EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY GLASS BEADS FROM THE ENGLISH SLAVING FORT AT BUNCE ISLAND, SIERRA LEONE

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While countless tons of European glass beads flowed into West Africa over the centuries, there is still relatively little information concerning what specific nations were importing over time. It was therefore of great interest to learn about two collections of beads surface collected at the site of a British slaving fort that operated on Bunce Island in the Sierra Leone estuary of coastal Sierra Leone from the late 17th to the early 19th century. Although it is impossible to assign the beads to a specific period in the fort's history, it is clear that they are of 18th-century origin and were part of the goods traded by the British. The present study describes the small but diverse collection of beads and places them in historical context.

INTRODUCTION

Bunce Island, measuring only about 550 by 110 m, is located at the limit of navigation in the estuary of the Sierra Leone River some 25 km to the northeast of Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, in West Africa (Fig. 1). Although not well known, it is significant as it was the site of the principal British slaving post in the region for over one hundred years, from the late 17th to the early 19th century. Although it was captured and burned on several occasions by pirates and others, it remained in British hands for the entire period. This is in contrast to the situation elsewhere in West Africa where many of the forts often changed hands and were occupied by various nationals, or competing forts were situated close to each other so artifacts recovered from them often represent a number of trading sources. Thus artifacts recovered from archaeological contexts on Bunce Island have the potential to show us what specific types of goods were being traded to the indigenous population by the British during the 18th century. While it would be beneficial to discuss all the recovered material, this article will primarily deal with the glass trade beads surface collected at the site on two separate occasions.

THE STORY OF BUNCE ISLAND

Situated at the southwestern corner of West Africa, Sierra Leone (originally Serra Lyoa) was named by Portuguese explorers in the middle of the 15th century (Fyfe 1962:1). In the years that followed, the Portuguese who traded here were joined by entrepreneurs from many nations, all of whom came to obtain ivory and slaves for which they proffered such European commodities as cotton cloth, firearms, tobacco, brandy, rum, and beads (Fyfe 1962:9; Kup 1961:25).

The traders included the English who began arriving in earnest in the early part of the 17th century. Having obtained a trading monopoly from the local king, a London-based firm by the name of Wood and Company had already established a trading fort in the Sherbro region by 1628. There followed The Royal Adventurers of England Trading into Africa, chartered by Charles II in 1660, which lost no time in building forts in the Sherbro region and on Tasso Island near the mouth of the Rokel River. This concern was taken over by the Gambia Adventurers in 1668, which soon began construction of a roughly square fortification at the downstream end of Bunce Island, an area that was raised approximately 4.6 m above the rest of the island. The Royal African Company took over the fort in 1678 (Kup 1961:97; Lawrence 1969:71; Opala 2007:145). In 1713, Bunce functioned as a satellite fort under the control of the Chief Agent at Sherbro. Six years later, it became the headquarters for the Royal African Company (Fyfe 1962:4).

At this time the fort had of a stone wall 2.5 m high with three circular bastions facing the navigable channel with the rest of the compound enclosed by a palisade. Within the enclosure was a masonry governor's house, a stone slave building, the employees' dwellings, and a slave yard. Outside lived the free laborers or *grumettas* (DeCorse 2007:7; Lawrence 1969:71-72). Although 17 cannon guarded the fort, they did not repel a force under

