Report on Options for the Reinterment of the Excavated Liberated African Remains

The Liberated African Advisory Committee

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1. Introduction

1.1 The Role of the LAAC

The St Helena Government (SHG) has responsibility for the reinterment of 325 sets of complete skeletal human remains of Liberated Africans. These were excavated from their original location in Rupert's in 2008 as part of works under the Airport Project. Additional disarticulated human bones and bone fragments, commonly referred to as scatter material, were also collected during the course of the 2008 excavations and also during the course of the construction of the Airport haul road.

The Remains are securely stored in the former Pipe Store in Jamestown. A commitment was made as part of the environmental mitigation under the Airport Project that the Remains would be appropriately reinterred.

The Liberated African Advisory Committee (LAAC) was formed in late 2017 with the purpose of advising SHG on options to "provide a peaceful and respectful final resting place for the disturbed Liberated African Remains currently housed in the former Pipe Store in Jamestown".

The full Terms of Reference (TORs) for the LAAC, setting out its scope and membership are presented at Appendix 3 of this report.

1.2 General Approach

Since the original excavations in 2008, there has been much debate over the future of the Remains within the Pipe Store. The LAAC found that there was no single document that captured the earlier discussions. The LAAC has therefore considered:

- a) The historical context in Rupert's.
- b) Findings from earlier work to consider the future of the Liberated African Remains.
- c) Potential locations for reinterment on St Helena.
- d) Potential methods of reinterment on St Helena [this being directly influenced by (c)].
- e) Issues such as grave goods.

1.3 The Approach to Evaluating Methods of Reinterment

In order to evaluate options for reinterment of the Liberated African Remains, the following considerations were discussed:

The Mandate from Executive Council

In order to determine an appropriate solution for reinterment of the Liberated African Remains, the TORs specify the following considerations:

"... a permanent, respectful, and appropriate final resting place for the excavated remains of Liberated Africans discovered on Saint Helena, with careful consideration of ethical, practical, financial, and academic issues. This must be done within an appropriate timescale, and to a scale commensurate with the

¹ Source: Minutes of Executive Council Meeting held on 17 October 2017

significance of the issue to both the local and international context²".

Timing

In considering timing, the Committee recognises that the Liberated African Remains have been stored at the Pipe Store since 2008. Every reasonable effort must be made to secure a final resting place for the remains as soon as possible. However, such efforts need to be balanced by the need to ensure that the final resting place is appropriate and marks the significance of this issue.

In considering timing, the Committee notes the bicentennial on 25th December 2018 of the Act in local legislation that mandated that all children born on or after this date to slave women on St Helena would be freed. This anniversary marks an event in the history of slavery on St Helena and is therefore not necessarily part of the history of the Liberated Africans or an internationally recognised anniversary. Nonetheless, it is an important date and offers the opportunity to place the reinterment of the Liberated African Remains in the context of the island's slave history.

Funding

Funding considerations have <u>not</u> been factored into the LAAC's evaluation of options for reinterment. The Committee was of the view that in considering reinterment options (do nothing, reburial, an ossuary, or a combination of options), the thinking should not be constrained by cost. In essence, each option has instead been assessed on ethical, practical and scientific grounds.

Having reached a recommendation on a method of reinterment, cost-effectiveness will become one of the evaluation criteria in finalising the specific design to be adopted.

1.4 Purpose of this Report

This report presents the findings of the LAAC with respect to identifying a suitable location to serve as a final resting place for the human remains that have been excavated or otherwise disturbed as part of the Airport Project.

This is the first step in what the LAAC sees as a body of work to recognise the significance, locally and internationally, of not only the Liberated African history on St Helena but the island's slave history in general.

Executive Council is asked to consider and endorse the findings of this report. This will trigger the development of detailed planning applications for public consultation that will inform the next steps of this process.

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² Source: LAAC TORs, pg. 2

2. Background& Context

2.1 Historical Context: St Helena's Role in the Liberation of African Slaves

Two key pieces of British legislation are of relevance to the liberation of African Slaves:

- The Abolition of the Slave Trades Act (1807) which made it illegal for British subjects or ships to engage in slave transportation;
- The Emancipation of Slaves Act (1833)

The Environmental Statement (ES)³ for the Airport Projectnotes:

"The Royal Navy's West African Squadron was established on a permanent footing in 1814, its remit being to patrol the South Atlantic in search of illegal slaving operations – i.e. those ofBritish subjects or of other nations with whom treaties had been established. Slavers found to be acting unlawfully were commandeered and brought to judgment, including before a Vice Admiralty Court on St Helena."

St Helena Island therefore played a key role in the liberation of slaves. The Vice Admiralty Court operated at St Helena between 1840 and 1865 and during this period captured a number of vessels. The ES notes:

"The absolute number is unclear, but it is calculated that over 15,000 individuals were landed between 1840 and 1850 alone. A station was established in Rupert's Valley to accommodate the freed slaves (the 'Liberated Africans Depot'). However, significant numbers died on ship or after landing on St Helena and large cemeteries grew up in Rupert's Valley."

The ES goes on to describe:

"The 'cemeteries' are not orderly burial grounds. Rather, they were unplanned zones in which large numbers of bodies were interred in a combination of individual and mass graves. Their location is only partially understood: map evidence shows three separate graveyards (Figures 11.6 to 11.8 in Volume 3 of the ES) but it is likely that burials exist in many other places between the coast and the quarantine station. During the course of this study, burials have been found at several locations, confirming that the historic map evidence is broadly accurate (Figure 11.15 in Volume 3 of the ES). Other burials have been found in the past, for example during the building of the power station.

The international historical importance of these graveyards cannot be over-stated. Between 1519 and 1867 in excess of 11 million Africans were captured and shipped to the Americas, but the Rupert's Valley cemeteries may preserve the only large group of burials relating to slaves who did not survive the Atlantic crossing. Their cultural significance is huge, whilst the archaeological information that they preserve is extremely valuable. Historical records of the slave trade are often incomplete, and examination of these burials would allow us to understand much more about the age, sex and origin of these captives, as well as about issues such as diet, injury and disease."

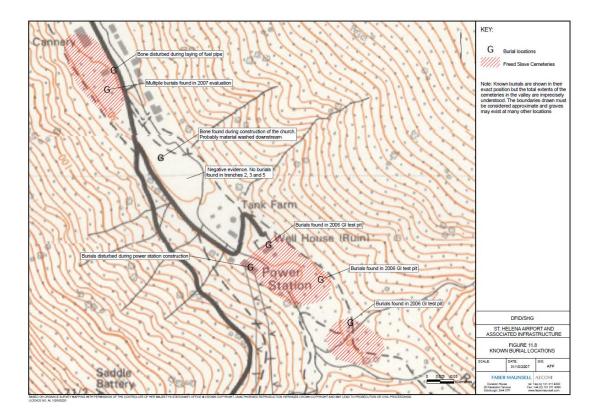
Figure 1 below shows the known burial locations in Rupert's Valley⁴.

