Sankõfa in Rhode Island

Sñ wo werñ fi na wosankõfa a, yenkyi.

My younger son Kwamena was at Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, USA from 1996 to 2000, when he graduated with degrees in Economics and Computer Science. He benefited from a financial aid package that was at that time made available to just one African student each year.

With my wife and elder son I visited Providence in 1996 to see Kwamena settled in. Looking through the faculty list I discovered a name that could only be Ghanaian: Professor Anani Dzidzienyo; and went in search of its owner. We spent a pleasant evening together in the course of which I charged him with the responsibility of acting in loco parentis with respect to Kwamena. More about Anani below.

Scraps of information connecting Brown with the slave trade intrigued me.

As parents of a Brown student we received copies of the glossy Brown Alumni Monthly (BAM)[1]. On August 14, 1996, I wrote to editor Anne Hinman Diffily as follows:

"In the course of research for a novel on the eighteenth century slave trade, I have recently come across some material (irrelevant to my purpose) concerning the role of Rhode Island. I have summarized this in the enclosed article[2], which you might like to consider using.

"This story might well be old hat to Brown alumni: I have no way of knowing. If it is, you will no doubt know what to do with it!

"I must emphasize that the article is no more than a first draft. For one thing, I have been unable to find in Ghana copies of the last two publications on my list of sources. Moreover, my guess is that there must be more relevant material of which I am simply unaware. I have seen somewhere amongst Kwamena's papers a suggestion that the Brown family were themselves involved. If this was indeed the case, chapter and verse might add punch to the article.

"I feel that the article needs a conclusion relating this slice of history to the present day. However I surmise that my own concerns are somewhat removed from those of most of your readers. You must be more qualified than I am to add something relevant. One question which does occur to me is whether there are any courses available at Brown which deal with this and other aspects of local history.

"If the story *is* of interest, please feel free to do some editing. If, however, you do decide to publish a revised and edited version, I should like to see a draft before agreeing to being given a credit."

The brief reply, dated October 7, 1996, came over the signature of Norman Boucher, who was and still is the Managing Editor of BAM: "Although the material is fascinating, *the connection to Brown*, I'm afraid, *is not great enough to warrant our publishing your submission*." (Italics added.)

And there, as far as I was concerned, the matter rested.

In 2000, unbeknown to me, the university published an updated edition of Janet M. Phillips's *Brown University: A Short History*, first published in 1992. This says virtually nothing about slavery or the slave trade[3]. In her Acknowledgements, Phillips, who died before the 2000 edition

appeared, offers “Special thanks . . . to Anne Diffily of the Brown Alumni Monthly for her generosity with her own notes and source materials.”

In a page on the Brown website, since removed[4] Phillips wrote:

> The destiny of Nicholas Brown Jr. and that of Rhode Island College were so intertwined that it seems almost inconceivable in retrospect that Brown University might have been named for anyone else. Nicholas graduated from the college in 1786 at age seventeen, and by age twenty-two was already a trustee. He just as quickly assumed a leading role in Providence's (and Rhode Island’s) economic life by establishing the firm of Brown & Ives, which became one of New England’s largest mercantile houses. His benefactions to Brown, totaling $160,000 over his lifetime, sprang partly from a sense of proprietorship that his family passed to him, and partly from his own generosity of temperament and broad vision.

We shall return to Nicholas Brown Jr. and his extended family in due course[5].

My novel was published in 2001[6].

* * *

In 2009 Anani Dzidzienyo, in Accra for a conference of ASWAD[7], kindly presented me with a copy of *Slavery and Justice,* the Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice, published in 2007[8].

If committees don’t generally make the best of authors, this is perhaps the exception that proves the rule.

The committee was appointed by Professor Ruth J. Simmons[9] in 2003 not long after she assumed the office of President of Brown University. She charged sixteen distinguished faculty, administrators and students, chaired by historian Professor James Campbell, with the task of examining Brown’s historical ties to slavery and advising the university on the implications of their findings.

In three principal chapters, Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Brown University; Confronting Historical Injustice: Comparative Perspectives; and Confronting Slavery’s Legacy: The Reparations Question, backed by copious notes, the authors use their historical investigations to address broader issues.

