



Document control

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Liberated African Advisory Committee
St Helena Island
South Atlantic Ocean

August 2020

Dear Reader

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Memorial – St Helena Project is led under the edict of the St Helena Government by a group of St Helenians (Liberated African Advisory Committee) wishing to respectfully lay to rest the excavated remains of the liberated Africans, to honour their story and that of St Helena's during the slave trade and its abolishment thereafter.

The Liberated African Advisory Committee is tasked with:

- The reburial of the excavated remains of the liberated Africans, including the unearthed grave goods.
- Creating a memorial at Rupert's Valley.
- Creating an interpretation centre and signage of the site, which commemorates this period of history and provides opportunities for further knowledge transfer.

This Master Plan developed by the Liberated African Advisory Committee is intended to guide St Helena in achieving that appropriate memorialisation.

Whilst the Plan focuses specifically on the Liberated African Establishment in Rupert's Valley, it also highlights other cultural heritage sites around the Island relating to the Liberated African Establishment that can be prioritised for future enhancement and memorialisation.

St Helena is a British Overseas Territory and during the time of the abolishment of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, the Island was strategically located in the South Atlantic Ocean. This allowed Her Majesty's Government to carry out its mission. Due to the opening of the Suez Canal, today, St Helena's location is no longer essential to the maritime trade and its economy has diminished greatly that it is now heavily reliant on Her Majesty's Government for financial support.

No budget has been allocated to implement this project and it is hoped that this Master Plan inspires interested parties to champion our mission to achieve this project, in particularly to respectfully lay to rest the exhumed Liberated African remains.

Thank you for your time.

Yours Sincerely

Liberated African Advisory Committee

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- Peggy King-Jorde, King Jorde Culturals, Cultural Heritage Consultant

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

Eol	Expression of Interest
ExCo	Executive Council
FCO	Foreign Commonwealth Office
LAAC	Liberated African Advisory Committee
LDCP	Land Development Control Plan
LEMP	Landscape Ecological Mitigation Programme
MoJ	Ministry of Justice
MoSH	Museum of Saint Helena
NCA	National Conservation Area
RDP	Rupert's Development Plan
SHNT	St Helena National Trust
SHRI	St Helena Research Institute
SHG	St Helena Government

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See separate PDF document

Executive Summary

St Helena Island in the South Atlantic Ocean is the United Kingdom's second largest Overseas Territory and is host to an incredible, unrecognised cultural heritage site. Between 1840 and 1872, more than 25,000 enslaved Africans were offloaded from ships to St Helena by the British Navy in an attempt to halt the slave trade, thereby 'liberating these Africans'. However, those that did not survive were not returned to their home country but were buried on the island. These unmarked burial grounds are considered the most significant physical remaining trace of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade on earth.

In 2008, 325 intact human remains were unearthed while building the Island's first ever airport. The Island has the responsibility for the immediate reinterment of the 325 and, crucially, for ensuring the respectful memorialisation of this currently uncelebrated and unprotected site.

This project aims to achieve a right and proper memorialisation of the cultural heritage sites associated with the 'Liberated' African Establishment on St Helena Island. This will be achieved through the following objectives:

- *Provide a peaceful and respectful final resting place for the disturbed Liberated African remains currently in storage in the Pipe Store.*
- *Memorialise the 'Liberated' Africans through acknowledgement of the tragedy of slavery.*
- *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.*
- *Memorialisation will enshrine the legacy of the liberated Africans whose untold stories, memories and contribution to humanity changed St Helena.*

Furthermore, the project will aim to enhance the physical and visual elements of said sites through landscaping and protection measures as well as equipping national development agendas with necessary procedures and support to ensure that these sites of international significance are not indiscriminately disturbed again.

The realm of opportunities for St Helena and her community is compelling. The ability to expand beyond its borders harnessing international engagement both sides of the Atlantic, as unique stakeholders, in the historical narrative surrounding the Middle Passage and the Triangle Trade is real. Envisioning St Helena as a hub for global scholarly research, discourse, and cultural tourism centred on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and its Legacies, is promising and achievable.

The project will be executed in 3 phases;

Phase 1

The immediate term will focus on the reburial of the 325 remains that were excavated in 2008. To carry out the reburial, important elements such as coffins and documenting of the artefacts found with the remains will also need completion.

£95,325

Phase 2

Phase 2 will focus on the education, interpretation and awareness raising of St Helena being pinnacle to the slave trade and the thereafter abolition of slavery with its wealth of cultural resource.

£91,000

Phase 3

Phase 3 will then concentrate its efforts on memorialisation and accumulate the story of the Rupert's Valley as a Liberated African Establishment, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the Abolishment thereafter. Landscaping will continue throughout the project to ensure these sites are given the appropriate respect due to community cemeteries.

£147,000

Whilst the focus of this project is on the reinterment of the excavated remains and history of this period, the project aims to be catalyst to ensure interpretation of St Helena's slave history continues.

Recommendations

To enable the project to run smoothly and successfully there are a few recommendations that requires implementation by St Helena Government (SHG):

- SHG to designate the No. 1 Building in Rupert's Valley as the Interpretation Centre for the Trans-Atlantic Slave Memorial – St Helena.
- For SHG to formally recognise the Upper and Lower Burial Grounds as such, by designating plot numbers to each site.
- For SHG to designate the Liberated African Establishment in Rupert's Valley as a National Conversation Area.
- For SHG, Education Directorate to incorporate St Helena's slave history, in the first instance the Liberated African Establishment in the National Curriculum.
- For St Helena Tourism to develop the Trans-Atlantic Slave Route and Liberated African Establishment product for market.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

St Helena Island, which is located within the South Atlantic Ocean, is the United Kingdom's second largest Overseas Territory. Situated between Brazil, South America and Angola, West Africa, St Helena's positioning was favourable as a provisioning station and rendezvous point for ships on their way to and from the East Indies. In 1659 St Helena was settled by the English, under the auspices of the East India Company. Along with the settlement, St Helena also dealt in the Slave Trade, requiring workers for the Company's plantations.

Whilst Britain abolished slavery in 1807, the colonies including St Helena was not included. But during the period thereafter St Helena slowly moved to emancipation of the Island's slave population. With Britain taking the lead in the abolishment of slavery, its Royal Navy began patrolling the Atlantic Ocean and capturing slave ships attempting to cross the ocean in an attempt to suppress the ongoing illegal slave trade.

In October 1840 with the establishment of a vice-admiralty court on island, St Helena began to play an active role in the abolition. The slave ships captured by the Royal Navy West African squadron were brought to Island to liberate the slaves and try the slaver crew.

Between 1840 and 1872, more than 25,000 enslaved Africans were off loaded by the Royal Navy West African squadron onto the Island.

The first site used on St Helena as a depot for the liberated slaves was at Lemon Valley in 1840. Those that died in that valley were buried in an unmarked burial site and many who were dead on arrival were disposed of in the bay.

The decision was made to open a new larger depot on the Island within Rupert's Valley in 1844. Rupert's then served as depot for 28 years until the Liberated African Establishment ended in 1872.

Many died while living in Rupert's and this necessitated the creation of two burial grounds in the valley. In the early 1980s a large disturbance of the burial grounds was caused when the Island's power station was built. 10 years after their discovery, the excavated human remains were reburied in un-consecrated ground at St Paul's cemetery.

The latest major disturbance occurred in 2008 when 325 human skeletons were removed from a section of the upper burial ground to make way for a new road to run from Rupert's to Prosperous Bay Plain. The Pipe Store building in Jamestown currently houses the 325 excavated human remains from this section of the Burial Ground. A commitment was made as part of the environmental mitigation under the Airport Project that the Remains would be appropriately reinterred.

The current 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 Remains currently housed in the former Pipe Store in Jamestown"*.

1.2 Project Timeline

1950s – 1970s

- Human remains are periodically disturbed in Rupert's Valley, through housing construction and weather.

1985

- Construction of St Helena Island's Power Station and Mid-Valley Fuel Farm disturbs large numbers of graves.
- A Committee of Enquiry recommends that the remains be reinterred in Rupert's Valley, and that the opening of the power station be accompanied by a multi-faith ceremony of blessing. The bones are, instead, reburied in land adjacent to St Paul's Cathedral in the centre of the island 10 years later. St Helena Government subsequently apologises for its actions.

2006

- Human remains are revealed in geotechnical test pits dug in Rupert's Valley for the Airport project (Atkins).

2007

- Archaeological evaluation in Rupert's Valley reveals skeletons in the lower and upper graveyards. Environmental Statement for the Airport project published.

2008

- Airport Project planning documentation, including Environmental Statement, approved by Executive Council.
- Archaeological excavation is carried out in a part of the upper graveyard, to facilitate construction of the Airport Haul Road. 325 human skeletons are exhumed and placed in archival storage boxes in the Pipe Building, Jamestown.
- Initial agreement with International Slavery Museum in Liverpool for loan of artefacts.
- end 2008, Airport Project 'paused'.
- 'Project Outline and Estimate' Report prepared by Ben Jeffs and Dr Andrew Pearson, followed by outline ossuary design.

2009

- 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 Dr Andrew Pearson.
- Reinterment Options Paper prepared by Dr Andrew Pearson and Ben Jeffs.
- Following discussions with Executive Council, the Acting Governor advises preference for an Ossuary in Rupert's December 2009.

2010

- March, Outline design proposal for an Ossuary endorsed by Executive Council.

2011

- Specifications for an Ossuary prepared by Dr Andrew Pearson and Ben Jeffs.
- Planning application submitted for an Ossuary in November. Planning application approved.
- Design, Build and Operate Contract signed for the Airport.
- Excavation monograph Infernal Traffic published.

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).
- Haul road construction commences in Rupert's Valley.
- Airport works in upper Rupert's Valley, away from the haul road, disturbed the graves. These are inspected by the Museum of St Helena before being re-covered. Spoil excavated in the upper valley, within the construction corridor for the new fuel farm, is also found to contain much comminute human bone: this material was up-cast derived from Power Station construction deposited there in 1985.
- Samples from the human remains in the Pipe Building are taken, to facilitate stable isotope and DNA analyses (EuroTAST project).

2013

- Draft Rupert's Development Plan recognises heritage considerations, including the African graveyards, as being of 'material significance' to planning decisions.

2014

- Stakeholder Group established, chaired by Director St Helena National Trust.
- Dr Andrew Pearson contracted to advise on potential for relocation of the Liberated African Remains.
- Liberty Bound exhibition opens at International Slavery Museum, Liverpool.
- Haul Road construction completed. No human remains were encountered during its construction.
- Possible relocation of human remains from the Pipe Building considered and rejected (August).
- Rupert's Valley Development Plan in the process of revision.
- Human bone disinterred during Air Access works, on ground immediately above the 2008 excavation area (December).

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.

2019

- £20,000 Funding received from FCO for Project support to progress Reburial, Interpretation and Memorialisation.
- Dec 2019 Project Co-ordinator and Archaeologist contracted to deliver on 8 specific work components, namely:
 1. Determine the process for NCA designation and draft a Cultural Heritage Management Plan.
 2. Produce proposal and EoI for Geophysics survey in Rupert's Valley, commission work.

3. Produce business case and costed concept for interpretive signage, commission work.
4. Produce business case and costed concept for coffins.
5. Produce business case and costed concepts for artefact replicas.
6. Produce plan for Landscaping and Protection for known and newly identified burial grounds.
7. Produce Memorialisation and Reburial Plan.
8. Compile Terms of Reference for Design Consultant for Interpretive Centre, Memorial and Reburial sites.

2020

- Public information sessions held by LAAC in Rupert's and Jamestown to inform local community on 7 work deliverables conducted by Project Co-ordinator.
- Project deliverables completed in end March 2020.

2. Purpose of the Plan

This project would ensure the cultural heritage sites of the 'Liberated' African Establishment have their place as a tangible reminder for the descendant community on Island and the global African Diaspora. As evidence of one of the greatest crimes against humanity, the grounds should serve to generate much needed discussion on the legacy of slavery, provide insights on the Middle Passage, offer enlightening context for understanding the historical impact to contemporary underrepresented communities and healing.

Due to St Helena's role in Britain's worldwide campaign to abolish and suppress illegal transport and sale of people via the Atlantic, the grounds and community are uniquely placed. St Helena places considerable emphasis on cultural heritage diversity, distinguishing themselves as having European, Asian and African ancestry. There is opportunity to enhance cultural identity relative to the African history with value added in cultivating ties with the interpretation centres and burial grounds such as New York African Burial Ground and Sierra Leone who share this unique history. Additionally, there is potential for critical research and in-depth study of the 'Liberated' Africans and their descendants on Island and worldwide.

Originally, the purpose for this project was to determine an appropriate solution for reinterment of the Liberated African remains which specify “...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”.

In June 2018, the Liberated African Advisory Committee asked the Executive Council to consider the wider context of project which came to light during the study which included;

- The reburial at the site identified in Rupert's. It was also further recommended that no subset of the remains should be retained for further study/exhibition, it is considered important that all of the remains are reburied in a final peaceful resting place. The grave goods unearthed during the 2008 excavation form part of the reburial.
- A memorial is created at that site.

- An interpretation centre is developed ideally at the No.1 Building in Rupert's. It is important that both the local and international community have opportunity to engage on the issue. This emphasises the importance of an interpretation centre that together with reburial will commemorate this period of history and provide opportunities for further knowledge transfer. It is recognised that this is only one aspect of the Island's slave history.
- Whilst the tourism potential was not explored during the initial study, there are commercial benefits from 'telling the story'. This should be explored in subsequent phases of the project.

The Executive Council endorsed the recommendations.

The LAAC took on the wider remit as identified by the initial study and through the actions set out in this plan, these significant sites will serve as spaces for remembering, recognising and honouring the victims of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and their legacy.

Appendix 1: Liberated African Advisory Committee Terms of Reference

Appendix 2: Project Branding

2.1 Objectives

The project will endeavour to:

- *Provide a peaceful and respectful final resting place for the disturbed Liberated African remains currently in storage in the Pipe Store.*
- *Memorialise the 'Liberated' Africans through acknowledgement of the tragedy of slavery.*
- *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.*
- *Memorialisation will enshrine the legacy of the liberated Africans whose untold stories, memories and contribution to humanity changed St Helena.*

3. Assumptions and Limitations

3.1 An Industrial future

Rupert's valley is scheduled for future development, as a fully operational port and industrial park. Timely coordination of this project in advance of/ in tandem with port development would be optimal. Furthermore, the opening of the airport in 2017 has led to an increase in prospective investments and development which St Helena must be careful that it does not compromise its preservation initiatives.

3.2 Environmental considerations

The valleys are at risk of environmental degradation due to soil erosion, rock fall, rough seas, flash floods and invasive vegetation.

3.3 Absence of site and historic integrity

As a sacred place with global significance the 325 and all others that came to rest on St Helena, it must be memorialised as is customarily afforded to similar sites having the same importance.

3.4 Commercial development

There has been direct and indirect disturbance to site such as poor drainage, hardening of surfaces, risk of pollution through ground contamination, alteration of natural landscape and view-scape.

3.5 Overarching concern

There are currently inadequate resources to meaningfully engage the local community, stakeholders and creative thinkers/place-makers who can help to preserve the significance of this history and cultural resources.

4. Policy, Legal and Administrative Framework

St Helena has a body of locally-enacted laws (ordinances and secondary legislation). In any matter not covered by a local law, St Helena uses English Law.

In respect of the excavation of the human remains from Rupert's Valley, one of the following pieces of UK legislation would have been relevant:

- Burial Act 1857.
- Disused Burial Grounds (Amendment) Act 1981.

Both of these acts address the disinterment of human remains, from consecrated and unconsecrated/disused cemeteries respectively. It is unclear in this instance which Act might apply. This would depend upon the interpretation of the Rupert's Valley graveyards: if considered to be within a graveyard which has not passed into other use, then the 1981 Act would apply; whereas if the land is considered to have passed into other use, including having been built over, then the 1857 Act would apply.

UK planning law can also lead to professional cemetery clearance – which is a distinct process that is separate from an archaeological project. Such clearances are often followed by immediate reburial, without any study of the remains. This is particularly the case where the remains post-date AD 1500.

In respect of re-interment, the author is unaware of any applicable St Helenian legislation. In the UK, where the 1857 Burial Act applies, the archaeological excavation of human remains requires a Section 25 Licence. Historically, Section 25 Licences allowed for the retention and curation of human remains, but in 2008 the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) stipulated that all licences had to set a date for reburial. Normally two years is allowed for study, but with further extensions permitted. This situation, however, is considered by all parties to be problematic, as MoJ recognises that it is desirable to retain older and more important collections for study.

The 2004 Human Tissue Act only pertains to human remains that are less than 100 years old, and thus is not applicable to the Rupert's Valley assemblage.

4.1 Guidance and Codes of Conduct

Worldwide, various non-binding codes of conduct exist. The Vermillion Accord, for example, has direct relevance (see below). The documents subsequently cited for museum collections do not have relevance at this stage – but might do so if the Rupert's Valley remains come to form part of a curated collection.

Vermillion Accord (1989)

The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains (adopted by the World Archaeological Congress in 1989) states overarching principles for the treatment of human remains:

- Respect for the mortal remains of the dead shall be accorded to all, irrespective of origin, race, religion, nationality, custom and tradition.
- Respect for the wishes of the dead concerning disposition shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful, when they are known or can be reasonably inferred.
- Respect for the wishes of the local community and of relatives or guardians of the dead shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful.
- Respect for the scientific research value of skeletal, mummified and other human remains (including fossil hominids) shall be accorded when such value is demonstrated to exist.
- Agreement on the disposition of fossil, skeletal, mummified and other remains shall be reached by negotiation on the basis of mutual respect for the legitimate concerns of communities for the proper disposition of their ancestors, as well as the legitimate concerns of science and education.
- The express recognition that the concerns of various ethnic groups, as well as those of science are legitimate and to be respected, will permit acceptable agreements to be reached and honoured.

Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums (2005)

In 2005, the UK Department for Culture, Media and Sport issued *Guidance for the Care of Human Remains in Museums*. This document provides guidance for museums and other institutions in England, Wales and Northern Ireland that hold human remains in permanent collections.

International Council of Museums (ICOM): Code of Ethics for Museums (1986)

The ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums states that:

'Collections of human remains and material of sacred significance should be acquired only if they can be housed securely and cared for respectfully. This must be accomplished in a manner consistent with professional standards and the interests and beliefs of members of the community, ethnic or religious groups from which the objects originated, where these are known. (Section 2.5: culturally sensitive material).'

The Interpretation of Slavery At Museums and Historic Sites, A Rubric of Best Practices Established by the National Summit on Teaching Slavery V 1.0—9.26.18

This rubric can help the project avoid reactionary practices, and prevent the knowing or unintentional contribution to an interpretation of history that provides an inauthentic account and meaning-making that serves to alienate visitors of color.

4.2 Buried Human Remains in Rupert's Valley: A Guide for Residents and Workers

This document was developed to assist individuals and organisations who live and work in Rupert's Valley. It is intended to provide guidance for future works with the Valley and to provide instruction if human remains are discovered elsewhere in the Valley.

Appendix 3: A Guide for Residents and Workers

4.3 Studies/Exhibition

In November 2018, the Executive Council approved the Liberated African Advisory Committee's report on 'Options for the Reinterment of the Excavated Liberated African Remains. The approval given included the recommendation:

"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".

Henceforth, no further studies once reburial has taken place is permitted. If further Human Remains are found during future development, they will be reburied at the earliest opportunity and in accordance with Section 4.2, A Guide for Residents and Workers.

To date however, the following studies have taken place since the Human Remains were excavated:

- *Infernal Traffic: Archaeological investigations of the 'Liberated African' graveyards in Rupert's Valley, including osteological analysis. Andrew Pearson, Ben Jeffs, Annosfie Witkins and Helen MacQuarrie. Council for British Archaeology, 2011.*
- *Prize Possessions: Transported Material Culture of the Post-Abolition Enslaved – New Evidence from St Helena. Helen MacQuarrie and Andrew Pearson. Routledge – Taylor and Francis Group, 2015.*
- *The genetic origins of Saint Helena's Liberated Africans. Eurotast. Still to be published.*

5. St Helena Cultural Heritage Sites

5.1 Introduction

The entire Island is connected together telling the story of those individuals that were enslaved, liberated and brought to St Helena as a resting place before moving on further into the world. They left their mark on the society that is St Helena today by assisting with the built of the Island's infrastructural needs.

To provide context to the project and the focus on Rupert's Valley this section attempts to provide cultural value of the sites. Other sites around the Island are also listed below and

can also be further developed.

