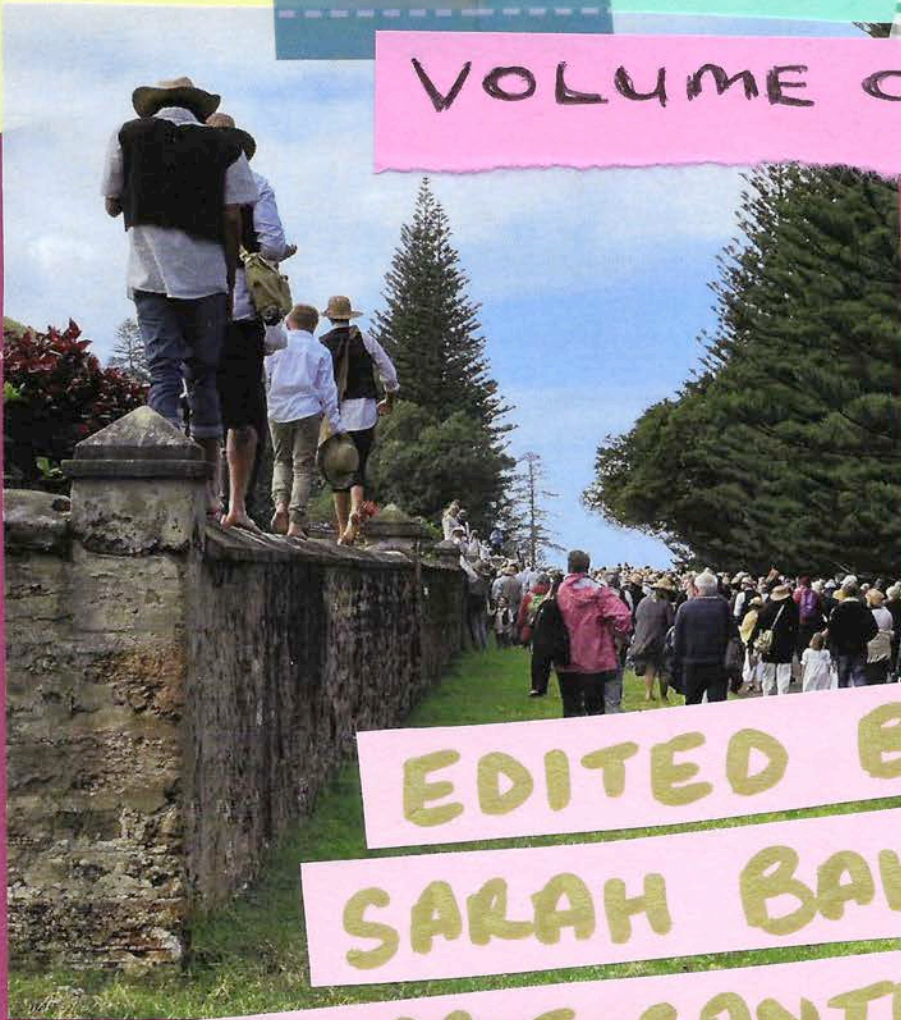


MAIS

DAUN

TAUN

VOLUME ONE



EDITED BY

SARAH BAKER

ZELMARIE CANTILLON

AND

CHELSEA EVANS

Reimagining KAVHA zine series

Series editors

Professor Sarah Baker (Griffith University)

Dr Zelmarie Cantillon (Western Sydney University)

The Reimagining KAVHA zine series emerges from an Australian Research Council-funded project, 'Reimagining Norfolk Island's Kingston and Arthur's Vale Historic Area'. This project analyses how cultural injustices are reinforced or resisted within KAVHA as a living heritage site. Specifically, we focus on Pitcairn Settler descendants' relationships with Daun'taun, as well as that of other residents who have long and deep connections to the area, and their experience of heritage management in KAVHA. In addition to publishing scholarly writing (e.g. peer-reviewed articles), another way we aim to capture these relationships is by co-creating zines with the community. Zines are a research tool used by social scientists to centre creativity, collaboration, agency and resistance.

The zines in this series are a form of public history and community archiving, enabling people to tell their stories on their own terms. We approach the zines as a way to facilitate the sharing of memories, experiences, feelings and local knowledge. This isn't about creating a definitive history of the subject at hand. Instead, the zines in this series provide a space where multiple voices can appear together, recording the emotional resonance of the past. As such, the zines are forms of heritage activism which emphasise the democratisation of history-making.

For project updates and other issues of this zine series, see: <https://reimaginingkavha.com>

Series titles

See You at the Paradise | Ketch Yorlye Daun Paradise (2021)

Edited by Sarah Baker and Zelmarie Cantillon

Mais Daun'taun, volume 1 (2021)

Edited by Sarah Baker, Zelmarie Cantillon and Chelsea Evans

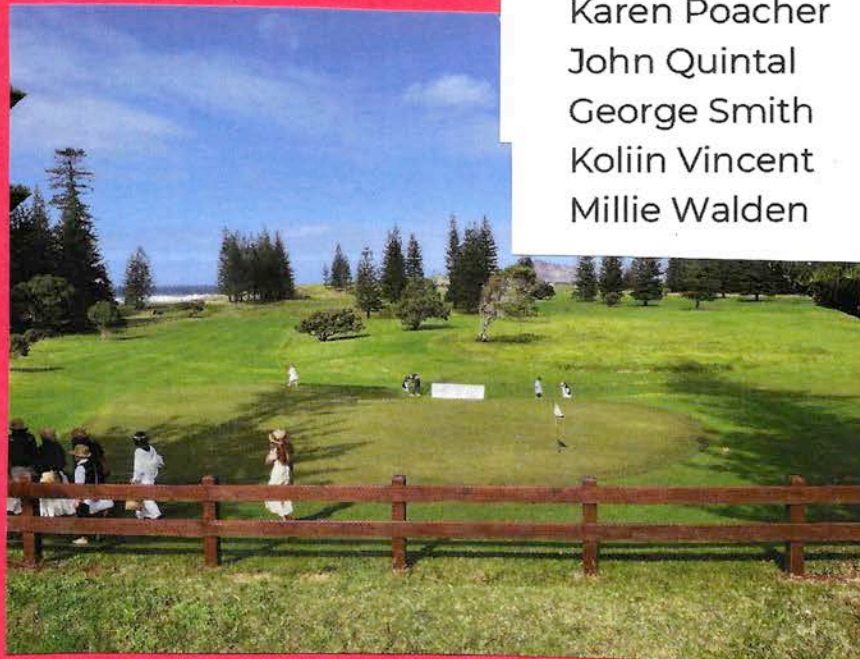
Mais Daun'taun, volume 1: a Reimagining KAVHA zine

Editors

Sarah Baker
Zelmarie Cantillon
Chelsea Evans

Contributors

Sarah Baker
Zelmarie Cantillon
Peter Christian-Bailey
Colleen Crane
Alma Davidson
Arthur Evans
Chelsea Evans
David 'Dids' Evans
Gaye Evans
Edward Hooker
Karen Poacher
John Quintal
George Smith
Koliin Vincent
Millie Walden



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Acknowledgements

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Thank you too to the members of the Probus Club of Norfolk Island for participating in a sticky note activity early on in the production process for this zine. Your contributions capture the many different ways Kingston is felt and experienced.

Photos bring the zine pages alive. Thanks and gratitude is extended to all of the following for providing images:

- Russell Francis for access to his digital collection of Norfolk Island images, including the beautiful hand-coloured lantern slides from c. 1935–1950 by Henry Spencer-Salt (see pages 17, 20) held by the National Library of Australia (Ref: P2126); black and white images from c. 1880s–1900s by J.W. Beattie (see pages 47, 57) held by the National Library of New Zealand (Ref: PA1-q-024); black and white images from c. 1900–1940 by Les Brown (see pages 23, 54, 59, 63) from a collection held by Norfolk Island Museums; black and white images c. 1942, photographer unknown (see page 16), possibly held by Norfolk Island Museums; a black and white image of the REO which was accompanied by no identifying information (see page 31); and a c. 1890 image by Charles Kerry (see page 14) held by the National Library of Australia (Ref: 288986523).

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- Alma Davidson for granting permission to reproduce images from her personal collection as Polaroids for use in the zine (see pages 22–23, 25, 74).
- Arthur Evans for granting permission to use an image from his personal collection (see page 43).
- Sarah Baker, a co-editor of the zine, for contemporary photos of Kingston (see pages xii–xiii, xv, xvii, 5–10, 16–20, 24, 30, 33, 35–37, 40, 48, 52–53, 55, 61, 66–70, 72, 74), some of which were reproduced as Polaroids (see pages 26, 45, 50).
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Thank you Rogan Sharpe for recommending the Polaroid Lab as an addition to the zine workshop toolkit. Other than the Polaroids which were printed using the Polaroid Lab, all the other photos were printed by Photopress Norfolk Island – thanks Toni!

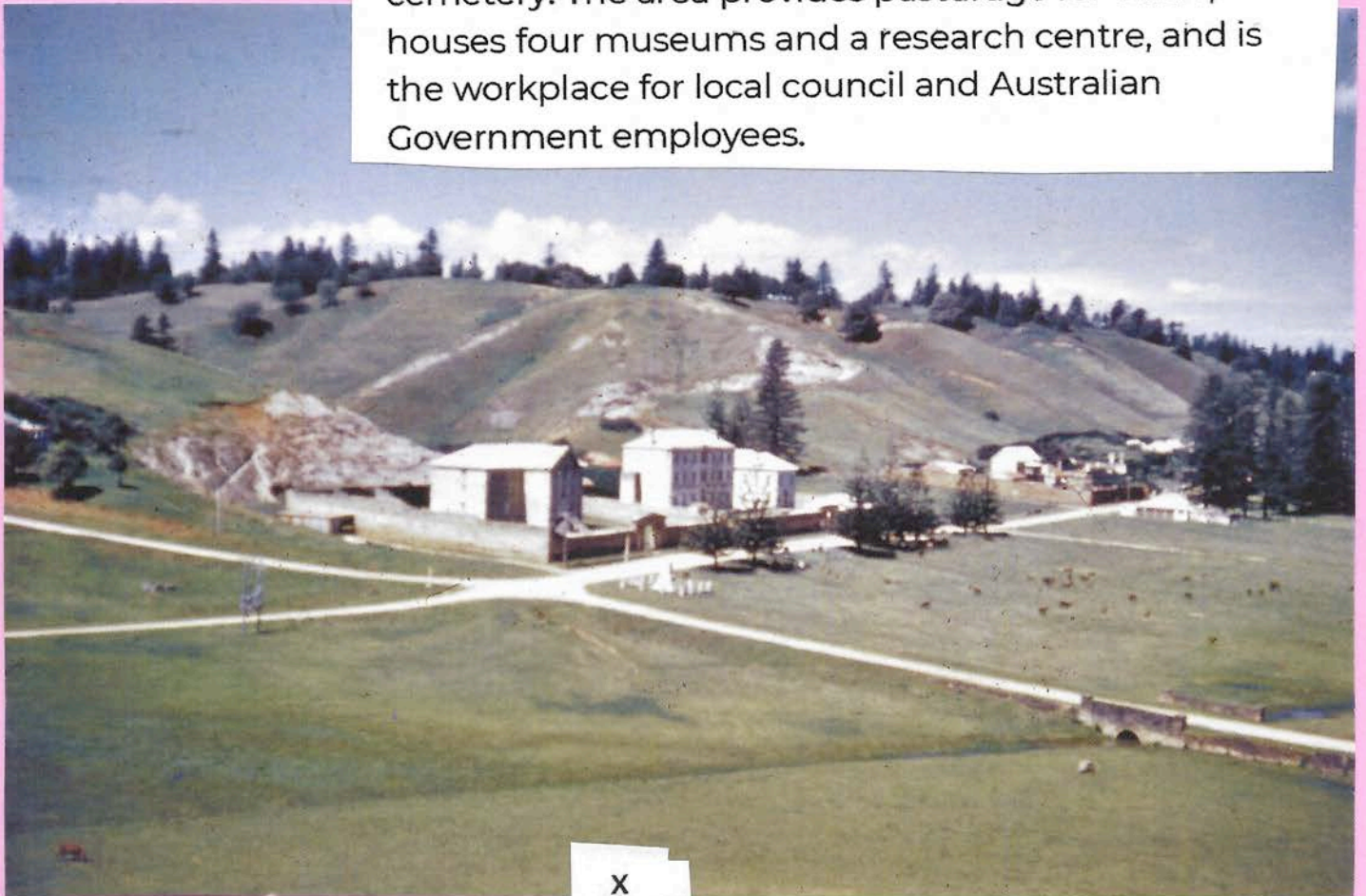
Editorial

About Daun'taun/Kingston

Kingston (referred to in the Norfolk language as Taun or Daun'taun; also written as Daun a Taun) is Norfolk Island's capital, a key living heritage site, administrative centre and tourism attraction.

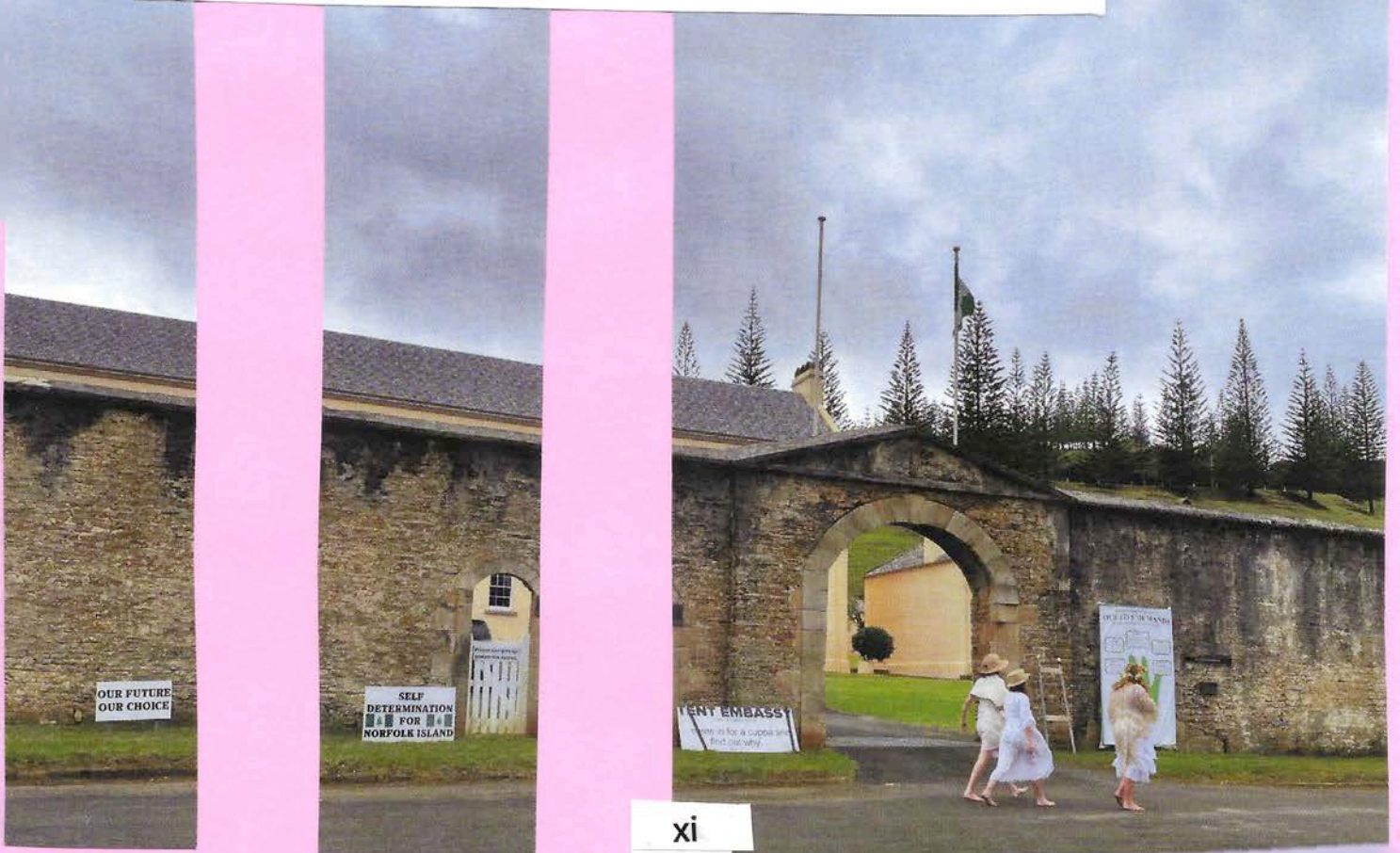
Also known as KAVHA (Kingston and Arthur's Vale Historic Area), the site is protected by UNESCO as part of the World Heritage-Listed Australian Convict Sites property. Although its World Heritage status was primarily granted to recognise remnants of the British settlements (1788–1814, 1825–55),¹ KAVHA is also significant for its earlier Polynesian settlement (c.1150–1450) and its central role in the everyday lives of people of the Pitcairn Settlement since 1856.

Among other things, Taun contains a working port (Kingston pier), a place of worship (All Saints), sites of recreation (the golf course and clubhouse, the sports grounds, Emily Bay and Slaughter Bay), service club facilities (Lions Club), private residences, and an active cemetery. The area provides pasturage for cattle, houses four museums and a research centre, and is the workplace for local council and Australian Government employees.



Kingston is the site for Bounty Day, when Pitcairn Settler descendants pay tribute to the arrival of the Pitcairners on Norfolk Island, and the location of the cenotaph, where Norfolk Islanders remember those who died in times of war. Recently, it has also become the venue for Heiva, a day on which Pitcairn Settler descendants celebrate and honour their Polynesian ancestry.

Kingston has also long been a locus for political activity on the island. It is the site of Government House (the current Administrator's residence) and the Old Military Barracks, which from 1979–2015 housed the Norfolk Island Legislative Assembly and since 2016 is the site of a tent embassy. The tent embassy is a daily reminder of the Australian Government's implementation of the Norfolk Island Legislation Amendment Bill 2015 which removed self-government on the island. The ongoing tensions between Norfolk Island and Australia resulting from those governance changes are captured in *Australia's Assault on Norfolk Island*, a series of books by Chris Nobbs.²

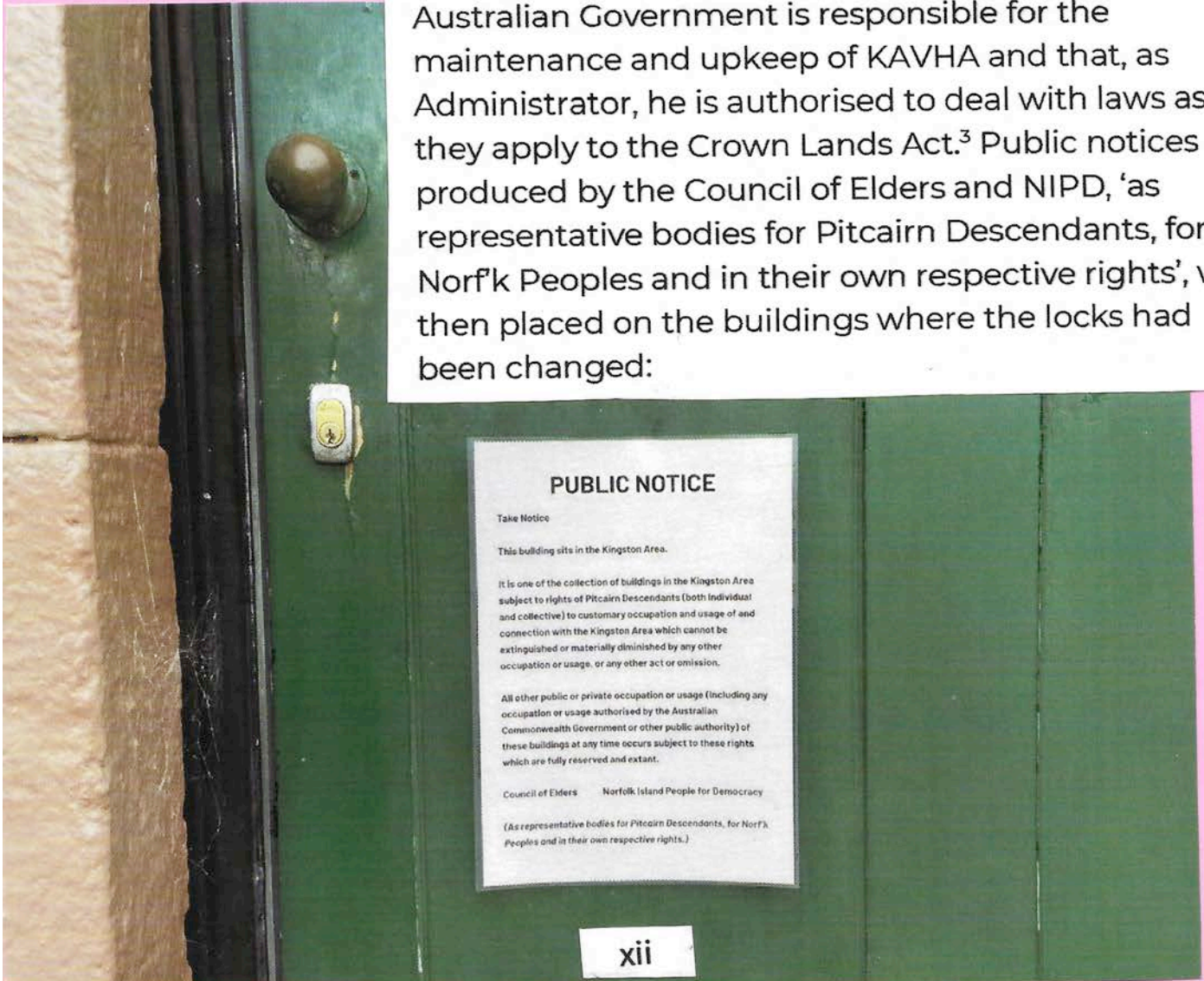


Kingston contested: on ownership, rights and custodianship

The inspiration for this zine came from conversations with Norfolk Island residents and community social media posts which pointed to a felt loss of custodianship of Kingston and decision-making around its management, particularly following the change in the island's governance arrangements since 2015.



