

Newsletter of the Professional Historians' Association (NSW)

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PHANFARE



PHA NSW



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This edition of *Phanfare* has been prepared by:
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Katherine Knight and Carol Liston

Who are we!

Members of the PHA are a diverse group of engaged historians – true or false?

Members of the PHA prefer books to ipads – discuss in 25 words.

So, what do you want to know about in YOUR newsletter? The Phanfare collectives are ready and willing to search the streets, the libraries and the ether to bring you stories that will help you in your professional work – or in whatever way history is part of your every day. But we don't know who you are, what you are doing or what you would like to read about. We need feedback and suggestions to point us in the right direction. We are willing to find the answers – we just need YOU to ask the questions.

Send to c.liston@uws.edu.au for distribution to the Phanfare teams

Did you know that Australian standards had been set for BA graduates with majors in History?

Upon completion of a bachelor degree with a major in History, graduates will be able to:

Knowledge

1. Demonstrate an understanding of at least one period or culture of the past.
2. Demonstrate an understanding of a variety of conceptual approaches to interpreting the past.
3. Show how History and historians shape the present and the future.

Research

4. Identify and interpret a wide variety of secondary and primary materials.
5. Examine historical issues by undertaking research according to the methodological and ethical conventions of the discipline.

Analysis

6. Analyse historical evidence, scholarship and changing representations of the past.

Communication

7. Construct an evidence-based argument or narrative in audio, digital, oral, visual or written form.

Reflection

8. Identify and reflect critically on the knowledge and skills developed in their study of History.

These threshold learning outcomes were established by the History Discipline Group for the Australian learning and Teaching Council in December 2010. That group will be replaced in 2011 by a new federal organisation that will assess these standards via the profession and the teaching institutions.

President's Page

History in July is the annual get together for PHA NSW members. Similarly to the program of CPDs, it is a way of maintaining collegial networks and links between members, but is also a way to facilitate social and professional networking opportunities.

This year, History in July will be held at History House at 133 Macquarie Street, Sydney, on Wednesday 27 July 2011 from 6-8pm. Mark this date in your diary and watch out for your invitations – coming soon!

Our speaker for the evening will be Dr Lisa Ford from the University of NSW. Lisa won the NSW Premier's History Award (General History) for her publication *Settler Sovereignty: Jurisdiction and Indigenous People in America and Australia, 1788-1836* which explores how late eighteenth and early 19th century colonists negotiated both the contradictions and blunt violence resulting from settling in a land that somebody else called home.

It is now time to renew your membership subscriptions for the new financial year, 2011-2012. Fees were due on 1 July, and should be paid before the Annual General Meeting. Only financial members are entitled to vote or stand for office.

There has been no increase in subscriptions for the coming financial year. If you have held the level of Associate or Graduate member for several years, and have been active as an historian, I urge you to consider upgrading your membership status to the next level.

To download the membership form and for more information about upgrading your membership, visit our website: www.phansw.org.au/membership.html

Laila Ellmoos, President PHA NSW

Continuing Professional Development Report: 'Talking 'bout your occupation', 16 June 2011

The PHA's most recent CPD, 'Talking 'bout your occupation' took place on a wintry evening at History House on 16 June. It was a small but lively affair, in which four PHA members talked about their current projects; and a fifth, PHA NSW secretary Michael Bennett, gave a fascinating presentation on his recent visit to Myanmar (Burma).

Pauline Curby is the current NSW History Fellow and is researching aspects of the death penalty, including commuted sentences, during the inter-war period in New South Wales. Pauline spoke of the pleasures of working on her own project, as opposed to the more narrow confines of commissioned work. She discussed changing community values towards the desirability and/or legitimacy of the death penalty and the differing ideological climates fostered by Labor and Liberal governments. We were entertained by her musings about the kinds of justifications for homicide that juries found acceptable, and who might, or might not, have 'dunnit'. Pauline's research is still a work in progress but we all look forward to reading her conclusions.

Peter Tyler spoke about a perennial problem encountered by historians for hire – unwanted interference, often amounting to censorship, by clients concerned to tell history as they *wish* it had happened. He spoke of an occasion when he walked away from a potential contract because the commissioning people insisted that a significant personality deliberately be excluded from their story. He also discussed his recent and very professional experience in the commissioning process for writing a history of NSW State Records.