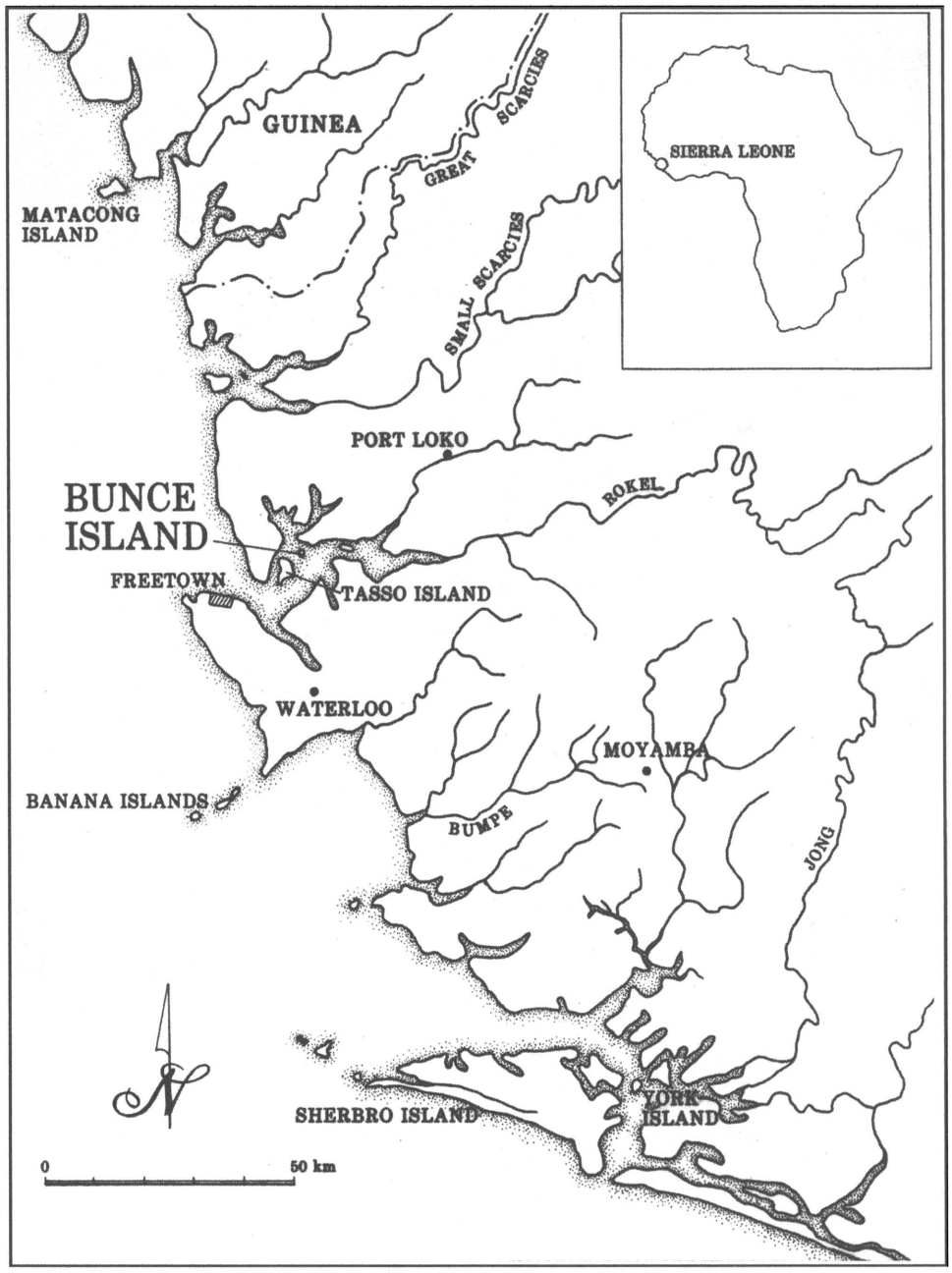

Figure 1. Map of western Sierra Leone showing the location of Bunce Island (Drawing: D. Kappler).

the command of the Afro-Portuguese slaver José Lopez da Moura which captured and burned it to the ground in October of 1728 (Opala 2007:145). As the fort had never been very profitable, this was the last straw and the Royal African Company summarily withdrew from Sierra Leone, which then came under the control of pirates and private traders (Kup 1961:109-110, 112).

The fort on Bunce remained in ruins until the 1740s when it was purchased by George Fryer, a British merchant, who then sold it to Grant, Oswald, and Company of London in 1748 (Opala 2007:145). Under this new management, Bunce began to prosper and would soon become one of the principal slave-trading establishments in the region (Opala 2007:145). Considered the finest fort that the English possessed on the coast, Bunce nevertheless fell, practically undefended, to the French in 1779, and was again laid waste. Operating in a dilapidated condition, the fort entered a period of decline (Kup 1961:116-117).

The company of John and Alexander Anderson, another London-based concern, took possession of Bunce Island in 1764 (Opala 2007:146). They soon had business back on track and the venture prospered for three decades but then things began to unravel. The French once again attacked the fort in 1794, and the following six years saw the company's ships harassed by French privateers (Fyfe 1962:60-61). Then, in 1807, the English Parliament forbade British subjects from engaging in the slave trade and Sierra Leone became a Crown Colony the following year (Opala 2007:160). This sounded the death knell for the fort on Bunce Island (Fig. 2).

When the island became the site of a temporary recruiting station for the Royal African Corps and the West Indian regiments in 1811, only a handful of fort employees still lived there (Fyfe 1962:118). The Andersons sold the island in 1817 to their agent, Henry Williams, who established a sawmill there. Providing "African teak" for the shipbuilding trade, the sawmill appears to have functioned until the early 1840s at which time the business folded and the site was finally abandoned (Opala 2007:160). The old fort soon fell into ruins and now only an occasional visitor disturbs its moldering stones.

THE INVESTIGATION OF BUNCE ISLAND

Interest in the ruins on Bunce Island began in the late 1940s when M.C.F. Easmon, a doctor and amateur historian, succeeded in having the fort designated as Sierra Leone's first historic site. The overgrown structures were cleared of vegetation and surveyed, and even a model of the ruins was prepared but it appears little else was subsequently done to investigate or develop the site (Opala 2007:161).

The investigation of Bunce Island was renewed in 1976, when Joseph Opala, a Peace Corps volunteer on the staff of the Institute of African Studies at Fourah Bay College, undertook an archaeological survey of the site as part of a project funded by the U.S. Embassy. He updated the plans made during Easmon's survey and also surface collected artifacts on the beach below the fortifications. These consisted primarily of European ceramics (Opala 1977). No beads were recovered. Subsequent work focused on structural details and the preparation of a computer-generated reconstruction of the fort as it appeared in 1805 (Opala 2007:162-163).

Despite the fact that the fort on Bunce Island is a significant historical and archaeological site, no excavations have been undertaken as of this writing. All the material recovered to date is in the form of surface material found eroding from the beach. The first person to report on such material was James J. Johnston (1973) of the U.S. Foreign Service who was stationed in Freetown in 1971-1972. He collected a variety of items, including glass beads, during several visits to the island. The material was found eroding from an old trash deposit located on the beach below the fort's stone defense wall at the east end of the island. Finding that many of the beads had correlatives at Native American sites, Mr. Johnston donated a portion of his finds to the University of Arkansas Museum in Fayetteville, Arkansas.

