

## II PEOPLE

**A**USTRALIA HAS ALWAYS been sparsely populated. In 1788 Aborigines occupied most parts of the continent, and it can be divided roughly according to their language groups. Their patterns of settlement were severely disrupted by European colonisation. The colonists came mostly from England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales, but also included German settlers, Chinese gold diggers and Pacific Island labourers. The origins of the Australian population in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are shown in the opening chapter. Next, outbreaks of disease such as influenza, plague and polio, and causes of death such as road accidents, are examined and charted.

The spread of religious denominations and the development of educational institutions from primary schools to universities are mapped in the chapter on churches and schools. The convict origins of European Australia, and two other potent images of nineteenth-century Australians, the bushranger and the larrikin, are then explored. The experience of Australians in major wars is mapped, as is the impact of the Great Depression on life in the 1930s. The final chapter examines how Australians have been governed, and how Australia's internal and external boundaries have been created.



*Mosaic map of Australia after the seventeenth-century Dutch original known as the Tasman map, foyer of the State Library of New South Wales. Photograph by Kevin Diletti.*

CHAPTER 7

# AN IMMIGRANT NATION



*Paintings in the Awunbarrma Rocks on the edge of the Arnhem Land plateau, east of Darwin. Photograph by G. Chaloupka.*

HERE WE EXPLORE the changing characteristics of the Australian population, from the time of the first arrivals 40 000 or more years ago to the 1980s. The maps record the growth of population, the emergence of the Australian born and the changing sources of immigrants. They also illustrate aspects of the Aboriginal population, problems in Australian immigration policy, the ageing of the population, the imbalance between the sexes, changing patterns of employment and the increasingly urbanised character of Australian society.

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# Aboriginal colonisation

**I**N THE DREAMTIME, the Australian desert was silent and unpeopled. One day the Numbakulla brothers, who lived in the western sky, looked out and saw the Inapatua, an embryonic people who could not see, hear or move, crouched under some boulders. The Numbakulla brothers took their knives and fashioned the Inapatua into people. These were the ancestors of the Aranda tribe.

This is one of many legends about the arrival of people in Australia. According to such legends, Aboriginal people have lived in Australia since soon after the land was fashioned by creator spirits.

These maps relate to archaeological theories about the first colonisation of this country. Archaeology has shown that people have lived in Australia for more than 40 000 years, having come to Australia from southeast Asia. Archaeologists have proposed a number of theories to explain the movement of people throughout the country from an initial landing somewhere in northern or north-western Australia. An early and influential theory was developed by J.B. Birdsell in the 1950s. Chiefly by measuring rainfall, he estimated how many people a given area of land could support and how much land a given number of people would need to survive. He proposed that population would double in size with each generation, and that the resulting need for land would send people further into Australia; the whole continent, including Tasmania, could have been occupied in just 2204 years, given an initial colonising band of 25 people.

Birdsell's model is questionable, being based on many unprovable assumptions, particularly that population size is dependent chiefly upon rainfall, and that in a new country population size doubles with each generation. His model was based on the modern Australian climate. We now know that Australia has experienced a great many environmental changes over the past 40 000 years.

## Environmental changes

From 40 000 to about 25 000 years ago temperatures were about 3°Celsius cooler than at present, and rainfall was higher. Most of the large inland lakes were full and fresh, and the sea level was 40 to 50 metres lower than it is at present, so that New Guinea and Tasmania were joined to the mainland.

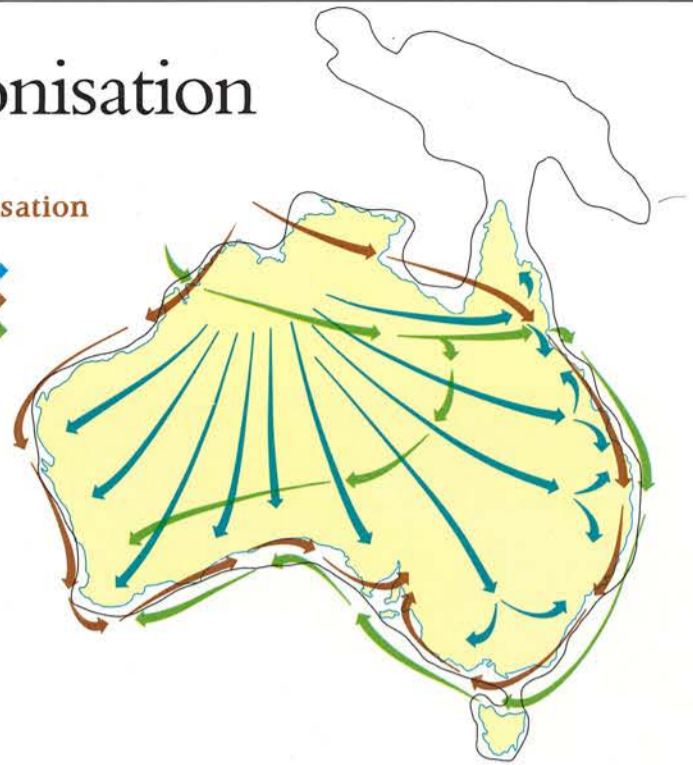
Around 25 000 to 20 000 years ago, as the last glacial period intensified, the land became drier. Ice accumulated on the Snowy Mountains and in the highlands of Tasmania and New Guinea, and temperatures were 4° to 8°Celsius below today's. Many previously deep lakes began to dry up. In response, vegetation changed or died; inland sand dunes lost their vegetation altogether and became unstable.

By 20 000 to 18 000 years ago, Australia was experiencing peak glacial conditions. The sea level was 150 metres below today's. There were small glaciers in the Snowy Mountains and ice sheets in the Tasmanian and New Guinea highlands. Most lakes were dry or saline, grasslands covered most of temperate Australia, and sand dunes were moving from today's arid and semiarid zones.

About 15 000 years ago the climate gradually became milder, as temperatures rose and the sea level came to within 40 metres of its present mean. In the Snowy Mountains the icecaps retreated, and disappeared by about 12 000 years ago. At about the same time, Tasmania became an island, many lakes filled again, open sclerophyll (eucalypt) and other forest returned to many of the present-day temperate zones, arid grasslands shrank, and sand dunes became revegetated and stable. By about 7 000 years ago, when the climate was at its warmest and wettest, the sea level was within four metres of its pre-

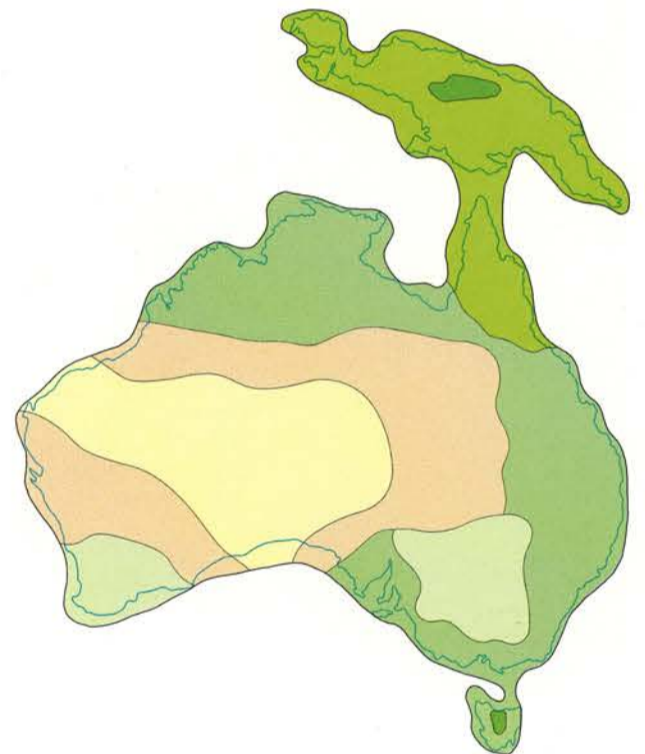
## Theories of colonisation

Birdsell →  
Bowdler →  
Horton →

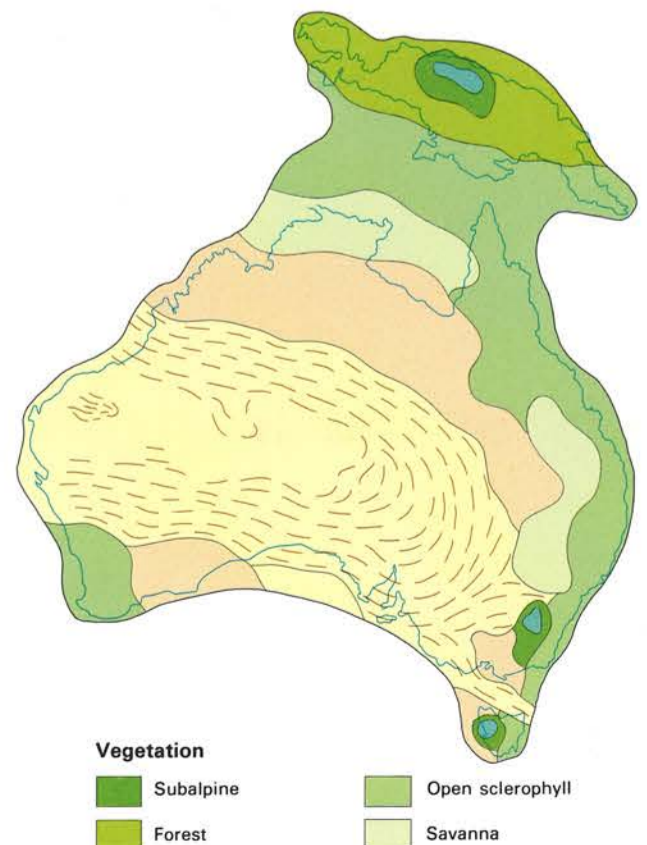


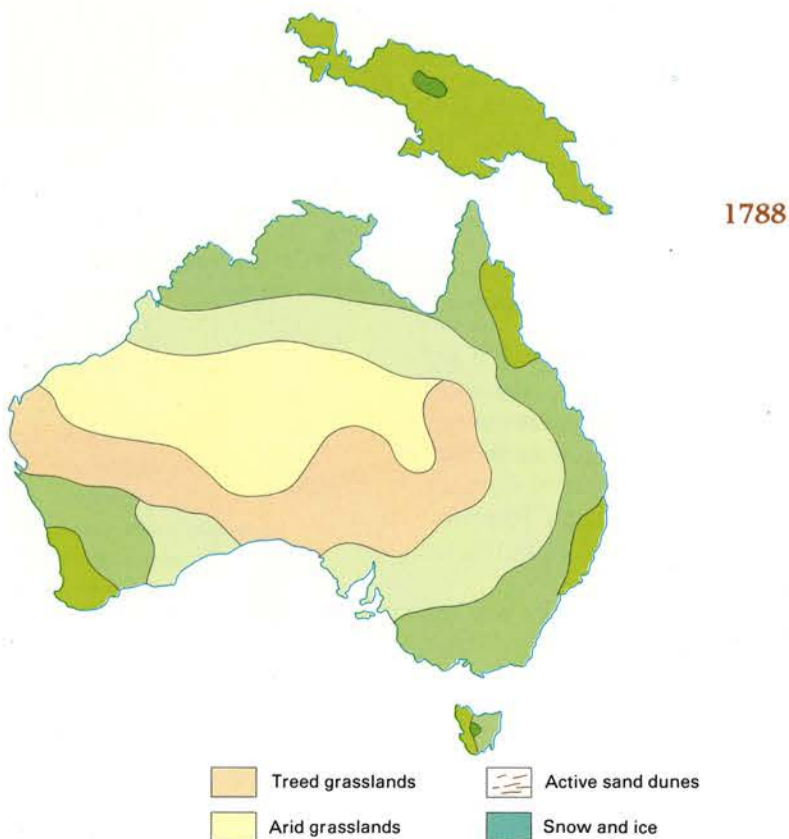
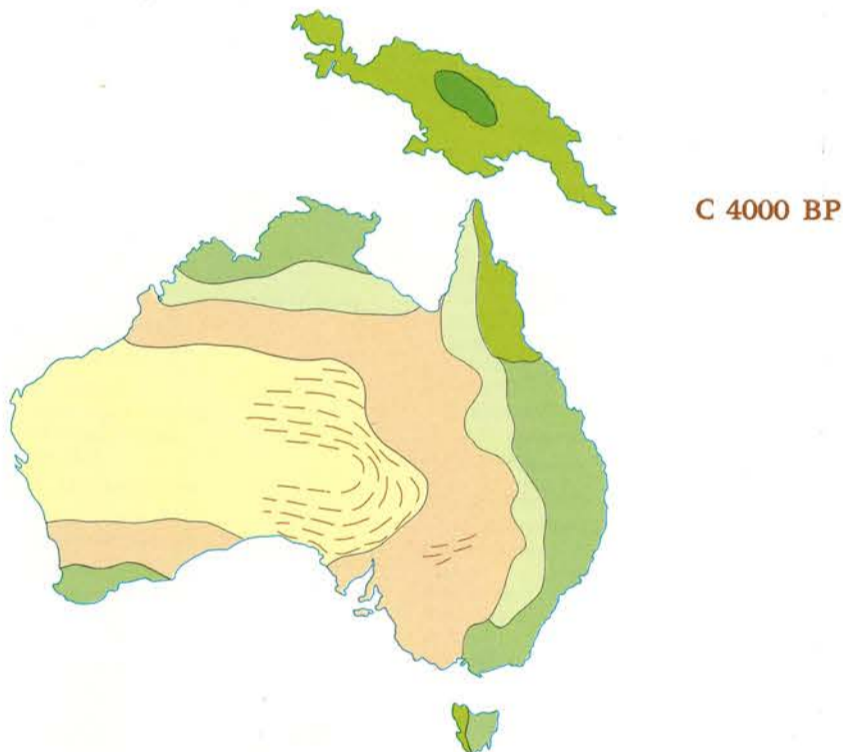
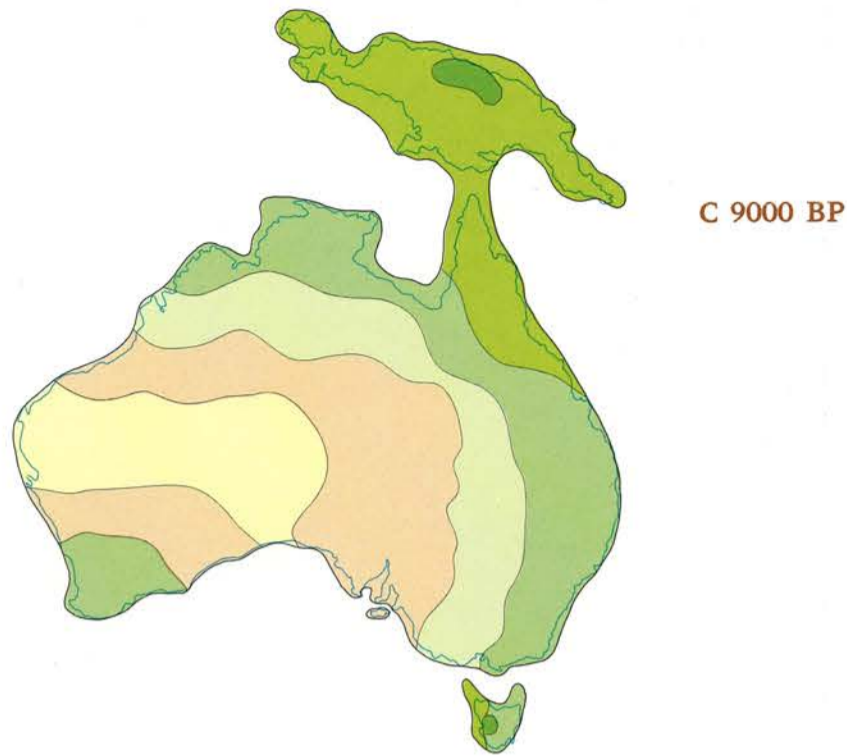
## Natural vegetation

**C 30 000 BP**  
Circa 30 000 years  
before the present



**C 18 000 BP**





sent mean, and New Guinea had become an island. Many lakes that are dry today then contained water, while forest covered larger areas, and dense rain-forest flourished in several parts of Australia.

This warm, moist period was relatively short-lived. About 5000 years ago, lake levels again began to fall, and vegetation zones began to contract to their present positions. About 3000 years ago there was a short period of increased aridity; some sand dunes began moving and some lakes dried up. Present-day conditions were established about 1500 years ago.

**Recent theories of colonisation**

Two recent theories about the Aboriginal colonisation of Australia try to take account of the changing environment outlined above.

In 1977 Sandra Bowdler developed her 'coastal colonisation' theory. Bowdler argued that the first Australian colonists must have had a marine economy. Only people who used some form of watercraft, lived by the sea and knew how to handle ocean winds and currents could have survived the journey to Australia. Naturally such people would have settled along the coasts and estuaries, and to a lesser extent the rivers. Australia was therefore not colonised by an expansion over the inland from the north, but by migration around the coast.

Unlike Birdsell's theory, many aspects of Bowdler's argument can be tested, even though the earliest evidence for such settlement would lie on Australia's ancient coastline under the sea. The earliest sites recorded date from about 25 000 to 20 000 years ago. Many lie close to water, as Bowdler predicted. But quite a few early sites do not lie near ancient aquatic regions. Koonalda Cave, on the Nullarbor Plain near Ceduna in South Australia, was being quarried for flint 20 000 years ago, at the height of the last glacial period when the sea was 140 kilometres away and the cave was in the heart of a desert. Only people with a desert economy could have survived such conditions. Other sites demonstrate that Aborigines adapted to inland environments earlier than Bowdler's theory would suggest.

In 1981 David Horton proposed his 'water and woodland' theory, showing that many of the earliest archaeological sites recorded originally lay in woodland areas. Australian woodlands of all types contain water and abundant food resources and can therefore, in theory, support large numbers of people. Horton argued that people would have been restricted to these areas until they developed a technology that equipped them to exploit the marginal resources of the semiarid and arid zones. This argument implies that Aborigines migrated with the moving woodland belts. During the peak glacial period, for example, they would have followed the contracting woodland to the edges of the continent, and not reoccupied the inland until the woodland expanded there about 12 000 years ago.

Horton's theory can also be tested, and again archaeological evidence indicates that the situation was more complex than he suggests. For example, it shows that Aboriginal people remained around the Willandra Lakes and Lake Mungo in New South Wales after the woodland retreated. They clustered around waterholes, exploiting diminishing local resources, even through some of the driest phases of the glacial period. Further, they apparently moved into arid zones *before* developing specialised desert technology. For example, according to present evidence, seed grinding tools, part of traditional desert technology, did not appear in arid and semiarid Australia until about 4000 years ago, long after Aboriginal occupation of these areas.

We still do not know how the Aborigines colonised Australia. We know that they adapted to many environmental zones relatively early in their occupation, but it seems unlikely that they filled the continent as quickly as Birdsell suggested. Research may yet discover when and how they did so.

# Aboriginal languages

WELL BEFORE THE ARRIVAL of the first fleet in 1788, Europeans had taken an interest in the study of Aboriginal languages. In 1770 Cook's *Endeavour* was held up for repairs for seven weeks on the north Queensland coast near modern-day Cooktown. Members of his party, including Joseph Banks, made contact with local Aborigines and took down word lists from their language. Linguistic work continued after Arthur Phillip established the colony at Sydney Cove in 1788.

## Diversity and relatedness

In 1788 there were about two hundred distinct Australian languages, many with a number of dialects. Most linguists now believe that all but two or three of these languages are related to each other, though the relationship between them is not always obvious. One attempt to classify Australian languages has been a broad division of them into Pama-Nyungan and non-Pama-Nyungan languages. The Pama-Nyungan 'family' covers some nine-tenths of Australia and is named after the words for 'man' used in the geographical extremities of the area: *pama* in Cape York and *nyungar* in the far southwest. In the north, the non-Pama-Nyungan languages show considerable internal diversity and at the same time have markedly different structural patterns to the Pama-Nyungan languages. The division of the non-Pama-Nyungan languages into 26 distinct 'families' is based on relatively scanty data and should be treated as a working hypothesis. The division of families into groups is an attempt to show closer degrees of linguistic relatedness, but is quite controversial and should be regarded as suggestive rather than conclusive.

Other questions about the relationships between languages remain difficult to answer. For example, so little was recorded of the speech of the Tasmanian Aborigines that we cannot establish whether their languages are related to the rest of the Australian family. To date, it has not been possible to establish links with any families of languages outside Australia. We also have no way of knowing whether proto-Australian, the ancestral language to which the two hundred or so Australian languages can be traced, goes back some 40 000 years or was brought in by migrants 4000 years ago and overran existing languages. Our written records for Australian languages go back only as far as 1770. Many languages were recorded for the first time in any detail only in the 1970s. By then many were in decline.

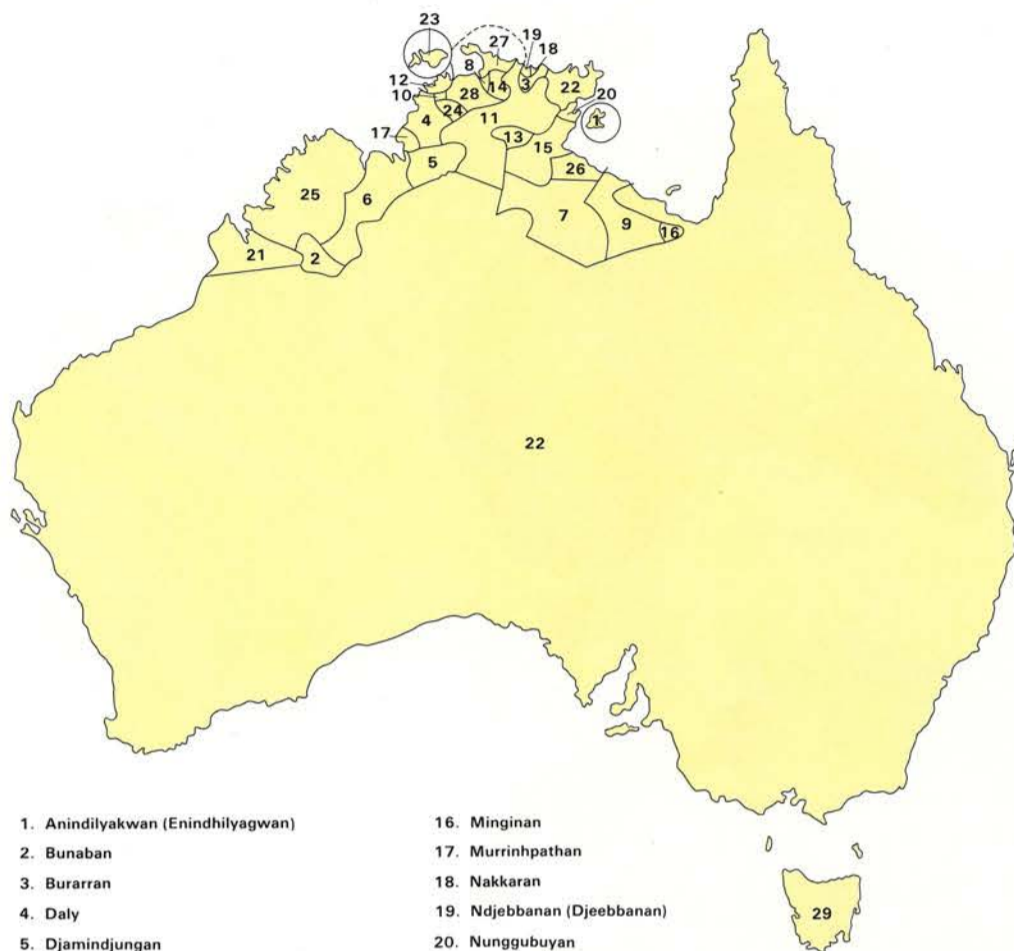
About fifty of the two hundred languages spoken before the European invasion are now extinct. Another hundred are in danger of extinction, with only a handful of elderly speakers remaining. The other fifty or so languages are relatively healthy.

The map of language groups shows a close correlation between prolonged European settlement and the decline of active speakers of languages in a region. Some language groups, such as the South Western, should be interpreted only in broad terms: some languages in this group are extinct while others have sizeable speech communities.

## The rise of creoles and Aboriginal English

While many Aboriginal languages have declined since contact with Europeans, some new ones have resulted from that contact. When peoples speaking different languages come together and need to communicate for limited purposes such as trade, a *pidgin* frequently develops. It has a simplified vocabulary and grammar, and is a second language for all who use it. Australian pidgins were based on English but had an input from local Aboriginal languages. In some instances pidgins have acquired more vocabul-

## Aboriginal language families



- |                                   |                             |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Anindilyakwan (Enindhilyagwan) | 16. Minginan                |
| 2. Bunaban                        | 17. Murrinhpathan           |
| 3. Burarran                       | 18. Nakkaran                |
| 4. Daly                           | 19. Ndjebbanan (Djeebbanan) |
| 5. Djaminjungan                   | 20. Nunggubuyan             |
| 6. Djeragan                       | 21. Nyulnyulan              |
| 7. Djingili-Wambayan              | 22. Pama-Nyungan            |
| 8. Gagudjuan                      | 23. Tiwian                  |
| 9. Garawan                        | 24. Warayan                 |
| 10. Gungaraganyan                 | 25. Wororan                 |
| 11. Gunwinyguan                   | 26. Yanyuwan                |
| 12. Laragiyian                    | 27. Yiwaidjan               |
| 13. Mangarayan                    | 28. (Unclassified)          |
| 14. Mangerrian                    | 29. (Tasmanian)             |
| 15. Maran                         |                             |

ary and a more elaborate grammar. In Torres Strait and northern Australia this process has resulted in a *creole* which is the first language of its speakers and can fulfil all their communication needs. One of these languages, Kriol, is now used in bilingual education programs and has a small but growing literature of its own.

Between standard Australian English and the creoles of the north are various forms of Aboriginal English. Even in urban areas, where Aboriginal languages are not in active use, distinctive forms of English used by Aborigines are important as a markers of solidarity and cultural identity.

## The future of Australian languages

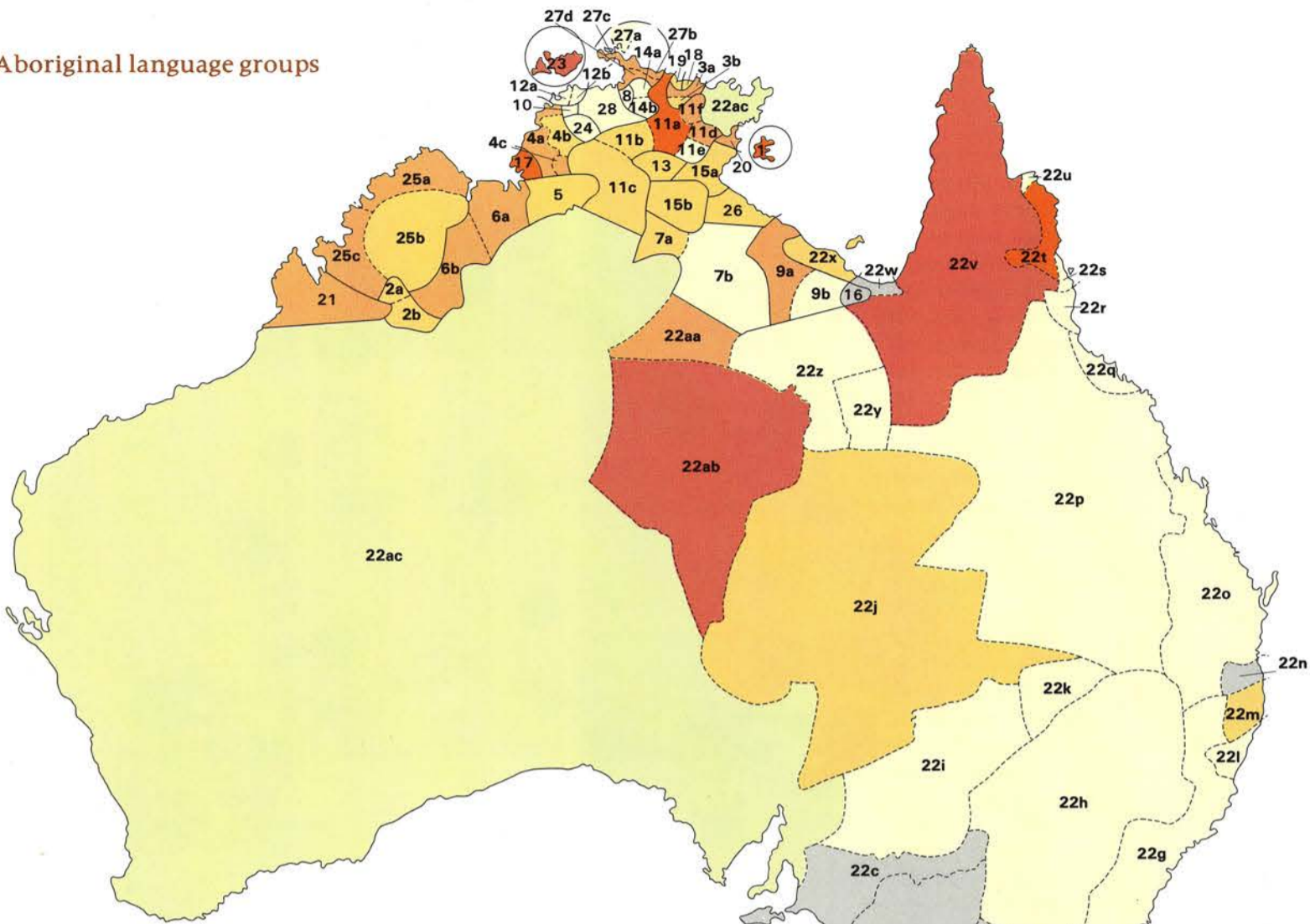
Particularly in the north, Aboriginal languages are now used in a range of contexts, including education and the media. Some central Australian languages have radio broadcasts to mainly Aboriginal audiences in the Alice Springs area. In some centres in Western Australia, South Australia, the Northern Territory and Queensland, local Aboriginal languages, including Kriol, are used in schools.