During the production of the zine, tensions heightened around the 'rights' to Kingston and its buildings. During a radio interview in November 2021, the island's Administrator reported that the Norfolk Island Council of Elders and the Norfolk Island People for Democracy (NIPD) changed the locks on buildings in the Old Military Barracks. The Administrator subsequently reminded the community that the Australian Government is responsible for the maintenance and upkeep of KAVHA and that, as Administrator, he is authorised to deal with laws as they apply to the Crown Lands Act.³ Public notices produced by the Council of Elders and NIPD, 'as representative bodies for Pitcairn Descendants, for Norfolk Peoples and in their own respective rights', were then placed on the buildings where the locks had been changed:



“ This building ... is one of the collection of buildings in the Kingston Area subject to rights of Pitcairn Descendants (both individual and collective) to customary occupation and usage of and connection with the Kingston Area which cannot be extinguished or materially diminished by any other occupation or usage, or any other act or omission.⁴ ”

A media release prepared by the Council of Elders and NIPD in early December further noted that:

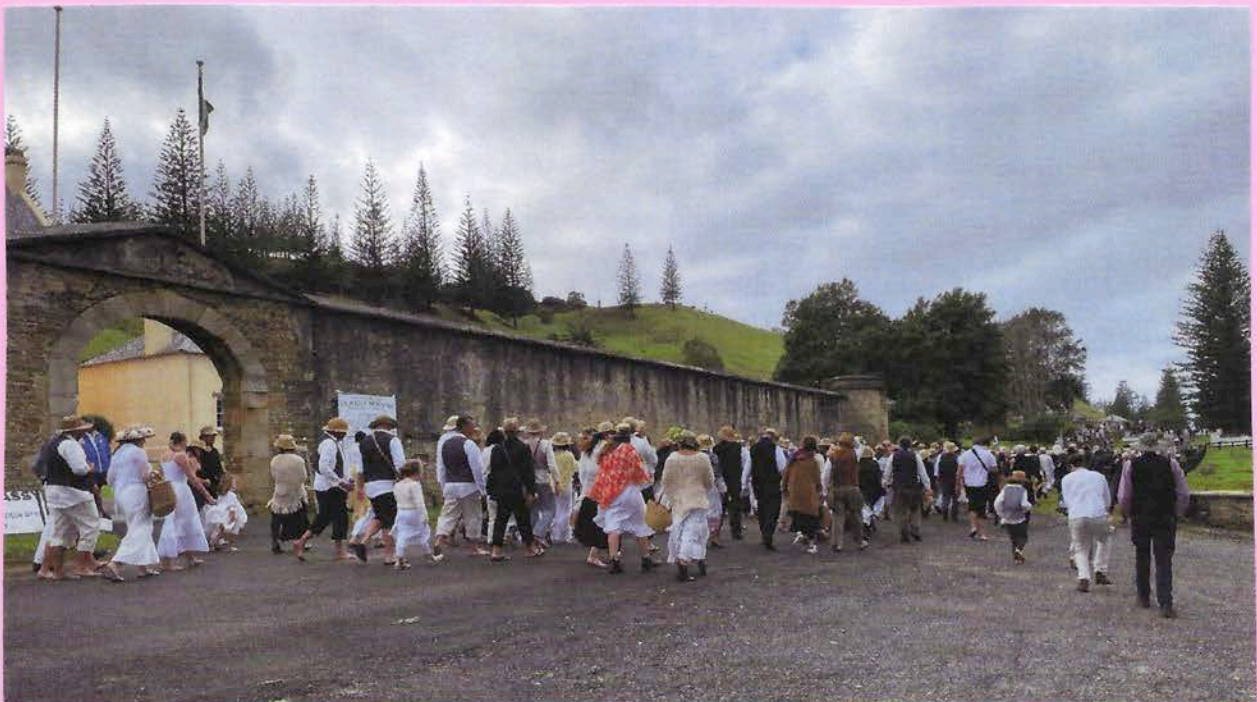
“ In an effort to avoid any doubt, CoE and NIPD provided the Commonwealth with written notice that any further action by them at OMB [Old Military Barracks] (or in Kingston) that is disrespectful of our rights; or is otherwise than in accordance with an agreed outcome or shared understanding, will be unauthorised by law, whether under the *Crown Lands Act 1996 (NI)* or otherwise.⁵ ”

Earlier in November, the rights to KAVHA were discussed at an event held to launch the latest book by Chris Nobbs,⁶ which includes commentary on the Australian Government's 'presumptions as to ownership of properties related to KAVHA'.⁷ Nobbs emphasises the importance of community 'ownership' of the site if it is to remain a vibrant heritage place. He notes that he is referring here not to 'formal ownership' or 'total ownership' but to 'psychological ownership', including the community feeling 'that they have responsibility for it; that they are stewards of it'.⁸

The feeling that Kingston is no longer auwas Daun'taun, despite the area being 'at the centre of community life',⁹ emerges in many of the contributions to this zine.

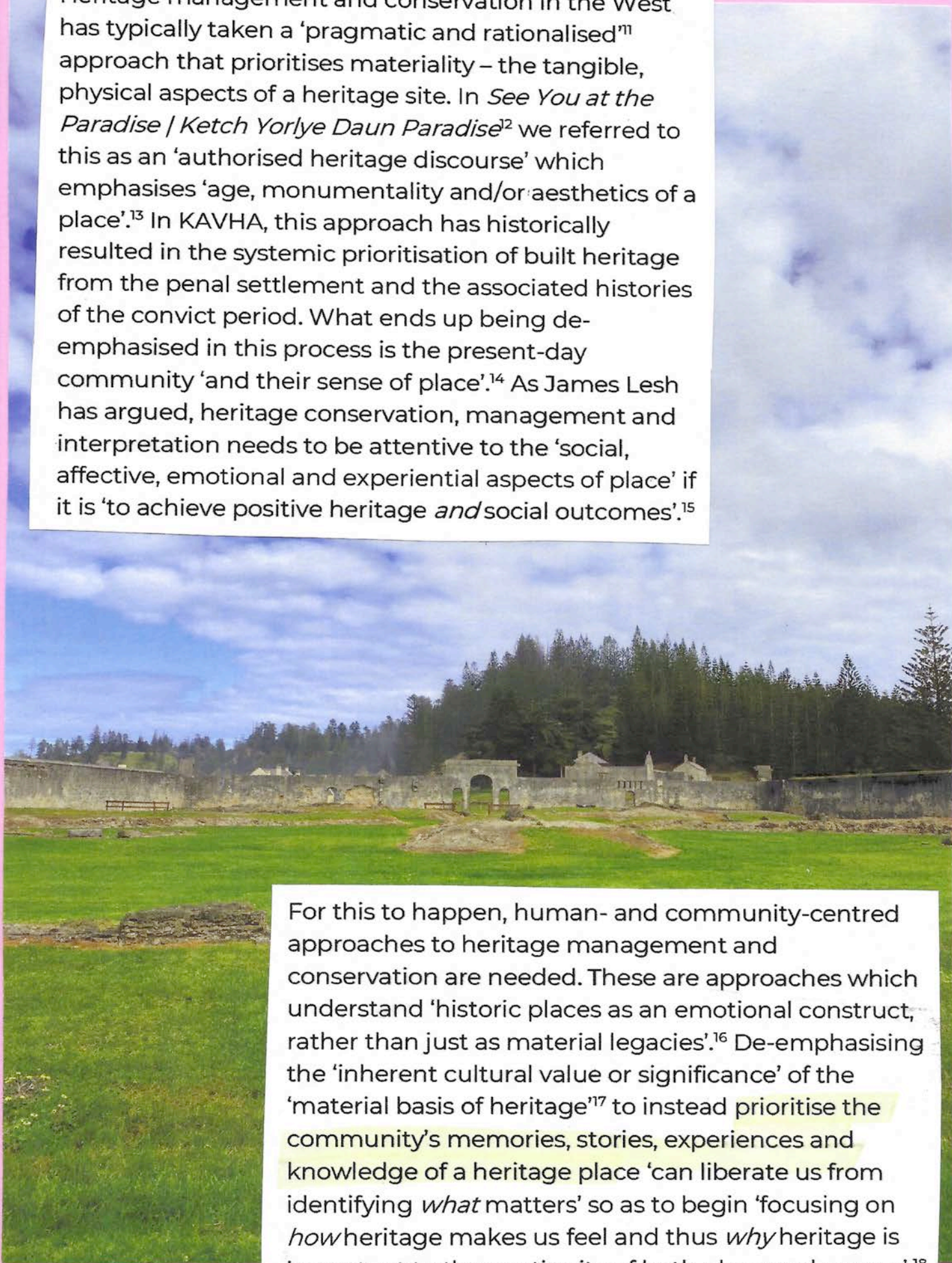
About this zine: introducing 'sense of place'

Highlighted across the pages of this zine are Norfolk Islanders' strong affective engagements with, and the cultural significance of, Kingston – the joy and love they feel for this special place, its importance as a site of living heritage, its role in everyday life in the present as much as in the past. Peter Christian-Bailey refers to it as 'the cradle of Norfolk' (see page 50). As such, the zine captures the sense of place of Kingston as it is understood and felt by the zine's contributors.



Sense of place is a term used in humanities and social sciences scholarship to indicate the various qualities that make a place distinctive. Sense of place can include the community's 'reference points' – embedded in individual, familial and collective memories of Kingston – which orient present day experiences of Taun and community members' thoughts about the site's management and interpretation.¹⁰ It is important to note that there is not a singular sense of place; understandings of and attachments to place are varied and made up of many different elements.

Heritage management and conservation in the West has typically taken a 'pragmatic and rationalised'¹¹ approach that prioritises materiality – the tangible, physical aspects of a heritage site. In *See You at the Paradise / Ketch Yorlye Daun Paradise*¹² we referred to this as an 'authorised heritage discourse' which emphasises 'age, monumentality and/or aesthetics of a place'.¹³ In KAVHA, this approach has historically resulted in the systemic prioritisation of built heritage from the penal settlement and the associated histories of the convict period. What ends up being de-emphasised in this process is the present-day community 'and their sense of place'.¹⁴ As James Lesh has argued, heritage conservation, management and interpretation needs to be attentive to the 'social, affective, emotional and experiential aspects of place' if it is 'to achieve positive heritage *and* social outcomes'.¹⁵



For this to happen, human- and community-centred approaches to heritage management and conservation are needed. These are approaches which understand 'historic places as an emotional construct, rather than just as material legacies'.¹⁶ De-emphasising the 'inherent cultural value or significance' of the 'material basis of heritage'¹⁷ to instead prioritise the community's memories, stories, experiences and knowledge of a heritage place 'can liberate us from identifying *what* matters' so as to begin 'focusing on *how* heritage makes us feel and thus *why* heritage is important to the continuity of both place and person'.¹⁸

Call for contributions to the 'Reimagining KAVHA' zine *Myse Daun'taun*

'What does Daun'taun mean to you?'

The Reimagining KAVHA research team invites you to contribute to the project's next zine, *Myse Daun'taun*.

The Reimagining KAVHA project is a living heritage site. The project is led by Dr Cantillon (Wendell) and Dr Zelmarie for the project.

to the project's next

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Did early has Kings great-grand reflections identity and

Kingston was like for them? What role for the Pitcairn settlement? What would your think of Kingston today? The zine will feature time and what that has meant for understanding local

'What future do you want for Daun'taun?'

In addition to memories and stories of the present and past, the future. How do you see future generations interacting with you want future generations to continue Daun'taun? What is your Kingston? What is done well, and what are your priorities be?

Contributions can be handwritten or typed. Sarah would submit their contributions. Contributions can meet their contribution.

If you would like to be part of the project, please contact us. We are keen to do what is important to you.

We will also be

For more information, visit our website: reimagini

s for the you ment in ld

Outline of this zine: what's inside?

In September 2021, we put out a call for contributions via our project website, social media and the local news media. Millie Walden responded to the call and her contribution, which reflects on her family's references to 'in town', is included in the zine (see pages 11-14). We also did a presentation at a meeting of the Probus Club of Norfolk Island where participants took part in a word association activity around 'how Kingston makes you feel' (see pages 1-4).

ll

what is

These will be advertised soon.


you at the Paradise zine, visit our project

Gaye Evans invited the research team to host a gathering at her home – Flagstaff, a private property in the KAVHA boundary – and in early November we held a zine-making workshop there. A table was set up with a view across to Phillip Island, and the research team provided all the materials needed to make zine pages: coloured pens, paper and card, highlighters, sticky notes, glue, washi tape, scissors and print-outs of a selection of photos. A Polaroid Lab was also used to reproduce images provided by participants on the day.

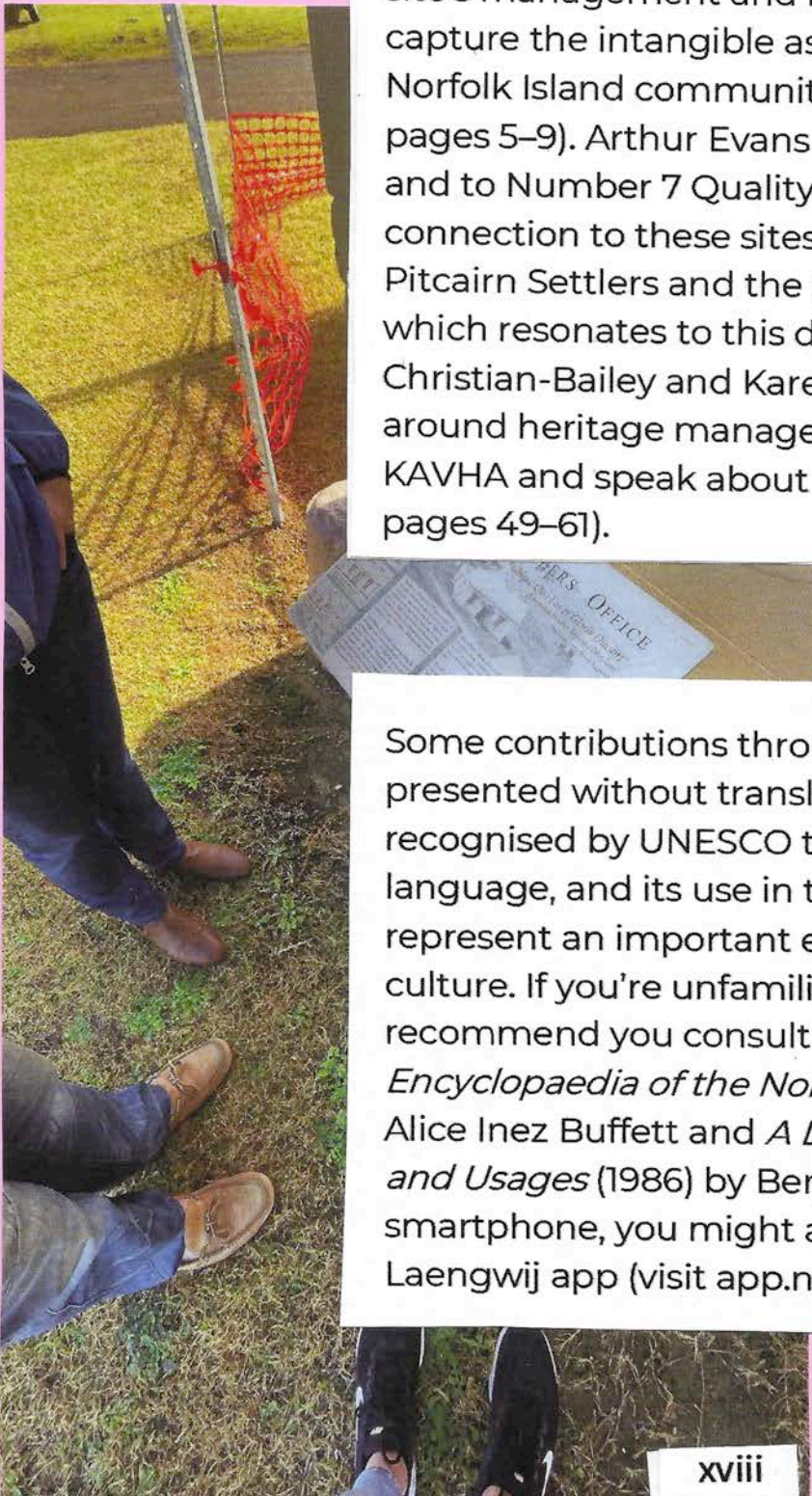


Another zine-making workshop was held in early December.

In the workshops, the research team guided writing exercises, with participants responding to prompts including 'what is your first or most vivid memory of Kingston?' (see pages 44–48) and 'write a letter to someone in the past to say what would surprise them about Kingston if they were to see it today' (see pages 62–74). The three-hour workshops were filled with chatter and laughter as everyone shared memories and stories of their Taun.

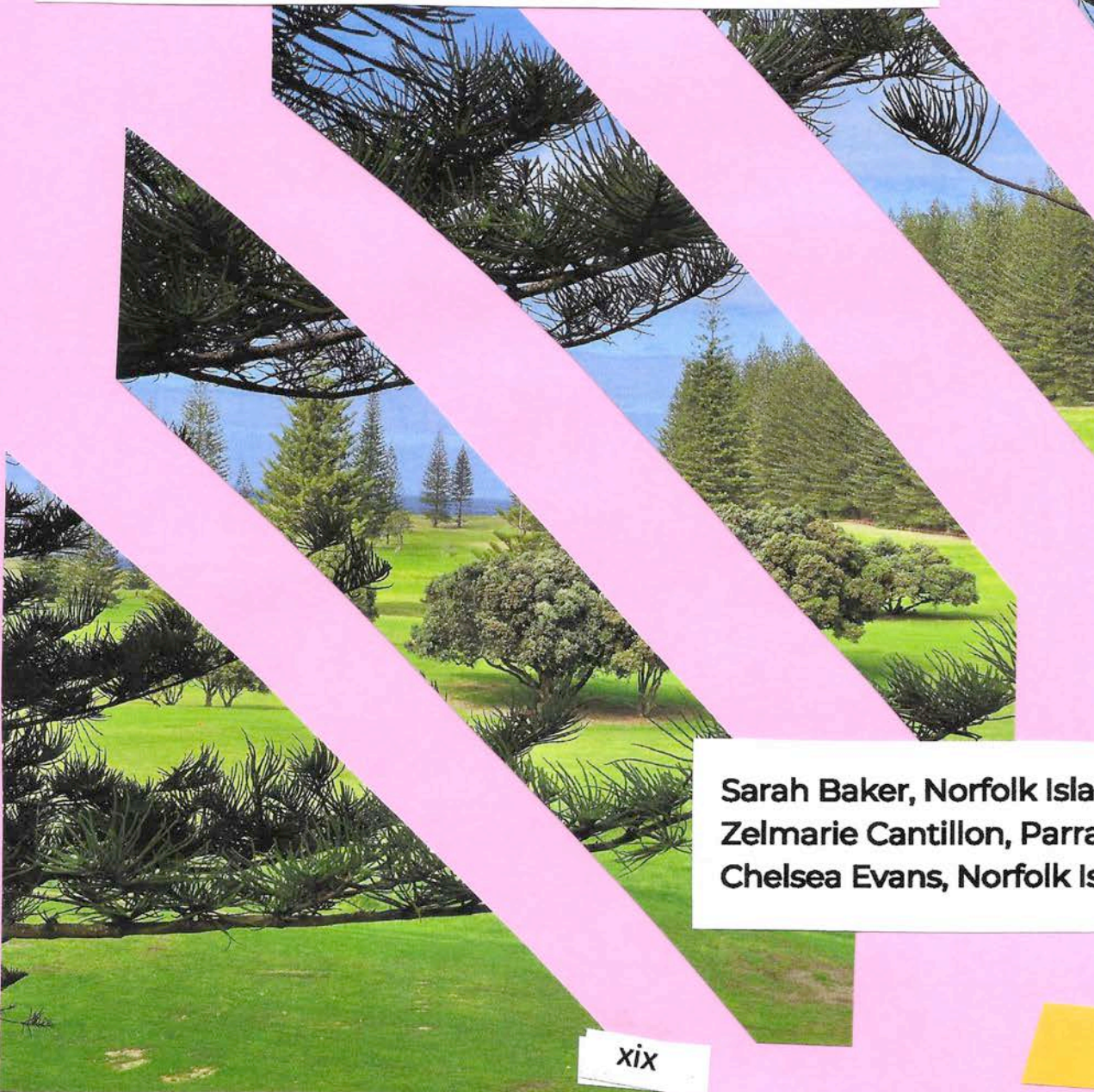


The zine also includes a series of ‘conversations’ with people who have long and deep connections to Kingston, but did not attend the zine workshop. The conversations are, in most cases, abridged versions of transcripts of longer recorded interviews that have been conducted for the Reimagining KAVHA research project. David ‘Dids’ Evans talks about how, since 1856, Kingston was ‘the hub of the island’, the risk that it will soon become ‘a ghost town’, and challenges for the site’s management and interpretation to adequately capture the intangible aspects of Taun that ‘the Norfolk Island community hold dear to their heart’ (see pages 5–9). Arthur Evans takes us to the pier precinct and to Number 7 Quality Row, talking about his connection to these sites, the experiences of the Pitcairn Settlers and the pain of the 1908 eviction which resonates to this day (see pages 29–43). Peter Christian-Bailey and Karen Poacher raise concerns around heritage management and interpretation in KAVHA and speak about their hopes for the future (see pages 49–61).



Some contributions throughout this zine are in Norf’k, presented without translation to English. Norf’k is recognised by UNESCO to be an endangered language, and its use in the zine and workshop represent an important expression of Pitcairner culture. If you’re unfamiliar with Norf’k, we recommend you consult *Speak Norfolk Today: An Encyclopaedia of the Norfolk Island Language* (1999) by Alice Inez Buffett and *A Dictionary of Norfolk Words and Usages* (1986) by Beryl Nobbs-Palmer. If you have a smartphone, you might also like to explore the Norf’k Laengwij app (visit app.norfk.info).

In capturing contributors' individual stories, memories and thoughts of Kingston, the zine acts as a community archive – documenting the sense of place of Kingston on the community's own terms.²⁰ In the pages that follow, contributors challenge and make visible issues of 'control, status, power, and neo-colonialism'²¹ in the heritage place that is KAVHA. In doing so, they authorise community experiences that, historically, have been marginalised in KAVHA's heritage management and interpretation. It is our hope that this zine, and others in the Reimagining KAVHA zine series, will spark further discussions among Norfolk Island residents and other stakeholders in Kingston about 'the effects of history, as experienced by its living participants'.²²



Sarah Baker, Norfolk Island
Zelmarie Cantillon, Parramatta
Chelsea Evans, Norfolk Island



- ¹ See Commonwealth of Australia, 2008, *Australian Convict Sites World Heritage Nomination*, Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts, Canberra, p. 18.
- ² See Nobbs, C 2017, *Australia's Assault on Norfolk Island 2015–2016: Despatches from the Front Line*, Norfolk Island, Chris Nobbs; Nobbs, C 2019, *Australia's Assault on Norfolk Island 2017–2018: Fateful Choices*, Norfolk Island, Chris Nobbs; Nobbs, C 2021, *Australia's Assault on Norfolk Island 2019–2020: Procrustes Ascendant*, Norfolk Island, Chris Nobbs.
- ³ Hutchinson, E 2021, Administrator's update, interviewed by Darlene Buffett. Radio Norfolk, 26 November.
- ⁴ Norfolk Island Council of Elders & Norfolk Island People for Democracy Ltd 2021, 'Public notice', printed sign in situ.
- ⁵ Norfolk Island Council of Elders & Norfolk Island People for Democracy Ltd, 2021, 'Media release', *The Norfolk Islander*, vol. 56, no. 18, 4 December.
- ⁶ Nobbs, C 2021, 'Speech notes by the principal author for the launch of Australia's Assault on Norfolk Island 2019–20: Procrustes Ascendant', *The Norfolk Islander*, supplement, 4 December.
- ⁷ Nobbs, C 2021, *Australia's Assault on Norfolk Island 2019–2020: Procrustes Ascendant*, Norfolk Island, Chris Nobbs, p. 52.
- ⁸ Nobbs, C 2021, *Australia's Assault on Norfolk Island 2019–2020: Procrustes Ascendant*, Norfolk Island, Chris Nobbs, p. 52.
- ⁹ Nobbs, C 2017, *Australia's Assault on Norfolk Island 2015–2016: Despatches from the Front Line*, Norfolk Island, Chris Nobbs, p. 150.
- ¹⁰ Schofield, J & Szymanski, R 2016, 'Sense of place in a changing world', in J Schofield & R Szymanski (eds), *Local Heritage, Global Context: Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place*, London, Routledge, p. 3–4.
- ¹¹ Lesh, J 2020, 'Place and heritage conservation', in T Edensor, A Kalandides & U Kothari (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Place*, London, Routledge, p. 431.
- ¹² See Cantillon, Z & Baker, S 2021, 'Editorial', *See You at the Paradise / Ketch Yorlye Daun Paradise*, Reimagining KAVHA, Norfolk Island, p. xi.
- ¹³ Smith, L 2006, *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge, London, p. 3.
- ¹⁴ Lesh, J 2020, 'Place and heritage conservation', in T Edensor, A Kalandides & U Kothari (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Place*, London, Routledge, p. 433.
- ¹⁵ Lesh, J 2020, 'Place and heritage conservation', in T Edensor, A Kalandides & U Kothari (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Place*, London, Routledge, p. 433.

¹⁶ Madgin, R & Lesh, J 2021, 'Exploring emotional attachments to historic places: Bridging concept, practice and method', in R Magin & J Lesh (eds), *People-centred methodologies for heritage conservation: exploring emotional attachments to historic urban places*, Routledge, London, p. 1.

¹⁷ Smith, L 2006, *Uses of Heritage*, Routledge, London, p. 3.