Emma Dortins is researching material for a PhD thesis on friendships between settlers and Aboriginal people. As part of that process she has looked at the close relationship between poets Oodgeroo Noonuccal (Kath Walker) and Judith Wright. Emma's discussion focussed on a hand drawn sympathy card (sent to on the occasion of Noonuccal's death) that was amongst Judith Wright's papers in the Australian National Library. The drawing portrayed a kind of yin-yang representation of two women in profile, one black and one white, allowing Emma to focus on the poets' mutual understanding of themselves as 'shadow sisters'.

Jan Roberts talked about a 'group memoir', or community history, of Avalon Beach with which she has recently been occupied. The idea for the book began with three friends' recollections of Avalon in the '40s and '50s but the project grew to include many other people's memories as well. Jan's talk was illustrated with evocative images of Avalon a few decades ago, and she discussed the delicate balance that had to be achieved in the manuscript between 'truth' and the need for privacy, particularly as it involved living people. A very interesting secondary subject of her talk was Ruskin Rowe Press, which she founded and continues to run, an effective avenue for publication of local histories unattractive to mainstream publishers.

Michael Bennett visited Myanmar recently with his wife and son to catch up with family. His video and commentary, much of it shot from taxi windows, had the feel of a documentary because he talked about the sensitivities of the political situation as much as sites of interest to the general traveller. Footage in and around private dwellings and the routines of daily life was also fascinating because it gave the audience a real sense of how ordinary people actually lived in Myanmar, an experience often unavailable to tourists in foreign climes.

The format of this CPD evening was quite dynamic because speakers were limited to ten minutes for their presentations, with just a few minutes for questions. This meant that speakers were not required to prepare a formally argued examination of their work and they mostly spoke more-or-less off the cuff about what they were doing and why they were doing it. Brevity meant there was no time for attention spans to lapse. There was a good variety of very differing subject matter and the diversity of professional historical work was displayed. There was an informal and conversational air to what was nevertheless a very informative evening helped by the tasty and plentiful Japanese takeaway arranged by Emma.

‘Talking ‘bout your occupation’ might make a good template for some kind of regular getogether for PHA members. We all need to keep in touch with one another’s work but rarely have the opportunity, and it’s both sociable and constructive to eat and exchange ideas and professional experiences at the same time.

Margo Beasley

Street Photographers

Street photographers are normally thought to have been located in Martin Place. What about the suburbs? I have a number of photos taken in what seems to be South Terrace Bankstown in the 1950s (say 1954 to about 1955) by a ‘street photographer’. There is no name or other marking on these images.

Does anyone have any clues about these images? They all have scalloped or patterned edges cut with special scissors. The one below appears to show what seems to be the approach to Bankstown station.

Terry Kass



Do you feel at home?

In continuing research and writing for a history of arts activism in western Sydney, I am coming closer to the present. Many experiences familiar to lots of other people are subject to a range of interpretations inevitably different from mine. Awareness of this can be discomfoting, but is no excuse for ignoring them. I am still trying to clarify my approach to dealing with issues in our constantly changing society, so I will simply offer the following thoughts.



Mahmoud Yekta, in front of the Auburn Mural, 1994.

Perhaps Mahmoud Yekta's question to a social ecology researcher in Auburn in 1997 might best summarise: "Do you feel at home?" Brendan Stewart replied that he certainly didn't. In a suburb with 70% of residents of non-English speaking background, he was reflecting on his own experience and those of recent arrivals from other countries.¹

Professor Andrew Jakubowicz addressed a Parramatta forum on popular culture in 1994. At the forum he discussed arts and cultural provision and resources in western Sydney.

Art forms are now recognised as being produced in a cultural context that may endow them with different meanings, he said.

. . . (The) process of taking control is, I think, fundamental to the process of community cultural development. . .