In a lecture[10] delivered at St. John’s College, Cambridge, U.K. in 2007 Dr. Simmons explained,

> The process we commissioned at Brown was a means of re-discovering the meaning of the stones, the buildings, the monuments that we walked among every day, ignorant of the language that they spoke, and therefore of the lessons they might teach us. Objects in my very office, the Secretary of James Manning, his portrait and his tall-clock, are themselves a daily reminder to me that I am part of that continuum of leadership that seeks to develop and argue a broad and generous capacity for truth, empathetic behaviour and courageous action. They are also a reminder to me that the history we create today leaves a long trail by which we will inevitably be judged. . . . In undertaking a rediscovery of the history of our founding, we sought not merely to recover the whole of our past but to use this process as a means of thoughtfully shaping our future.

She saw this process as an opportunity

> to teach our students the power of this truth to enable forgiveness and reconciliation, to provide a model for how society overcomes breaches and strengthens ties weakened by forced forgetting. . . .

"One day," she expressed the hope, "people will come to our country and will see museums, monuments, courses of study, institutes and many other signs that the country has made a better effort to acknowledge the role of slavery in creating the nation. There is much more to do but this is a good start, the start of a long effort to set the record straight."

Replying to her own question, "So what did we learn?" President Simmons tells us, "that about thirty members of the Brown corporation owned or captained slave-ships, and many of them were involved in the slave trade during their years of service to the University."

The committee's work "revealed the highs and lows of that period, a period in our history in which some acted out of avarice and contempt for human dignity, and others out of courage and respect for the rights of all men."

She reflects that "we are inevitably caught up in the failings of societies and states," and warns that "History . . .will not hold us harmless from engagement with these failings."

"Where there is moral offence," President Simmons enjoins us, "we must comment. Where there is injustice we must cast light on it. Where there is ambiguity in public responsibility we must encourage debate. Where there is an opportunity to influence others to improve the conditions of society we must not turn away."

All this surely stands as an outstanding application of the principal of ***sankõfa*** to a painful and shameful era of American history; what is missing, I would suggest, is a thorough consideration of the African end of the historical process and of its consequences.

* * *

Re-reading my draft article of 1996, *Rhode Island's Murky Past*, and taking into account my limited access to primary texts and the fact that I am not an historian, I think did a fair job.

Slavery and Justice makes good my failure to discover evidence of the role of the Brown family. It documents in some detail the participation of family members both in the slave trade (with ships trading at Cape Coast Castle and Anomabu) and in the movement for its abolition[11]. The four brothers John, Moses, Joseph and Nicholas carried on business under the title Nicholas Brown & Co. Compared with the Vernon and d'Wolf families, they were relatively minor players amongst the some seven hundred named Rhode Islanders, including thirty members of the University Corporation, who participated in the slave trade as owners or captains. And the story is mixed. When Nicholas Jr. (1769-1841) took over the family firm on the death of his uncle John in 1803 and when the University was renamed for him in 1804, in appreciation of his endowment of a professorship in rhetoric, he had already been a supporter of abolition for many years. On the other hand, it seems clear that a substantial portion of the family fortune which made Nicholas Brown Jr.'s generosity to the university possible, had its origins in the slave trade and the family firm's other slavery-related activities such as the distilling of rum, the manufacture of iron and textiles, the West Indian provisioning trade and banking and insurance.

". . . there is no question," *Slavery and Justice* asserts, "that many of the assets that underwrote the University's creation and growth derived, directly and indirectly, from slavery and the slave trade."

It is now possible to cross-check some of this information against the on-line Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Voyages Database[12] compiled by David Eltis and others. This contains records of all the known 34,940 separate trans-Atlantic slaving voyages which were conducted between 1514 and 1866, voyages which accounted for the shipping of 12,521,336 enslaved men, women and children from African ports. 1,209,321 of these were embarked on the Gold Coast, over a million of them in the course of the eighteenth century alone.

The USA was a relatively minor player. The database records 2176 voyages by USA-registered vessels during the period 1645-1864. All but one of these vessels, ranging in displacement from 10 tons to 1000 tons, were propelled by wind. In 281 of these voyages, vessels registered in the state of Rhode Island called at Gold Coast ports, principally Anomabu and Cape Coast Castle. These vessels embarked some 35,000 unwilling "passengers."

The vessels' names ranged from *Abby* to *Zee Bloem* (Sea Flower). Many of them must have been christened after their owners' beloved wives, sweethearts or daughters, sometimes in pairs: *Agnes, Albertina, Alice and Elizabeth, Anne and Mary, Fair Eliza* and *Charming Sally*. Ships called *Polly* made the most voyages (42), closely followed by *Nancy* and *Sally* (39 each) and *Mary* (33). Other names seem to have reflected the owners' business outlook: *Industry, Venture, Enterprise, Endeavour*; or their expectation of profit: *Hope, Wheel of Fortune, Success* and *Gold Dust*. While *Vulture* and *Deception* now seem appropriate names, others carry a deep burden of irony: *Liberty, Good Intent, Friendship* and *Happy Return*. Vessels named *Africa* made 39 voyages.