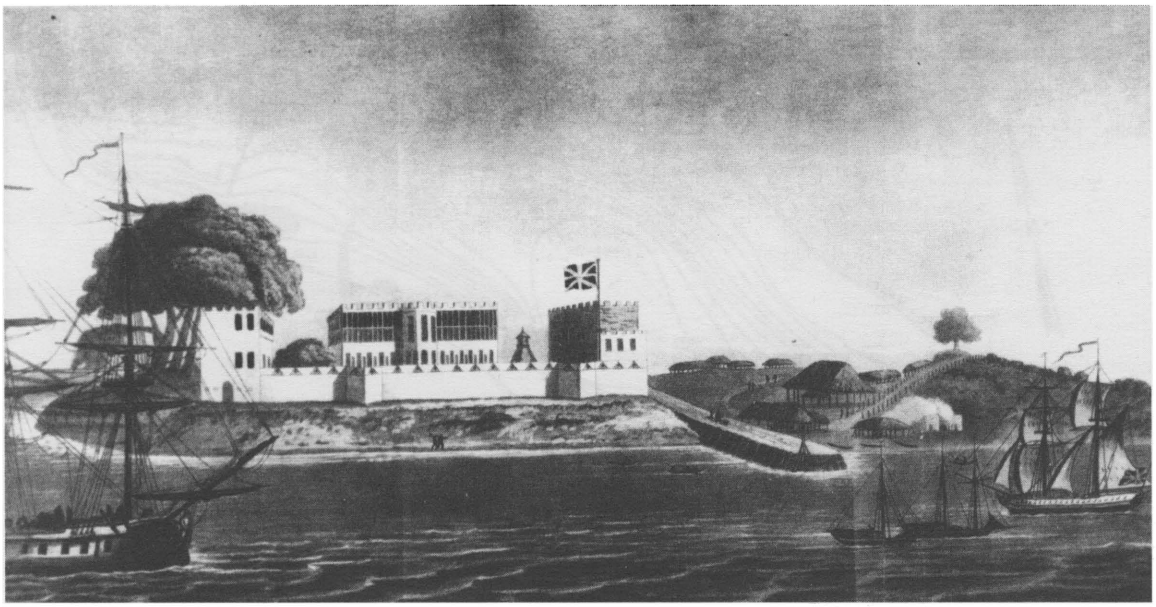

Figure 2. "Bance Island, in the River Sierra Leone. The property of John & Alexander Anderson esq[rs], London." Drawing by R. Cooking from a sketch by J. Corry (Corry 1807: opp. 40).

A formal archaeological assessment of the island was undertaken in October of 1993 by Christopher R. DeCorse (1994) with the assistance of Leland Ferguson. The work was performed at the invitation of the American Embassy, with the permission of the Sierra Leone Monuments and Relics Commission, and was intended to provide a preliminary assessment of the cultural resources of the island with an eye to the possible development of the site as a national resource.

Work concentrated on the northern end of the island where the fort is located. The west end could not be examined as it was heavily overgrown. Artifacts were only found on the beach and to provide horizontal control, the entire beach was divided into 10-m-square units (Fig. 3). As one might expect, artifacts were concentrated adjacent to the fortifications and represent secondary refuse deposits (Figs. 4-5). Diagnostic artifacts included ceramic sherds, smoking pipe and bottle fragments, coins, and beads. Save for the beads, many of the objects were found to be of 18th-century British manufacture, though some Dutch and Chinese ceramics were also recovered. Due to time constraints, only a cursory analysis could be performed. The bead data are presented in Appendix A.

A more extensive investigation of Bunce Island was performed in 2006, again by Christopher DeCorse (2007). This involved a thorough survey of the surface structures with emphasis on the fort location. While surface artifacts were encountered, none were collected, it being deemed that sufficient data had been obtained from the material collected in 1993.

THE BUNCE ISLAND BEADS

The beads described here are part of those collected in 1971-1972 by James J. Johnston. The University of Arkansas Museum kindly loaned the author a representative sample of the beads for analysis.

The 155 specimens comprising the study collection represent 36 distinct varieties; 23 of these are of drawn manufacture, 12 are wound, and 1 is mold-pressed. The recorded varieties are identified using the classification system devised by Kenneth and Martha Kidd (1970) and expanded by Karklins (1985). Varieties not recorded by the Kidds are marked by an asterisk (*) in the identifying code followed by a sequential letter in parentheses for ease of reference in text.

Colors are designated using the names and codes in the *Color Harmony Manual* (Container Corporation of America 1958). The equivalent color code in the Munsell color

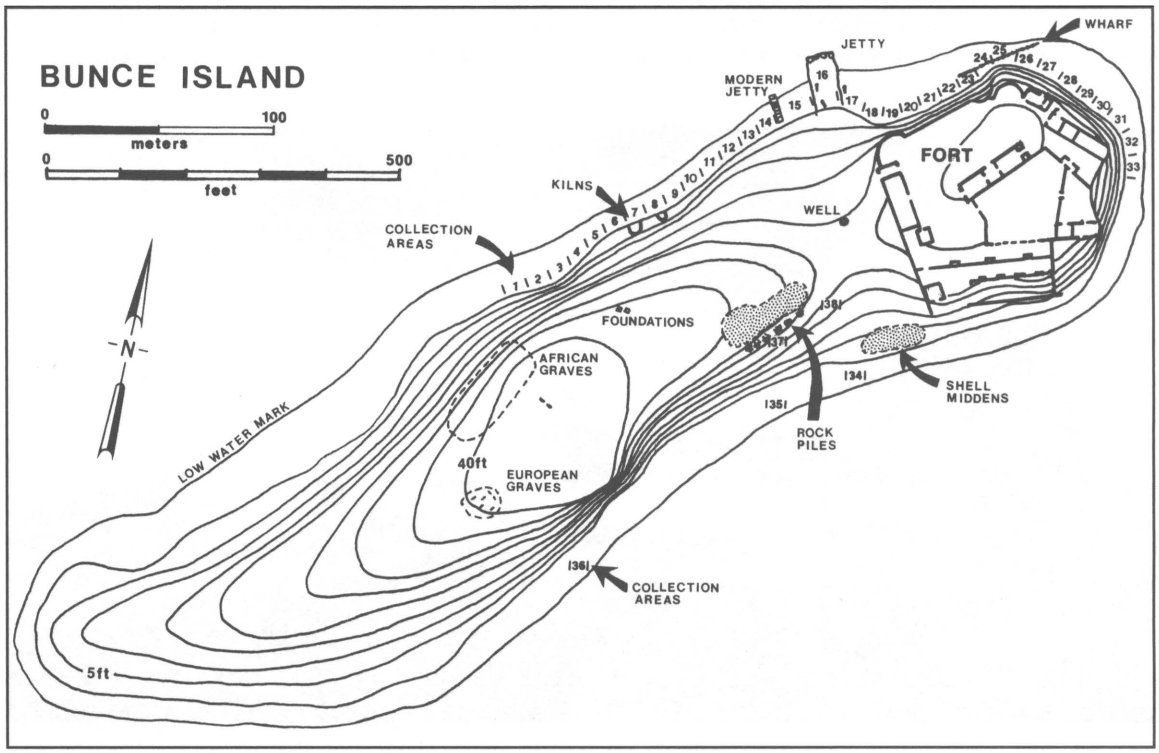

Figure 3. Topographical view of Bunce Island showing the 1993 collection areas (courtesy: C.R. DeCorse).