*In fact, communities are full of tension and conflict and that's as it should be. . . I think that's part of the central task in the politics of cultural development – to take that seething energy and emotion that makes up human life and allow it to emerge in ways which celebrate and uplift rather than destroy and harm.*²

Minister for Immigration in the Whitlam Government, Al Grassby introduced the term "multicultural" into public discourse in 1973³ and signalled a shift in migration policy from "assimilation" and the later "integration".⁴ According to Al Grasby, "multiculturalism" meant

*A policy that guarantees a fair go, a policy that does not set up any group as the dominant majority. That is what multiculturalism means. It means a partnership not a domination.*⁵

While an umbrella term, it was criticised as lacking a coherent philosophical basis.⁶ Although further developed under subsequent governments, "multicultural" might equally suggest fragmentation and a nation of tribes.⁷ Confusion also occurred around the term "multicultural arts". In 1989, executive director of the Community Arts Association of NSW, Jenny Barrett, said

*People say that Australian culture is multicultural, but there is incredible discrimination within the mainstream arts. Artists from a non-English speaking background who want to practice in mainstream arts, whether its theatre or visual arts, face huge problems.*⁸

The broad focus of community arts was the right of Australians to participate in cultural practices and activities relevant to their lives. To Nicholas Bates, multicultural arts officer of the Ethnic Communities Council of NSW in 1989, funding authorities too often considered ethnic arts among Australians as “folksy and cutesy”. He saw a contradiction between general funding principles and the principle of multiculturalism. Although highly skilled in art forms integral to their lives, artists of non-English speaking background were too often seen as non-professional.⁹

For many, it just seemed like a distinction between “us”, the mainstream English speaking community and “them”, all the rest described under the label of “multicultural”. Many like Juan Gimenez of Bossley Park and Vince Vozzo rejected the title altogether. As a highly trained visual artist and teacher with 25 years’ experience, Juan described himself in 1991 simply as a contemporary artist who comes from Uruguay. Vince similarly didn’t see himself as an ethnic artist. Born in Australia of Italian parents, he grew up in Fairfield. As a contemporary artist and sculptor, he trained at Sydney institutions and was currently exhibiting at Artarmon Galleries.¹⁰

Two councils which experienced a big influx of migrants of non-English background from the 1970s were Auburn and Bankstown. Without skilled support, relationships between the different groups and the established community could be fractious and distrustful. Two local organisations stepped in to help.

Under the Whitlam Government’s Australian Assistance Plan, Auburn Community Development Network was established in 1975.¹¹ Bankstown Youth Development Service began with a Western Sydney Area Assistance Scheme grant in 1987.¹² In the absence of council services supporting their increasingly diverse communities, both organisations appointed multicultural arts officers.

In Bankstown, former high school teacher Tim Carroll was appointed to the position in 1991.¹³ In Auburn, Iranian video and film maker Mahmoud Yekta was the appointee. One of the first activities pursued by Tim was the development of an oral history project. Significant language groups as well as English were represented among local seniors. With their agreement and the support of teachers, he invited local high school students from the same language groups to participate in recording interviews with the seniors.

He ran workshops with borrowed equipment to teach interviewing and recording skills. The results were good quality recordings. The first step was to transcribe and publish a booklet of the interviews, released during Seniors Week, 1992. Drama workshops followed to create a production based on the theme of immigration and living in a new country. Other projects developed using similar techniques aimed at developing understanding across difference.¹⁴

Young actor and film maker, Roslyn Oades, subsequently worked with Tim and with his support developed a series of projects in Bankstown, drawing on the same “gentle non-judgmental inquiry rather than analysis”.¹⁵ Their technique came into sharp focus after the Cronulla riots of 2005 when some young people from Bankstown were involved and others

were deeply affected by the invective that followed. “Stories of Love and Hate” was first performed in 2008. In May 2011 it was performed again at STC Wharf 2 and reviewed in the Sydney Morning Herald.

The text is based on intricately edited audio interviews with dozens of people that only the headphone-wearing performers can hear. (The performers) speak the script aloud at the same time they hear it, with every cough and vocal stumble faithfully reproduced. Gesture and facial expression seem to arise naturally and the characters we glimpse ring completely true.

. . . “Stories” remains a sparkling essay on the shifting sands of community feeling . . . It’s uncommonly touching for a documentary piece . . . (and a) resonant piece of theatre with an embedded lesson on the value of listening to each other.¹⁶

One of Mahmoud Yekta’s first projects in 1994 was a mural intended to reflect the Auburn community, including its large numbers of Arabic, Turkish and Asian people. A furore broke out when some of the figures were vandalised. The resultant publicity and discussion led to Auburn Council’s recognition that it needed to appoint a cultural development worker.¹⁷

Katherine Knight

¹ Stewart, Brendan; Dialogue with a Video-Maker: Visual Multiculturalism and Complexity, Double Dialogues, Issue 2, Winter 2002, http://www.doubledialogues.com/archive/archive_main.htm

² Jakubowicz, Prof A, The Sun sets in the West – arts and cultural provision and resources in Western Sydney, address to Celebrating Cultures – Popular Myths & Realities, Creative Cultures, Parramatta Riverside Theatres, March 22 – 24, 1994.