In 1974 a School of Australian Linguistics was set up to train speakers of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island languages in linguistic analysis, so that speakers would be better placed to develop literacy materials, to foster bilingual education and to extend the resources of their languages to accommodate new concepts. This is an important initiative in ensuring that Aboriginal languages endure.

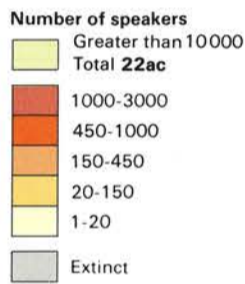


A poster advertising Aboriginal language cassette tapes produced by the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association, based in Alice Springs. Poster by Michael Callaghan and Jeff Stewart, Redback Graphix.

Aboriginal language groups

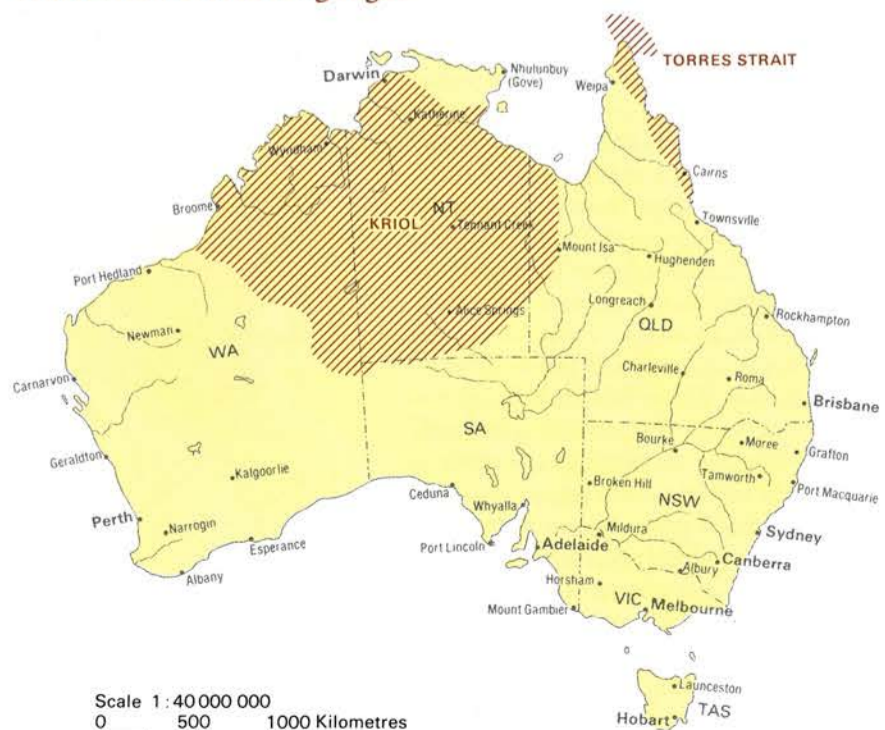


- |                                   |                           |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Anindilyakwan (Enindhilyagwan) | 22. Pama-Nyungan          |
| 2. Bunaban                        | a Kulinic                 |
| a Bunabic                         | b Yotayotic               |
| b Guniyanic                       | c Ngarinyeric-Yithayithic |
| 3. Burarran                       | d Pallanganmiddang        |
| a Burarric                        | e Dhuduroa                |
| b Guragonic                       | f Ganay                   |
| 4. Daly                           | g Yuin-Kuric              |
| a Bringen-Wagaydy                 | h Wiradhuric              |
| b Malag-Malag                     | i Baagandji               |
| c Moil                            | j Karnic                  |
| 5. Djamindjungan                  | k Muruwaric               |
| 6. Djeragan                       | l Gumbaynggiric           |
| a Miriwungic                      | m Bandjalangic            |
| b Kitjic                          | n Durubulic               |
| 7. Djingili-Wambayan              | o Waka-Kabic              |
| a Djingilic                       | p Maric                   |
| b Wambayan                        | q Nyawaygic               |
| 8. Gagudjuan                      | r Dyrabalic               |
| 9. Garawan                        | s Yidinyic                |
| a Garawa                          | t Yalandic                |
| b Waanyi                          | u Barrow Point            |
| 10. Gungaraganyan                 | v Paman                   |
| 11. Gunwinyguan                   | w Galibamic               |
| a Gunwinygic                      | x Tangic                  |
| b Jawonyic                        | y Galgadungic             |
| c Yangmanic                       | z Wagaya-Warluwaric       |
| d Ngandic                         | aa Warumungic             |
| e Ngalakanic                      | ab Arandic                |
| f Rembarrngic                     | ac South Western          |
| 12. Laragiyan                     | 23. Tiwian                |
| a Laragiycic                      | 24. Warayan               |
| b Wulnic                          | 25. Wororan               |
| 13. Mangarayan                    | a Wunambalic              |
| 14. Mangerrian                    | b Ungarinjinic            |
| a Mangerric                       | c Wororic                 |
| b Urninganggic                    | 26. Yanyuwan              |
| 15. Maran                         | 27. Yiwaidjan             |
| a Mara                            | a Margic                  |
| b Alawic                          | b Yiwaidjic               |
| 16. Minginan                      | c Garigic                 |
| 17. Murrinhpathan                 | d Amuragic                |
| 18. Nakkaran                      | 28. (Unclassified)        |
| 19. Ndjebbanan (Djebbanan)        | 29. (Tasmanian)           |
| 20. Nunggubuyan                   |                           |
| 21. Nyulnyulan                    |                           |



Scale 1 : 20 000 000  
0 250 500 Kilometres

Australian creole languages



Scale 1 : 40 000 000  
0 500 1000 Kilometres

# Missions and reserves

**T**HE HISTORY OF MISSIONS and reserves in Australia is closely related to the history of Aboriginal lands. The maps here show the major church missions and government reserves.

The first map suggests the changing significance of missions over the four periods shown. Colonial governments promoted missionary activity until about 1850. Thereafter activity declined until the twentieth century, when it underwent a resurgence, particularly in western, northern and central Australia. Denominations concentrated their work in different regions: Catholic missions were prevalent in Western Australia, Church of England in Queensland, Presbyterian and Methodist in the north, and Lutheran in central Australia. The map emphasises the role of the state in creating reserves. It also shows where European settlement extended, dispossessing the Aborigines of their land.

Colonial governors were given responsibility for protecting the Aborigines, and some appointed protectors and established reserves. In Van Diemen's Land the protector of Aborigines in the 1830s, George Augustus Robinson, tried to remove Aborigines from the mainland to reserves in the Bass Strait islands, where he introduced them to 'civilisation' and Christianity. In 1838 the New South Wales government, acting on instructions from the British Colonial Office, proclaimed a protectorate in the Port Phillip district. Missionaries were at work in all colonies, but their successes were few. They lacked adequate financial support and understanding of Aboriginal society and beliefs.

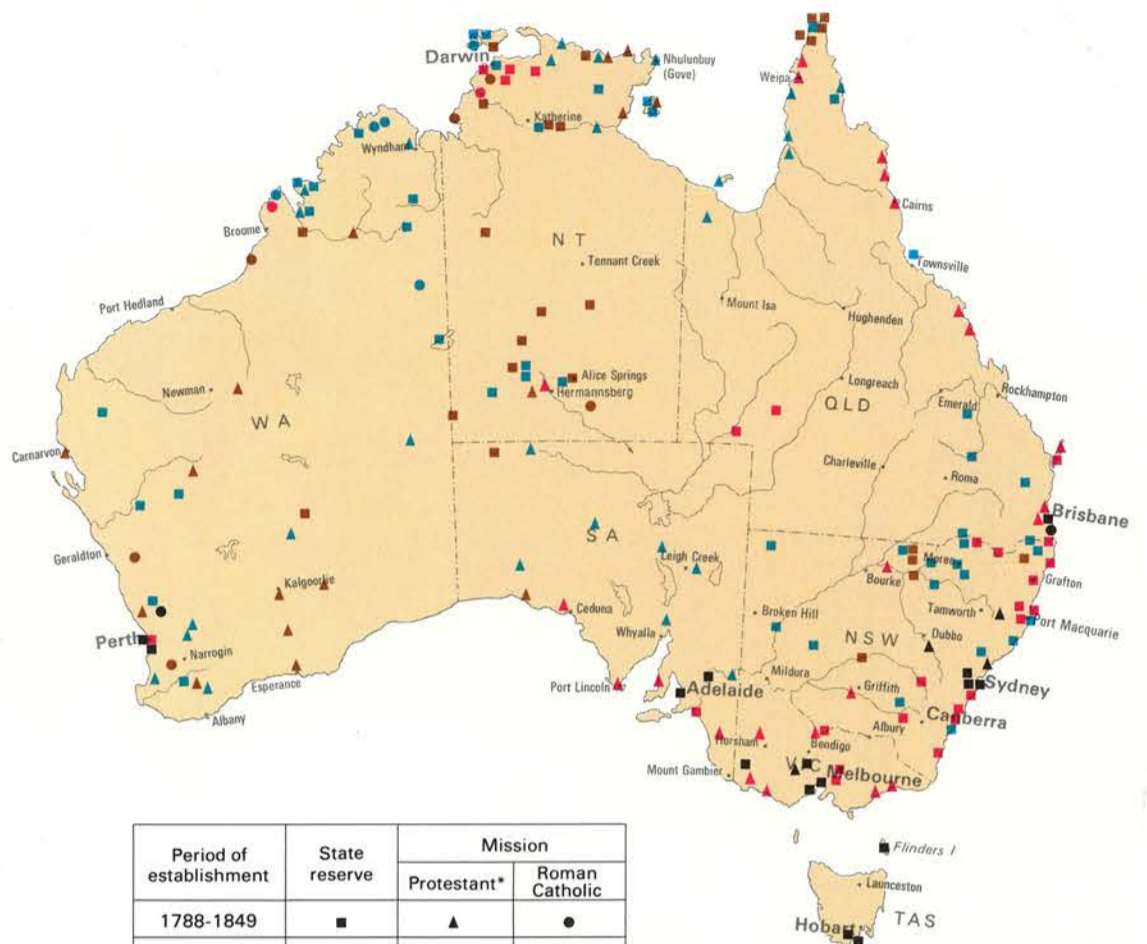
By 1850 all New South Wales missions had been closed or taken over by government. Throughout Australia, most reserves had been revoked, in response to the demand of European settlers for land.

Until the 1850s, reserves had been created, at least in theory, to protect the Aborigines; thereafter they were explicitly set up to control them. Aboriginal protection boards, or their equivalents, were established in all colonies, and legislation governing Aborigines' movement and behaviour was passed and remained in force until the 1950s. Lands were set aside as Aboriginal reserves and the Aboriginal population was 'encouraged' to live on them, frequently being forcibly relocated particularly in Queensland, Western Australia, and to a lesser extent South Australia. The power of the state in these matters was awesome, and included the power to remove Aboriginal children from their parents' care. Once Aborigines had been placed on reserves, their lives became strictly regulated.

Most nineteenth-century policies survived until World War II. In New South Wales reserves were declared outside towns with a sizeable fringe population of Aborigines, particularly in the north and west of the state. Reserves policy in Queensland reflected a state intent on isolating Aborigines from contact with the outside world. Large reserves were established in central Australia and the Northern Territory on land deemed to be of no economic use, a view that was to change with the discovery of minerals.

Reserves, and to a lesser extent missions, were still being established after World War II, but regulations controlling them were frequently criticised. Reserves themselves became an issue in the discussion of Aboriginal land rights. Although a referendum in 1967 gave the federal government new powers over Aboriginal affairs, these were not exercised until the Whitlam Labor government of 1972-75 drafted legislation transferring legal ownership of mission and reserve land to Aboriginal councils. By 1980, as the second map shows, similar legislation had been passed in all states except Queensland and Western Australia.

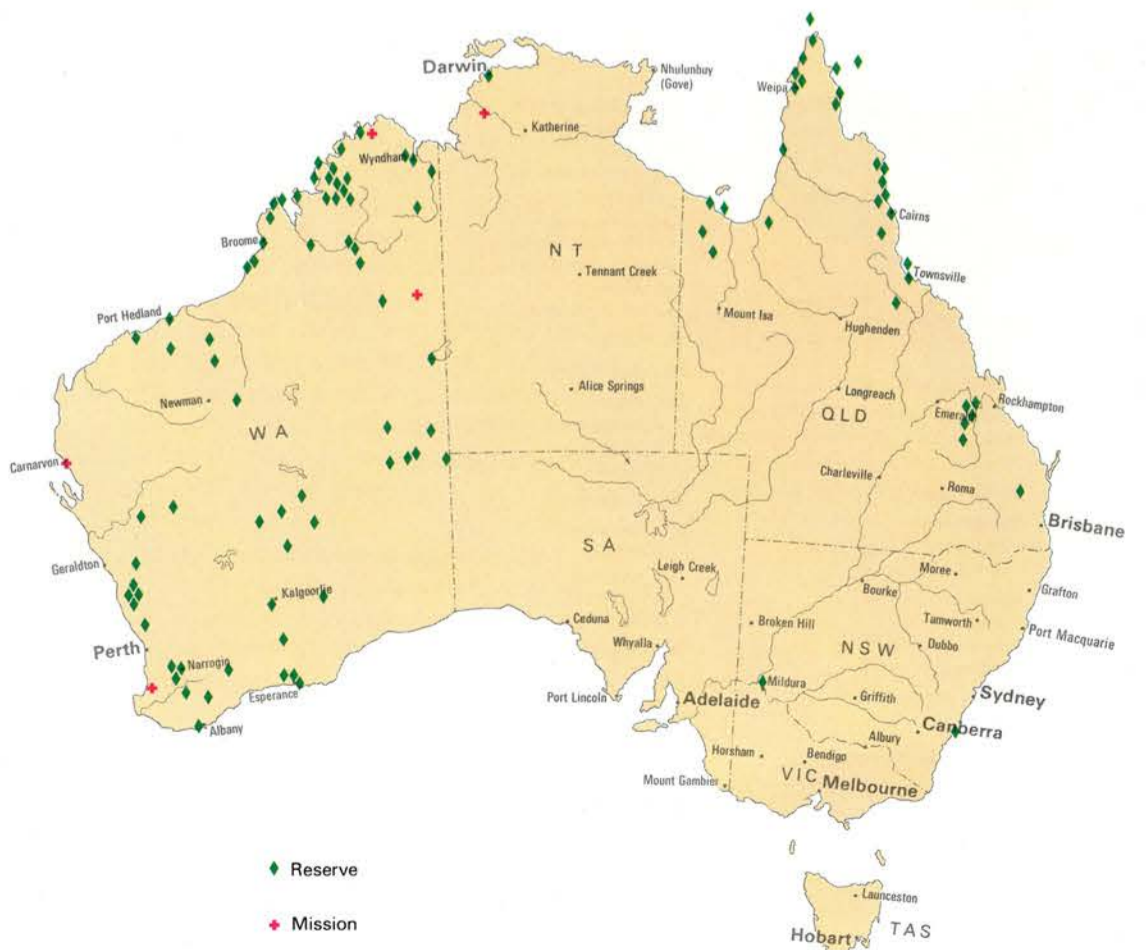
Missions and reserves 1788-1970



Period of establishment	State reserve	Mission	
		Protestant*	Roman Catholic
1788-1849	■	▲	●
1850-1900	■	▲	●
1901-1939	■	▲	●
1940-1970	■	▲	●

\*includes Church of England

Missions and reserves 1980

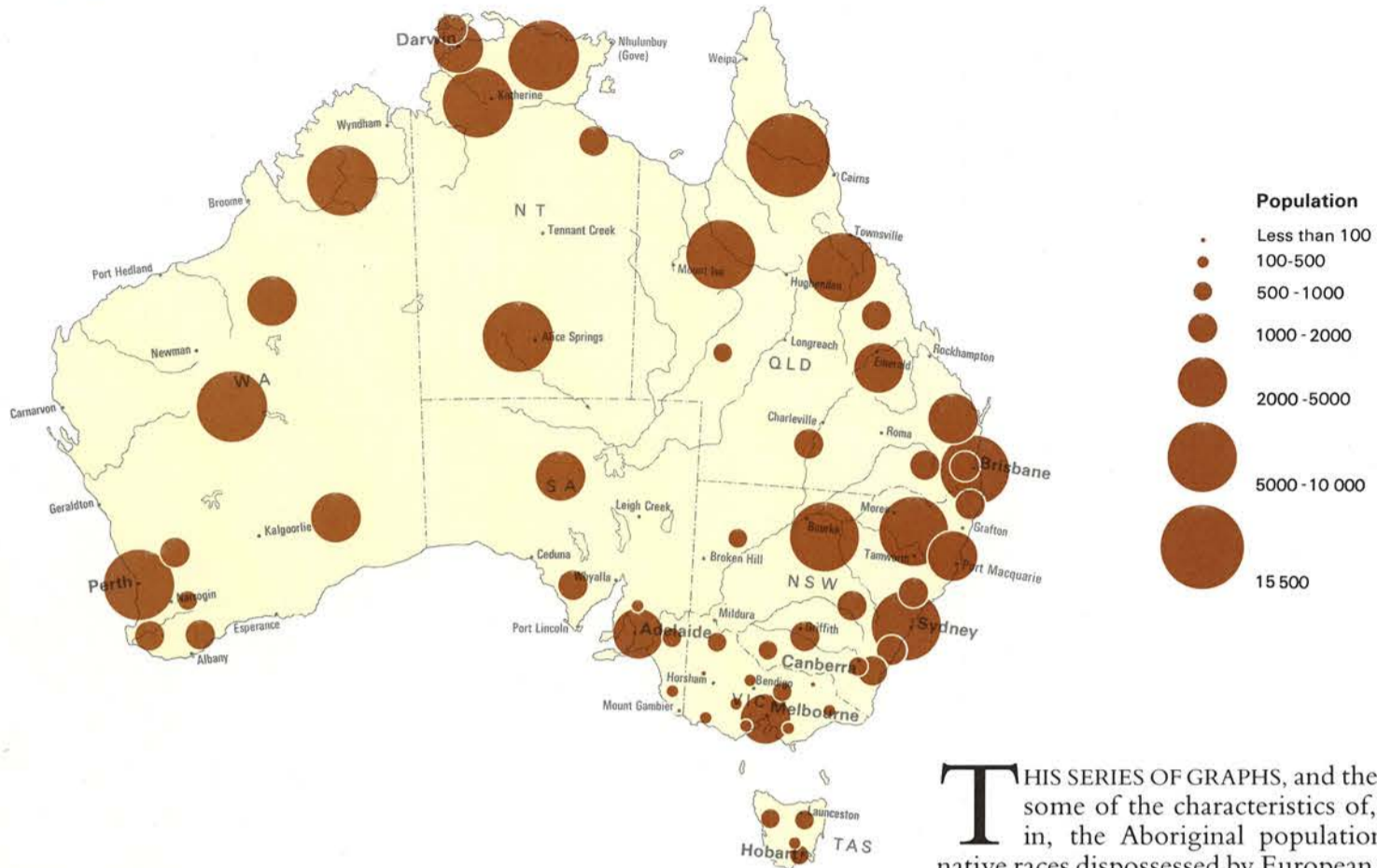


- ◆ Reserve
- ✝ Mission

Scale 1 : 30 000 000  
0 500 Kilometres

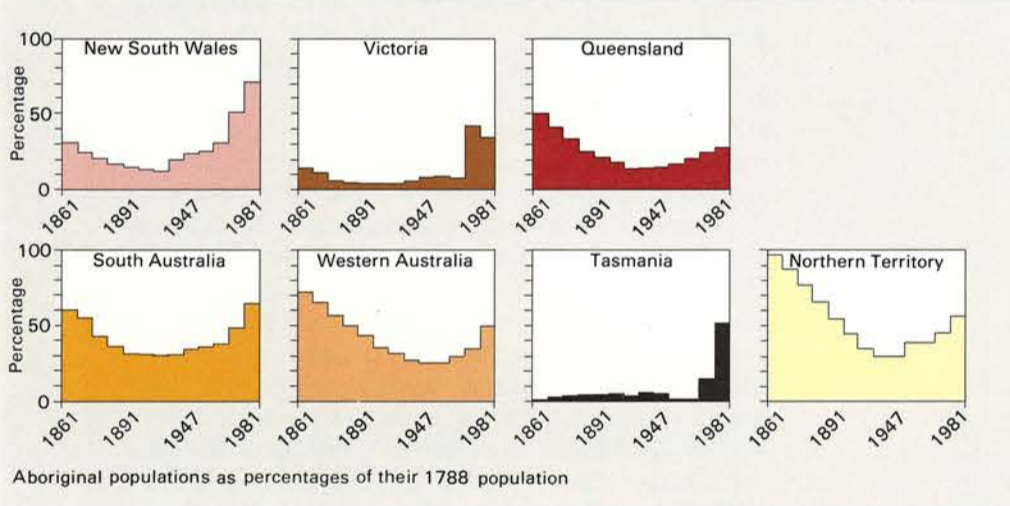
# Aboriginal population

## Aboriginal population 1981



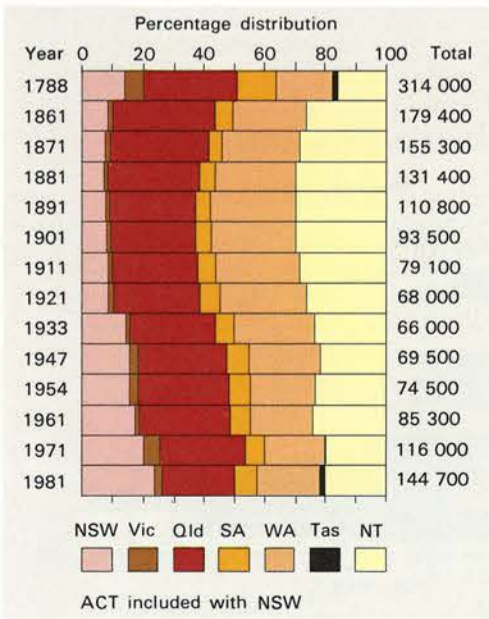
THIS SERIES OF GRAPHS, and the map, outline some of the characteristics of, and changes in, the Aboriginal population. Like most native races dispossessed by European colonists, the Aboriginal population suffered a drastic decline in numbers from the estimate of over 300 000 in 1788. This decline began in New South Wales immediately after 1788, and continued in the other colonies as European settlement spread. By 1861 the Aboriginal populations in Victoria, Tasmania and New South Wales had been reduced to only a small proportion of their levels prior to European settlement. By 1901 the Aboriginal population had been further reduced, and even in the Northern Territory it had decreased by half. It continued to decline until about 1930 when, it is estimated, it had fallen to about 20 per cent of the lowest estimate of its size in 1788. Since about 1930 it has slowly increased as the number of births has exceeded the number of deaths. Population recovery began earlier in the areas that were colonised earlier. There is evidence, however, that census figures both exaggerate the extent of the decline and disguise the recovery that occurred earlier in each state than these diagrams indicate. Particularly since the mid-1960s, there has emerged a new pride in being Aboriginal. Men and women who previously had hidden their Aboriginal origin from officials have begun to describe themselves as Aborigines in census returns.

## Aboriginal population 1861-1981

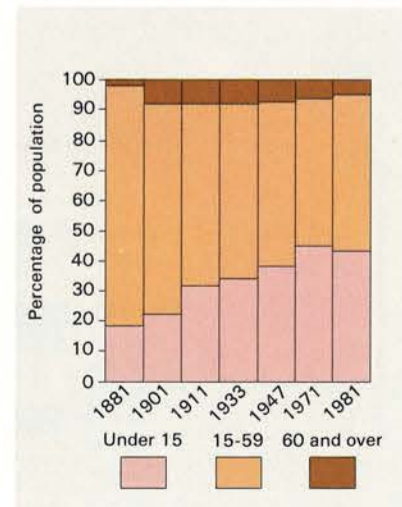


Aboriginal populations as percentages of their 1788 population

## Aboriginal population 1788-1981



## Age distribution 1881-1981

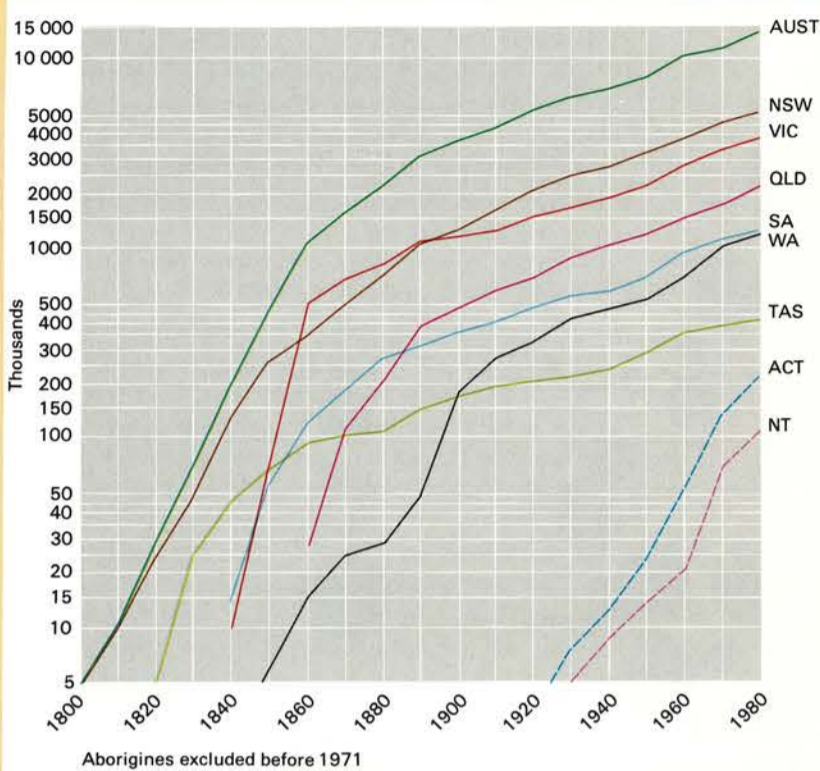


As the size of the Aboriginal population has changed, so has its geographic distribution. In 1788, it is estimated, just over one-third of the Aboriginal population lived in Queensland, and large numbers still live in this state. Because the impact of white colonisation was felt later in the Northern Territory, its share of the Aboriginal population increased during the nineteenth century. In 1891 nearly 30 per cent of Aborigines lived in the territory; this compares with an estimated 15 per cent in 1788. Since 1900, as the Aboriginal population elsewhere has grown, particularly in New South Wales, the percentage living in the Northern Territory has declined. The drift of Aborigines to urban areas is evident in New South Wales, where nearly one-third live in Sydney. Central Australia, Arnhem Land, northern New South Wales and, in the west, the Kimberley district and the Perth metropolitan area are also major centres of the Aboriginal population.