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³ St Helena Airport Environmental Statement – Volume 2, Faber Maunsell/AECOM, 2008, Section 11, Cultural Heritage Context

⁴ source: ES, Figure 11.8

Figure 1: Known Burial Locations in Rupert's



2.2 The Airport Project

The key reference document is the Environmental Statement (ES) for the Airport Project. The ES forms part of the Planning Statement for the Airport Project and thus was widely consulted upon under the planning process and ultimately endorsed by Executive Council.

The ES considered records of known cemeteries of the Liberated Africans (see Figure 1 above) as well as carrying out several evaluation trenching exercises within Rupert's Valley in 2006 and 2007.

The ES required "controlled investigation of areas of known archaeology or archaeological potential" to take place before construction as part of the environmental mitigation for the Airport Project. Following investigation, there were sections in the alignment of the Haul Road in mid-Valley Rupert's where graves were identified. Whilst every effort was made to implement design alternatives to avoid these areas, there was one specific section of the Haul Road design where this was not possible. It would not have been possible to construct the Haul Road without disturbing this area.

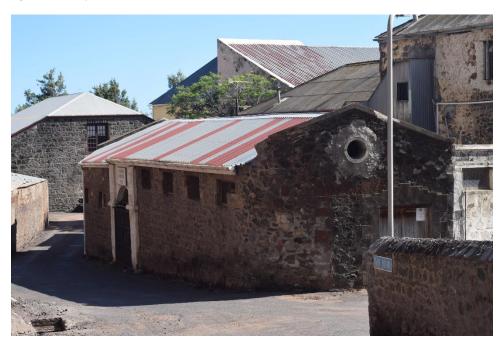
Following much deliberation, Executive Council endorsed the reference design for the alignment of the Haul Road, emphasising that appropriate environmental mitigation must be carried out.

As a result, a team of archaeologists were contracted to excavate this specific area. Initially three arrived on island in May 2008, but were joined by a further ten members from July to September 2008 as the find was larger than anticipated.

The human remains uncovered during the excavations were cleaned, boxed and

catalogued. They are presently in secure storage in the 'Pipe Store' in Jamestown.

Figure 2: The Pipe Store, Jamestown



In considering the excavation of the Liberated African Remains, the ES recommended the process of "excavation, analysis and reburial" (ES, Appendix 11.1-44).

Following the excavation work and recognising the potential contribution to scientific knowledge and understanding of this period in history, the ES stated the requirement for "post-excavation analysis of archaeological material and publication of the project's findings as a whole".

In September – December 2009, the human remains were subjected to an osteological assessment with details published in *Infernal Traffic*⁵ in 2011. Executive Council gave approval for further sampling of the human remains to be undertaken in 2012 for DNA and stable isotope analysis. Most recently, Executive Council approved a proposal from a PhD student from Howard University to extract the petrous bone from the skulls of a sample of the remains for further study and DNA analysis.

This work, whilst benefiting our understanding of the Liberated African history, does not negate the requirement, as part of the environmental mitigation under the Airport Project, for reinternment of the Liberated African Remains.

2.3 Earlier Consideration of Options for Reinterment

The timeline at Appendix 4 sets out the key stages in the work to date.

Most recently this culminated in a survey⁶ where responses on-island indicated a

⁵Andrew Pearson, Ben Jeffs, AnnsofieWitkin and Helen MacQuarrie, 2011, *Infernal Traffic. The Excavation of a Liberated African Graveyard in Rupert's Valley, St Helena*. CBA Research Report No. 169. York: Council for British Archaeology.

⁶Summary of Island response on the Future of the Liberated African Remains Removed from Rupert's Valley, Final Results 11th May 2015

preference for reburial. However, members of the LAAC raised concern regarding the methodology of the survey and the length of time that has lapsed since its findings were presented.

The LAAC has therefore revisited the advantages and disadvantages of the various options for reinterment of the Liberated African Remains. The earlier studies have been used to information the LAAC's consideration of this matter. The discussions of the LAAC are presented in Sections 3-5 overleaf.

3. Option 1: Do Nothing

3.1 Considerations

The Liberated African Remains have been housed in the Pipe Store in Jamestown in 2008. This in itself is an option for the ongoing storage of the Liberated African Remains.

3.2 Summary of Findings

The advantages and disadvantages of ongoing storage of the Liberated African Remains at the Pipe Store are summarised below:

Figure 3: Consideration of Option 1 - Continued Storage at the Pipe Store

Advantages	Disadvantages
Lower cost than new build. Minimal ongoing cost. Least cost solution.	 Public opinion in favour of reinterment in Rupert's (see the 2015 survey). ExCo directive supports this.
- Minimal disturbance	- Requirement of the Airport Project Environmental Statement to reinter the Remains (see Section 2.2 above)
- Provides some of the features that an Ossuary would, most particularly that the Remains are available for further study	Opportunity cost of the Pipe Store i.e. the building would need to be held in perpetuity for this purpose and would not be available for alternative uses. Land in Jamestown is at a premium.
	 Does not provide the historic context of this period in history.
	- Limits opportunities for memorialisation

3.3 Recommendation

Whilst there are some advantages to continuing with the current approach, these are outweighed by the commitment made by SHG to reinter the remains and to provide a peaceful and respectful final resting place (see the TORs).

Recommendation 1:

The LAAC recommends that the Pipe Store continues as temporary storage for the Liberated African Remains whilst plans are developed for a peaceful and final resting place: the Pipe Store should in no way be considered an option for a final resting place.

4. Option 2: Repatriation to Africa

4.1 Considerations

This option would involve the repatriation of the Liberated African Remains to a location (to be determined) in West Africa. The general principle behind this option would be to return the Liberated African Remains 'home'.

Whilst the LAAC did not spend any significant amount of time in debating this, it is nevertheless still an important option for consideration, one which has been raised in the local media on several occasions.

4.2 Summary of Findings

There are inherent difficulties in identifying a location to return the Remains to. Dr Andrew Pearson who led the excavations in 2008 and subsequent studies on the Remains notes on this topic:

"The liberated Africans came from multiple destinations across a vast area, and we only understand their origins in the most general terms. There is no single, appropriate, place to which they could be returned, and it is probable that most would be buried in a place hundreds of kilometres from their home.⁷"

It is believed that it is for this reason that no other nation has attempted such a feat.