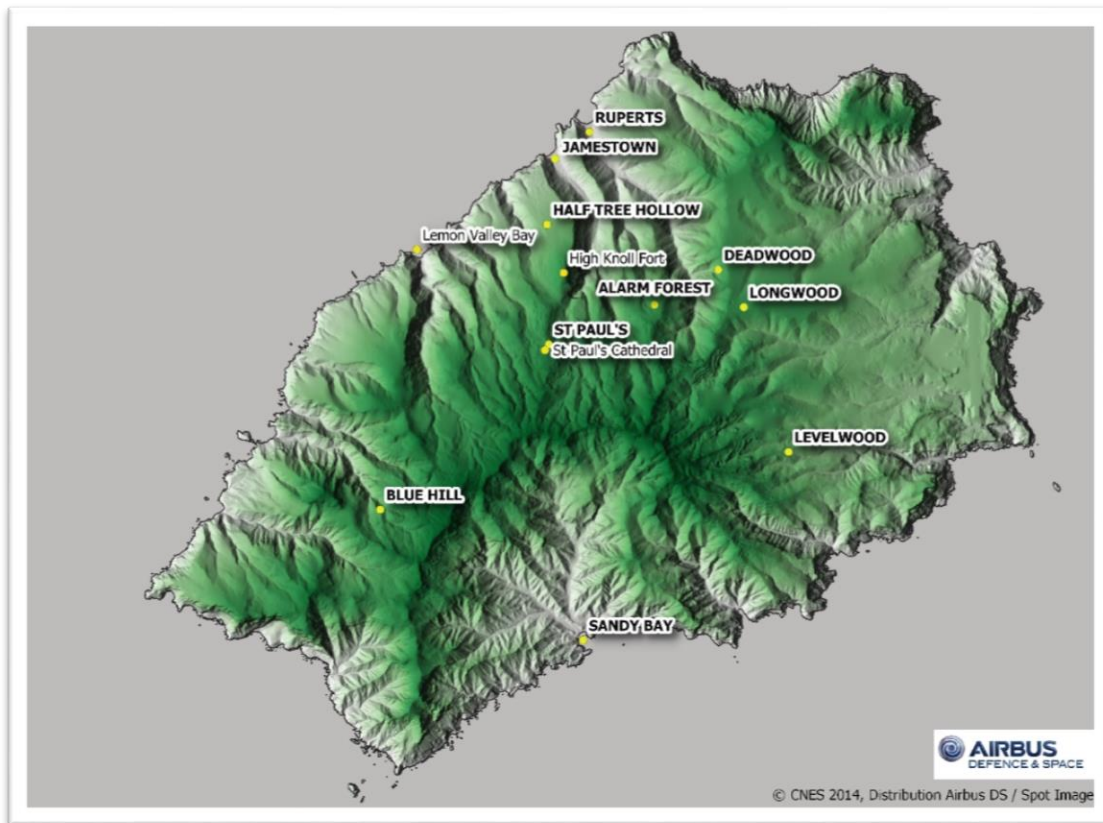


Figure 1: St Helena Island map

5.2 Rupert's

Rupert's Valley is a wide and arid valley which is very lightly vegetated. The valley contains some ruins of buildings as well as intact 19th century structures. There have been some attempts at modern urbanisation with a few industrial buildings being built in the latter half of the 20th Century, such as a fishery manufacturing plant, mechanical workshops, power station and fuel depots. While there are two known burial grounds which are unmarked, there is a potential for many more to be discovered with the use of geophysics surveying (see Appendix 3).

The past ten years have seen some more development with attempts to improve the wharf facilities as well as a road to St Helena's new airport. During the preparation of this plan, a development application has been submitted to the Planning Authorities to consider the development of the Port Area for Port Facilities. The first phase on the Rupert's Development Plan.



Figure 2: Listed Heritage sites within Rupert's Valley (highlighted in blue)

Areas of cultural significance relating to the project:

5.2.1 Rupert's Bay and the Depot

The receiving station, or depot, for the Liberated African Establishment in Rupert's Valley was located at the bay, immediately behind the 18th century defensive Lines. The most prominent features of the depot were the eleven large wooden tents, built from the timbers and canvas of dismantled slave ships. Arranged in two rows immediately behind the Lines, each was capable of holding about thirty people. Overseers' quarters occupied existing buildings formerly used by the military garrison as barracks, storerooms and magazines. The medical buildings were clustered immediately to the rear of the tents, the main element of which was a narrow, single-storey wooden hospital. Adjacent was a twelfth tent, identical to the others but reserved for convalescing patients. These were the temporary homes for up to 6 months until individuals were shipped on to the British Caribbean as indentured labour.

The arrival of a laden slave ship was the defining event for the Liberated African depot. Eyewitness accounts graphically describe the filth, stench, dense packing, and the appalling state of those aboard. One description was given by Colonial Engineer John Melliss in 1861: *'A visit to a full-freighted slave ship arriving at St. Helena is not easily to be forgotten; a scene so intensified in all that is horrible that it almost defies description. The vessel, scarcely a hundred tons at most, contains perhaps little short of a thousand souls, which have been closely packed, for many weeks together, in the hottest and most polluted of atmospheres. I went on board one of these ships as she cast anchor off Rupert's Valley, and the whole deck, as I picked my way from end to end, in order to avoid treading upon them, was thickly strewn with dead, dying, and starved bodies ...'*

The 'African Establishment', as shown on the 1861 map of Rupert's Valley, comprised a variety of structures: rectangular barrack-type buildings (probably in the area now occupied by the disused fish processing plant); behind these, a narrow building labelled as a hospital; a second hospital (possibly beneath the fuel storage tanks); various unlabeled buildings. The only surviving element of the depot is the long narrow building that was later adapted for use as a cable house. The depot was finally closed in 1874.

5.2.2 The No1. Building

This stone building is the only structure of the 'Liberated' African depot in Rupert's Valley that survives today. It was built at the very end of the depot's operation, by which time the original tents and wooden buildings were over 20 years old and increasingly dilapidated – in 1861 an official report described the tents as "badly constructed, badly ventilated and unfit for human habitation".

Labelled on a drawing simply as 'No. 1 Building', the historical records indicate that it was an accommodation block. It was one of six new masonry structures that were commissioned in 1862, each intended to house 80 people. Dogged by delays and cost over-runs, only this one building was ever finished, in 1865, by which time the Cuban slave trade had all but ended and the depot was virtually empty.

5.2.3 Lower Burial Ground

The Lower Graveyard was established in the mid-1840s, after the original burial ground in the upper valley had become full. By 1849 this area had also been completely filled with graves, or nearly so, and was also considered a health hazard because of its proximity to the depot. It too was closed, and an extension added on its southern side, a little further from the bay. By 1863 all ground in Rupert's Valley that was suitable for graves had been used up, and from that point onwards the Liberated Africans were buried elsewhere – most if not all in Half Tree Hollow.

Order within the graveyards was maintained at quiet periods, but disintegrated during times of crisis. This was particularly the case in the late 1840s, when numerous captured slave ships laden with dead and dying 'liberated' slaves were brought to St Helena. Those working in the depot narrated an appalling picture of conditions in the graveyards. Rocks fell from the slopes above, rats scavenged the graves and 'effluvia', stinking of decay, leached out of the soil from the decomposing bodies. At such times the cemeteries were a chaotic landscape of collapsing terraces, open graves and spoil heaps. In such a place it is no wonder that so many of the bodies would succumb to rapid, unceremonious burial.

5.2.4 Upper Burial Ground

This area was the original burial place chosen to serve the Liberated African depot. It spanned the whole of the upper valley, occupying ground as far as Bunkers Hill, including land now taken up by the gaol, power station and fuel storage depot. Several thousand bodies were interred here.

In 2008 a small part of the graveyard on the route of the airport haul road was archaeologically excavated. The 325 complete bodies were recovered, alongside a large quantity of 'disarticulated' bone – the latter from a series of pits. Numerous artefacts were also recovered,

from hospital ‘dog tags’ to objects of personal adornment, including metal bracelets and beads worn as earrings, necklaces and wrist bands.

The layout of bodies found within the excavated graves bears all the hallmarks of rapid interment. The grave cuts were shallow, some being just shallow scrapes covered with a few centimetres of soil. Less than half the graves contained just one body. Of the rest, most contained two or three bodies but a few held between four and seven. Coffins were rarely provided, with most bodies put directly into the ground with no shroud or covering. Only a small minority of graves exhibited an orthodox, prone arrangement of the body. More commonly, corpses appear to have been deposited with a view to maximising the space within each grave – resulting in a variety of ‘arrangements’ in which bodies lay on their front, back and sides.



Figure 3: A location map of the Lower and Upper Burial Grounds in Rupert's Valley

5.2.5 Unidentified Burials/ Burial Grounds

By 1860 all ground in the valley that was not too rocky, or in the floodplain, had been used for burial. The Lower and Upper Graveyards hold most of the burials. However, there is potential that some may exist elsewhere in small numbers. These could be anywhere in the valley.

In particular,

- An unconfirmed report of remains found on the lower eastern slopes near Hay Town House.

- An 1860s document which states that two pits capable of holding 60 bodies had been dug '200 yards' above the Well House. The document does not say if those pits were ever used. The Well House was located near the bottom of Bunkers Hill. An 1872 map shows its location and also labels a part of a graveyard here (Map 2). In 2008 archaeological test trenching found no burials here, nor did it find the pits – but that does not prove that burials are absent here.

The LAAC deliberated whether there was a need for a geophysical survey that could assist with future industrial development within Rupert's Valley by avoiding possible grave sites. The value of geophysical methods provides rapid, non-invasive, three-dimensional reconnaissance of a site.

The lead archaeologist during the excavation of the human remains, Dr Andrew Pearson confirmed during the excavation, sites around the valley were tested and therefore the archaeology team was confident that major burial sites were identified. Henceforth for future development, a watching brief should be carried out to ensure the development does not unearth any culture material.

5.3 Lemon Valley

Historically this site has always been a fortified and garrisoned valley; being on the leeward side of the island, fairly close to Jamestown, made protecting it important. The Dutch forces attempted to land here initially in 1672 but were repelled by the garrison. The impressive curtain wall and battery was built in the mid to late 18th century and still stands intact today.

The valley has historically been described as pristine and fertile, the valley floor was occupied by meadows with a small stream flowing through it. It was planted with a variety of fruit trees, predominantly lemons which gave the valley its name, all now long gone and taken over by the ravages of Wild Mango and Tungi.

In December 1840 the valley was taken over and everyone moved out to turn it into the first Liberated African Depot on St Helena. The houses and guard house were all used as accommodation and the building highest up the valley known as Chamberlain's Cottage became the hospital and doctor's house. In time with the increasing numbers of people being brought to the valley it was proven to be too small and narrow to house them all and with so many deaths, the task of burial became overwhelming in this area. From 1844 Rupert's Valley became the sole depot on the Island, leaving behind the first Liberated African graveyard located below the Chamberlain's Cottage.

5.4 Half Tree Hollow

By 1863 all suitable land in Rupert's Valley was used. In May 1863 the Governor issued an instruction to bury any further deceased in Half Tree Hollow. At this time this was a much less populated area of the island. According to the records held, on June 25 1883 the Half Tree Hollow Cemetery was closed and had 675 burials.

5.5 St Pauls Cathedral

As early as the late 17th century St Paul's Cathedral was a 'Country Church' made from wood. This church (and also St James church) is often reported as in a 'ruinous condition' throughout much of the 18th century. It was not until the 1840's that a decision was made to replace the old church and replace it with a much better quality stone structure. This new structure was designed by Benjamin Ferrey a famous Gothic Revival architect and the foundation stone were laid by Governor Ross in 1850.

Like many public works on St Helena the funding of it came under significant scrutiny from the British Government. The cost of employing Islanders was fairly high and even prisoners sentenced to hard labour had to be paid 7 shillings per day, so the Island government began to turn their eyes towards other sources of labour. The Chinese labourers had either left or aged, slavery had been abolished 10 years prior, therefore with the arrival of the Liberated Africans from the 1840s an opportunity was seen to put them to work without pay in a manner similar in all but name to slavery.

The Liberated Africans were made to work staffing the depot and on various infrastructure projects including the water channel through Rupert's. Most tangibly their work can be seen in St Paul's Cathedral where the African labourers were put to work carrying the stone from Jamestown to the site of the cathedral. Construction took approximately a year and was complete in 1851. Though it has been reroofed due to termite damage the church stands the same as it was built in 1851 and is in use as the central church of the Diocese of St Helena.

5.6 High Knoll Fort

The imposing round tower located at the Half Tree Hollow end of High Knoll Fort dates as far back as the 1790's when it was constructed to provide additional defences and visibility from Flagstaff to Ladder Hill. The fort saw no military use having been constructed at the height of the British Empire when the fleet ruled the waves as a 'wooden wall'. During the 1860's and 1870's the Island succumbed to the so-called fortification mania of the British Empire and perhaps more out of the ruling elite's innate fears of the native population revolting and overthrowing them, it was turned into a redoubt by adding the huge curtain wall to provide a place of refuge while waiting for relief to arrive.

High Knoll has seen use as a quarantine station throughout its history and during the period that the Liberated African Depot was in operation from 1840-1872 it was also designated, although sparingly used, as a quarantine and recuperation station for the sickest and unhealthiest Liberated Africans.

A Sunday school was established at High Knoll Fort for liberated Africans in 1845 although due to a lack of funding and attendance this closed down around 1853 and has since seen very little use except as an animal quarantine station in the 20th century.

5.7 Jamestown

5.7.1 Pipe Store

The Pipe Store which is so called named because it was a store for the pipes and other plumbing materials, was earmarked for a Flax Museum. In the 2000's the St Helena National

Trust and St Helena Heritage Society launched an initiative to create a Flax Museum. The museum opened in 2008 but was very short lived as it was soon requisitioned by SHG to use as temporary storage to house the 325 excavated human remains that were excavated in 2008. It was intended as a short-lived storage while the airport and Haul Road construction took place until such a time as they could be reburied in Rupert's. Unfortunately, due to airport construction delays, loss of funding and lack of institutional knowledge, the reburial has been delayed until the present day and the remains are still in storage awaiting a respectful reburial.

5.7.2 Castle Gardens and the Waterwitch monument

The Castle Gardens started life as the East India Company gardens where much of the fruit and vegetable for the settlement was grown. Over time they evolved into botanical gardens and today are a tranquil place to escape the heat of Jamestown for some peace.

Located prominently in the gardens is a monument to the HMS Waterwitch (1834) which was a Royal Navy West Africa Squadron ship based at the island between 1839 to 1843, the ship was one of the most successful of the era in capturing slavers. St Helena was selected for the monument due to 3 of its shipmen being buried on the Island and because of the deceased as well as their surviving comrades at that time commented that they met the warmest welcome from its inhabitants.

5.7.3 Sisters Walk and Munden's

Leading out of the gardens and around to Munden's, is Sisters' Walk; its name comes from Governor Patton's two daughters who were very fond of walking this route. The walk leads around the edge of James Valley to Munden's fortifications. Munden's has been in use since the first English settlement and saw extensive works throughout the East India Company period of history to form a formidable set of batteries and fortifications that guarded both sides of Munden's Hill, Jamestown and Rupert's. Before the construction of Field Road to Rupert's in the 1960's this was the only route to Rupert's Valley large enough for carts carrying supplies and other than by sea from Jamestown would have been the only way that the Rupert's Liberated African depot received supplies.

6. Reburial and Memorialisation Plan

Detailed business cases are put together on each component on the Reburial and Memorialisation Plan, demonstrating the thought process behind the development of each component.

6.1 Reburial

6.1.1 Introduction

Rupert's Valley in St Helena preserves a very large group of burials relating to slaves who did not survive the Atlantic crossing. Moreover, it is the only place, worldwide, where graveyards contain only the remains of people taken straight from the slave ships and only days or a few weeks out of Africa. That cultural significance is huge. The history of this place, and those brought to it, deserves to be told.

The St Helena Government (SHG) has the responsibility for ensuring the peaceful and respectful reinterment of 325 sets of complete skeletal human remains of Liberated Africans.

An additional assemblage of 'disarticulated' human bones were recovered during the 2008 airport excavations, while multiple tiny bone fragments (hereafter referred to as 'scatter material') were collected from various locations in Rupert's Valley during Airport Project construction works.

To ensure successful reburial, a number of components will need to be implemented sequentially. That is:

- The manufacturing of coffins for each individual set of remains.
- The preservation of artefacts for local and international education and storytelling.
- The physical reburial, including observance.

6.1.2 Coffins

In total, 325 complete skeletons were exhumed in 2008, along with a large quantity of disarticulated human bone, the latter derived from an unknown number of individuals. After excavation each set of remains was taken to the Pipe Building in Jamestown, where they still remain.

After cleaning and analysis, each skeleton was placed in either one or two heavy-duty cardboard boxes. Ideally each body would have gone into a single box, but because of the lack of storage space in the Pipe Building it was more practical to place the skull in one box and the bones from the torso in a second. Only when the skull was badly damaged was it possible to use a single box for an entire body. Each box is labelled with a unique Skeleton number (SK 200 – 525). Within each box, the bones are separated into a number of plastic bags, each with a waterproof label carrying the Skeleton number. The disarticulated bone is held within several large cardboard boxes.

The Liberated African brought to Rupert's Valley were bereft of a right and proper burial 180 years ago. The number of liberated Africans against the limited resources available at that time, made it difficult to afford appropriate burials.

The descendants and community of St Helena now have a unique opportunity to reclaim the dignity not accorded to those individuals exhumed in 2008. The use of coffins (or, more accurately, small caskets) is deemed an appropriate means of achieving this aim.

In so doing it is noted that the Africans' origins are imprecisely understood. We do not know their belief-system, nor the methods of burial that their cultures would have adopted. As such, the solution being sought is one which modern St Helenians – and to a lesser extent cultures elsewhere – would be comfortable with and consider dignified and appropriate. It is also critical that the reburial solution is *seen* to be respectful, by both St Helenian and external audiences; the latter is important messaging for such a delicate subject.

Methodology

Reburial with locally crafted imported timber coffins is recommended on the basis that:

1) Wood – whether local or imported – is considered to be a respectful and proper construction material. Wood is accepted as a traditional material globally.

- 2) Local craftsmanship is possible - there are a number of skilled wood craftsmen on island. Their involvement with this task will represent community engagement/investment, connecting our present to our past through education.
- 3) Such handmade coffins have been used elsewhere for the reinterment of individuals connected with slavery.

Varying types of imported wood are available, each providing a different quality finish. Furthermore, making use of wood as the material for coffin construction presents an opportunity for involving a variety of decorative art forms in the inlays, an art form which is practiced on St Helena.



Figure 4: Sample Coffin from New York African Burial Ground Project

Appendix 4: Business Case 1 – Coffins for reburial of the exhumed Liberated African human remains

6.1.3 Artefact Replication

The 2008 excavations of the Liberated African graveyards not only exhumed the human remains of former slaves. A minority of these people were also found to have been buried with artefacts. Some were utilitarian objects (e.g. hospital dog tags) but, critically, 14 people wore 'objects of personal adornment' – bead, horn and metal necklaces, earrings and bracelets. These are an extraordinarily rare survival of the Middle Passage. These highly portable objects could have been obtained by the wearer at various stages, from pre-enslavement life, to a point after their death – and all times in between. The objects personalise the history of the individuals who wore or were buried with them. They speak to us, amongst other things, of

bonds between mothers and children, and of family and social units forged aboard the slave ship. Above all, they *humanise* the enslaved, and show them as something other than victims.

Despite its vast scale, the Middle Passage of the transatlantic slave trade has left virtually no material trace. It was a process, not a physical thing – a void into which millions of lives simply disappeared. The finds from Rupert's Valley are, therefore, a rare and hugely important insight into the experience and resilience of the enslaved. They show individuals who avoided the vicious 'stripping' process at the point of their embarkation on the slave ship, who retained personal items which expressed their cultural identity, and of continued African religious traditions to protect and care for their children. They are a resource of international cultural value, and a powerful medium for St Helena's storytelling of this site.

It is therefore considered respectful and appropriate that when the human remains are reburied, these precious objects are returned with them. This nevertheless represents a 'loss' to the present and future generations: these objects will no longer be seen, and their powerful story is thus potentially diminished. This project addresses this loss. It proposes the 3D scanning of the key artefacts, providing a permanent, intricate record (above that undertaken after the 2008 excavation). From these scans, selected objects will be 3D printed, providing replica objects which can be handled and displayed by generations to come.

Due to practicalities and costs, it is proposed to scan the artefacts on St Helena, but to outsource the 3D printing.

As part of the reburial process, all such personal items will be reunited with the individual, with whom they were retrieved, accompanying them to the grave.



Figure 5: Examples of the artefacts found with the excavated 325 Remains

Methodology

Replication of only the most significant finds prior to reinterment is the recommended option. This would entail selecting key objects (including 'objects' comprised of multiple components – e.g. beads). These would be scanned using an Artec Micro 3D scanner. The scanned assemblage would include a representative of each 'type' of artefact, whether the utilitarian 'dog tags' or the individual bead styles (of which there are approximately 90 types present). The objects deemed less significant would not be scanned, and thus the level of recording would remain as present – i.e. written, measured and photographed, but not 3D scanned.

Table 1: List of finds that will be scanned and/or reproduced

Artefacts	Scanned with micro scanner	Reproduced	Comments
All Bead varieties	37	37	One of each variety (37)
burial 279 (153 beads)	153	153	3d printed with Artec/ Smithsonian
burial 326 (6 beads)	6	6	3d printed with Artec/ Smithsonian
burial 424 (8 beads)	8	8	3d printed with Artec/ Smithsonian
burial 438 (69 beads)	69	69	3d printed with Artec/ Smithsonian
burial 305 (24 beads)	24	24	3d printed with Artec/ Smithsonian
burial 324 (1735 beads)	1735	0	Digital reproduction
burial 365 (8 beads)	8	0	Digital reproduction
burial 353 (941 beads)	0	941	V&A loaned collection
burial 381 (9486 beads)	0	9486	V&A loaned collection
burial 431 (418 beads)	0	418	V&A loaned collection
burial 402 (1 bead)	1	1	3d printed with Artec/ Smithsonian
Cowrie shells	2	2	3d printed with Artec/ Smithsonian
Bovid horn	2	2	3d printed with Artec/ Smithsonian
Total	2045	11,148	

Appendix 5: Business Case 2 – Artefact Scanning and Replication

6.1.4 Reburial

This vitally important aspect of the project will undertake reburial of the Liberated African remains in Rupert's Valley.

The designs for the reburial will be undertaken using local skills support, providing for a time effective solution. External support to St Helena is only required for specialist archaeological, osteological and artefact matters. A competitive tendering exercise will be carried out to source the contractor to undertake the physical works. This will ensure that the project achieves best value for money.

