



WAVES OF PEOPLE

Exploring the movements and
patterns of migration that have
shaped Parramatta through time.



**CITY OF
PARRAMATTA**

**WESTERN SYDNEY
UNIVERSITY**



COVER IMAGES

Top Row from L to R
Jannawi Dance Clan
Tai chi in Centenary Square
Peggy (Margaret Reed) and some
of her children and grandchildren

Bottom Row from L to R
Australia Day, 2017
Little Coogee, 1930s
Parramatta Lanes, 2016

WAVES OF PEOPLE

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The Institute for Culture and Society is the largest dedicated research concentration of its kind in Australia, located in Parramatta at Western Sydney University. The Institute researches transformations in culture and society in the context of contemporary global change. It champions collaborative engaged research in the humanities and social sciences for a globalizing digital age.

For more information, visit the Institute's website: www.westernsydney.edu.au/ics.

To all...

I hope you find
peace & kindness
in your new home
with NS-Tanga

Welcome
auma

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS FROM THE CITY OF PARRAMATTA

The City of Parramatta is very proud to support our local community to share stories of culture, heritage and connection.

In 2017, Council worked with historians and researchers at Western Sydney University's Institute for Culture and Society to explore stories of the movement of people in, through and around Parramatta. This publication documents just some of the stories – we know there are many more yet to uncover. It captures stories of the movement of Aboriginal men and women, as well as people who

came from across the world as displaced people and migrants to make a new lives and homes for themselves here. This is just the start of bringing together stories of the waves of people who have moved through or settled in Parramatta, we look forward to revealing more in coming years.

Share these stories with family and friends, far and wide, to foster cultural identity, knowledge and pride. If you are inspired to do your own research, please use our resources at the Heritage Library, and be sure to share your learnings with us.

We are pleased to share this publication online. Hard copies of this publication are also available.

The 'Waves of People' project has been assisted by the City of Parramatta Research & Collection Services team, who help to manage, preserve, document and share the rich history of Parramatta's local government and communities.

More information can be found on our website <http://arc.parracity.nsw.gov.au/>

Warning: Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander readers should be aware that this document contains images of names of people who have since passed away.



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Research undertaken on behalf
of City of Parramatta Council
August 2017



Wagana Aboriginal
Youth Dancers
entertaining the crowd



Executive Summary.



*Swimming at Little Coogee,
Parramatta Park in 1930s*

WAVES OF PEOPLE: EXPLORING THE MOVEMENTS AND PATTERNS OF MIGRATION THAT HAVE SHAPED PARRAMATTA THROUGH TIME

Research Project

The Institute for Culture and Society, Western Sydney University has been working with the City of Parramatta to understand and document different patterns of migration as they have shaped Parramatta over time.

This has been an exploratory exercise intended to shine a light on the diverse experiences and histories of arrival and settlement in Parramatta. Today Parramatta's unique identity as a gathering place for many different cultures is celebrated, and yet there has been relatively little attention placed on the conditions — local, national, and global — that have fostered this diversity, and enabled it to flourish over time.

We have tried to address this issue by gathering up the stories and experiences documented to date. The results are not so much a complete record of Parramatta's history of migration, but instead what we hope will be a foundation upon which others can continue to build.

Structure of the Report

This report captures the key historical movements and waves of migration that have shaped Parramatta's identity as the diverse, multicultural city it is today. The report addresses four main areas of interest as requested by the City of Parramatta

- Movements of Aboriginal peoples in the Parramatta area around early contact time of the first British settlement of 1788;
- Movements of Aboriginal peoples in and out of the Parramatta area from 1788 to the present, and the layers of reasons for those movements;
- Waves of immigration to Parramatta of non-Aboriginal people, including migrants and refugees, and;
- The impact of events in Parramatta on the surrounding Sydney basin, NSW and Australia since 1788.

What did we find?

Some of the key insights gained from this research are summarised below.

Much important historical research has underscored the central role of the city as a site for early colonial experiments in European-style farming and government administration. Indeed, the experiences of European settlement in Parramatta have become important in contributing to the 'foundation narrative' of white history and the beginnings of the Australian nation.

Likewise, early practices of institutionalisation are recognised as crucial to colonial management of Aboriginal people, and to wider practices of incarceration, at key sites such as the Parramatta Native Institution, the Female Factory and Parramatta Goal.

Parramatta's landscape has been shaped by different patterns of occupation for many thousands of years

Parramatta is a place of deep belonging, going back thousands of years, with a rich history of waves of settlement coming from across the globe. Its history must be understood through the lens of what Grace Karskens¹ calls 'deep time', and not confined to the comparatively short span of years since Governor Arthur Phillip's arrival in 1788.

Increasing attention is now also being devoted to better understanding the movements of the Darug people, known to have continuously inhabited the area for some 30,000 years prior to European settlement. This work has revealed the landscape of Parramatta to be not so much a wilderness but cultivated country, managed over long periods by the Darug people using fire-stick farming methods.

Prior to colonial settlement, Aboriginal peoples moved through the Parramatta region, making the region their home across successive generations. They moved on foot along seasonal routes related to available food, water, resources, and ritual returns. Bark canoes were also widely used for short-trips, and for gathering and fishing.

1 G. Karskens 2010, p. 19.

The documentation of the lives of the displaced needs much filling out, but we know that Aboriginal people continued to make Parramatta home in various ways for the entire period from 1788 to the present.

The Darug experience of European arrival would be cataclysmic, and yet as Auntie Edna Watson says: “Our ancestors’ voices are echoed in our own as we still live in these changed, but beautiful places.”²

Recent archaeological research provides glimpses into the lives Aboriginal people in Parramatta and will continue to inform what we know about these deep connections to the place.

Documentation of different waves of migration as they have shaped Parramatta through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is relatively scarce.

The development of Parramatta as a food bowl in the early years of the colony, the availability of arable land, its proximity to transit corridors, and more recently the development of cultural or community services such as migrant resource centres and places of worship or spiritual observance have each likely played important parts in attracting new overseas settlers to Parramatta. However, comparative to the interest in Parramatta’s early colonial development, there is relatively limited documentation tracing more recent waves of migration as it has shaped Parramatta’s more recent emergence as a culturally diverse city.

There are accounts of Chinese market gardeners, Maori communities, and more recently the emergence of Harris Park’s ‘Little India’. Personal experiences have been captured, but more could be done to understand how different communities were forged here. There are studies of refugee and migrant communities in Western Sydney and Sydney more generally, however these do not tend to focus on experiences specific to Parramatta.

Parramatta’s significance to the Lebanon village of Kfarsghab is recognised, but more could be done to capture and document personal stories of the enduring connections between these two places.

There are many insights to be gained from wider histories of Lebanese, Chinese, post-WW2 European migration to Sydney and NSW more generally, particularly in understanding the wider policies and trends that have historically shaped Australia’s experience as an ‘immigrant nation’ and the important role of Sydney as the home for many recent arrivals.

However, what is lacking is any serious focus on how Parramatta as a city is now vitally constituted through the many different ways in which people from many diverse parts of the globe, each with varying connections to either their own or their parents’ countries of birth. The different attachments to gathering places, parks, places of worship and home each offer different narratives of belonging and place in Parramatta. These are worth understanding and supporting as vital currents that constitute Parramatta as a distinct gathering place – rather than a place of divergent beliefs and customs.

Diversity has not always been celebrated. The creation of the White Australia Policy, the racism experienced by some post-war European migrants, and the more recent disquiet between Lebanese and Indian communities in Harris Park each offer different illustrations of the sometimes conflicted nature of intercultural relations in Parramatta.

Contemporary migration is transforming Parramatta

As Parramatta emerges as a cosmopolitan global city we will continue to look to a diverse range of migration experiences, beyond those of early colonial settlement, as central to its unique cultural identity.

From labour migration, family reunions and chain migration to refugee movements and, increasingly, growing volumes of temporary and skills-based migration, each of these different experiences of migration also shape very different experiences of arrival in Parramatta.

2 Auntie Edna Watson 2017, cited in Parramatta City Council, Culture and our City, p. 3.

Histories in the making

We are yet to have the historical accounts of recent experiences of migration and arrival in Parramatta, particularly for the many thousands of Indian, Chinese, South Koreans who have recently settled in Parramatta.

Clarifying the gaps provides opportunities for further research, working with diverse groups of citizens within Parramatta to share unique insights into their own experiences of making Parramatta home, including through interviews of present residents and the gathering of arrival stories.

Given, for example, the importance of chain migration relations, it would be fascinating to track the relations between different villages, towns and cities around the world in relation to movements of people to Parramatta. Those movements are two-way, and the ties remain strong.

It is also important to tell the stories of different festivals, events, institutions, and moments in Parramatta's contemporary history, from the recent beginnings of the Parramasala Festival and the opening of the Parramatta Mosque to the unearthing of new finds during archaeological excavations of Parramatta Square.

Better understanding, honouring and documenting diverse personal experiences and patterns of migration in Parramatta is a central to celebrating the city as it is today: a vibrant, diverse global city, aware of its mixed past, dark and glorious, ordinary and magnificent.

MAKING PARRAMATTA HOME: MOVEMENTS, ARRIVALS, AND MIGRATIONS

Introduction

Parramatta is a place of deep belonging, for over a thousand generations of Aboriginal families, with a rich history of waves of settlement coming from across the globe in more recent years. It is the place where Aboriginal peoples lived through intense climatic and social changes, adapting first to a changing landscape, then to a comprehensive period of colonisation and massive disruption.

Parramatta was Australia's first inland European settlement, often described as the 'cradle of the colony'. The early development of Parramatta played a vital role in shaping and sustaining the growth of the fledgling colony – including as a source of food for starving settlers. Following the first arrival of Europeans, successive waves of migration have shaped the culture and identity of the city in vital ways, and it is Parramatta's role as a gathering place for many different cultures that is now to be celebrated and reaffirmed into the future. Parramatta is now home to many people with many different pasts.

This report captures the key historical movements and waves of migration that have shaped Parramatta's identity as the diverse, multicultural city it is today. The report addresses four main areas of interest:

- Movements of Aboriginal peoples in the Parramatta area around early contact time of the first British settlement of 1788;
- Movements of Aboriginal peoples in and out of the Parramatta area from 1788 to the present, and the layers of reasons for those movements;
- Waves of immigration to Parramatta of non-Aboriginal people, including migrants and refugees, and;
- The impact of events in Parramatta on the surrounding Sydney basin, NSW and Australia since 1788.

About the Research

The findings presented in this report have been researched by the Institute for Culture and Society, working on behalf of the City of Parramatta. The lead authors and researchers were Dr. Sarah Barns and Dr. Phillip Mar, with support from Dr. Denis Byrne, Professor Ien Ang and Professor Paul James. Research undertaken during the course of this engagement has focused on gathering and synthesising available documentation relating to the four key topics addressed above. Due to the constrained time-frame of the project, research has primarily focused on secondary sources of information, however where possible primary information has been reported, including early first-hand accounts, census material, and other primary documentation.

It is important to acknowledge that there remain many gaps in our contemporary understanding of Parramatta's history, and the waves of migration that have shaped it. There are certainly areas of documentation not yet captured during the course of this preliminary research project. There also remains a significant gap in available documentation about key migrant groups that arrived in Parramatta over the past generation, and the interactions between different migrant groups that have resulted.

By making clear the gaps in available documentation and knowledge about Parramatta's diverse history, it is intended that this report provide a basis for developing a more comprehensive account of Parramatta's peoples. For example, in following up the present research, there is an opportunity to follow the lead of Paul Irish's new book, *Hidden in Plain View*.³ His approach in researching central and eastern Sydney could equally be used for Parramatta. And there is a pressing need for documentation of the immigrant movements into Parramatta over the last two decades.

Documentation of the recent past in relation to Parramatta is paradoxically perhaps the most uneven of all the material available, but for very different reasons from earlier periods. In part, it is because it has been historians who have done most of the work in this area, and the recent past is not yet considered history. ■

3 Paul Irish 2017.



Part 1.