Even if it were possible to identify a location in West Africa, for repatriation to be meaningful it could potentially be argued that it would have to be applied to all the Liberated African Remains on St Helena, not just those that have been excavated under the Airport Project. The burial grounds in Rupert's Valley remain largely undisturbed; in this context, repatriation would appear to be a potentially disruptive option, contrary to the desire to identify a final, peaceful resting place.

4.3 Recommendation

Recommendation 2:

The LAAC recommends that repatriation is <u>not</u> a viable option. Focus should therefore be placed on reinterment on St Helena.

⁷The Human Skeletal Remains from Rupert's Valley, St Helena: Discussion Paper, pg. 25, Andrew Pearson, January 2014

5. The Question of Location

5.1 Considerations

Having established that the 'Do-Nothing' and 'Repatriation' options are not viable, consideration needs to be given to options for reinterment on St Helena.

The timeline at Appendix 4 shows that consideration to date has evolved around reinterment in Rupert's Valley, with endorsement in 2012 of proposals to delay reburial in Rupert's to an appropriate point in the Airport Project (i.e. not in the midst of the heavy construction period).

This needs to be balanced against the timing for reinterment, with public calls for reinterment to be undertaken as quickly as possible. For example, Andy Pearson notes "Over the past few years I have discussed the excavation with numerous St Helenians, and they have offered many different opinions on the subject. However, one thing that comes across very strongly (indeed, almost universally) is that: a) there is a need for reburial; and b) that the period of storage has already been too long, and is disrespectful. A significant number of people have also expressed a more general unease about the dead remaining unburied."

Airport Project works are currently still taking place in Rupert's, with an expectation that Basil Read will not demobilise from Rupert's until the latter part of 2018.

Giving consideration to locations outside of Rupert's Valley could potentially open up further options for reinterment (whether reburial or an ossuary or a combination thereof – see Sections 5-7).

5.2 Summary of Findings

The LAAC weighed up the advantages and disadvantages of reinterment of the Liberated African Remains:

- a) at a location other than Rupert's Valley.
- b) at St Paul's Cemetery. This has been proposed by members of the public on a number of occasions. Remains uncovered during the construction of the Power Station in Rupert's in the early 1980s were interred at this location.
- c) in Rupert's Valley.

Figure 4: Advantages & Disadvantages of Reinterment at a Location Outside Rupert's

Option	Advantages	Disadvantages
Consider reintermentat locations outside of	- widens the options available to the Committee	earlier discussions with Executive Council (including the mandate for the LAAC) refer to reinterment in
Rupert's	 prospect that reinterment could be carried out in a quicker timeframe 	Rupert's. Deviating from this criteria should only be considered if the alternative

⁸Human remains stored in the Pipe Building: a discussion of their possible re-location to the Castle, Andrew Pearson, July 2014

Option	Advantages	Disadvantages
		location provides context and scale for the project
Consider reinterment at St Paul's Cemetery	- precedent has been set (remains uncovered during the Power Station construction are interred there).	- Insufficient space available for reburial of 325 sets of remains (see Andy Pearson/Ben Jeffs paper 2009) ⁹
	Could be put in place relatively quickly and with minimal cost	- ExCo instruction that reburial not take place immediately in order to allow options to be
	- St Paul's Cemetery is a peaceful resting place (one of the criteria)	developed. Providing a fitting resting place & memorial is of greater priority than immediacy of reburial ¹⁰
		- 2015 survey resulted in a recommendation for reburial in Rupert's
Consider reinterment at Rupert's Valley	- Provides the strongest context for this period in island history	- Potential for delay (awaiting Basil Read demobilisation from site)
	- 2015 survey resulted in a recommendation for reburial in Rupert's. There has been a lobby to return the Remains to the location they originated from (or as close as possible to it).	-

5.3 Recommendation

The LAAC recognises that there are other areas in St Helena that played a role in the work of the Vice Admiralty Court (e.g. Lemon Valley). However, none of these locations provide the same strong historical context as Rupert's Valley. The majority of Liberated African burials are believed to have taken place in Rupert's Valley, with the three known graveyards from the period being largely undisturbed. The original Depot building in Rupert's (part of the infrastructure from the period) has also survived. There has also been a strong lobby for the Liberated African Remains to be returned to the location they originated from (or as close as possible to it).

As a result the LAAC's recommended course of action is for the reinterment of the

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⁹The Liberated African Establishment, St Helena, Options for the future of the human remains from the 2008excavations in Rupert's Valley, Andy Pearson and Ben Jeffs, 2009

¹⁰Extract from Minutes of Executive Council Meeting held on 17 October 2017

Liberated African Remains to take place in Rupert's Valley. This then narrows the LAAC's consideration of options for reinterment to the specific circumstances in Rupert's Valley. This is discussed further in Sections 5-7 overleaf.

Recommendation 3:

The LAAC recommends that reinterment of the Liberated African Remains takes place within Rupert's Valley.

6. Option 3: An Ossuary

6.1 Considerations

As noted in Appendix 4, there was a firm proposal for an ossuary in 2009, overtaken when the Airport 'Pause' was lifted.

An ossuary is in itself a final resting place that need not entail further disturbance of the remains. However, the concept of an ossuary for reinterment of the Liberated African Remains has become associated with further scientific study. This is because there has been a strong preference from the scientific community for an ossuary.

The 2015 Survey shows a distinct split in opinion between international respondents (largely those with a professional interest in the Liberated African history) and local respondents. Given the significance of the Liberated African Remains and the potential contribution to understanding of this period of history (see section 2.2), the interest from the scientific community is understandable.

As science evolves, so too could the potential to gather additional information from the Liberated African Remains. Continued access to the Liberated African Remains would enable further scientific study. To date there have been two in-depth studies carried out on the Liberated African Remains. A third study to remove DNA material from a sample of the Liberated African Remains for storage and further examination will commence shortly. The basic data obtained will be available for further research purposes.

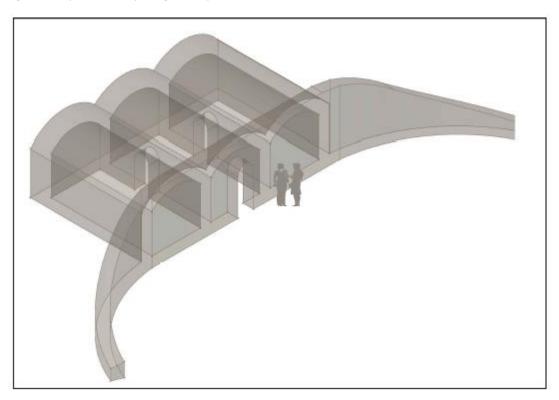
Within the LAAC, Members have recognised the significance of the Depot building in Rupert's. There is potential to establish an Ossuary there, providing historical context to the final resting place for the Liberated African Remains.