# Population growth

## Comparative rates of growth 1800-1980



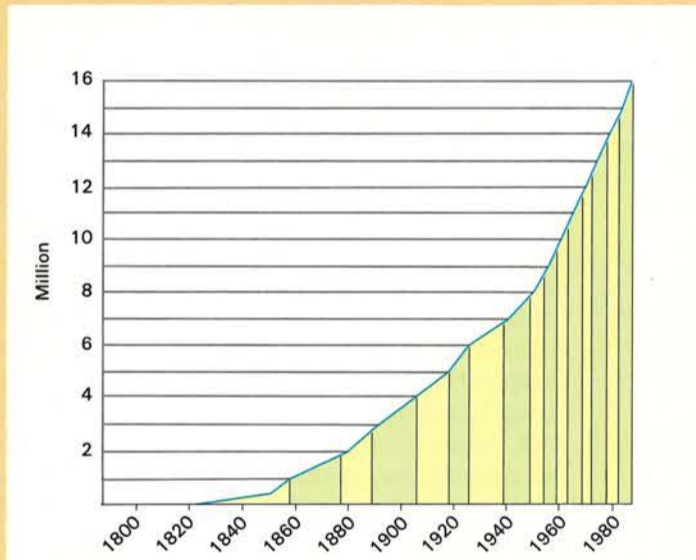
EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT of Australia is the product of less than seven demographic generations. The graphs on these pages illustrate some of the characteristics of that growth. Between 1788 and 1981, the European population grew from a few hundred to 15.1 million. The rate of growth in the early decades of settlement was rapid in all colonies, with populations often multiplying by more than five every ten years. The period of most rapid growth in each colony varied according to the time of settlement. In New South Wales, for example, rapid growth was sustained from 1800 to 1850 while in Tasmania growth was most rapid between 1820 and 1830 and in South Australia between 1840 and 1850. The decade of the 1850s saw Victoria's population increase most rapidly. In Queensland growth was most rapid in the 1860s, and in Western Australia a period of rapid growth in the 1850s was repeated during the 1890s gold rush. In all states the growth of population has been sustained during the twentieth century, though at a slower and more variable rate.

Seventy years elapsed after the arrival of the first fleet before the European population reached one million. The second million was added in nineteen years, the third in twelve years. Growth then slowed and it was sixteen years before the population reached four million. By the 1950s, the population was growing by a million every four to five years.

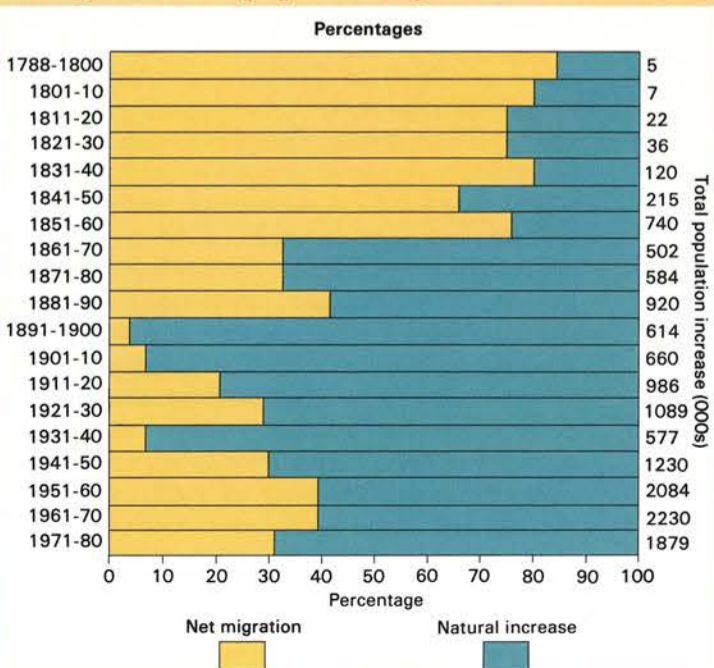
Immigration has accounted for about one-third of the nation's population growth. Before the 1860s immigration accounted for between 65 and 85 per cent of population growth. Since then, except between 1890 and 1910, and 1931 and 1941, at least 20 per cent of population growth in each decade has been due to immigration.

Between 1831 and 1980, over 3.1 million migrants received government assistance to come to Australia. Assistance was necessary to enable Australia to compete with the attractions of North America in particular. Passage to more distant Australia was more expensive. Government assistance has regulated the flow of immigration, a tap turned on in economic boom times and off in times of recession. Together with the effects of economic conditions on unassisted migration, this helps explain the series of waves of immigration throughout Australia's history. Major migrant inflows occurred in the 1880s, immediately before World War I, during the 1920s, in the first decade after World War II and again from 1969 to 1971. In contrast, the troughs, when assistance was discontinued, came in the great economic recessions from 1891 to 1908 and from 1928 to 1946.

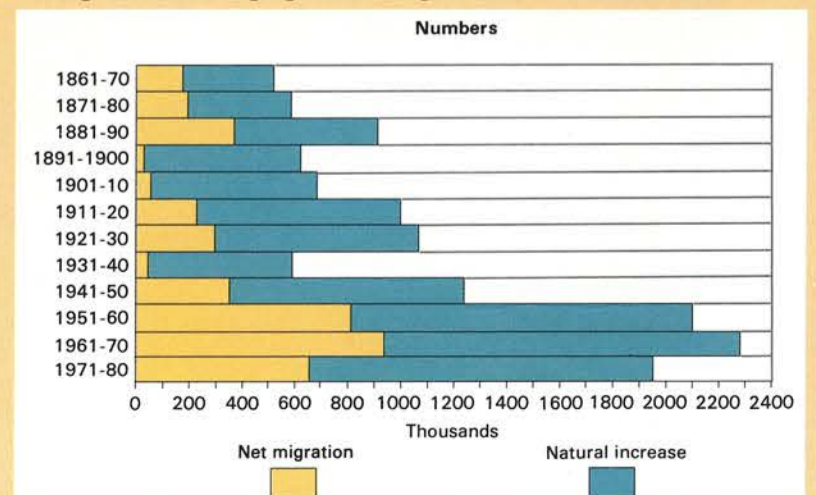
## Growth by millions



## Components of population growth



## Components of population growth 1861-1980



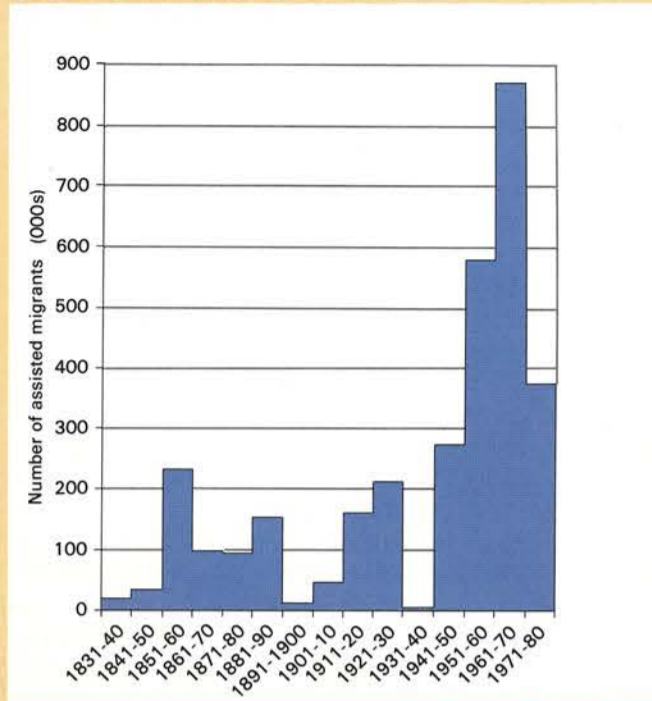
The predominance of British immigrants in Australia's immigration history is clearly shown. Throughout the nineteenth century, at least 75 per cent of the overseas-born population came from the British Isles. Until 1954, migrants from England made up at least 40 per cent of the overseas born in each census. In contrast, the percentage born in Ireland decreased after the mid-nineteenth century from 38 per cent in 1846 to 21 per cent in 1901. By 1954 the proportion of Irish born had dropped to 3 per cent. The proportion of Scots remained fairly constant between 1846 and 1954.

The proportion of the overseas-born population coming from continental Europe increased slowly until the 1940s. After World War II it increased substantially, rising from 18 per cent in 1947 to 50 per cent in 1961. At no census since has it fallen below 40 per cent. The proportion born in Asia and other parts of the world has also increased. In 1981, 22 per cent of the non-Australian-born population came from countries outside Europe.

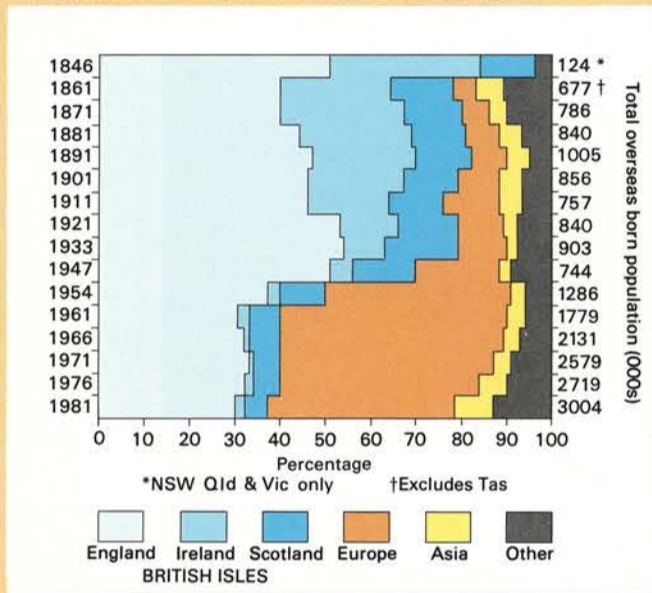
Two-thirds of Australia's population growth since 1788 was due to natural increase (the excess of births over deaths). The proportion of the population born in Australia increased from less than 25 per cent in 1841 to approximately 80 per cent in 1981.

During the last 120 years both the birth rate and the death rate have fallen. (These rates do not take into account the effect on the number of births of changing age distribution or factors which might cause women to have their children at a younger or older age without affecting completed family size.) In 1861 the crude death rate was 17.8 per 1000 of the total population, and since then, with minor fluctuations, it has fallen to 7.2 per 1000. Australia now belongs to a group of countries with the lowest mortality and highest expectation of life in the world. After the 1860s, the crude birth rate started to decline from 42.3 in 1861 to about 35 in the mid-1870s. It remained fairly steady for the next twenty years before falling again in the mid-1890s to about 26. From the late 1890s to 1920 it fluctuated between 25 and 28 per 1000. During the 1920s and the depression years of the 1930s it fell to a low of about 16. Once the worst years of the depression were over, the crude birth rate started to rise, and reached a new peak of 24 in 1947. During the next fifteen years it fluctuated between 22 and 23 per 1000. After 1962 it began to decline, and the downward trend continued. In the early 1980s the Australian crude birth rate was less than 16 per 1000, a level similar to that in the 1930s. These changes in the crude birth and death rates are reflected in the rate of natural increase which peaked prior to 1880, then fell rapidly, particularly during the 1890s and the 1930s. The 'baby boom' after World War II is evident in the higher rates of natural increase from 1947 to the early 1960s.

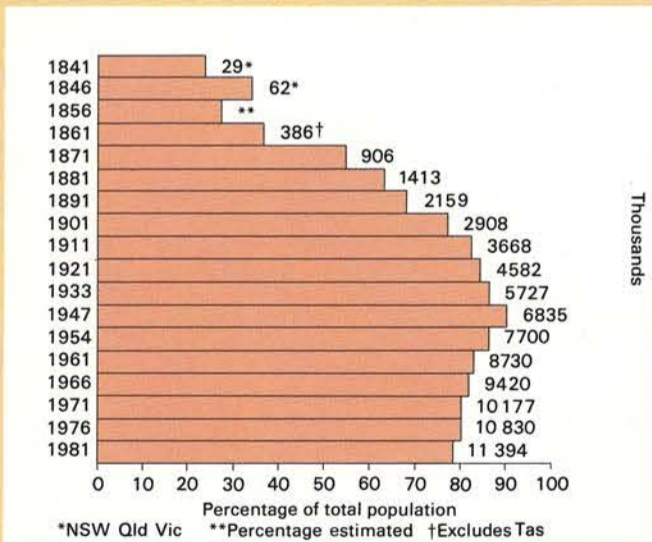
Assisted migrants 1831-1980



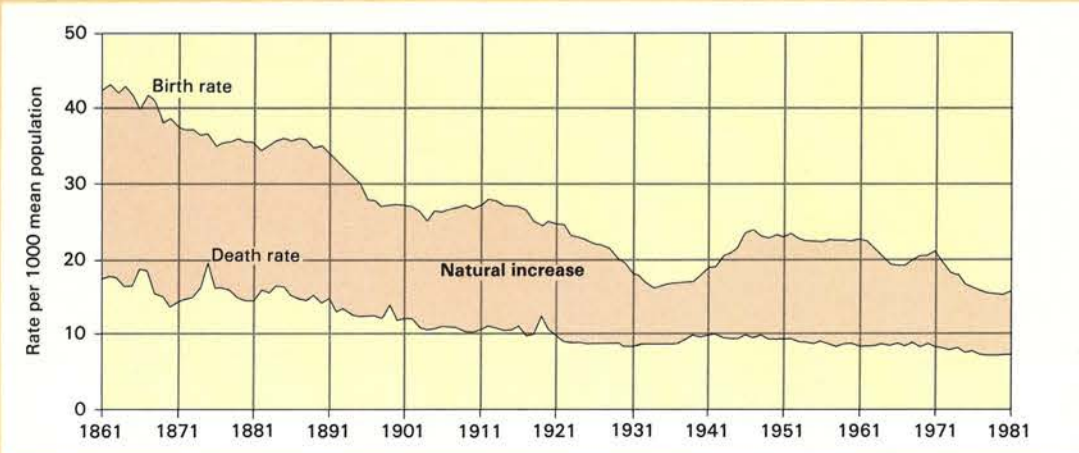
Origins of overseas born 1846-1981



Australian born population 1841-1981



Natural increase 1861-1981



# Immigrant origins

THE CARTOGRAMS HERE show the origins of immigrants to Australia, each country being shown as a percentage of the non-Australian born in Australia for each selected year. The total of the non-Australian born for each year is given at the bottom of each cartogram. Each square on the grid is equal to 5.0 per cent, and the number of squares covered by each country represents its total contribution to the Australian population. A rough calculation of each country's percentage contribution is given by its colour.

Australia has always drawn the majority of her immigrants from Europe, although the cartograms show that by 1981 the percentage of European immigrants had declined and the percentage from west and southeast Asia had increased. There has been a dramatic shift in the origins, within Europe, of immigrants to Australia since 1861.

Until 1921, the great majority of Australia's immigrants had come from Britain and Ireland with England the major single contributor. England's percentage contribution remained relatively constant until 1921, as did Scotland's and Wales'. The Irish proportion, however,

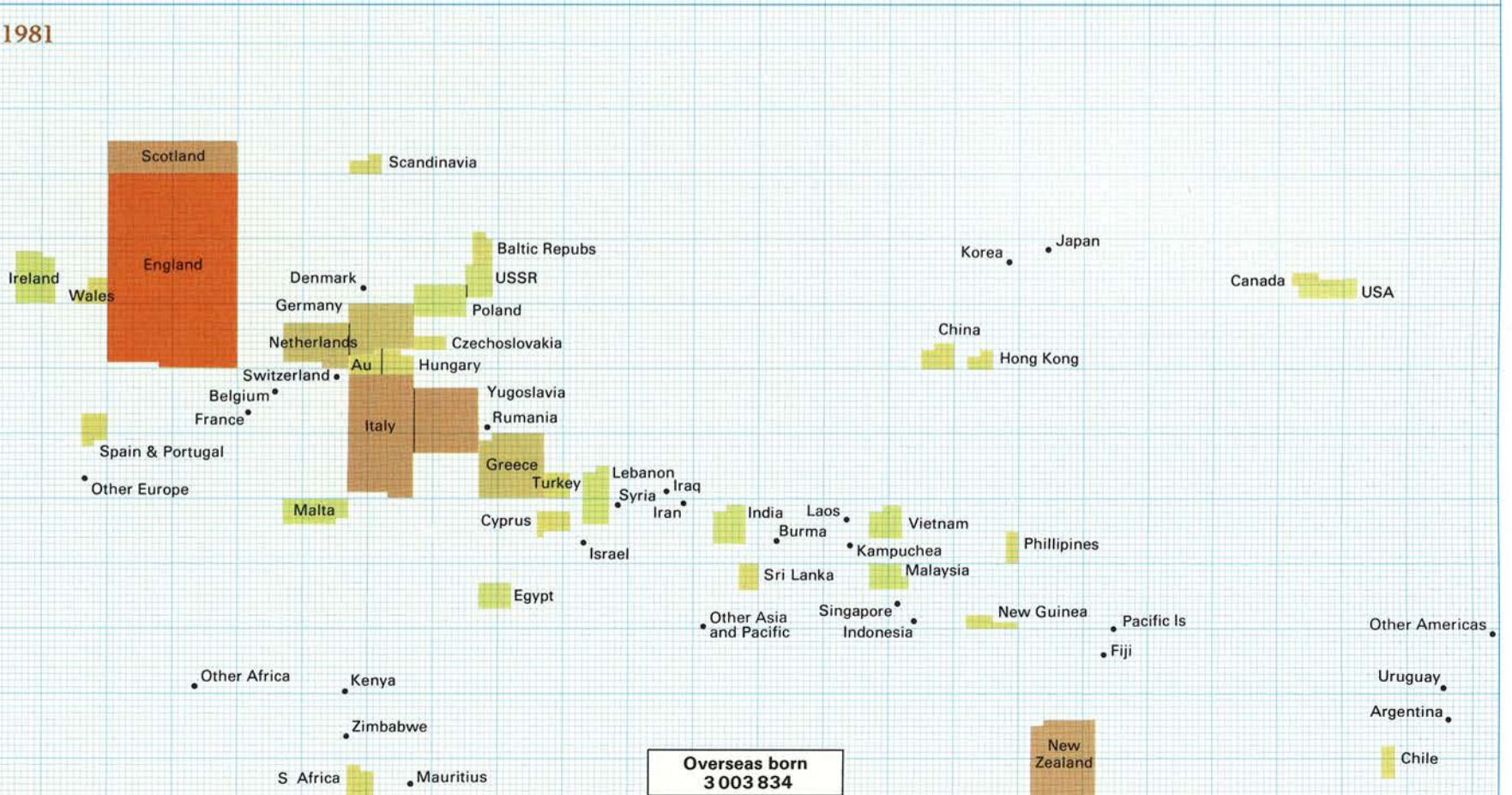
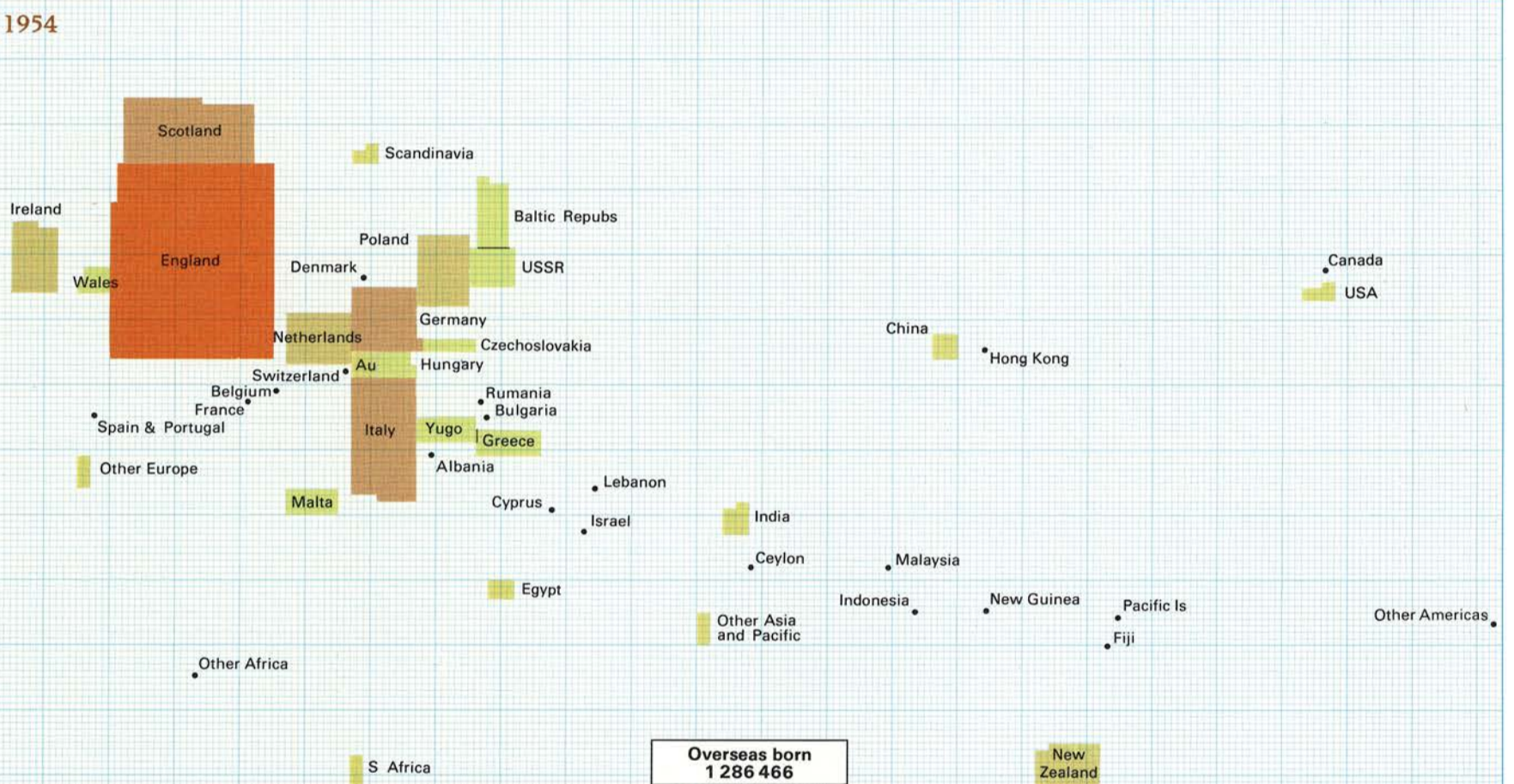
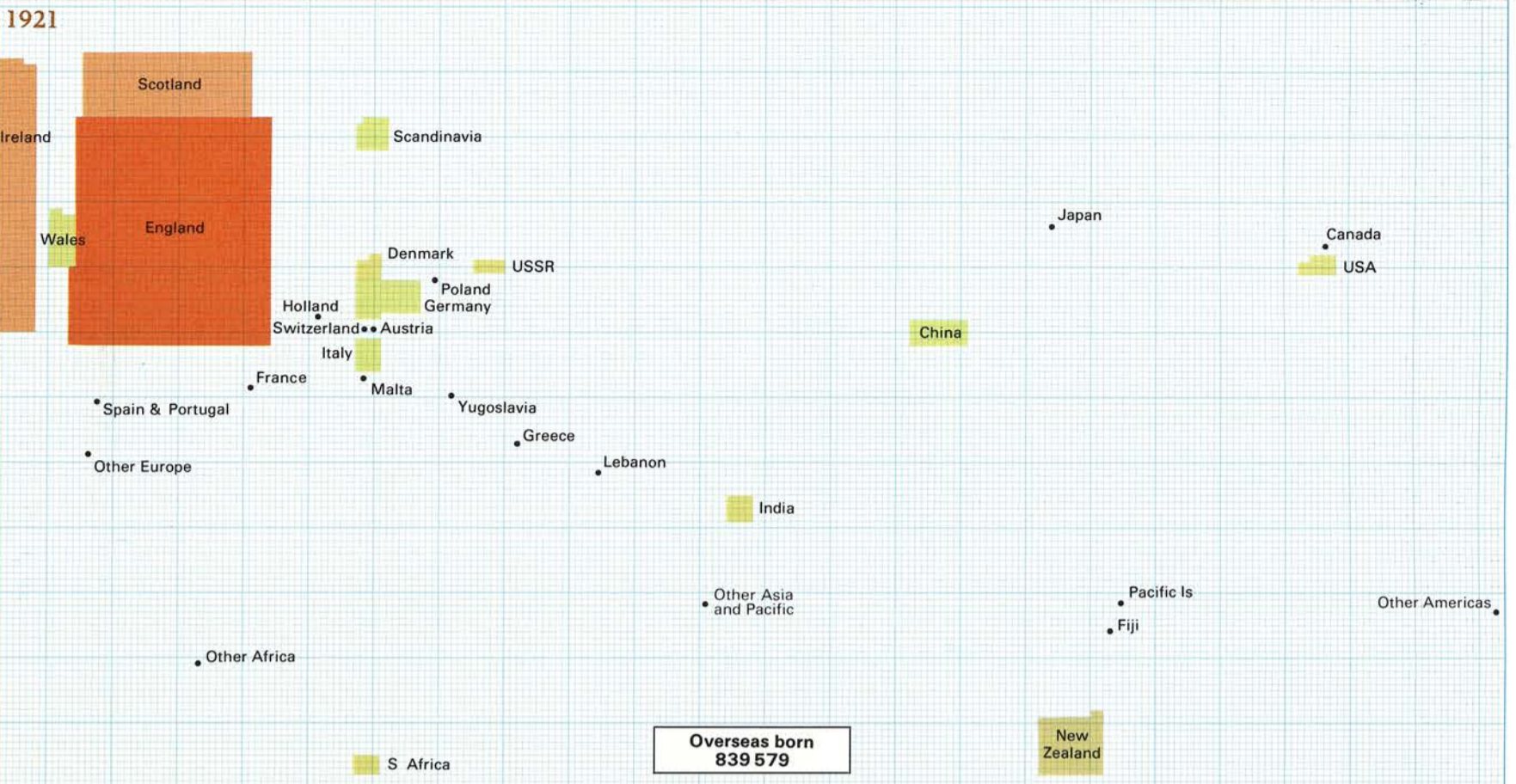
declined steadily; a trend that continued to 1981. Immigrants from the rest of Europe remained a minor proportion of immigrants overall, although by 1921 the number of countries supplying migrants had increased. Germany was the most important single European country as a source of migrants.

By 1954 the pattern had undergone a radical change. A vigorous recruiting campaign by the Australian government, and the desire of many to leave post-war Europe, resulted in a rise in the proportion of immigrants from mainland Europe. For the first time a substantial proportion came from southern Europe. By 1981 southern European migration was dominant, the proportion of immigrants from northern Europe and Britain declining.