The benefits of this component will include:

- Ensuring compliance with the mitigation planned under the Environmental Statement for the Airport Project.
- Sending strong and positive signals to the local community, descendent communities and stakeholders (both local and international) that SHG and St Helena as a whole, are responsible custodians for this unique and internationally significant site.
- Physically marking and commemorating a significant cultural asset that has hitherto not been acknowledged.
- Generating educational opportunities around St Helena's role in the abolition of slavery (specifically) but also generally around the lingering consequences of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in African, Americas, Caribbean and Europe.
- Providing a vehicle through which to open-up the difficult conversation of St Helena's history as a slave-keeping colony, prior to 19th-century Abolition.
- Generating international publicity for St Helena, and thus contributing to its economic prospects by increased interest and tourism.

- Freeing the Pipe Store for alternative uses. The Pipe Store is located in Jamestown where space is at a premium. It has long been earmarked as a museum of the flax industry (a flax processing engine is already present there).

Methodology

Scheme details will be finalised during the design period, but the basic specification includes, but is not limited to:

- Creation of a gabion-retained terrace, providing a place for reburial.
- Footpaths to allow visitor access to the edge of the reburial area.
- Public seating.
- Interpretation signage (costed within a separate Business Case).
- Sensitive landscaping and planting.
- Boundary demarcation (e.g. fencing or walls).

It is anticipated that the designs will incorporate some element of stonework. In conjunction with the planting, this will remove any impression of the site being 'industrial' or utilitarian.

No accommodation or toilet facilities are envisioned – although in the longer term these would be available in the interpretation centre which in this Master Plan is proposed at the No.1 Building.



Figure 6: Proposed Reburial Site at Field Road Intersection, adjacent to Lower Burial Ground

Maintenance

One of the design criteria for the reburial will be that it will need to be low maintenance. Regardless, there will be minor maintenance costs, principally in terms of the sustaining the planting and the periodic clearance of any rock or plant debris that falls from the slopes above. The interpretation boards will need replacement on an approximately 10-year cycle. Preliminary discussions of this matter have already taken place with the Environment & Natural Resources Directorate and St Helena Tourism, as well as with the voluntary sector – the latter being largely responsible for the commemorative work on the Liberated Africans to-

date in the form of the Liberated African Advisory Committee (LAAC) and the organisations are represented on the LAAC so that decisions hold these bodies to their responsibilities.

Ceremony

It is intended for a ceremony to be held for the physical reburial of the 325 remains and disarticulated scatter. It is envisioned the community taking part of the physical reburial including representation of the St Helena's current burial formalities.

Reburying the 325 liberated Africans will be a significant moment in St Helena's history and the observance will mark the start of St Helena telling its story internationally.

Appendix 6: Business Case 3 - Liberated African Reburial

6.2 Interpretation

6.2.1 Introduction

St Helena possesses a unique offering of historically significant built, cultural and archaeological heritage. Much of its heritage is reflected through its fortifications, infrastructure, various cemeteries, artefacts and other national assets which relate to the Island's legacy in military, slavery and strategic positioning within the British Empire.

However, through decades of neglect and disrepair, a significant number of these assets have been compromised and rendered almost meaningless physically, aesthetically, emotionally or culturally.

This is certainly the unfortunate case with respect to St Helena and its historical international importance as a Middle Passage stop during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade to the Americas, and later as a depot to untold numbers of African men, women and children who were encamped or buried in the Liberated African Establishment in Rupert's Valley during Britain's naval efforts to abolish slavery.

This aspect of the Island's heritage has not been thoroughly integrated in the current cultural heritage information and is limited to published articles and books, oral history held by few and an exhibition of artefacts in the Museum of Saint Helena, Jamestown.

There is a renewed opportunity to use the above mentioned resources to engage the community, relevant stakeholders and authorities to help develop, interpret and effectively convey an authentic understanding of St Helena's rich traditions, little known histories and significance through a variety of mediums. Culture and heritage tourism thrives on such experiences, and plays a critical role in building individual engagement.

Equally beneficial is the opportunity for elevating the social capital for visitor and community experiences as a way to improve values, attitudes and behaviours when confronting the difficult (challenging) history of slavery.

6.2.2 Interpretation Centre

An opportunity exists to create a world class Interpretation Centre, at the site of the former Liberated African depot in Rupert's Valley, and for this to become a hub for education and for raising awareness of this historical episode.

The proposed location is the 'No. 1 Building', the only surviving remnant of the 'Liberated African Depot' in Rupert's Valley. This is considered not only the most appropriate venue for the Interpretation Centre, given its historical context, but also as the most cost-effective, compared with the construction of a new structure.

The Interpretation Centre is conceived as being partly a museum, displaying certain retained artefacts from the 2008 excavations and other slavery-related items, as well as reproduced artefacts which are intended for reburial with their owners. It will also be a place to convey historical information and interpretation, both about St Helena's positive role in Slave Trade Abolition, but also its darker past as a slave-keeping colony. Alongside the permanent elements, a temporary exhibition space will facilitate a rolling content. The Centre will be an interactive, vibrant place through which to convey this internationally significant history.

Foremost, the Interpretation Centre will perpetuate knowledge of this aspect of St Helena's history. It dovetails with the parallel agendas for the reburial of the human remains exhumed in 2008, and for the creation of a memorial to the Liberated Africans brought to the island in the mid-19th century.

Tourism is viewed as one of the key economic drivers for the St Helena and it is therefore important to ensure that existing visitor attractions are maintained, and opportunities are taken to enhance and broaden this product. Rupert's Valley and the Liberated Africans is a product that could potentially be a further niche draw for the island in terms of visitor activity. Presently it is dependent for a handful of local people's tacit knowledge and the small exhibition in Jamestown's Museum to interpret this story for visitors.

Benefits

- A world class interpretation centre that addresses the complex issues surrounding slavery and Abolition, ensuring its legacy will never be forgotten.
- It will celebrate St Helena's positive contribution to the extinction of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.
- Highlight the world's ongoing fight against slavery in the modern world.
- Be an education hub for St Helena's schools, which can be integrated into the curriculum.
- A niche tourist attraction, adding to the overall history and heritage resource.
- A globally-known institution. For example, being comparable to the small but internationally acclaimed Memorial dos Pretos Novos (The Memorial of the New Blacks) in Rio de Janeiro.

To date, no formal notification has been given for the 'No 1 Building' being designated as Interpretation Centre. In the Lower Rupert's Valley (from Haytown House to Rupert's Lines) design application of May 2020 it was written that the "*Building Number 1 will remain outside of the port development, for a future, as yet unspecified use. This building has the potential to be a public space, and so access has been considered for many eventualities...*".

Operation

It is intended for the Interpretation Centre to become the responsibility of the Museum of St Helena. Therefore, forming part of the general arrangements for opening and being staffed.

Recommendation 1

SHG to designate the No. 1 Building in Rupert's Valley as the Interpretation Centre for the Trans-Atlantic Slave Memorial – St Helena.

Appendix 7: Business Case 4 – Slavery Interpretation Centre (Rupert's Valley)

6.2.3 Interpretation on Site

Interpretation Signage

St Helena possesses a unique offering of historically significant built, cultural and archaeological heritage. Much of its heritage is reflected through its fortifications, infrastructure, various cemeteries, artefacts and other national assets which relate to the Island's legacy in military, slavery and strategic positioning within the British Empire.

Benefits

- Generate community pride and encourage local involvement.
- Create awareness of the community's diverse natural, historical, and cultural resources.
- Offer a new experience to visitors that can result in increased visitation to the community which encourage visitors to stay longer (and spend more money).
- Educate visitors and locals alike.
- Provide a permanent source of information that is available all day and year round.
- The installation of interpretation signage will showcase the historical significant of the site, providing an interpretation of its role in the Liberated African establishment. The interpretive signs text and graphics will connect the interest of the reader with the meanings of the sites; meanings that will better linger in the memory of the reader alongside of facts, in telling St Helena's significant role in the Middle Passage, Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, and its international abolition.

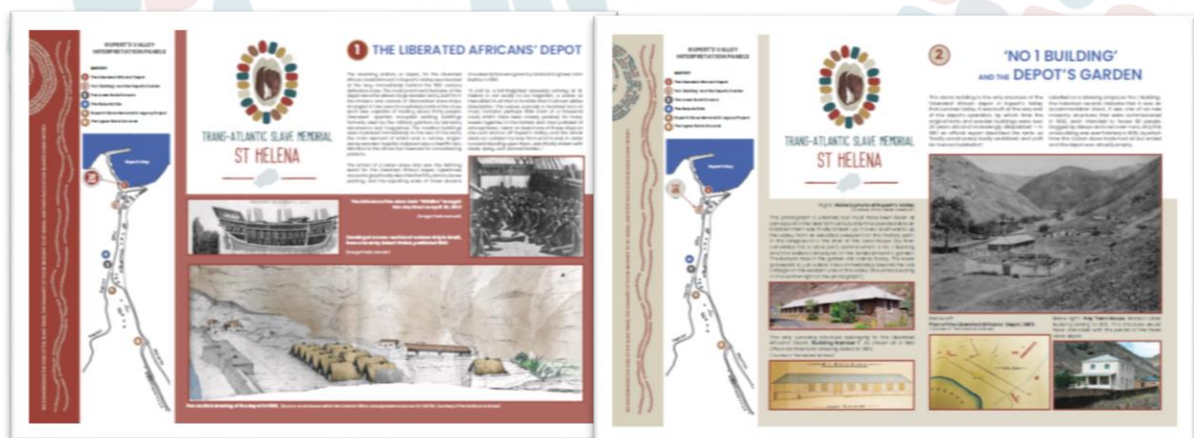


Figure 7: Snap shots of 2 interpretation signs to be located at Rupert's Valley

Site Placement

- Rupert's Beach and Depot- Middle Passage Port and Depot.
- No. 1 Depot Building (Hospital) and Gardens (Banyan Trees)- Future Interpretation Centre.

- Lower Burial Ground.
- Reburial Ground.
- Future Memorial and Contemplation Site.
- Upper Burial Ground.

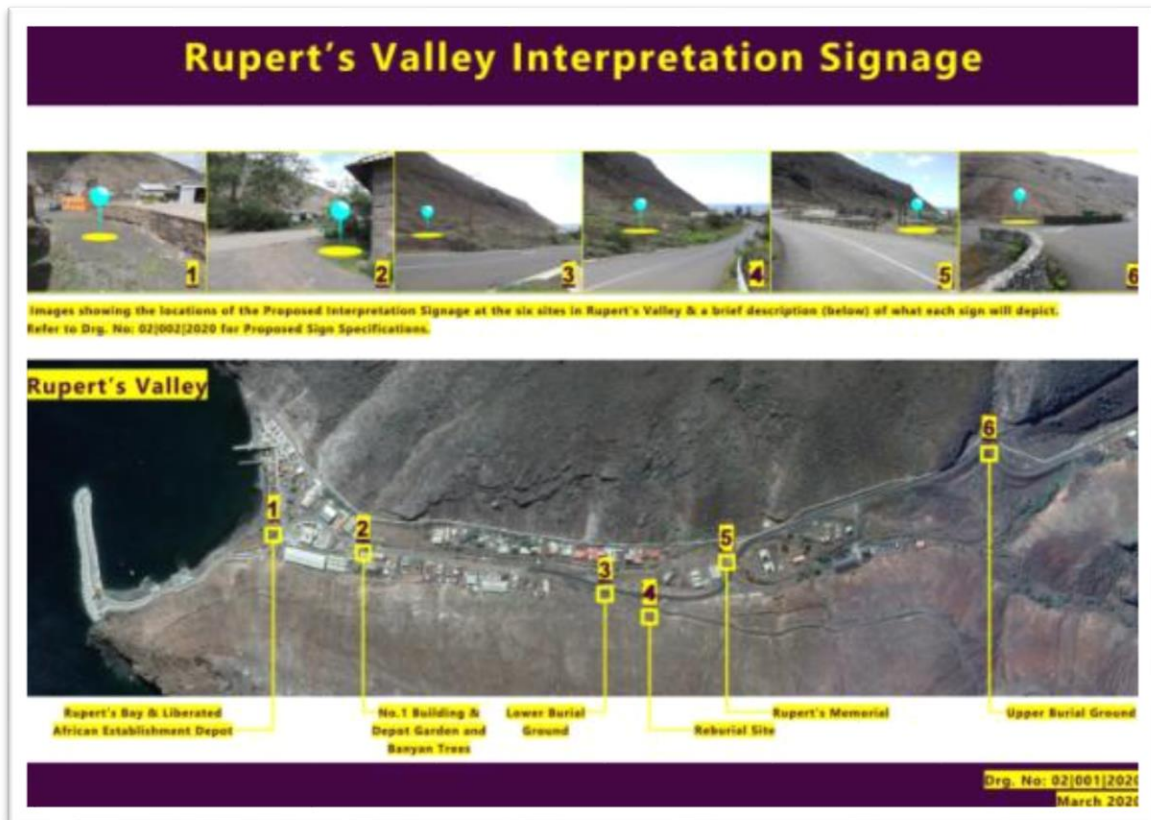


Figure 8: Overview of proposed interpretive sign locations in Rupert's Valley

The interpretative signs will be of a highly durable construction material with a life of approximately 10 years. It is intended for the interpretation signage to form part of the tourism's interpretation signage inventory.

6.3 Memorialisation

6.3.1 Introduction

The Trans-Atlantic Slave trade extinguished life on a genocidal scale. In England, the organisation 'Memorial 2007' has recently highlighted that 30-40 million people were transported. There are a few places in the world where the slave trade is memorialised.

It is intended for St Helena to erect a memorial which will address this dark episode. Due to its geographical location, St Helena's part of the eradication of the slave trade is unique whereby the island host graveyards of people taken straight from the slave ships and were only days/weeks out of Africa.

This component provides an opportunity to highlight a site of international significance, using design solutions that will spark imagination, contemplation, consideration, and interest on St Helena and its story across the world.

6.3.2 Memorial Design

The Memorial should:

- Be an impressive and sensitive design that creates a spiritually and emotionally powerful place for reflection and contemplation.
- Improve the visual and sensory experience of the proposed space for those who live and work in it – as well as visiting it.
- Communicate to all visitors – regardless of age, faith, background, nationality, language or knowledge of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade or St Helena's Liberated African Establishment. It should be capable of attracting and involving people outside the established audience.
- Respect and enhance the sacred quality of the overall site, the associated burial grounds and the memorial site.
- Enshrine and perpetuate the memory of St Helena's Liberated Africans.
- Be sombre but not shocking; convey the magnitude of what happened in a meaningful and comprehensible way; give visitors a deeper understanding of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and its victims.
- Reflect on millions of men, women and children stolen from Africa, acknowledging the inhumane conditions of the centuries long Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade governed solely by greed.
- Reflect on millions lost in the South Atlantic, and therefore have no final resting place.
- Honour the 25,000 that were brought to St Helena, how they lived, built and died on St Helena.
- Mourn the loss of childhood to slavery with two thirds of the victims being children.
- Acknowledge those in the St Helena community who aided in abolition, recovery, healing and burials.

6.3.3 Site Overview

An area mid-valley in Rupert's Valley is planned to be available for the reburial and memorial. The selected site is adjacent to St Michael's Church, and in the land currently occupied by the temporary fuel facility. The approximately boundary is next to St Michaels Church, the Run, and the Airport Access Road (shown in red). The area has been calculated as 3674.87m². Development on the site is restricted by both overhead and underground power lines (shown in yellow), sewer line, Fuel line(s) new and historic.

This location provides suitable space and topography for an appropriate monument. Its positioning is almost central and prominent in the valley that the monument would in its intricate design will tell the story of Rupert's Valley during the period of the abolition of slavery.

A number of potential constraints exist throughout the site. These include, but are not limited to:

- Urban Infrastructure: Sewer line, Overhead power-lines, Highway
- Ground Conditions
- Climate
- Flood Risk (Rapid Inundation Flood zone)
- Church Property not to be negatively affected



Figure 9: Aerial view of the designated Memorial Site

Appendix 8: Business Case 5 – Liberated African Memorial (Rupert's Valley)

6.3.4 National Conservation Area Designation

National Conservation Area (NCA) is an 'umbrella term' adopted by St Helena to describe a range of sites that represent the very best of St Helena's landscapes, plant, animals, landforms and heritage. The four categories of National Conservation Area are: National Parks, Nature Reserves, Important Wirebird Areas and Historic Conservation Areas.

Under the Land Development Control Plan (LDCP), 'priority has been given to the conservation of unique historic assets, but combined with the provision of public access to as much of the site and assets as feasible within the scope of good conservation practice. There should be managed public access for the purposes of living, cultural engagement with history for education and for enjoyment.' (LDCP Appendix 3: National Conservation Areas).

The cultural heritage sites associated with the 'Liberated' African Establishment in Rupert's Valley, qualify for designation as a Historic Conservation Area.

In identifying the Upper and Lower Burial Grounds for this project, it is found that both Burial Grounds are not individually designated within the Land Registry as Burial Grounds. These Burial Grounds instead forms part of the wider Rupert's Valley designation as Crown Land RV0085.

The areas known as the Upper and Lower Burial Grounds should be formally identified within the Land registry and form part of the process for designating the cultural heritage sites as a Historic Conservation Area.

Recommendation 2

- For SHG to formally recognise the Upper and Lower Burial Grounds as such, by designating plot numbers to each site.
- For SHG to designate the Liberated African Establishment in Rupert's Valley as a National Conversation Area.

6.4 Landscaping and Protection Plan

6.4.1 Introduction

The Landscaping and Protection Plan outlines the landscaping, maintenance and long-term management required for the cultural heritage site restoration and landscape planting proposed for this project. This will include, but will not be limited to the following:

- Alien plant control. Control of invasive species will be necessary to prevent a build up of a soil seed bank and subsequent spread.
- Pest control to reduce predation pressures on existing indigenous flora as well as all proposed reinstatement planting. This would be initiated in advance of all reinstatement planting works and monitored.
- Quarterly monitoring of plant establishment with replacement planting required on an annual basis in response to plant deaths.
- Irrigation of plant material for a minimum two year period post planting with close monitoring throughout this period. Irrigation will be undertaken and monitored on a site by site basis.

Landscape planting, earthworks (mounding and earth shaping – Memorial site only) and other mitigation measures will be implemented where appropriate to minimise the visual impact of previous and future industrial development in Rupert's Valley, thereby enhancing the existing local landscape character and structure (Figure 9 below). Non-native species are proposed to reinforce the screening and amenity plantings in Rupert's Valley and for specified sections alongside the access/haul road as appropriate.

The existing amenity planting will be protected and retained wherever possible. Where sections are lost and where gaps currently exist, similar species present in the existing mix will be planted to strengthen and reinforce this important buffer and screen between the line 'Liberated' African Establishments sites and Burial Grounds and the industrial elements of the Valley.

Key species will include flamboyant, garden hibiscus, bourgainvillea, Banyan, money plant and spekboom and will be established by cuttings and seed collection from established local material available from Rupert's.



Figure 10: Cultural Heritage Sites (Lower Burial Ground, Memorial Site and Upper Burial Ground) for proposed landscaping

7. Education

7.1 International

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was the largest forced migration in history, and undeniably one of the most inhumane. The extensive exodus of Africans spread to many areas of the world over a 400-year period and was unprecedented in the records of human history.

In commemoration of the memory of the victims, the United Nations General Assembly, in its resolution 62/122 of 17 December 2007, declared 25 March the International Day of Remembrance of the Victims of Slavery and the Transatlantic Slave Trade, to be observed annually. The resolution also called for the establishment of an outreach programme to mobilize educational institutions, civil society and other organizations to inculcate in future generations the "causes, consequences and lessons of the transatlantic slave trade, and to communicate the dangers of racism and prejudice."

7.2 Local

The coverage of what is taught on the topic of slavery on St Helena has been inherited. It is imperative that we raise local awareness, which in turn will create a better understanding and care for this crucial part of St Helena history.

Currently, and only recently, slavery has been limited to teachings of the topic to Primary schools (10 – 11 year olds) the length of the topic ranges from half a term to a full term, 7 to 14 (hours) weeks) and in Secondary school (KS3, year 8, the topic taught is Black People of the Americas) with very little emphasis on the role that St Helena played in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the Abolition thereof.

There is now a greater capacity on Island to find the relevant resources and best learning opportunities that fall in line with the understanding of St Helena's cultural heritage. Additionally, with the St Helena National Trust Strategic Plan and the St Helena Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Memorial Project, this National Curriculum objective can be realised with additional resources and delivery modes to present teachers and learners with a more holistic and unbiased scheme of work.

Recommendation 3

For SHG to incorporate St Helena's slave history, in the first instance the Liberated African Establishment in the National Curriculum.

8. Community Outreach Plan

8.1 Introduction

Cultural heritage has been created by people for people. Although individual people and their contribution to cultural heritage is important, it is often more appropriate to work with groups of people – or communities – as culture is usually accomplished through collaboration.

Communities contain capacities and assets that outlast political or professional structures and complement specialist knowledge and skills. A people-centred approach harnesses these capacities in order to offer long-term conservation and co-management for the good of the heritage and for the good of the community.

An interpretation centre on site will provide the local and international community with the platform to access and experience first-hand the wealth of knowledge available on the site and others like it.

The Memorial and collection of monuments across the island on (and potentially off-shore through underwater environmentally friendly monuments), will serve as a sacred site for re-connection and contemplation for the local community and tourists. By making use of cutting edge technology, these sites can facilitate the connection of St Helena with global sites and institutions across the globe.

8.2 Local Community

8.2.1 Rupert's Valley Community

In particular, to this project, Rupert's residential community is small, but probably the only district comprised solely of St Helenian residents, with some families have lived in the valley

for up to four generations. St Helena fisheries and the local fishermen have a strong interest in Rupert's Bay as all major fish landings and processing takes place here.