MOVEMENTS OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN THE PARRAMATTA REGION AT THE TIME OF SETTLEMENT

Aboriginal Peoples Prior to Colonial Contact

In describing the movements of people in and across what we now call Parramatta, we must first consider the long presence of Aboriginal peoples. Parramatta was a place that both shaped the First Peoples and was shaped by them over many thousands of years. The historian Grace Karskens uses the term ‘deep time’ to talk about sustained human relations with their environment over long periods,⁴ and in this sense, but also in the sense that Aboriginal people became human in this place,⁵ it is inappropriate to describe them as ‘the first arrivals’ as if they were migrants to this place like the settlers who came in 1788. Archaeological evidence in the Sydney region establishes that Aboriginal occupation goes back millennia. Over 5,000 archaeological sites now provide evidence of Aboriginal peoples’ deep presence in the Sydney region.⁶

Despite considerable historical and archaeological work in Western Sydney over the past 30 years, there remain many gaps in our knowledge of the Darug people around Parramatta. The evidence of the movements of Indigenous peoples remains largely circumstantial, gleaned from comments in various diaries and administrative documents. There are also emerging questions of historical interpretation. Contemporary analysis is leading to more nuanced conceptions of Aboriginal people’s relations to place, and greater recognition of Indigenous agency and evolving identities. In particular, it is being recognized that Aboriginal peoples were not nomads who moved haphazardly across the landscape. They lived in and across places, moving in negotiated concordance with seasonal changes and ritual engagements.

One of the oldest sites of human engagement in the

region lies in what is now the heart of Parramatta’s central activities district. Radiocarbon dating of the site known as RTA-G1, George St, Parramatta, suggests that the place had been inhabited continuously by Aboriginal peoples over a period stretching back 30,000 years. Charcoal, possibly from campsites, was dated at various levels from an age of 30,735 years to the most recent, 3,270 years. Some 20,000 stone artefacts have been found, including axes, spear points, anvils and grinding stones.⁷ Because of a change in policy signaled by the Heritage Act 1977 (NSW), great care is now taken with every new infrastructure development in Parramatta that involves excavation to assess the need for archeological work. This is managed through reference to the *Parramatta Historical Archaeological Landscape Management Study (PHALMS)*, launched in 2000.⁸ While caution should be exercised in interpreting carbon-dating figures as conclusive proof of particular inhabitancy, it is certain that Aboriginal people have a very long history in the Sydney region.

For the Parramatta area, there is plentiful archaeological evidence. For example, occupation of a rock shelter at Toongabbie Creek, a tributary of the Parramatta River, has been dated at 5,500 years old. There are many sites within ten kilometres of Parramatta, the majority dated between 3,000 and 5,000 years ago.⁹ The different types of archaeological evidence include rock shelters with deposits, open campsites, shell middens, scarred trees, hand stencils and drawings. As archaeological assessment takes place with further development in Parramatta, much more is being revealed, assessed and documented about Aboriginal life before and after 1788.

Darug People and the Environment

Aboriginal peoples in the Sydney Basin would have experienced extreme climate change effects around 18,000 years ago as the ice sheets melted and inundated the continental shelf – perhaps forcing a movement westward.

4 G. Karskens 2010, pp. 19-31.

5 Mary Graham 2008.

6 Attenbrow 2012.

7 J. MacDonald 2005; Macey 2007.

8 See Murray 2014.

9 Dallas 2003.

The site known as Darling Mills SF2 at West Pennant Hills to the north-west of Parramatta is a large rock-shelter which, archeological evidence suggests, was used as a refuge when coastal communities were forced westwards by a sea-level rise of more than 100 metres. At that time, more than 1,000 square kilometres of Sydney was submerged, including the ‘drowned valley’ of the lower Parramatta River, now called Sydney Harbour.¹⁰

There is considerable evidence of sophisticated environmental management conducted over long periods by Aboriginal peoples – in particular, fire-stick farming.¹¹ The First Fleet officer John Hunter noted that Aboriginal people around Sydney ‘set the country on fire for several miles extent’. He recognised that the purpose was ‘to clear that part of the country through which they have frequent occasion to travel, of the brush or underwood’, as well as enabling women to get at edible roots with digging sticks. The mosaic of landscapes in Sydney was ‘maintained by Aboriginal burning, a carefully calibrated system which kept some areas open while others grew dense and dark’.¹²

Research in the Sydney region suggests an increase in burning in the late-Holocene period.¹³ The landscape around Sydney was not a wilderness but cultivated country. In fact, some early settlers ‘found environments which reminded them of the manicured parks of England, with trees well-spaced and a grassy understorey’. The country west of Parramatta and Liverpool was described in 1827 as ‘a fine-timbered country, perfectly clear of bush, through which you might, generally speaking, drive a gig in all directions, without any impediment in the shape of rocks, scrubs and close forest’.¹⁴ It is important not to overgeneralize from these accounts or romanticize what were creative curating practices, but it is likely that burning practices were the primary cause of ‘the open environment dominated by well-spaced trees and grass’.¹⁵ With settlement, we know

that once Aboriginal people stopped these burning practices, understorey species such as *Bursaria spinulosa* (Christmas Bush) and other small plants thrived, and larger animals that were once common declined or disappeared from the area.¹⁶

The area now known as Parramatta Park is an important heritage area, containing scarred trees from which bark was removed to make canoes, and water-carriers, shell-middens, and what archeologists call ‘artefact scatters’ and ‘below-ground deposits’. Parramatta Park has been described as ‘a rare example of an intact Aboriginal cultural landscape within Sydney’.¹⁷ ‘Intact’ is an inappropriate concept here, but resonances of a prior open landscape are certainly apparent. In summary, we can say that the landscape of Parramatta was created and managed over long periods by the Darug people using a variety of land management methods.

The Parramatta Domain is a good example of how European settlers and settlements benefitted from the competencies and achievements of Aboriginal peoples.¹⁸ Recent research has focused on the way that Australian urban spaces have built on existing Aboriginal geographies. Thus Kerkhove – drawing on examples from Brisbane – suggests that the location of Aboriginal people’s camps played a pivotal role in ‘defining where and how our towns and suburbs emerged’.¹⁹

Understanding the Social Organisation of the Darug People

Beyond archaeological findings of physical objects and traces, it is necessary to rely on historical sources to gain some understanding of the social organisation of Aboriginal peoples in the area. This is not straightforward, since the chief source of historical information was the observations of early colonial diarists, who were hardly disinterested

10 Comber 2014.

11 Gammage 2011; P. Watson 2005, p. 39.

12 Karskens 2010, pp. 46-47.

13 Kohen 1995, p. 40.

14 Peter Cunningham, cited in Kohen 1995, p. 41.

15 Kohen 1995, p. 41.

16 Kohen 1995, pp. 41-2.

17 Comber 2014, p. 45.

18 See Kerwin 2010.

19 See Kerkhove 2015, p. 15.

observers, and who interpreted what they saw through a particular cultural lens. Various observers also differed considerably from each other in the degree of sympathy for Indigenous people they encountered.²⁰

Early settler accounts of Aboriginal social organisation in the Sydney area nearly always used the term 'tribes' to describe named groups. However, groupings found in Sydney were not primarily organized as tribes as anthropologists would now understand them. Rather they were local descent groups or territorial clans,²¹ with commonalities with other groups based on various dynamic factors, language, territory, kin relations, environment, trading relations and so on. The customary group associated with Parramatta – and which gave the name to Parramatta – is the Boromedigal.

The suffix gal added to a word was often combined to designate a territorial clan name; in the Boromedigal case it is linked to an important food source, burra, or eels. Other names were given for groups encountered in the Parramatta region or nearby.

The Cannemegal were linked to Wau-maille or War-mul, one of eight place-names associated with the Rose Hill area. The Wangal were recorded as occupying the south side of the harbour and Parramatta River, up to Rose Hill to the west. The Buruberongal and the Bediagal lived somewhat further from Parramatta to the north west.²²

The eighteenth-century British understanding of Aboriginal societies in colonial Sydney was profoundly problematic. It generally reflected a specific British assumption of tribes as having a fixed social order and system of rule, tied to a geographical area. The persistent assumptions expressed by Arthur Phillip and many of his compatriots were that the natives live in tribes distinguished by the name of their chief, who would likely take his name from the district in which he resides.²³ Macquarie expressed the same structure of beliefs when planning the annual Native Feasts that would take place from 1814:

The Natives should be Divided into Distinct Tribes,

*according to the Several Districts they usually reside in: – and that each Tribe should elect its own Chief, who the Governor will Distinguish by some honorary Badge.*²⁴

These assumptions might not have always matched the situation. For instance, in an account of Phillip's journey from Rose Hill (Parramatta), Watkin Tench recorded the name 'Boorooberongal', perhaps meaning country and people of deep river. This could have been a description of a place and country, but not necessarily that of a social group or tribe.²⁵ Later usage by administrators and others simply identified groups based on the European names of places loosely associated with them, such as Parramatta tribe, Duck River tribe or Kissing Point tribe, thus removing the cultural specificity of the names. With this complexity of names, there is great difficulty in determining how many groups there were, and the actual territories they inhabited or moved through. Clan groups or bands tended to be relatively small – up to 50 or 60 people, although larger groups would coalesce for particular ritual events.²⁶

Language also provided the basis for group identifications. While lists of words of coastal people were collected and compiled by the early settler observers William Dawes, David Collins and Philip King in the 1790s, it was not until the 1870s that terms such as Darug, Dharawal, Darginung, Guringai and Eora were used to delineate languages and language-groups. Distinguishing language-boundaries raises complicated questions, involving historical and linguistic analysis and interpretation. There is dispute about the extent to which they differ or are related or form dialects of a 'Sydney language'. Summarising the debates, Attenbrow suggests a division into four language/dialects spoken in the Sydney region: firstly, Darug coastal dialect, spoken north of Botany Bay, and west of Parramatta; secondly, Darug hinterland dialect, spoken across the Cumberland Plain from Hawkesbury in the north to Appin in the south, west of Lane Cove River and including Parramatta; thirdly, Dharawal, spoken

20 Attenbrow 2010, p. 2.
21 Attenbrow 2010, p. 24.
22 Attenbrow 2010, p. 24.
23 Powell and Hesline 2010, p. 120.
24 Macquarie, cited in Irish 2017, pp. 29-30.
25 Powell and Hesline 2010, p. 126.
26 Attenbrow 2010, pp. 22-30.



*Some young performers of
the Wagana Aboriginal
Youth Dancers*



south from Botany Bay to the Shoalhaven River; and fourthly, Gundungurra, spoken across the southern rim of the Cumberland plain west of the Georges River, and the Blue Mountains.²⁷

James Kohen has assembled a dictionary of the inland Darug dialect.²⁸ The word Darug (or variants such as Dharug, Dharruk, Dharook) may derive from a word for the type of yam that was an important food source, or for initiation circles, or to initiated men.²⁹ These language terms have been used extensively to describe and name customary land, communities and affiliations, including by contemporary Aboriginal people. Questions about the categories of Aboriginal groups in Sydney still resonate strongly in the present, in the areas of contemporary identities, heritages, connection to customary land and land rights.

Movements and Settlement of Aboriginal Peoples

Prior to colonial settlement, Aboriginal peoples moved through the Parramatta region, making the region their home across successive generations. They moved on foot along seasonal routes related to available food, water, resources, and ritual returns. Bark canoes were also widely used for short-trips, and for gathering and fishing. Descriptions of Aboriginal canoes were similar for coastal Sydney and for inland rivers. Early settlers described them as varying from eight feet to 20 feet (2.4 to 6 metres).³⁰ Archaeological research and historical records of where Darug and neighbouring people camped suggests there were strong concentrations on inland waterways, and on ocean shores and estuaries for coastal people.³¹

Networks of close relationships linked people in neighbouring clan groups, and large gatherings frequently took place for ceremonies.³² The range of stone artefacts identified by archaeologists suggests

the wide distribution of materials available in some areas but not in others (for example, chert, silcrete, and petrified wood), suggesting considerable movement of goods and trade between groups.³³

Settlement quickly changed movement patterns. Parramatta was first reached by European settlers in April 1788, when an exploration party led by Phillip travelled along the Parramatta River to its upper reaches. Phillip reported seeing ‘bark huts, fire-places and the results of plant collecting and hunting activities (fern roots, shells, animal bones and the fur of a flying squirrel [possum], scarred and burning trees’. The location of these campsites and huts was not specified, and Phillip’s party did not record any encounters with the inhabitants. They located a place ‘where the hill had been scoured by the river, thus cutting a semi-circular shape into the hill whilst the river formed a billabong below’.³⁴ Phillip named this feature ‘The Crescent’, which is located in the present Parramatta Park. From this point, Phillip and his party saw large areas of arable land.³⁵

In November 1788, Phillip returned to determine the best place to establish an agricultural settlement.