The names of the captains of these vessels range from Abraham to Young. The owners whose family names appear most often are D'Wolf[13] (122 voyages), Vernon[14] (60), Gardner and Lopez[15]. Men called Brown had an interest in 31 voyages but not all of these belonged to the Brown family of Providence.

Ships' names, owners' names, captains' names: but what about the unwilling African passengers, the commodification of whose bodies was the objective of these voyages?

When the opportunity presented itself, they fought for freedom. Insurrections are listed on 43 voyages. Vessels were attacked from the shore 8 times and their boats 3 times. 13 ships were captured by Africans; however only 5 of these failed to reach the Americas. In 4 cases a ship was destroyed and the enslaved passengers perished with the vessel. The names of the heroic rebels are lost to history.

Between 1819 and 1845 British cruisers patrolling the West African coast freed over 67,000 captives and recorded the name, age, gender, height and, in some cases, place of origin of each before sending them ashore in the ports of Havana or Freetown. Ten, all but one of them described as Cromatee, were recorded as originating at a Gold Coast port. There were two men, Gwabarnah (29) and Gwabana (24), two women, Abannah (25) and Abana (24), three boys Harth (7), Abony (8) and Coffee (12) and three girls Abauna (9), Ammah (also 9) and Aduah (just 2.) They were all taken from the Brazilian ship Dez de Fevereiro and sent to Freetown. The year was 1822.

The recital of their names invites reflection. Was the infant Adwoa the daughter of one of the two Abenas? What were the circumstances of their capture and enslavement? What families had they

left behind? What sort of life did they manage to make for themselves in Freetown? Are the answers to such questions recoverable and, if so, where?

It is easier to find answers in respect of Africans from the Gold Coast who landed up in Rhode Island. Catherine Callahan[16] writes that "Newport's earliest black residents. . . brought to the city against their will. . . .were enslaved Africans from Ghana, the property of wealthy English and Scottish colonists who were drawn to Newport by its promise of religious freedom."

In a segregated burial ground now known as God's Little Acre, in Newport, Rhode Island, the names engraved on stone burial markers record Gold Coast connections. Cuffe Carr was only five months old when he died on 19 February 1745. Quamino Brown died on June 18, 1756 aged about 70 years. Cudjo (d. 1772) shares a headstone with Amy, who died three years earlier. Were they a married couple buried in a common grave? Cujo Lopez, who died in 1769 aged 66 years, had assumed the surname of his owner, the slave trader Aaron Lopez, a Sephardic Jewish merchant from Portugal, one of the founders of the Touro Synagogue which is still in use in Colonial Newport.

Two men are of particular interest.

John Quamino (a.k.a. Quamine) was born in 1744, probably in Anomabu.

Occramar Marycoo was born two years later, probably in Cape Coast. At that time, Akan had not been reduced to writing. A literate white man must have asked him for his name and written down what he heard. My guess is that he was Nkoromma (or Nkrumah) Mireku. Was he his mother's ninth child, as his name might imply[17]? Or was he perhaps, like Kwame Nkrumah, an only son? We do not know.

Mireku's story was that a sea captain promised his mother to take her son to America in order that he might receive an education. The captain cheated her and in 1760 sold the boy to one Caleb Gardner of Newport, Rhode Island, himself then only 21 years old. Like Aaron Lopez, Gardner marked his ownership by giving Mireku a new surname, his own. So Nkrumah Mireku became Newport Gardner.

Caleb Gardner received his first command of a slave vessel at the age of twenty-three, in 1762. In the following six years he was to make at least five voyages to Cape Coast Castle and Anomabu. In later years he was either the sole or a major investor in at least twenty slaving voyages.

The early history of the two men has remarkable parallels. John Quamino "said his father was one of the chief men at Anamabo (sic), and that he sent him by the captain of a Guineaman to America, to be put to school and instructed in the learning of his country; which the captain engaged to do: But, contrary to his promise, he sold him a slave for life."