³ Zubrzycki, Prof. Jerzy; ANU Australia, *The Evolution of the Policy of Multiculturalism in Australia 1968-95*, www.immi.gov.au/media/publications/multicultural/confer/06/speech29a.htm, 1995 Global Cultural Diversity Conference Proceedings, Sydney.

⁴ *Report of the Review of Settlement Services for Migrants and Humanitarian Entrants, May 2003*, Dept of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, p.24.

⁵ Seneviratne, Kalinga; *One Nation Many Cultures*, publication based on the series One Nation Many Cultures first broadcast on Radio 2SER-FM in September, 1989. Funded by the Australia Council. p.1.

⁶ Zubrzycki, op.cit.

⁷ Submission No. 72, Australian Parliament, Joint Standing Committee on Migration, established 2010.

⁸ Seneviratne, Kalinga; op.cit.

⁹ Ibid. p.2.

¹⁰ *Fairfield Advance*, Creative display reflects Juan’s struggles, 6/8/1991, p.19.

¹¹ www.byds.org.au/about_us.html

¹² www.acdn.org.au/about_acdn.html

¹³ Correspondence with Tim Carroll, 8/5/2000.

¹⁴ Correspondence with Tim Carroll, February 1992.

¹⁵ *Sydney Morning Herald*, Heat may have died down but lessons live on in riot tales, by Jason Blake, 26/5/2011, p.22.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Public art becomes drama, *Artswest*, Vol 11, No.10, November 1994, p.7.



Norfolk Island's Foundation Day

Each year on 6 March, Norfolk Island celebrates "Foundation Day", the day in 1788 when Lt Philip Gidley King landed on Norfolk Island to establish the first European settlement on the Island, leaving Port Jackson 15 Feb 1788 aboard the *Supply*.

With King were 22 people including 15 convicts:

Lieut. Philip Gidley King — Commandant

James Cunningham – Midshipman and master's mate of *Sirius*

Thomas Jamison – Surgeon, 1st Mate of *Sirius*

John Turn penny Atree – Assistant Surgeon, who had been the surgeon aboard *Lady Penrhyn*

Roger Morley – Seaman *Sirius*

William Westbrook – Seaman *Sirius*

Charles Heritage – Marine *Sirius*

John Batchelor – Marine *Sirius*

John Williams – Convict *Charlotte*

Charles McClellan – Convict *Alexander*

Nathaniel Lucas – Convict *Scarborough*

Edward Garth – Convict *Scarborough*

John Mortimore – Convict *Charlotte*

Noah Mortimore – Convict *Charlotte*

Edward Westlake – Convict *Charlotte*

Richard Widdicombe – Convict *Charlotte*

John Rice – Convict *Charlotte*

Anne Innet – Convict *Lady Penrhyn*

Elizabeth Colley - Convict *Lady Penrhyn*

Elizabeth Lee – Convict *Lady Penrhyn*

Elizabeth Hipsley – Convict *Lady Penrhyn*

Olive Gascoigne – Convict *Lady Penrhyn*

Susan Gough- Convict *Friendship*

:

In the middle of this month (Feb 1788), Lieutenant King of the *Sirius*, a master's mate, and surgeon's mate, with four other men from the ship, together with a few men and women convicts, embarked on board the *Supply* armed tender, and she sailed with them for Norfolk Island.

An Historical Journal of the Transactions at Port Jackson and Norfolk Island, John Hunter

Norfolk has a unique beauty of its own, with its renowned tall majestic pines, sheer cliff faces, coral reefs and beautiful beaches. Almost one third of the island is devoted to National Parks and Reserves. But Norfolk Island is far more than a picturesque island in the South Pacific, it is paradise with a past. What was once a convicts' nightmare is now the tranquil home of the descendants from the Mutiny on the *Bounty*, who have their own unique culture and their own language.