A government farm was shortly established: the agricultural settlement quickly developed into Parramatta town, which for a time exceeded Sydney in size and importance. By 1790, just two years after the initial expedition, an estimated 200 acres out from the crescent had largely been cleared for agriculture. Very little information was recorded by the early colonial observers about the exact locations of the Burramattagal people or their movement across the landscape.³⁶ They seem to have avoided the intruders, and in the early years they may have felt forced to move to other places. Estimates of the Aboriginal population at the time of European contact remain problematic, and may never be resolved. The decrease in population accompanying colonisation cannot be easily assessed because of

27 Attenbrow 2010, pp. 32-35.

28 Kohen 1990.

29 Powell and Hesline, p. 136; Kohen 1993, p. 14.

30 Attenbrow 2010, p. 87.

31 Attenbrow 2012.

32 Kohen 2006, p. 27.

33 Attenbrow 2010, pp. 122-4.

34 Attenbrow 2010, p. 48.

35 Kass, Liston & McClymont 1996.

36 Attenbrow 2010, p. 24.

a lack of baseline population figures. In Brook and Kohen's estimation, there were between 5,000 and 8,000 Aboriginal people living in the Sydney region. However, they estimated that within two years, half of this population had died from the effects of smallpox and other European diseases, principally the smallpox epidemic of 1789. Elsewhere, Kohen speculates that between 50 and 90 per cent of Sydney's Aboriginal population succumbed to the smallpox epidemic.³⁷

It is certainly clear that land and resources were quickly appropriated by the settlers. And by the early part of the nineteenth century (see Part II of this report), Aboriginal people, except those 'considered under the Protection of the British Government, and ... furnished with Passports or Certificates to that Effect, signed by the Governor, on their making Application for the same at the Secretary's Office',³⁸ began to be actively driven away: no Black Native, or Body of Black Natives shall ever appear at or within one Mile of any Town, Village, or Farm, occupied by, or belonging to any British Subject, armed by, or belonging to any British Subject, armed of any Description, such as Spears, Clubs, or Waddies, on Pain of being deemed and considered in a State of Aggression and Hostility.³⁹

There was a contrast between the initial settlement of coastal Sydney – where at first there was relatively little initial loss of Aboriginal territory and there were attempts at compromise and 'living in amity' – with the harsher settlement interaction on the Cumberland Plain. Here settlement was concentrated on key resource points, the river banks and areas of fertile land and chains of ponds that would have been crucial for the subsistence of Darug inhabitants.⁴⁰

Early on, occasional civil contestation was a part of the response. We know for example that Maugaron and his daughter Boorong came to Governor Phillip in October 1790 to protest the loss of their peoples'

lands. In Karsken's view this constituted 'the first formal protest in Australia'. Phillip's frank response was as follows: 'Wherever our colonists fix themselves, the natives are obliged to leave that part of the country.'⁴¹ This statement serves to underpin the severity and uncompromising nature of the colonial invasion in Western Sydney.⁴²

The effects of first contact on the Burramattagal people were dramatic. While not confined to the Parramatta region, the largest single-impact event on Aboriginal people in the Sydney region was the introduction of European diseases, most notably the smallpox epidemic that began in April of 1789 and killed 'literally thousands of people'.⁴³ While it is difficult to estimate the extent and specific locations of fatalities in the Parramatta region, the impact was devastating for most clans in the region. The disease travelled inland, preceding the actual arrival of British settlers. It spread to the Hawkesbury before the actual arrival of settlers.⁴⁴

The number of deaths was so great that the practice of customary burials was often discontinued. One impact of this devastation and disruption would have been a major social re-organisation, as remnant survivors formed new groups, which became known by names such as the Kissing Point Tribe.⁴⁵

Early Interactions between European and Aboriginal Peoples

As mentioned, the relations between Aboriginal people and European settlers were more difficult from the beginning of contact at Parramatta, as compared to the Port Jackson settlement. For a short time, there was an attempt to share food resources by encouraging barter with Aboriginal people at Parramatta. John Hunter, writing in 1793, already provides a sense that there had been considerable sharing of food between Aboriginal people and settlers:

As the natives frequently caught more fish than was

37 Kohen 1993, p. 16.

38 Governor Macquarie, 'Proclamation', Sydney Gazette, 11 May 1816, p. 1.

39 Macquarie, Sydney Gazette, 11 May 1816, p. 1.

40 Connor 2002, p. 299; Karskens 2010, p. 455.

41 Karskens 2010, p. 454.

42 Karskens 2010.

43 Kohen 1993, p. 15.

44 Attenbrow 2010, p. 21.

45 Kohen 1993, p. 16.

*necessary for their own immediate use, and such of them as had lived amongst the colonists, were very fond of bread, rice, and vegetables; some pains had been taken to make them carry the surplus of what fish they caught near the head of the harbour, to Parramatta, and exchange it for bread.*⁴⁶

Baludarri,⁴⁷ a young man who had befriended Phillip and who had accompanied Phillip as a guide and translator, had been encouraged to trade fish with the settlers at Parramatta. This exchange with the settlers had barely begun when Baludarri's canoe was destroyed by a group of convicts. These convicts were punished by the authorities, one even being hanged. Nevertheless, Baludarri apparently sought customary retribution, spearing another convict. Phillip ordered that Baludarri be outlawed from the colony and shot on site, only to reverse this order when he heard that Baludarri was ill with fever. When Baludarri died, he was buried in Phillip's garden in Sydney. His funeral is considered to have been the first cross-cultural funeral, attended and celebrated by both Aboriginal and European people. Baludarri was buried in his canoe with his fishing spear and throwing stick, as well as being accompanied by English drummers. This sad incident highlights the precarious relations between very different groups in Parramatta – Darug people, convicts and the authorities – and the problems of negotiating different values and notions of justice. Baludarri's funeral, however, demonstrated Phillip's affection for Baludarri and some respect for his cultural integrity.⁴⁸ The Baludarri Wetland on the Parramatta River to the north east of the CBD now commemorates Baludarri's life.

Frontier Wars

The period between 1788 to 1816 is documented as a 28-year period of conflict taking place around Parramatta and further west on the Cumberland Plain.⁴⁹ The period included the 'Maize Wars' around Prospect and Toongabbie between 1791 and 1794, in

which Aboriginal people raided settlers' maize crops, adopting an aggressive strategy which 'combined attack and resistance with food-gathering'.⁵⁰ The frontier conflict encroached directly on the town of Parramatta. During the 'Battle of Parramatta', Aboriginal warriors serving under Pemulwuy entered the town and threatened the Parramatta garrison. Pemulwuy was a Bidjigal man from country around the Georges River, who developed a formidable reputation leading attacks on white settlers around the Georges River, Prospect and Parramatta.⁵¹

On 21 March 1797, the warrior Pemulwuy's forces raided a 'redcoat farm' in North Rocks, and was then pursued by an armed 'posse' of settlers. In the evening of 21 March, the posse discovered Pemulwuy's camp, possibly near the boundary between North Parramatta and Carlingford (then Field of Mars), but Pemulwuy's men escaped without harm. According to Lim, the actual battle took place on 22 March. Around 100 of Pemulwuy's warriors daringly crossed the river and entered the Parramatta town in formation, moved along the line now known as George Street, before forming to the west of the Parramatta Barracks. The most likely point for the actual battle was near where Harris, Macarthur and George Streets now meet, in what is now the Robin Thomas Reserve.⁵² In the battle, Pemulwuy was shot and taken to the old Parramatta Hospital where he managed to recover and escape.⁵³ Pemulwuy would continue his resistance to the British for five years, leading raids in Lane Cove, Kissing Point, Toongabbie and the 'Northern Boundary' (near North Parramatta), until he was finally shot dead in June 1802.⁵⁴

Mutual Support during a Time of Contestation
While this period was clearly a time of great antagonism between the Darug and settlers, there were many instances of mutual interrelationship between black and white in Sydney. Karskens tells a story that captures an instance of mutual respect, in which the botanist George Caley's servant refused

46 Hunter 1793.

47 Various spelled Balladry (following Hunter), Balder, Balladeer, or Baludarri.

48 Hinkson & Harris 2010, p. 128; Attenbrow 2010; Clendinnen 2003, pp. 211-16.

49 Connor 2000; Karskens 2010.

50 Karskens 2010, p. 457.

51 Karskens 2010, pp. 474-81.

52 Lim 2017, p. 34.

53 Lim 2017, pp. 30-40.

54 Lim 2017, p. 43.

to join reprisal raids against Aboriginal people with connections to Pemulwuy, despite Parramatta's convict servants being ordered to take part. 'This man got on well with the Parramatta Aborigines and would not join the hunt to apprehend the natives by force in the night.'⁵⁵ When Samuel Marsden subsequently had the servant gaoled, Caley defended him, writing to Joseph Banks that: 'it will not do for me to fall out with them', since he relied on Aboriginal people for his botanical collecting.⁵⁶

Caley also describes other settler relationships with Aboriginal people. He writes that at other places in the colony, 'the natives adjoining frequent the inhabitants'. He discusses his plans to 'keep a bush native constant soon, as they can trace anything so well in the woods, and can climb trees with such ease, whereby they will be very useful to me and shall gain a better knowledge of them'.⁵⁷

It would appear that government interventions worked against these examples of mutual support. In 1805, confronted with raids on farmers on the Cumberland Plain and the government farm at Seven Hills, Governor King issued a proclamation against settlers co-operating with Aboriginal people. King's order effectively banished Aboriginal people from farms and towns until the raiders were captured. King needed to be explicit in opposing this co-operation because it was understood that settlers would 'harbour' Aboriginal people on farms.⁵⁸

Karskens argues that the enemies in this war did not fall neatly along racial lines. Many Aboriginal people were living close to or on settlers' farms and estates, including on the Tipperary estate of Lieutenant Cummings near Parramatta.⁵⁹ At the same time, convicts such as William Knight and Thomas Thrush were wanted by the authorities for aiding the Aboriginal resistance.⁶⁰ ■

55 Karskens 2010, p. 479.

56 Karskens 2010, p. 479.

57 George Caley cited in Flynn 1995, p. 29.

58 Karskens 2010, p. 487.

59 Karskens 2010, pp. 386, 403, 458, 486-91, 514-16, 525.

60 Flynn 1995, p. 30.





Part 2.





MOVEMENTS OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN AND OUT OF THE PARRAMATTA AREA SINCE 1788

The Frontier Wars, including the Battle of Parramatta, were clearly a set of key events that would impact on the movements of Aboriginal people in and out of Parramatta. The protracted conflict on the Cumberland Plain would continue until 1816, gradually shifting to areas further west towards the Hawkesbury River. Towards the end of the period of armed conflict, Governor Macquarie initiated a new strategy. His 'experiment in civilisation' included a school for Aboriginal children (the Parramatta Native Institution), some reserves where Aboriginal people were to be trained as pastoralists, and the appointment of 'chiefs' and 'honorary bush constables' as examples of civilised behaviour and service to the colony.

Aboriginal children would demonstrate their knowledge, 'chiefs' and 'constables' would be rewarded with breast-plates, and food and blankets would be distributed to natives at an annual Native Feast or conference organized by the colonial administration.¹ The records from these blanket distributions could be a means to track movements of Aboriginal people.²

Recent decades have seen growing attention towards the origins and establishment of the Parramatta Native Institution, particularly following the outcomes of the *Bringing Them Home* report, which captured systematic practices of forced removal of Aboriginal children from their mothers since the earliest days of European settlement in Australia. The Native Institution has since this time been seen as the precursor for the policies associated with the Stolen Generations.³

Understanding the Parramatta Native Institution

The Parramatta Native Institution was a first step in the wider establishment of governmental institutions during the early years of the colony. As the colony's administrative centre, Parramatta was a central location for many early experiments in colonial governance.