Similarly, the site identified in Rupert's in the 2009 proposal for an ossuary is immediately adjacent to a known burial ground and would also provide historical context.





6.2 Summary of Findings

The advantages and disadvantages of an ossuary are described below:

Figure 7: Consideration of Option 2 - An Ossuary

	Advantages		Disadvantages
-	Physical presence of remains plus information made available in the ossuary would help 'tell the story' of the Liberated Africans	-	Public opinion showed a strong preference for reburial. This has been endorsed by ExCo
-	Potentially enables greater depth of connection	-	Concern that the remains would be available for viewing/exhibition and that is intrusive
-	Availability of remains for research. This is an important consideration given the significance of first generation slaves	-	On-going disturbance. Further study may not be necessary. As much information as possible as already been gleaned from earlier studies. The current

¹¹The Liberated African Establishment, Options for the Future of the Human Remains from the 2008 Excavations in Rupert's Valley, Pearson & Jeffs, 2009

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	Advantages	Disadvantages	
		study being undertaken by Howard University will make available findings from DNA for all future research	
-	Dual purpose with museum e.g. display of grave goods	 Could potentially be viewed as exploitation. Not culturally sensitive 	э.
-	Could be progressed to ensure timing coincides with bicentenary	 Whilst the religious practices of the Liberated Africans may never be known, failure to rebury is likely to be contrary to African cultural practices 	
-	More flexible solution. An ossuary would allow for further study of the remains but equally it could be used simply as a final resting place. This decision could be revisited at any time.	On-going running cost is likely to be higher than reburial option	Э
-	Some expansion potential e.g. in the worst case scenario that future developments in Rupert's might uncover further remains	Does not have the same ease of expansion as the reburial option	
		- Cost unknown. Funding uncertaint	y
		 Whilst every effort would be made to coincide the timing with the bicentenary, timing is still uncertain 	

There are additional considerations arising from the specific proposal to use the Depot building as an ossuary:

Figure 8: Consideration of the Use of the Depot Building as an Ossuary

Advantages	Disadvantages
- Context retained	Opportunity cost. Alternative use of building (e.g. port function) is lost
- Lower cost than new build	Building will need to be refitted for environmental control. Cost involved plus potential impact on a listed building is not known
- No further disturbance of remains	- Limited room for expansion within building. Solution needs to have capacity to house additional finds as there is potential for future unearthing of remains as development takes place in Rupert's
 Conserves old building 	

6.3 Recommendation

A recommendation can only be reached after considering Options 3-5 in parallel. See Section 8.

7. Option 4: Reburial

7.1 Considerations

The ES envisaged that the Liberated African Remains excavated from Rupert's would be reburied. The ES recommended the process of "excavation, analysis and reburial" (ES, Appendix 11.1-44).

Local feedback from the 2015 survey indicates a strong preference for reburial. This has been endorsed by Executive Council.

A site has been proposed under the draft Rupert's Development Plan immediately to the South of St Michael's Church. Outline development permission was obtained in 2015 to designate the area a burial ground.



Figure 9: Proposed Reburial Site (Mid-Valley Rupert's)

Whilst there are potentially other sites in Rupert's that could be used as part of the reburial scheme (e.g. near the Gaol site), this site was previously recommended due to:

- a) Proximity to the known graveyards in Rupert's (although given the small size of Rupert's, this would potentially be true of any location in Rupert's Valley);
- b) Proximity to the location the Liberated African Remains were excavated from;
- c) The size of the plot available is sufficient to allow:

- the reinterment of the 325 sets of human remains;
- expansion potential in the worst case scenario that future developments might uncover further remains that would need to be reinterred;
- a significant buffer so that the remains are away from the border of the plot and the surrounds. This ensures that the reburial area is quiet and restful and permits concepts such as a memorial garden to be explored;
- d) Location and size of the plot is removed from industrial land uses in Rupert's and is more aligned with social aspects (the known graveyards, the Church and the residential areas) under the Rupert's Development Plan.

Therefore, whilst the LAAC considered alternative sites for reburial in Rupert's and the considerations below could apply anywhere in Rupert's Valley, the focus of the discussion was on the above site.

An acknowledged constraint with the site is that a large section is currently used by Basil Read under the Airport Project: Basil Read demobilisation is required before works can progress.

A call for ideas/concept designs was initiated in 2015 to plan the reburial and to create a memorial garden sited equidistant from the upper and lower graveyards. There were limited responses. The project was then paused until the recent mandate from ExCo to establish the LAAC.

7.2 Summary of Findings

The advantages and disadvantages of reburial are considered below:

Figure 10: Consideration of Option 3 - Reburial

	T
Advantages	Disadvantages
Public opinion favours reburial and this has been endorsed by Executive Council at earlier stages of the process	Risk of uncovering further graves during the reburial process
This option was envisaged within the Airport Environment Statement	Timing uncertain – site to be decommissioned and reinstated by Basil Read
Proposal for reburial would meet the objective to provide a peaceful final resting place	- Funding uncertainty
Possible cultural link to west African burial traditions	Future research on reburied remains not possible (other remains possibly available if exhumed in the future)
Lower initial cost than a purpose built ossuary	- Risk of unforeseen issues with selected site – contamination etc.
Lower ongoing maintenance cost than ossuary proposals	

	Advantages	Disadvantages
-	Ease of expansion e.g. in the worst	
	case scenario that future	
	developments in Rupert's might	
	uncover further remains	

7.3 Recommendation

A recommendation can only be reached after considering Options 3-5 in parallel. See section 8.

8. Option 5 – Combined Option

8.1 Considerations

It appeared to the LAAC that the concepts of an ossuary and reburial both offered a number of advantages.

Having both an ossuary and a reburial site is not considered a viable option: this duplicates the costs of reinterment whilst dividing the remains across two sites/forms of reinterment.

However, the LAAC considered whether a combination of aspects of the two options would be feasible. By weighing up the advantages and disadvantages of an ossuary versus reburial, the LAAC concluded:

- the option of reburial offers the greater advantages in terms of reinterment (e.g. lower capital outlay and lower ongoing maintenance costs).
- the option of an ossuary offers the greater advantages in terms of:
 - retaining remains for future study. However, this may not be necessary due to information available from earlier studies plus the data that will become available for future use from the current study being undertaken by Howard University.
 - memorialisation and enabling knowledge transfer about the Liberated African remains and their history.