Figure 4. Bunce Island viewed from the southwest. The modern jetty is visible on the right, the stones of the old jetty are in the center, and the ruins of the fort are in the vegetation to the left (photo: C.R. DeCorse).

Figure 5. Close-up of the old jetty on Bunce Island in 2006, showing part of the beach where the majority of the beads were found. A cannon rests against the jetty (courtesy: V. Viditz-Ward).

notation system (Munsell Color 1976) is also provided for the benefit of those who may not be familiar with the manual. Patinated beads were moistened with water to reveal their true color. Diaphaneity is described using the terms opaque (op.), translucent (tsl.), and transparent (tsp.).

The size categories used were established by Kidd and Kidd (1970) and refer to bead diameter. They have the following numerical values: very small, under 2 mm; small, 2- 4 mm; medium, 4 - 6 mm; large, 6 - 10 mm; and very large, over 10 mm. As this sizing system provides only a minimum of information, the exact diameter and length range of each variety is also presented to increase the comparative value of this report.

In the descriptions that follow, reference is made to the color illustrations by plate, row, and row position; e.g., Pl. IIIC, R. 1, #1 designates the first bead in Row 1 of Plate IIIC.

Drawn Beads

These are composed of short sections of tubing drawn out from a hollow gather of molten glass. Their ends were either left as unaltered breaks or rounded by subsequent heating and agitation.

Ia2. Tubular; op. black; broken ends; medium size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIIC, R. 1, #1).

Length: 19.8 mm Diameter: 5.9 mm

Ia*(a). Tubular; op. sunlight yellow; well-rounded ends; large size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIIC, R. 1, #2).

Length: 13.1 mm Diameter: 8.5 mm

Ia*(b). Tubular; op. dark palm green; broken ends; large size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIIC, R. 1, #3).

Length: 21.0 mm Diameter: 8.9 mm

Ia19. Tubular; tsp. bright navy; broken ends; numerous linear bubbles in the glass; striated surfaces; small to large size; 6 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 1, #4; R. 2, #1).

Length: 8.5-34.1 mm Diameter: 3.5-9.7 mm

Ib*(a). Tubular; op. white body decorated with 3 op. dark rose-brown stripes; well-rounded ends; large to very large size; 4 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 2, #2).

Length: 9.4-13.6+ mm Diameter: 9.5-13.9 mm

Ibb*(a). Tubular; op. white body decorated with 4 op. light gold on op. redwood stripes; well-rounded ends; large size; 4 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 2, #3).

Length: 10.8+-20.8+ mm Diameter: 7.0-7.2 mm

IIa6. Round; op. black (tsp. rose wine on thin edges); large size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIIC, R. 2, #4).

Length: 5.7 mm Diameter: 6.4 mm

IIa13. Round; op. white; large size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIIC, R. 2, #5).

Length: 7.8 mm Diameter: 8.0 mm

IIa15. Oval; op. white; large size; 3 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 2, #6).

Length: 11.8-13.3 mm Diameter: 7.1-8.8+ mm

IIa*(a). Oval; tsp. bright blue; large size; 17 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 3, #1).

Length: 11.3-16.6 mm Diameter: 6.5-9.9 mm

IIa57. Oval; tsp. bright navy; large size; 4 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 3, #2).

Length: fragmentary Diameter: 7.3+-9.5+ mm

IIb*(a). Round to barrel shaped; op. black (tsp. rose wine on thin edges) body decorated with 6 op. white stripes; large size; 7 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 3, #3).

Length: 6.3-9.5 mm Diameter: 7.8-9.7+ mm

IIb*(b). Round to barrel shaped; op. black (tsp. rose wine on thin edges) body decorated with 8 op. white stripes; large to very large size; 11 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 3, #4-6).

Length: 6.5-11.3 mm Diameter: 6.8-10.7 mm

IIb*(c). Barrel shaped; tsp. bright blue body decorated with 6 op. white stripes; large size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIIC, R. 4, #1).

Length: 9.2 mm Diameter: 8.3+ mm

IIb*(d). Barrel shaped; tsp. bright blue body decorated with 8 op. white stripes; large size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIIC, R. 4, #2).

Length: 8.3 mm Diameter: 7.8 mm

IIb*(e). Round to barrel shaped; tsp. bright navy body decorated with 24 thin op. white stripes; large size; 14 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 4, #3).

Length: 8.3-11.2 mm Diameter: 7.2-9.8+ mm

IIb'*(a). Barrel shaped; op. black (tsp. dark rose brown on thin edges) body decorated with 6 spiral op. white stripes; very large size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIIC, R. 4, #4).

Length: 10.8 mm Diameter: 12.1+ mm

IIIa2. Tubular; op. redwood outer layer; tsp. light gray core; ends slightly to well rounded; medium size; 2 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 4, #5).

Length: 8.7-9.8 mm Diameter: 3.5+-4.0+ mm

IIIa3. Tubular; op. redwood outer layer; tsp. apple green core; ends slightly to well rounded; surfaces greatly eroded; large size; 5 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 4, #6).

Length: 7.6+-24.3 mm Diameter: 5.3-7.1 mm

IIIb*(a). Tubular; op. light gold outer layer decorated with 3-4 op. redwood stripes; tsl./op. oyster white core; ends slightly to well rounded; large size; 6 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 5, #1).

Length: 9.6-21.0 mm Diameter: 6.0-7.8 mm

IIIb*(a). Tubular; tsp. cinnamon outer layer decorated with 10 thin op. white stripes; op. white middle layer; tsl. mustard tan core; ends slightly to well rounded; large size; 7 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 5, #1).

Length: 18.8-20.7 mm Diameter: 7.0-8.1+ mm

IIIk*(a). Tubular; chevron bead with 4 starry layers: 1) tsp. bright navy outer layer, 2) op. white, 3) op. redwood, 4) op. white (bluish tint) core; glass is very eroded; large to very large size; 3 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 5, #3).

Length: 13.3+-25.0+ mm Diameter: 7.5+-10.8+ mm

IVa5. Round to barrel shaped; op. redwood outer layer; tsp. apple green core; large size; 8 specimens (Pl. IIIC, R. 5, #4-5).