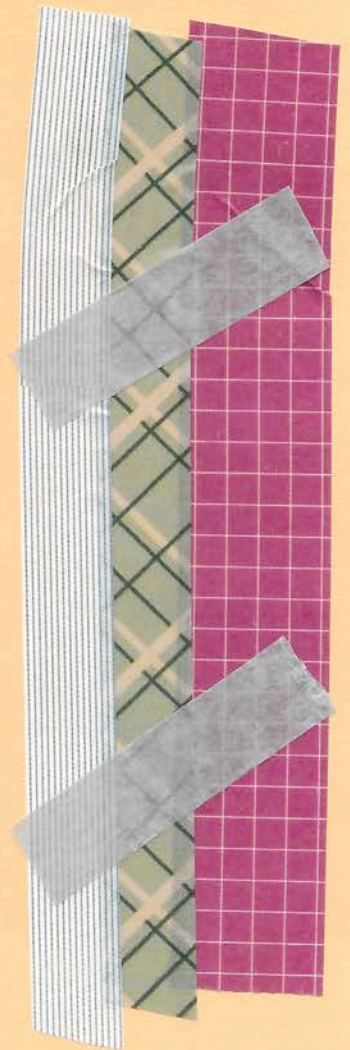
¹⁸ Madgin, R & Lesh, J 2021, 'Exploring emotional attachments to historic places: Bridging concept, practice and method', in R Magin & J Lesh (eds), *People-centred methodologies for heritage conservation: exploring emotional attachments to historic urban places*, Routledge, London, pp. 1–2.

¹⁹ Schofield, J & Szymanski, R 2016, 'Sense of place in a changing world', in J Schofield & R Szymanski (eds), *Local Heritage, Global Context: Cultural Perspectives on Sense of Place*, London, Routledge, p. 4.

²⁰ Flinn A, Stevens, M & Shepherd, E 2009, 'Whose memories, whose archives? Independent community archives, autonomy and the mainstream', *Archival Science*, vol. 9, pp. 71–86.

²¹ Cook, T 2013, 'Evidence, memory, identity, and community: four shifting archival paradigms', *Archival Science*, vol. 13, p. 116.

²² Chidgey, R 2006, 'The resisting subject: per-zines as life story data', *University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 10, p. 12.



lucky

Thankful!

PEACEFUL

Peaceful

Peaceful.

Sentimental

Thoughtful

FREE

AT HOME

nostalgic

RECALLED

Elated.

Blessed!

AT HOME

Privileged.

AMAZED AT THE SEA

Ninnies
&
Nibbliers

- peaceful
solitude

Sunshiny



Swimming

1946
Dorothy
drew

WINDSWERT

snorkelling



FREE!

Connected
to
history
of those who
lived there

DOG
HEAVEN

As I walk the
dog I look at the
sea, the trees +
open spaces.

Imbued with
magnificence
& nature

Emily Bay

Picking up
cigarette
butts

BALMY
BREEZE

Dog paradise.
People paradise.

Awestruck

SAD.

gracious

THOUGHTFUL

Pensive

CRUEL

1. Historical. - Looking at the rooms
 2. At peace looking out to sea
 3. Independent.
- H. sorry for the original prisoners
 • in the 2nd Settlement

Isolated from the rest of the world

Joyful!

Reflective

Happy!

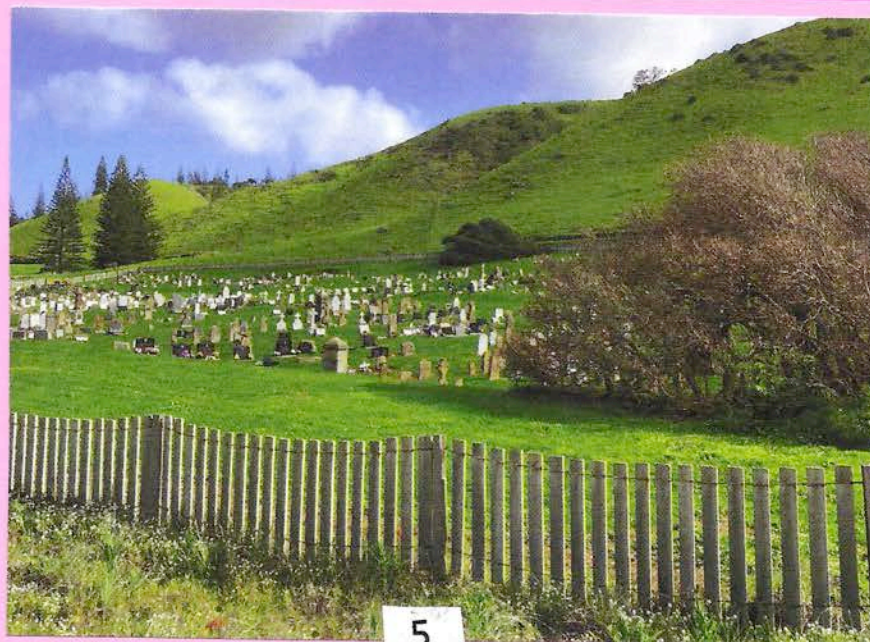
family days

Conversation with David 'Dids' Evans, 17 June 2021

Dids: When we stepped off the Morayshire in 1856, the first place that we arrived at was Kingston, which is today known as KAVHA. There is a very close attachment to that area, because of that fact alone. When you arrive in a place as a community, like they did with everyone from Pitcairn Island, and your greeting is this environment, you're going to have a fond attachment to that place forever really. Especially seeing such scenic beauty. In the first hour they would have seen that, 'Oh, we can grow stuff here. Oh, we can catch fish here' – the two most important things to their survival on Pitcairn Island. So they were off to a good head start right from the get go.

KAVHA, today in 2021, because of the Commonwealth takeover, it has that downside. But there are four layers of KAVHA that cannot be ignored at any one period in time. The Polynesian settlement was a long settlement. The two British settlements, even though they left behind some wonderful architecture, and facilities and infrastructure that assisted the community, which Queen Victoria bequeathed to the Norfolk Islanders, or previously the community of Pitcairn Island. It is really important to acknowledge all of those things. And then since 1856, post-1856 within KAVHA really isn't portrayed well if you compare it to the signage and that of the infrastructure that's in Kingston. Because a lot of the things that we do there are just taken for granted by us, like the Bounty Day procession and the picnic and going to the beach and going fishing and going down there and playing on one of the oldest cricket pitches in the Southern Hemisphere.

But I can remember going down there and playing football, seeing croquet being played down there. We used to have gymkhanas down there. The Queen was welcomed to Norfolk Island there. You know, there are a lot of very important activities there in our past that are all very much a part of KAVHA, you know? We worship within KAVHA. Our elderly, we know that at some stage, *dem gwen daun'taun*. Because that's where the cemetery is.



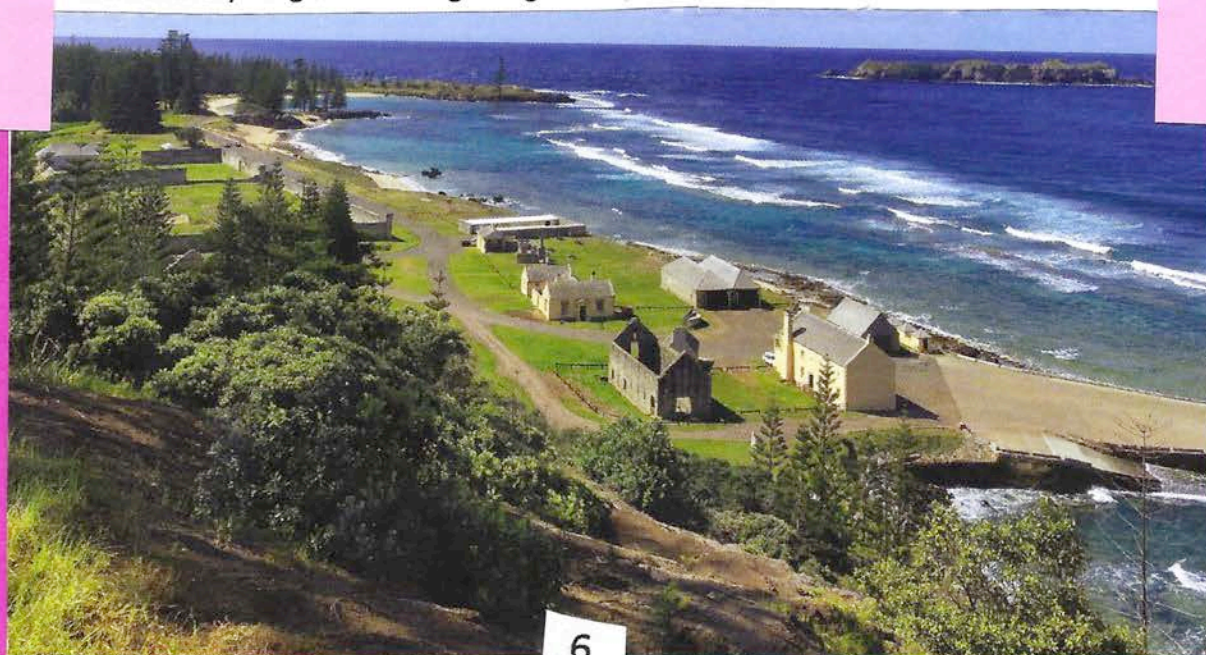
The KAVHA precinct, it connects with the whole island as well. So people at Anson Bay on the other side of the island know that Kingston is part of their home as well. Because we do so many community things there and have done so for such a long time. It was always, right from the word go, a working, living, thriving environment. People went there not to just work and play, it was the hub of the island. You had your Administrator down there, the Council, the Legislative Assembly, you know, Council of Elders would have met in Kingston in the early days because all the houses along Quality Row were occupied by Pitcairn families. And of course, there was an

eviction and then that turned very sour. You know, it sort of – somewhat similar to probably the removal undemocratically of a parliament in 2016, the eviction.

I can't stress enough how important KAVHA is to the community of Norfolk Island. And I'm saddened to see that we haven't got a parliament down there. I'm saddened to see that we haven't got a lot of the things that used to be there.

It's all – in some people's wisdom, they've moved most of those things up town, you know. Gee, we've all got cars. It takes you another three minutes to drive down here. And a world heritage site like KAVHA has to be alive, you know? To move all the things that have been moved out of there up town, it's killed it, you know? Because a lot of people would work in the offices within the New Military Barracks and Old Military Barracks. And yeah, they'd go for a walk at lunchtime, or they'd take their lunch and go and sit down on the jetty. One time there used to be a café there and you'd utilise those facilities if they were available as well.

But I'm really pushing for it to be brought back, instead of being somewhat of a ghost town. Because Kingston has always been the hub. And I want it to be proactively, aggressively the hub again, you know? Because it's got such a high significance to the community and I think that visitors and employees can still work within KAVHA area, utilising the infrastructure down there. I know that there's talk of moving out of the New Military Barracks and making it more of a museum, but you know, I've seen too many places on the island, once they're empty, they die. The human energy seems to keep a place alive, and to remove so many people from the area that would have – 30 years ago you were coming down here to buy your stamps and pay your dog license. Everything went through Kingston. And then over time –



Sarah: The Liquor Bond was down there.

Dids: Yeah, the Liquor Bond was there. Of course, the community's grown and some places needed to expand and they weren't sort of – the area didn't lend to that. And of course, there's the heritage value of the place as well. You've got to be careful that you don't overstep the mark in that regard. But I think the more that we can encourage it to be an area that's alive and living, the better.



Zel: So what do you think is the main reason or motive for moving things out of KAVHA, as you were saying, and moving them up to Burnt Pine? Why do you think that's been happening?

Dids: Well, they thought for convenience for a start, which I think was a misnomer. But then as I say, in places like the Liquor Bond, you know, had no storage or anything like that down there. Philatelic used to be down there, yeah, that got moved up town sort of just – I don't know, may have been for a lack of room or whatever. There have been varying reasons why things have been pushed into the CBD, as I call Burnt Pine. Whereas I think if they were kept in Kingston they – or give people a choice. You can go to Telecom in the CBD but you can also go down to Kingston as well. I know manning it and all of those sort of – money involved and all of that sort of stuff as well, but sometimes money isn't everything. Other times money is everything.



Sarah: What are your thoughts on the site's management and interpretation?

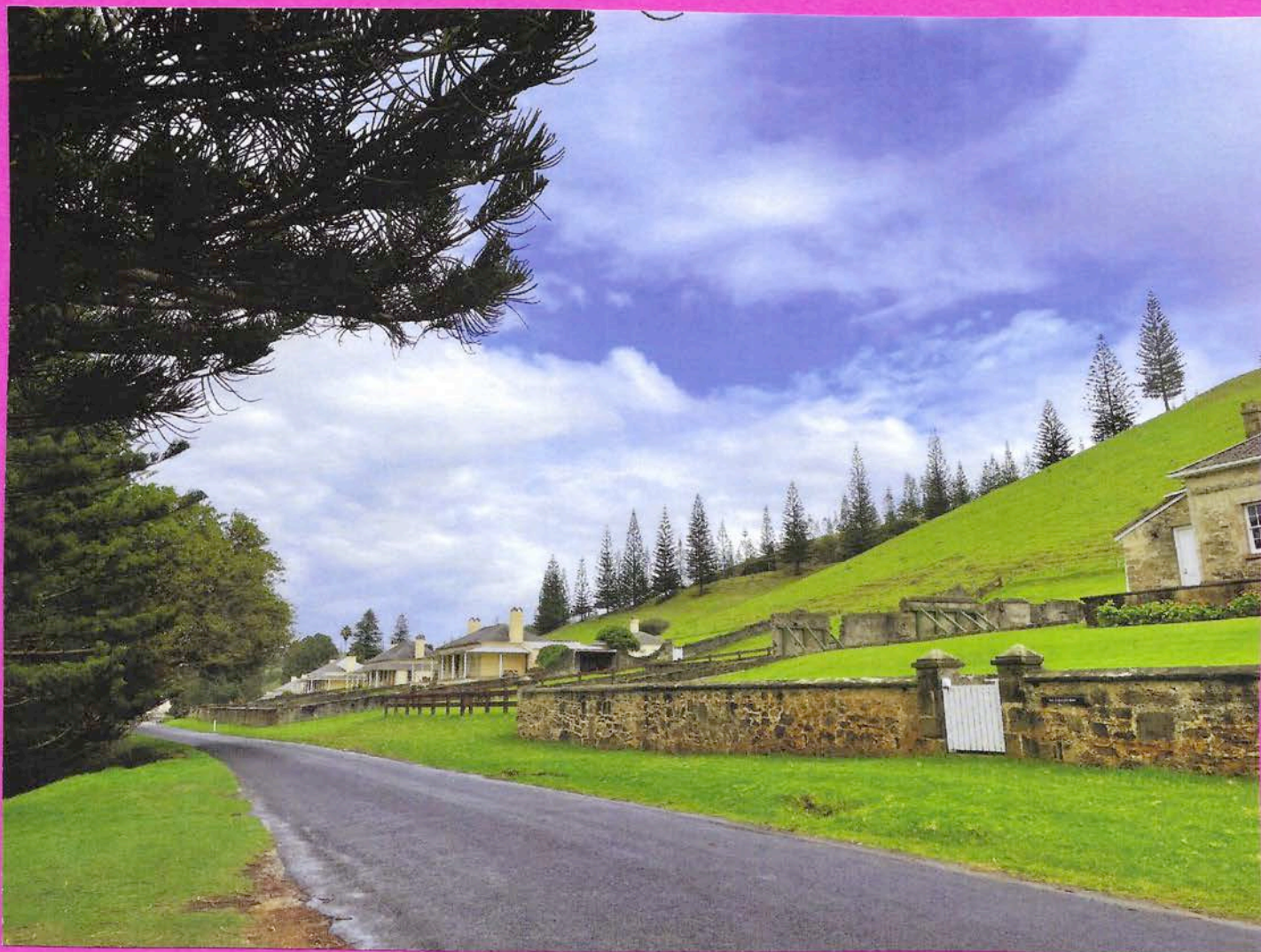
Dids: In a site such as KAVHA, you need continuity in the site's management. You've got to have that basic background knowledge of how has this evolved? What are the steps that have been taken? Were decisions made well? How do we progress from here well on a conservation side, but then in the community sphere as well? Because the community must be a part of things that happen in KAVHA, whatever interpretation is down there it needs to have sort of equal balance between what happens with the Polynesians, what happened in the two English settlements, and post-1856 needs more interpretation, you know?

And sometimes it's difficult, because – I can't think of the right word. When you just know it? Intangible! The intangible things that are so much a part of KAVHA, you know. You've got so many tangible things, but there are also many, many, many intangible things. And they're hard to put onto a sign. They are hard to portray to someone unless that person actually sees a Bounty Day parade. It's very hard to explain a Bounty Day parade without saying, 'Oh well, they get dressed up in period costume and they march from the pier to the cemetery'. It doesn't paint the picture. You've actually got to experience it. And that's just one example that I'm giving you of the intangible things that are so important within KAVHA. And there are things that Norfolk Island community holds so, so dear to their heart.

Zel: Yeah, it's really important. Yeah.

Sarah: I think that, like you say, the intangible is sometimes much harder to capture, but it's so important to the way in which the site is lived. But also understood by others.

Zel: And its significance, like the heritage significance, as you were saying, is not just in the buildings and not just in the periods of time that are maybe more represented there, but then in all these other experiences or stories and attachments that people have to – and it's like continuing –



Dids: Well, so many island families lived in the area. Even if they didn't live there permanently, they used to go down and camp in the old buildings and things like that. And there are things that have been passed down from generation to generation as well. So they're very important activities that have actually helped promote our culture and our tradition and keeping those things alive as well.

I hope that, as time goes by, with interpretation, we get to tell a heck of a lot more of the story post-1856. And as a member of the KAVHA Advisory Committee, I try and do my best to promote those things.

Kingston was freedom.
Children could walk there
and spend all day without
any adult supervision.
"Be home by sunset" was
the only rule. Swimming,
rock clunking, exploring
convict tunnels, old buildings,
wells and trees. Take care
of those who are younger
Do not hurt yourself or
the consequences could
be dire.



Kingston was always referred to as 'in town' by my family

~ Millie Walden

My great great grandfather, John (Diddar) Buffett, my great grandparents Emily Evangeline (Buffett) and George Rowland St. Clair Evans, my great great Aunt Eveline Helena "Eva" Buffett, my grandparents, Ida and Oscar Olsson and my father Jim Olsson all lived 'in town' at No 7 Quality Row.

My dad spent all his childhood living at No 7 Quality Row and always referred to the area as 'in town'.

No 7 Quality Row, Kingston was allocated to John (Diddar) Buffett in 1856 on his arrival from Pitcairn Island. John Buffett died on Norfolk Island on 23 June 1906.

Aunt Eva never married and looked after her father as well as raising her niece, Ida Ethelyn Evans (my grandmother) and her nephew George (D'wud) Rowland Evans at No 7 when their mother Emily Evangeline Evans died in 1899 aged 46.

When John (Diddar) Buffett died in 1906, No 7 Quality Row was passed on to his daughter Eveline Helena "Eva" Buffett who was born on Pitcairn Island in 1849. My father Jim Olsson spoke with the deepest affection of Aunt Eva.

Ida and her children (my dad and two brothers) continued to live at No 7 Quality Row until Ida died on 23 June 1947. The Lease was then given up at No. 7 Quality Row and my Dad and his brothers moved into his Mum's house opposite the Cenotaph. He lived there until 1956 when he moved his family to Cascade Road.

My grandmother Ida Olsson and her three boys Jim, Max and Bruce on the steps of No. 7 Quality Row



My father always referred to Kingston as 'in town'. A few examples of what Dad used to say are:

Bounty Day

To play cricket

To the beach

Thanksgiving day

'yorlye gen in town des dae fu Bounty?'

'wi gen in town play cricket'

'wi gen in town go narwi'

'wi gen in town fu thanksgiving day service'

When visiting Uncle Bruce at the family home up from the cenotaph: *'wi gen visit Uncle Bruce in town'*

Dad use to take our family fishing on many occasions at Setta Point, in town.

Aunt Eva holding my Uncle Bruce, D'Wud Evans and his brother Edwin Evans holding my dad Jim Olsson. The photo is taken at No. 7 Quality Row.



The following are extracts taken from Aunt Eva's diary written in the early 1900s where she refers to Kingston as 'in town':

5.10.1908

Betty Buffett, Martha Buffett in town with me

Dec 1908

My sister Ida go out to Mrs Elliotts to work in town

1 January 1909

Allen and his family came down in our old home in town

5 May 1909

*Man of War came in early.
A ball in the club room in town.
Four in the morning, etc. etc. ...*

19 October 1909

*At Home in Town getting ready to go to
Steeles point*

October 21, 1909

*We are in Town still in our house facing
Emily Bay.*

There are many more times 'in town' is written in Aunt Eva's diary but I am just pointing out that it was always referred to as "in town" back then.

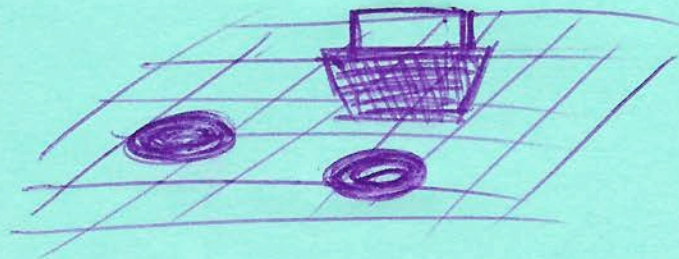
Many years ago it used to be "in Town" and "up Country" – meaning you were either in Kingston or up at Burnt Pine.



Narwi
α

Freedom

Picnic

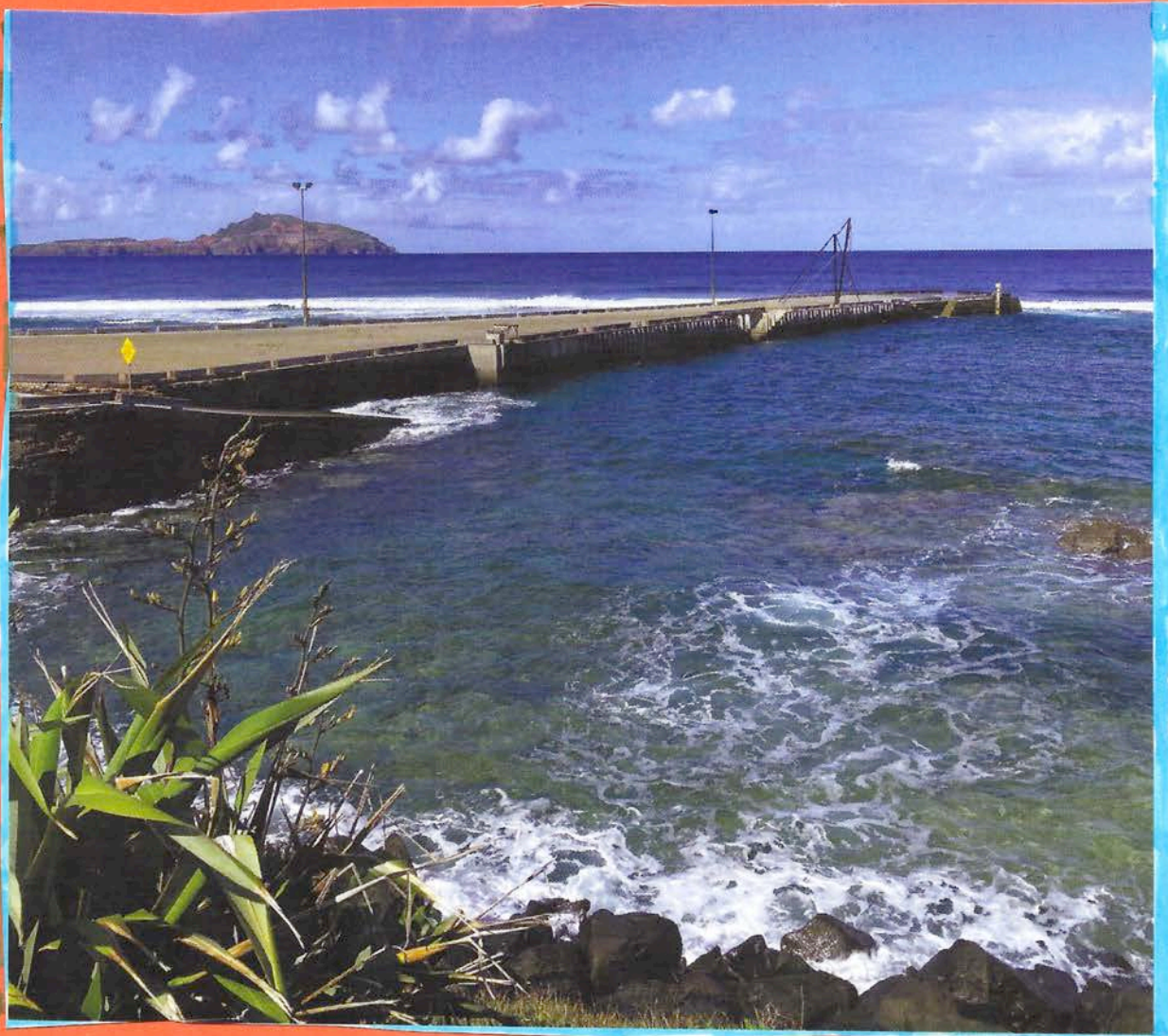


Kingston: a place like no other.
Family adventures, laughter, joy,
loving memories, that everyone on
Norfolk share and echo through
the ages. Generations past and
generations yet to come. May
they long continue.

