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**SOURCES FOR AUSTRALIAN HISTORICAL
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In addition to providing the story of past populations, historical demography helps inform us why populations are the way they are, and allows us some insight into population futures. Historical demography uses a plethora of sources, however these sources are scattered and not always easily accessible. This paper draws attention to a number of sources for Australian historical demography, both those that are currently exploited and others that we hope may be exploited in the future.

This paper adopts broader definitions than do Pressat and Wilson (1985: 52, 95–96), who define historical demography as the ‘application of techniques of demographic analysis to historical source material’, and demographic analysis as a ‘form of statistical analysis which employs, for the most part, a modest array of mathematical and statistical techniques to deal with the data produced by censuses, surveys and vital registration systems’.

According to Kertzer (1997: 843–844), ‘the traditional questions of interest to demographers cannot be satisfactorily answered by quantitative materials and statistical analysis alone’. Quantitative methods need to be combined with ‘more traditional historiographical methods, drawing upon various sorts of archival materials’. Kertzer feels that ‘demographic change cannot be wholly understood without paying attention to historical detail that is not in itself discoverable through quantitative materials’ (Kertzer 1997: 841). Quantitative data and techniques are used to reconstruct demographic measures such as population size, age structure, fertility rates, life expectancies and migration levels. These measures can then be set within a broader societal context, using both quantitative and qualitative data, in order to determine the factors influencing them, and their impact on other aspects of society (Willigan and Lynch 1982: xi).

Historical demographers generally use a multiplicity of sources. For example, Reid (1989: 27, 44) constructed emigrant life profiles using a number of sources, including Irish baptismal registers, Sydney shipping lists, and New South Wales’ baptismal registers, marriage registers, parish maps, and death certificates.

This paper is an inventory of sources used in Australian historical demography, beginning with the quantitative sources mentioned above, followed by a brief discussion of qualitative sources. Sources excluded from this paper are those used to reconstruct the demography of voyages to Australia (see, for example, Haines 2003) and the demographic experience of Australian combatants overseas (see, for example, AWM 2003).

Population censuses

Before the first census in Australia, a number of population counts known as musters were held. Most of these targeted specific groups of the population—such as convicts, free settlers or landholders—or the population of specific regions, rather than the population as a whole. The musters were essentially head counts for the purposes of allocating food and other resources (Camm 1984: 2). More than 30 musters were carried out in areas of New South Wales and Tasmania in the first 40 years of settlement (Camm 1984: 2–3).

A major problem with the musters was that there was no legal compulsion for the free population to attend, meaning that the population was often greatly undercounted. This prompted the first census proper, held in 1828. This census covered New South Wales and parts of what are now Tasmania and Queensland. Subsequent censuses held in New South Wales and the other colonies are set out in Table 1. From 1911, the Commonwealth Government administered Australia-wide censuses.

The first census collected personal information on name, age, sex, relationship to head of household, birthplace, length of residence in the colony, religion and civil status (Camm 1984: 20). Information on residents of each household was recorded on a household schedule. Other data collected included the number of occupied dwellings (Sydney only), number of stock and the area of cultivated land. Later censuses added questions on marital status, sickness and infirmity, education and occupation.

As the censuses became more detailed over time, so too did the resulting census reports. Early publications consisted of abstracts only; a one-page table that summarised the data collected in the census. By the end of the nineteenth century, census reports for each colony were running into hundreds of pages of tables with accompanying commentary. Camm (1978; 1984) has outlined information collected in the early Australian censuses and some of the problems with this information.

Data available for analysis from censuses are mostly drawn from these census reports, as very few completed household schedules exist from early Australian censuses. From 1911 until 1996, household schedules were systematically destroyed.

Stevenson (1981: 40) notes that colonial censuses are a ‘statistical goldmine’. Historical demographers have made good use of census data despite the lack of individual-level information that would greatly enhance analysis. In her study of the first generation of native-born white Australians, Robinson (1985) was able to use the early muster data in various ways, for example to relate children to the size of land holding and to link these data with the 1828 census and other sources.