8.2.2 The Island's Community

Rupert's Beach is the only, safe and accessible beach on island and therefore also represents one of the few significant natural living-cultural heritage sites. Here, along with James Bay is where the St Helena community engages in an array of outdoor water-based activities eg. swimming, snorkelling, scuba-diving, fishing, jet-skiing, yachting, kayaking, paddle-boarding and wind surfing. Rupert's Bay also exhibits a hive of cultural activity during the holidays when St Helenian families take to the beach to camp, as they have done for generations.

8.3 Descendant Communities

Many thousands of the 'Liberated' Africans brought to St Helena survived the ordeal of their transportation and its aftermath. About 500 settled permanently on the island and made it their home. The modern St Helenians are, in part, descendants of these people. Over 18,000 'Liberated' Africans were transported onwards from St Helena. Only a minority returned to Africa, and it is unlikely that any ever found their way back home. Some went to The Cape Colony, but the majority were involuntarily shipped to Britain's Caribbean colonies as indentured labourers.

Table 2: 18,000 'Liberated' Africans transported onwards from St Helena

'Liberated' African destinations	Numbers
St Helena	500
British Guiana	5419
Jamaica	3983
Trinidad	3701
Cape Colony	1410
St Vincent	832
Grenada	796
St Lucia	700
Tobago	225
St Kitts	138
Nigeria and Sierra Leone	261

Including descendants in research and interpretation is contingent upon building a positive relationship with the community. A positive relationship may already exist, but like all relationships, it must be maintained and nurtured so that it will grow. It is important to realize that the community is not a monolith—it includes a wide array of opinions, thoughts, and feelings about what can and should be done. It is also not static; as more genealogy and archival research is done, new people should be brought into the community as they are located or express interest.

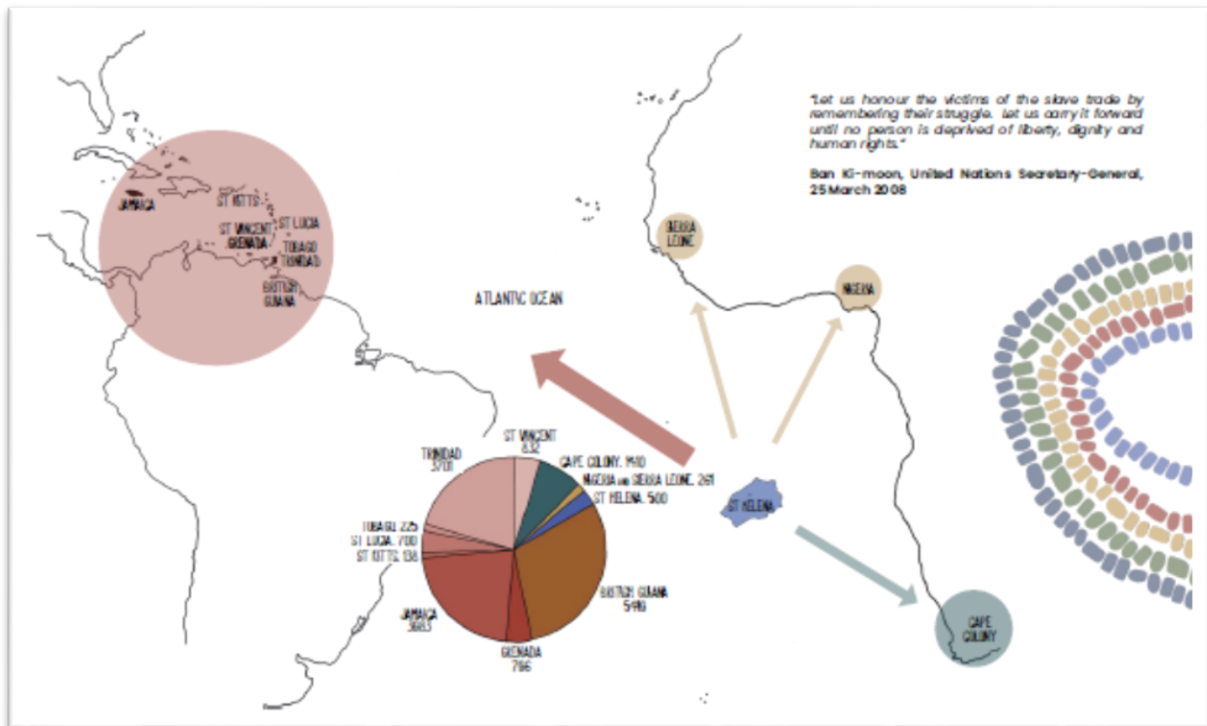


Figure 11: Map showing onward involuntary transportation of 'Liberated' Africans from St Helena

8.4 'Liberated' African Diaspora

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade involved an estimated 12.7 million enslaved Africans and lasted nearly four centuries, while the Indian Ocean trade included more than a million people, but began earlier and continued longer. Over one quarter of those victims boarded slave ships after 1807, when the British and US governments passed legislation curtailing (and ultimately banning) maritime human trafficking. As world powers negotiated anti-slave trade treaties thereafter, British, Portuguese, Spanish, Brazilian, French, and US authorities began seizing ships suspected of prohibited trade, raiding coastal slave barracks, and detaining newly landed slaves in the Americas, Africa, Atlantic and Indian Ocean islands, Arabia, and India. In this process, naval courts, international mixed commissions, and local authorities decided the fates of the survivors around the Atlantic and Indian Ocean coasts. Between 1808 and 1896, this judicial network emancipated roughly 6 percent of an estimated 4 million enslaved Africans. This website retraces the lives of over 250,000 people emancipated under global campaigns to abolish slavery, as well as thousands of officials, captains, crews, and guardians of a special class of people known as "Liberated Africans." (<http://liberatedafricans.org/about.php>)

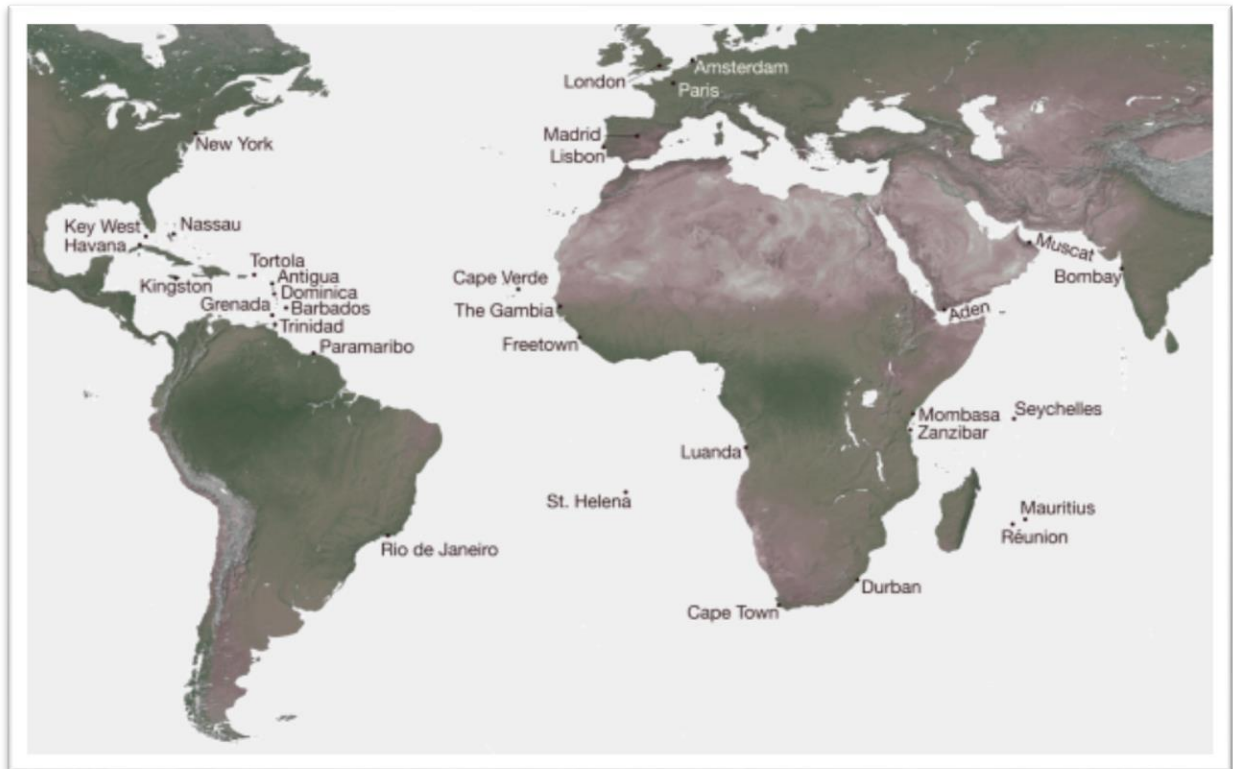


Figure 12: Key locations of British Abolition Efforts after 1808

8.5 International Community

8.5.1 African Diaspora

African Diaspora is the term commonly used to describe the mass dispersion of peoples from Africa during the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, from the 1500s to the 1800s. This Diaspora took millions of people from Western and Central Africa to different regions throughout the Americas and the Caribbean. Acknowledgement and collaboration with African Diaspora regions is key in establishing the cultural heritage sites of the 'Liberated' African Establishment on St Helena as a site of international significance.

9. Tourism

9.1 Cultural and Heritage Tourism

Cultural and Heritage tourism is defined as a way to travel to experience the places, artefacts and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present, including cultural historic and natural resources. It has a positive economic and social impact, it establishes and reinforces identity, it helps preserve the cultural heritage, with culture as an instrument it facilitates harmony and understanding amongst people, it supports culture and helps push tourism.

This is an important pillar for St Helena's tourism product whereby it showcases today's society came into being.

9.2 Diaspora Tourism

Diaspora tourism refers to the travel of people in diaspora to their ancestral homelands in search of their roots or to feel connected to their personal heritage. Diasporas can help open markets for new tourism products. As diaspora tourists travel to see friends and family or participate in various cultural events they will promote the destination. They will likely influence others to visit through word of mouth and may become involved with local community projects.

There is an opportunity for St Helena to develop its diaspora tourism further beyond the current St Helenian diaspora. As part of this project there is potential to extend diaspora tourism to the descendant and african communities that are wanting to follow this story through the middle passage.

Recommendation 4

For St Helena Tourism to develop the Trans-Atlantic Slave Route and Liberated African Establishment product for market.

10. Phased Approach and Financial Plan

10.1 Phased Approach

Ideally the phases would be in time periods, but the successful completion of the project will be funding dependent. The project will therefore be executed in 3 phases.

Phase 1 - The immediate term will focus on the reburial of the 325 remains that were excavated in 2008. To carry out the reburial, important elements such as coffins and documenting of the artefacts found with the remains will also need completion.

Phase 2 will focus on the education, interpretation and awareness raising of St Helena being pinnacle to the slave trade and the thereafter abolition of slavery with its wealth of cultural resource.

Phase 3 will then concentrate its efforts on memorialisation and accumulate the story of the Rupert's Valley as a Liberated African Establishment, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the Abolishment thereafter. Landscaping will continue throughout the project to ensure these sites are given the appropriate respect due to community cemeteries.

Note although the elements are shown under different phases, it does not mean that if the means to implement is identified earlier it has to be put on hold. The phasing of the project allows St Helena to prioritise.

10.2 Financial Plan

Table 3: Costing of each component required for the project

Component	Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Total
Coffins				
Project Manager	£ 250.00			
ITT for contractor	£ 200.00			
Coffins: manufacture (labour and materials)	£ 25,125.00			
Transport of coffins to Rupert's Valley	£ 100.00			
Subtotal	£25,725.00			£25,725.00
Reburial				
Project Manager	£ 2,500.00			
Archaeologist	£ 6,600.00			
Engineer	£ 500.00			
GIS	£ 500.00			
ITT for contractor	£ 200.00			
Reburial site construction	£ 14,000.00			
Landscaping and Planting	£5,000.00			
Transport of human remains from Jamestown to Rupert's ;	£ 1,000.00			

Reburial Ceremony and associated events	£ 7,700.00			
Subtotal	£38,000.00			£38,000.00
Artefact Replication				
3D Scanner	£26,500.00			
Finds specialist: UK-based inputs	£1,500.00			
Project Manager	£1,250.00			
3D Replication of artefacts, derived from scans		£2,100.00		
Crystal boxes to retain replicated objects		£250.00		
Subtotal	£29,250.00	£2,350.00		£31,600.00
Interpretation Centre				
<u>Stage 1 Building Restoration</u>				
Project Manager		£ 1,000.00		
Structural Survey		£ 3,000.00		
Historic Building Recording		£ 1,000.00		
Planning Application submission		£ 400.00		
Building Restoration* <i>Design dependent, subject to change</i>		£ 45,000.00		
External landscaping of grounds		£ 5,000.00		
<u>Stage 2 Creation of Interpretation Centre</u>				
Fit-out, includes Interpretation Panels, interactive equipment and content		£ 20,000.00		
Artwork - reconstruction drawings, etc		£ 14,000.00		
Archaeology call-down		£ 300.00		
Finds specialist call-down		£ 300.00		
Opening Ceremony		£ 1, 000.00		
Subtotal		£ 91,000.00		£91,000.00
Memorial (Design dependent)				
Project Manager			£ 4,000.00	
ITT exercise for Designer (international) and contractor (local)			£ 1,500.00	
Detailed Design Development			£ 26,500.00	
Relocation of existing services (power cables)			£ 10,000.00	
Memorial Construction			£ 100,000.00	
Inauguration			£5,000.00	
Subtotal			£147,000.00	£147,000.00
TOTAL	£92,975.00	£93,350.00	£147,000.00	£333,325.00

Appendix 1: Terms of Reference for the Liberated African Advisory Committee

Background

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.

A 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”*.

In June 2018 the LAAC presented its report on options available to SHG on the reinterment of the disturbed Liberated African Remains and their recommendations. This was stated as:

- Reburied at the site identified in Rupert's, including the grave goods unearthed during the 2008 excavations.
- No subset of the remains should be retained for further study/exhibition;
- A memorial is created at that site.
- An interpretation centre is developed ideally at part of the Depot Building in Rupert's.

The LAAC recognised the significance of St Helena's role in the Liberation of Africans, the finds in Rupert's Valley are unique and of international significance and that this only one aspect of the island's slave history and more work is needed including engagement with the local and international community.

The Executive Council for St Helena agreed these recommendations.

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 and appropriate memorialisation of the story. This includes:

- Reinter the excavated Liberated African remains.
- Raise funds in order to provide a suitable memorial, Monument(s) and Interpretation centre, recognising the thousands of Liberated Africans who were brought to, lived on and buried on St Helena; and their story.
- As part of the memorial, provide a suitable contemplative and reflective area for visitors and relatives.
- Explore ways in which the memorial and interpretation centre can contribute to education on St Helena's role in the abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and

highlight the role of both St Helena and Royal Navy in abolition of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

Scope

Provide a permanent, respectful, and appropriate final resting place for the excavated remains of Liberated Africans discovered on St 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 and ensuring that any memorial or permanent features on all relevant sites of significance (Lemon Valley, St Pauls, Half Tree Hollow Cemetery, etc.) 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 secure suitable temporary climate controlled storage that will ensure the preservation and ethical safe-keeping of the remains until the designated permanent resting place is available.
- Propose an appropriate process for re-interment of the remains (in consultation with relevant experts and stakeholders) currently stored securely in Jamestown and progress this process to agreed timelines.
- Agree and progress the securing of finances for a memorial (Monument, Contemplation space, Interpretation Centre) 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.

Roles and 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 Executive Council.

The Liberated African Advisory Committee will be chaired by a SHG representative or representative identified by the Chief Secretary 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 and/or community 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 representation may be invited in as and when agenda items are raised that require their specialist opinion.

The Committee may through funding provided procure the services of expert(s) and resources to produce key components of work.

Outputs and Timing

The Committee shall produce a Project Plan and Programme (Reburial, Memorial, Interpretation Centre) that will require planning permission and public consultation on individual components that details project design, construction and operation.

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

Appendix 2: Project Branding

Following the approval by the Executive Council to widen the remit to develop the interpretation of this period of history, to engage with the both the local and international community on the issue and to explore the potential tourism benefits of ‘telling the story’, the Liberated African Advisory Committee (LAAC) recognised the need for the project to have a visual identity.

Title

The LAAC, therefore agreed the project should be titled:

‘Trans-Atlantic Slave Memorial – St Helena’

This allows the project scope for future expansion as it is recognised by the Committee and St Helena as a community that the Liberated African Establishment is only one aspect of the island’s slave history.

Logo

The logo was developed through artistic rendition of the material culture recovered during the excavation. The following logo was agreed by the LAAC.



The cowrie shell, the centre piece of the logo was found amongst the material culture excavated.

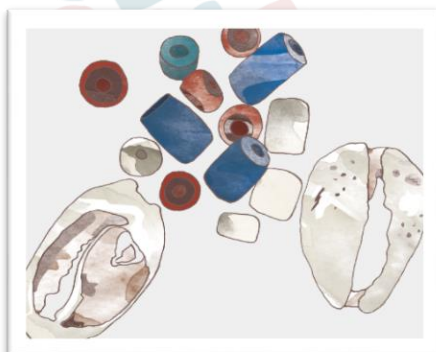


Figure 13 - artistic rendition of Small Find 07 - Prize Possessions 2015

For example; a 38-46 year old woman (skeleton 279), buried with an older child, was recorded with 151 glass beads and two small cowry shells (Figure 13). From DNA sample testing, the excavated human remains were identified as Africans originating from the west coast of Africa. Throughout African, South and North America, the cowrie shell physically represents wealth, honour and style, whilst spiritually they symbolise a strong connection to the ocean for its strength and power – which those buried here crossed during their enslavement. (The cowrie shell is also perceived as feminine, a symbol of birth, good fortune and resurrection. The shells were also used as a

currency which was essential in the building of the European and American slavery economies).

The coloured beads surrounding the cowrie shell on the logo depicts the bead objects that

were recovered during the excavation. These bead objects were utilised as adornments and buried with their owners. At that time, majority the people enslaved were stripped of their personal items. It was therefore a surprise that some people were able to hide and retain these personal items.

Colour Palette

The colour scheme is represented by the material culture recovered during the excavation, local flora and fauna, previous interpretation work and historical images.

COLOUR PALLETTE: PRIMARY

			
PANTONE: 181C C27 M85 Y81 K24 R151 G59 B51 #973b33	PANTONE: 7477C C79 M44 Y46 K36 R45 G88 B94 #2d585e	PANTONE: 465C C24 M37 Y72 K12 R177 G143 B86 #b18f56	PANTONE: 7434C C16 M14 Y25 K1 R210 G204 B186 #d2ccba

COLOUR PALLETTE: SECONDARY

				
PANTONE: 497C C52 M71 Y68 K61 R69 G44 B40 #452c28	PANTONE: 476C C50 M67 Y67 K50 R84 G58 B52 #543a34	PANTONE: 7518C C48 M64 Y65 K38 R102 G74 B66 #664a42	PANTONE: 4985C C39 M67 Y56 K20 R139 G89 B88 #8b5958	PANTONE: 649C C4 M0 Y0 K12 R214 G222 B227 #d6dee3

Fonts

LOGO TYPE

KADISOKA HAND

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
1234567890!@#%&*?/

COPY TYPE

POPPINS

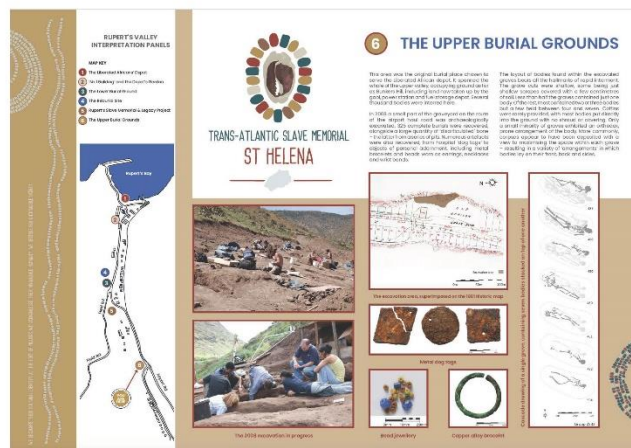
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DIGITAL TYPE

ARIAL

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZ
abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz
1234567890!@#%&*?/

GRAPHIC STYLE



Appendix 3: Buried Human Remains in Rupert's Valley: A Guide for Residents and Workers

What is this guide for?

This guide is for the use of those who live and work in Rupert's Valley. It sets out:

- Who's the human remains are, where they are located, and how you can recognise them.
- What you should (and should not) do in the known graveyards.
- What to do if you discover human remains elsewhere in the valley.

Whose burials are these?