God bless all aklan.

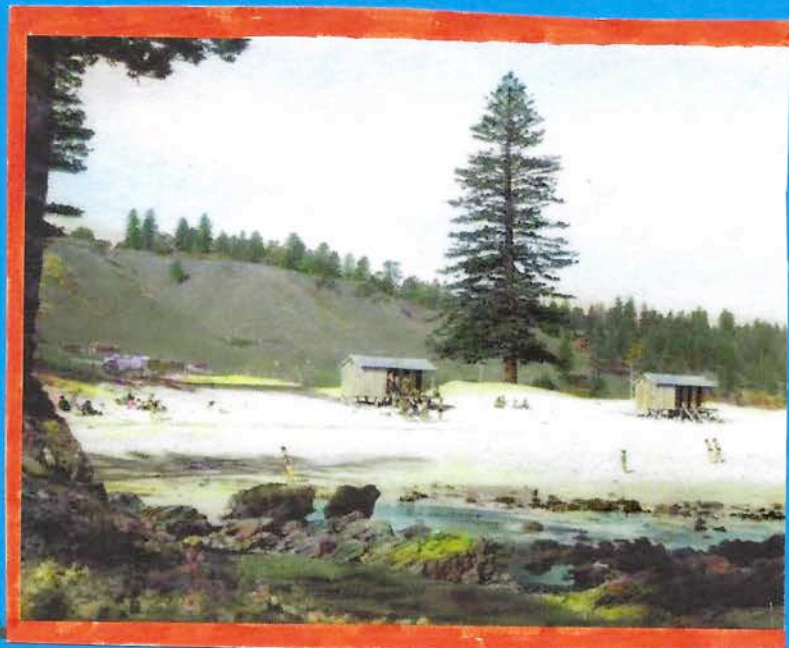


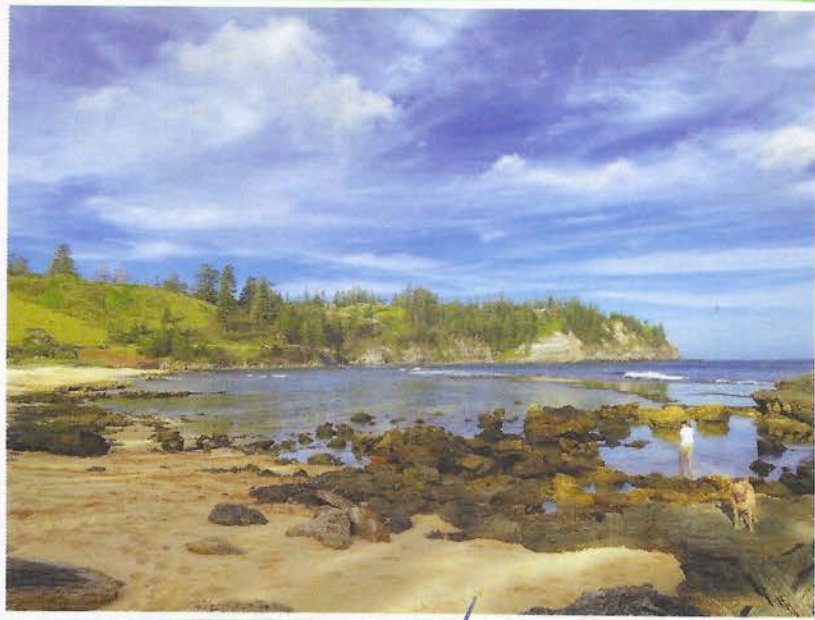
Shipping





Bliss -

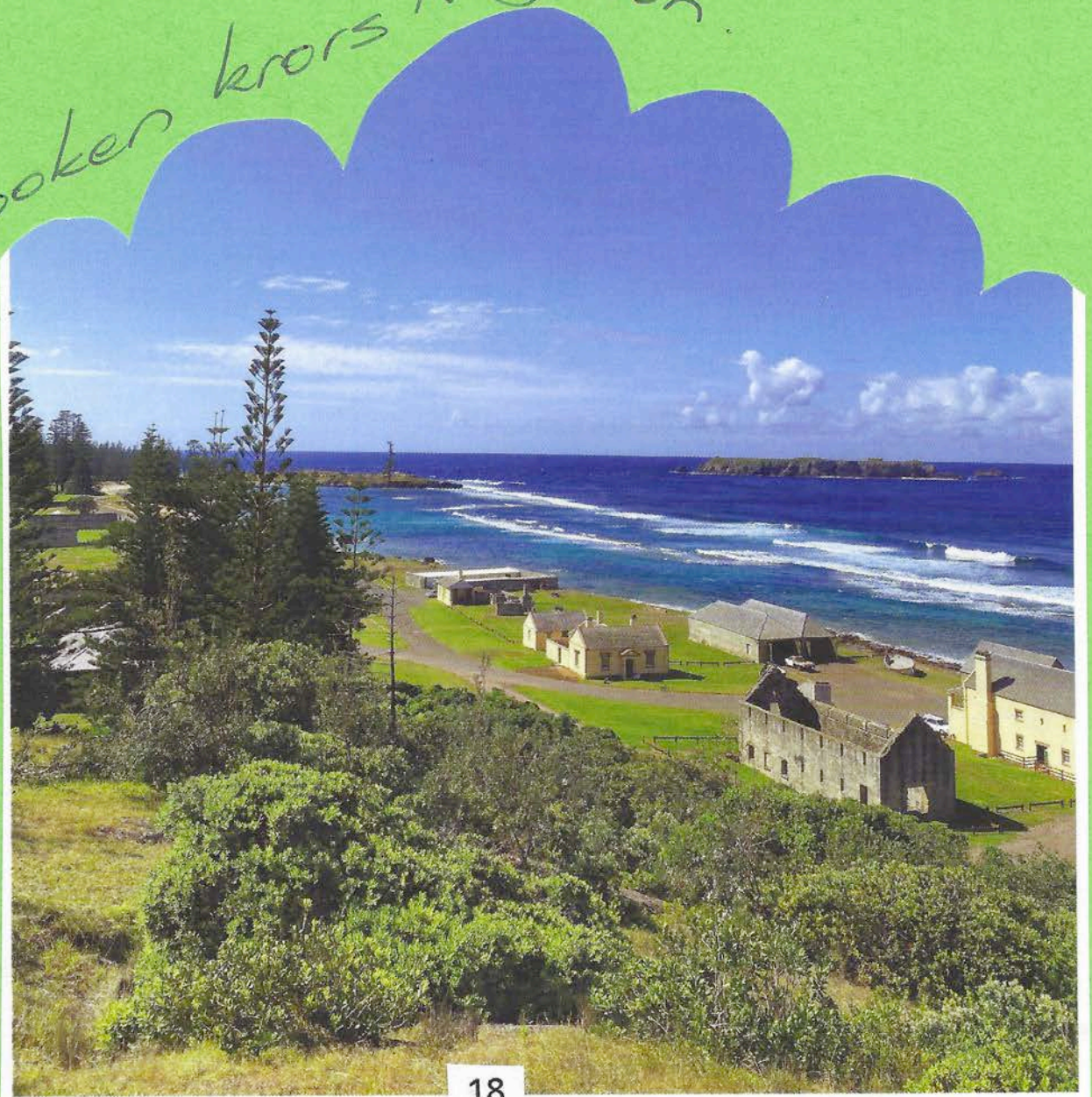




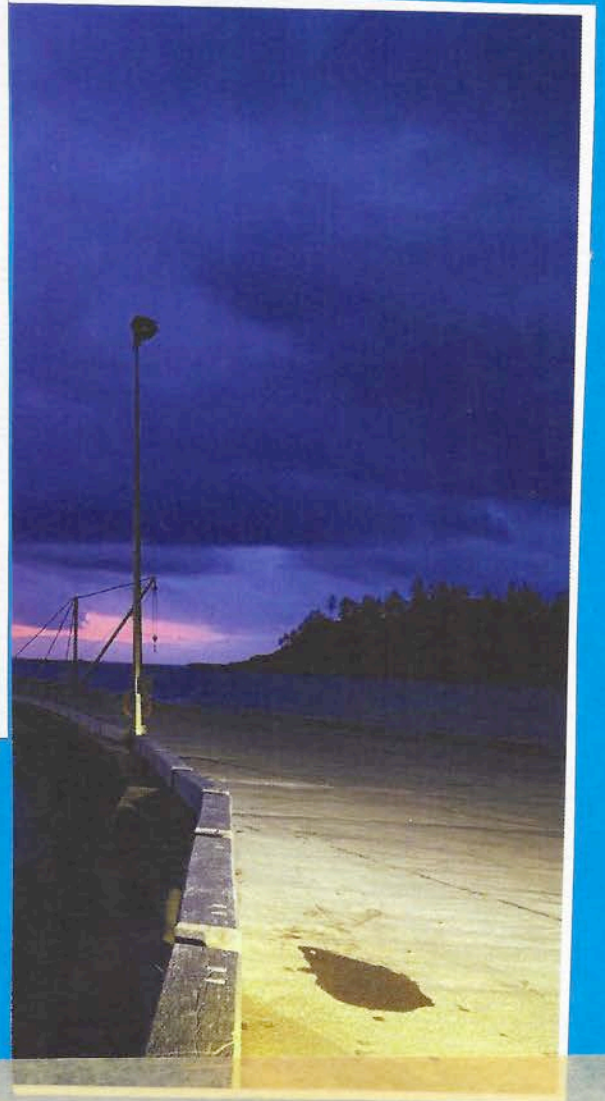
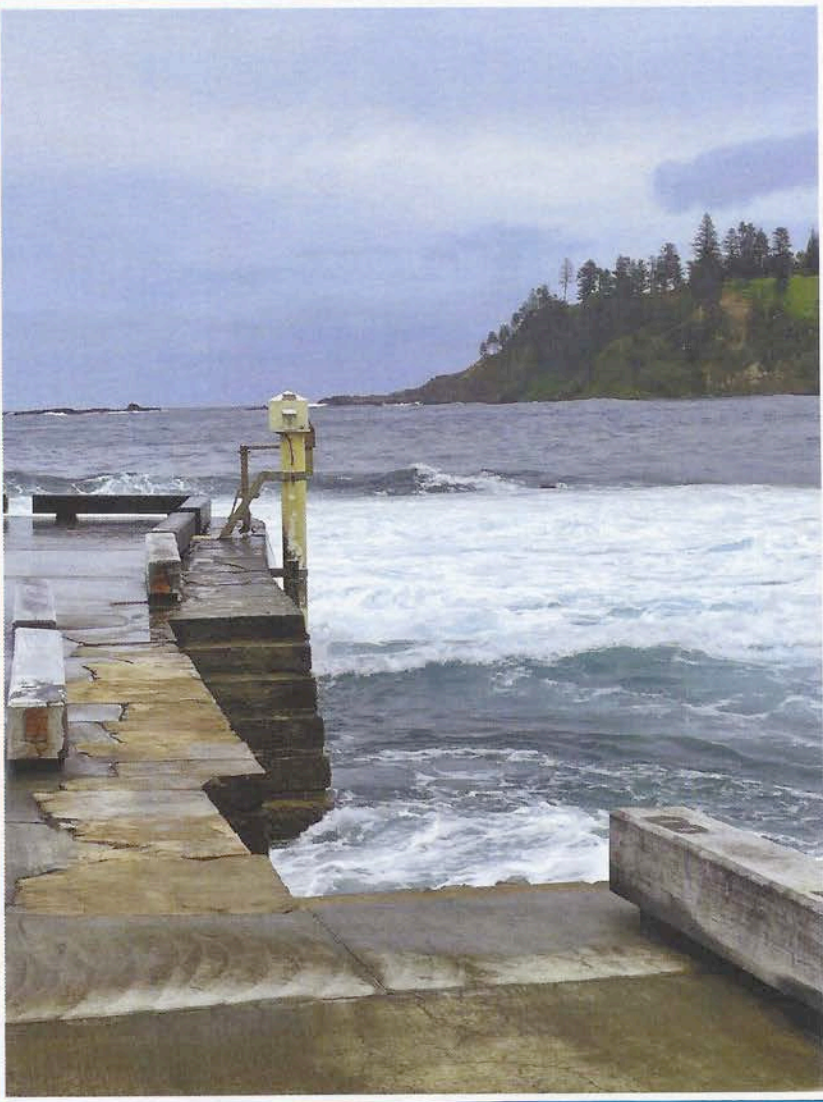
The cemetery
reef. Gudrar
f' aatuti,
slepri dohle,
swaelduudl,
oeti, gaafish

In Town!

Looken krors Kingston!



*Damen au
Paya*



Om sunset

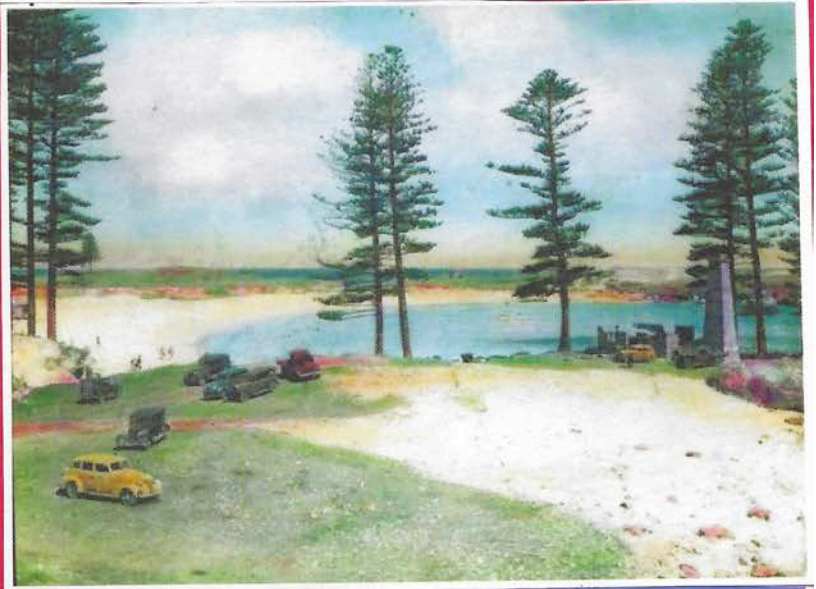
En in Kingston



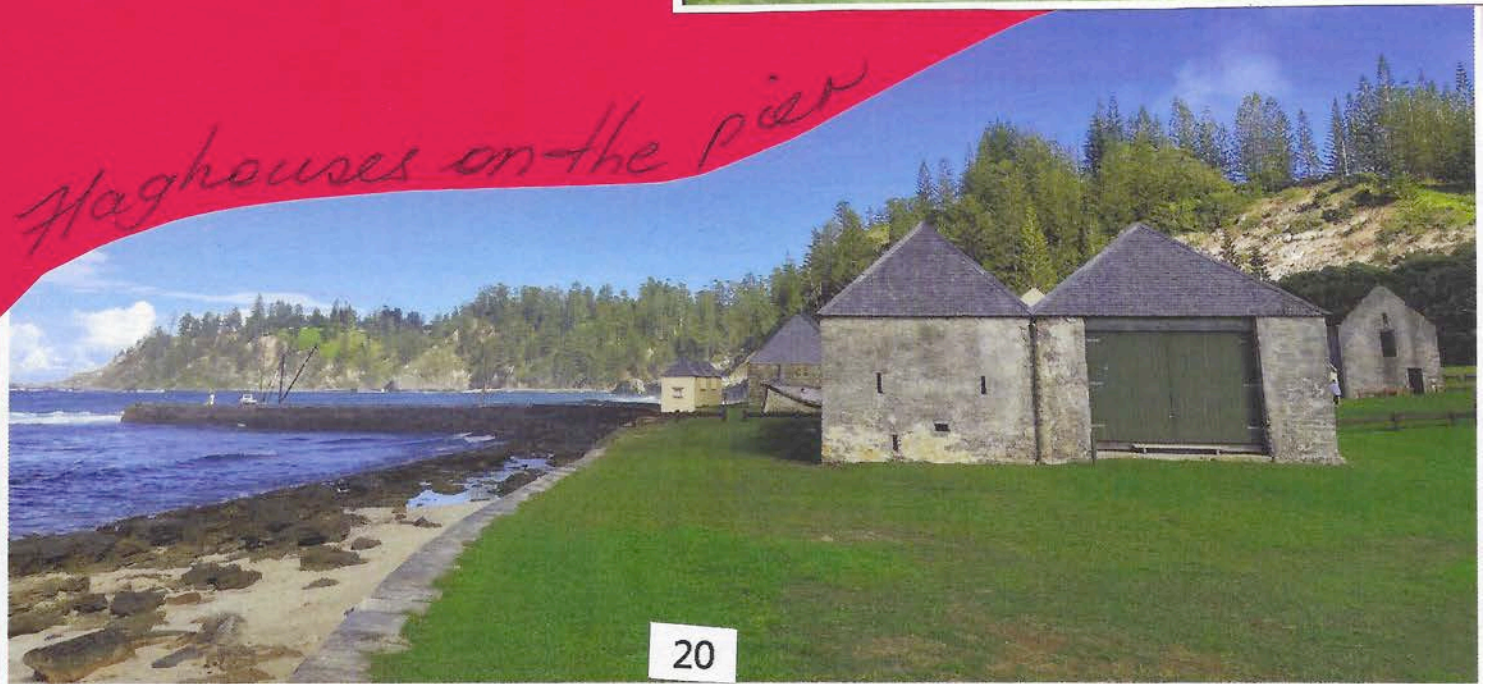


Werken a'shep

Emily Bay



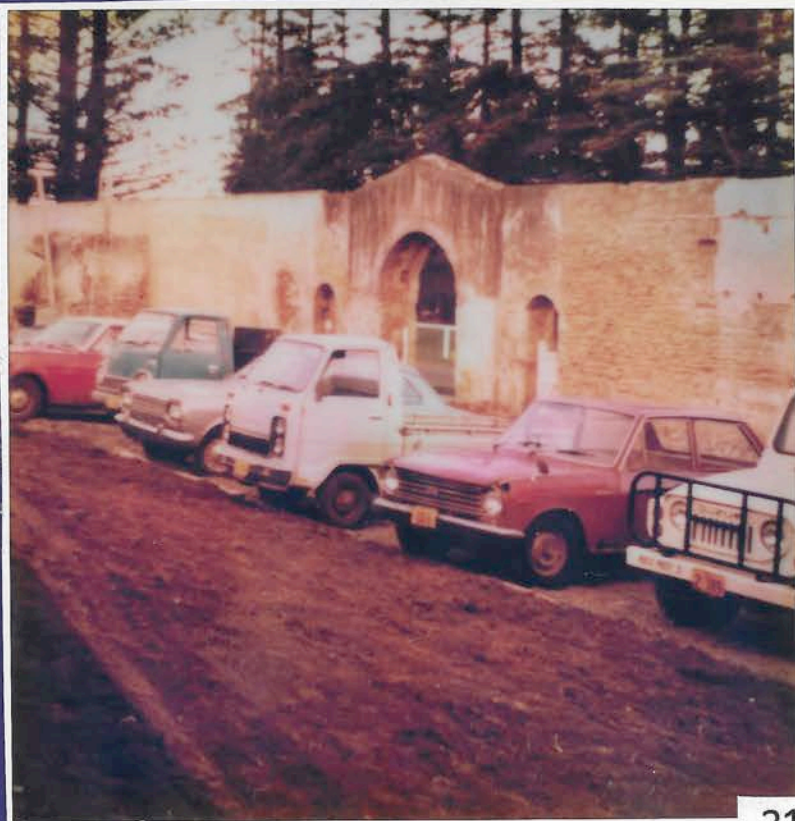
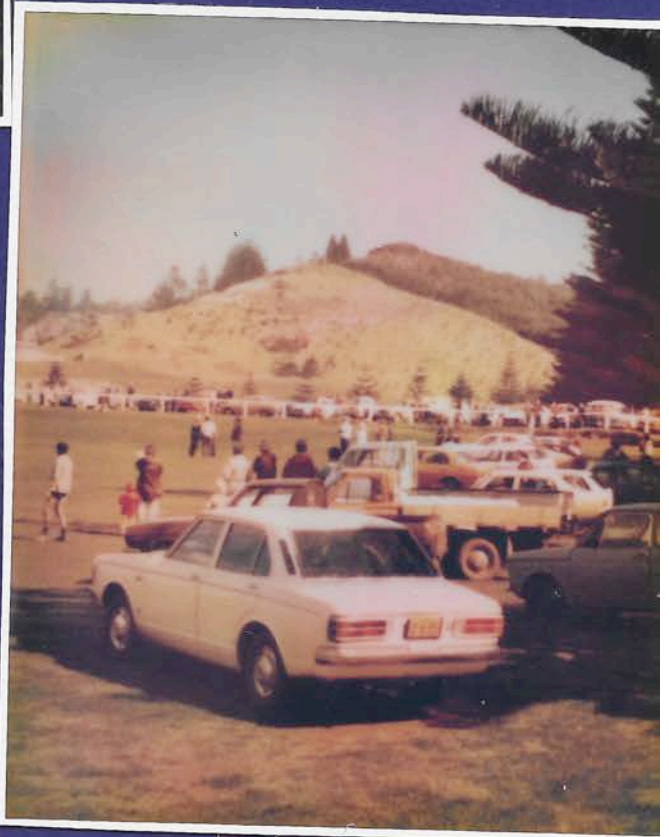
Haghouses on the pier