Borrie (1994) notes that the twentieth-century addition of new demographic questions to Australian censuses ‘greatly enhanced their value for the study of trends in age at marriage, marriage durations and cumulative family size’. For example, Quiggin (1988: 21–27) used fertility data collected in the 1911 census to calculate parity distributions of Australian married women by birth cohort, birthplace and state of residence. Jones (1971) examined the decline of fertility in the Australian colonies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century using census

data on children ever born of ever-married women by factors such as religion, occupation, birthplace and place of residence. Larson (1994) based her study of the lifecourse in late nineteenth-century Melbourne around data derived from Australian censuses. She notes that the 'immutable constraint on Australian historical research is the lack of census manuscripts' (Larson 1994: 14). However she was able to use the detailed tables published in the Victorian and Commonwealth census volumes to examine changes over time in fertility, schooling, work and marriage.

Historical studies of migration in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Australia often draw heavily on census data (see, for example, Blainey 1954; Rowland 1979; Brosnan and Wilson 1989; McArthur 1967).

The National Library of Australia, State Archives Offices and Libraries and some University Libraries hold nineteenth- and twentieth-century census reports. Results for earlier censuses were often published in abstracts only, which were contained in annual statistical volumes of the colonies or in parliamentary papers. Records of most of the musters held in New South Wales and Tasmania to the 1830s are held on microfilm at the National Library of Australia. Some early Australian censuses are now online. For example, a searchable index to the 1841 New South Wales census is available on the website of State Records New South Wales. The 1828 census of New South Wales is available on CD-ROM with searchable fields.

State Archives contain some nineteenth-century census household schedules. New South Wales, records survive from 1828, 1841, 1891 and 1901. In Tasmania, no completed household schedules remain from censuses after 1857.

Vital registration

From the beginning of colonisation in 1788, records of baptisms, funerals and marriages were kept by local parishes. Tasmania was the first Australian colony to introduce official registration of births, deaths and marriages in 1838, one year after England and Wales. This was followed by Western Australia in 1841, South Australia in 1842, Victoria in 1853 and New South Wales (including Queensland) in 1856 (Young 1975: 3). Kippen (2002) has outlined the reasons civil registration of births, deaths and marriages was introduced in Tasmania, and the problems encountered in developing a comprehensive and universal system of registration.

The information collected in the vital registers became more detailed over time. For example, in Tasmania, information collected in the death registers included name, age, sex and occupation of the deceased; date and cause of death; and district of registration. From 1895, the registers also contained information on birthplace and place of death (recorded in Hobart since 1857 and Launceston since 1886). The birth registers recorded name and sex of the newborn; date and place of birth; district of registration; name of mother and father; maiden name of mother; and occupation of father. The marriage registers list name, age, occupation and previous marital status of the bride and groom; date and place of marriage; and district of registration.

From the mid nineteenth century, the colony of Victoria had possibly the best civil registration system in the world, in terms of the data collected (Archer 1854: 121). Birth registers collected information on date of birth; parents' ages, marriage date, and birthplaces; father's occupation; and names and ages of all father's previous legitimate children.

Saito (1996: 538) notes that 'family reconstitution was the most important methodological innovation in the historiography of the study of past populations'. Using vital registration data, Anderson (1984; 1985; 1999) has reconstituted families in nineteenth-century Western Australia and South Australia to examine age at marriage, birth intervals, pre-marital conception, exnuptial births, completed family size, child mortality and the onset of fertility transition.

Caldwell and Ruzicka (1978), using marriage and births data, have explored nineteenth-century Australian marital and fertility trends in order to investigate the beginning of fertility transition in Australia. Carmichael (1996) obtained annual counts of nonmarital births by age of mother and marital births by age of mother and duration of marriage from birth registration data. The imputed age of mother and date of conception for conceptions occurring outside of marriage were used to calculate age-specific rates of nonmarital conception leading to live births. Gunn (1992) has used computerised birth registration data for nineteenth-century Tasmania to examine the seasonality of births in Hobart over the period 1839–59.

McDonald (1974: Appendix 1) describes the development and sources of marriage registration statistics, the development of census statistics on marital status, and assesses the accuracy of data. Larson (1988) used marriage registration data to 'compare urban and rural marriage trends and study the individual determinants of the timing of first marriage'.