The Native Institution had its roots in proposals of William Shelley, trader and former missionary with London Missionary Society.⁴ In August 1814, Shelley sent a memorandum to Macquarie asking him to 'draw up a plan for an Institution and make up an estimate for the maintenance of a certain number of children.'⁵ The Rules of Native Institution were gazetted on 10 December 1814. These set out the conditions of the Native Institution as a 'School for the Education of the Native Children of Both Sexes', who should be aged between four at seven at time of admission. They would be instructed in reading writing and arithmetic, plus agriculture and mechanical arts for boys and needle-work for girls. It was specified as follows:

*That no Child after having being admitted into the Institution, shall be permitted to leave it, or be taken away by any Person whatever, (whatever Parents or other relatives) until the Boys shall have attained the age of sixteen years, and the Girls fourteen years.*⁶

This strategy clearly aimed to assimilate Aboriginal people through educational means. As Rosemary Norman-Hill, a descendant of Kitty, a student in the original intake of the Native Institution in 1814 argues: 'It is clear from the General Orders that the intention was for these children to lose their language, their culture, their heritage and their Aboriginal way of life.'⁷ Recruiting for the Native Institution was partially based on retribution against Aboriginal people who were involved in the frontier war. Raiding parties had been instructed to bring back Aboriginal children 'for Macquarie's school'.⁸

1 Reece 1967.

2 Records are accessible through the NSW State Archives, and can be accessed online At http://www2.sl.nsw.gov.au/archive/discover_collections/history_nation/indigenous/blanket/blanket.html

3 SBS 2015; Read 2006, 'Shelley's Mistake'.

4 Brook and Kohen, p. 56.

5 Brook and Kohen, p. 57.

6 Brook and Kohen, pp. 59-62.

7 R. Norman-Hill, quoted in Han 2015.

8 Karskens 2010, p. 514.

Annual Native Feasts (also called at various times a meeting or 'Native Conference') were held to persuade parents of the virtues of the Native Institution for their children. The first was held on 28 December 1814.⁹ Such strategies aimed to weaken the customary ties of Aboriginal clans and families, seeking to modernise their cultures. Hence, the Parramatta Native Institution and the annual feasts were both closely related to the armed conflict on the frontier, which would reach its final stages by 1816.

Two Aboriginal guides, Colebee and Nurragingy, assisted Macquarie's forces in military actions, and had instructions to procure Aboriginal children for the Native Institution in Parramatta. Both were rewarded with land grants in 1819. However compromised the grants might have been, these dispersals have been taken as the first recognition of Aboriginal people's rights to land.¹⁰ Despite the fact that for Colebee and Nurragingy the grants were meant to have 'civilising' outcomes by encouraging participation in European-style farming, neither men developed much interest in pursuing farming projects.¹¹

An amnesty was finally declared in November 1816 for Aboriginal warriors wanted by the government, on condition that they surrendered by the proposed date of the annual 'General Friendly Meeting of the Natives' at Parramatta on 28 December 1816.¹² On that day, 187 Aboriginal people gathered in the Parramatta marketplace, reportedly grouped according to 'chiefs'. There were 103 men, 53 women, and 21 children. Fifteen children from the Native Institution were paraded and 'showed off their new skills in reading'. 'Some of the Aboriginal women wept to see them. More children were surrendered including "Dicky", the four-year-old son of Bennelong'.¹³ An investiture of 'chiefs' took place at which Aboriginal men who had assisted the government were presented with breast-plates, a practice initiated by Macquarie that would outlast the native feasts in Sydney.¹⁴ It is unclear what the

reasoning was behind this strategy of constructing chiefdom, and rewarding collaborators. It is possible that Macquarie may have imagined a system of indirect rule through traditional chiefs,¹⁵ as the British would later attempt in places such as Fiji. The problem is that there was no basis for such a chiefly hierarchy in societies such as the Darug.

Movements of Aboriginal Peoples in and out of Parramatta after 1821

It is clear that the period following the first arrival of British settlers in 1789, up to the departure of Governor Macquarie in 1821 – just 33 years – saw major transformations in the lives of Aboriginal people in the Parramatta region. This period saw the displacement of Darug people from the customary land and natural resources they had occupied for millennia, the disastrous effects of European diseases, protracted armed conflicts on the frontiers of white settlement, and the beginnings of a colonial regime of governance that developed specifically to control and manage Aboriginal people. These localised experiences of colonisation and displacement would in turn be echoed throughout Australia.

The experiences of European settlement in Parramatta have been important in contributing to the 'foundation narrative' of white history and the beginnings of the Australian nation (see Part Three). It is perhaps ironic that Indigenous people are well represented in this oft-told contact history because of its centrality to the national Australian history. However, beyond the period of Macquarie, Aboriginal people become largely absent from histories of Sydney, including Parramatta.

This disappearance from subsequent history after the initial contact period can be explained in two ways. There is still a widespread perception that Aboriginal people died out or disappeared from Sydney, and that later Aboriginal people in Sydney

9 Karskens 2010, pp. 501-2.

10 Norman 2015.

11 Morgan 2006, p. 3.

12 Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, January 4 1817. Page 2. Retrieved from <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/2176987/493204>.

13 Karskens 2010, p. 515.

14 See Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences 2013 <https://maas.museum/inside-the-collection/2013/02/25/aboriginal-breast-plates/>.

15 Willey 1979.

had come from elsewhere.¹⁶ There has, however, been something of a shift in the way historians are thinking about Aboriginal people in urban areas. As Karskens puts it: 'It is time to shake off the idea that Sydney was a "white" city, that Aboriginal people simply faded out of the picture and off the "stage of history": it is simply untrue.'¹⁷ Alternatively, the experiences of Aboriginal people were either too marginal or troublesome for histories that generally implied a homogeneous narrative.

It is difficult to gauge the extent to which an Aboriginal customary life could continue in Parramatta following the difficult contact period in which cultural practices were severely disrupted. One important area of evidence of Aboriginal activity is in the continuity of customary ceremonies. The most commonly reported ceremonies were ritual contests or 'fights of retribution' that were carried out in the Sydney region for many years, often bringing together large groups of Aboriginal people, since they are ostensibly about resolving conflicts between groups. These rituals could be held to 'punish wrongdoers ..., to extract retribution in the case of natural, accidental, or murderous death, or to get revenge when, say, a wife ran off with (or was taken by) another man',¹⁸ or at least that is how one writer describes it.

The *Sydney Gazette* reported a 'Gala given by the natives at Parramatta' in December 1804, at which Yaranibi was reported as being speared.¹⁹ Another gathering at that time was described much later – in 1824 – by French observers. It took place on high ground between Port Jackson and Botany Bay and included people from many areas, including, reportedly Parramatta. Part of the ceremony involved payback for an alleged strangling at Parramatta school.²⁰ These gatherings showed that the continuities of ceremonial networks between clan groups in the Sydney region.

These and other Aboriginal ceremonies were an assertion of cultural continuity after the depredations of smallpox and war. Such events were usually reported very sensationally in the Sydney press, omitting other ritual aspects, such as associated dance and stories. In a proclamation in 1816 Macquarie had tried to outlaw Aboriginal 'duels and fights' as a 'barbarous custom repugnant to the British laws'.²¹ Nevertheless, these events continued to be practiced for many years in the Sydney region. Aboriginal contests and fights could attract 'prodigious numbers' of spectators from all over the region, and were a means for Aboriginal people to come into contact with white townsfolk.²²

Aboriginal People in Parramatta after 1821

There is considerable difficulty in assessing the degree of Aboriginal presence in the colonial period, up until Aboriginal people were included in the Commonwealth census in 1971. A variety of colonial records counted Aboriginal people, including colonial musters, records kept by district magistrates or police officers, and blanket returns or blanket lists, which noted the names of Aboriginal people given government issue blankets.²³ These provide valuable information and need to be examined more closely with respect to the Parramatta region.

According to Kass, Liston and McClymont,²⁴ at the first official census in 1828, there were 49 members of the 'Parramatta tribe', 21 men, 13 women and 15 children. However, there was 'no consideration to including Aboriginal people' in the 1828 census.²⁵ Some Aboriginal people were included in the records, the figures being the result of a request by the Colonial Secretary in 1827 to provide numbers of Aboriginal people in each district.²⁶ While it is not clear whether these enumerated people would have been members of the Burramattagal clan, or simply Aboriginal

16 Irish 2017, p. 3.

17 Karskens 2010, p. 12.

18 Attenbrow 2010.

19 Flynn 1995, p. 42.

20 Kohen 1993, pp. 71-4; Attenbrow 2010, pp. 137-8.

21 Willey 1985, p. 197.

22 Karskens 2010, pp. 440-42.

23 Wright 2011.

24 Kass, Liston & McClymont 1996, p. 106.

25 Wright 2011.

26 See http://www.bda-online.org.au/files/MC1828_Muster.pdf.

people in the Parramatta region at that time. Based on magistrates' records or 'returns', we can say that subsequently numbers fluctuated from 11 to 41, and that they are recorded as being from many areas, including Kissing Point, Duck Creek, and Concord. This suggests that 'the various Darug groups within the County of Cumberland continued to move around the region'.²⁷

According to Flynn, there were no individuals identified with either Parramatta or Toongabbie in the blanket returns of 1833-1843 or the 1828 census. He believed that the Burramattagal clan had been largely wiped out by the smallpox epidemic, with some possible survivors being absorbed into neighbouring clan groups or adopted by settlers.²⁸ Based on the evidence of the 1828 census, Kohen calculated there were just 228 Darug people in the whole Sydney area.²⁹

The mystery of what happened to the Burramattagal people raises many questions. How accurate and inclusive were the records? To what extent did the numbers on the 'Parramatta tribe' reflect 'anthropological' categories? Did the Burramattagal people escape notice? Darug families may have lived closer to Parramatta without attracting 'written comment from the authorities or other observers'.³⁰

There would have been 'gaps in the grid', to use Denis Byrnes' term for unnoticed spaces in the settler landscape that enabled Aboriginal people to continue to access land.³¹ Were the 'tribal' groups correctly linked to ascribed territories? Were the Burramattagal a consistent entity in the first place?

There seems little doubt, as we have already noted, that the Darug people were driven quickly from the main settlement concentrations and from the areas of intensive farming around the Parramatta River and its tributaries, those with the best soil and access to water. The reasons for the movement of Burramattagal people out of central Parramatta and away from the river were probably to avoid violence and to access food and water.

Given the lack of population data for the area around Parramatta, it is challenging to ascribe reasons for movement. First, there is the matter of forced movement. We have noted the severity of the frontier situation on the Cumberland Plain, where a harder regime of displacement from land and food resources took place than in coastal Sydney. Beyond the initial displacement from land, the effects of smallpox and other diseases, and the frontier war, the enforcement of policies around the management of Aboriginal people, beginning with the Parramatta Native Institution created new restrictions and contexts.

Darug Strategies for Survival

We know less about the strategies Aboriginal people would have adopted to find a safe place within the changing social landscape of Sydney, and specifically the Parramatta region. There is some evidence that Darug people remain on remnants of customary land in areas such as Mt Druitt, Sackville, Plumpton, Blacktown, and Katoomba. If people were forced away from their immediate homes they often continued to live on land proximate to customary lines of movement, many purchasing freehold land within their country.³² By the late 1830s, Aboriginal people in Sydney were largely living on the fringes of towns. For a long period until the 1800s, there was no coordinated policy of providing for Aboriginal people who had been dispossessed.

Missionaries and churches played an important role in Aboriginal relations throughout the nineteenth century in their attempts to convert Aboriginal people to Christianity. Missionary societies set up parcels of land, provided dwellings, churches and schoolhouses and attempted to persuade Aboriginal people to join them.³³ Aboriginal reserves were areas of land set aside for Aboriginal people to live on. The first reserves were established from the 1850s. These were not managed by government, but sometimes supervised by police. After 1883, the Aborigines Protection Board (APB) was formed.

27 Kass, Liston, and McClymont 1996, p. 106.

28 Flynn 1995, p. 22. However, in another article, Flynn (1995b, p. 9) argues that the Burramattagal clans survived as the Duck Creek 'tribe' at a place they called Watergoro on Duck Creek, a tributary of the Parramatta River.