The LAAC therefore placed greater importance on the ossuary option (Option 3) in terms of 'telling the story' of the Liberated Africans, more so than on its merits as a reinterment option. It was therefore posited that the same objectives could be achieved through an interpretation centre.

The LAAC therefore proposed that an optimum solution would be reburial of the Liberated African Remains *plus* an interpretation centre.

8.2 Summary of Findings

The advantages and disadvantages of reburial are discussed under Option 4 above. Additionally, the interpretation centre would:

- Ideally be housed in part (or all) of the Depot building, thus providing context.
 The importance of such context is discussed in Section 5 of this Report which
 examines the significance of Rupert's. The use of the Depot Building has been
 discussed with the Rupert's Development Working Group (the Group
 responsible for drafting Rupert's Development Plan). Whilst this may take
 longer to realise (the Depot is currently leased), the Working Group was
 supportive of the concept.
- Until such time as an interpretation centre can be fully realised at the Depot building, the LAAC proposes that the St Helena Museum be used in the interim. In both cases, this would build community involvement and foster engagement in this significant issue.

- Provide a degree of flexibility for other uses e.g. should further remains be discovered during future developments, the centre could be used for storage until reburial was possible.
- Lend itself to telling the story of not only the Liberated African history but the wider history of slavery on St Helena.

8.3 Recommendations

The mandate for the LAAC was to provide a permanent, respectful, and appropriate final resting place for the excavated remains of Liberated Africans discovered on Saint Helena, with careful consideration of ethical, practical, financial, and academic issues.

The LAAC recommends that reburial at the site identified in Rupert's would offer the most appropriate final peaceful resting place. A memorial should be created at this site. Additionally, the LAAC recommends that an interpretation centre is created to 'tell the story' of the Liberated Africans, ideally at part or all of the Depot building in Rupert's or at the St Helena Museum until such time that the Depot is available.

Recommendation 4:

The LAAC recommends that the Liberated African Remains are:

- Reburied at the site identified in Rupert's;
- A memorial is created at that site;
- An interpretation centre is developed, ideally at the Depot Building in Rupert's

9. The Question of Grave Goods

9.1 Considerations

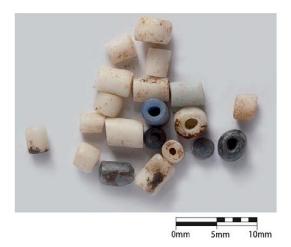
In addition to the human remains, the 2008 excavations uncovered a number of items from the graves (grave goods). These were personal effects including dog-tags, beads from necklaces, and remnants of clothing. An example is shown below:

Figure 11: Example of some of the glass beads collected during the excavations¹²

SF15: Glass beads

Group 2082; Context 2081; Skeleton 305; 17th–19th century

22 (1.08g) beads in five varieties: 09, 11, 28, 34 and 36. Of these only one is diagnostic: 'galet rouge' (Variety 11) was found which is associated with 17th–early 19th-century Venetian bead production.



Approval was granted in 2008 for the export of samples of the grave goods for further study and analysis. Approval was then granted for the loan of a selection of the grave goods to the International Slavery Museum in Liverpool to form part of an exhibition there. These items were returned to St Helena in 2017. Arrangements are currently being finalised between SHG and the St Helena Museum for the loan of the grave goods and exhibition panels.

In considering the future of the excavated human remains, the LAAC felt it was important that the grave goods associated with these remains were also treated appropriately.

9.2 Summary of Findings

The advantages and disadvantages of reburial of the grave goods with the human remains are considered below.

Advantages	Disadvantages
 The grave goods are highly personalised items. It is thought to be fitting to return these with the human remains when these are reburied. 	
 The grave goods have been the subject of earlier studies. Much is already known. 	- Limits opportunities for further study.

¹²Infernal Traffic. The Excavation of a Liberated African Graveyard in Rupert's Valley, St Helena. Appendix D2, Finds Catalogue, Fig D2.11, Andrew Pearson et al (see references)

Advantages	Disadvantages
- The grave goods have been on display for a number of years so much is already known. Need not limit opportunities for knowledge transfer if replicas or photographs are used. The same could be used for tourism opportunities (e.g. souvenirs based on design concepts originating from the grave goods).	- Limits opportunities for further display/knowledge transfer but begs the question whether the original items are needed for display or whether replicas or photographs would suffice.

9.3 Recommendation

The LAAC acknowledges the value of the grave goods in furthering our knowledge and understanding of the Liberated Africans. However, it was noted that the same objective could be achieved using replicas and photographs. There had also been earlier studies and the loaned items had been on display at the International Slavery Museum for some time. Further retention of the grave goods for this purpose is not considered necessary.

The LAAC felt strongly that the grave goods were highly personalised items that should be reburied with their owners. However, the LAAC noted that the loaned items had so far only been displayed overseas and that the island has not yet had opportunity to engage on this issue. A loan agreement is in draft between the SHG and the St Helena Museum that would enable this situation to be rectified.

The LAAC therefore recommends that every effort is made to engage with the local population and to record to the fullest extent the grave goods prior to reburial as part of this wider project.

Recommendation 5:

The LAAC recommends that in the interim period prior to reburial, the materials returned from the International Slavery Museum are displayed at the St Helena Museum and that every effort is made to provide the local population with the opportunity to engage on this issue.

The LAAC further recommends that the grave goods are fully documented and recorded before then being returned to the set of human remains that the grave goods were unearthed with and reburied as part of this project.

10. The Question of Retaining a Subset of the Remains

10.1 Considerations

As noted in earlier sections, there are a number of potential advantages from having access to the remains for:

- further study; and/or
- display at the St Helena Museum to foster knowledge and understanding of this issue.

Reburial removes the opportunity for further access to the remains. Having established that reburial is the preferred option, the LAAC considered whether a small subset of the remains should be retained for these purposes.

10.2 Summary of Findings

The advantages and disadvantages of reburying the majority of the remains but retaining a small subset for further study/exhibition are considered below.

Advantages	Disadvantages
Potential opportunities for further study/knowledge transfer	- Various studies have been undertaken to date. The most recent study by PhD student, Ms Gretchen Johnson, from Howard University will provide a dataset of DNA findings that will be made available to future researchers.
- Preserves a subset of the remains – access to the remains following reburial would require further excavations and reburial itself is likely to result in degradation of the remains.	- Each set of remains is unique. The Liberated Africans were from a number of locations in Africa and were a mixture of races, genders, ages, etc. How is the subset of remains to be retained to be established?
- Exhibition of human remains is an accepted Museum practice and would assist with understanding of this period of history	 Replicas and photographic evidence could be used for the same purpose. It is not clear what, if anything, retention of a subset of the human remains would tell us that is not already known or which could not be demonstrated through other means.