Length: 6.9-11.0+ mm Diameter: 7.3+-9.0+ mm

Wound Beads

These were made by winding a strand of molten glass around a metal mandrel until the desired size and shape were achieved. The beads were sometimes pressed with small paddles to impart facets, or decorated with glass appliqués.

WIb*(a). Round; op. black; very large size; 6 specimens (Pl. IIID, R. 1, #1-2).

Length: 10.1-11.6 mm Diameter: 11.0-15.1 mm

WIb5. Round to oblate; tsl. pale blue; very large size; 12 specimens (Pl. IIID, R. 1, #3-5).

Length: 6.5-18.5 mm Diameter: 10.0-20.2 mm

WIb*(b). Round to oblate; op. dark green; very large size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIID, R. 2, #1).

Length: 11.8 mm Diameter: 11.7 mm

WIb14. Oblate; op. bright Dutch blue; the beads are fused together; very large size; 2 specimens (Pl. IIID, R. 2, #2).

Length: 6.9 mm Diameter: ca. 11.0 mm

WIb16. Round to barrel shaped; tsp. bright navy; eroded surfaces; large to very large size; 3 specimens (Pl. IIID, R. 2, #3-4).

Length: 7.0-13.3 mm Diameter: 7.4-13.0 mm

WIc*(a). Oval; op. black; eroded surfaces; very large size; 8 specimens (Pl. IIID, R. 3, #1-2).

Length: 16.3 mm Diameter: 13.4-16.8 mm

WIc3. Oval; tsl. pale blue; eroded surfaces; very large size; 2 specimens (Pl. IIID, R. 3, #3).

Length: 13.5+-29.0 mm Diameter: 11.5+-18.8+ mm

WIIc2. Pentagonal faceted; tsp. light gray; eroded oblate specimen exhibiting a series of pressed pentagonal facets; very large size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIID, R. 4, #1).

Length: 6.9 mm Diameter: 11.6 mm

WIIf*(a). Ridged tube (pentagonal cross-section); tsp./tsl. bright navy; eroded surfaces; each bead exhibits 5 pressed rectangular facets that extend from one end to the other; very large size; 2 specimens (Pl. IIID, R. 4, #2).

Length: 9.9-11.1 mm Diameter: 13.2 mm

WIIIb*(a). Round to oblate; op. black body decorated with an op. white lattice design composed of 3 interwoven glass strands; shiny to dull surfaces; very large size; 6 specimens (Pl. IIID, R. 4, #3).

Length: 10.3-12.7 mm Diameter: 14.0-14.4 mm

WIIIb*(b). Round; op. black body decorated with 12 eyes (the 4 around either end are tsp. aqua green on op. white; the inlays of the 4 equatorial eyes are missing); large size; 1 specimen (Pl. IIID, R. 4, #4).

Length: 8.4 mm Diameter: 8.5 mm

WIIIb*(c). Barrel shaped; tsp. bright blue; the eroded surface exhibits a series of rounded ridges and oval medallions set parallel to the perforation which probably represent colored glass inlays that have leached out; large size; 1 fragmentary specimen (Pl. IIID, R. 4, #6).

Length: 6.6 mm Diameter: 8.3+ mm

Mold-Pressed Beads

Produced by pressing melted glass in a two-piece mold. The surface could subsequently be altered by grinding.

MPIIc*(a). Long octagonal barrel (Beck's [1928] type XIV. D.1.b.); tsl./op. redwood; the molded facets appear to have been smoothed by grinding; eroded surface; very large size; 1 very fragmentary specimen (Pl. IIID, R. 4, #5).

Length: indeterminate Diameter: ca. 19.5 mm

Observations

While the total bead sample is relatively small (232 specimens), it is possible to make a few observations concerning the Bunce collection. Undecorated drawn beads are a major feature with tubular and heat-rounded forms appearing in about equal quantities. Red and blue varieties predominate. Striped beads are also common with heat-rounded forms outnumbering tubular specimens. Black and blue beads with straight white stripes predominate but white beads with red or gold/red stripes and yellow or yellowish-brown beads with red or white stripes are also present. There are also two varieties of blue chevron beads with 4-5 layers.

The wound bead category is dominated by very large monochrome specimens that are generally round to oblate but also range to oval and doughnut forms. Complex forms include ridged tubes and pentagonal-faceted specimens. The majority are pale to dark blue in color but white, gray, black, and dark green specimens are also present. Decorated wound beads are in a minority with black specimens decorated with a white latticework being the most common. Much less common are beads decorated with eyes, spiral stripes, or other inlaid designs.

DeCorse (2007:247) identified one very small faceted bead as possibly being made of quartz crystal but it may well be glass.

DATING THE BUNCE ISLAND BEADS

Being surface finds, it is impossible to attribute any of the beads from Bunce Island to a specific phase of the fort's occupation. It is, however, possible to assign a general date to them based on comparisons with beads from well-dated archaeological sites. As such bead assemblages are rare in West Africa, it is necessary to compare the Bunce material to that from sites in eastern North America to arrive at a probable date. This is an acceptable procedure, research having revealed that beads were reaching West Africa, the Caribbean, and eastern North America at about the same time during the 18th century (Karklins 1991:41) as a result of the triangular slave trade which linked these areas with Europe.

As a group, the Bunce beads fall neatly into Quimby's (1966) middle historic period which extends from ca. 1670 to ca. 1760. It is defined by such bead types as the striped drawn varieties, and the large and very large wound beads in oval, pentagonal-faceted, and ridged-tube forms, as well as those with lattice-like decoration. The presence of small projections on the ends of some of the drawn specimens and the elongated form of others is indicative of *a speo* manufacture which was used to heat-round beads from at least the early 17th century to the latter part of the 18th century (Karklins 1993).

While a few Bunce varieties extend well into the 19th century—such as the four-layer chevron (IIIk*), the black eye bead (WIIIb*), and the long octagonal barrel (MPIIc*)—the general indication is that the majority of the varieties may be attributed to the 18th century.