29 Kohen 2006, pp. 34-5.

30 Kass, Liston & McClymont 1996, p. 106.

31 Irish 2017, p. 45.

32 Kohen 2006, p. 36.

33 Egan 2012, pp. 61-4.



Peggy (Margaret Reed) and some of her children and grandchildren. Born in Parramatta, Peggy was placed in the Parramatta Native Institution in 1820 (Image courtesy of Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation)



Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation cultural gathering, 2017 (Image courtesy of Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation)

*A Darug descendants
gathering, 1991 (Image
courtesy of Darug Tribal
Aboriginal Corporation)*



Many reserves and stations were established during the 1880s and 1890s. Stations or ‘managed reserves’ were tightly regulated settlements that sometimes provided rations, housing, and training for work.³⁴ The *Aborigines Protection Act* of 1909 gave the Aborigines Protection Board ‘the authority for the protection and care power of Aborigines’, including the authority to control where Aboriginal people lived.

Prior to the establishment of the Aborigines Protection Board, George Thornton, the ‘Protector’ of Aborigine peoples, conducted the first official census of Aboriginal people in NSW. The total number count of 8,919 people (including 2,817 children) exceeded the number of Aboriginal people previously thought to be in NSW. The population was also divided into categories of ‘pure-bred’ and ‘half-caste’, a strategy of quantifying people of mixed heritage who could be deemed unworthy of government assistance.³⁵ The figures are recorded by area: no Aboriginal persons were recorded in the Parramatta area.³⁶

The census was carried out by local police constables and inspectors who may have overlooked Aboriginal people living inconspicuously in the Parramatta region. Darug people from the Parramatta area or their descendants may have lived on the mission at Plumpton, near Blacktown,³⁷ the Sackville reserve on the Hawkesbury River at Lower Portland,³⁸ the St Joseph’s Mission in the Burragorang Valley west of the Blue Mountains,³⁹ or on other missions and reserves in Sydney, such as La Perouse or Field of Mars (North Ryde), or in other parts of NSW.⁴⁰ It is recorded that Darug people from Sydney were taken further afield by missionaries, for instance to Maloga Mission at Echuca on the Murray River.⁴¹ While there were

enforced moves to missions, Aboriginal people often actively supported the setting up of reserves so they could gain some control over fragments of land and cultural connection.⁴² Aboriginal people often developed strong attachments to reserves and the areas around them. When reserves were closed down or reduced in size, as they were in the 1920s and 1930s, Aboriginal people were again forced to relocate, as assimilation replaced segregationist policies.⁴³ A gradual movement of Darug people and other Aboriginal peoples to the Parramatta area occurred with the closure of reserves. Harris Park was one part of Parramatta that became home to people moved off reserves.⁴⁴

Institutional Lives in Parramatta

Macquarie’s Native Institution in Parramatta (discussed above) was a crucial development in colonial management of Aboriginal people. It was the initial instance of policies to remove children that would later become much broader and systematic.⁴⁵ The experiment was itself not a great success. By 1824 the Parramatta Native Institution was closed, and a new institution established in Blacktown where it continued until 1829. Ultimately, the two institutions did not result in the Darug people or other Aboriginal people being convinced of the virtues of English civilisation, or of the justification for separation from their children.⁴⁶ The Parramatta Institution saw only 37 students enrolled and most children would return to their parents. And yet, the Native Institutions had longer-term implications for Aboriginal-European relations. The Blacktown Native Institution was linked to early land grants to Aboriginal people, the first Aboriginal farming along European lines, and it provided a model for various mission settlements throughout Australia.⁴⁷

34 Office of Environment and Heritage (n.d.), *Living on Aboriginal Reserves and Stations*.

35 Irish 2017, p. 117.

36 Thornton 1882.

37 Kohen (1993: pp. 118-22) records that other Darug people, including members of the Lock family, were living at the Plumpton reserve.

38 The Sackville Aboriginal Reserve was set up in 1896, and housed mostly Darug and Darkinjung speakers. Kohen 1993, p. 120.

39 St Josephs was a Catholic mission established in 1879. Kohen 2006, p. 37.

40 Kohen mentions Darug people from Western Sydney living in the Burnt Bridge reserve in Kempsey, in Ryde, La Perouse, and other parts of Sydney.

41 Kohen 2006, p. 37.

42 Morgan 2006, p. 6. Goodall 2008 notes that of the 115 reserves in NSW in 1911, 75 were created through Aboriginal initiative (p. 113).

43 Office of Environment and Heritage (n.d.), *Living on Aboriginal reserves and stations*

44 Dallas 2003.

45 Read 2006, ‘Shelley’s mistake’.

46 Brook and Kohen 1991, p. 267.

47 Brook and Kohen, p. 267.

At the time when few, if any, Darug people would have lived in Parramatta town, the Parramatta Native Institute 'provided a focus for Aboriginal gatherings and a reminder to the authorities of the needs of the Aboriginal People of the County of Cumberland'.⁴⁸ In this respect, the institutionalisation of Aboriginal people provided a governed and controlling way of managing the movements of diverse Aboriginal people into Parramatta.

Certainly, the Native Institute and its associated event, the annual Native Feast aimed to maintain visibility of indigenous people, even if only for their 'civilizational' achievements. The feast day in 1822 was the last in which the young students of the Native Institution were paraded, as the Native Institution was moved to Blacktown, and this was deemed too far for the children to travel.

Outlasting the Native Institution, the Native Feasts were continued by Macquarie's successors as a means of communicating with Aboriginal people, until they were abolished by Governor Bourke in 1835. Karskens argues that the annual feast day was "adopted by Aboriginal people themselves as a great meeting of all the tribes, a modern corroboree, and thus became a significant annual event in its own right." The Native Feasts would attract large numbers of European onlookers; in 1826, the pressure of the 'watching mob' became so great that the guests were placed inside a roped enclosure surrounded by potted plants.⁴⁹ The feast days were no doubt a gathering place, but were they primarily a spectacle for the Europeans, or an opening for some kind of intercultural interaction?

The students of the Parramatta Institution were part of experiment in Europeanising Aboriginal people, beginning with their assumption of English names. Their trajectories of these children form an important part of the picture of Aboriginal survival in Sydney. How did separation from family, institutionalisation and cultural assimilation affect Aboriginal people's

future lives and genealogies? Maria Lock, a descendant of the Boorooberongal clan, was one of the original intake of the Parramatta Native Institute in 1814. Maria was the sister of Colebee, who had received one of the first land grants in 1819.⁵⁰ She married a convict carpenter named Robert Lock at St Johns Parramatta in 1824, apparently the first official marriage between an Aboriginal woman and a white man in the colony.⁵¹ As a star pupil of the Institute, Lock was promised a grant of land as a wedding present from Macquarie, although the Locks would not actually receive the 40-acre plot until 1832.⁵²

Robert and Maria Lock would go on to have nine children. Kohen has traced the genealogy of the children, arguing that this generation largely followed a traditional Darug pattern with the children of a parent from one clan marrying the child of a parent from a different clan.⁵³ A list of the descendants of Robert and Maria Lock fills up over forty pages.⁵⁴ Many of these descendants remained around Blacktown, others moved to Parramatta, La Perouse, and other parts of NSW, and some have been active in Darug organisations, such as Darug Link.⁵⁵

Other girls from the Parramatta Native Institution would subsequently marry Europeans. The loss of women from Aboriginal kinship systems, especially in the context of severely depleted populations, meant that Aboriginal men would need to 'compete' with white men for wives. Betty Fulton of the 'Cowpastures tribe' (or Muringong clan of the Darug) was a child when she was captured in a punitive expedition and placed in the Parramatta Native Institute. She later married Bobby Narragingy of the 'South Creek tribe'. She may have later separated from him to live with a European.⁵⁶

The Native Institution was a precursor of various policy attempts to control, protect, civilise, or assimilate Aboriginal people. Due to Parramatta's position as a key administrative town of the fledgling

48 Kass, Liston, and McClymont 1996, p. 103.

49 Willey 1985, p. 208.

50 Hinkson & Harris 2010, pp. 143-5.

51 Kohen 1993, p. 94.

52 Brook and Kohen, p. 256.

53 Kohen 1993, p. 102.

54 Kohen 1993, pp. 145-88.

55 Hinkson & Harris 2010, p. 145; Kohen 1993.

56 Kohen 1993, p. 108.

convict colony, and the major centre servicing the western plains area of Sydney, Parramatta became a place of concentration for many institutions such as prisons, specialised schools, orphanages, ‘factories’, ‘homes’ and asylums. The town in the 1820s was defined by large government institutions, including the Male Convict Barracks, the Female Factory for Women Convicts, Parramatta Gaol, the Female Orphan School and the Native Institution.⁵⁷

Most of these institutions were not intended for Aboriginal people only, although in many cases a high proportion of inmates were Aboriginal people. This was because Aboriginal people had even less say than poor white people in preventing their admission to institutions. This lack of control over lives, particularly regarding the care of children, only increased in the time from the convict colony up until the recent past. While recent histories have cautioned against seeing the development of policy towards Aboriginal people in too polarised a fashion,⁵⁸ there were clear policy developments that resulted in decreasing control for Aboriginal families.

The appointment of George Thornton as Protector of Aborigines in 1882 saw a move towards shifting control of Aboriginal welfare from missionaries to the state. The Board for the Protection of Aborigines would seek legislative powers to give the Board or a minister power over:

*‘custody and control of aborigines of all ages and sexes ... to supervise, confirm or annul all agreements between aborigines and any other person ... to impose penalties on persons harbouring any aborigine without the consent of the Board ...’*⁵⁹

Official power was granted to the Aborigines Protection Board through the Aborigines Protection Act, 1909. Under this law, children could be removed from their parents if they were found by a magistrate to be ‘neglected’. As magistrates did not always find this, the Board sought greater powers. The Act was amended in 1915 to allow an Aboriginal child to

be removed without parental consent if the Board considered it was in the interest of the child’s moral and physical welfare.⁶⁰ These laws had the effect of bringing in more Aboriginal people, particularly women and girls to Sydney. Girls were sent to children’s homes and schools like the Parramatta Girls School, and after 1915 many hundreds of girls and young women were sent from the Cootamundra Girls Home to serve as indentured servants in white homes across Sydney.⁶¹

In 1939, Aboriginal children were again brought under the jurisdiction of a new *Child Welfare Act*. Magistrates were again required to make a ruling, but if a child was deemed uncontrollable, they could be taken without parental consent. This could apply to white children, but white children had more alternatives, such as allowing relatives to care for the children or a pension for the parents to care for the child, which were not available to Aboriginal families.⁶²

It is important to state that we consider a person’s presence in Parramatta against their will – often due to coercive laws – as a movement to Parramatta. In such situations, people’s engagements with and contributions to life in Parramatta are important. People maintained agency and will, even in institutional situations where policies as well as indiscriminate actions aimed to remove substantial control from the person. People who suffered violent and often abusive treatment in institutions such as the Parramatta Girls School frequently developed deep and intimate emotional ties to the institution and to others who shared their experience – sometimes returning to the place in order to renew this connection.⁶³ The following section will briefly mention some of the key institutions in Parramatta where Aboriginal people were held.

Parramatta Gaol

Parramatta Gaol was the longest running gaol in NSW when it closed in 2011. The forbidding sandstone prison in North Parramatta was built in

57 Kass et al. 1996, pp. 96-112.

58 Doukakis 2006; Goodall 2008.

59 Egan 2012, p. 98.

60 Read 2006, pp. 7-9.

61 Irish 2017, p. 137.

62 Read 2006, pp. 7-9.

63 Franklin 2014.

1842 is 'representative of the maximum security gaols constructed in NSW during the 19th century'.

⁶⁴ It was the third gaol site in Parramatta, the first having been built in 1796. Over-representation in prisons is a major ongoing problem for indigenous people, and many Aboriginal people were incarcerated there over the prison's long history. At the 2011 census, the year of the Gaol's closure, 96 people were residing at the gaol, renamed Parramatta Correctional Institution, some five per cent of the ATSI-identified population in Parramatta.⁶⁵ In 2014, the Deerubbin Land Council won a land rights claim over Parramatta Gaol.