**Celebrate Norfolk Island Foundation Day
on beautiful, historic Norfolk Island in March 2012.**

<http://www.australianhistoryresearch.info/norfolk-island-foundation-day-celebrations-march-2012/>

Cathy Dunn

Family history tourism – a good reason to get off the beaten track

I have no known living relatives outside Australia. Indeed no-one had any connection with family outside Australia after the mid twentieth century. War and its dislocation coincided with the deaths of the generation who had migrated in the 1880s, some of whom had slight links with descendents of family left at home and occasionally sent and received letters. War-time destruction in Britain obliterated those addresses and time moved on.

My first forays into learning more of my family history coincided with the Captain Cook Bicentenary in 1970. I had just started university and was studying history so it seemed a good reason to ask my grandparents who we were and where we had come from before we lived in Australia. I had three grandparents living so thought I had a fair chance of getting back on most lines. I still have the notes from those chats – notes full of red herrings, and real herrings, and myth and a sort of obliviousness of the world beyond Australia.

My maternal grandmother assured me that I need not be concerned about the family as we had NO convicts in our family and were related in some way to the Duke of Wellington. (I didn't know then that this was a respectability code for "we are descended from convicts" and we are Irish not English).

My paternal grandmother told me that she couldn't tell me anything about her family as her mother died when she was 4 and her father came to Australia because he didn't have any family. She knew he was Danish, but neither she nor my father (who shared a bedroom with him until he was married) considered him 'foreign' and didn't think he spoke English with an accent. His only 'foreign' activity was his preference for 'stinky fish' that he dried in the laundry under their house at Leichhardt.

Finally this year, I decided it was time to take my 86 year old father to Denmark and see what we could uncover about the family history of his grandfather.

The internet has revolutionised family history research overseas. Its not just about Ancestry.com – and despite the adverts that 'you don't need to know what you are looking for', you really do need to have something to work on. Some knowledge of the relevant national history, geographical divisions and naming patterns are essential. Denmark saw large numbers of its young men emigrate in the 19th century, largely via Hamburg in Germany and mostly travelling to the United States of America. This means there is a large, enthusiastic American audience for genealogical data, available in convenient ways, and preferably in English.

In Denmark, the National Archives has holdings somewhat similar to the National Archives of Australia – the big picture political and administrative records. For family historians, the records lie at the next level down, at the provincial archives (a bit like State Records), which means you need to have some idea where in Denmark your ancestor lived.

Once you know the locality, there are many records available and thanks to a comprehensive digitising programme, most are available on line. These records include census returns back to the 18th century and parish registers. As Danes were automatically assumed to be Lutheran, the church records provide a way into many other civil records. All men had to register for

military service from the mid 19th century, and as the capital city expanded, the police also created regular lists of new arrivals and who lived where. Of course, the records are in Danish and whilst schoolgirl French and Latin can lead to some good guesses, Google Translate is a better option (plus a newly purchased Danish dictionary!). Volunteers are indexing and translating the census records to help family historians find their ancestor.

However, finding the right ancestor is somewhat of a challenge. Scandinavia used a patronymic naming system until the middle of the 19th century, which meant there were no permanent surnames. Nielson was indeed the son of Niel, who in turn may have been the son of Frederick, etc. This also meant that when permanent surnames were introduced, there was a relatively small pool of surnames.

My grandfather was Carl August Nielsen and he was born about 1860 in Denmark. His approximate birth year was calculated from his NSW death certificate, which was completed by his son-in-law, who really didn't know when or where he was born!

Well, I am an historian and I know how to do this. You go to State Records and look for his naturalisation papers and all will be revealed! He did indeed become a naturalised citizen in 1902, just after federation, when he was the father of two. The papers are informative about his trade and his employer – another Danish cabinet maker. When and how did he arrive in NSW? The magic question and the deflating answer – by train from Queensland in the early 1890s. Shipping lists exist but not lists of who purchased train tickets. Immigration lists to Queensland identified a couple of men of this name, but the details weren't quite right.

We had only one document, his trade papers as a cabinet maker, dated Copenhagen 1882. The information was in Danish, French, German and English and was clearly intended to assist the migrating tradesman. It gave his name and the name of his master who taught him his trade.