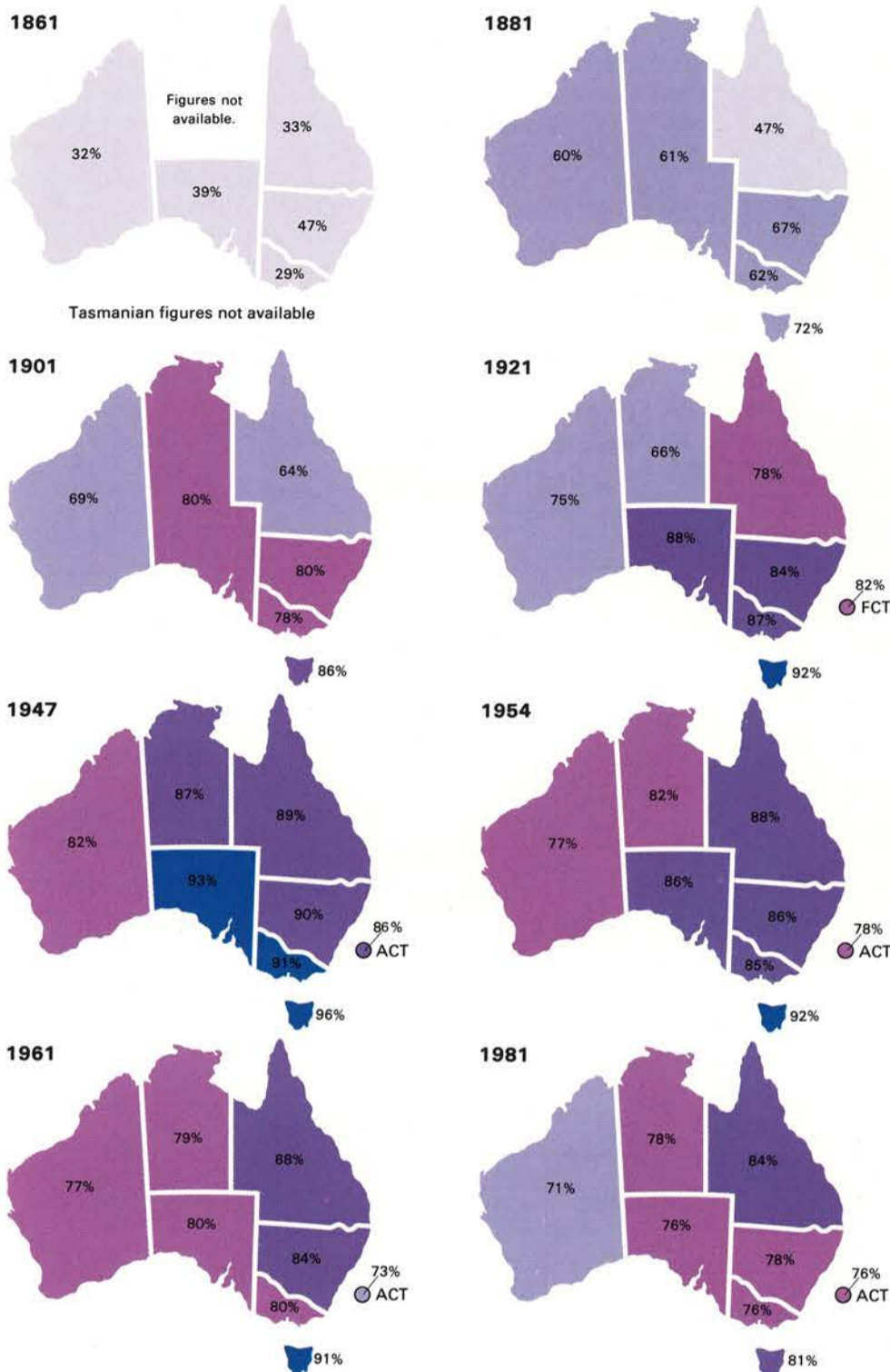
The cartogram for 1981 shows the widest range of emigrant countries in the series. Growth in immigration from Asia was substantial. Until the 1970s Asian immigration was either prohibited or subject to strict controls. Migration from New Zealand had also reached its peak in 1981. Although Africa and the Americas have never been major sources of immigrants for Australia, their proportions had also risen.

## Australia's overseas born by place of birth

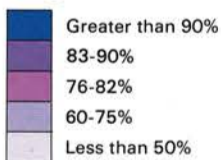




# The Australian born



Percentage of Australian born



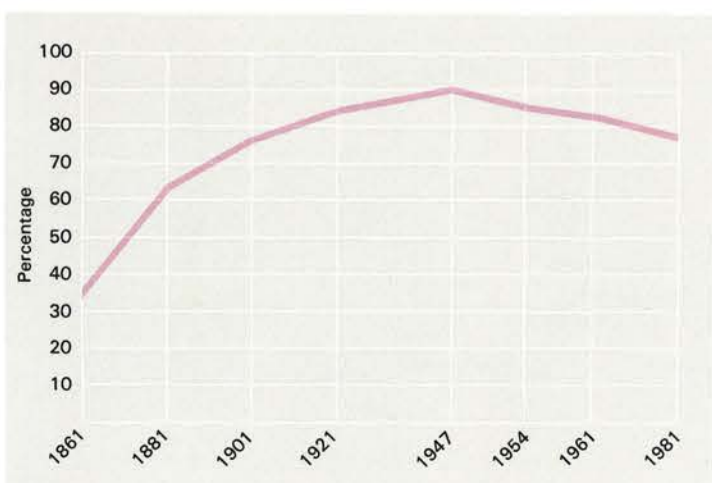
Figures on the map are percentages for each colony/state.

Until 1921, Northern Territory included with South Australia.

FCT—Federal Capital Territory

Aboriginal population not included until 1981

Percentage of Australian born 1861-1981



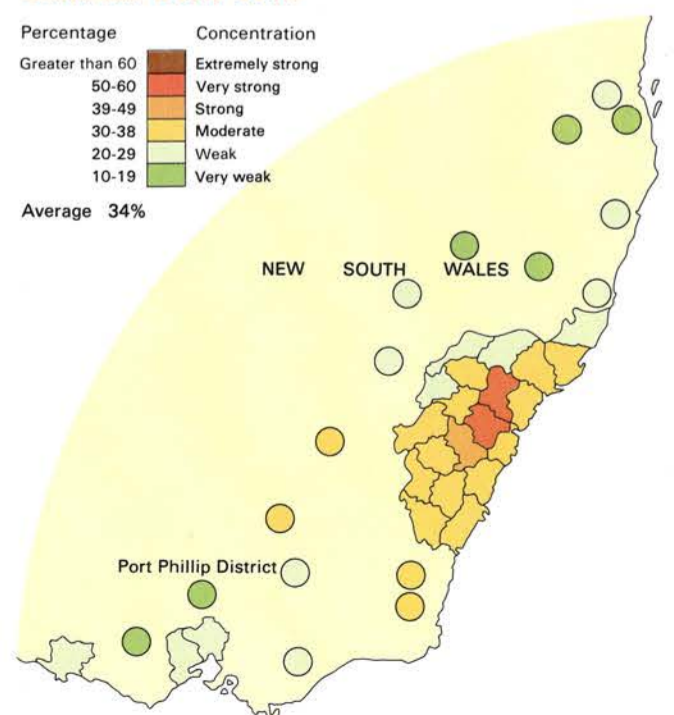
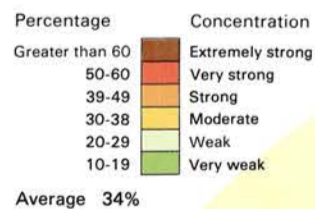
AS THE RATE of migration has fluctuated, so has the proportion of Australian-born people in Australia. The graph charts the national average, showing a steady rise in the percentage of the Australian born until 1947, followed by a fall. The maps on this page show the Australian-born, or native-born, percentage of the population in each colony or state and territory for selected census years. The maps also give an indication of the significance of immigration at different times for each colony and state.

In 1861 fewer than half the people living in each of the colonies were born in Australia. The highest percentage was in New South Wales (47 per cent), which already had a large established population, the lowest in Victoria (29 per cent) where the discovery of gold had attracted thousands of immigrants. By 1881, however, Queensland had the lowest proportion (47 per cent), having attracted numerous immigrants after the discovery of gold during the 1860s and 1870s.

By 1901 the Australian born as a percentage of the national population had reached 77 per cent. The only states with a lower percentage were Queensland (64 per cent), where a successful campaign to attract immigrants had been conducted since the 1870s, and Western Australia (69 per cent), where gold discoveries had attracted immigrants. In 1947 all states recorded their highest percentages of Australian born. Tasmania, where the percentage had been consistently higher since 1881, recorded 96 per cent. The low percentage recorded for the Northern Territory (87.4 per cent) reflected the influence of Asian fishing and trading communities and the discovery of gold in the late nineteenth century.

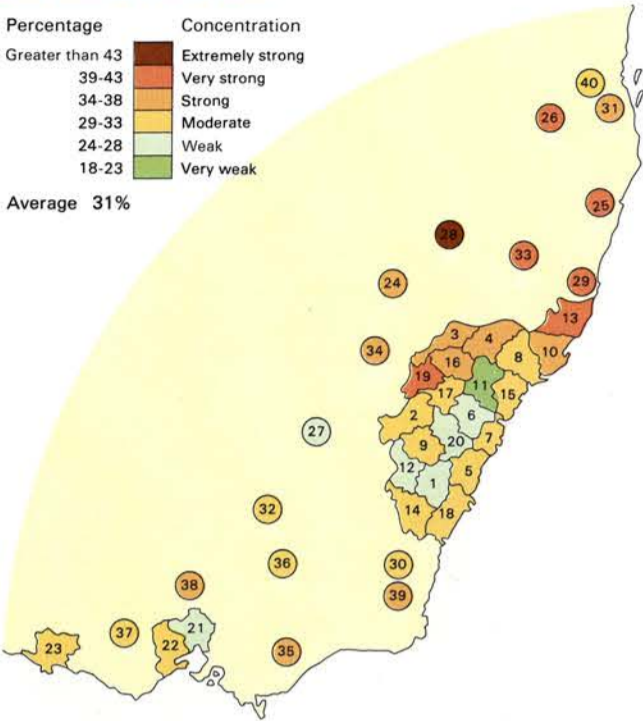
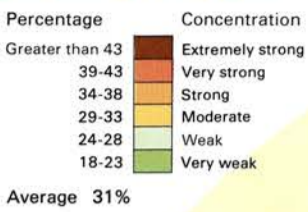
The impact of immigration after World War II is indicated by the decline in the percentage of the Australian born in 1954. The largest declines were recorded in South Australia (7 per cent) and in Victoria (6 per cent). In 1961, further declines were recorded in all states except Queensland and Western Australia, where a smaller number of immigrants was offset by local births. Migration continued during the 1960s and to a lesser extent through the 1970s. During the 1970s the birthrate in Australia fell and, as a result, in 1981 all states registered a further decline in the percentage of Australian born. Nationally, the average (78 per cent) was one percentage point above that recorded for 1901.

Colonial born 1846



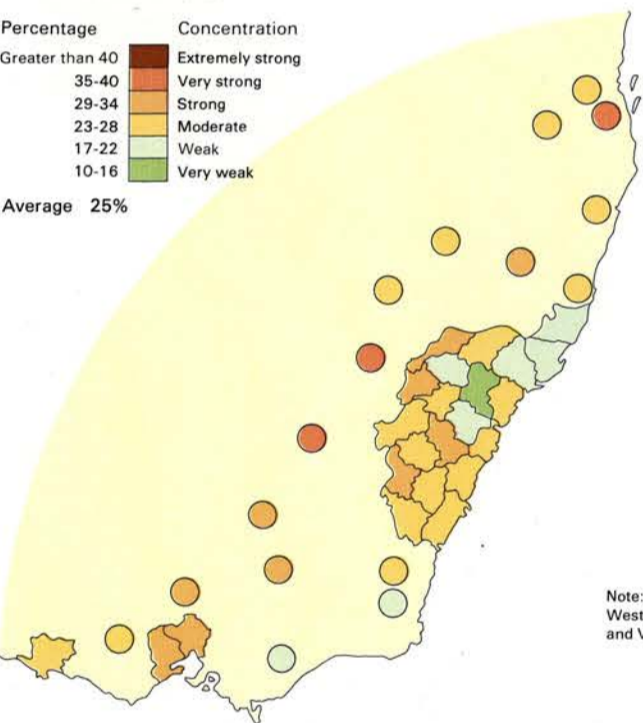
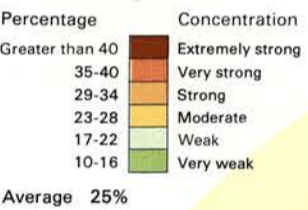
# New South Wales 1846

## English born 1846



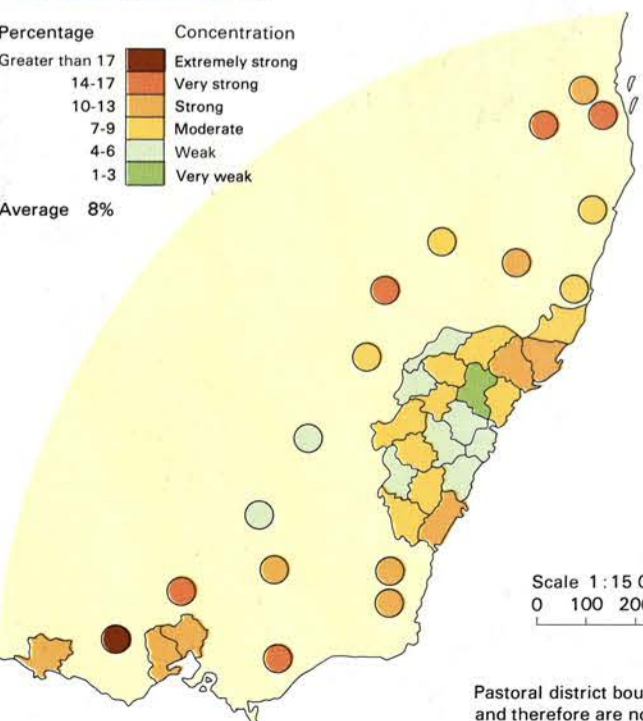
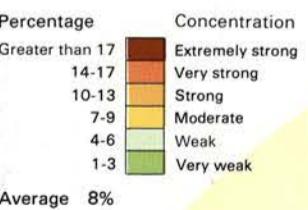
- COUNTIES
- Argyle
  - Bathurst
  - Bligh
  - Brisbane
  - Camden
  - Cook
  - Cumberland
  - Durham
  - Georgiana
  - Gloucester
  - Hunter
  - King
  - Macquarie
  - Murray
  - Northumberland
  - Phillip
  - Roxburgh
  - St. Vincent
  - Wellington
  - Westmoreland
  - Bourke
  - Grant
  - Normanby
- PASTORAL DISTRICTS
- Bligh
  - Clarence River
  - Darling Downs
  - Lachlan
  - Liverpool Plains
  - McLeay River
  - Monaroo
  - Moreton Bay
  - Murrumbidgee
  - New England
  - Wellington
  - Gippsland
  - Murray
  - Portland Bay
  - Western Port
- NEW COUNTIES
- Auckland
  - Stanley

## Irish born 1846



Note: Information not available for Western Australia, South Australia and Van Diemen's Land.

## Scottish born 1846



Scale 1:15 000 000  
0 100 200 300 400 Kilometres

Pastoral district boundaries were ill-defined and therefore are not shown.

IMMIGRANTS OFTEN SETTLE in areas where others of similar backgrounds are already living. As the maps on these pages and the following page illustrate, the pattern was already established in the nineteenth century. The four groups mapped are the colonial born, the English, the Irish and the Scots, who together accounted for over 90 per cent of the population. The years chosen are 1846 when the pastoral industry was well established and the squatting boom was finished and 1861, a decade after the discovery of gold in New South Wales and Victoria had attracted a substantial number of new immigrants to Australia.

The maps show the concentrations of each group rather than their total number. Total numbers reflect only the general distribution of the population, and obscure the significance of a group both within a district and as a proportion of the size of the group in Australia. For example, 100 Scots in a community of 1000 would be more significant than 100 in a community of 50 000.

For each district on these maps, the percentage of each group living within the district was compared with the group's percentage share of the total population, to show whether there was a strong or weak concentration of that group in the district. The degree of concentration was calculated using standard deviations.

### The colonial born

It would seem likely that the colonial born were fairly evenly distributed throughout New South Wales, but this was not the case. There were very strong concentrations in the counties of Cook and Hunter and a strong concentration in the county of Westmoreland. These counties had attracted ex-convict settlers since the 1820s. A more moderate or average distribution existed throughout the other sixteen counties. The colonial born were not, however, a significant group in the newer areas of settlement, the pastoral districts and the Port Phillip district. There were only moderate concentrations in the Lachlan, Murrumbidgee and Monaroo districts; elsewhere, they were relatively underrepresented. The pioneering was done more by new migrants than by the Australian born moving out of the settled areas.

### The English born

The English were more highly concentrated, particularly in the newly settled districts to the north, registering an extreme concentration in the Liverpool Plains district and strong concentration in the other pastoral districts of northern New South Wales and southeastern Queensland (Darling Downs and Moreton Bay). They were also well represented in the Port Phillip district. Concentrations of the English born were lowest in those areas where the concentrations of colonial born and the Irish were highest.

### The Irish born

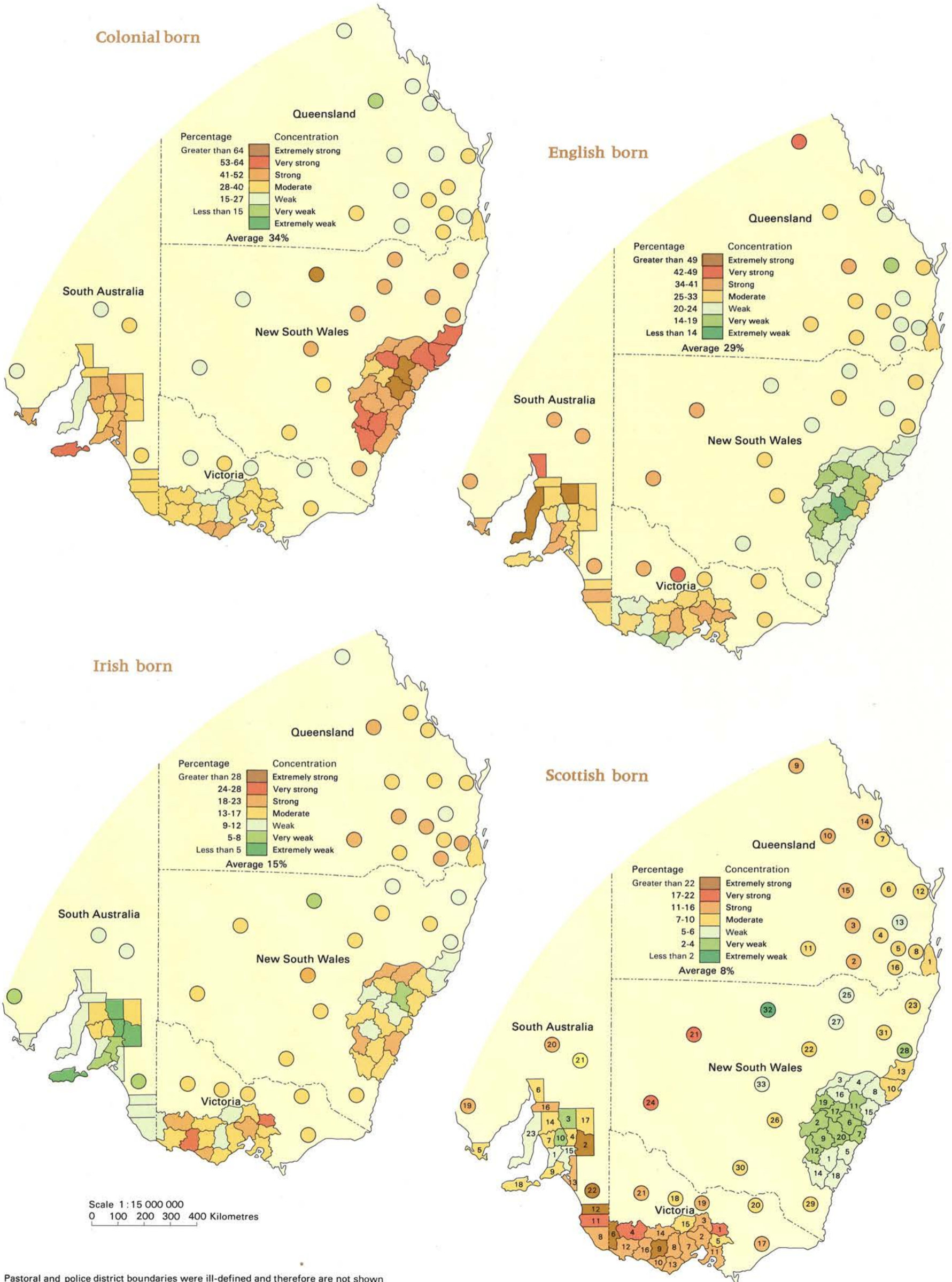
The Irish in nineteenth-century Australia were often noted for their tendency to establish their own communities. This occurred at the local level, yet at county and district level the Irish born were less concentrated than the English or the Scots. There were very strong concentrations in the Lachlan and Wellington districts, where many ex-convict squatters had taken up runs, and in the Moreton Bay district. There were strong concentrations in the southwest of the nineteen counties and in the pastoral districts between Sydney and Port Phillip. Moderate concentrations were recorded throughout most of the other counties and adjacent pastoral districts. The Irish were generally the most widespread of the four groups and were less likely to be concentrated as a group at county or pastoral district level.

### The Scottish born

Like the English, the Scots as a group registered strong concentrations, particularly in the new areas of settlement. They were a significant group in southeastern Queensland and in New England, but were most significant in the Port Phillip district. The Scots dominated the settlement of western Victoria (the Portland Bay pastoral district) where they left a distinctive cultural legacy still evident today.

In many ways, these maps throw into doubt some of the past assumptions made about the distribution of different ethnic groups. The tendency for the Scottish born to settle in a limited number of districts has been well documented. But the levels of concentration for the English born are higher than has been commonly accepted and the levels of concentration for the colonial born and, particularly, the Irish are lower than has been assumed in the past. The maps do suggest that the dynamics of early nineteenth-century migration to Australia have yet to be fully explored.

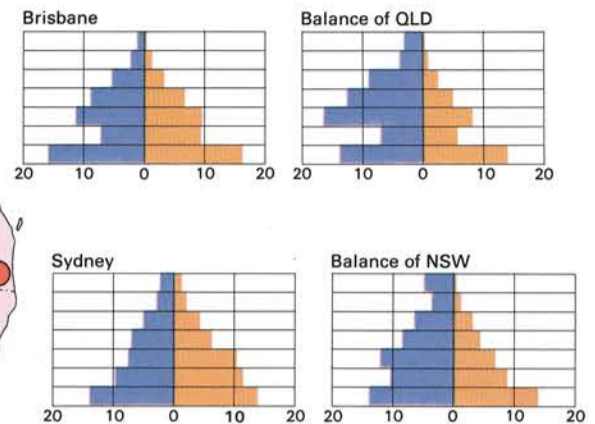
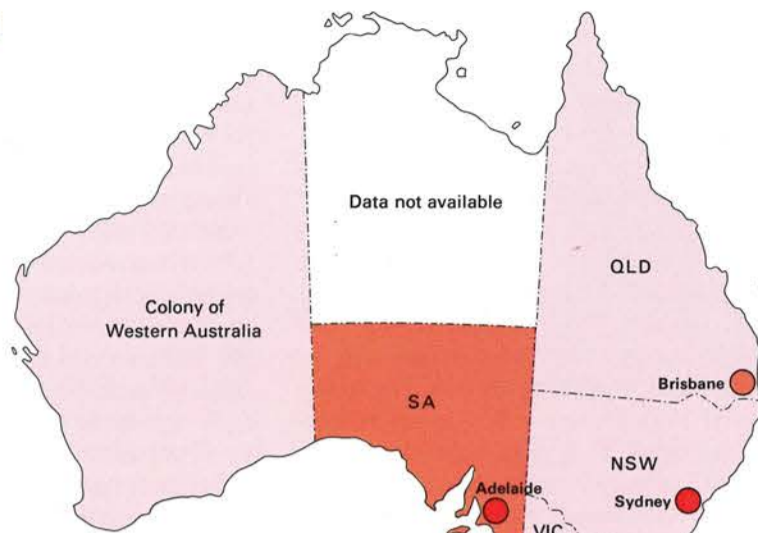
# Population 1861



Pastoral and police district boundaries were ill-defined and therefore are not shown

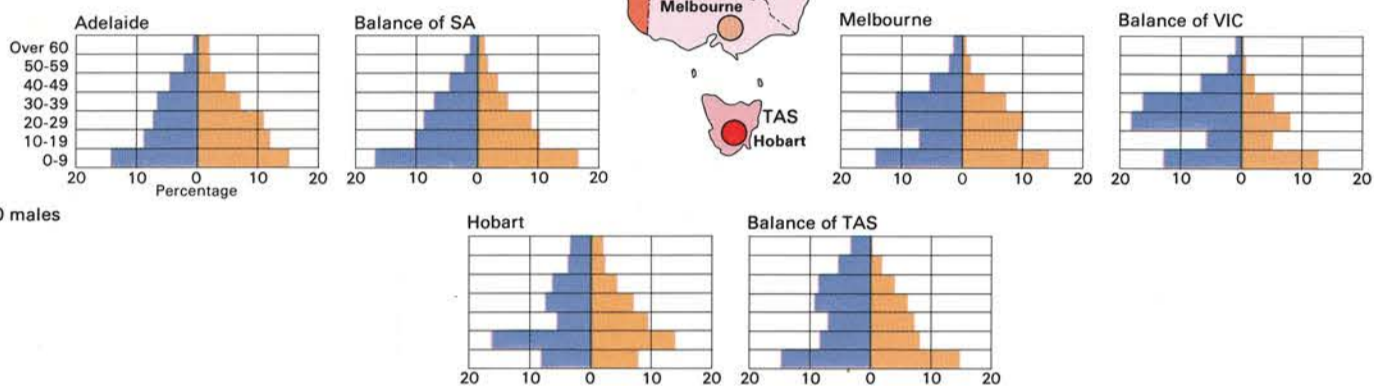
Age-sex ratio 1861

Perth	
Data not comparable	
Balance of WA	
Data not comparable	



Age-sex distribution

- Male
- Female



Sex ratio

Number of females per 100 males

- Less than 50
- 50-70
- 70-80
- 80-90
- 90-100
- Greater than 100

Queensland

POLICE DISTRICT

1. Brisbane
2. Callendoon
3. Condamine
4. Dalby
5. Drayton
6. Gayndah
7. Gladstone
8. Ipswich
9. Kennedy
10. Leichhardt
11. Maranoa
12. Maryborough
13. Nanango
14. Rockhampton
15. Taroom
16. Warwick

New South Wales

COUNTIES

1. Argyle
2. Bathurst
3. Bligh
4. Brisbane
5. Camden
6. Cook
7. Cumberland
8. Durham
9. Georgiana
10. Gloucester
11. Hunter
12. King
13. Macquarie
14. Murray
15. Northumberland
16. Phillip
17. Roxburgh
18. St. Vincent
19. Wellington
20. Westmoreland

PASTORAL DISTRICTS

21. Albert
22. Bligh
23. Clarence River
24. Darling
25. Gwydir
26. Lachlan
27. Liverpool Plains
28. McLeay River
29. Monaro
30. Murrumbidgee
31. New England
32. Warrego
33. Wellington

Victoria

COUNTIES

1. Anglesey
2. Bourke
3. Dalhousie
4. Dundas
5. Evelyn
6. Follet
7. Grant
8. Grenville
9. Hampden
10. Heytesbury
11. Mornington
12. Normanby
13. Polwarth
14. Ripon
15. Talbot
16. Villies

PASTORAL DISTRICTS

17. Gippsland
18. Loddon
19. Rodney
20. Murray
21. Wimmera

South Australia

COUNTIES

1. Adelaide
2. Albert
3. Burra
4. Eyre
5. Flinders
6. Frome
7. Gawler
8. Grey
9. Hindmarsh
10. Light
11. MacDonnell
12. Robe
13. Russell
14. Stanley
15. Sturt
16. Victoria
17. Young
18. Kangaroo Island

PASTORAL DISTRICTS

19. Western
20. North and Far North
21. North East
22. South East
23. Yorke Peninsula

Note: Information not available for Western Australia and Tasmania.

THE MAPS ON the opposite page show the composition by nationality of the Australian population in 1861. The map and diagrams above are the first of a series showing the age and sex composition of the population. The pyramids show the percentage of the population in each age group and the number of females per hundred males for each colony or state. Except for 1861, age and sex information is presented for each capital city and the remainder of each colony or state.

In 1861, while there were more than 100 females for every 100 males in Sydney, in the rest of New South Wales there were fewer than seventy. The lack of females was particularly marked in the 20-years-plus age groups, as the shorter bars on the pyramid show. This male predominance in the non-metropolitan areas remained a feature of Australia's population until the late twentieth century. The population of Sydney and the rest of New South Wales was young. Nearly 50 per cent of the capital's population was under the age of 20 and less than 10 per cent was older than 50.

The youthfulness of the population is also evident in the other colonies in this period, but there were major differences between the colonies in the ratio between the sexes. Both the capitals and country districts of Victoria and Queensland were dominated by males. In Victoria the low sex ratio reflects the large influx of single males to the goldfields during the 1850s; in country districts there were only 55 females per 100 males and in Melbourne fewer than 90. In contrast, South Australia, whose government encouraged female migration, had the highest ratio of females to males: in Adelaide females outnumbered males 117 to 100, and in country districts there were 90 females for every 100 males.

The characteristics of Australia's population shown here are typical of a newly settled country that is attracting migrants. Over the next 120 years, the age-sex characteristics of the population changed. As the maps for 1901, 1921, 1954 and 1981

show, the population aged and a balance between the sexes was achieved.

As in 1846, the colonial born tended to be most strongly concentrated in areas of established settlement. In New South Wales, these included the pioneer districts of 1846, which had become settled by 1861. In South Australia, Kangaroo Island and the earlier established counties registered strong to very strong concentrations. In the newly settled areas, particularly in Queensland, concentrations were moderate or weak. In Victoria, concentrations were low, rising to moderate away from the counties in which gold was found.