The Female Orphan School

In 1802, the Female Orphan School was established, designed to house girls who were unable to be cared for by their families. An idea of Samuel Marsden and Governor King, the Female Orphan School embodied a strong moral concern to protect young girls from the vice associated with the convict colony. As King put it:

*Finding the greater part of the children in this colony so much abandoned to every kind of wretchedness and vice, I perceived the absolute necessity of something being attempted to withdraw them from the vicious examples of their abandoned parents.*⁶⁶

When the Female Orphan School opened in Parramatta in 1818, it was the largest building in the colony.⁶⁷ It had been relocated to Parramatta so that girls would not be exposed to the bustling convict port town in Sydney, perceived to be morally corrupting. Despite its name, less than 20 per cent of girls were parentless; they were more likely to have been placed there because of poverty, because one parent had died, or one or both parents was a convict.⁶⁸ Girls were admitted to the school at ages ranging from three to 13. Aboriginal children could be taken to the Female Orphan

School if referred by a clergyman or magistrate. When the Parramatta Native Institute closed, some of the girls were transferred to the Female Orphan School.⁶⁹ We do not know much how many Darug girls went through the school, or what happened to them. One Darug girl, Isabella Wilson who may have been from the 'Duck River tribe' or Wategoro clan lived at the Female Orphan School in 1849; she later married Thomas Carruthers.⁷⁰ The Female Orphan School showed the influence of the British Poor Laws, emphasising discipline and austerity, and based on the distinction between deserving as opposed to undeserving poor. This was embodied by the establishment of a sister institution the Female School of Industry in Sydney, which aimed at producing a better class of domestic servant. By contrast the Parramatta Native Institute, while ostensibly similar did not follow this direction, perhaps because in the colony there was no vision of how Aboriginal people might fit into the class society – a chief orientation of education at the Female Orphan School.⁷¹

Parramatta Girls School

In 1887, the Industrial School for Girls was proclaimed on the site of the old Roman Catholic Orphan School in North Parramatta. It was subsequently known as the Girls Training Home, Girls Training School, Girls Industrial School, Parramatta Girls Home and Kamballa and Taldree, 'all of which reflect changing attitudes and policies in the development of child welfare in Australia'.⁷² On average the number of girls at the school was between 160 and 200, with the maximum at 307 in 1970. The Parramatta Girls School was known for its harsh punishment of Aboriginal girls deemed to be 'incorrigible.' In 1923 the activist organization, the Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association (AAPA), sought to direct girls in need to a home in Homebush, in preference to their being sent to Parramatta Girls Home.⁷³

64 Tanner Gribble Denton Architects for Urban Growth NSW (n.d.), Parramatta North Urban Transformation Heritage Snapshot, p. 24. <http://www.urbangrowth.nsw.gov.au/assets/Projects/Parramatta-North/Documents/UR4602-ParraNorthHeritageDoc-Sgl.pdf>

65 Parramatta City Council, Indigenous Persons.

66 Phillip Gidley King cited in Whitlam Institute, p. 4.

67 Whitlam Institute, p. 6.

68 Whitlam Institute, p. 6.

69 Whitlam Institute, p. 7.

70 Kohen 1993, p. 37.

71 O'Brien 2008.

72 <http://www.parragirls.org.au/parramatta-girls-home.php>.

73 Goodall 2008, pp. 181-2.

Marjorie Woodrow's story provides evidence of the violence and intimidation employed in these institutions.⁷⁴ Woodrow, a survivor of the Stolen Generations, was taken from her mother at age-two by the Aborigines Protection Board, to Cootamundra Girls Home, before being sent to the Parramatta Industrial School for being 'uncontrollable'. It is apparent that Aboriginal girls were treated more harshly than white girls: for instance, with injunctions to 'consider ourselves white' and to pray to God to 'turn us white one day'. Aboriginal girls, unlike white girls, were never allowed to have visitors; Woodrow only found out years later that her mother had tried to visit her and been turned away. This is not to discount the suffering of all girls in these institutions, who were regularly subject to violent punishment and solitary confinement.⁷⁵ Still more disturbing evidence is found in the examination of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse into the Parramatta Girls School and its sister institution in Hay, in which 16 women – including six Aboriginal women – who were at the institution between 1950 and 1974 gave evidence.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, women who grew up in the school as girls often developed strong emotional links to the school as a place, in spite of painful memories. *Parramatta Girls* and *The Fence* are two theatrical works that have given expression to these memories and emotions.⁷⁷

Asylums

There were at least three asylums near Parramatta: the Macquarie Street Asylum (1875-1935), located in former barracks in Parramatta's centre; the George St Asylum, located in the old Byrnes' mill (1862); and the Rydalmere Hospital for the Insane (later Rydalmere Psychiatric Hospital, in and around the old Female Orphan School (1888-1950), later another branch of the Rydalmere Psychiatric Hospital. These institutions housed large numbers of inmates, over 300 at Macquarie Street, up to 976 in 1893 at George St, and around 1,000 throughout most of its history at

Rydalmere.⁷⁸ Asylums were clearly different to mental hospitals today.

The *Lunacy Act* of 1878 defined lunacy very loosely relating it to a person being unable to manage his own affairs while being of unsound mind. The 1900 Statistical Register of NSW lists a range of moral or physical causes of insanity including domestic trouble, adverse circumstances, intemperance in drink, intemperance (sexual), pregnancy and old age.⁷⁹ A large proportion of inmates of George St and Macquarie St asylums were there because they were sick, old, homeless or alcoholic. An 1893 article in the *Cumberland Argus* claimed that the asylums were 'vastly overcrowded with miserable paupers upon the benignity of the state'.⁸⁰ We do not know the numbers of Aboriginal people who moved through these institutions, but given the link between poverty and arrest in asylum admissions, numbers are likely to have been significant.

These are only some of the many institutions that brought Aboriginal people to Parramatta from all over NSW. Towards the end of the nineteenth century it was reckoned that half of Parramatta's population earned their living from government spending on hospitals, prisons and asylums in the town. In the 1901 census were 2,843 inmates of 28 institutions within the Parramatta area, representing 22 per cent of the population, actually a reduction from 1871s' figure of 28 per cent.⁸¹ The significance of these numbers warrants further investigation into the number of Aboriginal people in these institutions, and the lives they lived.

Aboriginal Movements from the 1950s to the present

By the 1940s, assimilation policies were becoming the norm across Australia. Aboriginal populations were increasing despite attempts to reduce populations and disperse children through

74 Woodrow 1990; Decker 2001; Stolen Generations' Testimonies Foundation 2009.

75 Woodrow 1990; Decker 2001.

76 Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse. Case Study 7, Parramatta Girls and Hay Institution, February 2014, Sydney. See also C. Green 2014.

77 Valentine 2007, *Parramatta Girls*; Tobin and Djuric, 2009, *The Fence*.

78 Brook 2010, pp. 162-71; Whitlam Institute, p. 26.

79 Whitlam Institute, pp. 20-1.

80 Accessed 17 June 2016 at <http://arc.parracity.nsw.gov.au/blog/2014/06/27/macquarie-street-asylum-parramatta-part-one/>. See also *The Cumberland Argus*, April 1, 1893, cited in Brook 2010, p. 168.

81 Kass, Liston, and McClymont 1996.

institutions such children's homes. There was a recognition that 'protection' policies had failed. The increase in Aboriginal populations threatened the basic premise of the protection approach, that Aboriginal people were declining and would eventually die out, or be reduced to a small and easily manageable population located away from mainstream Australia.⁸²

Protection policies had been accompanied in practice by attempts to disperse Aboriginal people, spatially and socially. Reserves were usually positioned well away from white residences, whether in cities or country towns.⁸³ Assimilation policies by contrast, proposed to move Aboriginal people from more remote rural locations to larger towns or cities, to break up the reserves that had often provided a degree of autonomy, and to shift from seasonal and casual work to waged labour, albeit with highly unequal rates of pay and conditions.⁸⁴ From 1960, the Aborigines Welfare Board (which had replaced the Aborigines Protection Board) began to exert pressure on Aboriginal families, especially young people to 'pull up roots' and move to cities for training and work.⁸⁵

At the same time, Aboriginal people had begun moving to cities in response to forces other than policy. This movement of Aboriginal populations to cities was largely 'pushed' by rural poverty, the disappearance of rural jobs, poor housing and the racism and segregation experienced in many country towns. In general, Aboriginal people in NSW had been remarkably successful in retaining some degree of occupation on or near customary lands.⁸⁶ However, from the 1950s, there was a significant 'moving away' from rural lands. This was often achieved through a chain-migration process whereby one family would become established with work and housing, and then host more relatives. This did not mean Aboriginal people would 'pull up roots'; they usually maintained connections and identifications with their people and Country.⁸⁷

It is very likely Aboriginal people (men mainly) would have been employed in industries at Camellia and Granville from at least the late 1940s and may have been living in the Granville, Rosehill, and Parramatta area. If that is the case, it would constitute a return mobility, at least in the generic sense – that is, Aboriginal people from various parts of NSW and beyond moving to the area, attracted by the employment opportunities industrial centres like Parramatta provided. Further archival and oral history research concerning factories around Granville and Camellia may fill gaps in knowledge about Aboriginal people working in urban areas and reveal more about Aboriginal people attracted by manufacturing opportunities.

More generally we can say that urban Aboriginal populations began to grow in the post-World War II period. While, before the 1967 referendum, official census collections only included Aboriginal people on an uneven basis – usually those who were permanently settled and not on reserves – there were various attempts to estimate Sydney's Aboriginal population. Wait used Aboriginal Welfare Board figures to calculate a population of 3,000 in 1950. Wells estimated between 10,000 and 11,000 in the mid-1960s, and Beasley estimated there were between 6,000 and 10,000 people of Aboriginal descent in Sydney.⁸⁸ In 1967, the Aboriginal Welfare Board estimated that there were 15,440 Aboriginal people in rural areas, while admitting that 15,000 more could not be accounted for, and may have moved to the major cities.⁸⁹ Urban living provided ways for Aboriginal people to move 'under the radar' of the control by the Aboriginal Welfare Board, whose days were numbered after the passing of the 1967 Referendum.

The Aborigines Act of 1969 abolished the NSW Aborigines Welfare Board, which had controlled almost every facet of life for many Aboriginal people. As Anita Heiss put it, the Board's policies had:

stopped them from raising their own children, stopped

82 Morgan 2006, p. 10.

83 Morgan 2006, p. 8.

84 Heiss n.d. <http://www.sydneymarani.com.au/sites/government-policy-in-relation-to-aboriginal-people/>

85 Goodall 2008, p. 347.

86 Goodall 2008.

87 Goodall 2008, p. 349.

88 Beasley 1970, p. 138. Other figures cited in Morgan 2006, p. 47.

89 Goodall 2008, p. 346.

*freedom of movement, having access to education, receiving award wages, marrying without permission, eating in restaurants, entering a pub, swimming in a public pool or having the right to vote.*⁹⁰

A Parliamentary Joint Committee on Aboriginal Affairs had recommended that the Welfare Board's housing services be taken over by the NSW Housing Commission.⁹¹ From 1969, with the dissolution of the Aborigines Welfare Board, the NSW government sought to bring Aboriginal people into mainstream public housing.

Under the Housing for Aborigines program, the Housing Commission of NSW provided a pool of public housing for Aboriginal people in Sydney, much of it in suburban housing in large estates in western Sydney.⁹² In the period from 1970 to 1975, 1,231 Housing Commission dwellings in Sydney were occupied by Aboriginal families in 1975, 550 having been built by the Commission.⁹³

Nevertheless, the actual administration of public housing for Aboriginal peoples still had many aspects of the paternalism common in the administration of reserves and missions. Aboriginal tenants in mainstream public housing found they had to prove their worth, demonstrate values of cleanliness, sobriety, orientation to the nuclear family and other cultural norms. Aboriginal families responded with a mixture of resistance and strategic compliance.⁹⁴ Public housing has remained an important reason for movement to Parramatta. At the last census (2011), over a third (35.6 per cent) of ATSI-identified residents of Parramatta were living in public housing.⁹⁵ Aboriginal people in NSW were becoming increasingly urbanised – between 1971 and 1991 the proportion of people living in major urban areas increased from 27.4 to 37.7 per cent.⁹⁶ In the first Commonwealth census to count Aboriginal people in 1971, 193 people identified themselves as Aboriginal

or Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) in Parramatta, out of 5,439 in the Sydney area, and 23,101 in New South Wales.⁹⁷ By 1991 there were 660 people identifying as ATSI in Parramatta.