Well, if Copenhagen in 1882 was our only clue, then off to Copenhagen we would go, armed with a bundle of print outs from the online census returns of all the men aged in their early 20s who were cabinet makers and who were called Carl Nielsen and who lived somewhere in Copenhagen. There were only about 20 possibilities – far better than John Smith, really! With a bit more Danish, and a closer look at the households, we could narrow it down to about 8 addresses, and if nothing else we could drive around Copenhagen looking at these streets.

Copenhagen is in the province of Zeeland, and the provincial archives are housed in Copenhagen so that was the first port of call. The archivists looked at the trade document and immediately said “Why are you in Copenhagen?” The place name of where he trained as a cabinet maker is here – pointing to the Danish version on the document. Only in the Danish did it give the town – not in the English, French or German versions.

The family information had always only mentioned Copenhagen, but now we had the name of a town on the western side of the island of Zeeland – Slagelse. It's a difficult place to pronounce, and the Danish doesn't sound anything like the pronunciation an English speaker would assume from these letters. No wonder if my great grandfather had mentioned the town, it would not have registered, whereas Copenhagen is so much better known.

Armed with more printouts from the census, this time for the master cabinet maker in Slagelse and for families called Nielsen, we hired a car and drove about 100 km south-west from Copenhagen to Slagelse. It's a small market town in the midst of a farming area, but also not far from the sea. It seemed a modestly prosperous place that had managed to retain the scale of its 19th century buildings among the modern shopping facilities of a service town. The street pattern hadn't changed from the 1860s and we could easily find the street of the master cabinet maker – main street into town – and the street where the most likely family of Nielsens lived as it was the office of the tourist information centre!

More importantly, the tourist information gave the date when the railway from Copenhagen arrived – 1850. Standing in the place, the relationship of periphery to metropolis was clear. He had not come from Copenhagen to Slagelse to learn a trade. Here, surely, was our place of origin, where a young cabinet maker had taken his new trade to try his luck in the capital city, like so many others, and had then taken his skills to the new world.

Now, of course, comes the detailed research into the parish records to test the hypothesis and see what can be found. With luck, there will be another reason to return to Denmark to find a place that can give the answer.



The coat of arms of Slagelse – St George and the Dragon



Smedgade, Slagelse May 2011

Carol Liston

Domitila Barrios de Chúnagara

An exercise for a recent Spanish class required us to present a song in Spanish and explain why we liked it. It led me to listen carefully to a CD I had bought at a concert four years ago, conducted by versatile musician, singer and composer Mary-Jane Field. Mary-Jane lived in South America until early adulthood and has since lived in Australia for many years. She is fluent in Spanish as well as English and passionate about the folk music of both continents.



**Domitila Barrios de
Chungara**

<http://word.world-citizenship.org/wp-archive/333>

The more I listened to the recording, the more amazing and moving I found the story and Mary-Jane's skills in recounting it. "Cantata for Domatila" is a bilingual folk opera created by Mary-Jane and recorded at Ashfield Town Hall in 2004. It is based on the experience of Domitila Barrios de Chúnagara in defence of the rights of tin miners in Bolivia and uses a range of traditional Bolivian rhythms to convey the lyrics.

Domatila Barrios is an indigenous Bolivian woman born in 1937. She is the daughter and the wife of tin miners. The suffering of the miners through exploitation by the mine owners was severe, but for women this was compounded by the country's patriarchal system, where domestic violence and abuse were the norm in mining towns.

In 1963 Domitila joined the Housewives' Committee of Siglo XX which demanded better living and working conditions for their families and their miner husbands.

Because there was no alternative employment, men in that area inevitably became miners, which also meant the inevitability of lung disease – Mal de Mina – and early death. There were confrontations with the government, which responded with persecution, gaoling, torture and relocation. Their lives were a nightmare.

Domitila's efforts to defend the rights of miners and to stand up for the rights of women led to many terms of imprisonment and torture. She had seven children, but lost four of them because of the violence. When Domatila was given the opportunity to attend the 1975 International Women's Year Tribunal in Mexico, her story was heard by Brazilian journalist Moema Viezzar. Together, they recorded Domitila's testimonial and the book, translated into English, *Let Me Speak* was published in 1978.

Domitila believes in education and political action as the basis for social change, but reform has been slow, partly because she is often seen by other women as a threat to society's traditional structure. For Domatila, the fight is for a community which respects its members equally.

Katherine Knight

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Other PHA publications: Secretary

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