Quamino was about ten when he was brought to Rhode Island. In 1761, when he was 16 or 17, "he fell under serious Impressions of Religion and thenceforward sought to God by secret prayer for about three years." He had not yet learned to write, so he dictated a "formal account of his experience to a female fellow servant" and presented the paper to Mrs. Sarah Osborn, a white woman who might have been his owner. "In 1765, more than ten years after his arrival in New England and two years after what he felt was his conversion, Quamino made his Christian profession formally in church, and was baptized . . . and admitted to membership in the First Congregational Church of Newport."

In 1766 Mrs. Osborn began to hold prayer meetings in her house.

“The poor Blacks appeared more generally concerned and engaged than others. They agreed to meet at Mrs. Osborn’s on the evening of the Sabbath. She admitted them, on condition that they should behave orderly in coming and retiring, and always break up seasonably, and those who were not free should not come without the consent of their masters . . . On these occasions they convened in great numbers, commonly to the amount of sixty or eighty, and sometimes more . . . These meetings continued a year or more, and were the means of the apparent reformation of many, and of the hopeful conversion of a number.”

Amongst them were Bristol Yamma and John Quamino, both slaves.

“As they were men of good natural abilities, and appeared truly pious, and retained the knowledge of the language of the nation from whence they were taken on the gold coast, it was thought proper to attempt to fit them to be missionaries, to endeavor to spread the gospel among the heathen Africans, their brethren, for which they appeared greatly desirous. To promote this design a considerable collection of money was made in New England. And the Society in Scotland for propagating christian knowledge, sent money over, which was laid out on them to fit them for the proposed mission.”

The promoters believed that, “There are religious blacks to be found who understand the language of the nations in those parts, who might be improved if properly encouraged. And if they were brought to embrace Christianity, and to be civilized, it would put a stop to the slave trade and render them happy. And it would open a door for a trade which would be for the temporal interest of both Americans and Africans.”

The patronizing tone is somewhat tempered by a reference to Africans “who we have injured and abused so greatly, even more than any other people under heaven.”

The white Christians in Rhode Island decided that it was necessary to check Quamino’s credentials, so they sent a letter to Philip Quaque asking him to make enquiries. Quaque (b.1741) had been sent to England in 1754 and had returned to Cape Coast in 1766. His reply is dated Cape Coast Castle, August 30, 1773. He wrote,

“It is with great pleasure and satisfaction I acquaint you, that my inquiries after the friends and relations of that gentleman, have not been fruitless. The minute account which he has given you of his family and kindred is just: For by inquiring, have found his father's name to be the same as mentioned in your letter; who has been dead many years. His mother's name answers your description; who is still alive; and whom I have had the pleasure of' seeing. But the bowels of maternal affection, in truth do I declare, appear to yearn and greatly agitate her, with tears of joy, like that of Jacob's, when he heard that his beloved son Joseph was yet alive. The joy it kindled on the occasion, the expectation of seeing once more the fruit of her loins, before she, with her grey heirs (sic) go to the grave, fills her with ecstacies resembling Jacob’s who, in raptures, breaks forth, and says, It is enough! My son is yet alive! I hope, through God's blessing to see him before I die. His uncle's name is the same which you mention. In short, every circumstance agrees with the description given me in your letter. His uncle, or some great personage of his family, who now possesses his father's estate, desires with importunity that I would earnestly petition you, for his returning to his native country as soon as possible; and promises that nothing shall be wanting conducive to make him, and all about him happy, and live satisfactorily among his own kindred.

The family unanimously desire me to express to you all the thanks they are able to return for your paternal care and affection expressed towards him."

Around this time Quamino won a lottery and bought his freedom with the proceeds.

In 1773, as a candidate for the proposed mission to Africa, he was required to submit himself for examination. The examiner, the Rev. Ezra Stiles, "judged him unready because of his poor ability to read scripture."

In any event, plans for the mission were stymied by the outbreak of the American War of Independence, 1775-1782.

Quamino, now in his early thirties, married Duchess (a.k.a Dutchess) who was the slave of one William Channing and who worked in his kitchen as a pastry cook.

Their daughter Violet was born in May, 1776. We know this from the inscription on her tombstone: "In memory of Violet, daughter of John and Duchess Quamino, who died January 25th, 1792 aged 15 years, 8 months, 21 days."

Quamino "died in 1779 on a privateer attempting to win prize money to redeem his wife from slavery."

Duchess eventually succeeded in buying her freedom with the proceeds from the sale of cakes. She died in 1804 and is described on her headstone as "A Free Black of Distinguished Excellence: Intelligent, Industrious, Affectionate, Honest and of Exemplary Piety."