Camping
in
Town

Football
C'mon the REDS



Herbert
@ the
Assembly

EEN
TOWN



Uckoo's Pool

SIDE W1
GO NARW1
EEN
SUMMA

NARWEE

CAMPEN



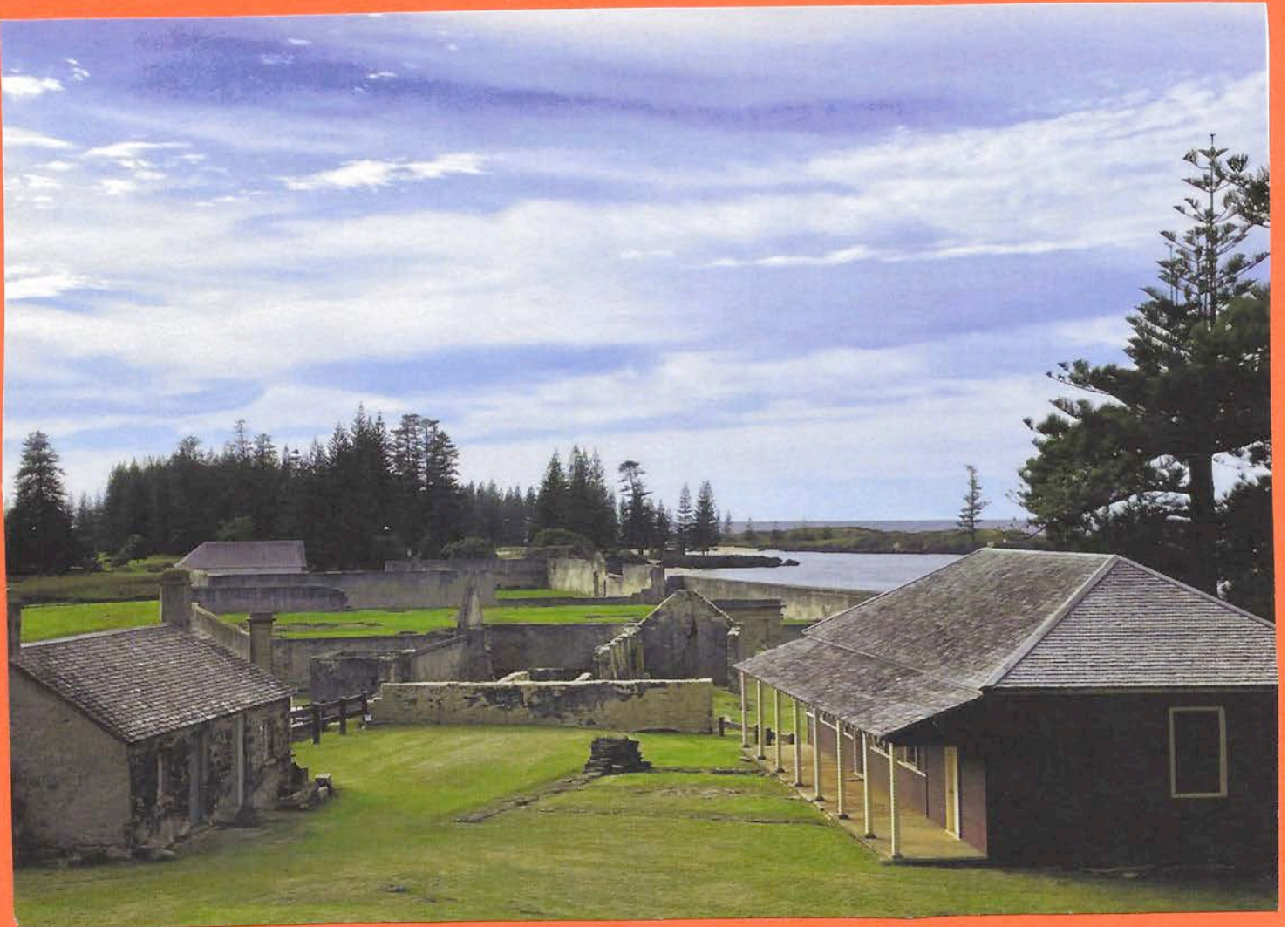
H H



BAMBOO RODS

DUNGEONS

MAIS' BAEK YAAD



MAIS FAS MEMRI 'TAUN HAET' BII
WEN WI QU NAWI DAUN EMILY BIEH.
LORNGA MAIS DAED EN HI WANT
AKLAN LET'L SALAN BRICH IIN WAN
INA TUBE EN HI TOW AKLAN ABOUT.
AI DIED F' FRAED F' DEM SAF

GOE F' HAYSE

NARWI EN PIK A
Hi Hi

FISHEN EN FAN

BOUNTY

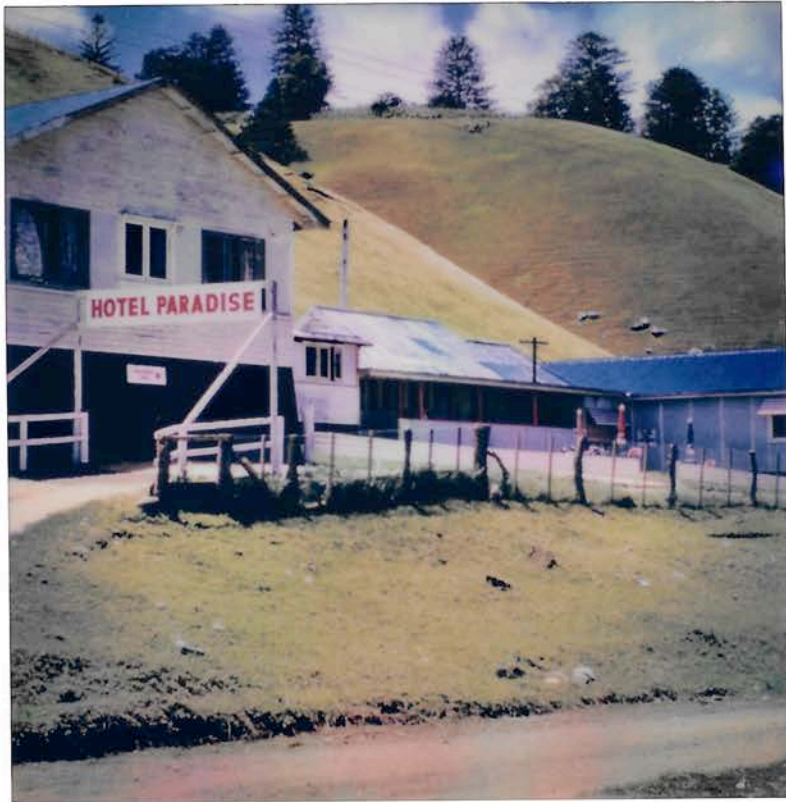


MYSE FUSS MEMORY
OF BEING EEN TAUN
ES ORN BOUNTY DAY
WITH MYSE MUM

Myse fus memories,
learnen fus swim by
Messes Norman,
amazing lady. Admins
wife.



Myse
Moos Beloved
Memory
es diggen a Sand crab
down Emily Bayen
putten et een one
bucket long family



First memory would
be of Paradise
every Friday night
when it was 'open
NIGHT'



My very first memory of Kingston was riding on Dad's motor-bike with Mum & Dad to clean All Saints Church. Our family cleaned in March from my Great Grandmother Ma Lina to my Great Aunt Edith, my mother Dottie, sister & sister in-law Joy en Rozzie, to my daughter Chelsea en me!

Conversation with
Arthur Evans,
11 June 2021



The conversation with Arthur began at the Kingston pier.

Sarah: So we're starting here at the pier. What are the key things we should know about the pier?

Arthur: Well, it's been the landing area for the last three settlements and the Polynesians most likely arrived in the town area as well. All four settlements have been here: the Polynesian Settlement, Colonial Settlement, Penal Settlement, Pitcairn Settlement. So down here, this is where it all begins, for us anyway. So that second lot of steps you've got here, that's where the Pitcairners arrived in 1856 and they sent one of the Christian family ashore with a sick child and they were the first to come ashore. They started offloading from early in the morning and it took until 2 o'clock in the afternoon before they had everybody offloaded and they took a while to offload their belongings as well. So the Pitcairn Islanders brought their previous life with them. On 8th of June 1856 our families arrived, and my great-grandmother, who was a three-year-old girl, she arrived up these steps wearing a hat. I've still got that hat.

Zel: Wow, that's amazing.

Arthur: So I'm only third generation from the Pitcairn Arrival. She married Roland Evans and had my grandfather. Anyway, comes down to me. These steps are well-known to all the community. I've been up and down those hundreds and hundreds of times. My father was Owen Evans, the botanist who did the work on Phillip Island, camped out there for – I don't know, 30 years off and on and eight months fulltime. My mother Beryl assisted Owen, So that's my parents. I was dragged out there as a kid to assist. Then when I got old enough to stand my ground I wouldn't go because it was an unpleasant experience being stuck out there away from all my friends and everything. But it grounded me in natural history, all things botany.

Sarah: Incredible.

Arthur: Of course, this pier is where we come to fish, not for pleasure as Lord Loftus, the Governor of New South Wales, might have stated in 1884. 'These lazy Pitcairners spend their afternoons on the beach fishing when they should be working and doing something productive'. He had no idea that we were catching food. Just the European eyes looking at a Polynesian culture with no knowledge or experience about how a different culture works. But I can't stress enough how different our culture is to European culture west from here.

Still standing on the pier, we all turn our attention to Slaughter Bay.

Arthur: This reef out here, this has been our playground and my memories of this, going back to my earliest memories, playing on here and using a little thread of cotton, catching fish in the pool. One of the old island residents, Mary Joe Nobbs who used to live with us in the Engineer Office, she'd bring me down here and give me a bit of cotton with a tiny little hook and show me how to break open the periwinkles, or 'hihi' we call it, to catch the fish, the tiny little fish. And I was a little kid, so excited, I was about three years old. Anyway -



Sarah: So the hihi was bait?

Arthur: Yeah, so crabs and hihi's, they're the best bait for the rockfish. Of course, my house was that building just there, the Royal Engineer Office.

We begin walking toward the Royal Engineer Office.

Sarah: Oh wow! The REO was where you were living?

Arthur: So from age zero – well, I wasn't actually born here. Mum was washed off the rocks when they were fishing and almost had a miscarriage, so she was flown away to New Zealand where I was born. But I was home again within five weeks and back into the house here. Mum and Dad were living here before I was born but continued living here for the first four years of my life. My bedroom's the room on the right there as you go in. There are all sorts of stories about down at Kingston here and ghosts. Being of Polynesian descent as we all are, you're superstitious about people of the past, about the spirits. Growing up we were all scared of ghosts – I don't know about these days but when we were growing up everyone was scared of ghosts, what they might do. Mum used to tell of the time – many times she said I'm in this room in my cot and I was on the wall on the far side, on the left-hand side as you go in the room, and I'd be crying, and she would come in and my dummy would be across the other side of the room. She said I was only just months old, and I couldn't throw it and she used to be worried there was a ghost in there that was taking it out of my mouth and throwing it away. There are ghosts associated with this building. A ghost of a young girl from the penal days who was murdered.



Sarah: I guess that's the REO's interpretation plaque there. Is there anything on that plaque that mentions -

Arthur: I've never read this plaque.

We walk over to the interpretive sign by the REO.

Arthur: See they've got 'second settlement' there which is wrong. It says here "The Royal Engineers Office was built in 1850 and 1851 towards the end of the Second Settlement. Prior to this, the Royal Engineers worked from the carpenter's shop located on the same site. Built during the time of Commandant Price, the Royal Engineers Office is a good example of a Georgian style military building of the mid nineteenth century'. So there's mistakes straight away. Second settlement. That wasn't the second settlement of Norfolk Island. It doesn't take into account the Polynesians who were here earlier. I've asked them for a long time not to classify in a numbered order and to use the name so that tourists and others aren't confused. It's in the name of a settlement, you know straight away which one you're talking about. It completely confuses many people with the numbering. Is it a true numbering? No, there may have been people here before the Polynesians. Take away that incorrect numbering system that's used and you can add another settlement if necessary -

Sarah: As a descriptor.

Arthur: As a descriptor so you can say Polynesian settlement, colonial settlement, penal settlement, Pitcairn settlement and then maybe Melanesian Mission settlement etc.

Zel: All distinct.

Arthur: The Melanesian Mission coming here in 1866, that was a big part of our island history, and it was a large settlement on Norfolk Island.

Sarah: Did the Melanesian Mission have much presence in Kingston and Arthur's Vale because I don't remember ever seeing -

Arthur: That was their building there.

Zel: Oh, the boat shed.

Arthur: The left boat shed was the Mission shed. That was where they kept their boat. So the double boat shed. The left-hand side was the mission side, and I don't know whether there's a plaque on that but according to Rob Varman, who did a lot of the archaeological digging, he thinks that's based on the remains of a colonial settlement building. The evidence is of the burnt stone when they burnt the buildings, there's burnt stone in the foundations of that building.



Sarah: I notice this sign for the REO really doesn't have very much about the Pitcairn settlement.

Arthur: Yeah, it says, 'The Pitcairn settlers used the building as a residence. In 1897 the Police Constable, John Buffett, lived there'. So that was my great-great-grandfather, John Buffett -

Sarah: Oh, that was your great-great-grandfather! Wow.

Arthur: Yeah. 'The office was the residence of the Signal Master between 1919-1948. Internal timber linings, added by the Pitcairners, still remain'.

Sarah: So, your parents must have moved in there some time after 1948?

Arthur: Yeah, so about the time my sister was born, she's three years older than me, so about 1952. Sorry, no, it was after that because Mum and Dad lived in New Zealand for a couple of years so about the time I was born, about 1954. So they moved in here about that time.

Sarah: What would the process have been around that time to gain a residence in one of the

Arthur: Easy.

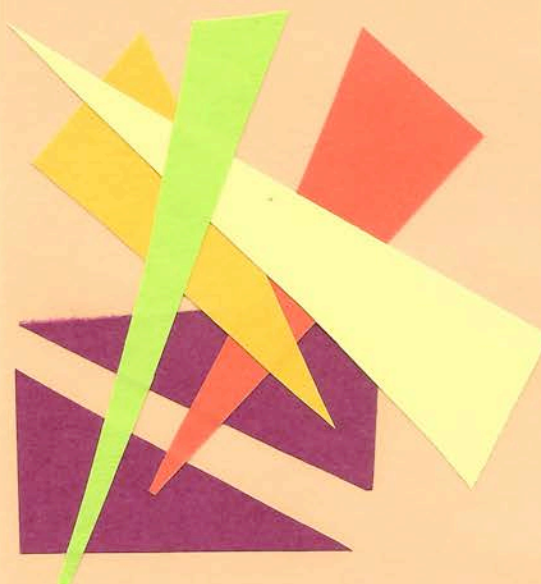
Sarah: - buildings down at Kingston?

Arthur: So you're getting married, you've got a child another coming, you go and see the Administrator at his office and say you need somewhere to live and he'll go through and just assess which buildings are vacant and he'll allocate a building to you. That's as easy as that. Yeah, a lot of people lived in the Surgeon's Quarters up there, different families. After us, some years after us at the REO the Conaghan family were in here.

Sarah: They were the last family, I think, weren't they?

Arthur: They were, and they were here for longer than we were. We were here for about four years and my years going to school with the Conaghan family, this is where they lived all that time. I think it was still - I don't know, about 1980 or something that Noni moved out. Somewhere there, I don't know the date.

Zel: Yeah, and that's really not that long ago that there were people living here.



Arthur: Yeah, so, 'the settlers used the building as a residence'. The sign is pretty vague. Anyway, not that I expect to see the residents' names on there, but you could say on there 'different families of Pitcairn Islanders used this as their home'.

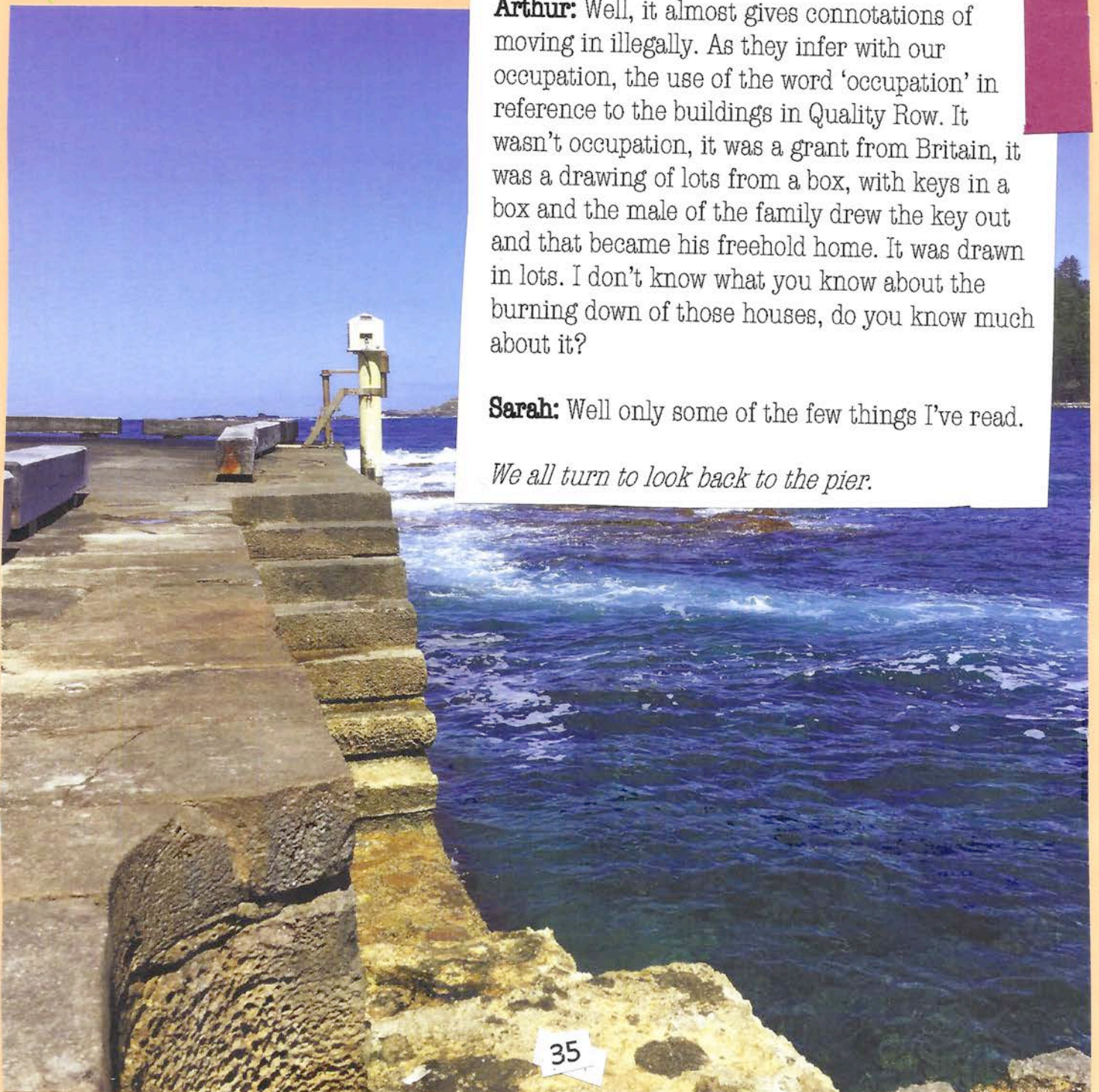
Zel: Yeah, doesn't really say how it was used, just says changes that were made.

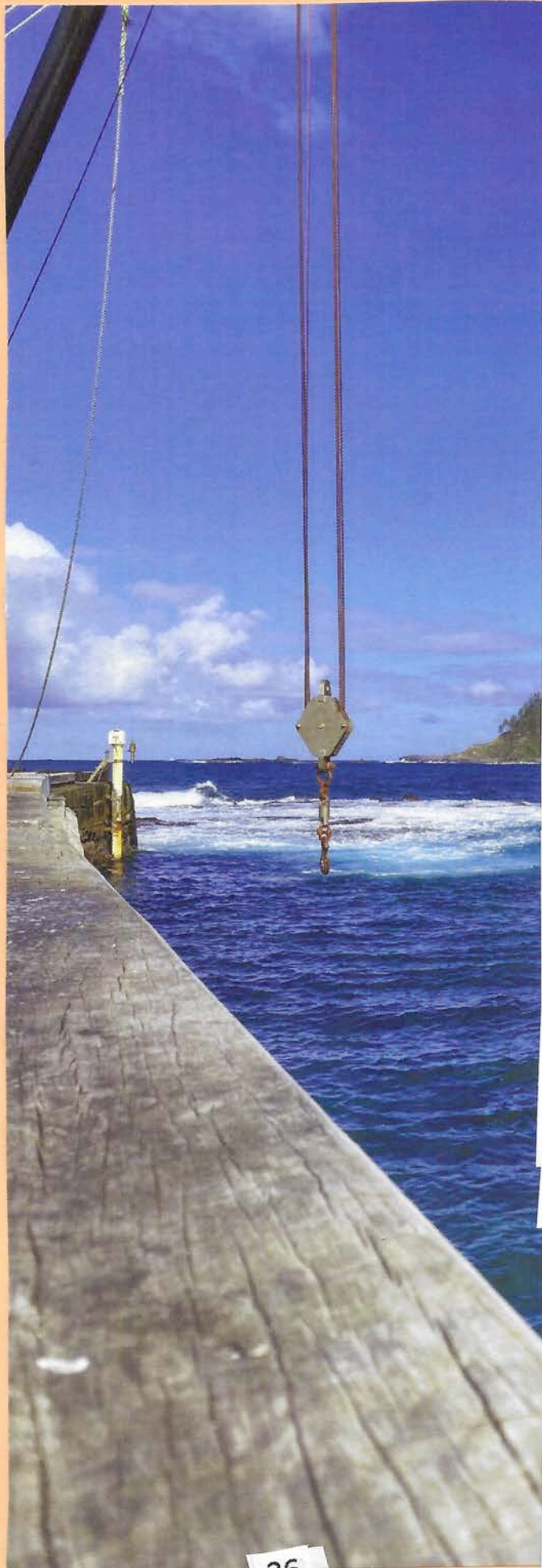
Sarah: And 'residence' is an interesting word, isn't it, as opposed to home?

Arthur: Well, it almost gives connotations of moving in illegally. As they infer with our occupation, the use of the word 'occupation' in reference to the buildings in Quality Row. It wasn't occupation, it was a grant from Britain, it was a drawing of lots from a box, with keys in a box and the male of the family drew the key out and that became his freehold home. It was drawn in lots. I don't know what you know about the burning down of those houses, do you know much about it?

Sarah: Well only some of the few things I've read.

We all turn to look back to the pier.



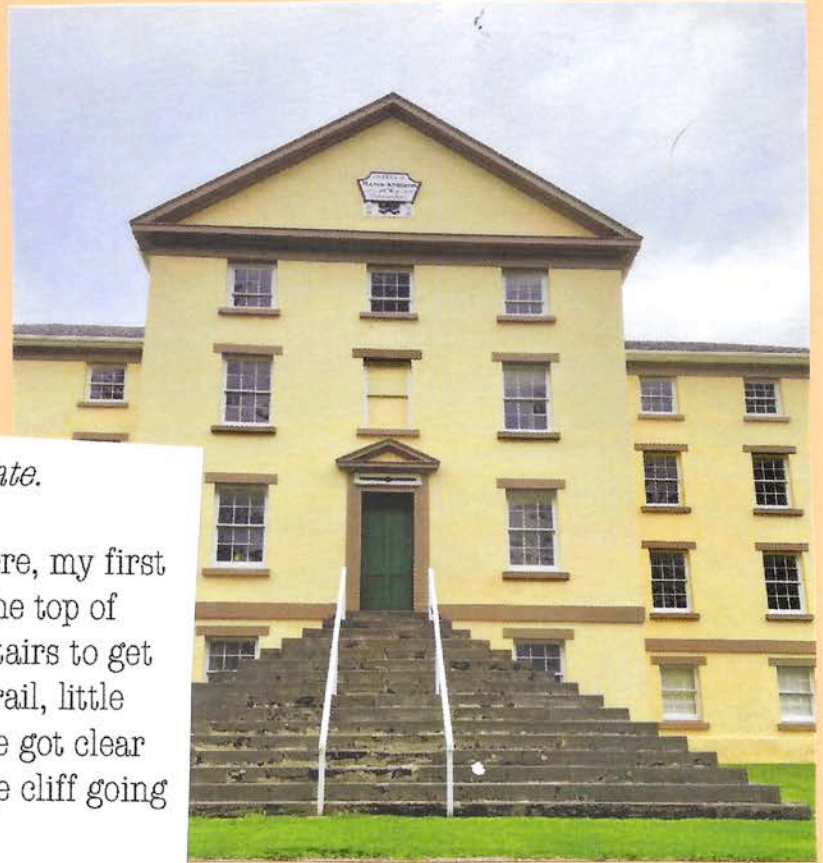
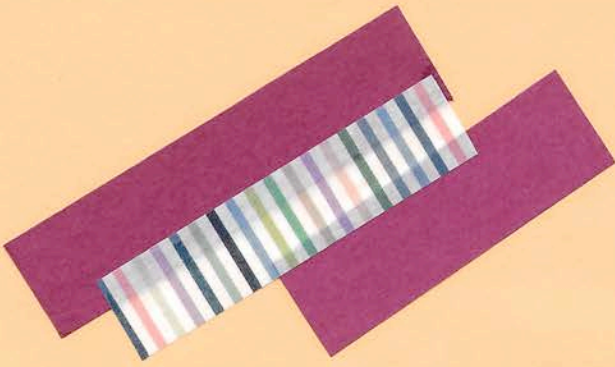


Arthur: Okay, so this pier again, in 1908 the Australian army arrived with guns and bayonets and when they were rowing in they hid the guns in the floor of the boats and when they stepped up on those steps, the ones I just showed you, carrying their guns, the Pitcairn Islanders who had come to greet them stood back on the far side and sang hymns and they thought they were all going to be killed. The community was just distraught, and they sang hymns and the army walked along up to Quality Row and went along saying to the residents with guns and bayonets, poked at the residents and owners of the homes, 'you either sign this document which is a lease document or you move out right now'. My family signed the document and they were there until 1946 and most of the others moved out on that day, weren't allowed to get their belongings, moved out immediately, the doors were locked and the army deputised six of the men from the Boer War, Norfolk Islanders, and said 'you must keep the people out of those houses'. They said, 'we can't do that'. And they were told, 'if you don't, you're going to be gaoled'.