Taylor, Lewis and Powles (1998a) have used counts of death obtained from a variety of secondary sources to calculate crude death rates for the European population in Australia from 1788 to 1859, and age-standardised death rates from 1860 to 1990. They (1998b) have also calculated annual cause-specific mortality rates for most of the twentieth century using data obtained from the Australian Institute of Health and Welfare and the Official Yearbooks of the Commonwealth of Australia. Deaths from causes such as tuberculosis since 1908 are shown in Lancaster and Gordon (1987). Cumpston (1989) gives a comprehensive history of disease in Australia which draws heavily on death-register data.

The annual statistical volumes of each colony contain statistics extracted from the vital registers. In earlier volumes these consisted merely of numbers of events registered while later volumes contain dozens of tables of cross-tabulated data. Cause of death was initially recorded in very broad categories, with more detailed classifications being introduced between 1853 and 1879. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the various revisions of the International Classification of Causes of Death have been used (Young and Ruzicka 1982:160,166).

Durey (1980: 88) noted almost 25 years ago that, although the nineteenth-century registers contain 'some of the most promising data for socio-historical research', 'these sources are generally unavailable to the researcher in Australia.' The situation has now changed. Nineteenth-century registers for each colony are now available on microfilm, known as the 'Pioneers Index'. These may be accessed in the National Library of Australia, and State Archives Offices and

Libraries. In addition, CD-ROMs containing some of the variables from the registers are now available, allowing for easy searching.

McDonald et al (1987) have produced tables covering the estimated European population 1788–1859; vital statistics, marriage, divorce and widowhood from 1851; births from 1850; deaths from 1851; and life expectancy from 1881. Within the Research School of Social Sciences at The Australian National University, the Demography and Sociology Program maintains a data bank ‘which holds annual information on migration, births, deaths, marriages, and divorces and annual estimates of population size by sex, single years of age and marital status for Australia as a whole’ (Vamplew 1987: 451).

Administrative statistics

Government departments and other bodies produce administrative statistics primarily in order to help manage their affairs. However demographic application is often a useful by-product of these data.

Convict data

The first boatload of convicts arrived in Australia—at Botany Bay—in 1788. Transportation continued until 1868 when the last transportees arrived in Western Australia. Detailed records were kept and most of these original records have survived to the present.

State Records, New South Wales (2002) notes that the ‘starting point for any convict research is the convict indent, which is the list of convicts transported to New South Wales on a particular ship.’ Convict indents have been used by a number of researchers to investigate the characteristics of convicts sent to Australia (see, for example, Clark 1956; Robson 1965; Oxley 1996). The convict indents for New South Wales are contained in leather-bound volumes held at State Records, New South Wales. Information collected includes name, age, education, religion, marital status, number of children, place of birth, occupation, crime, prior convictions, term of transportation, date and place of sentence, literacy, behaviour on the voyage out to Australia, and notes made by the ship’s surgeon. Oxley (1987) has used a computerised database containing variables from the indents to investigate the origins and characteristics of female convicts arriving in New South Wales over the period 1825–40.

Driesen (1987) has used the Annual Reports of the Comptroller of the Convict Establishment and entries in the Western Australia Blue Books to investigate convicts in Western Australia and their influence on the socio-demographic structure of the colony. The Annual Reports appeared in the British Parliamentary Papers.

Migration Statistics

Haines and Shlomowitz (1990; 1991) point out that data on migration to Australia in the nineteenth century are scattered and incomplete. Sources include the British Parliamentary Papers, which published the annual number of emigrants departing Britain, and the Parliamentary Papers and statistical volumes of each Australian colony, which published the annual number of immigrant arrivals.

Haines (1995) has created a valuable resource in her compilation of statistical material on nineteenth-century government-assisted emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia. This publication includes tables on annual total and government-assisted immigration from the United Kingdom to each Australian colony; origin, occupation, age, sex, literacy, religion, and marital status of government-assisted immigrants from the United Kingdom to New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. The main source is the colonial Immigration Agents' Reports published in each colony's Parliamentary Papers.

Price (1987:5) defines assisted migrants as 'those receiving assisted passages from colonial funds, not from the British government (as did convicts, paupers, military, civil servants) or from employers or land companies'. In 1991 Flinders University purchased the microfilm of shipping lists as a prelude to the creation of a databank of nineteenth-century immigrants, almost half of whom were assisted. These sorts of data were seen as compensating for the lack of individual census records and, in the long run, could be linked to European databases.