Since the 1970s there has been steady growth in the Aboriginal population in Sydney and in Parramatta. This is due to Aboriginal people in Parramatta and Sydney being a relatively young population, with high fertility, and also to an increase in Aboriginal identification.

At the Census in 2016, there were 1,695 people who identified as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander in Parramatta.⁹⁸ This was about 0.7 per cent of Parramatta's population, a lower proportion than the average level across Sydney (1.5 per cent). Nevertheless, this population continues to grow, increasing by about 16 per cent between 2006 and 2011.

Aboriginal people have become more publicly visible as communities since recognition as full citizens was gained fifty years ago. The 1967 referendum removed the exemption of counting Aboriginal people in censuses, and allowed special laws specific to race to be made by the Commonwealth, supplanting the situation where states had sole control over Aboriginal matters. Subsequent political events and achievements, such as human rights legislation including the *Race Discrimination Act 1975* and the *NSW Anti-Discrimination Act 1977*, land rights legislation such as the *NSW Land Rights Act 1983*, the Mabo Judgement of 1992 and the *Commonwealth Native Title Act 1993* have further supported the recognition of Aboriginal people and their rights as citizens. Government investigations such as the *Bringing Them Home Report* of 1997 shone a light on the destructive practices that had been imposed on Aboriginal families until very recent times.⁹⁹ However, the report did not end

90 Heiss n.d. <http://www.sydneybarani.com.au/sites/government-policy-in-relation-to-aboriginal-people/>

91 Egan 2012, p. 219.

92 Morgan 2008.

93 Morgan 2006, p. 73.

94 Morgan 2006, pp. 76-80.

95 Parramatta City Council (n.d), Indigenous Persons (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander).

96 Morgan 2006, p. 74.

97 Parramatta City Council (n.d), Indigenous Persons (Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander).

98 .id community, demographic resources, (2017). <http://profile.id.com.au/parramatta/population>

99 Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1997.

of these problems, as the separation of children remains a major problem for Aboriginal families.¹⁰⁰ Urbanisation assisted the development of a pan-Aboriginal identity, bringing many Indigenous people together and allowing the formation of new networks and coalitions that sought to intervene in public life in ways that combined customary and modern conceptions of Aboriginality.¹⁰¹ New kinds of organisations emerged from urban Aboriginal networks such as Aboriginal legal and medical centres, media organisations and artist collectives.¹⁰² In the Parramatta area are the Buller Health Service, and the Karabi Community and Development Services in Toongabbie.¹⁰³ As a major administrative centre, Parramatta hosts the NSW Land Council head offices, the Aboriginal Legal Service office (NSW and ACT), and the Aboriginal Housing Office. Other government departments and institutions have dedicated Aboriginal positions in Parramatta, for instance Fair Trading, Parramatta Community Services Centre, Westmead Hospital, Parramatta City Council, and Roads and Maritimes Services.¹⁰⁴

At the same time as a broad pan-Aboriginal movement emerged, there has been a reassertion of local cultures by Darug and neighbouring peoples who had lived invisibly in proximity to the city. A grass-roots publication about Darug history, *The Dharug Story: Our Local History* explains the forces that maintained Aboriginal invisibility and the task of reconstruction that Darug people faced:

Throughout the turbulent years of the Aborigines' Protection Board, Aboriginal people undergo traumatic changes as families are torn apart, and sometimes whole communities are moved off to various institutions or other places across the state. Many go underground in order to escape the control of the board. Dharug language is no longer spoken and in a number of cases children are kept ignorant of their own heritage - still at risk of being

*taken. Those who retained their Aboriginal identity suffered marginalisation as a result. All have stories to tell ...*¹⁰⁵

This emphasis on 'stories to tell' speaks of a desire to rediscover and reclaim history. The Darug today have been regrouping in recent years as families are rediscovering their links with each other and connection with their Country.¹⁰⁶ Darug organisations such as the Darug Custodian Aboriginal Corporation and the Darug Tribal Aboriginal Corporation seek reconnection and healing in everyday life, particularly a reconstruction of kinship, culture and history.¹⁰⁷ These two strands of Aboriginal identity and collective action – based on belonging to a kin group and Country, and to a broader Aboriginal movement – sit together in dialogue; both are necessary to deal at once with the impact of events in the past, and to move into the future.

In relation to the city of Parramatta, there have been some significant moments of recognition and reconciliation. In 1995, the Parramatta Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Advisory Committee was formed to advise Council about ATSI needs and priorities.¹⁰⁸ In 1997, following the *Bringing Them Home* report, one of the first apologies by local government authorities was made by Parramatta City Council.¹⁰⁹ In 2015, Parramatta City hosted a commemoration for the 200th anniversary of the founding of the Parramatta Native Institution.¹¹⁰ The recent 'Culture and our City' discussion paper, in discussing major developments in Parramatta's CBD acknowledged the significance of the first Aboriginal children taken for the Native Institution, as well as the importance of the marriage of Maria and Robert Lock as important progenitors for the Darug people. The paper proposed a 'continual dialogue to establish an Aboriginal Cultural Framework including a suite of cultural projects such as an Aboriginal

100 Brown 2017.

101 Morgan 2006, pp. 62-3.

102 Morgan 2006, p. 63.

103 <http://www.karabi.org.au/>, https://www.facebook.com/BullerAboriginalHealthService/#_=_

104 Catholicare Social Services 2012, Mapping Aboriginal Services. See www.ccss.org.au/_resources/mapping-aboriginal-services.pdf

105 C. Tobin 1999.

106 C. Tobin 1999.

107 See Melissa Williams 2014, pp. 42, 44.

108 See <https://www.cityofparramatta.nsw.gov.au/about-parramatta/governance-of-the-council/advisory-committees>.

109 See Laurie Ferguson in Hansard, <http://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%3A%22chamber%2Fhansard%2F2008-02-19%2F0117%22;src1=sm1>.

110 Han 2015, SBS 2015.

Keeping Place’.¹¹¹ This is certainly an opportunity to acknowledge and share the important histories of contact, colonisation and survival that took place and are still taking place in contemporary Parramatta.

Aboriginal people have played an important part in Sydney’s and Parramatta’s history that is only recently begun to be acknowledged. For long periods, policies and social practices enforced a powerful segregation of Aboriginal people; even so, mutual relations continued to be formed between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people as a basis for common life and projects. The Parramatta area has a strong record of reconciliation activity, with the Building Bridges program being presented every year by Reconciliation for Western Sydney.¹¹²

In 2006, former residents of the Parramatta Girls Home – both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal – formed ‘Parragirls’, a support network and advocacy group. Parragirls have taken on a strong custodial relationship with the Parramatta Female Factory Precinct, supporting the preservation of the precinct as “the birthplace of interventionist welfare policy”, a unique clustering of institutions whose names – which changed over time – “reflect changing attitudes and policies in the development of child welfare in Australia.”¹¹³ They propose a very different approach to heritage; the Parramatta Female Factory Precinct Memory Project supports the expression and preservation of the living memory of institutional experiences, in a way that aims to extend heritage beyond the bricks and mortar of institutional buildings.¹¹⁴

Another project that brought together Indigenous and settler heritage was the Eel Festival, run in 2016 by Sydney Living Museums. This festival was held at Elizabeth Farm, a key settler heritage site on the Parramatta River, and brought together demonstrations of Aboriginal eel fishing, the weaving of eel traps, river care, bush tucker and colonial cookbooks featuring eel. Heritage is shown to be multifaceted and to move across cultural boundaries.¹¹⁵ ■

111 Parramatta City Council, ‘Culture and our City. A Cultural Discussion Paper for Parramatta’s CBD’, 2017.

112 <http://reconciliation4westernsydney.org/> (retrieved July 18, 2017)

113 Parragirls <http://www.parragirls.org.au/parragirls.php>; <http://www.parragirls.org.au/parramatta-girls-home.php>

114 <http://www.parragirls.org.au/Memory-Project.php>

115 Sydney Living Museums, 2016, <https://sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/events/eel-festival-2016> ; <http://www.sbs.com.au/nitv/article/2016/05/02/little-known-history-between-parramatta-and-eels>

200th anniversary
of the founding of
Parramatta Native
Institution where 220
descendants of the
first students gathers
to reflect on their
shared histories



Part 3.



*The busy canteen at Dundas
Migrant Centre c.1954 (From
the collection of the National
Archives of Australia)*



WAVES OF IMMIGRATION AND REFUGEES SINCE 1788

Today, Parramatta is home to many culturally diverse communities, with recent increases in migration making this city one of the most diverse local government areas (LGAs) in the nation. Being centrally located within the Greater Sydney metropolitan region, and a key center of Greater Western Sydney, Parramatta has been shaped by many different waves of migration throughout its history. These waves have included the arrival of Europeans in 1788 and later, significant post-war immigration programs, and refugee and humanitarian resettlement programs. Most recently, growing numbers of new overseas born Parramatta residents also reflect the expansion of temporary and skilled migration programs nationally. Here it should again be noted that we do not include Aboriginal people in the 'waves' of migration into Parramatta. In the spirit of Mary Graham's work, we attest that Aboriginal people were not the first wave of migrants to this place but rather became human here.¹

The waves of immigration that have historically shaped Parramatta reflect Australia's experience as a settler-immigrant nation, with a particular reliance on immigration for nation building and workforce growth.¹ These waves of migration have disproportionately shaped Australia's two largest cities of Sydney and Melbourne, where over half of the population today are first- and second-generation immigrants who have arrived from a very wide range of different ethnic backgrounds.² Sydney has remained the city with the largest overseas-born population in Australia, and has historically served as an important entry point for many new arrivals to the country.³ Recent increases in temporary and skilled migration programs have seen rates of overseas born residents increase further, with particular

concentrations in places like Parramatta, which has attracted growing numbers of migrants arriving through temporary and skilled migration programs. While there have been studies into the experiences of specific migrant groups, including Chinese, Lebanese, and Greeks migrating to Sydney,⁴ there is less information available concerning the motivations and experiences of those who have chosen to settle in Parramatta. In particular, the dynamics of Parramatta's specific urban context and character in attracting particular communities of migrants have received relatively scant attention, especially when we consider the extensive information available on the 'first wave' of European immigrants in the late nineteenth century. The development of Parramatta as a food bowl in the early years of the colony, its arable land, its proximity to transit corridors, and more recently the development of cultural or community services such as migrant resource centres and places of worship and spiritual observance⁵ have each likely played important parts in the story of migration in Parramatta. However, we lack deep research into these dynamics between place, community and culture as they have emerged historically. In more recent times, it is clear that the surge of temporary and skilled migrants is rapidly reshaping the identity of Parramatta in vital ways. These increasingly differentiated experiences of contemporary migration, spanning permanent settlers, temporary migrants and refugee arrivals, are likely to become more central to Parramatta's evolving story as a distinct gathering place for diverse global communities.⁶

Before going on to examine the waves of migration in historical detail, it is worth getting a sense of the contemporary situation.

Note: This research was undertaken before relevant results from the 2016 Census were available.

1 Mary Graham 2008

2 See Collins 2011; Castles, De Haas & Miller 2014, p.14; J. Collins 2013; Collins 2011; Marcus, Jupp & MacDonald 2009.

3 See Collins and Kuntz 2009, p.41; Castles and Miller 2003.

4 See www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4102.0main+features102014#SYDNEY

5 See Choi, 1975. Buddhist meeting places are strictly speaking not 'places of public worship'. The establishment of Buddhist centres forms an important part of the settlement process for migrant communities, as the temple or meditation centre becomes the focus of the community. See John Skennar 2005.

6 See Collins and Kuntz, 2009, p. 39.

In the Census of 2011, Parramatta LGA⁷ had one of the highest proportion of overseas-born resident populations in Australia. Just under 70 per cent of its population was born overseas, making it the seventh highest LGA in NSW and the seventh highest across Australia.⁸ For Harris Park the figures were 76 per cent and for Westmead, 68 per cent. The composition of its migrant populations reflects the wider historical pattern experienced across Sydney as a whole, with a shift from predominantly European and British population to include an increasingly diverse one.