The material collected by DeCorse (1994:7-8) corroborates such a postulation. Many of the recovered ceramics, as well as the bottle and clay smoking pipe fragments, are clearly of 18th-century British origin, though such British ceramics as white salt-glazed stoneware, creamware, pearlware, and Nottingham and brown stoneware are specifically attributable to the second half of the 18th century. While nothing definitely associated with the 17th century was found, several early 19th-century items were identified, specifically whitewares and other refined white-bodied earthenwares, as well as a clay smoking pipe with a likely 19th-century bowl form.

Furthermore, Mr. Johnston (1973) recovered "two coins, a William III [1698-1701] penny and a quarter of a Spanish 8 reales, minted in Mexico [post-1732-1772], and an anti-slavery medal from late in the 18th century" which further supports an 18th-century provenience for the beads.

BEAD USE IN SIERRA LEONE

How the beads traded at Bunce may have been used by the native population is revealed by several historical accounts. Probably the best description of these peoples' adornments was penned by John Matthews while visiting Sierra Leone in 1786:

> Their dress is very simple and easy. The boys and girls never wear any thing but a *tuntungeé*, which is a thin slip of cloth passed between the legs. The different manner of wearing it denotes the sex. The

girls have a string tied round their waist, and the ends of the *tuntungeé* are tucked under it, and left to hang down before and behind, with a belt or girdle of beads, or loose strings of them tied round their waist; the boys have the short end forward, the other part is brought round their loins, tucked under, and left to hang down behind only. After marriage the women lay aside the *tuntungeé*, (except among the Nalloes, who never wear any thing else) and wear a cloth round their waist, which reaches down about the middle of the leg; though they are very fond of wearing it over their breasts, not in order to hide them, but to make them flat, which (as it is a sign of womanhood) gives them additional consequence. They are also very fond of ornaments, such as beads formed into necklaces, bracelets, &c. silver rings, lockets and chains, manillas, (which are hoops of silver made flat or round to wear on the wrists), strings of coral and use a variety of paints. An African lady, when full drest, makes no contemptible figure:—over her common country cloth, which we may term her under petticoat, she wears one of red taffity; a black silk handkerchief tied by two corners round her neck, hangs down before like a child's bib, and covers her bosom; another of the same colour is tied round her head: she has gold earrings in her ears, round her neck a string of large coral; and a silver or gold locket and chain. On each wrist two or three manillas, and five or six silver rings on each finger; her forehead is painted with various angles and triangles of white or red, and her hair neatly and curiously plaited; and sometimes close shaved in small circular or crescent formed spots.—Behind her follows her waiting-maids, (who are generally the prettiest girls she can procure, from ten to fifteen years old), decorated with coral and beads, and a piece of taffity or fine chintz thrown over their left shoulders like a highlander's plaid (Matthews 1788:107-109).

A bit more information is provided in Catherine Hutton's account of her pretended visit to Africa in the early 1800s:

> The inhabitants are Mandingoes, and are a mixture of Pagans and Muhamedans; but the former are by far the most numerous, and the government is in their hands.... The habit of the Mandingoes is the loose frock, not unlike a surplice, made of cotton cloth; with drawers, which reach half way down the leg, sandals, and a white cotton cap. The dress of the women consists of two pieces of cotton, each about two yards long and one broad; the one wrapped round the waist, and forming a petticoat, which reaches to the ancles; the other thrown negligently over the shoulders and bosom. This is the dress worn in all the countries in this part of Africa; but the head-dress varies according to the taste of the females of different nations, and the ornaments within their reach. On the Gambia, they wear a narrow fillet of cotton, wrapped many times round the head. In Bandou, the head is encircled by strings of white beads, and a small plate of gold is worn on the middle of the forehead. In Kasson the head is decorated in an elegant manner with white shells. In Kaarta and Ludamar, the hair is raised very high, by means of a pad, and adorned with coral (Hutton 1821, 3:24).

While traveling among the Timannee (Temne) who lived in the area to the east of Bunce Island, Major Alexander Gordon Laing (1825:82) noted the following:

> The dress of the females, near the waterside, is simple enough. They wear before marriage a narrow piece of cloth, called tuntunge, or a covering of beads called a patie, fastened before and behind to a strip of cloth, or to strings of beads, encircling their loins; [a]fter marriage, the patie and tuntunge are laid aside, and the more decent attire is adopted of two yards of blue bast, wrapt round the body like a petticoat [Fig. 6]. They are fond of decorating their heads, necks, wrists, and ancles with beads; those most prized by them are the small coral, and a yellow pound bead, known among them by the name of masarabunto.

Further to the east, Laing encountered the Koorankos (Koranko). Of their dress and adornments he wrote:

> The costume of the females resembles that of the Timannees, being merely a tuntunge or patie of beads before marriage, and a cloth more scanty than that used by the Timannees after marriage; this cloth or pang is wrapt round the middle, and only impends as far as the ham of the leg. They are great proficients in the art of dressing hair, and ornament each other's heads with great skill. The front part of the head is left plain, the hair or wool being combed back, and gathered into large balls, one over each temple, the summits of which are decorated by a cowry, or a bead of mock coral; from these balls a succession of neat plats are suspended round the back of the head, to the ends of which are attached beads or cowries, and among the dancers hawk's bells (Laing 1825:198-199).