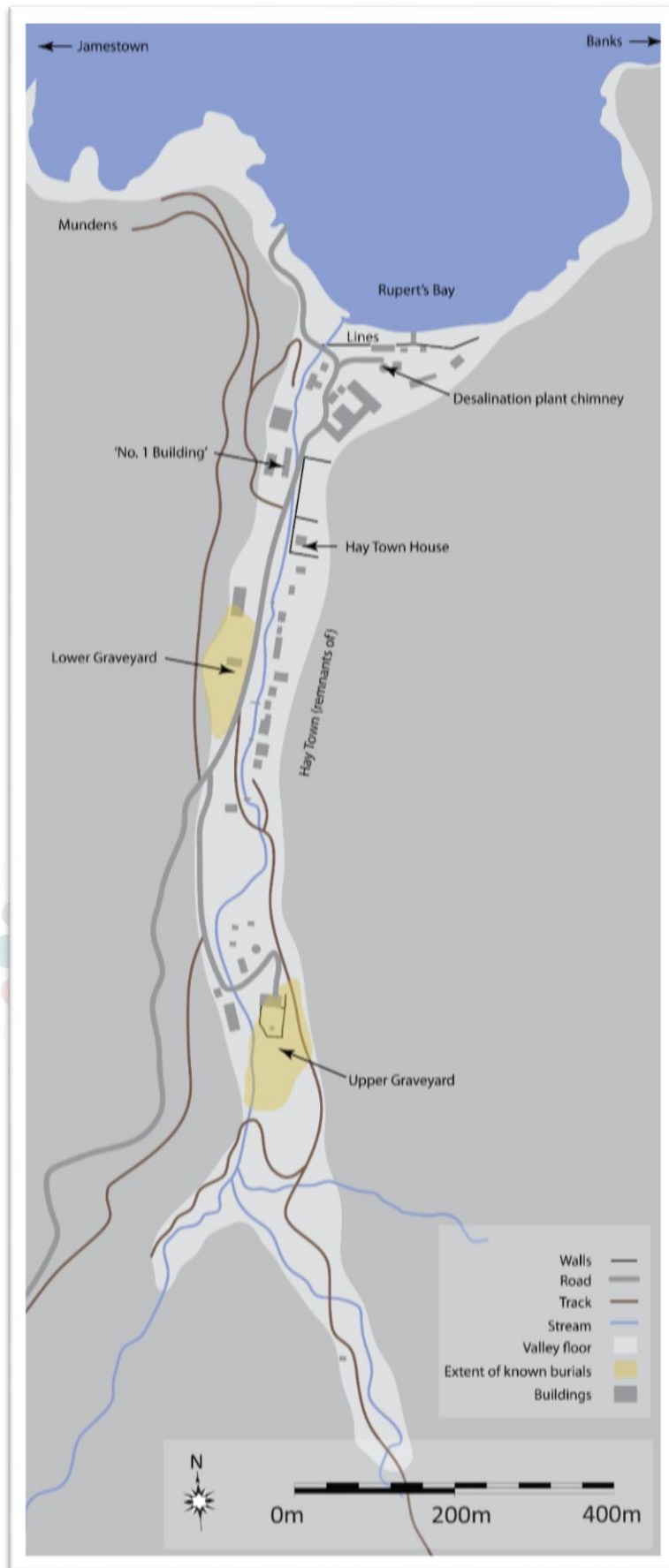
The remains date from 1840-1860, when 'liberated Africans' from captured slave ships were brought to St Helena by the Royal Navy. Most were landed in a camp at Rupert's Bay. About 25,000 arrived at St Helena; 8,000 died – most being buried in Rupert's Valley. Some survivors settled on the island and are the ancestors of the modern St Helenian population.

In 2008 archaeological excavations undertaken ahead of the Airport Haul Road revealed a small part of the Upper Burial Grounds.

Where are they buried in Rupert's Valley?

Most of the dead were buried in two areas (the 'Lower' and 'Upper' Burial Grounds). These are shown on Map 1.

Map 1. The location of the Lower and Upper Burial Grounds



The Lower Burial Ground occupies the lower western slopes of the valley, between Bennett Cottage southwards to where Field Road joins African Slave Road. There is post-and-wire fencing separating the burial area from the road, but the upper side (on the path from Munden's) is unfenced.

The Upper Burial Ground occupied all of the area under the Power Station, the adjacent Fuel Farm and the Old Gaol, and southwards to the point where Bunker's Hill divides the upper part of Rupert's Valley into two. The surviving (undeveloped) part of the graveyard is marked by fencing on its northern edge only.

In the St Helena Land Registry, the Lower and Upper Burial Grounds are identified as Crown Estate Land RV0085.

Do we know where all the burials are?

(Where might undiscovered burials be located?)

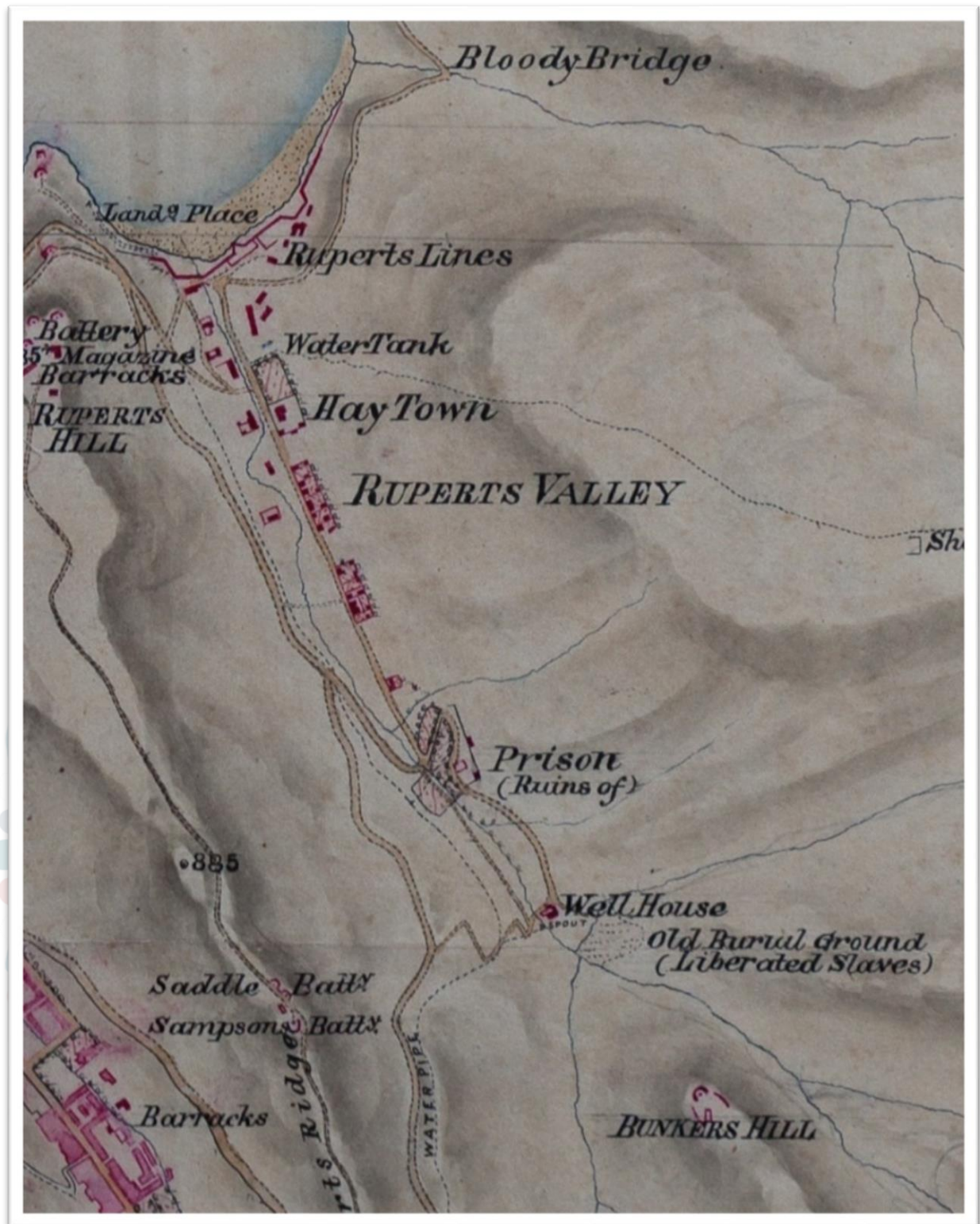
By 1860 all ground in the valley that was not too rocky, or in the floodplain, had been used for burial. The Lower and Upper Burial Grounds hold most of the burials. However, some may exist elsewhere in small numbers.

These could be anywhere in the valley.

In particular, be aware of:

An unconfirmed report of remains found on the lower eastern slopes near Hay Town House;
An 1860s document which states that two pits capable of holding 60 bodies had been dug '200 yards' above the Well House. The document does not say if those pits were ever used. The Well House was located near the bottom of Bunkers Hill. An 1872 map shows its location and also labels a part of a graveyard here (Map 2). In 2008 archaeological test trenching found no burials here, nor did it find the pits – **but that does not prove that burials are absent here.**

Map 2. 1870s map showing the Well House



What do the burials/human remains look like?

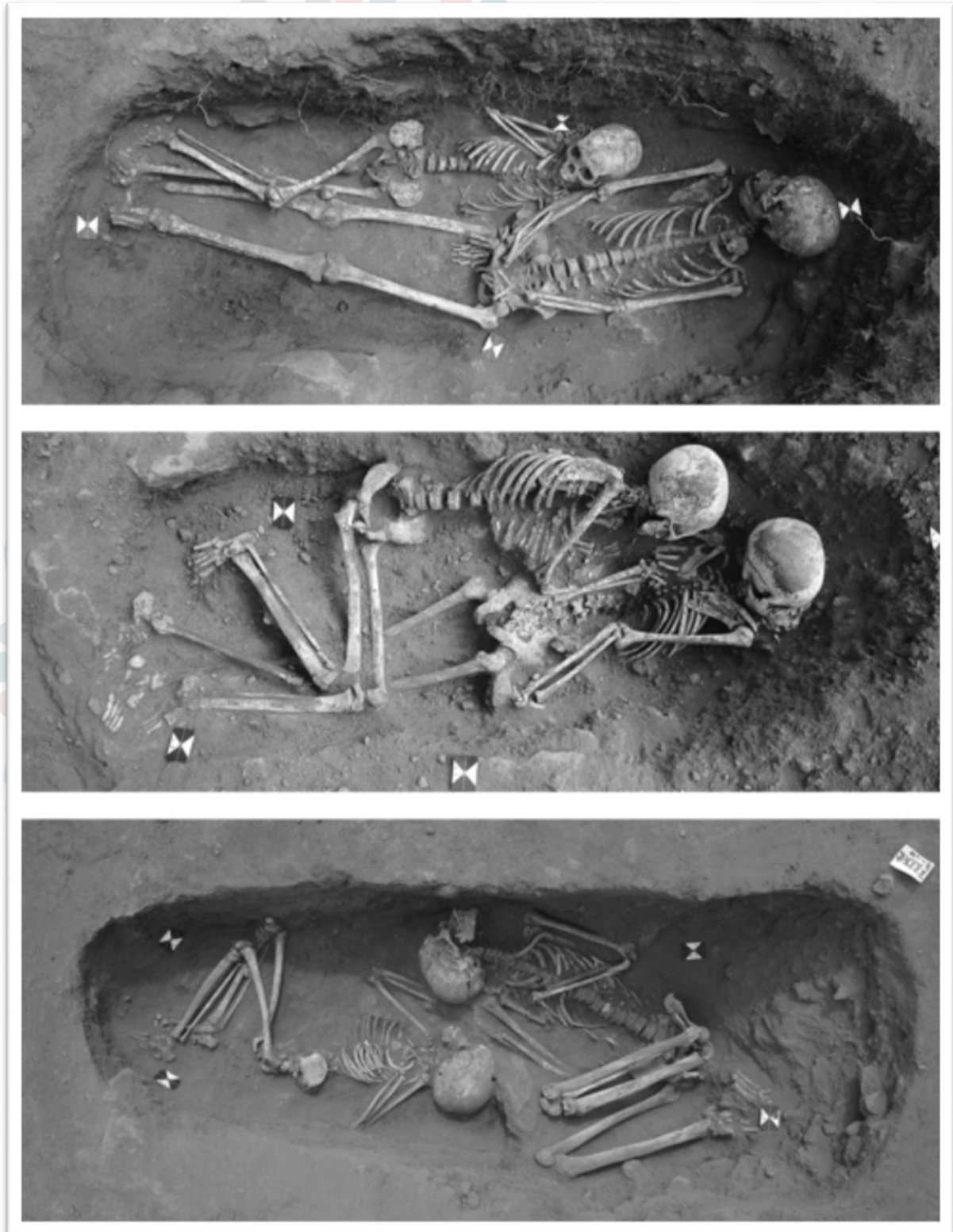
(How would I recognise them?)

There are three 'types' that exist:

- 1) 'Articulated' burials.

These are where one or several bodies were buried in a cut grave. Some bodies were carefully laid out, but many were not (Photograph 1). Because of the practice of autopsy/dissection before their burial, and erosion of some graves since then, occasionally the buried bodies are not complete;

Photograph 1. Examples of 'articulated' burials



2) 'Disarticulated' bone.

This is where body parts were either deliberately buried in pits (Photograph 2) or where bone has eroded from a burial and now lies detached from the rest of the body. Mainly it is skulls and long bones (arms, legs) that survive to be found, the smaller bones having decomposed in the soil;

Photograph 2. Examples of 'disarticulated' human remains.

These images are of bones deliberately buried in pits during the mid-19th century. More recently disturbed bone will probably just be isolated long bones.





3) 'Surface scatter'.

Bone decomposes over time and when buried at shallow depth, tiny flecks of bone can come to the surface. These flecks are just a few millimetres in size. Being lighter than the soil, they often emerge after heavy rain. The spoil from the 2008 archaeological excavation, deposited in the area below the Quarantine Station, contains much of this scatter.

The burials are very shallow. The deepest grave found in 2008 was 1m; most were around 0.6-0.7m, and occasional burials were just a few centimetres below the ground surface.

Note that:

- You could easily reach burials even when digging by hand.
- An excavating machine can easily cut through a burial with a single pass, and the machine bucket can drag body parts quite widely.
- For a 'prone' burial (someone lying flat) it is the skull that is nearest to the surface. If hit by a spade or machine bucket it will often make a distinct 'popping' sound.
- For 'crouched' burials, the skull can again be high, but the legs can be bent such that the knees are highest.

The Lower and Upper Burial Grounds: what should I do?

- **Avoid them entirely** unless you have a specific reason to be there.
- Do not undertake any digging or intrusive ground works **under any circumstance**.
- Do not drive over the areas, or park vehicles there.
- Do not use the areas for storage or lay-down.

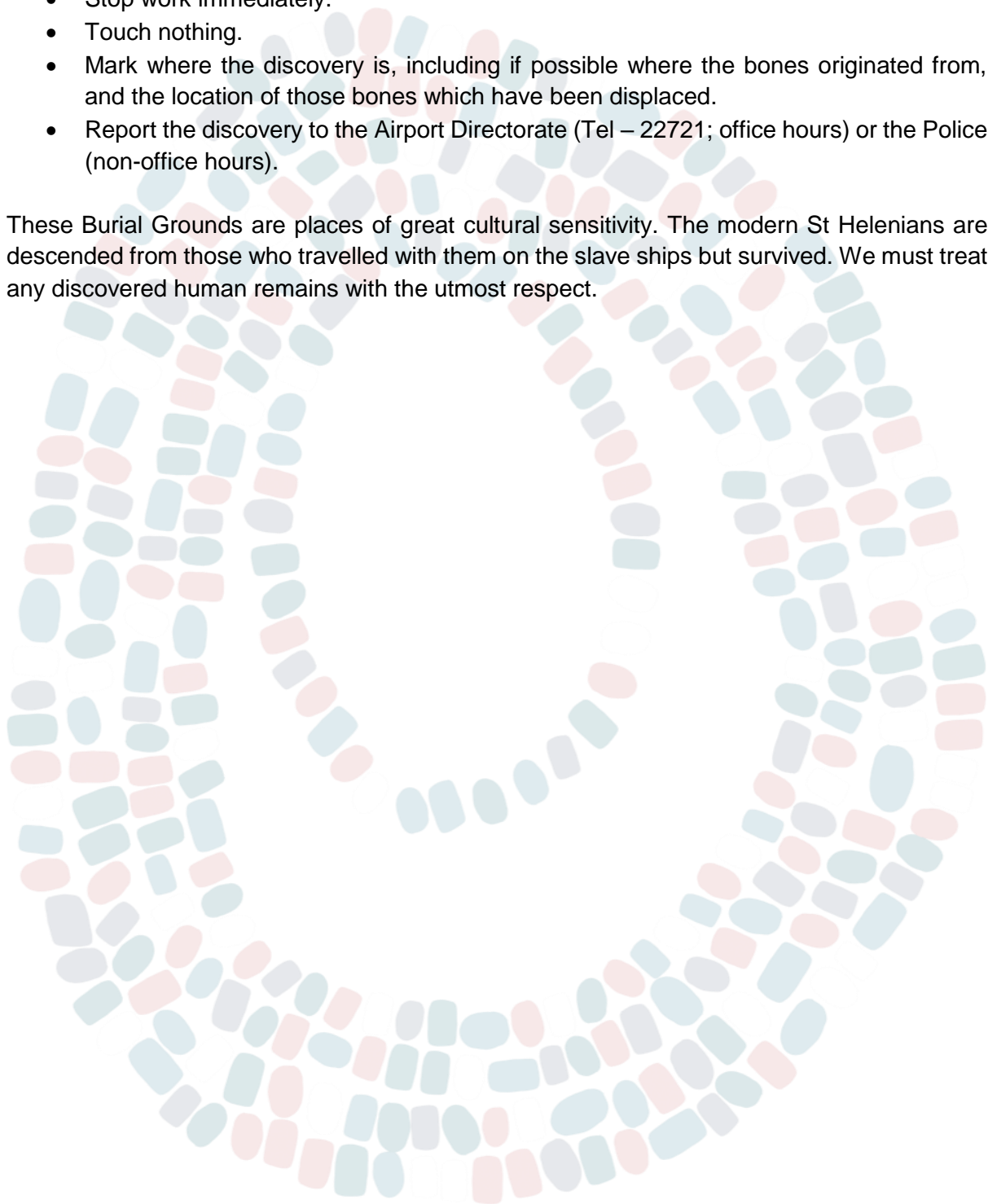
The Burial Grounds do not look like formal burial areas. It may help if you think of them as being like the cemetery at St Paul's, or as a minefield! Would you park a car or store building

materials in the cemetery? Would you go digging in a minefield if you did not know where every mine is?

What should I do if I find human remains?

- Stop work immediately.
- Touch nothing.
- Mark where the discovery is, including if possible where the bones originated from, and the location of those bones which have been displaced.
- Report the discovery to the Airport Directorate (Tel – 22721; office hours) or the Police (non-office hours).

These Burial Grounds are places of great cultural sensitivity. The modern St Helenians are descended from those who travelled with them on the slave ships but survived. We must treat any discovered human remains with the utmost respect.



Appendix 4: Business Case 1 - Coffins for reburial of the exhumed Liberated African human remains

Purpose:

To ensure that the 325 individuals exhumed from the Liberated African Burial Ground in Rupert's Valley receive a dignified reburial. This will be a contrast to their original interments during the crisis circumstances of the reception 'depot' in the 1840s or 50s. A reburial within coffins will be in keeping with present St Helenian and wider Diaspora community traditions.

Executive Summary

The human remains currently in store in the Pipe Store were excavated from Rupert's Valley during 2008, from an area known to be an 'African Burial Ground', adjacent to the Mid-Valley Fuel Farm. They were exhumed because the airport haul road cut through graveyards at this location, and no satisfactory design alternative could be found that would have prevented the disturbance of graves (either through avoidance, or an engineering solution).

In total, 325 complete skeletons were exhumed in 2008, along with a large quantity of disarticulated human bone, the latter derived from pits containing an unknown number of individuals. After excavation, each set of remains was temporarily boxed and stored in the Pipe Store in Jamestown, where they still remain today, 12 years later.

The African re-captives brought to Rupert's Valley were bereft of a right and proper burial 180 years ago. The descendant community of St Helena, and the community at large now have a unique opportunity to reclaim the dignity not accorded those individuals exhumed in 2008. This is profoundly warranted. The use of coffins (or, more accurately, small caskets) is deemed an appropriate means of achieving this aim.

In so doing it is noted that the Africans' origins are imprecisely understood. We do not know their belief-system, nor the methods of burial that their cultures would have adopted. As such, the solution being sought is one which modern St Helenians – and successor cultures elsewhere – would be comfortable with and consider dignified and appropriate. It is also critical that the reburial solution is seen to be respectful, by both St Helenian and external audiences; the latter is important messaging for such a delicate subject.

The cost this business case sets out is **£25,725**

Reasons

- An appropriate, respectful and practical solution to an issue that needs urgent resolution.
- Community engagement, in line with Liberated African Advisory Committee (LAAC) objectives.
- Accords with funerary customs of Saint Helenians: the 2016 census recorded 83.3% as Anglican.
- Accords with funerary customs of descendant communities, e.g. Caribbean, Cuba, Brazil, West and Central Africa.

Business Options

Option 1 – Reburial with no coffins

This option assumes reburial to take place in current storage receptacle, i.e. archival cardboard boxes.

Rejected:

- 1) This is not deemed culturally appropriate;
- 2) Poor messaging – an impression of cost-cutting;
- 3) Impractical, as many skeletons have cranial and post-cranial remains held in two separate boxes.

Option 2 – Reburial with locally produced recycled-material coffins

This option considers making use of locally-produced recycled-paper coffins as reburial receptacles for each set of human remains. This option has merit through its use of a locally sourced, sustainable, cost-effective material being used, as well as supporting an emerging St Helenian recycling industry.

Rejected:

This option does not respect the cultural considerations and sensitivity required for this reinterment. While referencing a current (and growing) trend in Western countries for sustainable and low carbon-footprint burials, this has yet to gain traction on St Helena. It has the potential to be misunderstood as simply economising, and deemed inappropriate by local and international audiences. It is an approach that is not regarded as appropriate treatment.

The legacy that St Helena strives first to uphold respect and dignity of its community and cultural heritage. In that spirit, community engagement through the crafting of burial coffins is a deeply meaningful way to connect, use of local skilled crafts persons and resources, and community investment.