10.3 Recommendation

The LAAC could find no justification to suggest why a subset of the remains should be retained. The LAAC recommends that the preferred solution of reburial should be applied for all of the Liberated African Remains currently stored in the Pipe Store.

The LAAC further recommends that the same principle should be applied should there be new development in Rupert's Valley that inadvertently uncovers Liberated African Remains; these remains should be documented to the fullest extent but then reburied alongside the remains from the Pipe Store.

Recommendation 6:

The LAAC recommends against the retention of a subset of the remains for further study/exhibition.

The LAAC further recommends that this principle should be applied to any future remains that might be uncovered e.g. if in the worst case scenario further remains are discovered during future developments in Rupert's, these remains should be documented and then reburied at the site identified under this project at the earliest opportunity.

11. Further Considerations

11.1 Memorialisation

There are a number of examples of memorials to slave history worldwide, the most often cited being the African Burial Ground National Monument in New York which conceptually has a number of parallels with this project (see for example, Andrew Pearson's Discussion Paper from 2014).

Some of the examples considered are shown below:





Figure 13: Underwater Sculpture, Grenada (note that the artist has not confirmed this is a memorial to slavery)14



¹³ Source: https://www.nps.gov/media/photo/gallery.htm?id=19CBA11C-155D-451F-67AA7B78DDDCB3A4 accessed on 15/1/18

¹⁴ Source: http://www.thenublk.com/2012/04/05/image-of-the-day-grenadas-underwater-sculptures/ accessed on 15/1/18

Figure 14: African Cemetary, Higgs Beach, Key West¹⁵



Figure 15: Memorial ACTe, Guadelupe¹⁶



Source: https://www.africanburialgroundathiggsbeach.org/ accessed on 15/1/18
 Source: https://www.africanburialgroundathiggsbeach.org/ accessed on 6/6/18

Whilst the examples are useful in terms of general guidance and lessons learnt, the LAAC recommends that a memorial unique to St Helena is developed. To this end it is proposed that the next phase is to run a competition to design the memorial. Outline TORs based on earlier work in 2014/15 are attached at Appendix 5.

Recommendation 7:

The LAAC recommends that under Phase 2 of this project, a competition is run to design the memorial at the Liberated African Reburial Site.

11.2 The Wider Context

St Helena's role in the liberation of African slaves (see Section 2.1 of this report) is but one small part of the island's history connected to slavery.

The focus on the liberation of African slaves and the work that took place in Rupert's during the period 1840-1860 tells only one part of the story: it is important to establish and recognise the wider context of the island's own role in slavery and the events that led up to the setting-up of the Vice-Admiralty Court at St Helena.

Recommendation 8:

The LAAC recommends that under Phase 3 of this project, further work is carried out to establish and, where appropriate, memorialise other aspects relating not just to the Liberated African history on St Helena but also to the island's slave history.

It is recommended that the scope of the LAAC is expanded to encompass this subsequent phase.

12. Summary & Recommendations

This project started from the basis of the requirement to reinter the Liberated African Remains currently housed in the Pipe Store.

To this end it is recommended that the Liberated African Remains are:

- Reburied at the site identified in Rupert's;
- A memorial is created at that site:
- An interpretation centre is developed ideally at part of the Depot Building in Rupert's.

It is further recommended that the grave goods unearthed during the 2008 excavations form part of the reburial.

The LAAC also recommends a principle that no subset of the remains should be retained for further study/exhibition: the LAAC considers it important that all of the remains are reburied in a final peaceful resting place.

The significance of St Helena's role in the Liberation of Africans is only now coming to light: the finds in Rupert's Valley are unique and of international significance. This, however, is only one aspect of the island's slave history and more work is needed to put this into context.

It is important that both the local and international community have opportunity to engage on this issue. This emphasises the importance of an interpretation centre that together with the reburial site will commemorate this period of history and provide opportunities for further knowledge transfer.

Whilst the LAAC has not considered the tourism potential of such work in detail, there are undoubtedly potential commercial benefits from 'telling the story'. This should be explored in the subsequent phases of this project. It is recommended that the scope of the LAAC is expanded to encompass these subsequent phases.

An outline action plan, presuming approval of the above recommendations, follows overleaf.

13. Outline Next Steps & Action Plan

Action	Lead	Deadline		
Phase 1: Obtain ExCo Endorsement of Plans for Reinterment				
Final version of Report & ExCo Memo submitted to Clerk of Councils	JL	29 November 2018		
ExCo Meeting	All LAAC Members	11 December 2018		
Convey outcome of ExCo Meeting	JL	14 December 2018		
Phase 2: Funding for Rel	ourial Project			
Finalise business case	JL	December 2019		
Investigate funding sources & make applications where	LAAC	January 2019		
appropriate	on Grave Goods			
Phase 3: Public Display of Contract signed to loan	AS	June 2018		
items to St Helena Museum	AS	Julie 2010		
Display/awareness raising	AS	Ongoing up to just prior to reburial		
Document items and	LAAC with archaeological	1 month prior to reburial		
prepare for reburial	input	-		
Phase 4: Preparation for	Reburial			
Develop timetable for reburial and memorial (NB: this is dependent on the demobilisation of the Airport Project from Rupert's – timetable will be available by end January 2019)	LAAC	TBC		
Procure archaeological input	LAAC	TBC		
Document remains and prepare for reburial	LAAC	TBC		
Hand over site in Rupert's and carry out basic groundworks for reburial and construction of memorial	LAAC	TBC		
Phase 5: Design & Const	Phase 5: Design & Construct Memorial			
Develop tender packs for competition for concept designs	LAAC	TBC		
Run design competition	LAAC	TBC		
Evaluate designs and recommend preferred option	LAAC	TBC		
Seek planning permission & ExCo endorsement	LAAC	TBC		

Action	Lead	Deadline	
Develop detailed	LAAC	TBC	
design/implementation			
plan			
Implement	LAAC	TBC	
Phase 6: Inauguration Ceremony			
Develop communications	LAAC	TBC	
plan			
Develop plan for	LAAC	TBC	
inauguration ceremony			
Phase 7: Consider Other Slave History Memorials (e.g. Waterwitch)			
Develop priority list for	LAAC	TBC	
consideration			
Develop publicity	LAAC	TBC	
programme/awareness			
raising of other aspects of			
slave history on St			
Helena			