As in 1846, the English born were more strongly concentrated in the pioneer areas. The areas with strong concentrations in 1846 had only moderate or weak concentrations in 1861. Concentrations in New South Wales overall were weak by 1861. The English born also showed a marked preference for South Australia. Overall, the English percentage of the population had declined slightly.

There was little change in the location of strong Irish concentrations between 1846 and 1861. The strongest were still in southern Queensland, county Bourke in Victoria and counties Bligh and King and the Wellington pastoral district in New South Wales. Similarly, most areas of weak concentration in 1846 remained weak in 1861. The Irish remained the most widely distributed ethnic group everywhere except South Australia, where their concentration ranged from weak to extremely weak.

The concentrations of Scots in 1861 were similar to those in 1846. The Scots were still strongly concentrated in western Victoria and had moved into southeastern South Australia by 1861. Overall, they were most strongly concentrated in Victoria. Like the English, they were also concentrated in new areas of settlement in South Australia, Victoria, western New South Wales and Queensland, and they were least concentrated in the established areas of New South Wales and southeastern Queensland.



# The German born

**T**HE GERMANS WERE the largest group of non-English-speaking settlers in Australia during the nineteenth century. The number of German-born residents rose steadily until the 1890s and then, owing to the depression of the 1890s, began to decline. By the eve of World War I, they had established communities in every colony, although historically South Australia and then Queensland were their most important destinations.

The first map provides a general summary of German migration to Australia until 1919. The first significant group to arrive came to South Australia from Prussia. King Frederick William III's reforms of the Lutheran Church had provoked opposition from those who came to be known as the 'Old Lutherans'. The dissenters were often jailed and, led by their pastors, many sought refuge in migration. Kavel, a pastor of a dissenting 'Old Lutheran' congregation, met George Fife Angas, a director of the South Australian Company, while trying to arrange passage to the United States of America for his congregation. Angas encouraged Kavel to bring his congregation to South Australia. They arrived in 1838 and were followed by a second group in 1839. A third group arrived in 1841. Steady migration to South Australia from Prussia continued throughout the nineteenth century, although with the death of Frederick William III in 1840 more traditional reasons for emigration (depressed economic conditions at home, civil unrest and glowing reports of

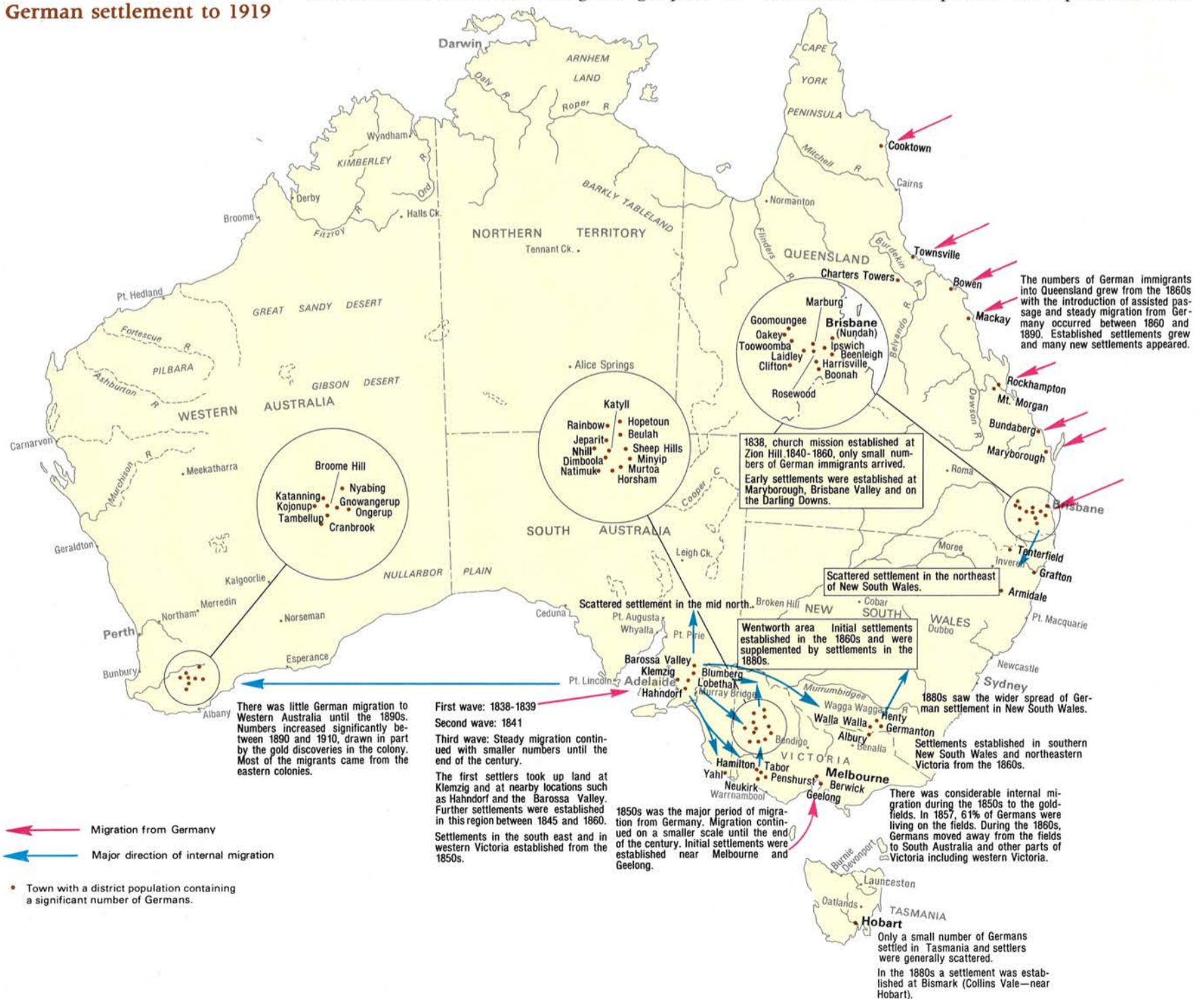
the colony's potential) replaced religious persecution as the main reason for leaving Prussia.

The discovery of gold in New South Wales and Victoria changed the pattern of German migration to the Australian colonies. During the 1850s, the majority went to Victoria (where the richest goldfields were found) and they came from all German states. By 1861, 39 per cent of the German born were living in Victoria.

The pattern of German migration to Australia changed again during the 1870s. To promote the development and settlement of the colony the Queensland governments conducted vigorous campaigns to attract migrants, and Germany was the major source of mainland European immigrants. By 1891, a third of the German born were living in Queensland. German migration to Queensland and to South Australia differed in two ways. Immigrants to Queensland were drawn from all the German states (not predominantly from Prussia), and unlike South Australia, there was no one major point of entry to Queensland. After 1891 German migration to Australia fell away to become a small part of the total migrant inflow.

German immigrants also moved from colony to colony. The exact extent of that movement is hard to measure but its general pattern is known. German diggers in Victoria moved onto the land or into adjacent colonies: New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia. A similar pattern was repeated in New

German settlement to 1919



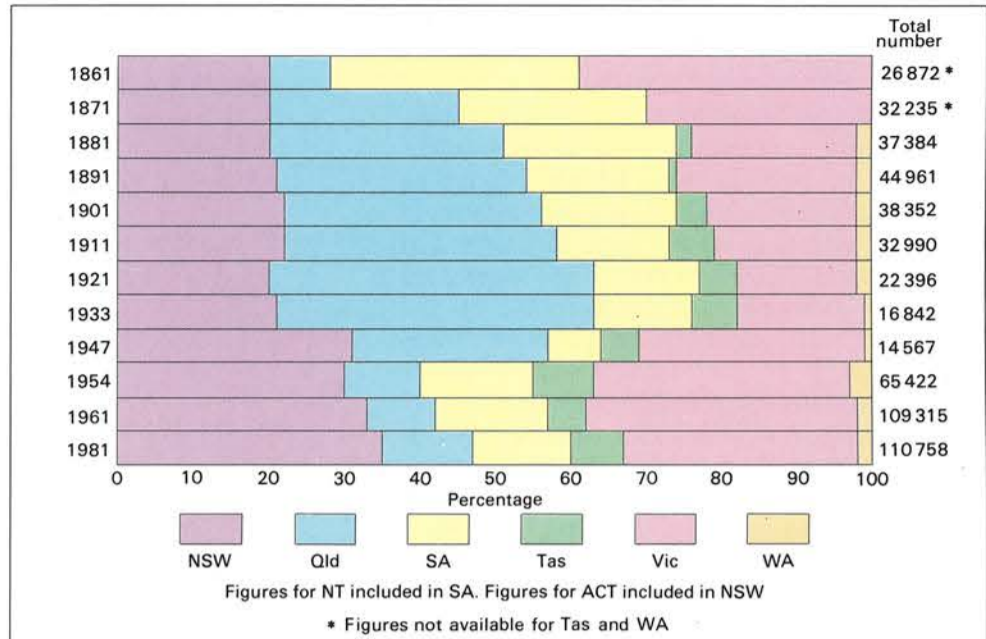
South Wales. From Queensland, Germans moved into northeastern New South Wales. Some were attracted to Western Australia by gold but more were attracted by the cheap land offered for closer settlement in the southwest after 1900.

Records are much clearer for South Australia, and the map shows the movement of Germans both within the colony and beyond it. The communities established prior to 1851 acted as a new homeland for migrants settling in the mid-north of the colony and eastwards to the western half of Victoria, Victoria's northeast, the eastern Riverina near Albury in New South Wales and Gippsland in eastern Victoria.

Although, as the map for 1901 shows, the German born were found scattered across the country in every state, German migration was not wholly random. The Germans tended to migrate to established German communities and, because many of them were farmers, to rural areas. Both maps show the rural bias of German migration and regional concentrations of the German born. South Australia, western, central and northeastern Victoria, southwestern New South Wales, southeastern Queensland and southwestern Western Australia are the most obvious examples.

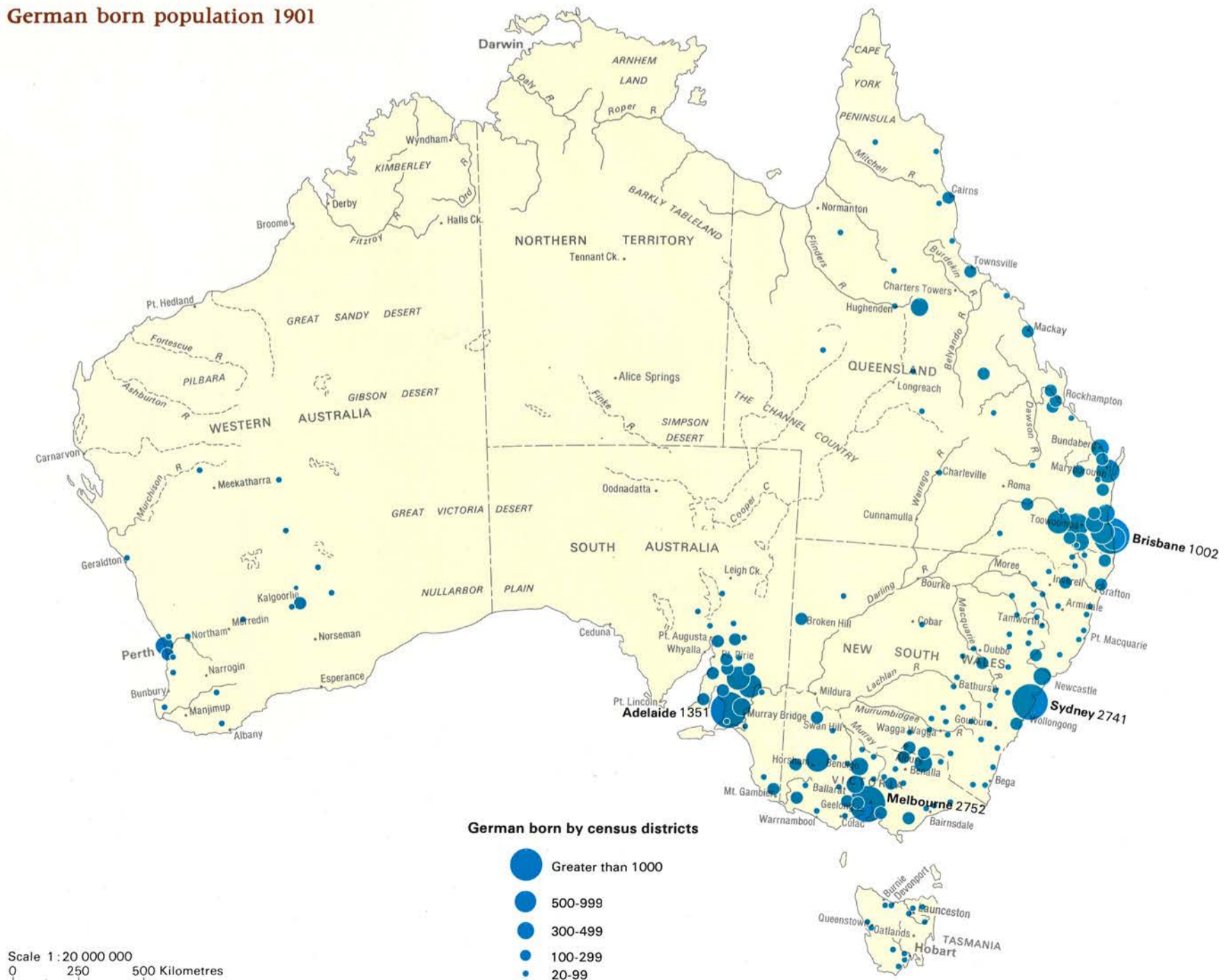
In 1901, less than one-third of the German-born population lived in the capital cities. The majority lived in rural districts. German settlers had contributed to the development of the wheat belt in south-eastern Australia. They had dairy farms close to the capitals, and cultivated sugar on the Queensland coast. They were also found in mining communities such as Broken Hill and Kalgoorlie.

German born in Australia 1861-1981



The number of Germans in Australia climbed steadily from 1861 before declining from the 1890s until the 1950s. Queensland held an increasing proportion of the German born, reaching over 40 per cent by 1921. South Australia, the main destination of German immigrants prior to 1850, declined in significance. Its share of the German born dropped from 33 per cent in 1861 to 13 per cent in 1933. Postwar migration changed the picture considerably. By 1981, 63 per cent of the German born lived in New South Wales and Victoria.

German born population 1901



# Pacific Islanders

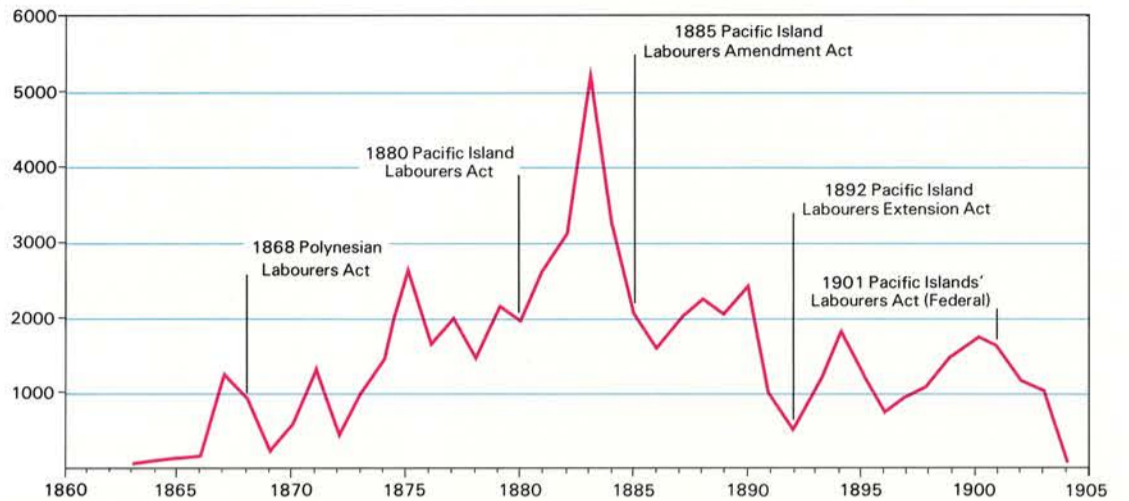
**D**URING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, Pacific Islanders were forced to migrate to Australia solely to provide cheap labour. Migration began with Benjamin Boyd bringing approximately two hundred people from the New Hebrides and Loyalty Islands to Sydney in 1847. They were used unsuccessfully as shepherds. 'Blackbirding', as the recruitment of islanders came to be known, had begun.

'Blackbirding' recommenced in 1863, when 63 islanders were put to work in Queensland's developing cotton plantations. A further 134 were used in 1864 on Robert Towns' cotton plantation on the Logan River, 70 kilometres south of Brisbane. Plantation owners were pleased with the results and the number of islanders brought to Queensland rose steadily. By 1870 about one thousand were arriving each year.

From 1868, legislation governed the recruitment of islanders as cheap labour on Queensland's sugar plantations and established minimum conditions of employment. But the law was easily evaded. Islanders were landed illegally on remote parts of the coast or at ports where official supervision was either absent or lax. It was 1870 before government agents were appointed to sail with vessels to supervise the 'recruiting' of islanders. Legislation was introduced in 1885 to phase out forced migration by 1890, but economic difficulties in the sugar industry and political pressure brought a resumption of islander recruitment in 1892.

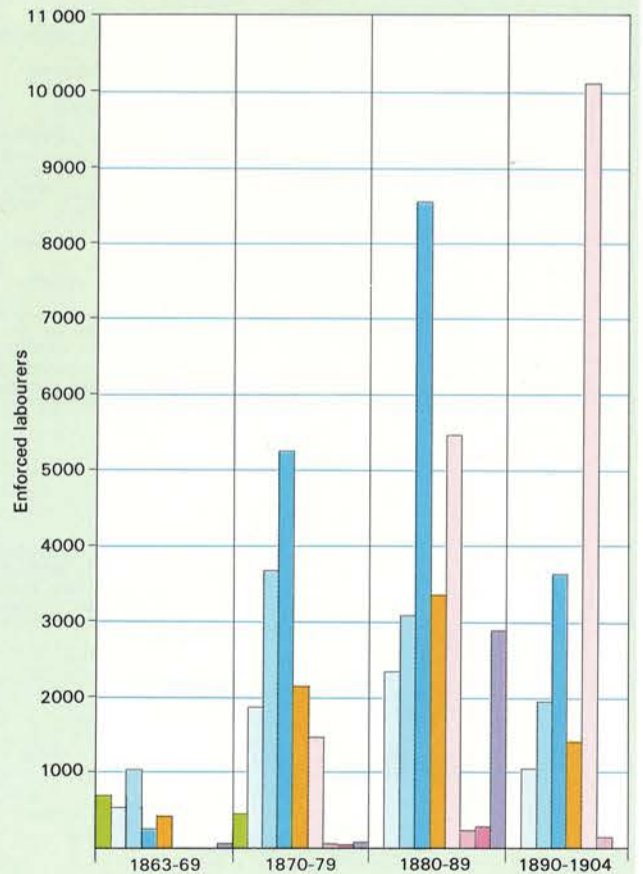
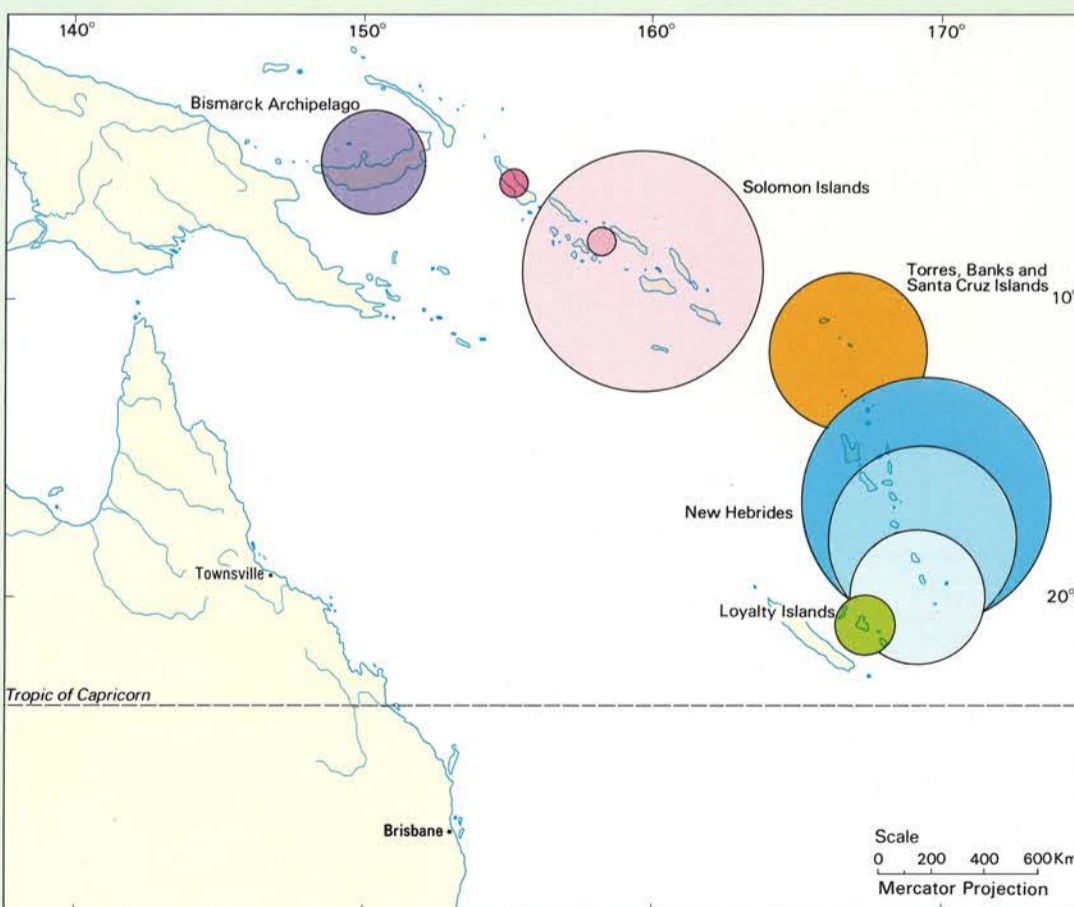
Not until 1904 did the commonwealth parliament ban the recruitment, directing that all Pacific Islanders

## Arrival of Pacific Islanders and controlling legislation



Pacific Islanders were 'recruited' as labour for Queensland's sugar industry during the late nineteenth century. Many were in fact kidnapped. Although they were paid a small wage their conditions differed little from slavery. Watercolour by W.T. Warn, 1892. MITCHELL LIBRARY

## Origins of enforced Pacific Island labourers 1863-1904



Geographical origins. In the 1860s 'blackbirders' were most active in the central New Hebrides and Loyalty Islands. During the 1870s attention had switched to the New Hebrides as a whole. By the 1880s the labour recruiters had been harried out of the New Hebrides and were forced to take islanders from the Bismarck Archipelago. In the 1890s the main islands that were raided were in the south Solomons.

be sent home by 1906. By then, about 60 000 had been taken from their island homes to work in Australia. The vast majority were male.

The exploited labour of the Pacific Islanders laid the foundations of the Queensland sugar industry. The system that produced most of the sugar cane grown in Queensland during the nineteenth century relied on the hoe, cane knife and field labour. Wherever sugar plantations were located, large numbers of islanders were forced to work. Their number peaked in the mid-1880s at just over 10 000. In 1886, the largest number were in the Mackay district: the Pioneer valley inland from Mackay had over 2500 islanders at work on plantations. There were also many islanders in the Bundaberg district. The district's plantations remained large employers of islanders and in 1901 there were still about 2000 in the district.

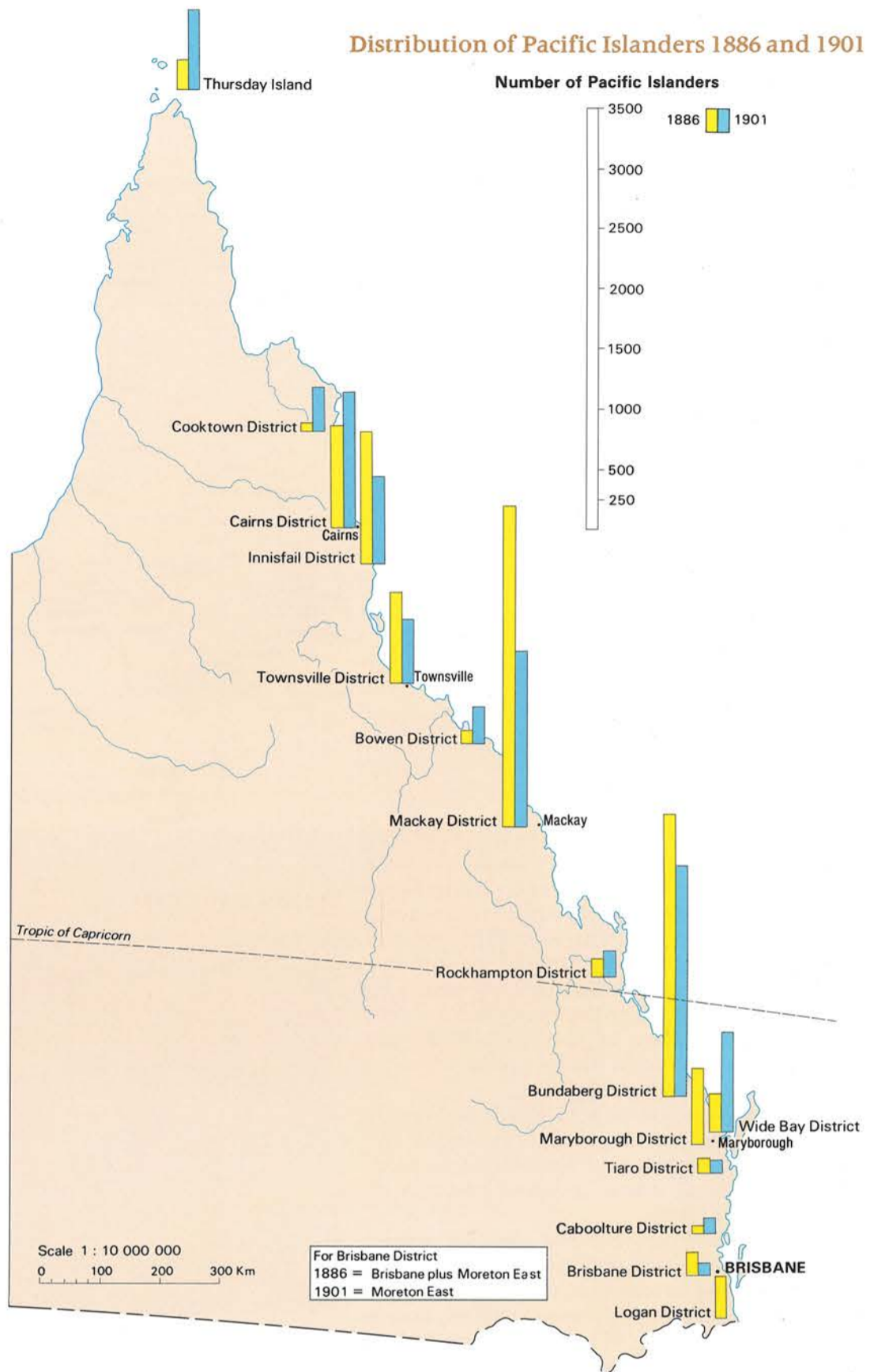
The inhumanity of the labour trade was illustrated in this report by the Queensland registrar-general in 1886.

... the first two years' residence of these islanders in the colony are most fatal to them ... the change from an indolent semi-savage life to a life of toil, the difference in food, and the transition from hot, humid atmosphere of their island homes to the dry Australian climate with its keen westerly winds predisposes their not over-robust constitutions to a strain under which numbers sink.