Option 3 – Reburial with local handmade wooden coffins (machine-cut, imported wood; hand finished and decorated)

This option is **recommended** on the basis that:

- 1) Wood is considered to be a respectful and proper construction material. Wood is accepted as a traditional material globally;
- 2) There are a number of skilled wood craftsmen on island. Their involvement with this task will represent community engagement/investment, connecting our present to our past through education;
- 3) Such handmade coffins have been used elsewhere for the reinterment of individuals connected with slavery – most obviously NYABG. Furthermore, making use of wood as the material for coffin construction presents an opportunity for involving a variety of decorative art forms in the inlays, an art form which is practiced on St Helena.

Expected benefits/dis-benefits

Benefits

- Coffins meet the St Helenian model of what constitutes an appropriate burial.

- Coffins meet successor population model for appropriate burial (e.g. Brazil, Cuba, Caribbean) and for other African Diaspora elements (most notably Britain and North America).
- Wood is traditionally an accepted material locally and internationally.
- Makes for a high quality and aesthetically pleasing product.
- Locally available skill source, the use of which introduces community engagement.

Dis-benefits

- If outsourcing materials this, does not use local and/or recycled materials.
- Costlier than alternatives such as a locally-sourced recycled-paper material.

Project Team

A partnership working approach is required on all projects and to be undertaken by SHG, SHNT and MoSH. It is anticipated that members of the team are the existing members of LAAC. In the event a member of these organisations did not join the team, it would not prevent the project moving forward.

It is anticipated that the coffins could be stored at the No.1 Building after their construction in readiness for the human remains placement.

Stakeholder/Team Member	Interest	How the Resource will be Sourced
Project Manager	Overall project management and oversight of the project – dedicated to delivering the project within time and budget.	Recruitment process.
Liberated African Advisory Committee	Stakeholder representative body.	In place – has led on the project preparation thus far.
Crafter(s)	Undertake works.	Recruitment process.

Costs and Timescale

This project will need to be the first element to be completed. Commissioning of the coffins will be undertaken as soon as practicable.

	Phase 1	Total
Project Manager.	£250	£250
ITT for contractors'/crafts persons Advertising, interview, appoint.	£200	£200
Coffins: manufacture (materials and labour costs) Based on indicative quote already obtained, of £70 per coffin Includes 10 larger caskets for disarticulated human remains (and includes recycled paper boxes for retaining finds in the coffins) and decoration of each coffin.	£25,125	£25,125
Coffins: transport to Rupert's Valley.	£100	£100
TOTAL	£25,725	£25,725

Risks

See Table below.

Planning Requirements

No planning requirements are anticipated.

Site Options

Not applicable.

Construction Options

Not applicable.

Operational costs

Not applicable.

Maintenance Cost

Not applicable.

Table: Risk Register – Coffins

Project Risk Log No	Description	Risk Category	Owner	Last Updated	Likelihood	Impact	Rating	Status	Mitigation (Outcome/Consequence)	Date Closed
Number of Risk	Describe the Risk	Risk category	Raised by	Date	A-F	1-4	Red Amber Green	Open, Closed, Under Review	Action taken to resolve the risk	Date Risk Closed
1	Costs exceed budget.	Fin	AvN / AP	13/4/20	D	2	Green	Open	Scope needs to be carefully defined prior to commissioning concept design.	
2	Coffins not produced in time for intended use.	Man	AvN / AP	13/4/20	D	2	Green	Open	Management / monitoring of progress by Project Manager. Schedule for production to be included in craftsperson's contract.	
3	Product not of acceptable quality.	Rep	AvN / AP	13/4/20	D	2	Green	Open	Regular quality control by Project Manager.	

Impact

	4	3	2	1
A	Green	Green	Red	Red
B	Green	Green	Red	Red
C	Green	Green	Amber	Red
D	Green	Green	Green	Green
E	Green	Green	Green	Green
F	Green	Green	Green	Green

Likelihood**Risk Categories:**

Soc – Social
 Fin – Financial
 Tec – Technical
 Eco – Economic
 Env – Environmental
 Inst – Institutional/Political
 Man – Management
 Leg – Legal/Legislative
 Rep – Reputational
 Con – Contractual

Impact:

1 – Catastrophic
 2 – Critical
 3 – Marginal
 4 – Negligible

Likelihood:

A – Very High
 B – High
 C – Significant
 D – Low
 E – Very Low
 F – Almost Impossible

Appendix 5: Business Case 2 - Artefact Scanning and Replication

Purpose

To record the artefacts exhumed from the Liberated African graveyard in Rupert's Valley via 3D-scanning prior to their reinterment with the individuals with whom they were found. The purpose is two-fold: to create a permanent record of the artefacts in three dimensions; and to facilitate the reproduction of the most significant objects through 3D printing, allowing for museum display and interpretation of the period and culture. The artefact assemblage provides a unique and hugely important insight into the experience of the enslaved Africans and their expression of cultural identity.

Executive Summary

The 2008 excavations of the Liberated African graveyards not only exhumed the human remains of former slaves. A minority of these people were also found to have been buried with artefacts. Some were utilitarian objects (e.g. hospital dog tags) but, critically, 14 people were found with 'objects of personal adornment' – bead, horn and metal necklaces, earrings and bracelets. These are an extraordinarily rare survival of the Middle Passage. These highly portable objects could have been obtained by the wearer at various stages, from pre-enslavement life, to a point after their death – and all times in between. The objects personalise the history of the individuals who wore or were buried with them. They speak to us, amongst other things, of bonds between mothers and children, and of family and social units forged aboard the slave ship. Above all, they humanise the enslaved, and show them as something other than victims.

It is considered respectful and appropriate that when the human remains are reburied, these precious objects are returned with them. This nevertheless represents a 'loss' to the present and future generations: these objects can no longer be seen, and their powerful story is thus potentially diminished. This business case addresses this loss. It proposes the 3D scanning of the key artefacts, providing a permanent, intricate record (above that undertaken after the 2008 excavation). From these scans, selected objects will be 3D printed, providing surrogate objects which can be handled and displayed by generations to come. Due to practicalities and costs, it is proposed to scan the artefacts on St Helena, but to outsource the 3D printing.

The cost set out by this business case is **£31,600**.

Reasons

Despite its vast scale, the Middle Passage of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade has left virtually no material trace. It was a process, not a physical thing – a void into which millions of lives simply disappeared. The finds from Rupert's Valley are, therefore, a rare and hugely important insight into the experience and resilience of the enslaved. They show individuals who avoided the vicious 'stripping' process at the point of their embarkation on the slave ship, who retained personal items which expressed their cultural identity, and of continued African religious traditions to protect and care for their children. They are a resource of international cultural value, and a powerful medium for St Helena's storytelling of this site.

As part of the reburial process, all such personal items will be reunited with the individual with whom they were retrieved, accompanying them to the grave. However, there is a duty to ensure that these significant finds are fully documented (in part representing an academic agenda of 'preservation by record'), and surrogate objects reproduced. In this way, present and future generations can see and appreciate them. It also contributes to our storytelling agenda - to ensure that the cultural identity of these African people is never again stripped and forgotten.

Business Options

Several options were considered before arriving at this business case. Common to all cases was the decision that the artefacts will be reburied.

Option 1 – Artefacts not replicated, reinterred with remains

Reburial of artefacts with human remains without replication taking place beforehand.

This option was **rejected** due to the international significance of the finds associated with the first generation (i.e. 'out of Africa') enslaved. This option is rejected.

Option 2 – Selected items replicated, reinterred with remains

Replication of only the most significant finds prior to reinterment. This would comprise selecting key objects (including 'objects' comprised of multiple components – e.g. beads). These would be scanned. The scanned assemblage would include a representative of each 'type' of artefact, whether the utilitarian 'dog tags' or the individual bead styles (of which there are approximately 90 types present). The objects deemed less significant would not be scanned, and thus the level of recording would remain as presently – i.e. written, measured and photographed, but not 3D scanned. This represents a partial loss of knowledge, as described in Option 3 below.

Option 3 – All Artefacts replicated, reinterred with remains

This takes the precautionary approach of replicating all the individual items in the assemblage. The benefits are that everything will have been recorded to the highest standard possible at the present time. From a research perspective, the detail offered by such scanning exceeds that possible from photography and offers potential avenues of study. Analysis of 'micro-wear', for example, might inform us about how long a particular object had been in use (and thus whether it was an 'heirloom' possession, handed down over multiple generations. The negative aspect is this would be the most time consuming and costly exercise, as there are over 14,000 finds that would have to be reproduced. The vast majority are beads; whose tiny size makes the process particularly painstaking.

This option is **rejected**.

The **recommended** option is Option 2.

This is considered to represent an acceptable middle ground, meeting the need for replication of key objects, and the recording of an adequate sample of other items. With careful selection (based on expert specialist advice), the artefacts scanned will be comprehensive in terms of

object 'type', and a large enough sample for studies (e.g. of micro wear) to extrapolate results for the whole.

The artefacts will be scanned on St Helena, but 3D printed elsewhere. The reason to scan on island are:

- 1) dispatch of the artefacts overseas carries risk of damage or loss. While an unlikely eventuality, this risk strongly recommends that the artefacts never again leave St Helena;
- 2) Timeliness – the artefacts must be present on St Helena at the point of reburial. Should they not, the whole process is derailed. In these uncertain times, we have no guarantee that the artefacts would be scanned and returned in this timeframe.

The reason to outsource the 3D printing is partly cost: a good quality 3D scanner is affordable, but the industrial standard printer needed to produce high quality artefact replicas is not. Secondly, museum replicas are often hand-finished, requiring a high level of professional skill. This is necessary, given the need to produce replicas which do not look 'amateur'.

Expected benefits/dis-benefits

The pros and cons of the various options have been outlined above. In summary, those for the recommended option (Option 2 and outsourced replication) are as follows:

Benefits:

- A permanent ultra-high-quality record
- Objects can be reproduced an indefinite number of times
- A product which can be shared (either digitally or as physical copy) across the world
- Objects which can be displayed and as 'hands-on' exhibits
- The scanner is a legacy item for St Helena
- Facilitates powerful storytelling
- Offsets the 'loss' of the original artefacts to present and future generations

Dis-benefits:

- A partial record – not all individual items recorded
- No equipment legacy in terms of 3D printing (although future scans can also be produced via outsourcing, or by the purchase of an affordable printer that would be appropriate to less intricate requirements.

Project Team

A partnership working approach is required on this project, between Museum of St Helena (MoSH) the Liberated African Advisory Committee (LAAC) and an external finds specialist.

The team is proposed as follows:

Stakeholder/Team Member	Interest	How the Resource will be Sourced
Project Manager	Coordination and direction of the project.	Recruitment to post.
Finds Specialist	(Helen MacQuarrie, who analysed and published the Rupert's Valley assemblage and who is the recognised expert). Will	Single Source. 3 week visit to St Helena to manage scanning process.

	compile list of artefacts for scanning and reproduction.	
MoSH Director	Responsible for the curation of the artefacts.	In place – has led on the project so far.
SHNT Director	Stakeholder representative body.	In place – has led on the project so far.

Costs and Timescale

The project will start with the procurement of the scanner, the development of an artefact list, and of protocols for reproduction. There will also be liaison with the organisation/company that will undertake the 3D printing, in order to identify any specific scanning requirements or data protocols.

The finished items will be the responsibility of MoSH.

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Total
Procurement of Scanner (includes shipping, insurance).	£26,500		£26,500
Implementation			
Project Manager. Including assisting with scanning the artefacts.	£1,250		£1,250
Finds Specialist: 5 days UK inputs.	£1,500		£1,500
Replicas			
Procurement (includes shipping, etc).		£2,100	£2,100
Crystal storage boxes for replicas.		£250	£250
TOTAL	£29,250	£2,350	£31,600

Risks

See Table below.

Planning Requirements

None.

Site Options

Not applicable.

Operational costs

None.

Maintenance Cost

None.

Table: Risk Register – Artefact Scanning and Replication

Project Risk Log No	Description	Risk Category	Owner	Last Updated	Likelihood	Impact	Rating	Status	Mitigation (Outcome/Consequence)	Date Closed
Number of Risk	Describe the Risk	Risk category	Raised by	Date	A-F	1-4	Red Amber Green	Open, Closed, Under Review	Action taken to resolve the risk	Date Risk Closed
1	Cost of purchasing equipment – exceeds specified budget, e.g. by price inflation.	Fin	AvN	13/04/20	D	2	Green	Open	Multiple quotes obtained. Budget include contingency for reasonable inflation of purchase price.	
2	Failure of quality control of scanning (no chance to repeat the process once reburial has taken place).	Tec, Man	AvN	13/04/20	D	1	Green	Open	Training provided by scanner supplier. Trial scanning to be undertaken, product verified by supplier. Time allowed in programme for multiple attempts at the process.	
3	Replicated artefacts not to adequate standard.	Tec, Rep	AvN	13/04/20	D	3	Green	Open	Task allocated to an experienced/reputable company. Individual 3D print runs are inexpensive. Opportunity to repeat if necessary.	

		Impact			
		4	3	2	1
Likelihood	A	Green	Green	Red	Red
	B	Green	Green	Red	Red
	C	Green	Green	Amber	Red
	D	Green	Green	Green	Green
	E	Green	Green	Green	Green
	F	Green	Green	Green	Green

Risk Categories:

Soc – Social
 Fin – Financial
 Tec – Technical
 Eco – Economic
 Env – Environmental
 Inst – Institutional/Political
 Man – Management
 Leg – Legal/Legislative
 Rep – Reputational
 Con – Contractual

Impact:

1 – Catastrophic
 2 – Critical
 3 – Marginal
 4 – Negligible

Likelihood:

A – Very High
 B – High
 C – Significant
 D – Low
 E – Very Low
 F – Almost Impossible

Appendix 6: Business Case 3 - Liberated African Reburial

Purpose

To achieve the respectful, permanent reburial of the 325 sets of human remains, plus disarticulated human remains, which were exhumed during archaeological excavations in 2008. The personal artefacts associated with these people will also be reburied. This will also remove the ongoing reputational risk to SHG arising from the lack of reburial.

Executive Summary

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 Valley in 2008 as part of works under the Airport Project. An additional assemblage of 'disarticulated' human bones were recovered during the 2008 excavations, while multiple tiny bone fragments (hereafter referred to as 'scatter material') were collected from various locations in Rupert's Valley during Airport Project construction works. The human remains are currently in secure, temporary storage conditions in the Pipe Store, Jamestown.

The project will undertake reburial of the Liberated African remains in Rupert's Valley. The aim of the project is to provide a peaceful and respectful final resting place for the Liberated African remains currently in storage in the Pipe Store.

Whilst the area South of St Michael's Church in Rupert's Valley was originally identified for the reburial, the current project works will delay the reburial. Therefore, it has been assessed and agreed that the remains could be respectfully buried as part of the Lower Burial Grounds in Rupert's Valley.

Benefits:

- Primary: social and cultural benefits arising from recognition of the positive role that St Helena played in the ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Rupert's Valley in St Helena preserves the only large group of burials solely relating to slaves who did not survive the Atlantic crossing. The cultural significance is huge and hitherto largely unrecognised.
- Secondary: economic benefits arising from the tourism potential associated with international publicity of this aspect of the island's heritage.

The capital investment is estimated at **£38,000** with no operational costs and minimal levels of maintenance costs.

Reasons

The Environmental Statement (ES) 2008 for the Airport Project, Vol 2, Chapter 11, Section 11.5.1.2 states the requirement for the reburial of archaeological human remains uncovered during the course of the Airport Project. The Environmental Statement forms part of the approved planning application for the Airport Project. Thus, there is a formal requirement

under the Land Planning and Development Control Ordinance as well as through the commitments under the Airport Project to implement this environmental mitigation.

The Liberated Africans were brought to St Helena by the Royal Navy in the mid-1800s but did not survive their experience of the Middle Passage. St Helena's role in the abolition of slavery was extremely significant but is rarely recognised. The project therefore has both local and international significance.

The reburial site for the Liberated Africans will be a memorial including educational aspects (e.g. interpretation boards) and the project will raise awareness of this episode and St Helena's contribution to this aspect of world history.

Business Options

The November 2018 Report of the Liberated African Advisory Committee (LAAC); sets out a detailed option appraisal (see attached).

In December 2018, Executive Council endorsed the Committee's recommendation that the Liberated African Remains be reburied in Rupert's Valley and a memorial developed near to the site. The memorial is detailed in a separate business case, and its delivery is expected to follow behind the reburial. Nevertheless, these elements are intrinsically linked as part of an overall means of dignified reinterment, education and commemoration.

Option 1 – Do nothing

Rejected:

A do-nothing scenario is untenable, because:

- It carries physical risks to the human remains themselves: water ingress from a nearby watercourse occasionally inundates the street on which the Pipe Store stands, and sandbags are the only means by which the building can be protected. Termites are present in Jamestown, and in the past have attacked the Pipe Store's door and wooden flooring. The cardboard boxes and bones themselves are vulnerable to termite attack.
- The do-nothing situation exposes SHG and Her Majesty's Government (HMG) to significant reputational risk. Should the human remains be damaged or if the current storage arrangements persist without long term resolution, local opinion would be highly critical, and there is a strong prospect of international censure from countries with slave-descendent populations. Thus far the site's discovery and its subsequent research has been a good-news story (locally, in international academia, and worldwide media). This could change in the event of physical damage, or simply further delay to reburial.

Option 2 – Reburial in Rupert's Valley

It is recommended that reburial be carried out within Rupert's Valley. Conversely, if unburied and still in temporary storage, the issue could become a seriously negative media distraction.

Reburial is an end in itself – i.e. returning these victims of the slave trade to the ground with due ceremony and placing them permanently 'at rest'. Equally, being seen to treat them

appropriately and with dignity represents important messaging on the part of the St Helenian and British governments.

Given the historical and cultural sensitivity of the site, there is also a strong argument for reburial to be accompanied by the creation of a small interpretation centre, and for an area to be devoted to the memorial to all those slave ship victims who are interred within Rupert's Valley. High profile memorial centres to slavery exist elsewhere, for example that for the New York African Burial Ground, Manhattan and the most recent proposed project in Paris to establish a museum and memorial recognising the country's [France] history of enslavement. This is not what is proposed here. What is envisaged for St Helena is a high-quality product, but one which is modest in scale and appropriate to the island and the likely visitor footfall.

Option 2.1 – Reburial Location – Immediate South of St Michael's Church

The site identified in the draft Rupert's Development Plan – immediate South of St Michael's Church was deemed most suitable for the reburial. This site was in proximity to the known graveyards, in proximity to the location the Liberated African Remains were excavated from and the size of the plot was sufficient to reinternment of the 325 set of human remains, allowed for expansion if there were (worst case scenario) further remains that would need to be interred and is an area that could be protected and allow the concept of a memorial garden to be explored.

Rejected

This site however was rejected on the bases that the current Airport project (Rupert's Valley component) is still being undertaken and the potential date for its completion is still 2 years off. If St Helena would like to ensure a peaceful and respectful reburial imminent a different site is needed.

Option 2.2 – Reburial Location – Immediate East of the Lower Burial Grounds

The LAAC undertook site visits with the visiting Archaeologist and SHG Chief Engineer to determine if there were any other suitable sites within Rupert's Valley for an appropriate reburial. It was concluded that the area immediately east of the Lower Burial Grounds was suitable for a respectful reburial of the Liberated African remains.

This location would merge into the Lower Burial Ground, where there is very little to no disturbance of the current graves through building in a terrace to the slope of the hill. The construction of this reburial site will cause minimal disruption to any activities that may be carried out in Rupert's Valley and will not be dependent on the completion of any other projects.

Recommended

It is recommended that the reburial of the Liberated African remains is undertaken in the immediate east of the Lower Burial Grounds.

Expected benefits/dis-benefits

Benefits

The reburial will provide a peaceful and respectful final resting place for the Liberated African remains recovered during the 2008 excavations. The benefits of the project will include:

- Ensuring compliance with the mitigation planned under the Environmental Statement for the Airport Project.
- Sending strong and positive signals to stakeholders and descendent communities (both local and international) that SHG and St Helena as a whole are responsible custodians for this unique and internationally significant site.
- Physically marking and commemorating a significant cultural asset that has hitherto not been acknowledged.
- Generating educational opportunities around St Helena's role in the abolition of slavery (specifically) but also generally around the lingering consequences of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in African, Americas, Caribbean and Europe.
- Providing a vehicle through which to open up the difficult conversation of St Helena's history as a slave-keeping colony, prior to 19th-century Abolition.
- Generating international publicity for St Helena, and thus contributing to its economic prospects by increased interest and tourism.
- Freeing the Pipe Store for alternative uses. The Pipe Store is located in Jamestown where space is at a premium. It has long been earmarked as a museum of the flax industry (a flax processing engine is already present there).

As noted above, Rupert's Valley in St Helena preserves a very large group of burials relating to slaves who did not survive the Atlantic crossing. Moreover, it is the only place, worldwide, where graveyards contain only the remains of people taken straight from the slave ships and only days or a few weeks out of Africa. That cultural significance is huge. The history of this place, and those brought to it, deserves to be told.

Dis-benefits

The dis-benefits of the project are limited and easily surmountable:

- Land-take in Rupert's. This is being factored into the Rupert's Development Plan (see the section on Planning Requirements below).
- The human remains, once reburied, will no longer be available for research. However, this has been mitigated by the fact that several studies have already been undertaken by major research institutions; these have applied the most advanced techniques currently available and generated raw data that will be available to future researchers. It is also noted that placing the remains 'at rest', and beyond the reach of scientists, is seen by many as appropriate.

Project Team

The Project Team is set out below, the designs for the reburial will be undertaken via in-house LAAC and SHG skills and support, providing for a time effective solution. External support to St Helena is only required for specialist archaeological, osteological and artefactual matters. A competitive tendering exercise will be carried out to source the contractor to undertake the physical works. This will ensure that the project achieves best value for money.