Those six men were denied membership of this community for the rest of their lives. Today I know the families and some of those families still talk about not being a part of their community because their forefathers were deputised constables to keep us out of our homes. So it split the community. Dad used to often say - I won't say their name, but so-and-so's coming down the road and my grandfather would look at Dad and say 'look the other way, boy. Don't look at them'. So it was horrific.

Sarah: I did read one account of an old lady who was brought out of one of the homes on her bed because she was -

Arthur: That's in the old military barracks, one of the Bataille family. She couldn't walk, she'd been bedridden for 10 years and the army lifted the bed up and carted her out, put her on the street with belongings under the bed and left her in the middle of the street just laying in the street.



Looking up Pier Street toward Middlegate.

Arthur: The Commissariat Store up there, my first memories of that is being petrified of the top of those stairs, having to walk down the stairs to get out of church. Trying to hold onto the rail, little kid, you can't hold onto the rail and I've got clear memories of being petrified of this huge cliff going down from the church.

Sarah: It's a steep set of stairs!

Arthur: Oh, it is. As a little kid – this would have been when we were living down the Royal Engineer Office – it was daunting.

Sarah: So when you were living at the Royal Engineer Office how many other families were still living down in Kingston -

Arthur: The Surgeon's Quarters, there was Maggie Tom and her guest house -

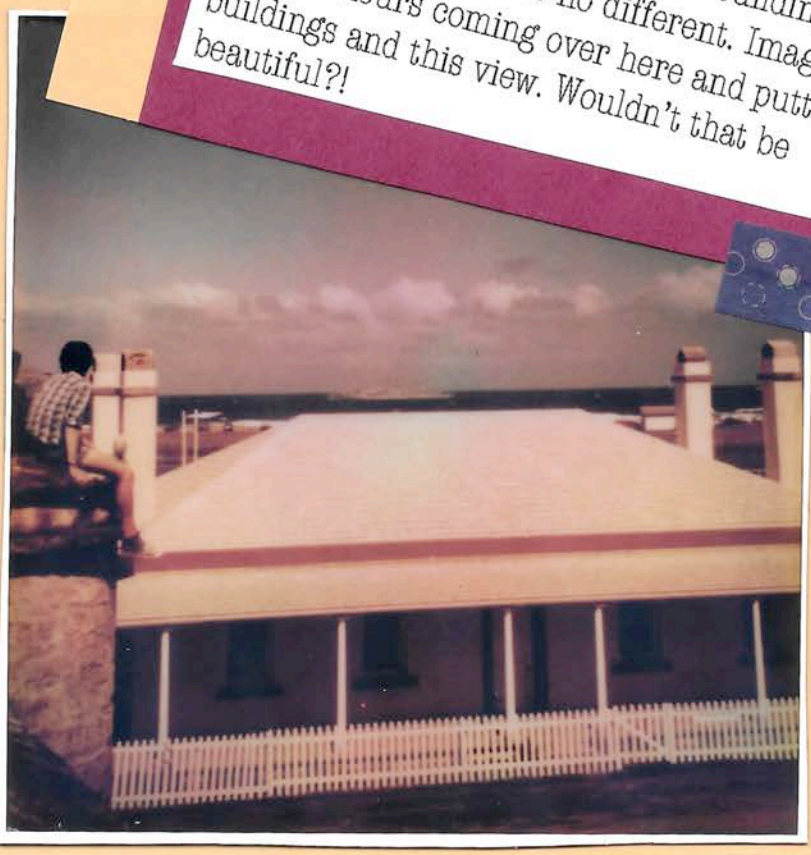
Sarah: The Liquor Bond was still here?

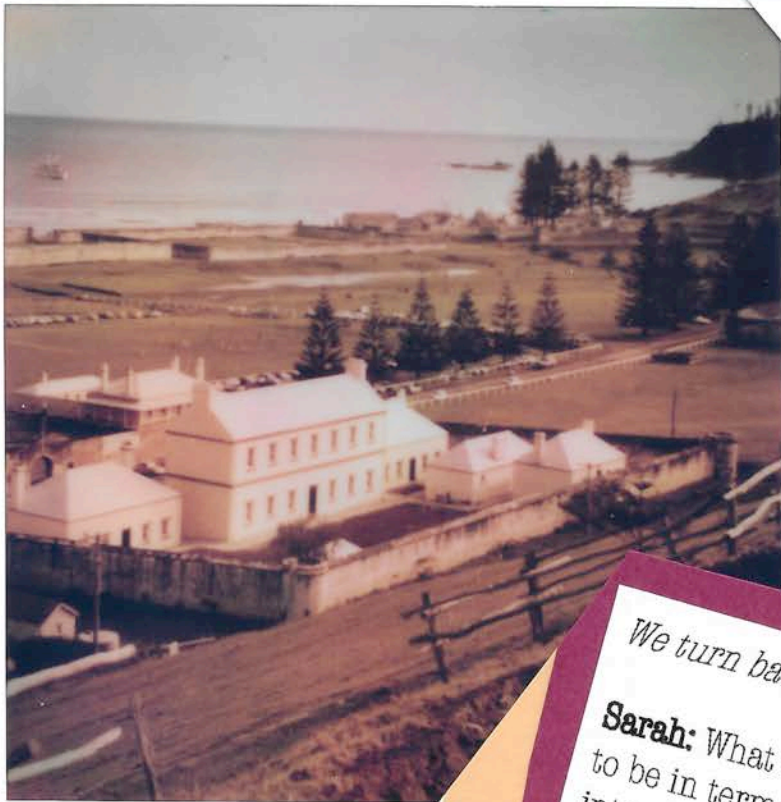
Arthur: Oh yeah, Liquor Bond was here for a long time. Lots of stories on Norfolk Island about the Liquor Bond and they're not published anywhere.



Sarah: What do you think has been done well in the interpretation of the site?

Arthur: Recognition of the British history, that's been done fairly well. Recognition of the Pitcairn history, very poorly. Look, the two British settlements total in years, 56 years. Colonial settlement, penal settlement, both, in total, 56 years. I've been on Norfolk Island and associated with this for 66 years, just me. 170 years, our history in total, and it's shameful that these stories of us aren't on these buildings. We've kept it alive, we've maintained them and believe me if we were a rich nation of people we would have knocked these down and had high-rise buildings here. But we weren't, we were poor, we were just growing crops basically just to feed ourselves, and maintaining what we've got here. And that's why Australia's got their best example of colonial past, it is because we weren't rich. Believe me, you look at Gold Coast and places like that, you look at Sydney, where all those buildings have been taken down and all these new high-rise buildings put up. I'm sure this would be no different. Imagine the entrepreneurs coming over here and putting up buildings and this view. Wouldn't that be beautiful?!





We turn back and walk toward the pier.

Sarah: What would you like the future of Kingston to be in terms of how it's managed and also the interpretation?

Zel: If you were in charge, what would you do for this area?

Arthur: I'd like to see the British history celebrated here, and if Australians want to, they can come over and celebrate the 6th of March, the foundation of Norfolk Island here, with your colonial past in Australia, that's fine. But not to the expense of losing any recognition of the Pitcairners. So I'd promote the fact that the Pitcairners here and I'd promote the fact that the Pitcairners and various families have lived in these buildings. Not necessarily put their names there but you could put Evans or whatever and just create more of a sense of this being the hub of our community. So for many, many years, this was the hub of our town, town is here. This is town. There'd be a lot more recognition of Pitcairn history around, I can tell you. I'd like to take you to No. 7 before we finish.

We return to the car to drive to No. 7 Quality Row.

Arthur: No. 7's the one just before that roadway there on the left, you can park in that roadway if you like or across the road.

We park opposite No. 7 and, sitting in the car out of the wind, the conversation continues.

Arthur: This is the Protestant chaplain's house from the penal days. So you had the Catholic chaplain who was much lower class and he was in No. 11 which is second class. This is the Protestant chaplain's house, first class and it's determined by the number of posts across the front. Second class has got six posts, first class got eight posts, third class had - I think it was four posts. Anyway, that's the penal settlement.

It was built in - off the top of my head - 1846, I think, and the Protestant chaplain wasn't here after 1853 or 1852, somewhere there, I think. So he only lived in here for about six years. Six years, okay, total, for all Protestant chaplains. I'm just giving you perspective on dates and things. So about six years and then the penal settlement folded and we got the island. On the 9th of June 1856 John Buffett II moved into this house as his home. So that's 1856, 9th of June. My family moved out of this in 1946 so that's 90 years -

Zel: Wow.

Arthur: - of our family's occupation in this house.

Sarah: Is that one of the longest family occupations -

Arthur: I believe. So, like I was saying before with the burning of those five homes here, that was done by people who were evicted out at gunpoint and they came back that night and burnt their homes down. My family signed the agreement and the agreement basically stated 'I agree that my family will move out of this house when the last person in this family alive today dies'. Aunt Eva or we call her Aunt Ewa, she died in 1946 and that's when Uncle Jim and his family had to move out of his family home. Uncle Jim, who I was fairly close, to told me of the day that he took the key back, he said 'I went to the Administrator's office and I handed the key over the desk and he hardly said anything and that was it, we were gone', after 90 years. He had to build a new house at Cascade.

Sarah: Gosh.



Sarah: So what happened? So your family leave No. 7. Did the Administrator have other plans for No. 7 at that point or -

Arthur: I don't know whether he did or not. I can't remember who went into it after the Pitcairn Islanders were moved out. The first to move out of their home was Miriam and Isaac Christian of No 10. Lord Loftus came here in 1884 and he said to all these people 'I'm going to have to start charging you rent for your buildings' and the community generally said 'nick off' but Miriam and Isaac Christian, they must have felt intimidated and they moved out. The Church of England Minister moved in there and then later on it was the police and different people. But this house, No. 7, 90 years we were there. The many children born there and number of family members died there, it's huge. Everyone that I see who's lived in there since, I often tell them 'and this is our house' -

Zel: Yeah.

Arthur: But some of the stories that I got from Dad, because Dad was partially brought up here. This is his grandmother's home, the little girl whose hat I've got, so Emily Evangeline Buffett is a daughter of John Buffett II and she becomes my father's grandmother. So, some of her sisters looked after the children of Emily Evangeline

because she died and her husband remarried, the new wife wouldn't take the children on. So, the children, which were 6 of them, ended up being cared for and looked after by the family here. Of course, Granddad (Young Evans), he was one of them. Dad (Owen) and his cousins would collect down here and get together and go camping down here and doing Boys things. The Administrator of the day lived over here in Government House. Three from Uncle Jim's family and Dad played with the Administrator's children. The family in No. 7 had a shop on the right-hand side there on the veranda and the aunts used to bake bread in the old convict oven and sell it in the shop and the family would import lollies and things to sell at the shop as well. It was one of the few shops on the island. Just boys being boys, they'd work it out with the Administrator's son that he would lose his glasses and the Administrator would give - I forget how many shillings it was for someone who could find and return the glasses, and they'd always find and return the glasses and there'd be a reward which they'd go straight to the shop and buy some of the lollies. He said that happened numerous times where the glasses would be lost and found and the reward used at the shop.

That story had us all laughing.

Arthur: So generations of my family have been born here and died here. The original John Buffett senior, John Buffett I, he died in here and as it turns out I have his diary. I've got John Buffett's diary that he started the day they came in 1856. The book that he used was a requestion book he got from the Commissariat Store after speaking with Stewart who met them at the Pier on the 8th June, he asked where he might obtain a book for a diary and Stewart said 'go to the Commissariat Store and go up into the office on the left, choose a book' and I've got that book. He wrote in it for 40 odd years and then his son that had this house, No. 7, wrote in it for a while.

Zel: Wow.

Arthur: So 8th of June 1856 it starts off but the pages previous to that are convict entries from the penal settlement. So it was a requestion book. Leatherbound.

Sarah: Did No. 7 have alterations from your family as they'd been living there over time?

Arthur: The restorations were done on the 'Town' buildings from about 1964. The shop was removed but basically it was original inside, and this is one of the original buildings along with No. 6 which was the hospital. So it wasn't changed much.

Sarah: So, this would have been a very vibrant part of the community, shops and hospital -

Arthur: Oh, it was. The families were all living in these homes and this is where everyone came, this was the centre of town. But Grandpa told me when he was a boy - I think he was 12 or 13 - he sat on this veranda and he witnessed the army going along evicting the people out of these homes. The horror that he felt and - and the whole community was just aghast that the Australian Government would turn on them with guns, guns and bayonets, and use those guns and bayonets to forcibly evict them from their own homes. So, the fact that we don't trust New South Wales comes from good groundings. But, when I worked at the Museum, the curator from Australia forbid me to talk about the burnings and the evictions of Quality Row here, because there was no Australian Government recognition in history of that happening.

Sarah: Wow.

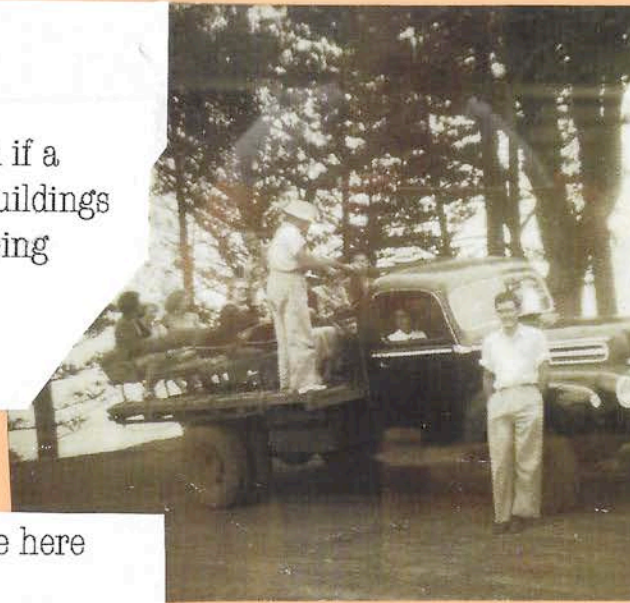
Arthur: He said you can only use interpretation that's been written by a reliable source.

Sarah: Is there still sometimes -

Arthur: Yeah, there's - well -

Sarah: - stories that can't get told?

Arthur: I still do tours. If I go off track and if a tourist asks me about the burning of the buildings here and I start talking about the people being evicted there's pretty much straight away complaints.



Arthur: Oh, there's stories all the way along Quality Row. Mum, when she first came here, lived in Oceanside down here.

Sarah: Oh really?

Arthur: Yeah, the old Paradise -

Arthur: I've got the photo of the day in 1950 that Dad took out a group of tourists - because Dad had the truck that he took tourists around on, and nine girls came in from New Zealand on a plane, prior to arrival the Captain radioed in and said 'I've got nine young girls on the plane' and when the plane landed there was about 50 young boys at the airport to meet the plane. Mum said, 'for the whole stay we never had to buy anything, we had everything provided for us', all the food, all the vegetables, all the fruit they wanted, it was all provided. They went around doing things such as, horseback rides and tractor rides and on this day that they went out with Dad, Dad said to this particular young girl 'it's a bit dusty on the back, why don't you sit in the front?'. Anyway, someone took a photo of Mum sitting in the front and Dad leaning on the mudguard of the truck all proud and that's the day it started and that's why I'm here. After being a tourist, she came back and worked there at Oceanside for a while, eventually marrying Owen.



Zel: Well, I guess some of the tourists come here thinking they're going to have a certain experience of seeing - maybe they're just looking to see the colonial and the convict heritage, some of them, and then they -

Arthur: They're thinking of paradise, but unfortunately everything's not as it seems. Anyway, they try and hide it but, this history here on Norfolk Island, it's our history and I'm appalled that in this day and age they're still trying to hide the real history of Norfolk Island and us as a people, we're a community and a people. I'm a Norfolk Islander and my language is Norf'k language, and I'm a part of this community, as all us locals are.

Zel: This has been fantastic and really interesting, Arthur. All the hidden histories!

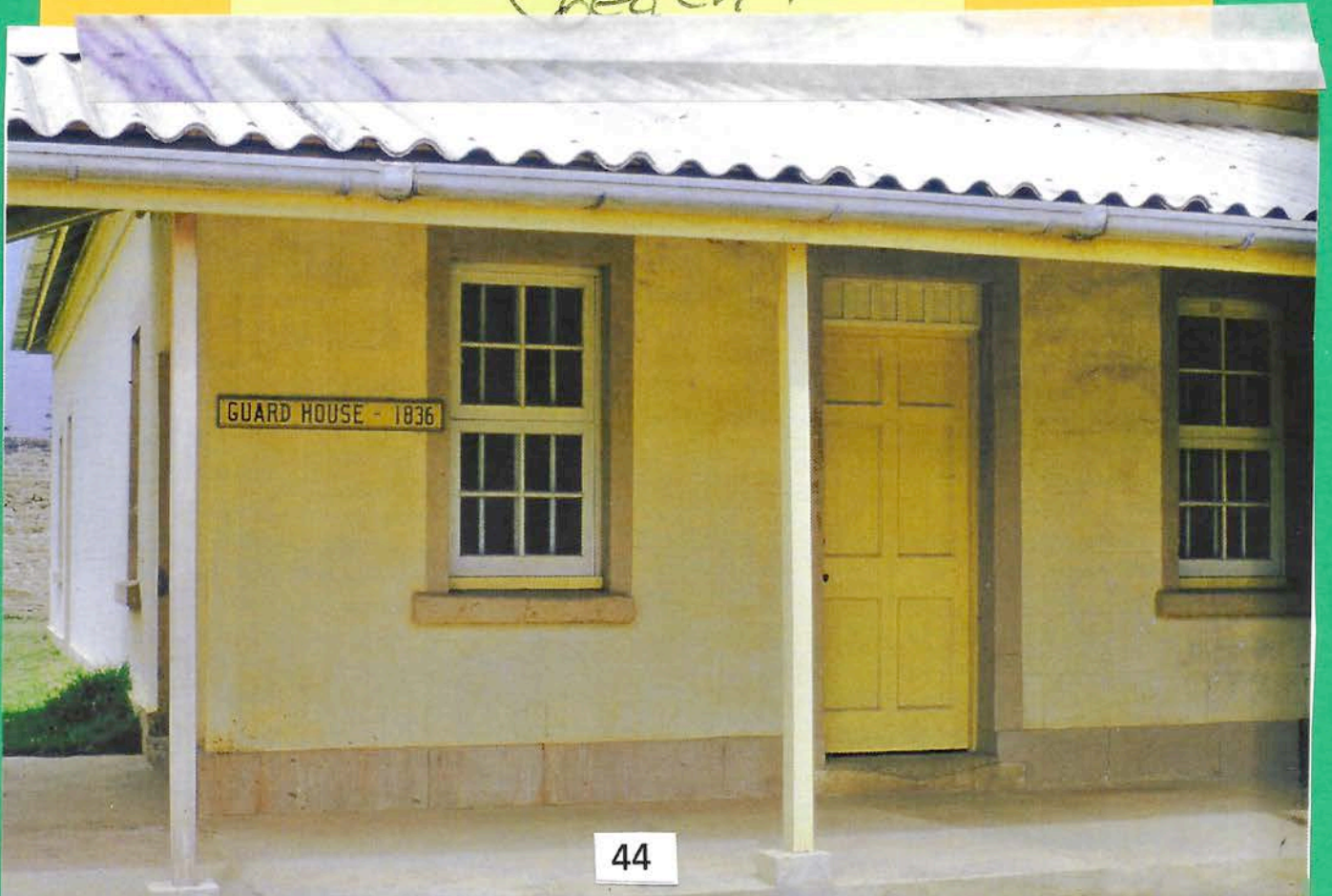
My most vivid memory of Daun'taun/

is of ~~the~~ S. S. Miranda,
(Burns Philip) anchored
off from Kingston 'jetty'

the first three words that come to mind

when someone says "Daun'taun"

Gwen to dar
Bond. (alcohol)
Living in 'taun
Picnic - rawee
(beach?)



Daa lett pool
was d' perfect
size en in d'
right side f'
ketchi' feed.

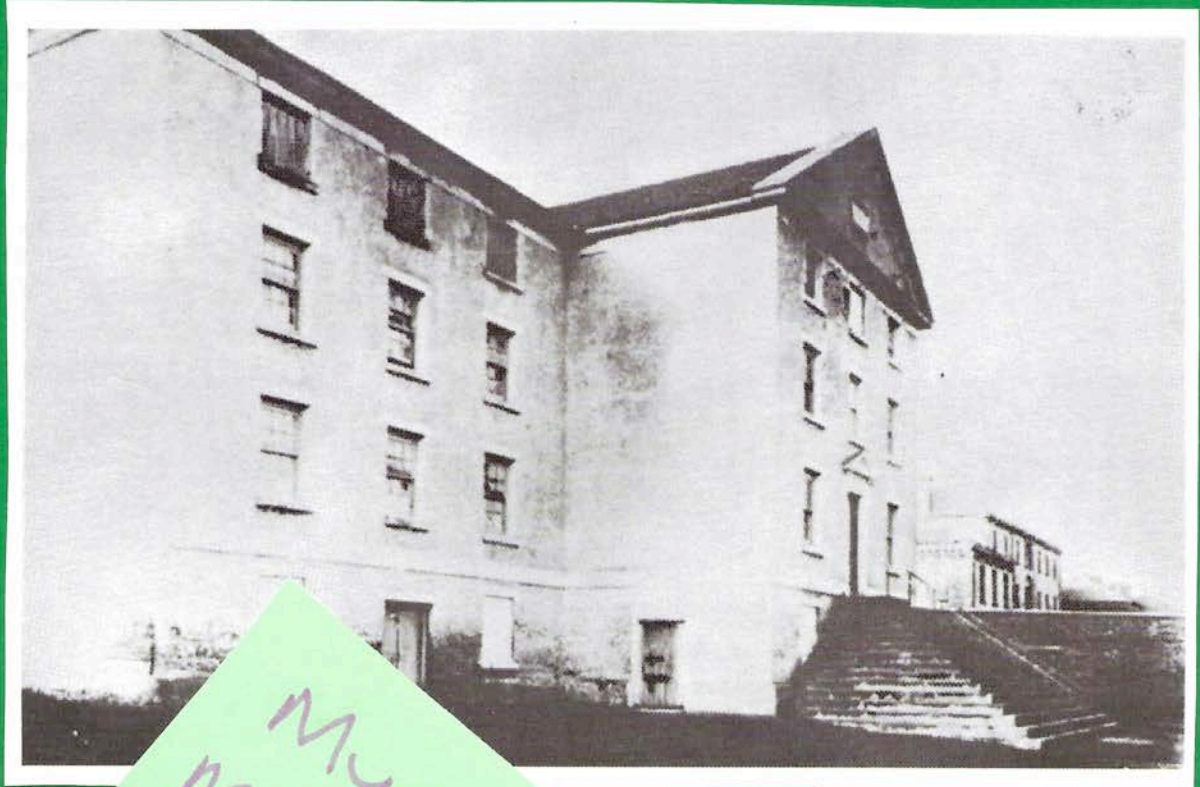
Even dem
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en dem se sly.