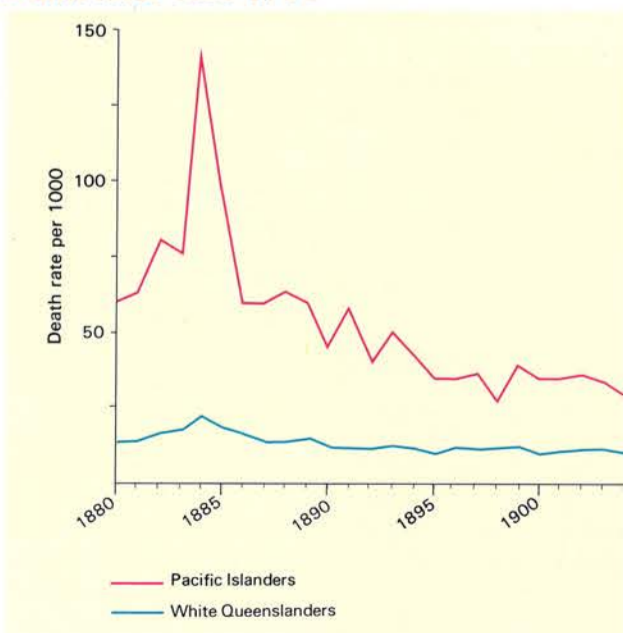
Islanders' death rates were up to eight times greater than those of white settlers and outbreaks of pneumonia and dysentery saw rates reach 68 per 1000. From 1880 to 1904, 11 000 islanders died in Queensland.

The cruelties inflicted on the islanders did not go unnoticed by everyone. Humanitarians and religious groups condemned the trade and were critical of the way in which the islanders were worked and housed. They also made pointed remarks about the 'moral' degradation of plantation owners, dismissing the sugar growers' arguments that without island labour the industry would collapse.

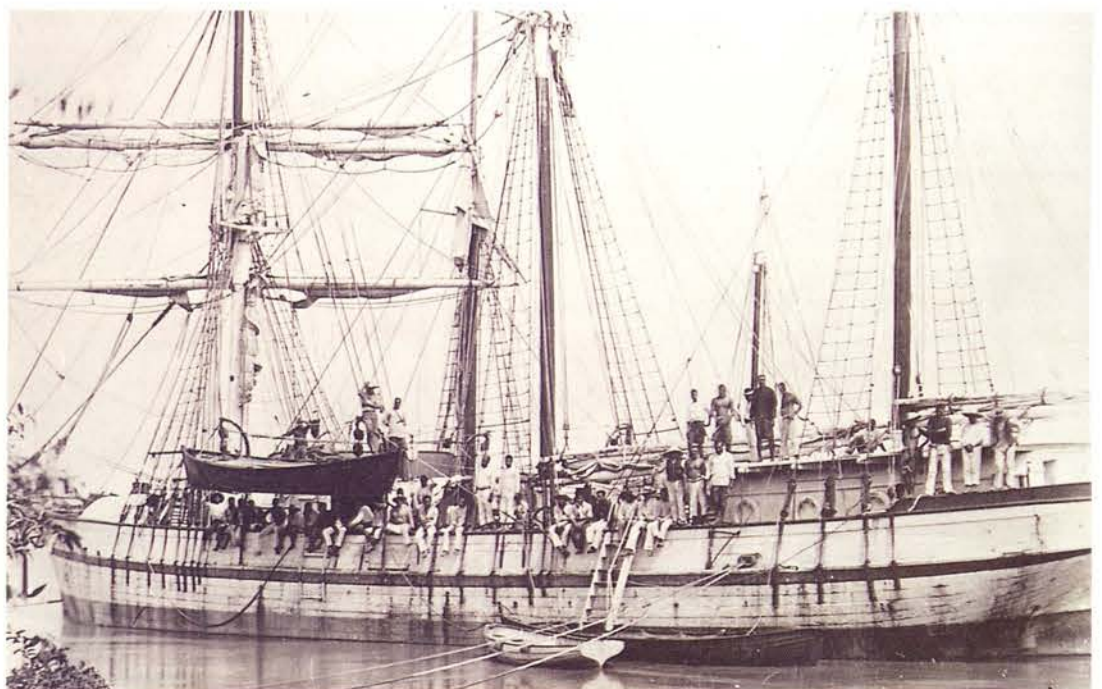
Pacific Islanders remained an essential part of the sugar industry until sugar cane was grown on small individual farms and sugar was manufactured in central sugar mills. Once these had been established by the late 1890s and farm mechanisation had increased, cheap island labour lost its value. To the new nation, the inference that any Australian industry used slave labour was embarrassing. The islanders were repatriated as quickly as possible. Their fate aroused little interest or compassion.



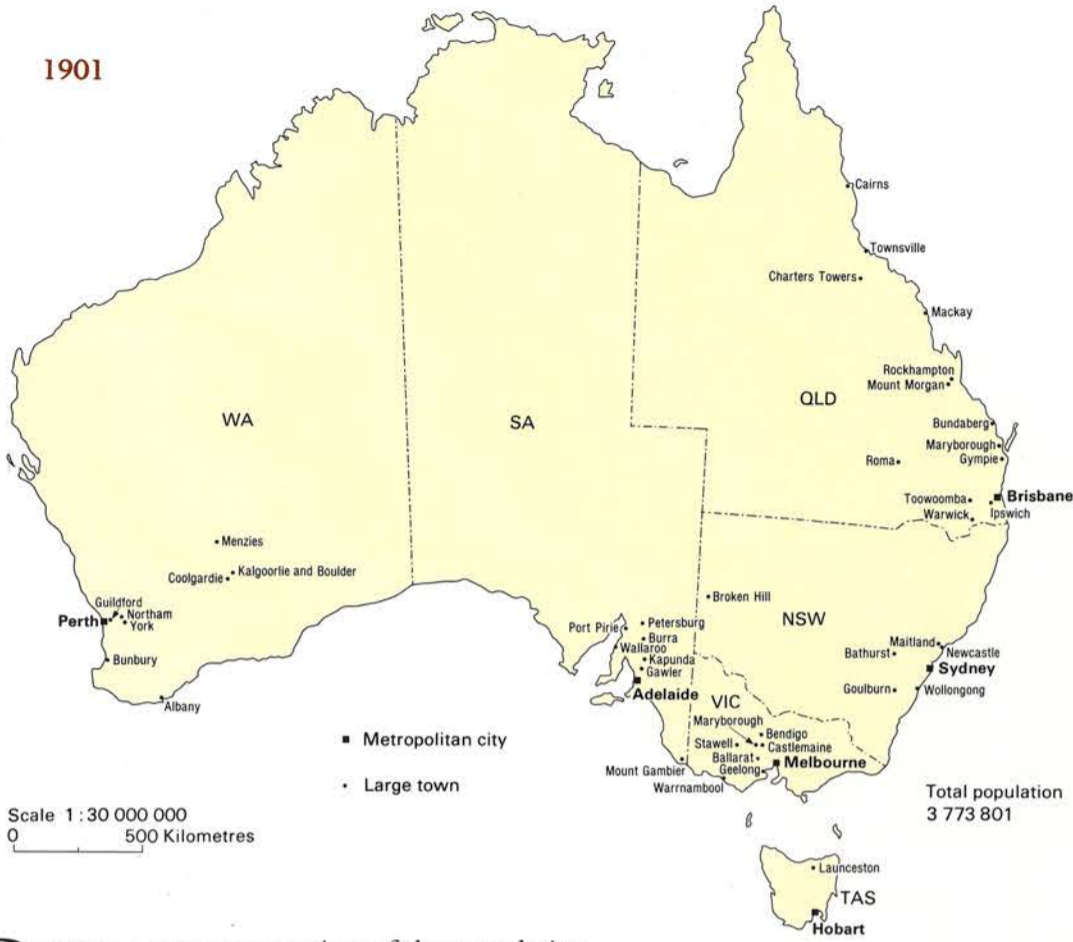
### Death rates 1880-1904



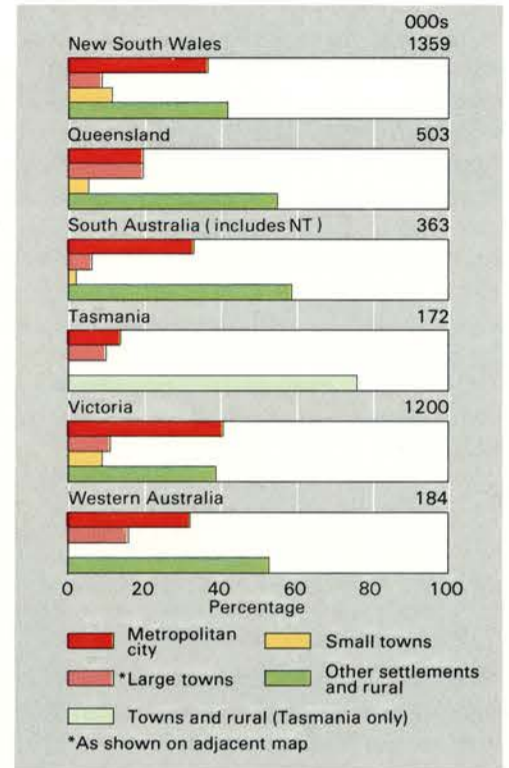
*In the early 1900s islanders were forcibly repatriated. This ship is leaving Bundaberg with Pacific Islanders returning home.*  
JOHN OXLEY LIBRARY



# Population 1901, 1921



## Urbanisation 1901



**B**Y 1901 A HIGH proportion of the population lived in towns and cities in all Australian states. Of the population living in larger centres, in four states — New South Wales, Victoria, South and Western Australia — over 60 per cent lived in the capital cities. Brisbane did not dominate the Queensland hinterland, as regional centres on the coast established their own ports and, in some cases, inland rail lines. In Tasmania, Hobart and Launceston, almost equal in size, served the south and north, respectively, of the island.

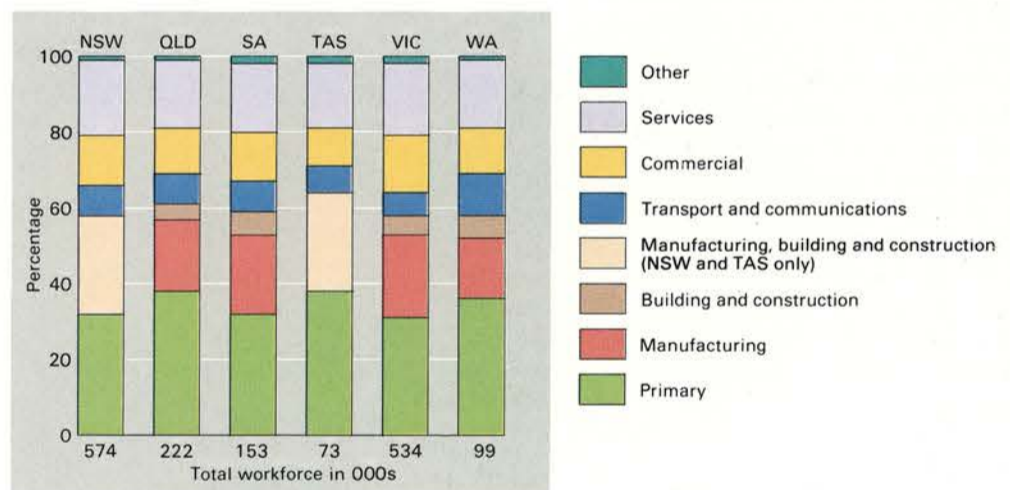
The criterion used to identify 'large towns' on the maps on this page, and pages 155, 158 and 159, was that they held a minimum of 5 per cent of the state's population. 'Small towns' are other centres with populations over 1000.

Many of the large towns in 1901 owed their origins to mining. Some, such as Newcastle and Ballarat, were functioning as centres of their regions by the turn of the century, but the future of others, such as Broken Hill, Gympie, Charters Towers, Mount Morgan, Castlemaine, Stawell, the Western Australian gold towns (Kalgoorlie, Coolgardie and Menzies) and the South Australian copper towns (Burra, Kapunda and Wallaroo) were still dependent on the prosperity of the mines. Some of today's regional centres were already substantial in 1901. Examples are Townsville, Rockhampton, Toowoomba, Cairns, Bathurst, Goulburn, Geelong, Mount Gambier, Bunbury and Albany.

Apart from the obvious dominance of migrants from the British Isles, the diagram of birthplaces of the overseas born shows that there were a significant number born in Asia in each of the goldmining states, especially Western Australia, where activity was near its peak. The movement from New Zealand to New South Wales and Victoria is reflected. There was a significant proportion of northern Europeans (mostly Germans), especially in Queensland and South Australia.

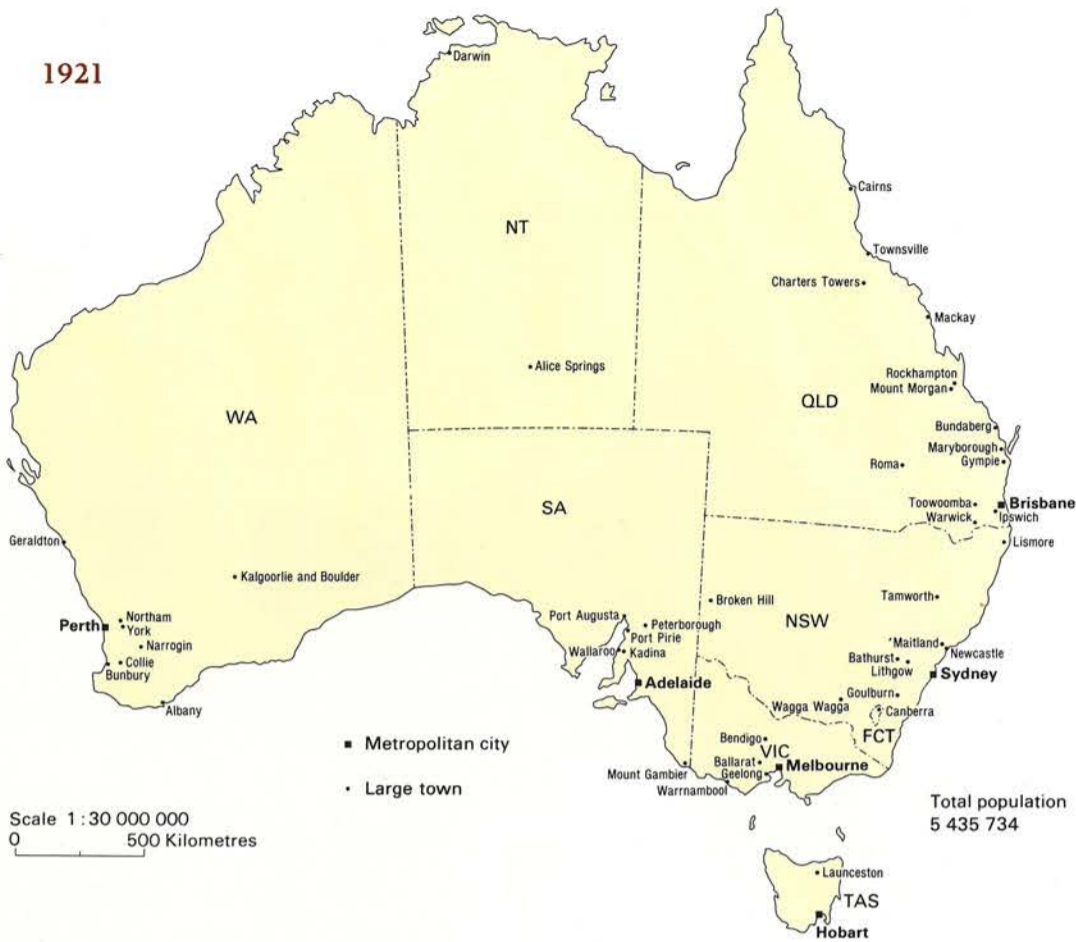
Employment in manufacturing was already significant in 1901, accounting in part for the large proportion of people in metropolitan cities in the southeastern states. Jobs in commerce and services were also important in urban areas, as were many jobs in transport and construction.

## Employment 1901

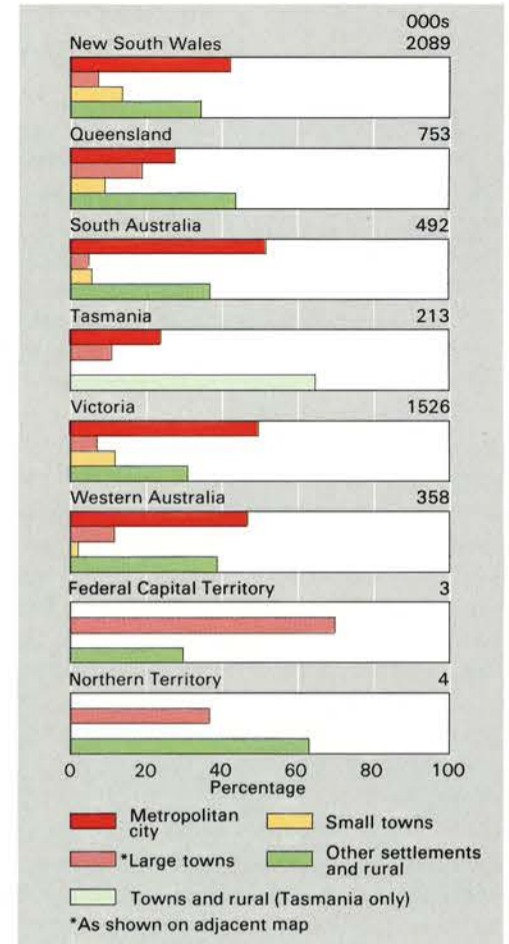


## Overseas born 1901





Urbanisation 1921



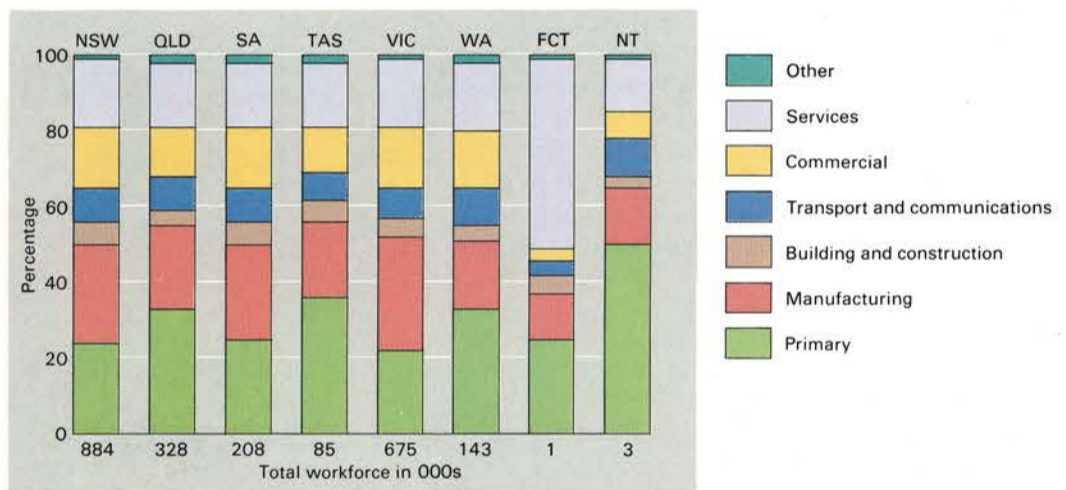
Between 1901 and 1921 there was an increase in the proportion of each state's population that lived in centres of more than 1000 people, where most of the growing manufacturing and service industries were based. Except in Tasmania, by 1921 over half the people in each state lived in such centres, over 60 per cent in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. Much more dramatic was the increase in the proportions in the state capitals. In 1921 Adelaide, Perth and Melbourne had about half of their respective state populations, Sydney 43 per cent, Brisbane and Hobart each about a quarter.

There had been changes in the centres that qualified as 'large towns' according to the criteria used in these maps. Some mining centres had declined in relative importance: Wollongong in New South Wales, South Australia's copper towns Burra and Kapunda, and Western Australia's gold towns Coolgardie and Menzies. Lithgow in New South Wales became a 'large town' when Australia's first iron and steel mill was established there in 1900. Coalmining accounted for the rapid growth of Collie in Western Australia. Some regional centres had also become more important: Tamworth, Wagga Wagga and Lismore in New South Wales, Port Augusta in South Australia and Geraldton in Western Australia.

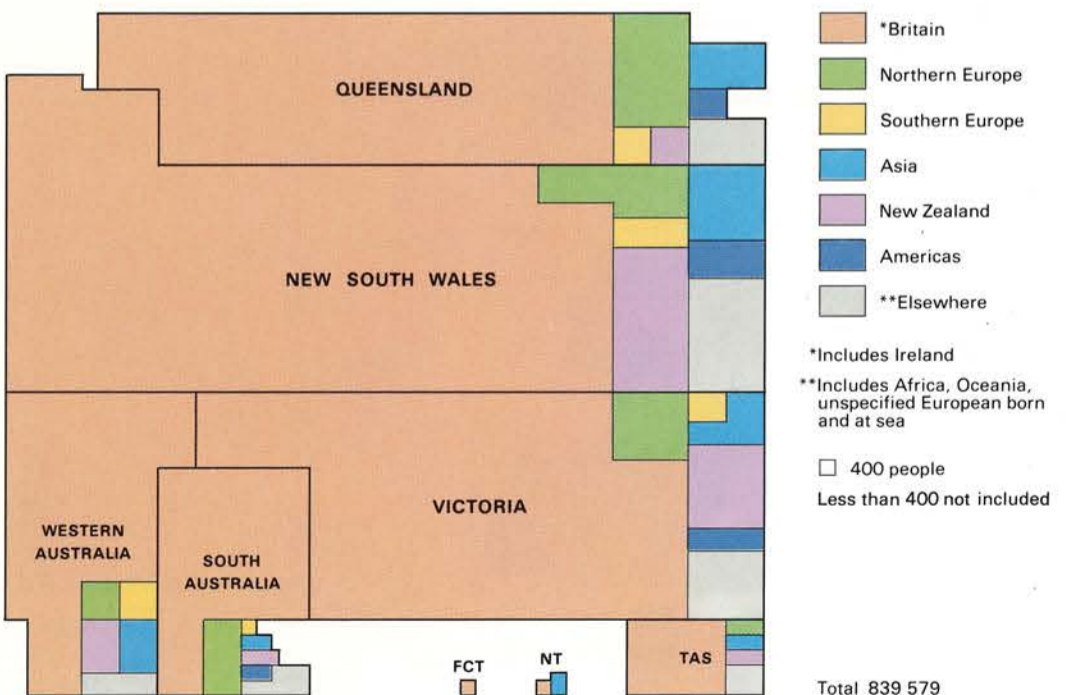
During the first twenty years of the century relatively few migrants arrived, and the number of persons born overseas actually declined slightly. There were no marked changes in the proportions born in different parts of the world. The number born in the British Isles had risen slightly overall, but there were many fewer in Victoria and South Australia, offset by more in New South Wales and Western Australia. The numbers born in northern Europe had fallen in each state, and the number born in Asia had fallen everywhere except in Western Australia.

With economic growth early in the century, the proportion of the workforce engaged in primary industries began to fall, partly because of increased demand for services and manufactured goods, partly because local manufacturers were able to supply products previously imported. Also, farmers began buying more goods and services produced off the farm. Between 1901 and 1921 the proportion in manufacturing and commerce rose in each state. Service employment retained about the same, and personal services declined as commercial services increased in importance.

Employment 1921



Overseas born 1921



# The Chinese born

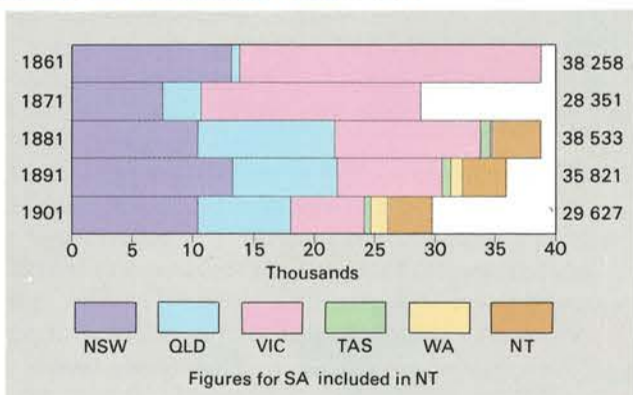
**A**LTHOUGH THE FIRST Chinese were brought to Australia during the 1840s as shepherds, substantial Chinese immigration did not begin until the 1850s, after the discovery of gold in New South Wales and Victoria. At its peak, the number of Chinese in Australia reached only 40 000 in the 1880s. Yet their presence provoked fierce racial hatred in Australia, the major motivation for the 'White Australia' policy of the late nineteenth century.

The graph showing the number of Chinese in Australia for selected census years reflects the history of gold discoveries. Until 1871, most Chinese lived in Victoria. By 1881, new goldfields in Queensland, the Northern Territory and New South Wales, and the Tasmanian tin-mines, had attracted Chinese diggers. By 1901 gold discoveries in Western Australia had brought Chinese to the state, though legislation restricting their entry kept their numbers low.

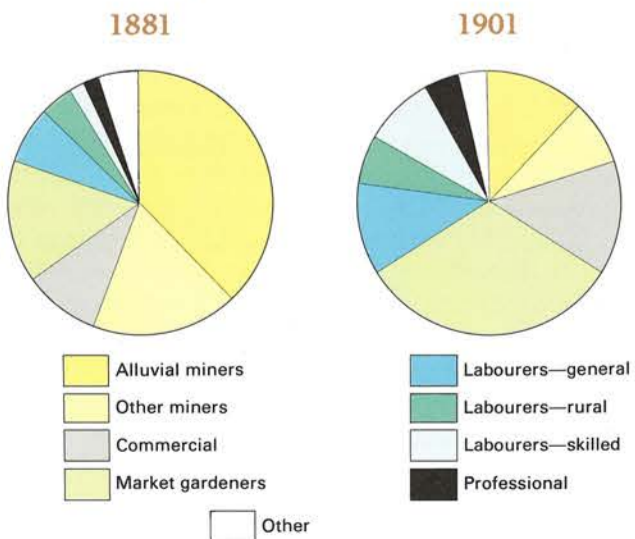
The majority of Chinese diggers, like their European counterparts, came to Australia to find gold and then return home. Few women accompanied them: in Victoria in 1857, of 25 424 Chinese only three were women. Most Chinese failed to find gold; as the goldfields declined they either stayed in rural areas or moved to cities as retailers, carpenters, labourers and market gardeners. Victoria provides a representative example of this process.

In 1857, counties and districts with goldfields accounted for 87 per cent of Victoria's Chinese population. The remaining 13 per cent were scattered throughout the colony. By 1871, 80 per cent of the Chinese still lived in Victoria's gold-producing areas but some had moved to Melbourne, laying the foundation for its Chinese community. By 1901, over one-third of Victoria's Chinese lived in Melbourne, less than half in the gold-producing areas. Those Chinese outside Melbourne lived mainly in or near country towns.