There is, to the best of my knowledge, no evidence that Quamino and Mireku knew one another, but it seems not unlikely.

Mireku (a.k.a. Newport Gardner) is credited with being the first black composer and music teacher in the United States. He began to write music when he was only eighteen and subsequently started a singing school. The training he gave his students in reading music and playing instruments enabled them to play at dances for the wealthy and at military parades.

In 1791 Mireku, like Quamino, won money in a lottery. This enabled him to purchase his freedom and that of his family, about which little seems to be known.

The editor of the July 1976 Bicentennial Number of the journal, *The Black Perspective in Music*, writes, "Gardner was a part-time musician. He was very active in affairs related to his people (the civil-rights groups of his period), and his intelligence and literacy enabled him to play a leading role in the formation of the African Union Society in 1780 even as a slave. I examined the records of this unique organization at the Newport Historical Society Library and was amazed at Newport's beautiful handwriting and the clarity of his writing style during the period he served as the organization's secretary. Newport devoted the major part of his life to religious activities, serving as a sexton in the white church of the Rev. Samuel Hopkins for a number of years, then helping to establish the first black church in Newport, the Colored Union Church, which was dedicated 23 June 1824. The church emerged from the African Benevolent Society, organized in December 1807, which had established a schoolhouse for black children in 1808 with Gardner as the head teacher."

Members of the Free African Benevolent Society, the first association formed by Africans in America, worked to raise money to provide proper burials for Africans, to hire white teachers to educate black children and to pay for the passage to Africa of those who wished to return to their homeland. In 1826, at the age of 80, Mireku did just that, making the journey across the Atlantic to Liberia, where he died not long after his arrival.

* * *

Where does all this leave us?

During the eighteenth century and well into the nineteenth century, Rhode Island had strong commercial links with Cape Coast and Anomabu. These were based, of course, on the transatlantic slave trade. Once the trade came to an end, it seems that the memory of those times gradually faded. Rhode Island forgot the Gold Coast and the Gold Coast forgot Rhode Island. Rhode Island made steady, if uneven, progress. Cape Coast and Anomabu stagnated.

Rhode Island, with a population of nearly 1.1 million is the smallest state in the USA. 545,000 Rhode Islanders have jobs, 29,000 are unemployed. The state has a gross product of $42 billion and a GDP per capita of $39,000.

Providence, the largest city and capital, is the economic, cultural and political hub of the state. It was one of the first cities in the United States to industrialize, its economy closely integrated with the slave trade. By 1830, it already had manufacturing industries in metals, machinery, textiles, jewelry and silverware.

Today health services, tourism, and manufacturing are the biggest industries. The population is 180,000 of whom some 17% are of African descent. The median income for a household is about $27,000. The city has one of the highest rates of poverty in the USA with 29% of the population living below the official poverty line, which in 2008-9 ranged from $10,830 for a single person to $37,010 for a family of 8.

Providence has sister cities in Cambodia, Italy, Latvia and the Dominican Republic. The only one remotely connected to Africa is Praia, the capital of Cape Verde.

Brown University, situated in Providence, with 8261 students and 689 full-time faculty, has an endowment of just over 2 billion dollars.

Newport has a population of 39,000 of whom 8% are of African descent. The median income for a household is about $36,000. About 17% of the population live below the poverty line. Newport has sister cities in, Japan, Italy, Canada, Greece, Ireland and Portugal, but none in Africa.

In 2008 Ghana, with a population of 23 million (20 times that of Rhode Island) had a GDP of $16.7 billion, 40% of that of Rhode Island[18].

The population of the Cape Coast Municipal District is about 140,000, roughly three-quarters of that of Providence. The only significant manufacturing establishment is the Ameen Sangari soap factory. The town has ten secondary schools and a university, most of them “ivory towers” located on the outskirts, with relatively little connection with the town. Tourism brings in some revenue, but there is little spread effect.

The World Bank reports Ghana's 2008 GNI per capita as $630. Cape Coast's figure is almost certainly below the national average and Anomabu with an estimated population of 15,000 must surely be even poorer. Cape Coast has two sister cities, both in the USA, Buffalo, N.Y. and Hanover Park, IL.

Despite the disgraceful persistence of poverty in Providence, Rhode Island's prosperity places it in a different world from that of Cape Coast and Anomabu. And yet the wealth of Rhode Island has its historical roots deep in the slave trade and much of this trade was with Cape Coast and Anomabu.