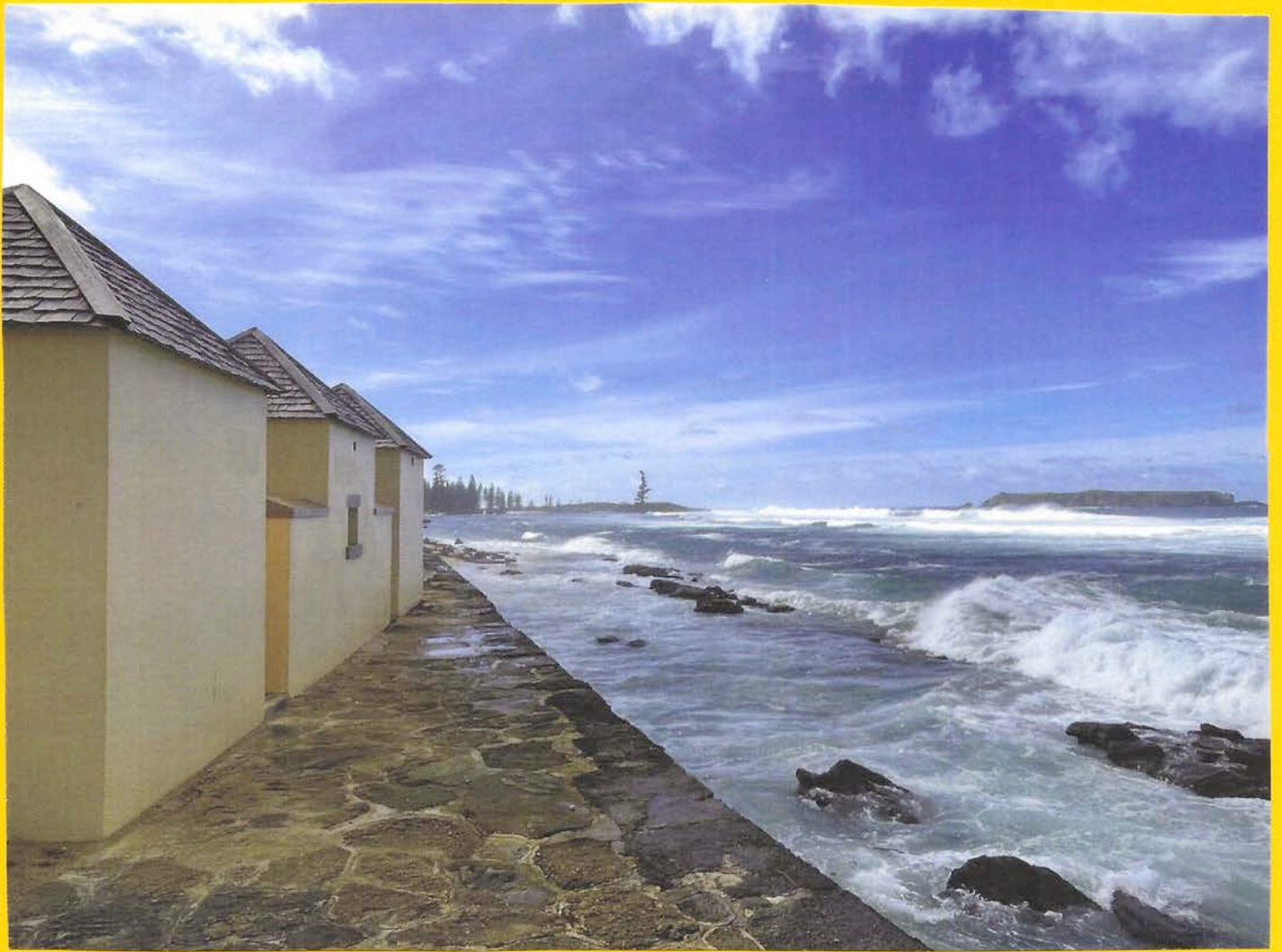
My most vivid memory of
dawn'tawn is standing on
the reef left of the pier
and fishing in a little pool
that was full of 'lett dot.
I loved being down there.



Myse bas lived
Memories when myse
Mum lafna ucklon book
One "Ghost" dar ussa.
Cum down darengers
Cottage. Visit her



MYSE MOST VIVID
MEMORY ES EEN NAME CHURCH
SCRATCHEN MYSE EEN NAME
EEN OUWUS FAMILY PEW
ALONG SIDE FAMILY
ANCESTORS OTHER FAMILY
NAMES



MAIS MOES VIVID MEMRY WUD HAET ' BII WEN AI
TAI MAIS HAUSE ORN AA WUD BOKS EN QU
IIN A HAUSE F' PII. WEN AI WÖRK AUT AA
DAW DAA HAUSE FRAITEN EN TEK ÖRF CRAW
AA KOHMAN DRAESEN B'HAIN ET

Conversation with Peter Christian-Bailey and Karen Poacher, 27 October 2021

Chelsea: I was really interested when we were talking yesterday, and you spoke about the World Heritage listing. Is there anything you can think of in terms of how KAVHA is thought of as a World Heritage Site – like how do you think it's valued as a space by people on Norfolk Island?

Peter: Well, I think the whole World Heritage issue was maybe sold to the people in the wrong way and the way it's actually been presented is – I don't think the listing does any favours to the people who are the key stakeholders, which are the Norfolk Islanders, because it's basically tacked onto the listing as an Australian Convict Site and at the end of the day it doesn't truly represent what the meaning of the area is in its current context, where it's the home of the Pitcairn Island settlers. The narrative is that it's just another Australian convict site and that's just only a very small fraction of what the area means today, and, at the end of the day, the site should be for representatives of the current inhabitants and they seem to get

ignored all the time. The narrative is always skewed in favour of the colonials' objective.

Chelsea: If you could reinterpret KAVHA how would you do that? How would you explain KAVHA to somebody?

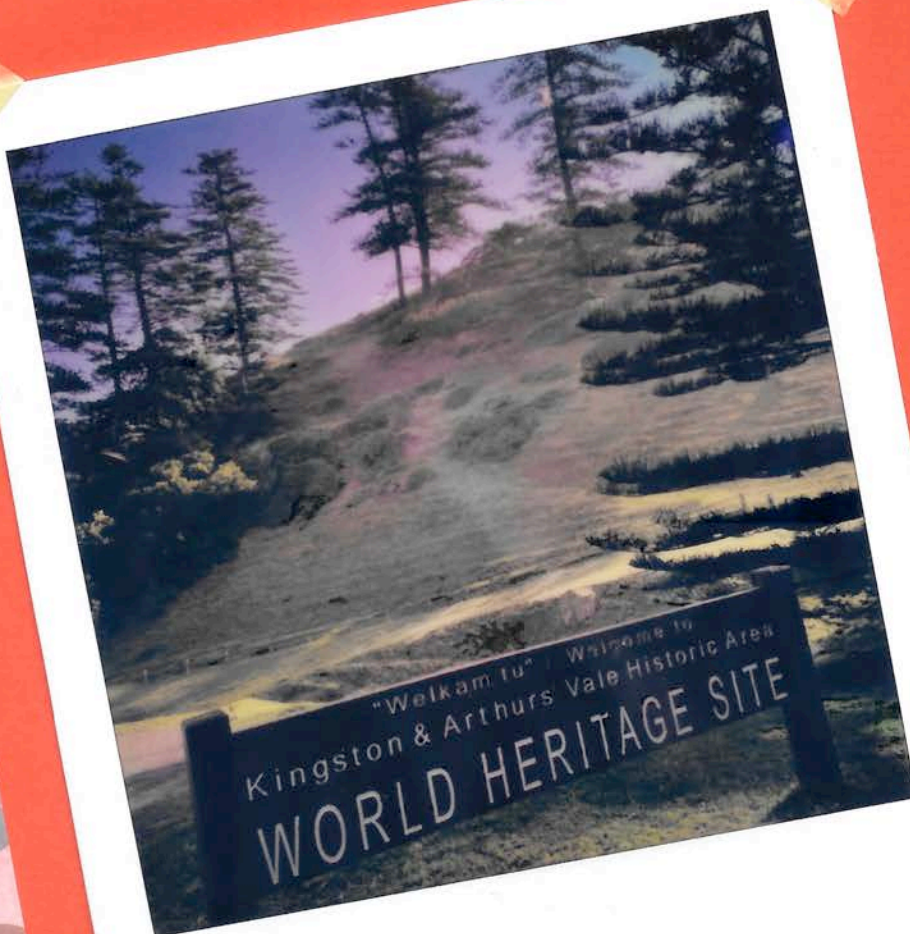
Peter: First and foremost KAVHA, which I don't actually particularly like the word KAVHA, to Norfolk Islanders it's known as Taun and it is that simple, KAVHA is living heritage and it should be first and foremost up to the people who are most affected to – it should be recognised as their home and their living space, not something that occurred well before, where all the people who did occupy the area are long gone. It's just another colonial-skewed narrative and it's wrong.

Chelsea: We were talking yesterday, too, a little bit about the Polynesian aspects of our culture and I think it daas something that we maybe nor talk about much, but do you think dem kind of relationships, that Polynesian relationship that we have with the

environment, with Daun'taun, es said yu el gu naawi, yu el work, yu el plieh, yu thort daa gat' veri defrent lived experience to how other people maybe engage with the site who ent' Norf'k Ailendas?

Peter: At the end of the day all those things are probably enjoyed for the same reasons that Norfolk Islanders enjoy it for. But there's obviously another layer with the Norfolk Islanders, there's obviously a common history to the area. When you think about it, from 1856 to 1908 it was town,

and it's funny that a lot of Norfolk Islanders today, they still refer to Kingston, the KAVHA area, as Daun'taun and if they're ever going round to the shops dem gwen raun kantri. That says it all, doesn't it? So obviously we enjoy it for the same reasons – for barbeques, picnics, gwen naawi, plieh de golf en orl em kaina thing – but there's obviously a shared common history to the area that maybe newcomers don't have and the connection, where it was actually almost the cradle of Norfolk.



Chelsea: If you were in charge of Kingston, what would you like to see done, say within the first five years of running it?

Peter: Ai hoep ai nor saun tuu radical bat de fas thing ai wud duu – if I was making the decisions, this is what I would do. Number one, I would ensure that all the decisions are reflective of what the Norfolk Islanders want. Number two, every single decision in regard to the area would be made by Norfolk Islanders and if Norfolk Islanders wanted to keep it the way it is, all very well. If Norfolk Islanders wanted to push it in a particular area, so be it. At the end of the day the fact that nearly all decisions in relation to KAVHA are done by remote control in Canberra, by people who aren't actually affected by the decisions they make, is completely wrong. So I personally would like to see the whole area – I think there's a particular narrative that a lot of people in KAVHA would like to see and that's basically preserving a particular point in time – between 1825 and 1855, probably the 1830s, and they think that's the way it should be, that it shouldn't be changed, it should be almost sanitised to that particular era. That's completely wrong

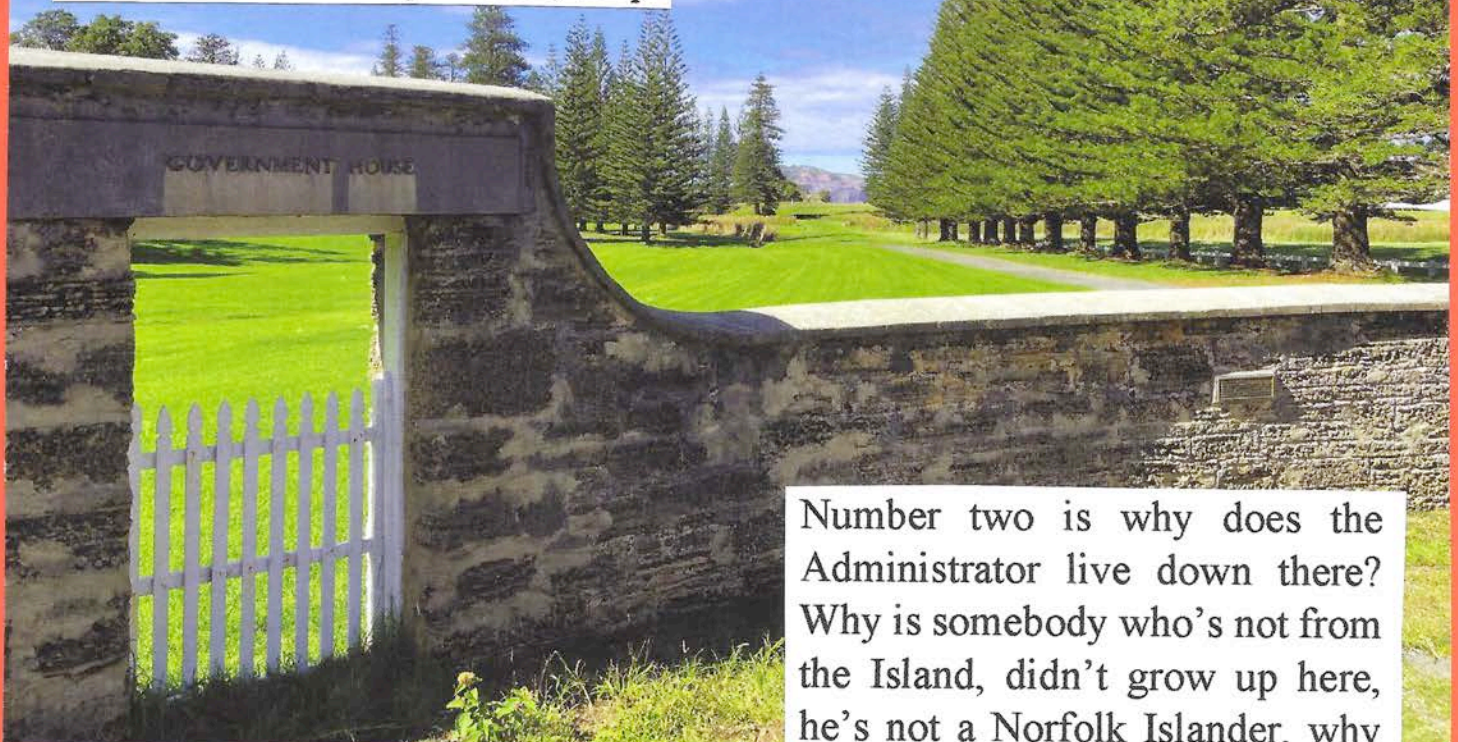
because history is a constantly evolving thing where there's just layers and layers of different tapestry. At this point in time, it seems to be emphasis is preserving it to an era somewhere in the 1830s but it should be changed, should be adapted, should be progressed. It shouldn't be a particular point in time.

I'd like to see a lot more economic activity happen down there. I'd actually like to see the whole area turned back into residential zone so Islanders can return to their town. At the end of the day the Pitcairners were a coastal people, they lived off the sea. Farming and the way they were pushed up into the interior of the island, it wasn't particularly natural for them. They're a coastal people at the end of the day and they deserve to be back down in their town if they choose to be. As I said, I would like to see it residentially zoned, I don't think – all these restrictions and the – it seems to be steering towards almost having the whole area quarantined as a museum. Wrong, completely wrong in my opinion.

Chelsea: That's a really important point you make because, thinking about the idea of cultural justice for the Pitcairn descendants, for the people who call Norfolk Island their homeland, I feel that's a beautiful way to articulate it, that you get the people living back in the space.

Peter: Absolutely, why aren't they down there? Why not? If you think about it there are particular things that become so embedded in the psyche of the inhabitants of a particular area that – I think I mentioned to someone the other day about it and sometimes you have to take a deep breath, step

back and see things for what they really are. Number one, KAVHA, the policy and the whole juggernaut, seems to be – the whole colonial juggernaut seem to be driving more and more of the Pitcairn influence out of KAVHA and you see that even today like you can see that right very now how all of the administrative workers of the Island are being pushed out. That's something that shouldn't be tolerated. It's just another thing that people just have to cop. It becomes so ingrained in people's psyche that they don't even realise the injustices that are happening right before their eyes.



Number two is why does the Administrator live down there? Why is somebody who's not from the Island, didn't grow up here, he's not a Norfolk Islander, why the hell – as well as Quality Row, why is that area occupied by Australian expat workers? It's colonialism, it's a lingering prejudice that can't be shaken.

Chelsea: Do you think a lot of people feel that way? Like you talk to a lot of different people and you move within the community a lot. Yu thort that plenti salan fiil -

Peter: If you pull apart all the layers and get to the crux of the issue and you actually try and open their eyes up to it, they do, of course they do. It's completely logical what I'm saying, it's just so many people are so subjugated, and they have been for so long they don't realise the injustices that are staring them in the face. A lot of people here are that used to just being - to an external authority, they just accept it. But I think if the option was presented to them then I think they would say "of course we want to have our own people down there".

Chelsea: Have you got something that you really enjoy about taun? Like what's one of the things -

Peter: Emily, Emile Bieh en i law' gu daun deya naawi en I just love going down there picnicking. We often go down there in the afternoon after 3pm when daa san stil es hotan bat nort tuu hot fe dem letl salan en tek wan picnic or gu baabekuu - yeah, it's beautiful. I'd be down there every day if I could, every afternoon.

Chelsea: Ai thort plenti aklan wud bi anieh! Yu tork baut salan bin lew in taun fe lorng taim, fram 1856 wen wi laend wi shef iin en wi lew deya. How do you think those stories could be told better? If you were a visitor coming to Norfolk, because you deal with a lot of visitors with your business - have visitors ever made comments to you on what else they'd like to see in Kingston?

Peter: Well, I was only talking with Karen the other day about that and when she first came to the Island four or so years ago she basically came here for the convict history. The fact that there was a local population on the Island and what we now term

these days as an indigenous population, the Pitcairn history – did you even know about it or -

Karen: No. When I researched Norfolk Island I probably didn't dig deep enough at the time and it was to me just all about the convict and the ghost stuff, there wasn't really anything on the internet about these Pitcairn people.



Peter: You asked 'what would you like to see' – instead of it being called Number 10 Quality Row or Number 8 or whatever, it should be the home of Mary Christian or whoever or that should be the focal point. What's the more recent history? Like,

what's the more relevant to what the area is today? Where are the descendants of these people still living? They're still living on the Island so that's how it should be referenced.

In saying all this I don't believe that you should completely pretend that the convict history never happened, of course it did and it should be documented but prominence should be given to the local population.

Chelsea: What do you love about Kingston, Karen?

Karen: Oh, probably just the history, really, how the old buildings are still there and that's all pretty cool. But as long as it doesn't become an area where you've got to pay to get into like – I don't know, I've never been to -

Peter: Port Arthur.

Karen: As long as it's not closed off and you've got to be a tourist to go there, like I think we should all be able to enjoy it still.

Peter: It's living history. Just becoming less and less so.

Chelsea: So how do you change that? I think people talk about moving back into Kingston or having the offices back down or having people living – people have been talking about that for a long time, that they'd like to see Taun as samsaid where people live or whether there's accommodation again because it makes it busy, keeps it going and there's -

Peter: So, correct me if I'm wrong but if you want to apply to have, for example a wedding down there or something, I believe – I could be wrong but you have to do it through the Administrator's Office, don't you?

Chelsea: I don't actually know who you do it through anymore. I think that's quite confusing now as to who's in charge of where and of what. Do you go down to Tent City much? I just wondered

whether that's somewhere that people would be interested in doing more things down there because it's a space that people – that we can reclaim or not reclaim but claim it's ours and whether there's more things, activities that could be done in that space to -

Peter: I suppose Tent City is probably a very polarising area. Obviously, it's not only broken down into the divisions between those who support a dictatorship against those who don't, it's also broken down into people who can afford to be seen down there and might prejudice their employment or it might prejudice any sort of contract work or any business dealings. So, I think Tent City, a lot of people wouldn't be seen down there purely for that reason,



because even though they support the cause, and that's quite common. That's why it's such a polarising area. Ai nor keya personally, but a lot of people are actually in fear of that, of actually being seen to be taking a particular line.

Karen: Does downtown not feel like it's the people's anymore because -

Peter: Well, I know whose it is but that's the impression, that's the narrative that's being pushed.

Chelsea: Can you remember when you first visited Kingston seeing anything about the Pitcairners down there?

Karen: No.

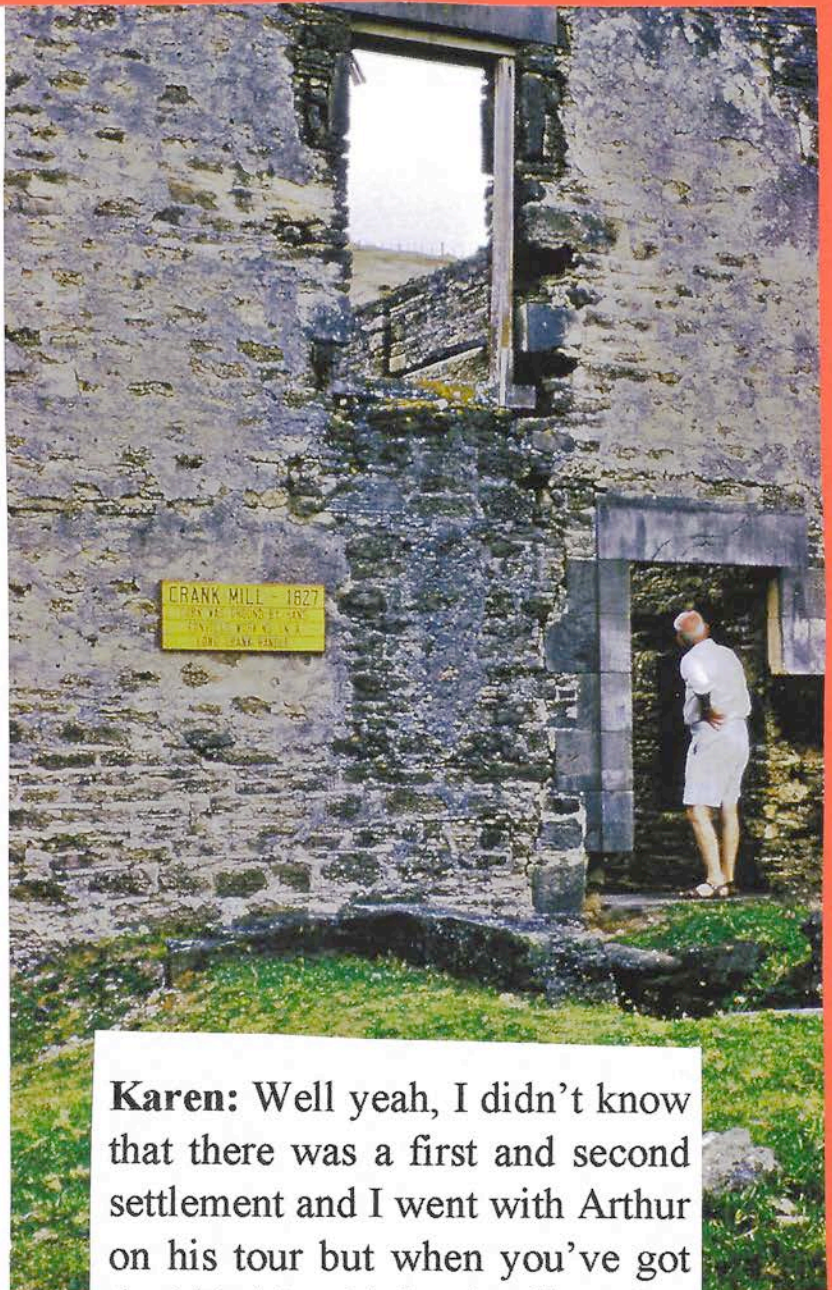
Peter: What about in the museums, the Pier Store?

Karen: Oh maybe. Yeah, through the Bounty history.

Peter: Did you see the Pitcairners and the convicts that are all interwoven and you couldn't delineate.

Karen: A mishmash, yeah so I had to work it out.

Peter: You didn't see them as two different defined areas of -



Karen: Well yeah, I didn't know that there was a first and second settlement and I went with Arthur on his tour but when you've got the kids it's a bit hard to listen but yeah, I think I worked it out eventually.

Peter: I think that's a problem too – just bringing the Pitcairners' side of it into more prominence because if the people are confused about this, we're not doing our job in telling our story properly.

Karen: But I mean, it is more heavily marketed for the convict history.

Chelsea: I'm interested that you said that, Puk, that people are maybe today interested in promoting the Pitcairn story more and I wonder whether that's something that's happened in the last five or six years or whether that's something that used to happen, it just used to happen in a different way.