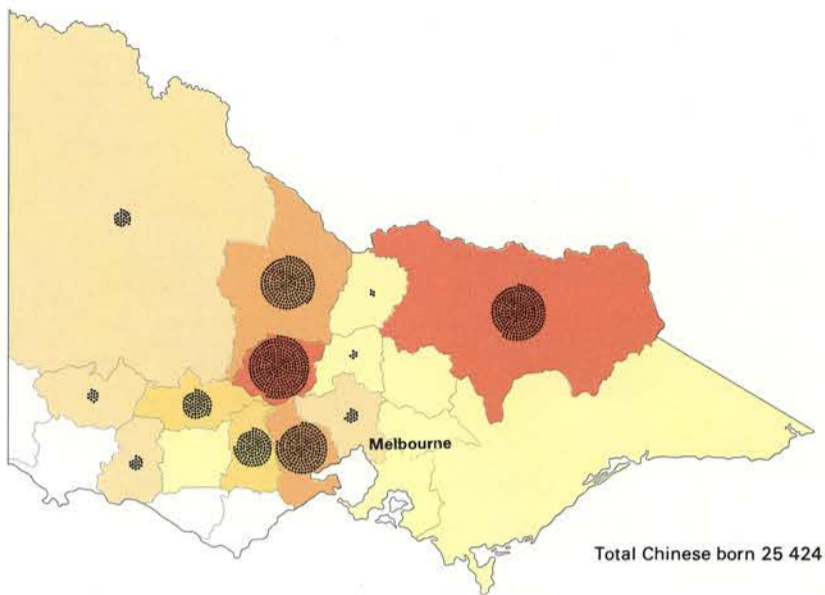
## Chinese in Australia 1861-1901



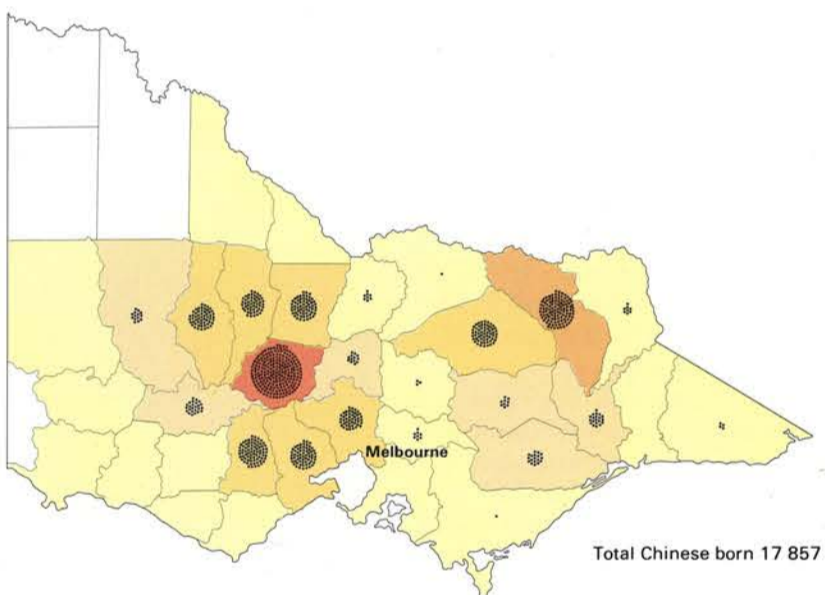
## Chinese occupations in Victoria



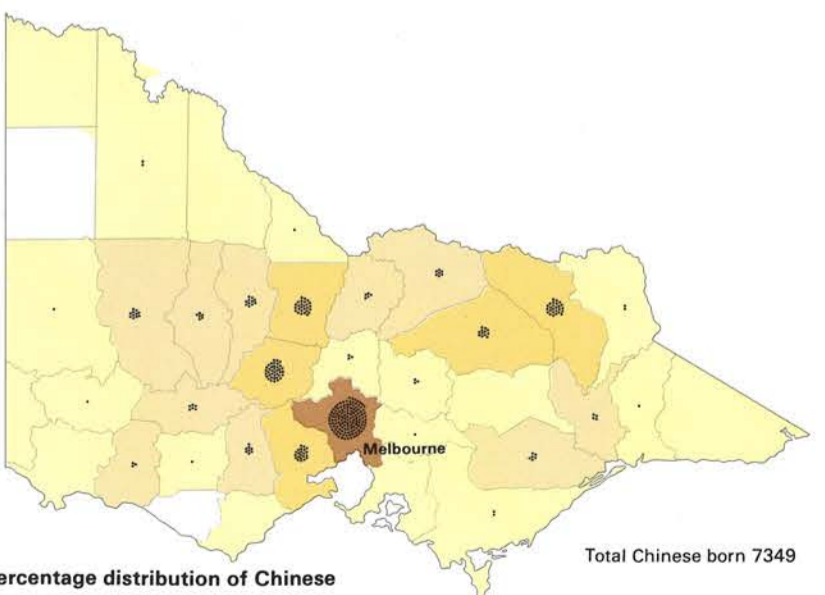
## Chinese in Victoria 1857



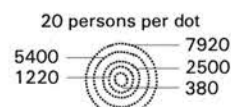
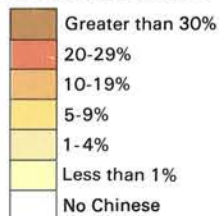
## 1871



## 1901



Percentage distribution of Chinese



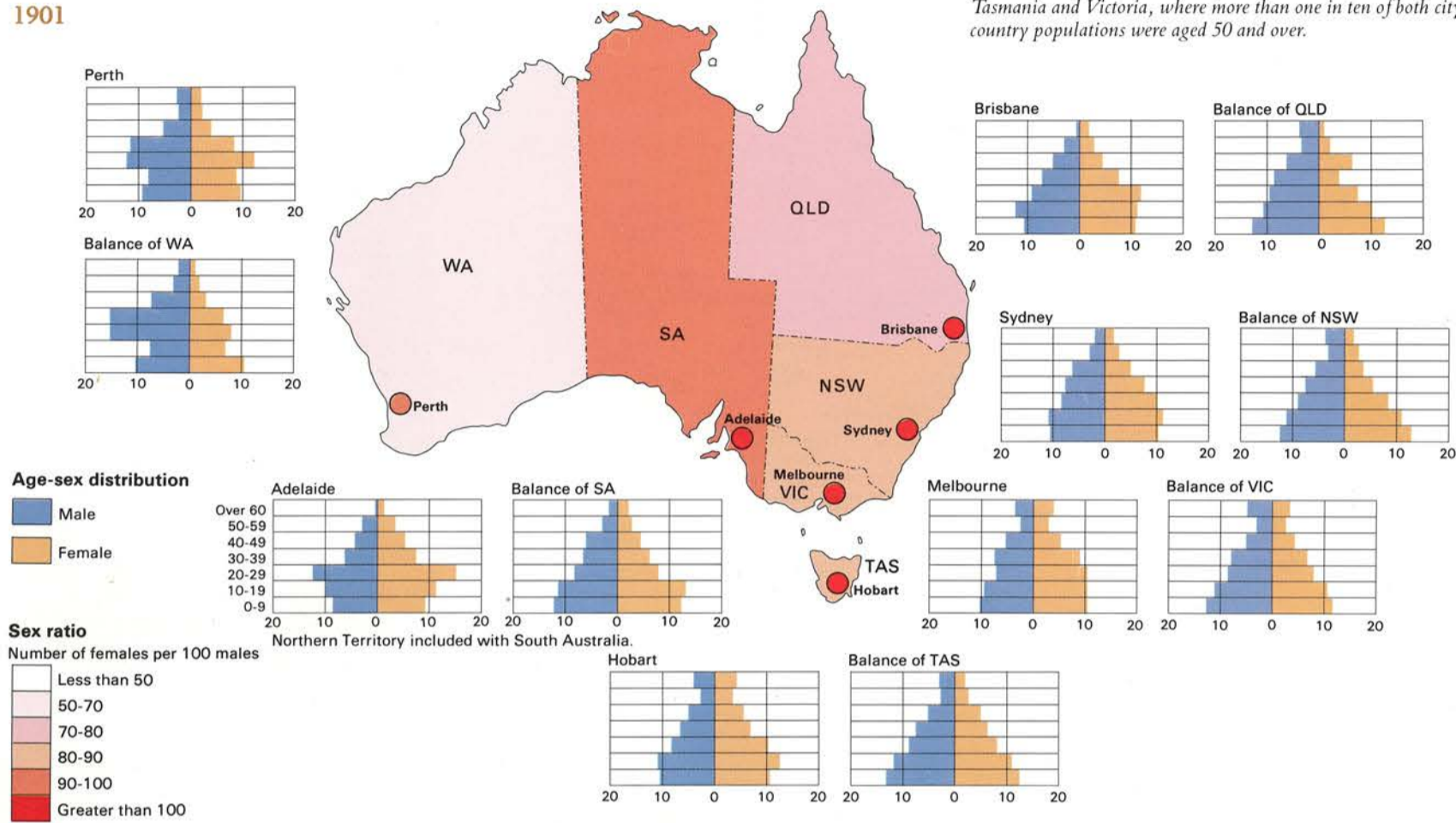
# Age-sex ratios 1901, 1921

By 1901 the proportion of males to females had become more even. In all state capitals females outnumbered males with the exception of Perth, where there were still fewer than 90 females per 100 males. In the non-metropolitan areas of each state there was a much higher proportion of females than there had been in 1861, again with the

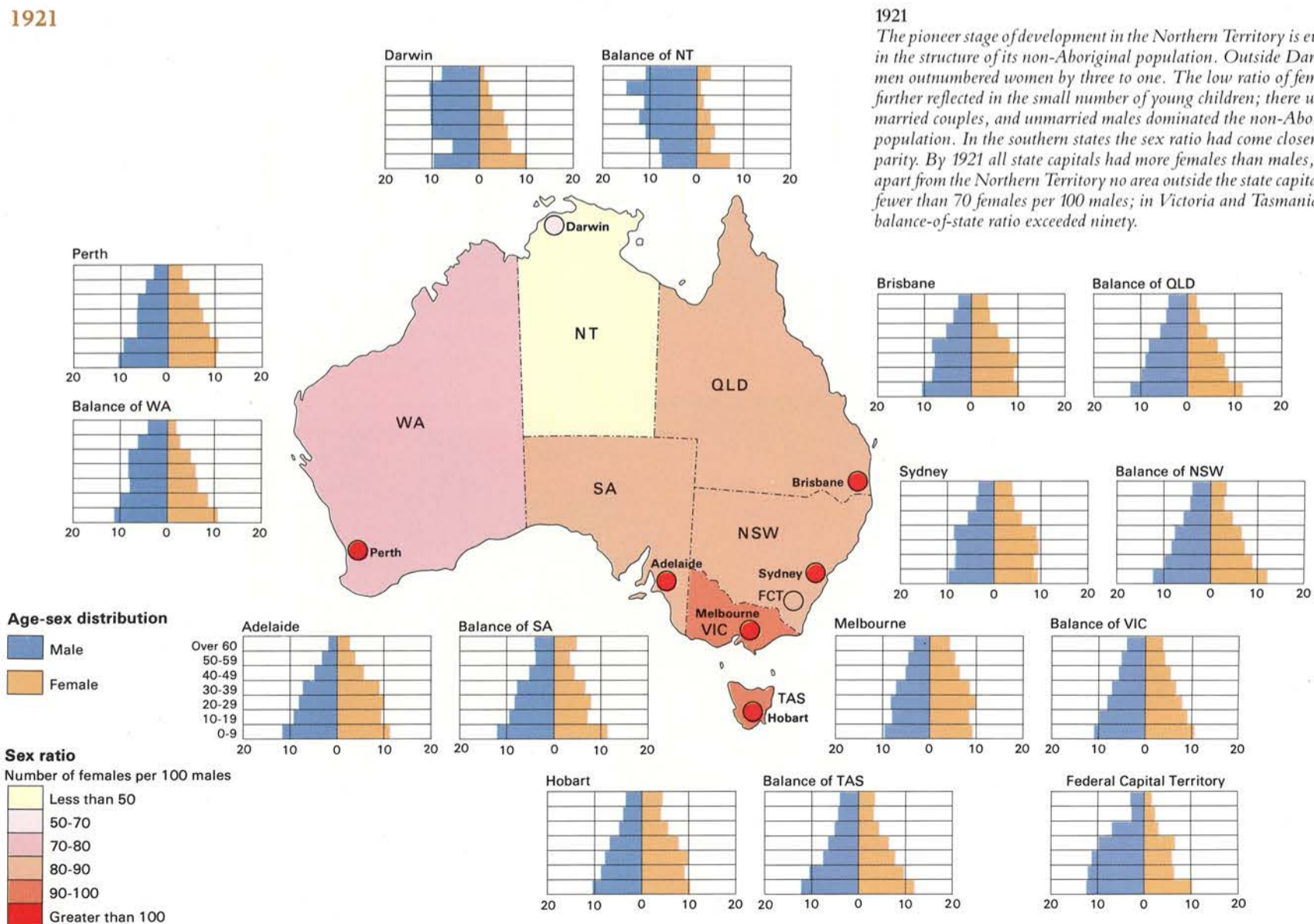
exception of the west. The recently discovered goldfields in Western Australia maintained a high ratio of males to females, and in the country districts of the state as a whole there were still fewer than 60 females per 100 males.

The age structure of the population had also changed in the 40 years from 1861. This was particularly evident in New South Wales, Tasmania and Victoria, where more than one in ten of both city and country populations were aged 50 and over.

## 1901



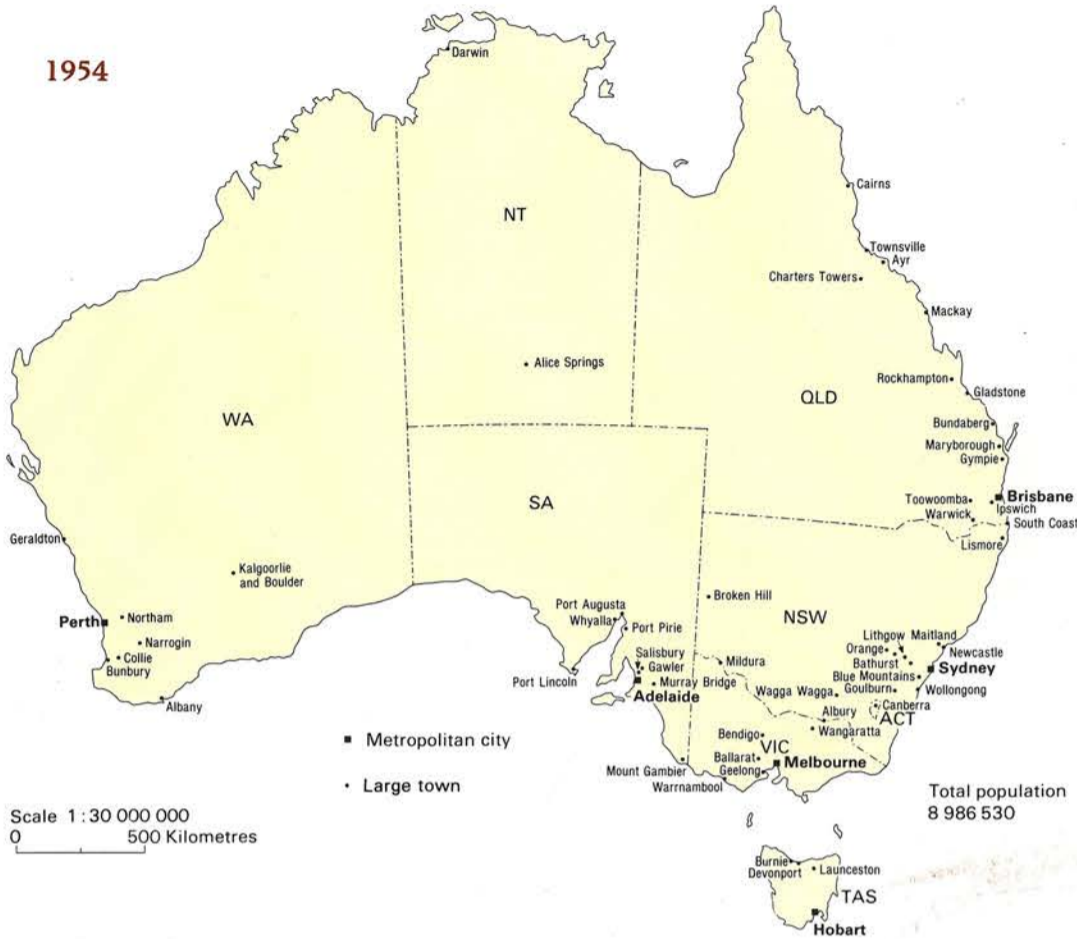
## 1921



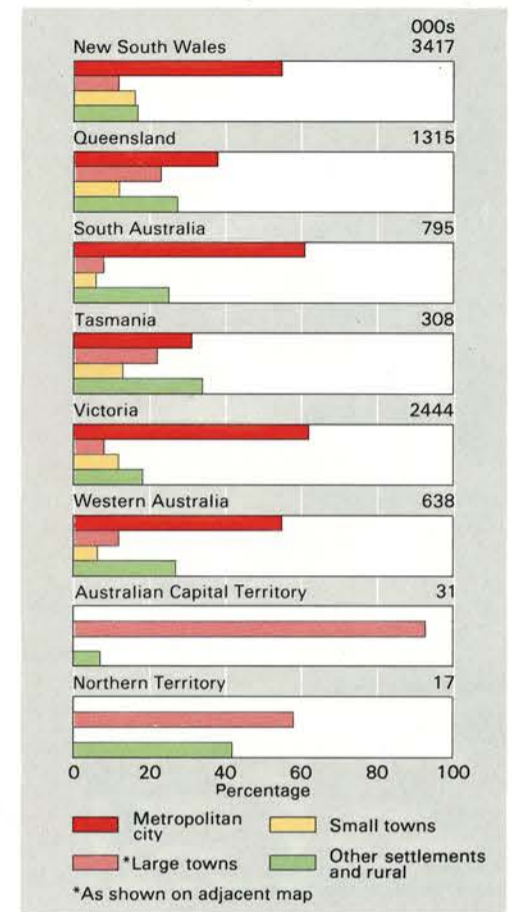
1921 The pioneer stage of development in the Northern Territory is evident in the structure of its non-Aboriginal population. Outside Darwin, men outnumbered women by three to one. The low ratio of females is further reflected in the small number of young children; there were few married couples, and unmarried males dominated the non-Aboriginal population. In the southern states the sex ratio had come closer to parity. By 1921 all state capitals had more females than males, and apart from the Northern Territory no area outside the state capitals had fewer than 70 females per 100 males; in Victoria and Tasmania the balance-of-state ratio exceeded ninety.



# Population 1954, 1981



## Urbanisation 1954



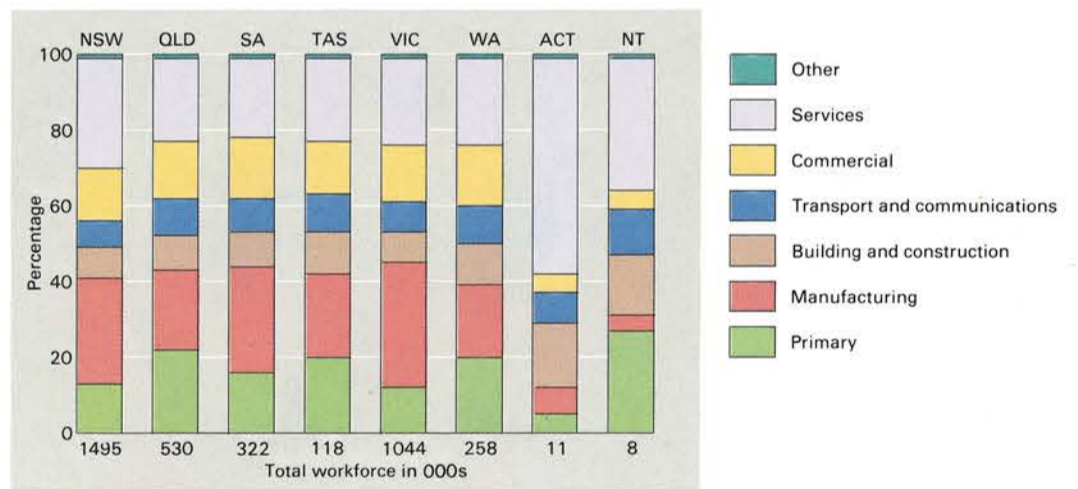
**E**CONOMIC EXPANSION IN THE 1920s, the Great Depression, World War II and the beginning of the postwar boom changed many aspects of Australian life between 1921 and 1954. Urbanisation continued until, by 1954, about three persons in four lived in centres of over 1000 population. The metropolitan cities had become even more dominant: only Brisbane and Hobart housed less than half of their states' population, and Melbourne and Adelaide accounted for more than 60 per cent.

The number of 'large towns' had expanded by 1954. The steel industry produced thriving centres in Wollongong and Whyalla. Orange and Albury in New South Wales, Wangaratta and Mildura in Victoria, Murray Bridge and Port Lincoln in South Australia, and Burnie and Devonport in Tasmania emerged as regional centres.

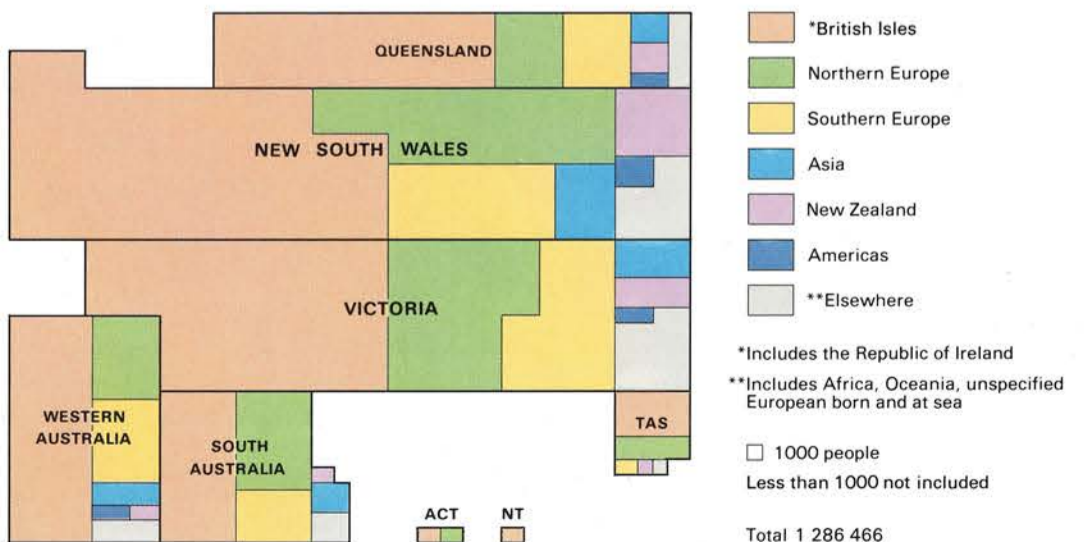
By 1954 postwar immigration was adding to the large influx of refugees of the late 1940s. Although the total number of overseas born had increased by 53 per cent, the number born in the British Isles was about the same in 1954 as in 1921. The additional immigrants had come from northern and southern Europe, some as displaced persons or refugees. Continental Europeans who came before World War II tended to concentrate in particular rural regions: the wine-growing areas of South Australia, the tobacco regions of Victoria and Queensland and the sugar districts in Queensland. But postwar arrivals concentrated in the metropolitan areas, especially Sydney, Melbourne and, to a lesser extent, Adelaide.

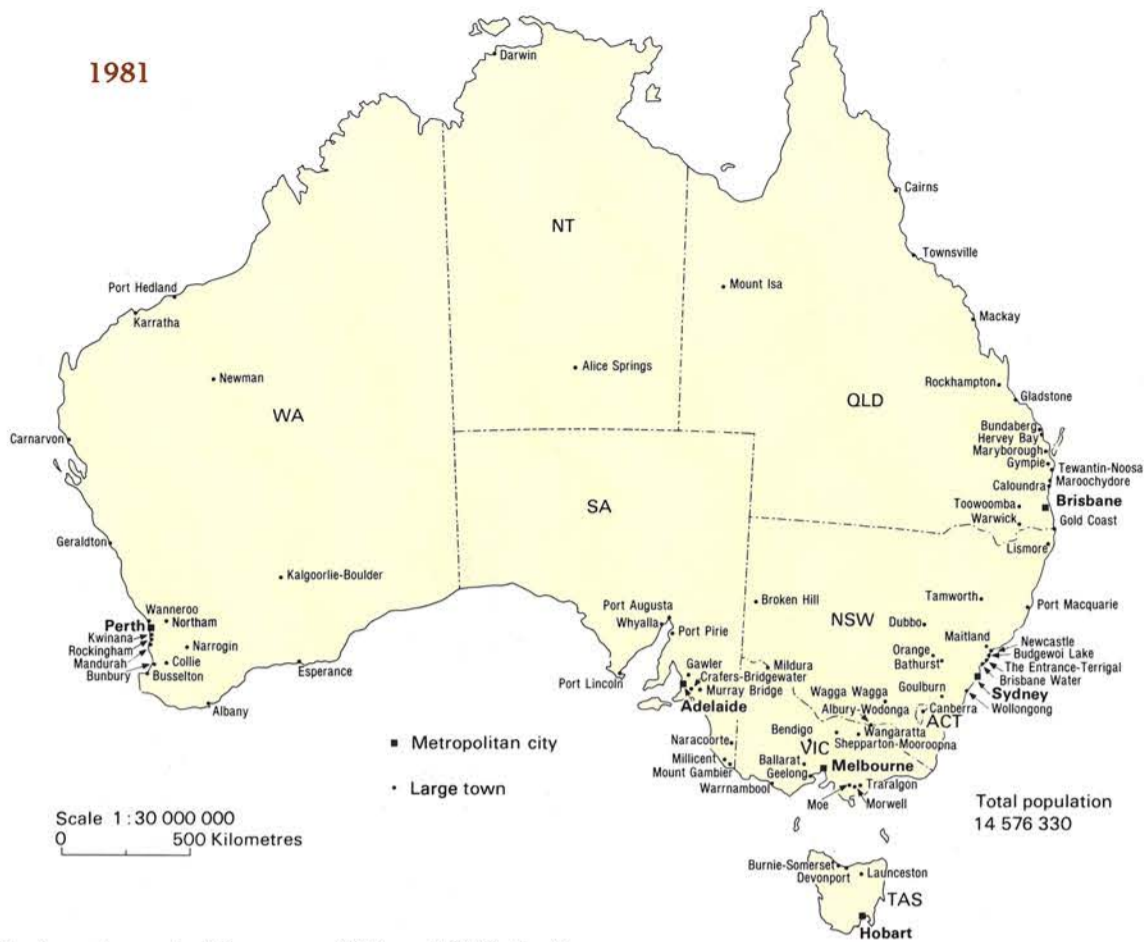
Manufacturing advanced rapidly during the 1920s and again during and after World War II. But it began to specialise and buy services from other sectors, so that there was little expansion in its share of the workforce. The primary industry workforce fell further in all states, and employment in services increased. The higher employment in building and construction reflects the rapid rate of economic development in the 1950s and the severe shortage of housing after the war.

## Employment 1954

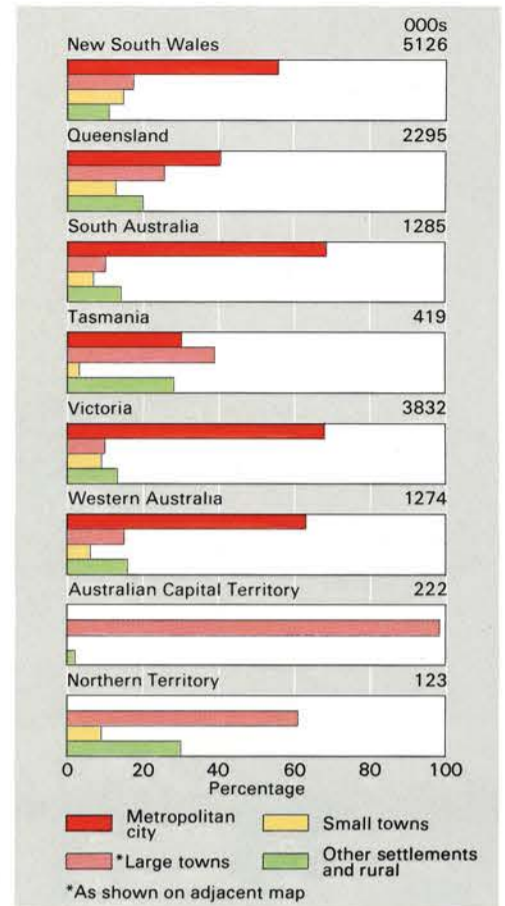


## Overseas born 1954





**Urbanisation 1981**



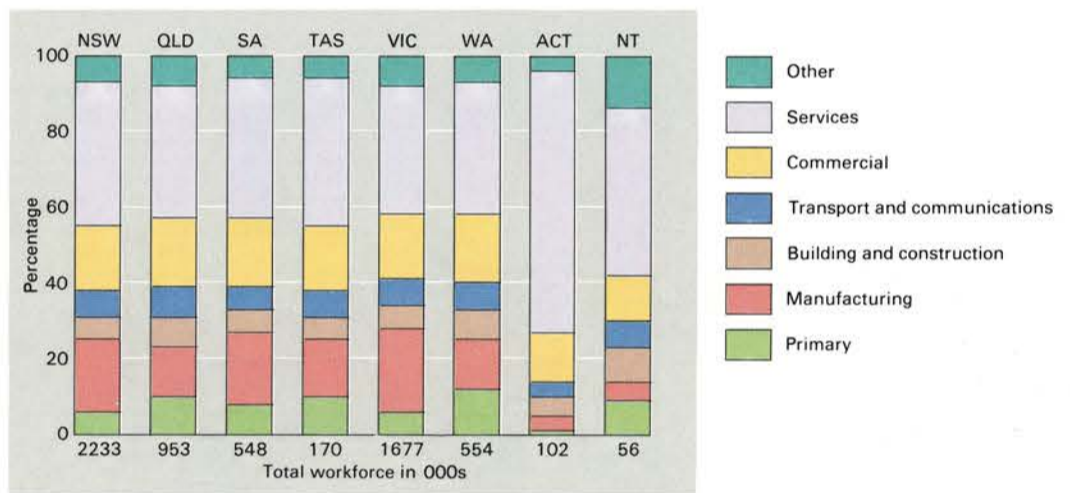
During the period between 1954 and 1981 the forces causing the growth of the large cities began to be offset by others. The proportion of the population living in small settlements and rural areas continued to fall, and although the metropolitan cities' share was higher than in 1954, it had begun to decline during the 1970s. In part this decline was due to the decline in manufacturing employment and in part to a fall in the rate of migration. Postwar migrants and manufacturing jobs were concentrated in the state capitals.