Old Africa was sucked dry to feed the economy of the infant American state.

Slavery and Justice includes a recommendation to "Expand opportunities at Brown for those disadvantaged by the legacies of slavery and the slave trade," by "increas(ing) the amount of financial aid available to needy students from outside the United States . . ." and by "dedicat(ing) particular attention to the recruitment of students from Africa and the West Indies, the historic points of origin and destination for most of the people carried on Rhode Island ships."

In 2008 an Israeli businessman donated $5 million to Brown to establish the "Advancing Africa Scholarship Fund."

The fund requires beneficiaries to undertake to return to full-time residency in Africa for a period of at least two years upon graduation from Brown. During those two years Brown will give them a monthly stipend to ease their transition from rich America to poor Africa. The initial intake was 36 students from 16 countries in Africa, including Ghana. It will be interesting to see how many, after two years of slumming it in their home country, will resist the temptation to join the procession to the West.

As far as the citizens of Cape Coast and Anomabu are concerned, the fund might just as well not exist.

"Where there is moral offence," Brown University President Simmons enjoins us, "we must comment. Where there is injustice we must cast light on it. Where there is ambiguity in public responsibility we must encourage debate. Where there is an opportunity to influence others to improve the conditions of society we must not turn away."

What is missing in *Slavery and Justice* is a chapter examining the long-term damage which the Rhode Island slave trade inflicted on the Gold Coast and considering how Brown University, Providence, Newport and the State of Rhode Island might make some amends for that damage.

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[1] Renamed Brown Alumni Magazine in September/October 1997. www.brownalumnimagazine.com
[2] *Rhode Island's Murky Past: A Letter from Africa*. See box.
[3] *Slavery and Justice*, Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice, 2007. Note 22. For on-line link see footnote 8, below.
[4] http://www.brown.edu/webmaster/about/history
[5] http://www.raken.com/american_wealth/OTHER/newsletter/chronicle300403.asp
[6] Manu Herbstein, *Ama, a Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, most recently published by Techmate, Accra. Companion website: www.ama.africatoday.com
[7] ASWAD, the Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora, www.*aswadiaspora.org*
[8] Available for download at http://brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/ .
9 Dr. Simmons is the first African-American to head an Ivy League university in the U.S. She is frequently described as "the great-granddaughter of slaves."
[10] http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/cms_misc/media/chapel_and_choir/Ruth_Simmons_Mar07.pdf

[11]The story of the fraught relationship between the scoundrel John Brown and his reformed and noble brother Moses has recently been told by Charles Rappleye in *Sons of Providence: The Brown Brothers, the Slave Trade, and the American Revolution*, Simon & Schuster, 2006. I've read reviews, not the book.
[12] www.slavevoyages.com
[13] In *Inheriting the Trade: A Northern Family Confronts it Legacy as the Largest Slave-Trading Dynasty in U.S history*, Thomas Norman DeWolf tells the story of how he and several distant relatives have attempted to come to terms with the criminal behaviour of their forebears.
[14] "The Vernons procured almost all their slaves on the Gold Coast . . ." James A. Rawley & Stephen D. Beehrendt, The Transatlantic Slave Trade: a history, U. of Nebraska Press, 2005.
[15] Virginia Bever Platt "And Don't Forget the Guinea Voyage": The Slave Trade of Aaron Lopez of Newport, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Oct., 1975), pp. 601-618
[16] http://www.colonialcemetery.com/pages/NDN0714.pdf. My sources regarding Mireku and Quamino are as follows. (1) www.colonialcemetery.com (2) http://www.eyesofglory.com/blkhist.htm (3)*The Black Perspective in Music*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Bicentennial Number (Jul., 1976), pp. 202-207; (4) Howard Brooks, *The Negro in Newport* (Newport, 1946) (Brooks is reported to have used the "Papers of Newport Gardner" in writing his book. I haven't seen either the book or the Papers.) (4) Samuel Hopkins, D.D. *Memoirs of the life of Mrs. Sarah Osborn, who died at Newport (Rhode Island) on the second day of August 1796 in the eighty-third year of her age*, 1814. In quoting from these works I have taken minor liberties with spelling and punctuation.
[17] Christaller has "Çkoromma, *pr. n. f., the ninth child.*" Christaller, J. G., Dictionary of the Asante and Fante Language called Tshi (Twi), second edition, Basel, 1933.
[18] http://devdata.worldbank.org/AAG/gha_aag.pdf