Peter: Pre-2015 people didn't feel so threatened so they didn't particularly – even though it was still run as a really colonial area and a really skewed narrative down there, people pre-2015 didn't feel as threatened and didn't feel the need to have to protect it and preserve or to defend it so much but now obviously Norfolk Islanders are under attack by quite a large juggernaut. I'm not saying that willy-nilly, it's an actual fact, not just in Kingston but the narrative of the Norfolk Islanders is actually – there is an actual Australian Government agenda to basically drive the whole narrative out of the history books and that's exactly what they're doing. If I talked like this 20 years ago people probably would have thought I'm a fruit loop, blah, blah, blah, but I think today people think 'well hang on, he's right'.



The narrative is not just to downplay the prominence, it's to wipe it out because if they deny our existence then there's nobody there to refute their ownership of the area and that's the whole truth of the matter. It's quite a sobering thought to wake up each – and a lot of Norfolk Islanders feel this, they feel like a pain in their heart because they know that they're a people under attack and there is a

huge juggernaut that is really trying to wipe them out. It is really serious and it is really sobering. It's horrendous if you see it for what it really is. It's really sobering, eh? It's really sad, eh? To think that's what people think of us.

Chelsea: It's quite overwhelming. I think we've been through so much in such a short space of time that we still are trying to cope with those changes. With KAVHA, what about the community consultations that happen down there about its management?

Peter: If it was run by the Norfolk Island people in a proper democratic way – number one, consultation is the biggest dirty word that you can ever think of because consultation is just completely open to skew a particular narrative and consultation in my eyes, lived through experience, consultation is another word – depends whose hands it is in – for manufactured consent. So you can bring more prominence to particular things that people say. Consultation means nothing. Letting some foreign power collate data and get data and collate it the way that they see fit and that's exactly what happens. Consultation means nothing to me.

Chelsea: So how would you see it happening democratically?

Peter: Well I suppose it's probably no different to the way that maybe the Island used to run the Hospital Board and maybe the Tourism Board and it was done under a democratically elected body whereby if the people vote in the people who are representing them on an Island-wide level and then I suppose it comes down to the people who are voted and then

appoint people to represent for example the KAVHA area. At the end of the day, if the people don't like the people who are being represented then they change their government. And if they do and if the people vote in the people who are putting the people down there, it's more likely that they're going to be picking people who are representing a narrative that's more reflective of what the people want and that's basically what it comes down to because, at the moment, there's obviously two competing narratives at play all the time. I don't think somebody's narrative from people who live

1,500km away should be more important than the narrative of people who actually live here.

Chelsea: Absolutely. I hope, in my optimism, that in time to come, we do see that shift, that we see that change, but as you said it's important that it comes from the Norfolk Island people to push that and to be in a position of power in order to make those changes happen. Bringing it back to KAVHA, what are the things that you would love to see for your kids in 50 years to come? What are the things that you would hope for them to be able to experience in KAVHA?

Peter: Obviously return of full control to the Norfolk Islanders. All the official buildings should be occupied by Norfolk Islanders in their capacity like I said that I'd like to see the whole area zoned residential again and I'm not saying that you can do that as well as preserve the historical parts of it too but it should be a living history, it should be where people live, it should be where people breathe, not just where they die, it should be returned to a place where they live and sustain themselves.

Karen: I still appreciate the museums down there, though.

Peter: Oh, I'm not saying they should go, I'm just saying that they should -

Karen: Like for our girls to enjoy later.

Chelsea: I was just thinking about when I was growing up en gwen fishen orf' stoen Daun'taun, orf aa riif daun semetri, ala orf aa piya, gwen fe drien aero, orl dem kaina thing that you might not necessarily know about unless you're used to those sorts of Norfolk experiences. So how do we try and have those things continue in a way that's sustainable? So that in 50 years

you can still have people fishing, gwen fe hihi, having those sorts of cultural practices alive and well in taun?

Karen: It's up to our generation to teach our children, isn't it?

Peter: When I say it should be zoned residential I don't particularly mean that there should be high-rises or anything like that, it shouldn't be under Australian development, it should be development where Islanders have the opportunity to live down there again if they so wish and they can perhaps purchase a property or they can maybe claim some sort of - through an ancestor of ownership of a particular building that was occupied by the family. Well, why not? Why can't they put their claim in to somewhere that was in the family and they were forcibly removed? Why shouldn't they be allowed to? The only people living in the historical buildings are Australian Government workers and expats. How's that right? If it's good for them well, why can't we live down there? Why shouldn't it be us living down there?

Karen: Is there a little bit of a – what’s the word? Stigma about the Pitcairn people use all the building, the deteriorating buildings or say road base and -

Peter: No, it was actually the Administrator who sold off the rock, off the limestone.

Karen: Were those buildings in disrepair?

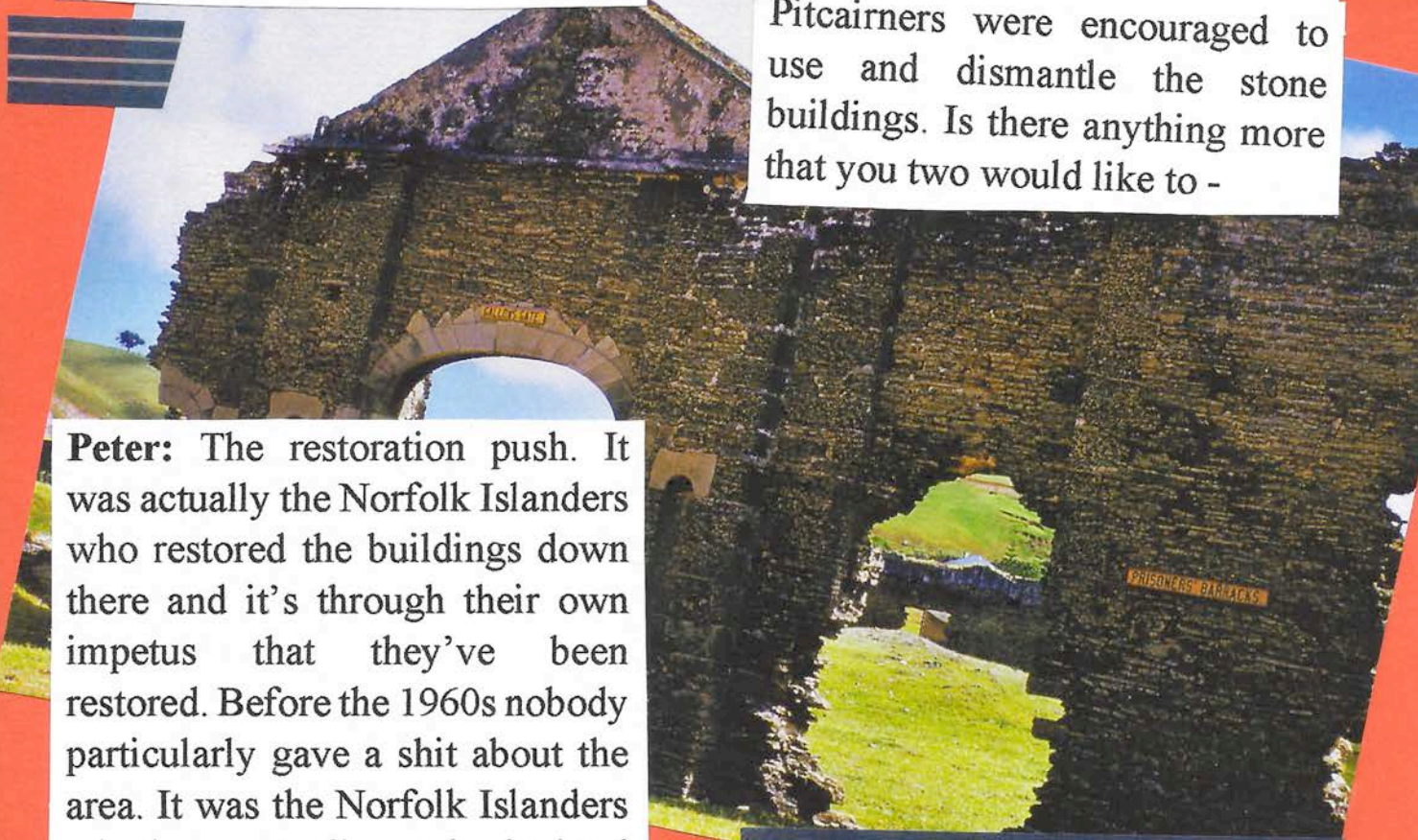
Chelsea: Not all of them but the Pitcairners were encouraged to use the stone and the buildings because, as Peter said, they sold off those buildings and those properties and it wasn’t until I think the late 1960s that really changed.

Chelsea: The convict story or the interest in convict history in Australia -

Peter: Wasn’t trendy back then, no.

Karen: But is there a bit of a thing amongst tourists that it wasn’t really a good thing to do? I think some of the tourists go ‘oh that’s a shame about us using all the’ – because I’ve heard a few comments before.

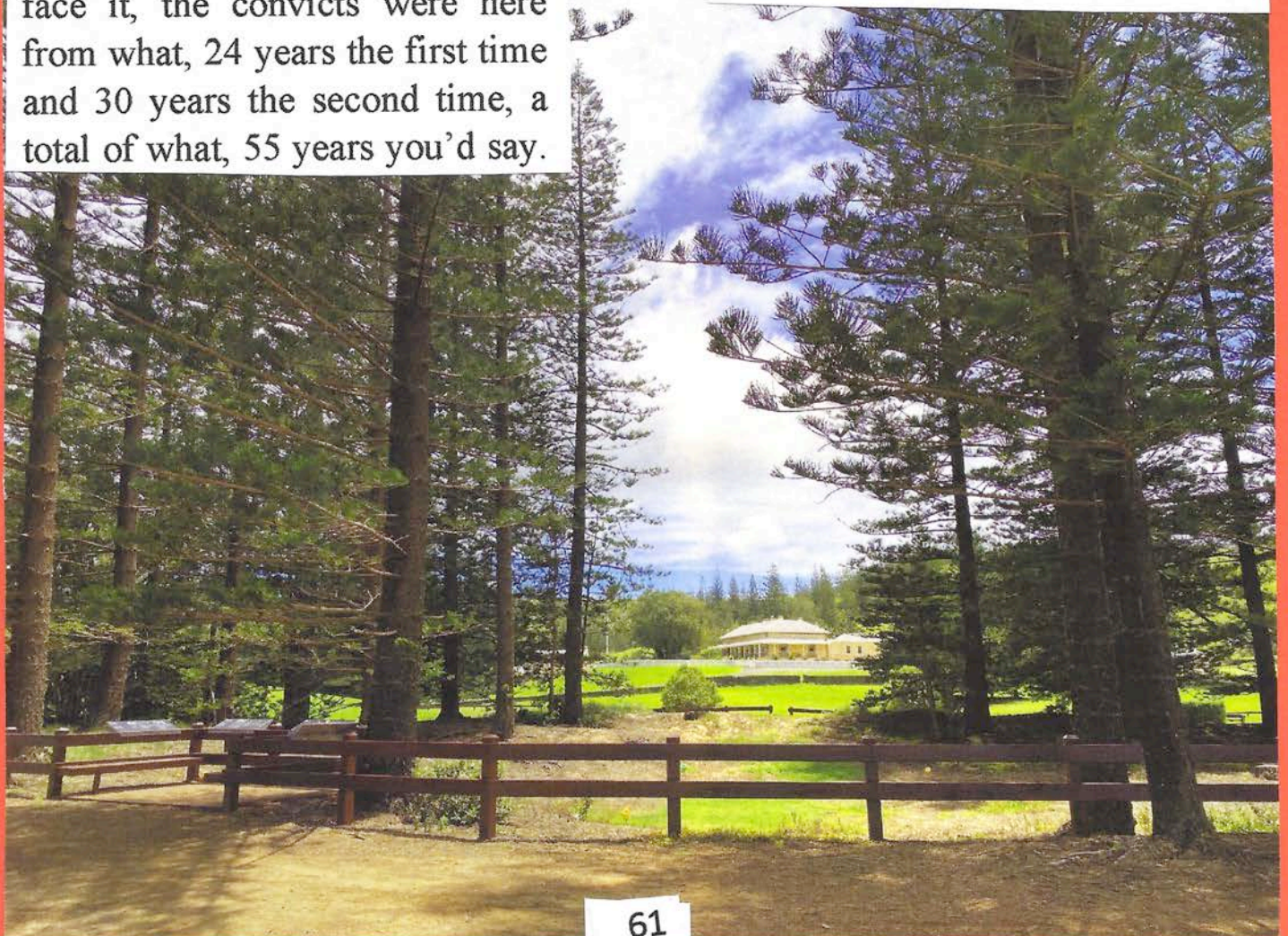
Chelsea: Yeah, there probably are, but the interpretation needs to be in Taun so tourists know actually these were the chain of events that took place where the Pitcairners were encouraged to use and dismantle the stone buildings. Is there anything more that you two would like to -



Peter: The restoration push. It was actually the Norfolk Islanders who restored the buildings down there and it’s through their own impetus that they’ve been restored. Before the 1960s nobody particularly gave a shit about the area. It was the Norfolk Islanders who have actually put in the hard yards to bring them back.

Peter: The other thing, the link should also be amplified about, the link between the earlier Polynesian settlers there and the link that they – the Polynesians who came there in 1856. The link between the Norfolk Islanders and their own people, fellow Polynesians who also occupied the site before, is something that shouldn't be forgotten too. I know there is some informational material and interpretive signage down there – I suppose it is told to a certain extent now, but there should be a greater link between us and them, it should be really highlighted and interpretative signage could be extended. Let's face it, the convicts were here from what, 24 years the first time and 30 years the second time, a total of what, 55 years you'd say.

The Pitcairners have been here for, what is it? 165 years and the Polynesians were here – could be anywhere from many, many centuries, who knows? They could have been here 500 years, who knows? So, we're talking about the interpretation – the way it seems to be concentrated now, it seems to be on like a 55-year period against what, a particular people have occupied the area for hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of years. That's where you got to see it at.



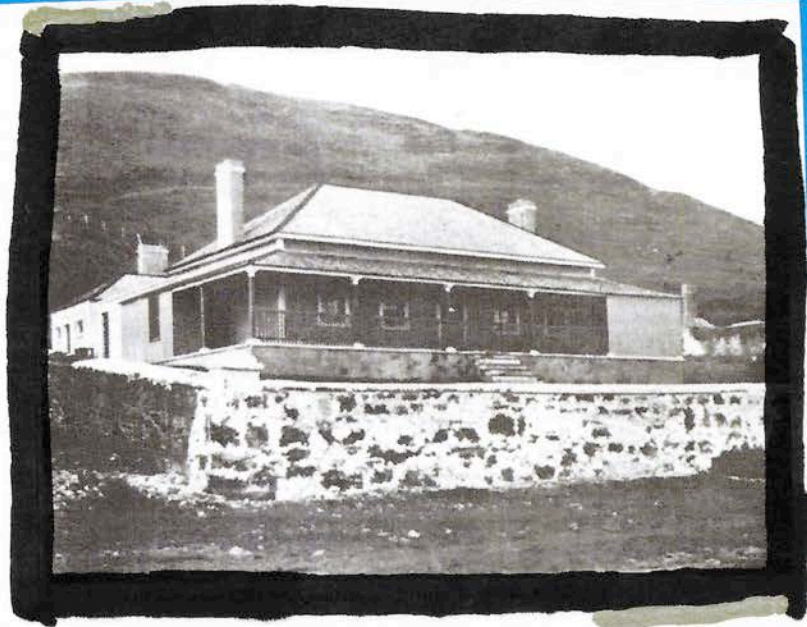
A letter to someone
generations back

Hey Dad,
Memba wiah daa Administrator
tek Arlehan wiah from
ucklun cos you putt orn
one corrogated iron roof
so me en myse friends el
camp een over summer.

Wael guess waa.

Jem se putt orn one /
corrogated iron roof.





Dear Leonard, As my great
grandfather, I can tell you that
after removing our family
from #10 Quality Row, they
never found a good use for it
after all. It's now a ^{great} museum
which reflects how it was in
your time and is well used.

To Ma, In 'town these days
got more pines all 'bout
and got a sullen camping
around in dem pines in
Emily Bay - got more
shelter now!

And got one 'pontoon'
der too - for sullen nauce
to and 'play n dive' off,
and still got a 'ow' - and
we not use a touch et in
case we 'poison' from the
'purple' dye it 'ejected'
And 'town look much better
den wen we es young n n.



3 Nov 2021

Dear Ma Lina,

I nor thort you would
bliew d' salan huv kam
dawn'tavn f' Kaemp eri
Kriesmes, en ori em thing
dem tek lorngf' dem -
Kichen sink en ori!

I bet yu wud enjoy ori
d' taim aklan yuus' gu picniz
dawn'tavn en wien wi el
laaf. Bai Joe ai hoep yeeelsii et.
Love Chelsea xx

Sender:
Chelsea Evans
152 Country Rd
Flagstaff, WI
PO Box 386

2899

Hey Moolye. ①

This is just a short
note to give a little insight
of Dawn Town today.

There are some great changes
& some not so great ones.

Ocean Side comes as
Paradise on snow all
gone. As cemetery
full on up on plenty
Salam car who's etc.

Arwa's salam se
do up plenty on
~~miss~~ miss on how
good f' look on



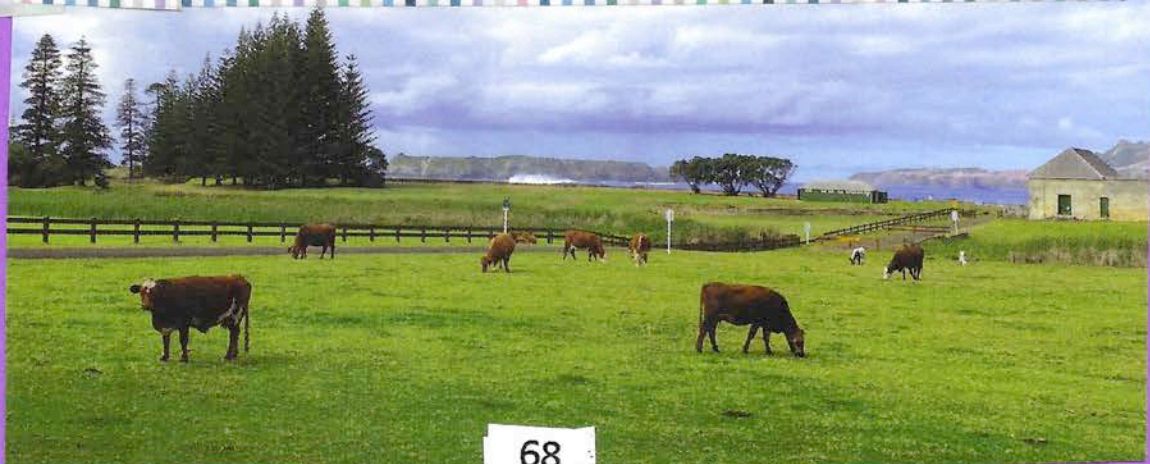
Be shet off some ⁽³⁾
of dem side en ~~use~~
use a row et, dem
too es good f' look orn.
Mo horses or cattle
orn a golf course
en an quarry en at
Cherianan se gotn en
se fun et into one
kina park en BBL
area en low ground
f' look orn too.

En nos have to go
look f' fireweed.



coz just a burner ③
on a gas.

Yorlye would it
believe et eff yorlye
see ar drain. Dat
clean en general way
yorlye use a keep
ett but den se
dun a do dat now
en se come es hooley
hooley un en ar
whate common



quen soon come es
Swamp. Sorry f'
Youn gut ar eye
sore.

But f' all dar, de
mine side we go
in the world when
ar plane track down
between Phillip en
Mepcan f' fun f'
dar longridge en f'
dar runway fetching



ucklun home en you
look out orn Maun
you looken orn
one a d' prettiest
side in the World.



Fu dem young sullen een town
plenty thing se change.

Orn dar common bin ossagota
horse en a cattle dem had to be
branded, en ful di'scription of their
colour.

When a funeral was taken down
to Kingston, the horses use to go
beserk racing back and forward
across the common.

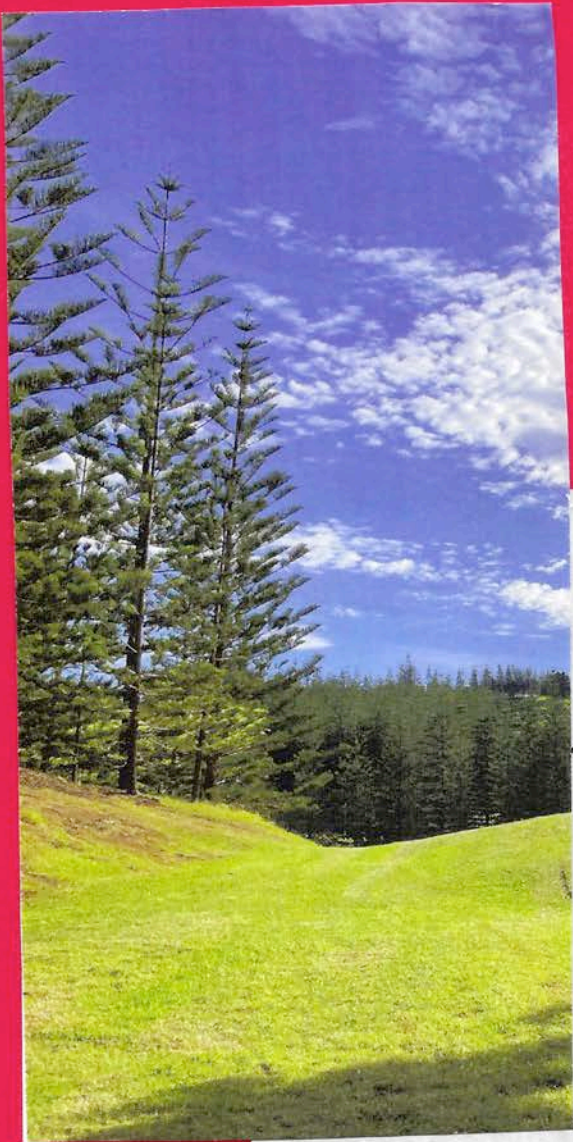
To Myse Momena Dad,
en Momena Dad,
dem oud sullen. Dar

Cemetery se extended.

~~Wigwen~~ right out to
dar Chinaman. It was
consecrated by the

Bishop of Sydney so
Wigwen beet

John Yorley.



HEI GRAENDAD,
AI JES RAITEN F' LET YU NOEH
E OER CHIENG GWEN ORN IIN
TAUN. DEM SE FAENS ORF
SLORTA BIEH EN PAT IIN WAN
KAET'L STOP. WI KAA TEK
EM HAUSE DAUN ORN'SIEN.
DEM SE FAENS ORF EM
DRIEN SOE KAET'L KAA

KIEK IIN EM WORTA KO DEM REK'N
P'LUTEN EMILY BIEH.

DAA DAEM DEM DE AP AP WORTAMIL
WAELI ES D' AIL PROHBLAM SAID ORL
EM DAK YUUSA KAEK.

DEM WORTA SMAEL BAGRI.

DAA DRIEN YORYE BIN YUSA KIIP KLIIN
SE FUL A WILD EN NOR YUSA RAN
KLIIN NAU.

ENIWIEH LAW YUU

KOLIIN.

XXXXX

DEAR AUNTY HELEN

I MESS SEE. EN YU ORN BESS
EN PUSHEN YUS BIKE DAUN
CARSCADE.

YU WOULD BE SO SAD FE
SEE EEN TAUN NOW LOS
GUTTA FANCE ORL ABOUT
~~WOT~~ EN DEM SE GET RID
OF OWNUS GOWMENT EN
MOOSA ALL OWNUS SULLUN
QUTTA TAUN - DEM EWEN
MAKEN SULLUN PAY MONEY
FE HOWE A LAND.

YU LUCKY YU NOR YUH
FE SEE ET
LOWE YU
ANNIE

AUNTY HELEN



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Cover image of Bounty Day, 2021 provided courtesy of
Zelmarie Cantillon.