The new 'large towns' were of three main types. First, as in earlier periods, some regional centres such as Dubbo in New South Wales, Shepparton in Victoria, Esperance in Western Australia and Millicent in South Australia gained in prominence. Second, expansion of mining gave impetus to Moe, Morwell and Traralgon in Victoria and Mount Isa in Queensland and the export of minerals produced growth in Port Hedland and Karratha in Western Australia. The third type were urban centres close to the metropolitan cities and economically dependent on them, and resort-retirement settlements. Some, like the Gold Coast and the Sunshine Coast centres north of Brisbane, had characteristics of both. Crafrers-Bridgewater near Adelaide and Rockingham and Kwinana near Perth, like the Blue Mountains near Sydney at an earlier period, are urban settlements likely to be joined to the metropolitan areas by future expansion.

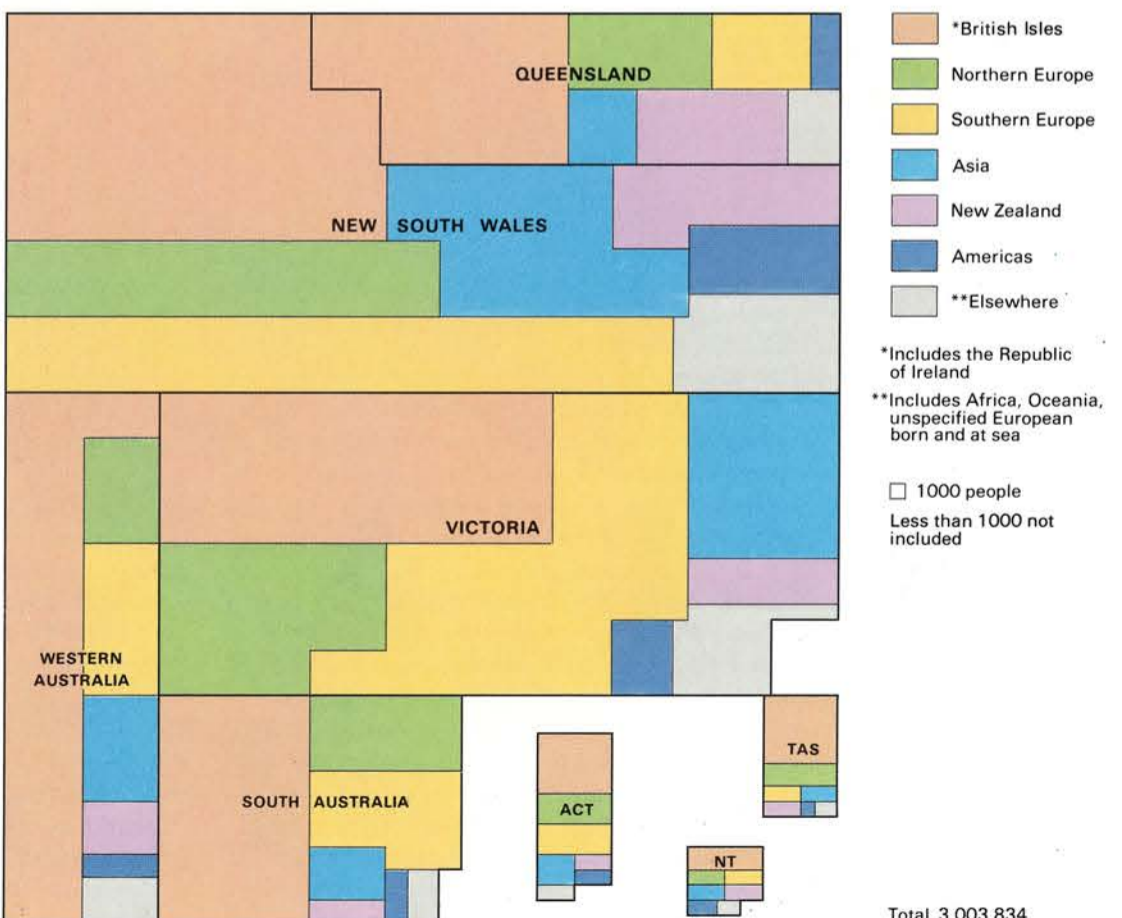
Between 1954 and 1981 the number of non-Australian-born people more than doubled and the numbers born in southern Europe, Asia and New Zealand more than trebled. New South Wales had a large share of all three migrant groups, Victoria of both Asian and southern European born and New South Wales and Queensland the largest shares of those born in New Zealand. As the diagram shows, the British Isles had lost their dominance as a source of migrants though in every state there were still more people of British origin than there were migrants from any other country.

Jobs in service industries had become the most numerous in every state by 1981. Manufacturing and primary industry had both lost some of their share. Indeed, after 1970 the actual number of people employed in manufacturing declined. The share declined most sharply in the main manufacturing states — New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. The states, though not the territories, had remarkably similar proportions of employment in different sectors.

**Employment 1981**

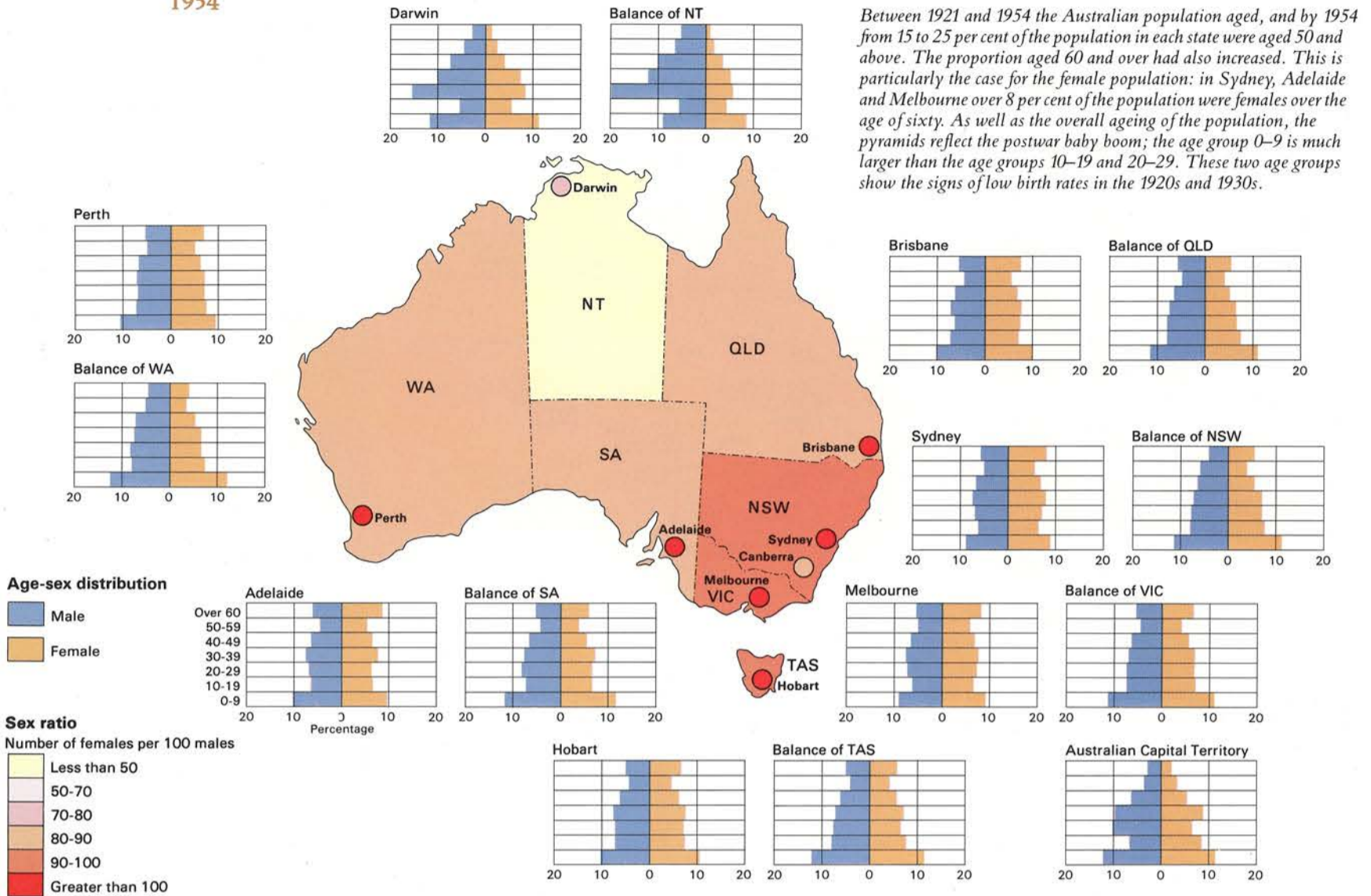


**Overseas born 1981**



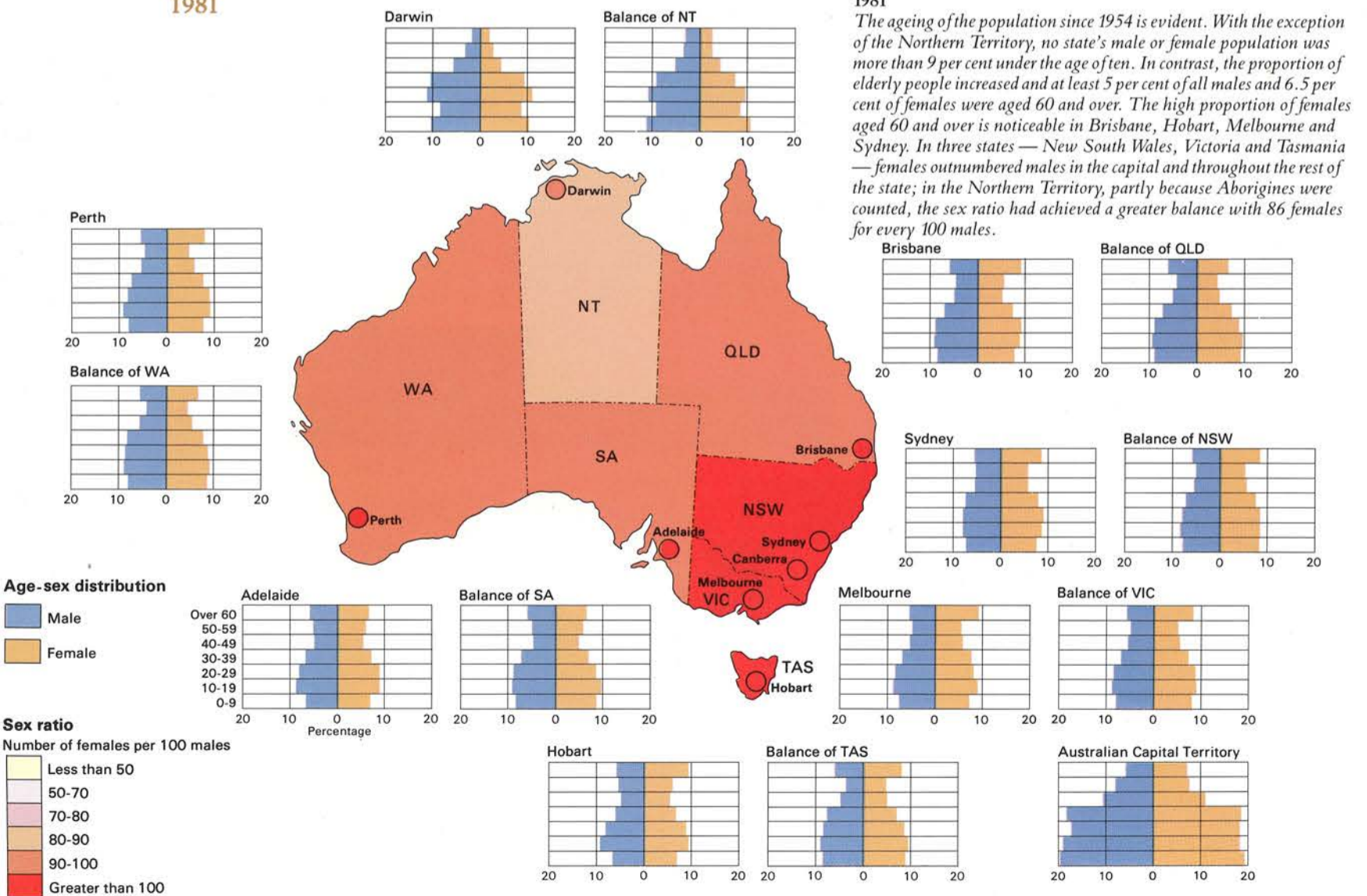
# Age-sex ratios 1954, 1981

1954



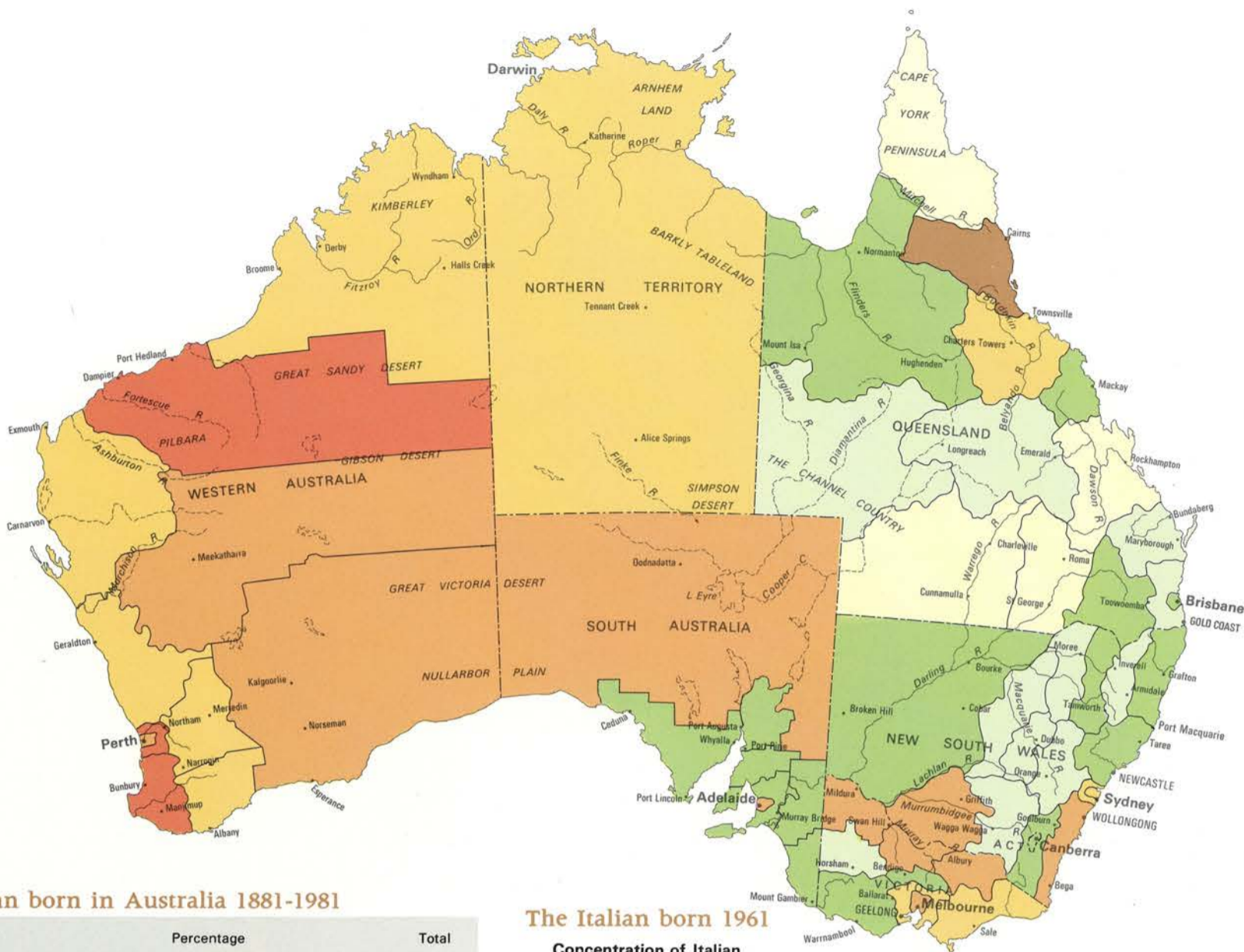
Between 1921 and 1954 the Australian population aged, and by 1954 from 15 to 25 per cent of the population in each state were aged 50 and above. The proportion aged 60 and over had also increased. This is particularly the case for the female population: in Sydney, Adelaide and Melbourne over 8 per cent of the population were females over the age of sixty. As well as the overall ageing of the population, the pyramids reflect the postwar baby boom; the age group 0-9 is much larger than the age groups 10-19 and 20-29. These two age groups show the signs of low birth rates in the 1920s and 1930s.

1981

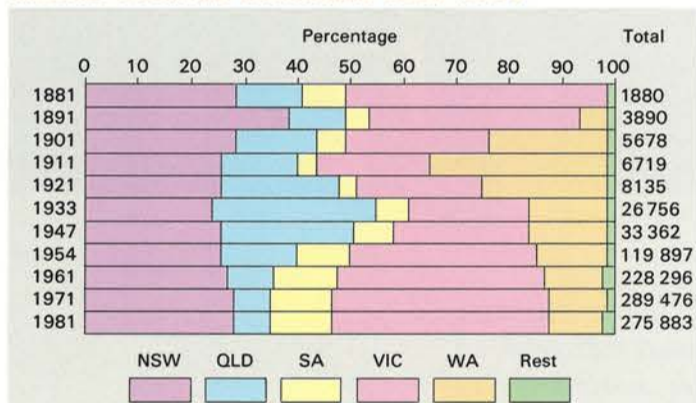


1981  
 The ageing of the population since 1954 is evident. With the exception of the Northern Territory, no state's male or female population was more than 9 per cent under the age of ten. In contrast, the proportion of elderly people increased and at least 5 per cent of all males and 6.5 per cent of females were aged 60 and over. The high proportion of females aged 60 and over is noticeable in Brisbane, Hobart, Melbourne and Sydney. In three states — New South Wales, Victoria and Tasmania — females outnumbered males in the capital and throughout the rest of the state; in the Northern Territory, partly because Aborigines were counted, the sex ratio had achieved a greater balance with 86 females for every 100 males.

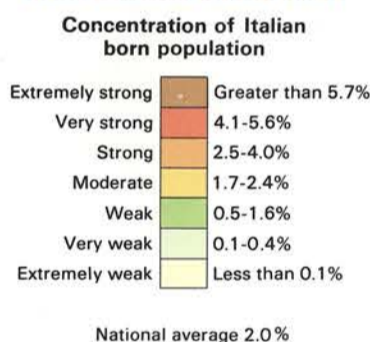
# The Italian born



Italian born in Australia 1881-1981



The Italian born 1961



Scale 1:20 000 000  
0 250 500 Kilometres

**B**EFORE WORLD WAR II there had been only slight growth in the number of Italian immigrants arriving in Australia. The sudden increase in the Italian born from 8135 in 1921 to 26 756 in 1933 was partly due to restrictive immigration policies adopted by the United States of America during the 1920s, which deflected Italian immigrants to other countries. Since 1933 they have been the largest non-British foreign-born population in Australia.

The high percentage of Italians recorded in Victoria in 1881 was a legacy of the gold rushes of the 1850s and 1860s. After 1891, new arrivals preferred other colonies and states, particularly Queensland, where many settled on sugar-cane farms on the north coast, and Western Australia, where the discovery of gold attracted many who remained. Most Italians who migrated before World War II came from northern Italy and settled in rural areas.

After World War II, the pattern of Italian immigration changed. The number of Italian born rose sharply, trebling between 1947 and 1954 and then doubling between 1954 and 1961. Numbers continued to rise after 1961, but at a slower rate. By 1981 there were more than a quarter of a million Italian born in Australia. After World War II, the majority came from southern Italy, and while some settled in rural communities where Italians already lived, others preferred the capital cities, particularly

Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide. Victoria was the most popular state for Italians, and Melbourne the most popular city.

The map shows levels of concentration of the Italian born in statistical divisions in Australia in 1961. It reflects the influence of Italian immigration both before and after World War II.

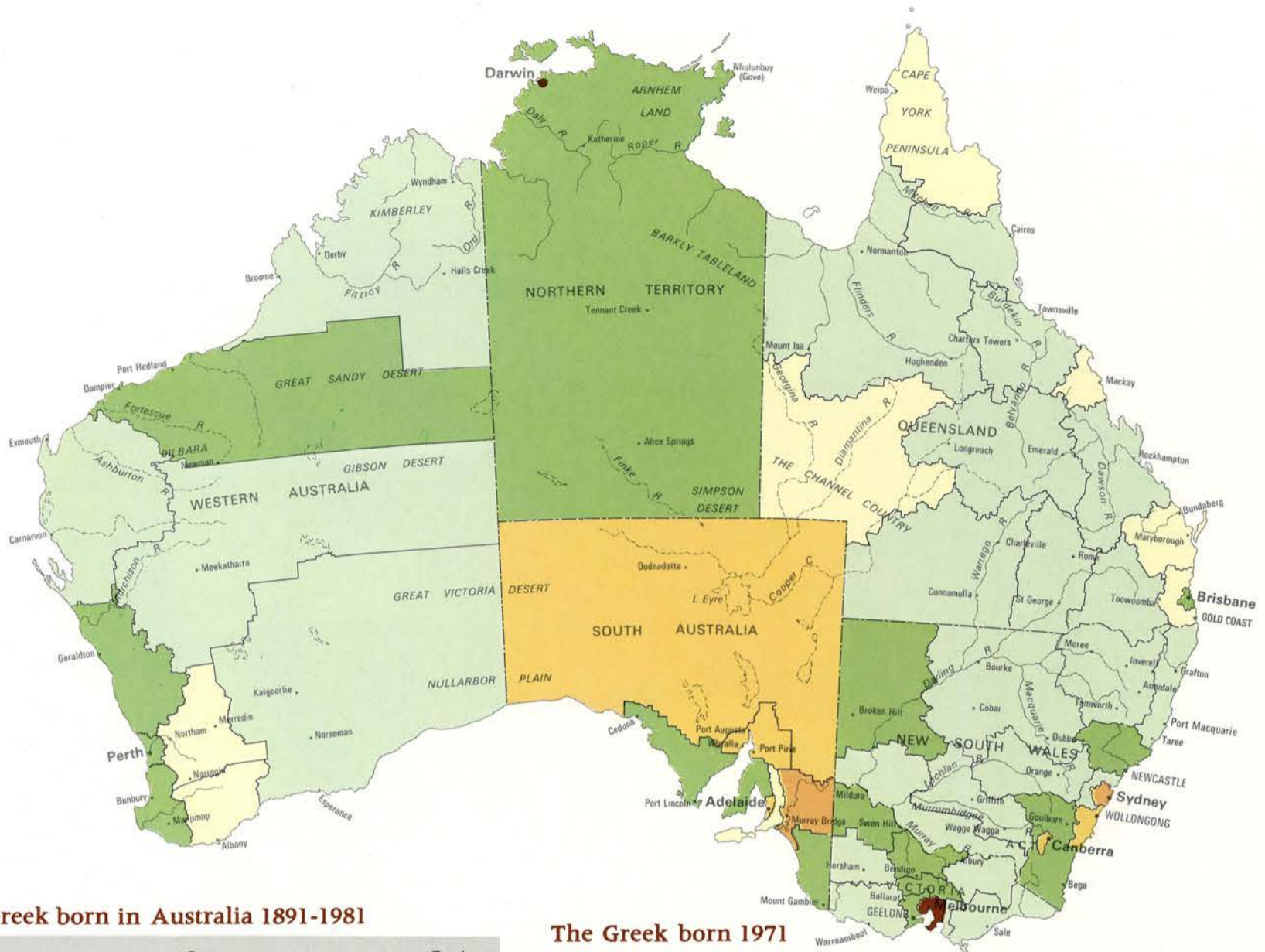
The greatest concentration was recorded in the Cairns district, with its strong sugar-cane farming community established at the turn of the century. Heavy concentrations were registered in Western Australia's agricultural districts near Perth, and in the southwest and the mining areas of the Pilbara. Strong concentrations were registered in the irrigation areas of Victoria and New South Wales, in the goldfield districts of Western Australia where mining jobs attracted migrants and in Melbourne and Adelaide, where manufacturing offered employment.

Moderate or average concentrations were recorded in the Sydney region, the mixed agricultural regions of Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia and the Tasmanian midlands, and in northern Western Australia, where many Italians worked in the fishing industry.

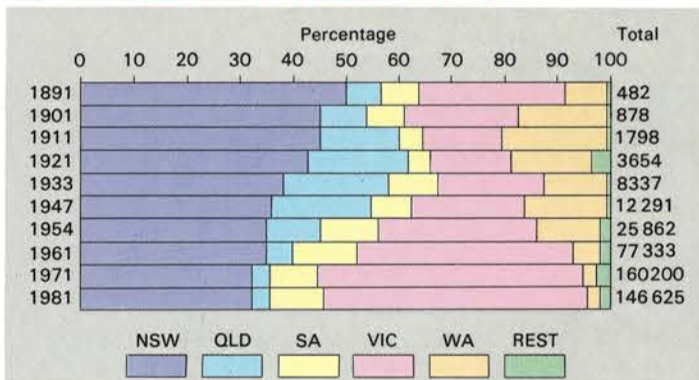
The rest of Australia registered concentrations below the average. Tasmania was the least significant recipient of Italians overall.

The map shows that the Italians tended to settle across Australia, following a variety of occupations.

# The Greek born

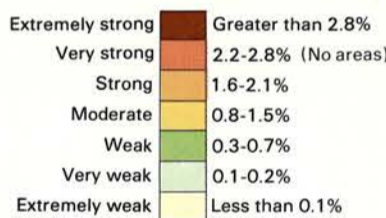


Greek born in Australia 1891-1981



The Greek born 1971

Concentration of the Greek population



National Average 1.2%

**T**HE NUMBER OF GREEKS migrating to Australia increased steadily from the turn of the century, especially after restrictive immigration policies introduced by the United States during the 1920s deflected Greek emigrants to other countries. In general, New South Wales was the most popular destination of Greek immigrants, although Western Australia attracted a number between 1901 and 1911 and Queensland attracted an increasing number. In Victoria, a Greek community had been established by 1901 in the irrigation settlement at Mildura. In general, Greek immigrants of the 1920s and 1930s settled in both city and rural areas. They mainly worked in small businesses such as fish shops and cafes.

After World War II, the numbers arriving were much larger than in the 1920s and their destinations changed. The number of Greek born doubled between 1947 and 1954, and more than doubled between 1954 and 1961 and again between 1961 and 1971. In 1971 the capital cities held more than 80 per cent. Although New South Wales and South Australia received numerous Greek immigrants, the majority went to Victoria, particularly to Melbourne. By 1971, 48 per cent of Australia's Greek-born population lived in Victoria, and Melbourne had one of the world's largest Greek urban populations. Migration to Queensland

and Western Australia continued but at a much slower rate.

In 1971, the year for which the concentration of Greeks in Australia has been mapped, Greek immigration was exceeded only by Italian and British immigration. The most striking feature of the map is the high concentration of Greek immigrants in very few places. Melbourne registered an extreme concentration, as did Darwin, the only capital city with a Greek-born mayor. High concentrations were also registered in Sydney and in the Murray statistical division of South Australia. Melbourne and Sydney offered jobs in manufacturing and, with Darwin, the chance to establish businesses, which ranged from milk bars, restaurants and fish retailing to professional services such as law firms. The Murray statistical division in South Australia is an irrigation area, and many Greeks took up blocks producing citrus and dried fruits.

Moderate levels of concentration were recorded in Adelaide, in the northern districts of South Australia and in the Wollongong region of New South Wales, where the iron and steel industries offered employment. The rest of Australia registered low to very low concentrations, particularly in rural areas. Queensland and Tasmania registered the lowest levels of concentration overall. Yet even in these states the Greek migrants' preference for capital cities is clear.