The shipping lists lie 'at the core of...records of assisted migration' (Reid 1989: 24). These lists were kept by the Immigration Agent and included information on parents and colonial relatives. Reid (1989: 31) notes that 'Through nominal record linkage, based on the Sydney shipping lists, the actual process of movement becomes visible' and has carried out this record linkage to compile emigrant life profiles.

McDonald and Richards (1997; 1998) use individual-level data from the shipping lists for the year 1841 to give a detailed demographic picture of the some 20,000 emigrants arriving in Sydney and Port Phillip. Haines and McDonald (2002) and Richards (1999) use the same data to examine the levels of literacy of these emigrants. Indexes to passenger arrivals and departures recorded in Australian newspapers have been compiled and are available at the National Library of Australia.

Estimates of migration from the Pacific Islands to Queensland over the period 1868–1904 have been made using data from the *Statistics of the Colony of Queensland*, annual reports of the Pacific Islanders Immigration Department (both published in Queensland Votes and Proceedings), the Register of Vessels which consists of 'a summary of the agents' reports on Islanders recruited in each island visited', and the Register of Pacific Island Labourers 'which lists the name, village, island and recruiting ship of each labourer'. These last two sources are held by the Queensland State Archives (Price 1976).

Records of Displaced Persons are held by the National Archives of Australia. People displaced during World War Two came under care of the International Refugee Organization (IRO). Over the period 1947–1953 more than 170,000 of these resettled in Australia. Two forms for each person were completed and kept. The first was a screening card that contained name, date of birth, sex, nationality, education, languages, IRO eligibility, address of relative in Australia, religion, dependents, civil offences, literacy, date of arrival and past employment (Ward 2002: 203). The second was a medical examination form containing name, date of birth, eye and hair colour, weight, height, name of camp and location, place of birth, passport photograph, medical questionnaire and an x-ray negative (Ward 2002: 204). Other records sometimes included copies of interviews with IRO officers, good conduct statements, resettlement forms and

correspondence. Documentation for every displaced person has been entered into an online catalogue which may be accessed at www.naa.gov.au. Kunz' (1988) analysis of the Displaced Persons Scheme uses these data, along with a variety of supplementary material, in order to trace the background and first twenty years in Australia of a sample of these refugees.

In addition, the *Visible Immigrant* series of books (currently six) contains numerous mentions of 'neglected sources' of migration data. For example, in the first volume, Fitzpatrick (1989, p. 50) emphasises the 'richness and diversity of letters as a source for the history of migration'.

Hospital Records

Archives Offices around Australia hold records of patients in state hospitals and homes, mental hospitals and government asylums. For example, State Records, New South Wales, holds admission books, case journals and post-mortem registers.

Over the period 1867–80, deaths occurring at the Melbourne Hospital were listed in the *Argus* newspaper on a monthly basis. These lists have been collated and now form the basis of a book, which is available in hard copy and also online (Foenander 2000). The lists include name, age, place of birth, occupation, year and ship of arrival, and date of newspaper listing of each entry.

McCalman (1998a, 1998b) has analysed selected records of the Melbourne's Women's Hospital consisting of 14,000 gynaecology case histories kept over the period 1883–1936, and over 70,000 midwifery histories kept 1856–36.

Military Records

Other administrative records include military records such as the *Monthly Returns* sent from Australia to the War Office in London (Lucas 1997). These *Returns* are held on microfilm at the National Library of Australia.

School Records

These include school registration books and annual reports of the Board of Education (Larson 1994).

Other

Nineteenth-century Health Reports, included with colonial Parliamentary Papers, often contained detailed descriptions of epidemics and the number of notified cases and deaths from particular diseases.

An example of a study of a specific disease is the description by Curson and McCracken (1989) of the 1900 epidemic of bubonic plague in Sydney. In addition to official reports, published in the *Votes and Proceedings* of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, they were able to use registers of cases of bubonic plague, held by State Records, New South Wales (Curson and McCracken 1989: 201–202).

Other sources for demographic inquiry include employment records and Medicare data. For example, Beard (2002) used employment records of The New South Wales Board of Tick Control and selected local councils, matched against Medicare records and death registration data, to study the mortality and morbidity of outdoor workers who were employed between 1935 and 1995 and exposed to pesticides.