Stakeholder/Team Member	Interest	How the Resource will be Sourced
Project Manager	Overall execution of project; central point of liaison with SHG, stakeholders and external specialists.	Recruitment process.
Liberated African Advisory Committee	Stakeholder representative body.	In place – has led on the project preparation thus far.
Archaeological specialist	Provides: 1) technical advice on reburial aspects of the project during the design phase; 2) an on-site presence during the creation of the reburial area, in case of further discoveries of unmapped human remains; 3) manage the transfer of the human remains from their temporary storage boxes to the purpose-made coffins.	Single Source.

Costs and Timescale

The proposed reburial site is available immediately. Planning permission is required, as the reburial location (adjacent to the original 'Lower Burial Ground' for the Liberated Africans) is not currently designated as a burial ground.

Estimated costs are summarised below. The ceremony costs are based on an event that is attended only by the local community. They do not include the expense of bringing any invited international guests. This option is not critical to the success of the Reburial Project. However, the invitation of overseas guests (whether political, cultural, or past project involvement) may be deemed appropriate. It is estimated that an average cost per person (travel, accommodation, subsistence etc) would be £2,000.

	Phase 1	Total
Project Manager Project oversight; tender and appointment of contractor; liaison with stakeholders, SHG technical staff and public; liaison with contractor construction works; supervise transportation of human remains from Jamestown to Rupert's Valley; assist with transfer of human remains to coffins; Ceremony planning and management.	£2,500	£2,500
Archaeologist 2 days call down-from UK; 2 weeks on St Helena to oversee transfer of human remains into coffins, and watching brief on reburial site groundworks. 12 days @ £300/day plus travel, accommodation and subsistence.	£6,600	£6,600
Engineer Technical oversight and sign-off of construction works.	£500	£500
GIS/Surveyor Surveying in of reburial area.	£500	£500
ITT for Contractor	£200	£200

Sub-total	£10,300	£10,300
Implementation		
Reburial Site Construction Includes Contractor staff costs, excavating plant, fuel, materials, landscaping and planting.	£14,000	£14,000
Landscaping and Planting	£5,000	£5,000
Transport of human remains to Rupert's Valley; preparation of No. 1 Building as temporary storage place.	£1,000	£1,000
Reburial ceremony and associated events	£7,700	£7,700
Sub-total	£27,700	£27,700
TOTAL	£38,000	£38,000

Risks

See Table below.

Planning Requirements

There has been extensive consultation with the SHG Planning Section on this proposal. The planned location for the reburial was identified with assistance from the SHG Planning Section (see comments on site options below). This is being factored into the Rupert's Development Plan (currently being drafted) which is a key project interdependency.

Full planning permission will be sought. The proposed site will have to be designated as a burial ground.

Site Options

The November 2018 Report by the LAAC discusses options for the reburial and memorial site. The recommended site, endorsed by Executive Council in December 2018, is shown below. Unfortunately, will continue to be occupied by elements of the Temporary Tank Farm (TTF) for the foreseeable future. Therefore, while it remains the place identified for a memorial garden, it is unavailable for the more time-sensitive issue of reburial.



Figure 1. Proposed memorial and reburial site (original option; 2018)

There remains strong opinion in favour of re-burial in Rupert's Valley, near to the site of the original excavation. The valley provides the essential context; reburial elsewhere would remove the excavated human remains from this context. It is also considered highly likely that their family or social kin are buried in the surrounding graveyards. It is appropriate for these people to be found a resting place as near as possible.

A suitable alternative site was identified for reburial in Rupert's Valley, immediately east of the Lower Burial Ground. By adopting this alternative, the reburial aspect of the project can progress without any further delays from the current occupancy of the Memorial site by the TFF. The new proposed location would merge into the Lower Burial Ground and is still located within an undeveloped setting (as to opposed to the Bay and Upper Valley, which both have a strong industrial character).



Figure 2. Proposed alternative reburial site for the Liberated Africans

The site has a total area requirement equivalent to 10m x 12m, or 120 square metres. This is of sufficient size to accommodate:

- The 325 sets of human remains excavated in 2008. Each would be placed in an individual small wooden coffin (or casket), each c. 30cm x 55cm x 25cm.
- The disarticulated bone and scatter material, with wooden boxes.
- Contingency for future discoveries within the valley (e.g. during construction works). This is an additional 20% of the area needed for reburial of the present remains.
- Gabions and stonework, necessary to retain the burials on this sloping site.
- Landscape planting.

The area has been surveyed and Crown Estates conducted a land consultation with no objections received.

The site has several permanent constraints including:

- Natural slope, potentially subject to erosion.
- Electricity distribution lines below the site (above ground cables).
- Rock fall protection fencing above site.

- Rocky character, in which deep excavation is difficult.

However, this is consistent with much of the developable area in Rupert's; other viable sites in Rupert's would have the same constraints. None of these drawbacks is unsurmountable, and the design specification will contain appropriate solutions.

Construction Options

Scheme details will be finalised during the design period, but the basic specification includes:

- Creation of a gabion-retained terrace, providing a place for reburial.
- Footpath to allow visitor access to the edge of the reburial area.
- Public seating.
- Interpretation signage (costed within a separate Business Case).
- Planting.

It is anticipated that the designs will incorporate some element of stonework. In concert with the planting, this will remove any impression of the site being 'industrial' or utilitarian.

No accommodation or toilet facilities are envisioned – although in the longer term these would be available in the interpretation centre proposed nearby.

Operational costs

None.

Maintenance Cost

One of the design criteria for the reburial site will be that it will need to be low maintenance.

Regardless, there will be minor maintenance costs, principally in terms of sustaining the planting and the periodic clearance of any rock or plant debris that falls from the slopes above.

The interpretation boards will need replacement on an approximately 10-year cycle. Preliminary discussions of this matter have already taken place with the Environment and Natural Resources Directorate and Tourist Office, as well as with the voluntary sector – the latter being largely responsible for the commemorative work on the Liberated Africans to-date.

The organisations are represented on the LAAC so that decisions on who will hold these responsibilities.

Table: Risk Register – Reburial

Project Risk Log No	Description	Risk Category	Owner	Last Updated	Likelihood	Impact	Rating	Status	Mitigation (Outcome/Consequence)	Date Closed
Number of Risk	Describe the Risk	Risk category	Raised by	Date	A-F	1-4	Red Amber Green	Open, Closed, Under Review	Action taken to resolve the risk	Date Risk Closed
1	Costs exceed budget	Fin	JL	30/1/19	C	2	Amber	Open	Scope needs to be carefully defined prior to seeking concept and detailed designs.	
2	Further human remains uncovered during construction works	Env	JL	30/1/19	C	2	Amber	Open	Protocols to be put in place to manage risk of uncovering further remains. These can be based on protocols currently in place for the Airport Project. Professional archaeologist to be present during groundworks.	
3	Delays in release of site	Fin	JL	30/1/19	B	3	Green	Open	Depends on the extent of the delay. Slight delay (i.e. of a few months) can be accommodated. Human remains can be managed under existing conditions until site available – but delay is considered as having a potentially high reputational risk to SHG.	
5	Insufficient resource dedicated to project	Inst	JL	30/1/19	C	1	Red	Open	Whilst there is ongoing commitment from stakeholders, none of these can dedicate full-time to this project. The	

Project Risk Log No	Description	Risk Category	Owner	Last Updated	Likelihood	Impact	Rating	Status	Mitigation (Outcome/Consequence)	Date Closed
Number of Risk	Describe the Risk	Risk category	Raised by	Date	A-F	1-4	Red Amber Green	Open, Closed, Under Review	Action taken to resolve the risk	Date Risk Closed
									budget proposals therefore include costs for a dedicated project manager to address this risk. External specialist inputs are also included.	

Impact

Likelihood

	4	3	2	1
A	Green	Green	Red	Red
B	Green	Green	Red	Red
C	Green	Green	Amber	Red
D	Green	Green	Green	Green
E	Green	Green	Green	Green
F	Green	Green	Green	Green

Risk Categories:

Soc – Social
 Fin – Financial
 Tec – Technical
 Eco – Economic
 Env – Environmental
 Inst – Institutional/Political
 Man – Management
 Leg – Legal/Legislative
 Rep – Reputational
 Con – Contractual

Impact:

1 – Catastrophic
 2 – Critical
 3 – Marginal
 4 – Negligible

Likelihood:

A – Very High
 B – High
 C – Significant
 D – Low
 E – Very Low
 F – Almost Impossible

Appendix 7: Business Case 4 - Slavery Interpretation Centre (Rupert's Valley)

Purpose

To create a modern, world class museum and interpretation centre that addresses and highlights St Helena's role in the slave trade and its Abolition.

It will be located in Rupert's Valley, within a building that was formerly part of the Liberated African Depot. The centre will be a hub for education and awareness-raising, to be utilised by St Helena's schools and the public, as well as by tourists.

This project dovetails with the other business cases that relate to the Liberated Africans on St Helena: it is one element of the three-stranded initiative in Rupert's Valley, the other two being the reburial of those exhumed in the 2008 archaeological excavations, and the creation of a permanent memorial. Together they commemorate St Helena's role in the extinction of the slave trade, and preserve the stories of the Africans, St Helenians and others whose lives were bound up in the story of slavery and its Abolition.

Executive Summary

An opportunity exists to create a modern, world class Interpretation Centre, at the site of the former Liberated African depot in Rupert's Valley, and for this to become a hub for education and for raising awareness of this historical episode.

The location is 'No. 1 Building', the only surviving remnant of the Liberated African Depot in Rupert's Valley. This is considered not only the most appropriate venue for the Interpretation Centre, but also as the most cost-effective, compared with the construction of a new structure.

The Interpretation Centre is conceived as being partly a museum, displaying certain retained artefacts from the 2008 excavations and other slavery-related items, as well as reproductions of artefacts which are intended for reburial with their owners. It will also be a place to convey historical information and interpretation, both about St Helena's positive role in Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Abolition, but also its darker past as a slave-keeping colony.

Alongside the permanent elements, a temporary exhibition space will facilitate a rolling content. The Centre will be a modern, interactive, vibrant place through which to convey this internationally significant history.

The capital investment is estimated at **£91,000** with limited forward going operational and maintenance costs.

Reasons

Foremost, the Interpretation Centre will perpetuate knowledge of this aspect of St Helena's history. It dovetails with the parallel agendas for the reburial of the human remains exhumed

in 2008, and for the creation of a memorial to the Liberated Africans brought to the island in the mid-19th century.

Tourism is viewed as a key economic driver for the island and it is therefore important to ensure that existing visitor attractions are maintained, and opportunities are taken to enhance and broaden this resource. Rupert's Valley and the Liberated Africans fall into the latter category, presently being unrepresented except for a small exhibition in Jamestown's Museum. Having such an additional attraction could potentially be a further niche draw for the island in terms of visitor activity.

The sensitive repurposing of 'No.1 Building' will, additionally, preserve a significant historical structure.

Business Options

Option 1 – Do Nothing

If nothing is done, St Helena misses out on an opportunity to showcase a significant aspect of the island's history, while the related historic asset that is No. 1 Building will fall into further disrepair.

This option is rejected.

Option 2 – Creation of a new-built Interpretation Centre

This option would be considerably more expensive than Option 3 below, and is less historically appropriate/authentic. A suitable location for this building within Rupert's Valley is not obvious, given the competing demands from the Port and other Industrial elements.

This option is rejected.

Option 3 – Conversion of No.1 Building as an Interpretation Centre

This fulfils the need for a showcase for this subject, is less expensive than Option 2, and aids in the preservation and restoration of No.1 Building. Using the original building from this period will be a powerful showcase/product for St Helena.

Option 3 is preferred.

Expected benefits/dis-benefits

Benefits

- A world class interpretation centre that addresses the complex issues surrounding slavery and Abolition. This place will bring the heritage of slavery into the island's cultural lexicon, ensuring its legacy will never be forgotten.
- It will celebrate St Helena's positive contribution to the extinction of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.
- Highlight the ongoing fight against slavery in the modern world.
- Be an education hub for St Helena's schools, which can be integrated into the curriculum.
- A niche tourist attraction, adding to the overall resource. Adds Rupert's Valley to the tourist itinerary.

- A globally-known institution, comparable to the small but internationally acclaimed Memorial dos Pretos Novos (The Memorial of the New Blacks) in Rio de Janeiro.
- Intended as financially self-sustaining.

Dis-benefits

None identified.

Project Team

As these are Crown assets, a partnership working approach is required. Team members of the team are therefore existing members of SHG, alongside a member from the Liberated African Advisory Committee (LAAC) and the Heritage Society or SHNT. Expert advisors would be on a call-down contract to aid in the Interpretation Centre's content design. The personnel involved are:

Stakeholder/Team Member	Interest	How the Resource will be Sourced
Projects Manager	Engaged at all points of the project, both in terms of the planning aspects, and the design/implementation process; focal point of engagement between all those responsible for the content and physical design.	Recruitment process.
Civil Engineer	Plan and oversee the construction.	SHG
Head of Property	Crown estate.	SHG
Contractor	Construction of the project.	Recruitment process.
LAAC	Stakeholder representative body.	In place – has led on the project preparation thus far
An appointed member from SHNT or Heritage Society	Stakeholder representative body.	In place – has led on the project preparation thus far
External advisors (archaeologist; artefact expert; museum specialist – envisaged as being from Liverpool's International Slavery Museum)	On a call-down contract to aid in the Interpretation Centre's content design.	Single Source.

Costs and Timescale

It is anticipated that No. 1 Building will be recorded ('historic building recording'; see planning requirements, below), stripped down and restored; the surrounding space will also be created. (The shell of the building is intended to be ready for short-term use during the reburial process).

The physical creation of the internal gallery space and adjacent resource/learning area, alongside the design and installation of all content (both physical and digital) is then undertake.

A modest ceremony is held to mark the opening of the building as an Interpretation Centre.

	Phase 1	Phase 2	Total
No. 1 Building restoration			
Project Manager	£1,000		£1,000
Structural Survey	£3,000		£3,000
Historic Building Recording	£1,000		£1,000
Planning Application submission	£400		£400
Building Restoration	£45,000		£45,000
External landscaping of grounds	£5,000		£5,000
Sub-total	£55,400		£55,400
Creation of Interpretation Centre			
Physical fit out of gallery spaces including interpretation panels, interactive equipment and content.		£20,000	£20,000
Reconstruction artwork (4 images) including copyright fees for reproduced photographs, drawings etc.		£14,000	£14,000
Archaeologist call-down (advice/input to design content).		£300	£300
Finds specialised call-down (advice input on items for display, digital re-creation etc).		£300	£300
Opening ceremony		£1,000	£1,000
Sub-total		£35,600	£35,600
TOTAL			£91,000

Risks

See Table below.

Planning Requirements

Due to the historic nature of No. 1 Building, it is anticipated that planning permissions will be needed. In order to mitigate any objections and ensure a smooth planning application the St Helena National Trust and SHG will be closely involved in this application.

A condition of planning should be a drawn and photographic recording exercise of the building prior to any alterations. This exercise will act as a record, and also a guide to the restoration process (i.e. highlighting key structural elements that should be preserved, and appropriate techniques for the restoration).

Site Options

Not Applicable – existing site. Alternative locations rejected (see Business Options, above).

Construction Options

Due to the historic significance of No.1 Building, strong consideration should be given to its sensitive conversion. However, the building's interior was always sparse and little of its original fittings now remain. The extent of required exterior work is not known, and would have to be established via a formal survey. However, it is obvious that wholesale restoration is not required. The roof may need replacing, and if so would be the most significant capital outlay. Windows and doors will need replacing, and the stone coursing repointed. The design should integrate access for those with disabilities.

Operational costs

The operation costs comprise staffing and utilities. It is envisaged that the Interpretation Centre is included in the Museum of St Helena portfolio.

Staffing

The Centre will be operated on a schedule with the opening of the Museum of St Helena.

Utilities

These costs will be negligible.

It is anticipated that these costs will be offset or wholly covered by visitor donations and purchases (see the following section).

Maintenance Cost

The ongoing maintenance costs will need to be considered by the asset custodian and then built into recurrent budgets, but are envisaged as being insignificant in the short to medium term, post the restorative works.

An entrance fee would not be charged – as there is the potential appearance of 'profiting from the slave trade'. However, a voluntary payment will be requested, and given the context is likely to be paid by many – particularly if on a shared basis, for example in which 50% would go to the upkeep of the Centre, and 50% to a modern Anti-Slavery Organisation. In the long term, it is anticipated that future capital works will be offset by the increase in tax receipts from tourists.

Table: Risk Register – Interpretation Centre

Project Risk Log No	Description	Risk Category	Owner	Last Updated	Likelihood	Impact	Rating	Status	Mitigation (Outcome/Consequence)	Date Closed
Number of Risk	Describe the Risk	Risk category	Raised by	Date	A-F	1-4	Red Amber Green	Open, Closed, Under Review	Action taken to resolve the risk	Date Risk Closed
1	Cost Escalation of Project	Eco, Rep and Con	ESH	03/12/18	D	3	Green	Open	Detailed costing and fixed price tender process.	
2	Lack of funding or maintenance	Eco, Man, Rep, Inst	ESH	03/12/18	D	2	Green	Open	Cost cutting, temporary closure. External fund-raising.	
3	Inadequate quality product	Rep	AP	19/04/20	D	2	Green	Open	Cost includes good provision for high-quality items within museum; considerable amount of expert support included within costing.	

Impact

	4	3	2	1
A	Green	Green	Red	Red
B	Green	Green	Red	Red
C	Green	Green	Amber	Red
D	Green	Green	Green	Green
E	Green	Green	Green	Green
F	Green	Green	Green	Green

Likelihood**Risk Categories:**

Soc – Social
 Fin – Financial
 Tec – Technical
 Eco – Economic
 Env – Environmental
 Inst – Institutional/Political
 Man – Management
 Leg – Legal/Legislative
 Rep – Reputational
 Con – Contractual

Impact:

1 – Catastrophic
 2 – Critical
 3 – Marginal
 4 – Negligible

Likelihood:

A – Very High
 B – High
 C – Significant
 D – Low
 E – Very Low
 F – Almost Impossible

Appendix 8: Business Case 5 - Liberated African Memorial in Rupert's Valley

Purpose

To create an internationally recognised Memorial to the Liberated Africans and the slave trade in Rupert's Valley.

Executive Summary

This business case concerns the creation of a Liberated African and Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade memorial in Rupert's Valley. This is intended as a permanent physical marker in the valley, a core place or nexus where the dead can be remembered, and the slave trade contemplated. While on a deliberately more modest and proportionate scale, the concept is similar to other memorials to slavery and the slave trade (e.g. in North America and West Africa) and to other genocides such as the Holocaust Memorial.

The Memorial is conceived as combining a monument (a commemorative centrepiece) and a garden of remembrance, the latter a place for contemplation. The provision of contextual information is not a part of this concept: this will be provided by the nearby Interpretation Centre.

The business case sets out the costs associated with design, including the integration of St Helenian ideas into the design concept, and the Memorial's location and construction.

The benefits are:

Primary: social and cultural benefits. An internationally recognised place that highlights the tragedy of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, while simultaneously recognising the positive role that St Helena played in the ending of that trade.

Secondary: economic benefits arising from the tourism potential associated with international publicity of this aspect of the island's heritage.

The capital investment is estimated at **£147,000** with no operational costs and minimal levels of maintenance costs.

Reasons

The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade extinguished life on a genocidal scale. In England, the organisation 'Memorial 2007' has recently highlighted the 30-40 million people who were transported. Such numbers are almost too immense to contemplate.

Memorial 2007's agenda originates in the fact that no monument exists in England for the enslaved. The projected cost of its proposed memorial, in Hyde Park, is £4m.

England is far from unique in this respect. There are few places in the world where the slave trade is memorialised. In New York the Ark of Return was unveiled in 2015, while the memorial at the African Burial Ground mainly commemorates slavery, as opposed to the trade itself. In Africa, there is acknowledgement, and indeed tourist exploitation, at certain places: The Ghanaian Slave Forts are one example, while The House of Slaves

(Maison des Esclaves) and its Door of No Return is a museum and memorial on Gorée Island, Dakar, Senegal. France has recently acknowledged its history of enslavement and is currently seeking proposals for a memorial to victims of slavery.

St Helena, by dint of its location is unique in the fact that here – and only here – are graveyards containing the bodies of people straight from the slave ships and only days out of Africa. It is therefore a highly appropriate place for a memorial, but it also represents an opportunity to bring exposure for St Helena, and thus to aid the marketing of its tourist resource. Slavery – while clearly not positive in itself – is a subject that reaches audiences (e.g. both North and South American) with whom St Helena in other ways does not naturally engage.

Business Options

The November 2018 Report of the Liberated African Advisory Committee (LAAC) sets out a detailed option appraisal. In December 2018, Executive Council endorsed the Committee's recommendation that the Liberated African remains be reburied in Rupert's Valley and a memorial developed near to the site.

Do nothing

This represents a missed opportunity. It is also arguably a failure of responsibility. This option is **rejected**.

Do minimum

The current reburial sites for the Liberated African remains offers a potential place for memorial, but the available location on the valley slope (chosen for various practical reasons) does not lend itself well to this purpose. Little could be managed here, and the memorial would fall short of an acceptable minimum quality and standard which the subject demands.

This option is **rejected**.

Memorial at a central place in Rupert's Valley

This location provides suitable space and topography for an appropriate monument. The memorial is conceived as combining a monument (a commemorative centrepiece) and a garden of remembrance, the latter being a place for contemplation. The provision of contextual information is not a part of this concept: this will be provided by the nearby Interpretation Centre. We envisage the use of a palette of materials, i.e. local stone and extensive reliance on soft landscaping based on native plant types. As such the memorial will be comparatively inexpensive to build, and low maintenance thereafter.

This option is **preferred**.

Expected benefits/dis-benefits

Benefits

The benefits of the project will include:

An internationally rare monument that commemorates an historical genocide that in terms of scale outmatches others which are better memorialised (e.g. Holocaust).