Appendix 1: Acronyms and Abbreviations

ES Environmental Statement

ExCo Executive Council

LAAC Liberated African Advisory Committee SHG St Helena Government

SHG St Helena Government TORs Terms of Reference

Appendix 2: References

- Minutes of Executive Council Meeting held on 17th October 2017
- St Helena Airport Environmental Statement Volume 2, Faber Maunsell/AECOM, 2008.
- Infernal Traffic. The Excavation of a Liberated African Graveyard in Rupert's Valley, St Helena. Andrew Pearson, Ben Jeffs, AnnsofieWitkin and Helen MacQuarrie, 2011, CBA Research Report No. 169. York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Summary of Island response on the Future of the Liberated African Remains Removed from Rupert's Valley, Final Results 11th May 2015
- Human remains stored in the Pipe Building: a discussion of their possible re-location to the Castle, Andrew Pearson, 14 July 2014
- The Liberated African Establishment, St Helena, Options for the future of the human remains from the 2008 excavations in Rupert's Valley, Andy Pearson and Ben Jeffs, 2009
- The Human Skeletal Remains from Rupert's Valley, St Helena: Discussion Paper Andrew Pearson, January 2014
- Rupert's Valley Archaeological Works: Application for the Temporary Removal of Artefacts and Tooth Samples from St Helena for Further Analysis Dr Andrew Pearson, August 2008

Appendix 3: Terms of Reference for the Liberated African Advisory Committee

Background

The excavations in Rupert's Valley in 2008 carried out as part of the St Helena Airport Project resulted in the recovery of 325 articulated human skeletons and a significant amount of disarticulated human bone. These are presently in secure and appropriately endorsed storage in the former 'Pipe Building' in Jamestown. Additional disarticulated remains have also been uncovered and stored in the duration of the project.

Most recently, Executive Council met on 17th October to consider this matter. Executive Council advised that adequate time should be allowed for research to take place and requested that the Liberated African Advisory Committee report back within 6 months with a proposal for the reburial of the excavated remains.

Objective & Benefits

The primary objective of the committee is to provide a peaceful and respectful final resting place for the disturbed Liberated African remains currently housed in the former Pipe Store in Jamestown. This includes:

- Reinter the excavated Liberated African remains
- Raise funds in order to provide a suitable memorial recognising the thousands of Liberated Africans buried on St Helena
- As part of the memorial, provide a suitable contemplative and reflective area for visitors and relatives
- Explore ways in which the memorial can contribute to education on St Helena's role in the abolition of the transatlantic slave movement and highlight the role of both St Helena & Royal Navy in abolition of the transatlantic slave trade

Roles & Governance

The overall governance of the Committee is held by the Chief Secretary of the St Helena Government (SHG) who will have the final decision over any and all proposals and disputes presented by the Committee before being submitted to ExCo.

The Liberated African Advisory Committee will be chaired by a SHG representative and roles and responsibilities will be allocated to members as deemed suitable during meetings.

Membership of The Liberated African Advisory Committee will be composed of a wide range of organisations representing St Helena, and will initially comprise of representatives from:

- Museum / Heritage Society
- St Helena National Trust
- SHG Environment and Natural Resources Directorate

- 2 nominated Elected Members
- Tourism / Enterprise St Helena
- Rupert's residents' representative
- SHG Project Manager/Representative from the Airport Directorate

It is recognised that the ideal size of the group would be 8 members (as represented above). Additional members may be added (or members removed – with the exception of Elected Member Representatives) if a majority of existing members votes in favour of addition or removal. The Chief Secretary will in any case be given the final say in the composition of the group.

Scope

Provide a permanent, respectful, and appropriate final resting place for the excavated remains of Liberated Africans discovered on Saint Helena, with careful consideration of ethical, practical, financial, and academic issues. This must be done within an appropriate timescale, and to a scale commensurate with the significance of the issue to both the local and international context.

Additionally, the Liberated African Advisory Committee shall have responsibility for applying for any identified funding & ensuring that any memorial or permanent features are funded and equipped with plans to provide for their management and maintenance for the foreseeable future.

The Committee shall also be tasked with recommending a protocol for dealing with any future excavated remains or related finds, and any further requests that may be received for academic study.

The committee will have a specific mandate to

- Identify and propose a suitable location to serve as a final resting place for the human remains that have been excavated or otherwise disturbed as part of the Airport Project
- ▶ Propose a process for re-interment of the remains currently stored securely in Jamestown and progress this process to agreed timelines
- Agree and progress the securing of finances for a memorial as well as the planning, design, and delivery of an appropriate structure or space
- ▶ Provide a balanced, inclusive discussion and advisory forum for community representatives and stakeholders to proactively collaborate
- Review, provide comments and approve documents produced through the project process.
- Providing a constructive and focussed forum for the discussion of issues, opportunities and solutions.
- Providing direction to the Project Manager regarding the project.
- Assist in developing the Project Plan with the Project Manager for approval by ExCo,

and provide support in its delivery as necessary

Outputs & Timing

The Committee shall produce a paper detailing options considered and its final recommendation for consideration by Executive Council at its scheduled meeting on <u>17th April</u> 2018. This deadline shall not be permitted to lapse without the approval of the Chief Secretary.

Next steps and the role of the Committee in delivering these can only be determined following ExCo approval (or otherwise) of the Committee's recommendation. The Committee recognises that in light of the evolving situation, the TORs will be reviewed in April 2018.

Appendix 4: Timeline of Earlier Work to Consider Reinterment of the Liberated African Remains

2006	Human remains uncovered in test pits dug in Rupert's Valley as part of environmental investigations for the Airport Project.
2007	Further archaeological investigations undertaken in Rupert's Valley.
2008	 Airport Project planning documentation, including Environmental Statement, approved by Executive Council Excavation of 325 sets of human remains from Rupert's Valley Storage of the remains at the Pipe Store Initial agreement with International Slavery Museum in Liverpool for loan of artefacts
end 2008	Airport Project 'paused'
early 2009	 Advice sought on how to meet the requirements of the Environmental Statement in light of the 'Pause' Osteological Analysis of excavated remains commences, led by Andy Pearson
July 2009	Reinterment Options Paper prepared by Andy Pearson and Ben Jeffs
September 2009	 Following discussions with Executive Council, Ag. Governor advises preference for an Ossuary in Rupert's
December 2009	'Project Outline and Estimate' Report prepared by Ben Jeffs and Andy Pearson, followed by outline ossuary design
March 2010	Outline design proposal for an Ossuary endorsed by Executive Council
April 2011	Specifications for an Ossuary prepared by Andy Pearson and Ben Jeffs
September 2011	Planning application submitted for an Ossuary
November 2011	 Planning application approved Design, Build and Operate Contract signed for the Airport Project
2012	 Civil, Society, Tourism and Leisure Committee recommends reverting to original plans for reburial in Rupert's, following lifting of the 'Pause' and approval of the Airport Project Air Access designated lead on Liberated African Remains (primarily due to having oversight of on-site environmental mitigation process)