Sample surveys

Sample surveys (as distinct from drawing samples from convict and other existing records) will probably receive more attention as their potential for historical demography is realised, although of course problems of comparability between different samples arising from sampling errors and nonsampling error will need to be taken into account.

The 1971 Melbourne Survey covered currently-married women under 60 years of age in Melbourne in 1971 (Caldwell et al. 1973). As well as collecting standard background variables, topics covered include 'contraceptive change over time; attitudes to sexual mores; the desire at each family level for an additional 'marginal' child; the effect of female employment on fertility and fertility control; the life cycle of families as children are born, reared, educated, employed and leave home; the impact of monetary and other incentives to change fertility levels; the effect of ideas such as zero population growth; and ideas about and reactions to population and migrational change' (ASSDA 2003). As far as we know, the rich data of this survey remain largely untouched by historical demographers.

The 1990 Journeyings Survey involved posting questionnaires to former students who had left selected Melbourne schools before 1950 and 'asked respondents to reconstruct their school, work, marital and family lives and those of their parents and children so providing information about three generations' (McCalman 1993: 311). Respondents totalled 683 people, 80 of whom were interviewed (McCalman 1993: viii). The 1971 Melbourne Survey data could have provided clues to questions that McCalman's oral histories could not answer, for example on the prevalence of sexual abstinence in the 1930s (see McCalman 1993: 83).

Family history data

Family history is a growth industry which uses parish registers and other sources, and is supported by a range of software packages to trace family trees within Australia and overseas. An example is the Scottish Immigrants database supported by the Scottish Australian Heritage Council and compiled by John Barth. Data can be exported to other archives such as the Ancestral File of the Genealogical Society of Utah. Information can be stored for an individual as a single line on the database or as family trees (Cameron 1996).

Family history and historical demography employ different approaches to the same data. Family historians are interested in tracing individuals. Historical demographers use data on individuals as a means to an end; the end being the calculation of demographic measures. These different approaches mirror the dual purposes for which civil registration of births, deaths and marriages was introduced in Australia: in order to prove lines of descent and succession and to provide data for the calculation of demographic measures (Kippen 2002).

The Genealogical Society of Utah ‘maintains the world’s largest collection of historical records of the type which may be used for historical demographic research’ (Bean et al 1980: 6). Microfilming of records began in 1938. The FamilySearch Internet Genealogy Service, launched by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in 1999, currently contains 957 millions names in its searchable database, many of which are derived from Australian records. This database is accessible online. Other historical records kept by the Genealogical Society may be accessed through Family History Centres in more than 100 locations around Australia.

The Archives Office of Tasmania, in conjunction with the National Heritage Foundation, has created an online database containing information on people in nineteenth-century. The database links birth, death and marriage records of individuals, and links individuals to family members. On entering a name, the database finds matching cases (to a maximum of 50) and gives their year and place of birth, marriage and death, and the names and vital event dates of parents, siblings and children. The National Heritage Foundation made vital event and family linkages using registration data and information from baptism records, tombstone inscriptions and private family archives. The database may be accessed online at resources.archives.tas.gov.au/Pioneers/.

The Society of Australian Genealogists (www.sag.org.au) has published on CD-ROM a complete listing from transportation records of convicts arriving in New South Wales over the period 1788–1812. Full details are given for more than 14,500 convicts, including crime, place of trial, occupation and ship.

Time series and compendia

Much of the data mentioned above have been collated in easily accessible time series. A valuable resource is the historical series contained in *Demography Bulletins* produced by the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics which ended in 1971. *Australians: Historical Statistics* (Vamplew 1987) contains a compilation of statistics from 1788 to 1984. Topics covered include immigration, ethnic origin, population, marriage, fertility, mortality, climate, labour, transport, crime, housing and social welfare. The book is ‘designed to assist those readers who utilise historical data to make more precise assessments of Australia’s past’ (Vamplew 1987: xiv).

More than 100 time-series spreadsheets—including data on population size and growth, population distribution, population age-sex structures, births, deaths and migration back to 1788—are available online at the Australian Bureau of Statistics website (www.abs.gov.au).