A uniquely placed location for such a memorial.

Physically marking and commemorating a significant cultural asset on St Helena that has hitherto not been acknowledged.

Sending strong and positive signals to stakeholders and descendent communities (both local and international) that SHG and St Helena as a whole are responsible custodians for this unique and internationally significant site.

A timely response to a live political issue (noting the agenda in various quarters for the payment of reparations from slave-trading nations, and institutions which profited from slavery).

Generating international publicity for St Helena, and thus contributing to its economic prospects by increased interest and tourism.

A financial outlay which is very much less than for realised projects elsewhere (e.g. New York) or for those which are proposed (Hyde Park).

Dis-benefits

The dis-benefits of the project are as follow:

Land-take in Rupert's Valley (but this is being factored into the Rupert's Development Plan).

Preferred site currently occupied by the Temporary Tank Farm (TTF). Not expected to be available until (TBC).

Project Team

We believe that this project is most effectively and appropriately achieved by a combination of:

- 1) a professional designer (whether architect, landscape architect, or place-maker), who has experience of developing memorial and contemplation concepts into practical designs and of conveying them to those responsible for their execution; and
- 2) the St Helenian public as a key source of concepts. In this way we achieve confidence that the monument will be practically realisable and cost-controlled, while not being a concept that is parachuted into the island by a person without empathy for the subject, and in which the St Helenians have no input or stake.

We do not believe that we need a top-paid architect or artist for this project, nor do we want a person under whom this project will run away, risking the creation of an over-elaborate monument. Rather, we will be seeking a professional with a track record of design within the public realm, and of effective stakeholder engagement.

A draft Design Brief was put together outlining the LAAC's thoughts on what the Memorial should depict. This is not intended as a final but to assist the process of the Business Case and what is needed for the Memorial.

Appendix 9: Memorial Design Brief (Draft)

The Project Team is described below:

Stakeholder/Team Member	Interest	How the Resource will be Sourced
Project Manager	Overall execution of project; central point of liaison with SHG,	Recruitment process.

	stakeholders and external specialists.	
Liberated African Advisory Committee	Stakeholder representative body	In place – has led on the project preparation thus far
Designer	1) A focal point for design ideas from St Helenians, to be gathered during a visit to St Helena. 2) Production of the design concept, and of documents and drawings which enable it to be practically realised by the appointed contractor. 3) Call-down advice during the construction process.	Tender process
Contractor	Construction of the project.	Tender process

Costs and Timescale

Due to the need to await the availability of the site and funding raising, it is anticipated that the memorial will be the last phase to complete within the project.

Once the ground becomes available, it is anticipated that the memorial can be realised within a year from the inception of the project.

It may take several years before the planting associated with the monument (conceived as being a major – if not the dominant – element of the monument) is fully mature.

Projects such as these can be open-ended in respect of cost. The UN Ark of Return and NYABG Memorial ran to many millions. That proposed in Hyde Park is £4m. This is clearly inappropriate for St Helena. The budget is therefore a capped figure, which we believe is proportionate to the location and footfall, while enabling a quality and respectful product.

Costs are summarised below:

	Phase 1	Total
Project Manager		
Responsible for overall project oversight; liaison between public, stakeholders and Designer. Provides link between Designer and Contractor during construction phase.	£4,000	£4,000
Team recruitment		
ITT exercise for Designer (international) Based on cost of: production of tender documents; advertisement for expressions of interest; evaluation of fee proposals and portfolios; shortlist interviews.	£1,000	£1,000
ITT for contractor (local)	£500	£500

Based on cost of: production of tender documents; advertisement for expressions of interest; evaluation of fee proposals; shortlist interviews.		
Sub-total	£5,500	£5,500
Detailed Design Development		
Designer and technical support Designer: A 9-day visit (including travel) to St Helena. Purpose: gain familiarity with the site, local building styles/materials, planting options. Workshops with the public, schools, etc, to develop concept. 10 days to create design code, drawings, bill of quantities, etc, for conveyance to the contractor. 3 days for call-down for advice during the construction process. Based on a maximum rate of £1000/day plus travel, accommodation, subsistence. Day rate is calculated on commercial rates for an Associate-grade landscape architect or master planner.	£25,000	£25,000
Engineer Technical oversight of hard landscaped elements. Sign-off of works.	£1,000	£1,000
Surveying / GIS services Surveying in of design.	£500	£500
Sub-total	£26,500	£26,500
Implementation		
Relocation/undergrounding of existing overhead electricity cables which currently cross the site	£10,000	£10,000
Memorial – construction. Capped budget to include all contractor and materials costs. (Achieving this budgetary limit will be embedded in the Designer's Brief)	£100,000	£100,000
Inauguration Ceremony	£5,000	£5,000
Sub-total	£115,000	£115,000
TOTAL	£147,000	£147,000
Risks See Appendix.		
Planning Requirements There has been extensive consultation with the Planning Section on this proposal. The planned location for the Memorial was identified with assistance from the Planning Section (see comments on site options below). This is being factored into the Rupert's Development Plan (currently being drafted) which is a key project interdependency.		

The project manager will be required continue to engage with the Planning Office in this regard.

Site Options

The November 2018 Report by the Liberated African Advisory Committee (LAAC) discusses options for the reburial and memorial site. The recommended option was for a combined place for reburial and memorial in the centre of the valley. It was endorsed by Executive Council in December 2018.

However, this site will continue to be occupied by the TFF for the foreseeable future. This makes it unsuited as place for reburial, since there is an imperative for this to occur immediately. Consequently, a separate reburial place has been selected.

The original site remains viable as a place for the Memorial – even though by necessity its construction must be delayed until the TFF is decommissioned. It is considered the optimal place for the Memorial, being located in a prominent position, while as far-separated as possible from the main industrial elements in the valley – namely the port and the power station. This creates the greatest opportunity for a quiet environment, comparatively free from industrial noise and traffic.



Figure 1. Proposed memorial site

Construction Options

The concept and design will be addressed during the design period, but the basic specification will comprise:

A simple, elegant design.

A strong 'natural'/green element, achieved with native drought-resistant planting.

Hard landscaping utilising local stone and traditional building style(s).

Low maintenance.

Operational costs

There are no anticipated operational costs. The Monument will be permanently open, and will not be required to be staffed. The only anticipated operational task will be the watering and management of the planting, but this will be a minimal input that will fit alongside the

other vegetation management within Rupert's Valley as a whole. Occasional general site tidying will also be required, to ensure it remains pristine for visitors.

Maintenance Cost

The maintenance cost will be minimal. Any stone walls are likely to require an inspection on a 10-yearly basis, and repointing as necessary. If paths are constructed of gravel, then this material will occasionally need to be refreshed. The nearby interpretation board will need replacement on an approximately 10-year cycle.

Preliminary discussions of this matter have already taken place with the Environment & Natural Resources Directorate, as well as with the voluntary sector – the latter being largely responsible for the commemorative work on the Liberated Africans to-date. These organisations are represented on the Liberated African Advisory Committee, enabling decisions to be reached on who will hold these responsibilities.

Table: Risk Register – Memorial

Project Risk Log No	Description	Risk Category	Owner	Last Updated	Likelihood	Impact	Rating	Status	Mitigation (Outcome/Consequence)	Date Closed
Number of Risk	Describe the Risk	Risk category	Raised by	Date	A-F	1-4	Red Amber Green	Open, Closed, Under Review	Action taken to resolve the risk	Date Risk Closed
1	Costs exceed budget	Fin	AvN / AP	13/04/20	D	2	Green	Open	Capped budget to be given to Designer. Concept/design must be realisable within that budget, with allowance for contingencies.	
2	Delays in release of site.	Fin	AvN / AP	13/04/20	B	3	Green	Open	Indefinite delay can be accommodated, as the Memorial is not on a critical programme path. However, long delays risk inflation making the defined budget inadequate.	
3	Insufficient resource dedicated to project	Inst	AvN / AP	13/04/20	1	C	Red	Closed	Whilst there is ongoing commitment from stakeholders, none of these can dedicate full-time to this project. The budget proposals therefore include costs for dedicated staff: a project manager and Designer to address this risk.	13/4/20

Project Risk Log No	Description	Risk Category	Owner	Last Updated	Likelihood	Impact	Rating	Status	Mitigation (Outcome/Consequence)	Date Closed
Number of Risk	Describe the Risk	Risk category	Raised by	Date	A-F	1-4	Red Amber Green	Open, Closed, Under Review	Action taken to resolve the risk	Date Risk Closed
4	Failure to produce a high-quality product	Rep	AvN	13/04/20	D	2	Green	Closed	Budget allows for a recruitment of an experienced Designer. Project structure also includes St Helenian technical input for engineering and surveying.	13/4/20

		Impact			
		4	3	2	1
Likelihood	A	Green	Green	Red	Red
	B	Green	Green	Red	Red
	C	Green	Green	Amber	Red
	D	Green	Green	Green	Green
	E	Green	Green	Green	Green
	F	Green	Green	Green	Green

Risk Categories:

Soc – Social
 Fin – Financial
 Tec – Technical
 Eco – Economic
 Env – Environmental
 Inst – Institutional/Political
 Man – Management
 Leg – Legal/Legislative
 Rep – Reputational
 Con – Contractual

Impact:

1 – Catastrophic
 2 – Critical
 3 – Marginal
 4 – Negligible

Likelihood:

A – Very High
 B – High
 C – Significant
 D – Low
 E – Very Low
 F – Almost Impossible

Appendix 9: Memorial Design Brief (Draft)

Introduction

More than 200 years had passed when in 2008 during the construction phase of an airport access road, 325 skeletal remains from the Liberated African Burial Grounds were excavated in Rupert's Valley on the island of St Helena, UK. 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 Airport Project construction works.

Plans to respectfully reinter the remains of once enslaved Africans retrieved from the holds of captured slave ships has generated a renewed awareness about the unique historical significance of the burial ground and the people buried there, and Britain's attempts to abolish slavery from 1840 to late 1860's. The preservation of the site has afforded an opportunity for the descendant and broader community to reclaim an often neglected and obscured history.

The Liberated African Advisory Committee (LAAC) invites the public to participate in “**A Call for Ideas**” commemorating the victims of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, St Helena.

The memorial site will serve as a tangible reminder of the history and lives of the Liberated Africans who were rescued from slave ships by the Royal Navy during the 19th Century. Approximately 27,000 African captives were brought to St Helena of whom 8000 died and were buried in Lemon Valley and Rupert Valley, 18,000 were shipped to British colonies in the Caribbean, 550 remained on the island of St Helena integrating into the population.

This will be a critical opportunity to realize a memorial plan bearing international significance, that will spark important discourse and interest in St Helena and its unique history.

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 enslaved Africans 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 quarantine station was established in Rupert's Valley to accommodate the liberated Africans (the 'Liberated Africans Depot'; CH42). However, significant numbers died on ship or after landing on St Helena and large cemeteries were designated in Rupert's Valley”.

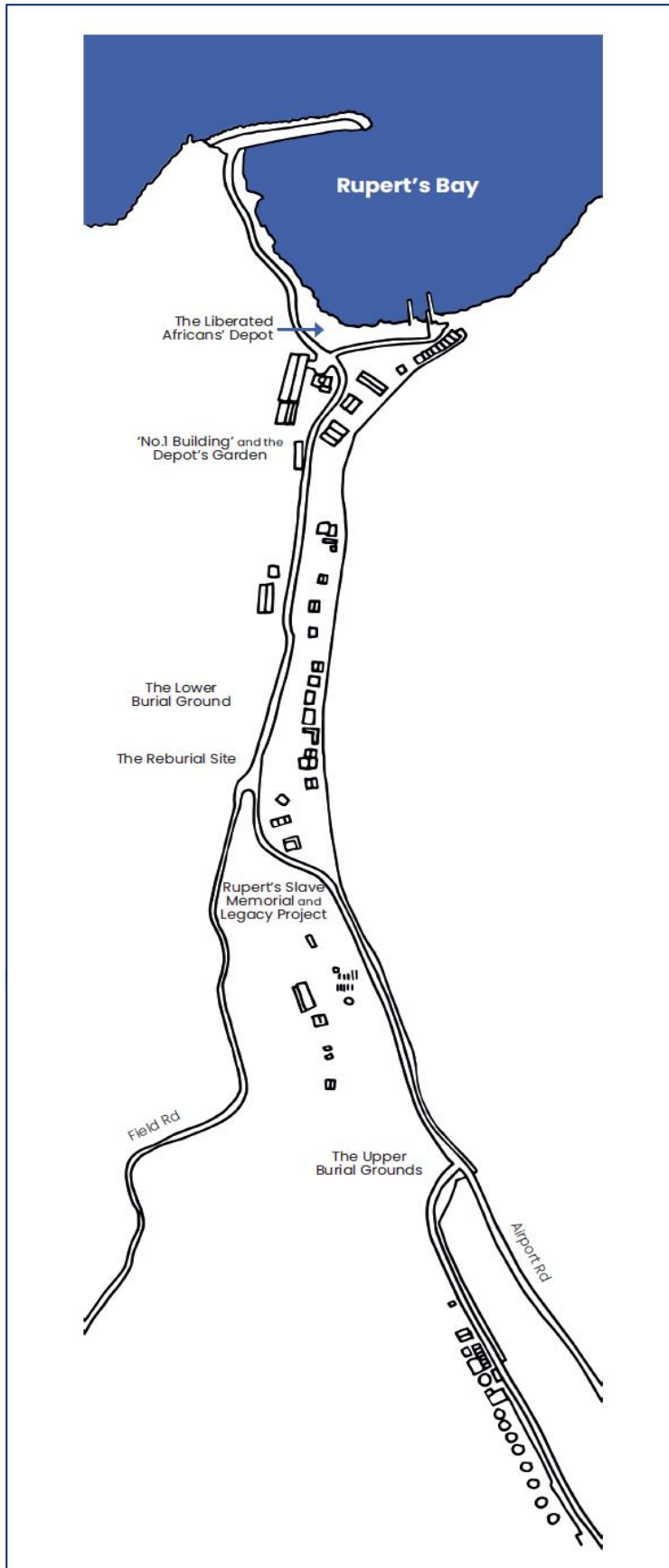


Figure 1: Map of Rupert's Valley

Project Key Themes, Values and Objectives

The Memorial and Contemplation Site should:

- Acknowledge the enormity and tragedy of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade; 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 and the rest of the world.
- Develop an impressive and sensitive design that promises to evoke a spiritually and emotionally powerful place for reflection and contemplation.
- Convey the magnitude of what happened in a meaningful and comprehensible way: give visitors a deeper understanding of the victims, St Helena as a Middle Passage site and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.
- Combine design, landscaping and place-making to enhance Rupert's Valley as living cultural heritage site — improving the visual and sensory experience of the proposed green space for both visitors and existing users.
- Consider logical and harmonious addition to the living cultural heritage sites and the industrial elements in the Valley.
- Consider a design that is widely accessible and communicate to all visitors – regardless of age, faith, background, nationality, language or knowledge of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade or the 'Liberated' African Establishment– attracting and involving people outside the established audience.

The Site

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

The area has been calculated as 3674.87m². Development on the site is restricted by both overhead and underground power lines (shown in yellow), sewer line, Fuel line(s) new and historic.



Figure 2: The site area at Rupert's is illustrated

A number of potential constraints exist on the site. In summary, these include, but are not limited to:

- Heritage
- Urban Infrastructure: Sewer line, Overhead power-lines, Highway
- Ground Conditions
- Climate
- Archaeology
- Flood Risk (Rapid Inundation Flood zone)
- Rock Fall Risk
- Church Property not to be negatively affected

Outline Brief

The Memorial competition is intended to be comprised of two complimentary design components. One component should fulfil the minimum commitment of a National Memorial, calling for an impressive design for a stand-alone memorial, including landscaping and above ground work. The second component is the design of the surroundings and enclosure for a contemplation space. The components should result in a comprehensive and harmonious design solution, as set out in the competition documents.

The Memorial Design should:

- Embody the goals and objectives of the project.
- Commemorate each of the individuals who arrived to these shores and were victimized by of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Such recognition should also note that 2/3 of the victims were children.

- Provide a place for quiet contemplation.
- Reflect the global economic, historical and social exploitation that fuelled the enslavement and forced migration of millions of African children, women, and men.
- Commemorate the millions of Africans lost at sea in the South Atlantic have no final resting place.
- Commemorate 25,000 that were brought to St Helena, how they lived, built and died on St Helena; +8000 that died.
- Commemorate the 18,000 who were migrated to the rest of the world.
- Respect and enhance the sacred quality of the overall site, the associated burial grounds and the memorial site.
- Acknowledge those in the St Helena community who aided in abolition, recovery, healing and burials.
- Evolve over time.

Memorial

The requirements for the Memorial element of the project have been left purposefully concise to allow the widest interpretation.

The Memorial Design should consider:

- A landmark bearing national and international significance, set within a civic realm and Rupert's Valley befitting the significance of the subject.
- Highly visible, from near and far, providing a national focus for personal and group reflection and remembrance.
- Access to all, it should communicate meaning significance and impact of the Middle Passage/ Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade to a wide range of audiences.
- Design that makes full use of site available, taking into account risk of disturbing more burials and underground and above ground infrastructure.
- A design that incorporates natural and spiritual elements, but should avoid resembling a traditional colonial monument.
- Making use of natural elements including air, water, earth and/or fire.
- The shapes, colours and meanings of objects of adornment recovered from exhumed individuals eg, cowrie shell, bovid horn and glass beads.
- Including plantings and landscaping that are adapted to harsh climatic conditions of Rupert's Valley; plants known to have historically grown and thrived in the Valley.
- Including Interpretative signage that provides the visitor with gentle guides and grounding on the story thread.
- Stonework with low stone walls and dividers if used for space transitioning; echoing the existing historical stonework used by the Africans living in Rupert's Valley (No. 1 Building and Depot Garden walls).
- Functional, visual and noise screening that enhances the visitor's experience and sympathetically considers the natural and industrial landscape.

Reflection and Contemplation space

- Contemplation space to surround or enclose or overlook main memorial structure
- Plant Landscaping
- Public Seating

- Incorporate stonework
- Noise and Visual Shielding from Airport Access Road and industrial areas
- Pedestrian and disabled access from the parking and 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); 3x school and tour busses spaces
- Community centred, stargazing and picnicking spaces; host live/ broadcasted outdoor events or gatherings
- Secure rainwater for gardens
- Used locally sourced material

Design Requirements

Story Thread

The design should have an engrained story thread that depicts the journey of the formerly enslaved Africans from their place of capture to Rupert's Valley and beyond. The story thread should rely on several diverse perspectives (historical and archaeological) of evidence provided in the section under reading list.

The design and material use should be sensitive to locally (St Helena) sourced elements and reflect due consideration of provided resources, these may include but are not limited to:

- Slave ship structure and/or material
- 'Liberated' African Establishment architecture and construction material
- Colour and shapes of jewellery found with +325 and
- Natural and cultural markers of enslaved Africans

Flexibility and Efficiency

Flexibility and efficiency should be built into the design of the two components.

A flexible approach should be taken to the whole project design, considering future potential changes to the functional use of the Valley and visitor demographics.

Designs should consider how the space can provide two distinctly different but compatible uses.

Security

Discouraging graffiti, sabotage, climbing should be intrinsic to the design.

Accessibility

The experience of visiting should be equal for all, regardless of age or level of ability.

Maintenance

- Finishes that are robust, stain- and weather –resistant and easy to clean.
- Finishes that deter pigeons, Mynahs and rats.
- Designs that work well in extreme weather including drought, sunlight and flash floods.

Sustainability and Energy Performance

- Minimise waste during construction, maximise recycling.
- Maximise energy efficiency and minimise running costs.

- Water saving for irrigation.
- Careful sourcing and use of materials.
- Preventing noise and light pollution (dark skies compliant).

Planning and Permissions

It is anticipated that full planning permission will be required for the Memorial and Contemplation Site.

Project Programme

- DDMMYY** A *CALL FOR IDEAS*. Registration Opens. Guidelines available. (A single presentation board submittal.) Questions from competitors accepted by LAAC via email and SHG website.
- DDMMYY** Last day to submit questions
- DDMMYY** Answers to questions posted on website
- DDMMYY** **Last chance to register. All competitors must register by 17:00 GMT**
- DDMMYY** Conceptual Boards/Submissions due by midnight.
- DDMMYY** Submission processing period immediately follows.
- DDMMYY** Jury review and evaluation period.
- DDMMYY** Completion of Stage I. Successful and unsuccessful candidates notified. (Narrow down to not more than 5 desirable submissions/ candidates/ teams to be invited to compete for the commission.)
- DDMMYY** Selected Design teams (not more than 5) invited to further develop design proposals for final round. Requirements for must be issued for design submission i.e. design drawings, team experts, proof of ability to implement and complete project, cost projections etc.

Budget

It is anticipated that funding will be secured through Grants, Donations and fundraising efforts.

Reading List

- *Infernal Traffic*, Andrew Pearson, Ben Jeffs, Annsofie Witkins and Helen MacQuarrie, Council for British Archaeology, 2011.
- *Distant Freedom: "St Helena and the abolition of the slave trade, 1840-1872"*, Andrew Pearson, Liverpool University Press, 2016.
- *Bitter Draught: St Helena and the Abolition of Slavery*, Colin Fox, Society of Friends of St Helena, 2017
- *Prize Possessions: Transported Material Culture of the Post-Abolition Enslaved – New Evidence from St Helena*, Helena MacQuarrie and Andrew Pearson, Taylor and Francis Group, 2015.
- *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Memorial - St Helena*, style guide and interpretation panels Appendix 2 to Master Plan July 2020.

- Finds catalogue
- First Generation, What The Saints Did Next Blog, February 28, 2018.