While in Falaba, in what is now eastern Sierra Leone, Laing (1825:310-311) recorded the ornaments of the local women:

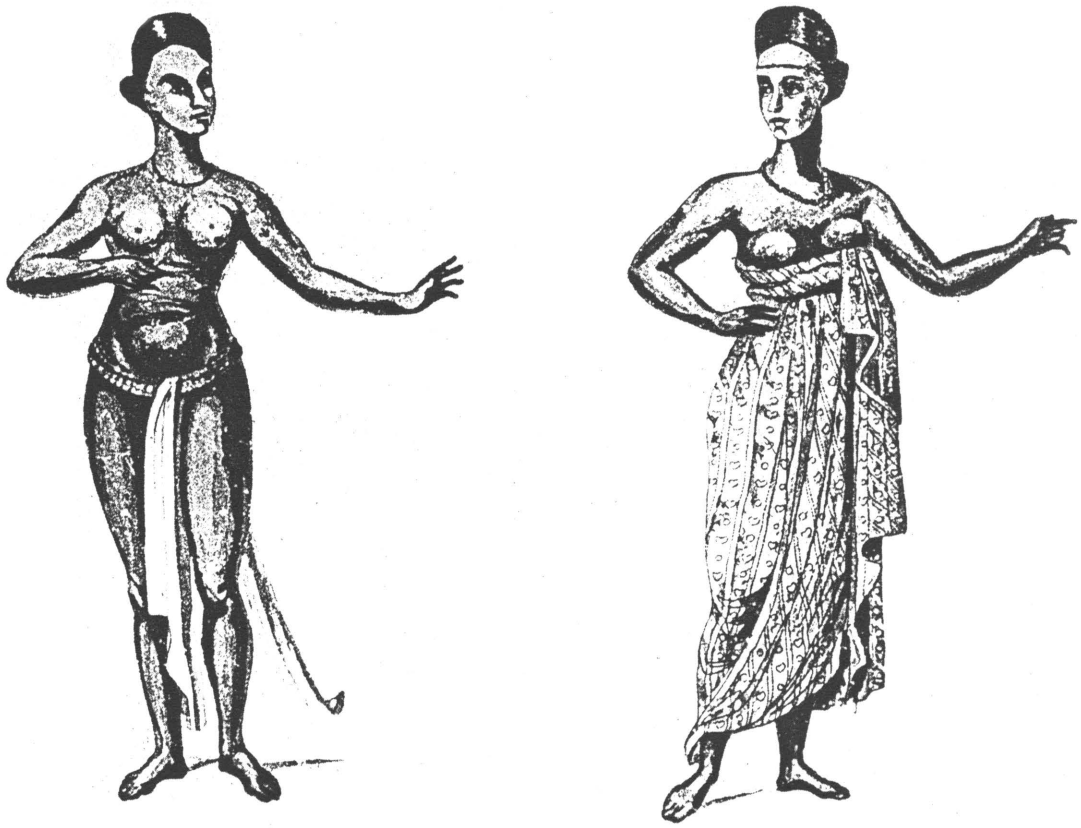

Figure 6. Timannee females, before (left) and after (right) marriage (Laing 1825: opp. 81).

> The wool, or hair, was divided, and arranged into a number of small balls, which were tipt, or surmounted, by beads, cowries, and pieces of red cloth, the interstices being smeared nearly an inch thick with fresh butter, a most disgusting practice, adopted as a substitute for palm oil; the ancles and wrists were beautifully ornamented with strings of pound beads of various colours, laced tightly together in depth about fifteen or twenty strings.

From the above it is clear that glass beads were popular among the native women as adornments for the head, neck, waist, and ankles, as well as to adorn some unmarried womens' tuntunges. Interestingly, no mention is made of bead use by men and children but the likelihood is that they were adorned with beads to some degree as well.

CONCLUSION

While many of the objects collected on Bunce Island were manufactured in England, the beads are doubtless of Venetian origin with the possible exception of the single mold-pressed specimen which may have been produced in Bohemia. Available to every European trading nation, they have a wide distribution and are found on sites controlled or supplied by various nations. Correlatives found at several similarly dated sites in West and South Africa, the Caribbean, and the eastern United States are presented in Table 1. The beads collected in 1993 have not been included as many of those that seem to be new varieties are not described in enough detail to allow for accurate comparisons.

As can be seen, a number of the varieties have counterparts at several far-flung sites, most notably the Dutch trading fort at Elmina, Ghana; the major trading center of St. Eustatius in the Caribbean which was off and on in the hands of the Dutch, French, and English; and two Native American village sites in the southeastern United States supplied primarily by the French and/or Americans. This suggests that it is going to be difficult to identify a distinctly British trade bead assemblage for West African sites on the basis of the beads themselves. Nevertheless, it is hoped that archaeological excavations will be conducted on the various historical structures on Bunce Island so that a more precise view of what the British were trading there may be attained.

Table 1. Comparative Site Data for the Bunce Island Beads.

Description	Archaeological Sites (*see* key at end of table)							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Ia2. Tubular; op. black		X		X			X	X
Ia*(a). Op. sunlight yellow				X				
Ia*(b). Op. dark palm green		X						
Ia19. Tsp. bright navy		X		X		X	X	X
Ib*(a). White; 3 brown stripes						X		
Ibb*(a). White; 4 gold/red stripes								
IIa6. Round; op. black			X	X		X	X	X
IIa13. Round; op. white						X	X	X
IIa15. Oval; op. white						X	X	X
IIa*(a). Oval; tsp. bright blue							X	
IIa57. Oval; tsp. bright navy		X			X		X	X
IIb*(a). Black; 6 white stripes						X	X	
IIb*(b). Black; 8 white stripes	X	X				X		
IIb*(c). Tsp. bright blue; 6 white stripes								
IIb*(d). Tsp. bright blue; 8 white stripes							X	
IIb*(e). Tsp. bright navy; 24 white stripes				X				
IIb'*(a). Op. black; 6 spiral white stripes							X?	X?
IIIa2. Op. redwood exterior; tsp. gray core								X
IIIa3. Op. redwood exterior; tsp. green core				X		X	X	X
IIIb*(a). Op. light gold exterior; 3-4 op. red stripes								
IIIb*(b). Tsp. cinnamon exterior w/ 10 white stripes								
IIIk*(a). Tubular; chevron	X	X						
IVa5. Op. red exterior; tsp. green core	X	X	X	X			X	
WIb*(a). Round; op. black		X		X				
WIb5. Tsl. pale blue	X				X	X	X	

Table 1. Continued

Description	Archaeological Sites (*see* key at end of table)							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
WIb*(b). Op. dark green								
WIb14. Op. bright Dutch blue								
WIb16. Tsp. bright navy		X		X		X		
WIc*(a). Oval; op. black		X						
WIc3. Tsl. pale blue				X		X		
WIIc2. Pentagonal faceted; tsp. light gray	X	X	X	X		X	X	X
WIIf*(a). Ridged tube; tsp./tsl. bright navy	X	X		X	X	X	X	
WIIIb*(a). Round; op. black; white lattice		X		X	X	X	X	
WIIIb*(b). Op. black ; eyes	X?							
WIIIb*(c). Tsp. bright blue; inlays								
MPIIc*(a). Long octagonal barrel, tsl./op. redwood								
TOTAL	7	13	3	13	4	14	16	10

Key: Site name and location; date; ethnic affiliation; reference.