Compendia include the various chapters of the Country Monograph *The Population of Australia* (ESCAP 1982), many of which have an historical dimension, as well as an Annexe on the sources and quality of demographic statistics (Choi 1982).

Annual statistical volumes were created for each Australian colony in the nineteenth century. For example, statistical volumes for Tasmania were published sporadically from 1836 and annually from the mid-1850s. These volumes are remarkably detailed, containing information on everything from the annual number of pianofortes imported, to the number, cost and findings of inquests, to the monthly mean temperature in Hobart. The volumes run to several hundred pages

and typically consist of around ten parts. A description of the 1892 volume for Tasmania is given in Box 1. These volumes are available in State archives and most university libraries.

Qualitative data

As mentioned in the introduction, there are endless qualitative sources used by demographers to set the historical context for demographic measures derived from quantitative data. For example the discussion by Quiggin (1988) of women and fertility in the late nineteenth century begins with demographic analysis but then uses newspapers and other publications to explain changes in fertility. Larson (1994) used a sample of births registered in Melbourne in 1871, 1881, 1891, and 1900 to calculate traditional measures of fertility but, as Day (1996: 146) comments: 'Larson draws upon these data (and a variety of other contemporary sources such as newspapers, handbills, and pamphlets) not only to document the official pro-natalist position, but also to expose many myths about the nature of fertility control in those years.'

The remainder of this section is limited to a selection of qualitative sources from which demographic numbers have been extracted. For example, Robinson (1985: 35) investigated causes of child death in early New South Wales using a variety of qualitative sources, including coroner reports, newspapers, letters, and diaries, along with more traditional demographic sources such as parish registers.

Chamberlain (1984) used a variety of sources in reconciling counts of miners and soldiers killed at the Eureka Stockade, including a list of miners killed printed in the *Argus* newspaper, the list of miners and soldiers killed listed on the Ballarat memorial to the battle, death registers and the military muster rolls.

Reports in Australian medical journals, along with counts of death by cause from death registers, were employed in tracking the course in Australia of measles, scarlet fever and whooping cough. Information derived includes time and place of first appearance of the diseases and descriptions of the various epidemics (Cleland 1911).

The conclusions of demographers (including historical demographers) are generally driven by quantitative data. For example, the complaint of Lucas et al. (1996) is that the dispersion of family members to different countries is largely ignored by demographers even though qualitative data indicates that this might have been significant. Perhaps demographers need to place more emphasis on the importance of qualitative data.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander data

Briscoe and Smith (2002) note that the demographic history of Australian Aboriginal groups is a 'neglected field' of academic study. While the history of European colonisation in Australia extends for just over 200 years and is well documented, Australia was probably populated for some 70,000 years before European colonisation. Welinder (1979: 31) notes 'the source material for demographic reconstructions is of poorer quality the older it is.' Recreating the demographic history of the last 70,000 years provides special challenges to demographers that are yet to be fully addressed.

Prehistoric demography, or palaeodemography, is the study of past populations for which the usual demographic sources of data are unavailable. In Australia, demographic measures such as population size, age-sex structures and mortality rates have been inferred from non-written sources such as settlement sites, methods of agricultural economy (Welinder 1979: 31, 34), existing technology, skeletal remains (Webb 1984), estimates of resource availability (Mulvaney 2002) and climatic and geographic changes over the past 70,000 years.

Eyewitness accounts by early settlers and explorers from around the time of European colonisation are also an important source of information. For example, the journals of George Augustus Robinson, containing detailed accounts of some Tasmanian tribes, have been used to reconstruct the population of defined areas (Mulvaney 2002). Other sources for early population estimates include ethnographic studies, genealogies and official statistics obtained through censuses and colonial administration records (Briscoe and Smith 2002).

Shnukal (2002) has collated estimates of the Torres Strait Islander population, and, more specifically, the Erub population, from a number of sources, including contemporary accounts and censuses. She notes that sources of Torres Strait historical demographic data include contemporary observations recorded in official reports, newspapers and diaries; Church of England registers of baptisms, confirmations, marriages and burials; civil registers of births, deaths and marriages; censuses; annual reports of the Chief Protector of Aboriginals and other government officials; tombstone inscriptions; family Bibles and genealogies; and oral interviews. She also makes use of a Torres Strait Island genealogical database that contains data (c.1840–c.1940) for over 10,000 individuals.

