviewee

Sadio Diallo, UC 2019 Field Visit

Participant; UC 2021,

2023 Interviewee

Cheikh Amadou Diarra,

UC 2021 Interviewee

Nassou Adama Diarra,

UC 2021 Interviewee

Djeumb gui Diaw,

UC 2021 Interviewee

Malamine Diaw,

UC 2021 Interviewee

Modou Gaye, UC 2021 Interviewee

Marius Gouané,

UC 2023 Interviewee

Samba Gueye, UC 2021 Interviewee

Mamoudou Dembel Guissé, UC 2021,

2023 Interviewee

Oulèye Koné, UC 2021 Interviewee

Ousmane Mbodj, UC 2021, 2023 Interviewee

Pasteur Philippe Jean Baptiste Mendy UC 2021 Interviewee

Abdoulaye Ndiaye, UC 2019 Field Visit Participant; UC 2021, 2023 Interviewee

Jean Ouattara, UC 2021 Interviewee

Sona Sall UC 2019 Field Visit Participant; UC 2021, 2023 Interviewee

Demba Sangaré, UC 2021, 2023 Interviewee

Badara Seck, UC 2021 Interviewee

Amar Seck, UC 2021 Interviewee

Thierno Sidy, spiritual leader of the Endam Bilaly, UC 2019 Field Visit Participant

Aissata Sy, UC 2019 Field Visit Participant; UC 2023 Interviewee

Ndeye Binta Thioye, UC 2021 Interviewee

Yaye Faty Touré, UC 2021 Interviewee

Thieman Touré, UC 2021 Interviewee

Marième Traoré, UC 2023 Interviewee

Pierre Ngombe Zinga, UC 2021 Interviewee

Mouhamed Lamine Kane, UC 2023 Interviewee

Lamine Badgi, UC 2023 Interviewee; Student

Cyrille Bassène, UC 2023 Interviewee; Student

El Hadj Abdoulaye Faye, UC 2023 Interviewee; Student

Moussa Arfang Ndong, UC 2023 Interviewee; Student

Khadidiatou Siwaré, UC 2023 Interviewee; Student

WESTERN CAPE, SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa Team

Amanda Botha, Trainee

Prof. Anthony Bogues, interviewer

Loyiso Centane, Sound Recordist

Riefqua Franks, Transcriber

Melany Fuma, Transcriber/
Translator

Shanaaz Galant, project manager, interviewer

Carlye Lodewyk, Assist Camera/ Transcriber/Translator

Nozuko Madokwe, Production Assistant

Monde Matyumza, DIT

Aviwe Gift Ndalane,

Nangamso Memani, Camera Trainee

Joy Meyer, Production Manager/ Drone Camera Operator

Camera Operator Ngoni Nyembe, Cinematographer

Thulani Nxumalo, Assist Camera

Maganthrie Pillay, Filmmaker/ Director

Katherine Poggenpoel, Production

Assistant/Transcriber Abdul Azeez Stemmet, Sound Recordist

Paul Tichmann, project manager and interviewer

Dean Tiedt, Drone Operator Sky Zulu, Assistant Camera

Masala Film Works, Production Company

Native Creative Productions, Drone Company

South Africa Participants

Mercia Andrews

Jaco Boshoff

Najumoeniesa Damon

Shirley Davids

Esther Esmyol

Dianna Ferrus Johan Geduld

Jake Harding

Miekte Hendriks

Magrieta Jacobs

Magdelene Jacobs

Adriaan Jordaan

Carmen Louw Zann Manho

Ron Martin Dingi Ntuli

Benjamin Du Plessis Roderick Sauls

Lorna Solomon

Anna Swarts

Johannes Warries

Noleen Wilson Cobus Wilson

Ruth J. Simmons Center for the Study of Slavery & Justice THE UNFINISHED CONVERSATIONS SERIES

GLOBAL CURATORIAL PROJECT INTERVIEWS

Dakar, Senegal Curator Interviews Project Team

Prof. Anthony Bogues, interviewer

Mbaye Gueye, driver

Djiby Diouf, driver

Lucien J. Dieng, videographer

Amadou Dieng, WARC

Staff Member

Yannick Etoundi, interviewer

Abdoulaye NIANG, WARC

Staff Member

Dr. Ousmane Sene, WARC Director

Marianne Yade, WARC

Staff Member

Dakar, Senegal Curator Participants

Prof. Anthony Bogues

Dr. Bambi Ceuppens

Miles Greenwood

Prof. Ibrahima Thiaw

Paul Tichmann

Washington, D.C. Curator Interviews Project Team

Michael Anderson, videographer

Prof. Anthony Bogues, interviewer

Yannick Etoundi, interviewer

Dr. Paul Gardullo

Fleur Payson, project manager

Gabriel Soyka, videographer

Washington, D.C. Curator Interview Participants

Prof. Anthony Bogues

Dr. Paul Gardullo

Dr. Keila Grinberg

Johanna Obenda

Brown University Researcher Interviews

Brown University Researcher Interviews Project Team

Yannick Etoundi, interviewer

Michael Spaur, director of photography (Brown University Media Services)

Gracie Vicente, videographer (Brown University Media Services)

Shana Weinberg, interviewer

Brown University Researcher Interviews Participants

Yannick Etoundi

Nélari Figueroa Torres

Gustav Lloyd Hall

Karyn Mota

Bianca Pallo

Dillon Christophe Stone

Laura Tamayo

The Unfinished Conversations: **Telling New Stories Documentary Film**

Anthony Bogues, Unfinished **Conversations Project Director** & Executive Producer

Yannick Etoundi, Documentary Project Manager, Researcher & Associate Producer

Africa Smith, Narrator

Kennedy Jones, Researcher

Bianca Pallo, Global Curatorial **Project Archivist**

Nélari Figueroa Torres, Researcher

Shana Weinberg, Unfinished **Conversations Project Manager** & Associate Producer

Pass Story of Diaspora Forward Inc.

Michael Anderson, Director/ Producer

Gabriel Soyka, Editor

The Unfinished Conversations Series Digital Humanities Website

Center for Digital Scholarship at Brown University Library with Studio Rainwater, and Jake & Co.

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