1. Diakhité cemetery, Senegal; 18th to mid-19th centuries; French (Opper and Opper 1989).
2. Elmina, Ghana; 1637-1873; Dutch (personal observation).
3. Oudepost I, South Africa; 1669-1732; Dutch (Karklins and Schrire 1991).
4. St. Eustatius, Netherlands Antilles; 18th-19th centuries; Dutch/English/French (Karklins and Barka 1989).
5. Manilla wreck; mid-18th century; Dutch (Karklins 1991).
6. Trudeau village, Louisiana; 1731-1764; French (Brain 1979).
7. Guebert village, Illinois; 1719-1833; French/American (Good 1972).
8. Susquehannock sites, Pennsylvania; 1690-1760s; English (Kent 1984).

APPENDIX A. BEADS COLLECTED DURING THE 1993 SURFACE SURVEY

The 1993 surface survey of Bunce Island by DeCorse and Ferguson produced 77 specimens, all but one of which were glass (DeCorse 1994:22-25, 2007:246-249). As with the beads collected by Johnston, they were all found on the beach adjacent to the north side of the fort.

The following inventory was derived from the field catalog prepared by DeCorse. Kidd and Kidd variety numbers have been assigned to the beads where possible. Unfortunately, the beads were recorded in haste due to time and other constraints in the field so information critical for proper classification (e.g., shape, color, and size data) is often not provided. The problem was further compounded by a lack of photographs of the specimens. So that the reader knows on what information the Kidd and Kidd codes are based, the descriptions of the beads are generally as they appear in the field catalog.

Beads with counterparts in the Johnston collection are marked with a pair of crosses (++) at the end of the description. Those which are probable or close matches are marked with a single cross (+).

Drawn Beads

Ia3(?). Tubular, transparent (1 specimen).

Ia*. Tubular, transparent blue (2 specimens).

Ia*(?). Drawn, transparent blue (2 specimens). It is uncertain whether these are tubular or heat-rounded.

Ia19. Tubular, transparent navy blue (4 specimens). One specimen is listed as being 17 mm long by 6 mm in diameter. (++)

Ia*. Tubular, 5, 4, 3 mm in diameter (4 specimens).

Ib*. Tubular, opaque black with opaque white stripes (1 specimen).

Ibb*(?). Opaque white with 5 opaque yellow stripes with double opaque red stripes (1 specimen). (+)

IIa7. Oblate, opaque black, 3 mm and 6 mm in diameter (2 specimens). (+)

IIa13/14. Heat rounded, barrel-shaped, opaque white (1 specimen). (++)

IIa15. Heat rounded, oval, opaque white; typical of examples from Elmina (DeCorse 1989)(1 specimen). (++)

IIa*. Heat rounded, transparent blue (1 specimen).

IIa*. Heat rounded, oblate, transparent blue (1 specimen).

IIa57. Heat rounded, oval, navy blue (1 specimen). (++)

IIa(?). Drawn, heat rounded, 8 mm diameter (1 specimen).

IIb*. Oblate or barrel-shaped bead (heat rounded), opaque black with 6 opaque white stripes (2 specimens). (++)

IIb*. Barrel shaped, transparent blue with opaque white stripes (photographed) (1 specimen). (+)

IIb'*. Oblate or barrel shaped, opaque black with opaque white, slightly spiral stripes (1 specimen). (+)

IIIa3. Tubular, transparent light green core with opaque red exterior (17 specimens). The largest specimens are 25 mm long with 6-7 mm diameters; the smaller ones are 12 mm long with 3-4 mm diameters. (++)

IIIa3(?). Drawn, transparent light green core, opaque red exterior (5 specimens). [It is uncertain whether these are tubular or heat-rounded.] (++)

IIIk*(?). Chevron, star-shaped opaque white core, transparent purple, opaque red, opaque white, opaque purple surface layer (1 specimen).

IVa5/6. Heat rounded, transparent light green core with opaque red exterior (1 specimen). (++)

IVa6. Heat rounded, barrel-shaped, transparent light green core with opaque red exterior (1 specimen). (+)

IVa6/7. Oblate or oval (heat tumbled), transparent light green core with opaque red exterior (2 specimens). (+)

Wound Beads

WIb*. Round, opaque black, 14 mm diameter (3 specimens). (++)

WIb2. Round, opaque white (2 specimens). One specimen is ca. 10 mm long by 10 mm in diameter; the other is 22 mm long, 22 mm in diameter with a 4 mm perforation.

WIb4. Oblate, translucent white with bluish cast; 17 mm long, 15 mm diameter (3 specimens). (+)

WIc1. Large oval, opaque white; 30 mm long, 18 mm diameter (1 specimen).

WIc3. Oval, opaque white with slight blue cast; large (27 mm long, 17 mm diameter)(1 specimen). (++)

WId*(?). 5 mm length x 11 mm diameter, opaque black, one end of perforation larger than other (1 specimen).

WId*. Doughnut-shaped, translucent white with bluish cast, large perforation (5 specimens).

WId*. Doughnut-shaped, opaque white with bluish cast (2 specimens).

WId*. Doughnut-shaped, 12 mm diameter with 5 mm diameter perforation; transparent with distinct bluish cast (1 specimen).

WId*. Doughnut-shaped, translucent with bluish cast (1 specimen).

WIIIb*. Round, opaque black, 12 mm diameter, probably had yellow trailed decoration (1 specimen). (+)

WIIIb*. Oval, opaque turquoise with spirals of opaque white dashes, alternating with spiral of gold patinated glass (1 specimen).

Non-Glass Bead

Possibly faceted crystal quartz, straight perforation, ca. 1.0 mm diameter (1 specimen).

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