Before the 1967 referendum, ‘full-blood’ Aborigines were not counted in Australian censuses in any systematic way, since they were not included in the official count of Australia’s population (Ross 1996: 6). However the Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics (forerunner of the Australian Bureau of Statistics) held ‘Native Censuses’ from the early 1920s. Briscoe and Smith (2002: 16) use data from these censuses, 1921–44, to highlight ‘demographic aspects of the social history of Aborigines in South Australia’.

Conclusion

Australia lacks a Centre similar to, say, the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure which has, for the past forty years, researched the historical demography of Britain. Perhaps because of this, the definitive work on Australian historical demography, comparative to the volumes of Schofield and Wrigley on England (Wrigley and Schofield 1981; Wrigley et al 1997), is still lacking.

In 1993 a review team at the Research School of Social Sciences of The Australian National University commented that ‘the history presence in Demography has largely disappeared’ (RSSS 1993: 3). In 2001, an ‘Australian History Counts’ symposium was organised by the History Program of the same School to discuss the neglect of quantitative methods. Limited sources and the labour intensive nature work were seen as two problems although personal computers had facilitated the creation of databases and new sources were becoming available (Lucas 2002).

In the USA, Preston and Haines (1991) have provided considerable insights into child mortality with the use of relatively new techniques and individual census records. The past destruction of Australian census records means that similar contributions to demographic knowledge are unlikely here. On the positive side: 'For the first time in an Australian census, the 2001 census included an option for respondents to agree to their name-identified personal details being kept for 99 years and then made publicly available' (ABS nd). Yet this will not benefit any scholar working today and only around half of the records for 2001 will be retained.

At the time of writing, sources of historical data became a subject of intense media controversy as a result of the writings of journalist Keith Windschuttle on Aboriginal deaths by (European) violence, notably in his *Fabrication of Aboriginal History* (2002).

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Table 1. Population censuses held in Australia, 1828–2001

1828–1901							1911–2001
New South Wales	Victoria	Queensland	South Australia	Western Australia	Tasmania	Northern Territory	Australia
1828		1828 ^a			1828 ^a		1911
1833		1833 ^a			1833 ^a		1921
1836	1836 ^a	1836 ^a			1836 ^a		1933
1841	1841 ^a	1841 ^a	1841		1842		1947
			1844		1843		1954
1846	1846 ^a	1846 ^a	1846	1848	1848		1961
1851	1851 ^a	1851 ^a	1851		1851		1966
	1854			1854			1971
1856	1857	1856 ^a	1855	1859	1857		1976
1861	1861	1861	1861		1861		1981
		1864	1866				1986
		1868					1991
1871	1871	1871	1871	1870	1870		1996
		1876	1876				2001
1881	1881	1881	1881	1881	1881	1881	
		1886					
1891	1891	1891	1891	1891	1891	1891	
1901	1901	1901	1901	1901	1901	1901	

a. Included in New South Wales' censuses.

Sources: Camm 1984, Forster and Hazlehurst 1988.

Box 1. Selected statistics contained in *Statistics of Tasmania, 1892*

I. Blue Book

II. Population

Data from the most recent census, including number of dwellings and their rental or assessed annual value, ownership and utilisation of occupied land, population distribution and density, population by age and sex, age and marital status, district of residence, birthplace, occupation and religion; level of annual immigration and emigration; estimated population for each electoral, municipal, police and registration district; number of electors in each electoral district for the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly.

III. Vital and Meteorological

Number of registered births by district, quarter, and sex; number of registered deaths by district, quarter, age, sex, occupation, cause and month; number of hospital in-patients and outpatients; number of deaths in public institutions by locality and age; number of marriages by district and denomination; number of illegitimate births by district and sex; number of vaccinations; monthly readings of temperature, rainfall, humidity, wind direction and barometric pressure.

IV. Interchange

V. Finance

VI. Accumulation

VII. Production

VIII. Law, Crime and Protection

IX. Intellectual, Moral and Social Provision

Statistical Summary relating to Tasmania, 1816 to 1892

Annual counts of population by sex, immigrants, emigrants, births, deaths and marriages.

Australasian Statistics