2014	 Stakeholder Group established, chaired by Director St Helena National Trust Andy Pearson contracted to advise on potential for relocation of the Liberated African Remains Liberty Bound exhibition opens at International Slavery Museum, Liverpool.
2015	Survey carried out on options for reinterment of Liberated African Remains. Response largely in favour of reburial in Rupert's
2015/16	 Proposal for use of site near St Michael's Church/Temporary Fuel Farm Area Call for ideas/designs for reburial/memorial site
2016	Proposed site designated a burial ground - approval granted by Executive Council
2017	 Executive Council mandate for LAAC Artefacts loaned to International Slavery Museum returned to St Helena

Appendix 5: 2015 Design Brief for Liberated Africans Reburial & Memorial Site

1. Invitation

The Liberated Africans Working Group, led by the Saint Helena National Trust, invite the public to participate in developing ideas and/or designs for the new reburial and memorial site for the Liberated African human remains in Rupert's Valley, St Helena.

The reburial and memorial site is significant because of the role and cultural value of the Liberated Africans – people rescued from slave ships by the Royal Navy during the 19th Century. It is an exciting opportunity for a memorial of international significance, seeking design solutions that will spark the imagination and interest throughout St Helena and the world.

2. Liberated Africans Reburial and Memorial Site

2.1 Historical Significance

Excerpts from the Airport Project Environmental Statement 2008, Volume 2, Chapter 11, 11.3.1

"In 1807 Parliament passed The Abolition of the Slave Trades Act, making it illegal for British subjects or ships to engage in slave transportation, whilst The Emancipation of Slaves Act (1833) heralded the imminent end of slavery within the empire. The Royal Navy's West African Squadron was established on a permanent footing in 1814, its remit being to patrol the South Atlantic in search of illegal slaving operations — i.e. those of British subjects or of other nations with whom treaties had been established. Slavers found to be acting unlawfully were commandeered and brought to judgment, including before a Vice Admiralty Court on St Helena.

The Vice Admiralty court at St Helena operated from 1840 to 1865, and during this period a very large number of slaves were brought to the island aboard captured vessels. The absolute number is unclear, but it is calculated that over 15,000 individuals were landed between 1840 and 1850 alone. A station was established in Rupert's Valley to accommodate the freed slaves (the 'Liberated Africans Depot'; CH42). However, significant numbers died on ship or after landing on St Helena and large cemeteries grew up in Rupert's Valley".

See Figure 1 below.

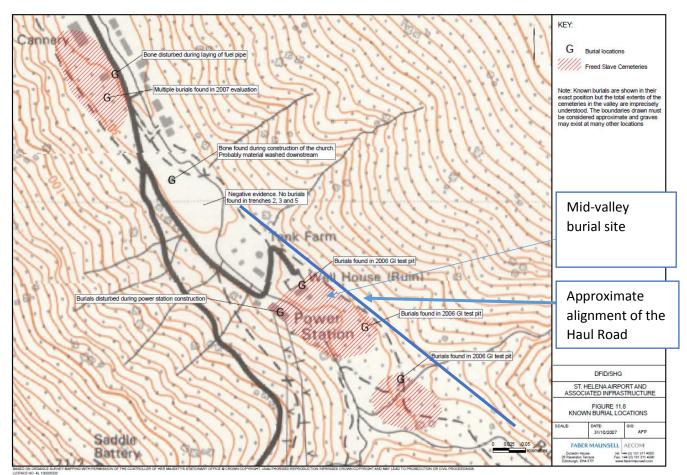


Figure 16 Known burial locations (2006-7). From Environmental Statement, 2008.

2.2 Airport Project

A team of archeologist undertook excavations in Rupert's mid-valley reburial site in 2008 as no design alternatives could be found for the alignment of the Haul Road in mid-valley Rupert's that would have prevented the disturbance of graves.

The excavations in Rupert's Valley resulted in the recovery of 325 complete human skeletons and a significant quantity of disarticulated human bone. The human remains were cleaned, boxed and catalogued. They are presently in secure storage in the 'Pipe Store' in Jamestown.

2.2 Design Objectives

The design objectives are to:

Propose the first permanent memorial to honour the victims of slavery and the role of St Helena in the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

Acknowledge the tragedy of slavery; and to educate future generations about the lingering consequences of the centuries-long enslavement of and trade in Africans supplied to the colonies of the Americas, the Caribbean, and Europe.

Enshrine the legacy of the liberated Africans whose untold stories, memories and contribution to humanity changed St Helena.

Provide a peaceful and respectful final resting place for the disturbed Liberated African remains.

Allow for reflection and contemplation on a day to day basis, including for small groups or individuals.

2.3 Site and Context

An area mid-valley in Rupert's Valley is planned to be available for the reburial and memorial from September 2016. The selected site is adjacent to St Michael's church, and in the land currently occupied by Basil Read's temporary fuel facility. The approximately boundary is next to St Michaels Church, the Run, and the Airport Access Road (shown in red).



Figure 17 Proposed reburial and memorial site for Liberated Africans

The area has been calculated as 3674.87m². Development on the site is restricted by both overhead and underground power lines (shown in yellow).

An A3-sized map with distance scales, as well as a geo-referenced Auto cad drawing of the plot is available upon request.

3. Design Brief

Elements to be included:

Accommodate 325 human remains

In small wooden coffins or caskets; each c. 30cm x 55cm x 25cm.

Estimated total requirement 10 x 12m or 120 square metres

Accommodate future burial of the same amount

Public Seating

Interpretative signage

Incorporate stonework

Memorial structure

Plant Landscaping

Shielding from Airport Access Road and industrial areas

Access from the Airport Access Road

Parking

Approximately 5 normal spaces and 1 disabled space

Dimensions: 2.5 x 5 m or 3.5 x 6 m respectively

Designs and ideas might incorporate all aspects, or focus on one element (eg. Memorial structure design, or suggestions for plant species).

4. Conditions

Deadlines for submissions are:.

 Email: sth.nattrust@helanta.co.sh or

In person: SHNT, Broadway House, Jamestown

The Liberated Africans Working Group will review all ideas and drawings. Applicants may be asked to provide more details or encouraged to participate in discussions to develop ideas further.

The submissions will be used to develop an overall concept design for the entire reburial and memorial site. Not all submissions may be incorporated, and practical and financial constraints will apply to the final design.

Submissions shall remain the intellectual property of their creators, however the Liberated African Working Group and their representative organizations shall have the right to use, in part or in whole the submissions.