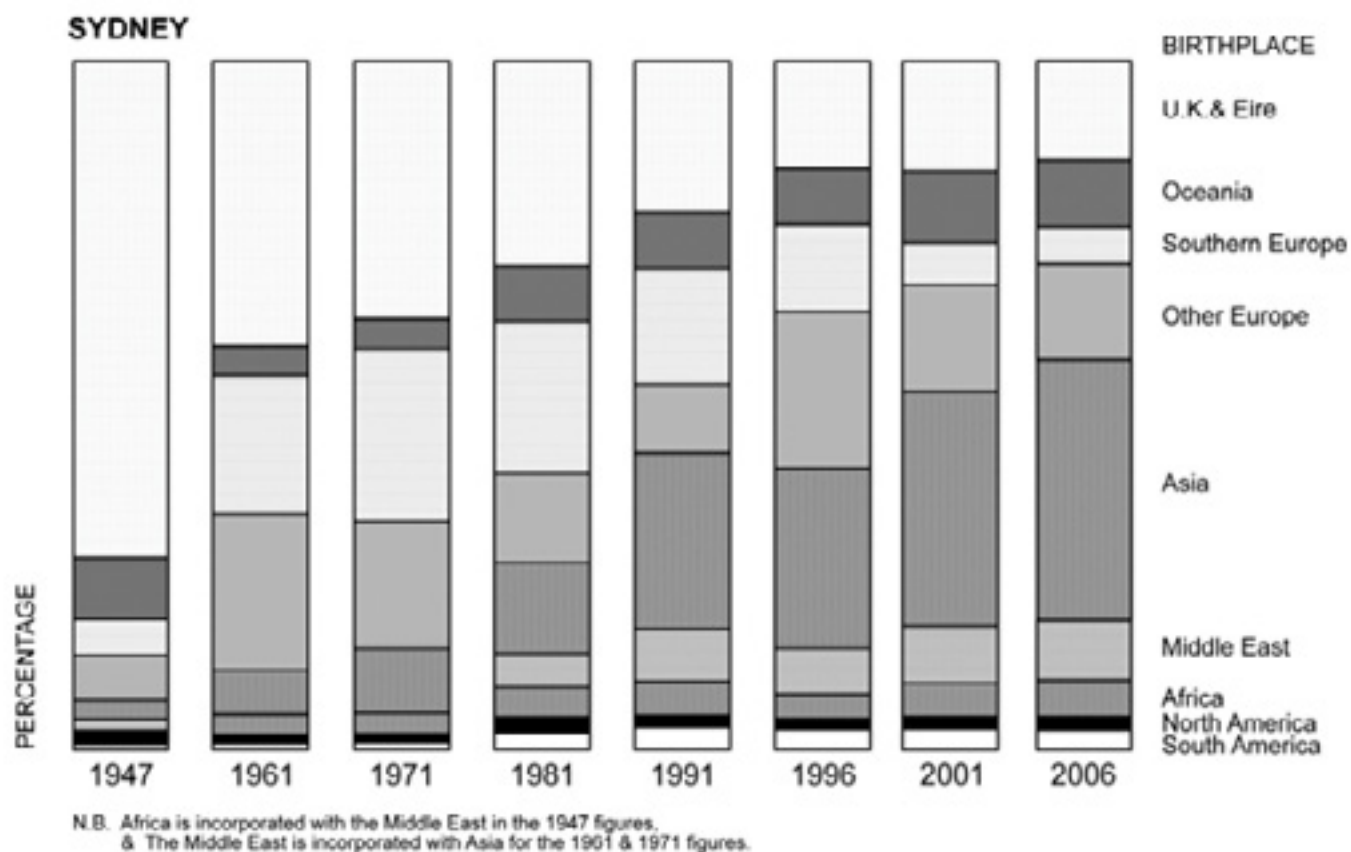


Figure 1. Birthplace composition of overseas born population 1946-2006. Sourced from Hugo Multiculturalism and Integration: A Harmonious Relationship, 2011 (From ABS Censuses 1946-2006).

⁷ Care should be taken in relation to two separate definitions of 'Parramatta'. The City of Parramatta refers to the LGA area after May 2016, Parramatta City Council is the LGA prior to May 2016, while the Census also reports against the Parramatta statistical area of SA4.

⁸ See <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Lookup/4102.0main+features102014#SYDNEY>.

A quick snapshot of Parramatta City Council’s overseas born population at the time of the 2011 Census is captured below.⁹ This shows the top ten groups of overseas-born residents:

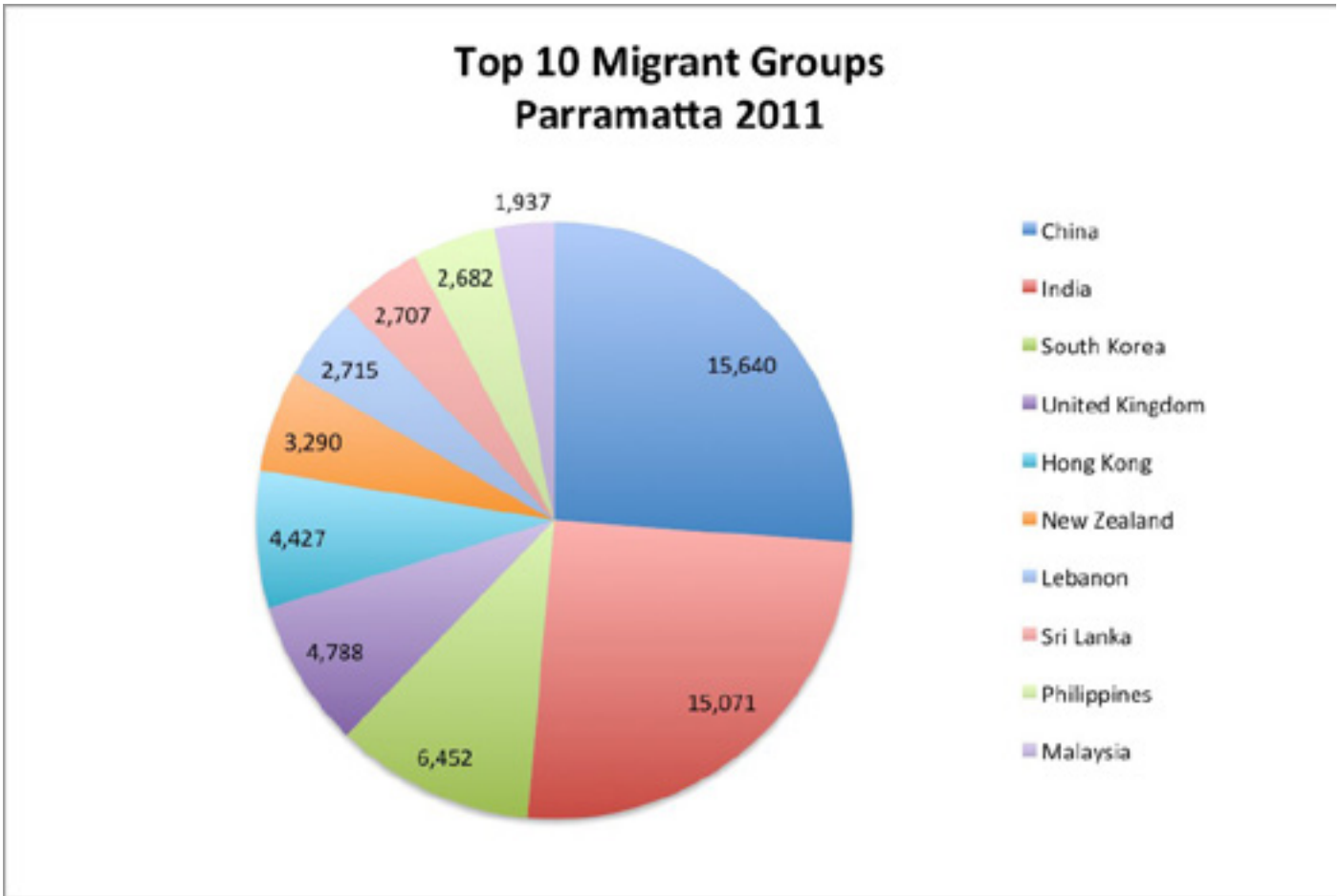
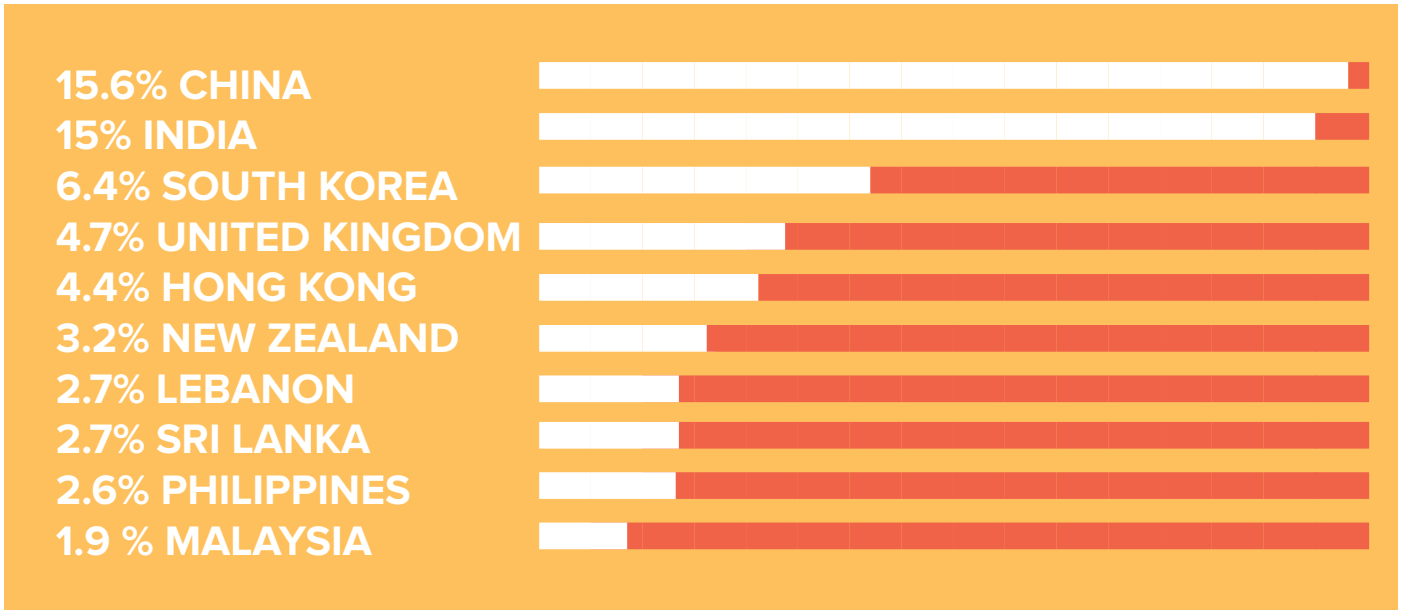


Figure 2: Top Ten Overseas-Born Groups in Parramatta at the 2011 Census

9 This data has been retrieved via the City of Parramatta’s community profile tool. See <http://profile.id.com.au/parramatta/migration>. It relates to Parramatta City Council LGA (pre-May 2016) boundary.

While these groups represent the largest migrant populations in Parramatta, Parramatta's population includes many more migrant groups, with the 2011 Census reporting overseas born residents from 46 different countries.¹⁰

The number of overseas migrants to Parramatta has also increased rapidly in recent years. Between the 2006 and 2011 Census there were 18,300 residents who had moved to Parramatta from another country, representing approximately 10 per cent of Parramatta's usual residential population. Parramatta saw the largest number of new settler arrivals between 2006 and 2011, with the majority of these arriving under the skilled migration and family streams.

Particular nationalities are driving this growth. Between 2006 and 2011 the number of Indian born residents increased by 6,761, or 37 per cent of all new residents. The number of Chinese born residents increased by 4,582 over this time, or 25 per cent of all new overseas-born residents. It is not necessarily the case that all new Chinese and Indian migrants arrived here directly from these countries during this period, however these figures do indicate that numbers of Chinese and Indian migrants have increased considerably over the past decade. These more recent trends in migration among Parramatta's largest groups of overseas-born residents are captured below.

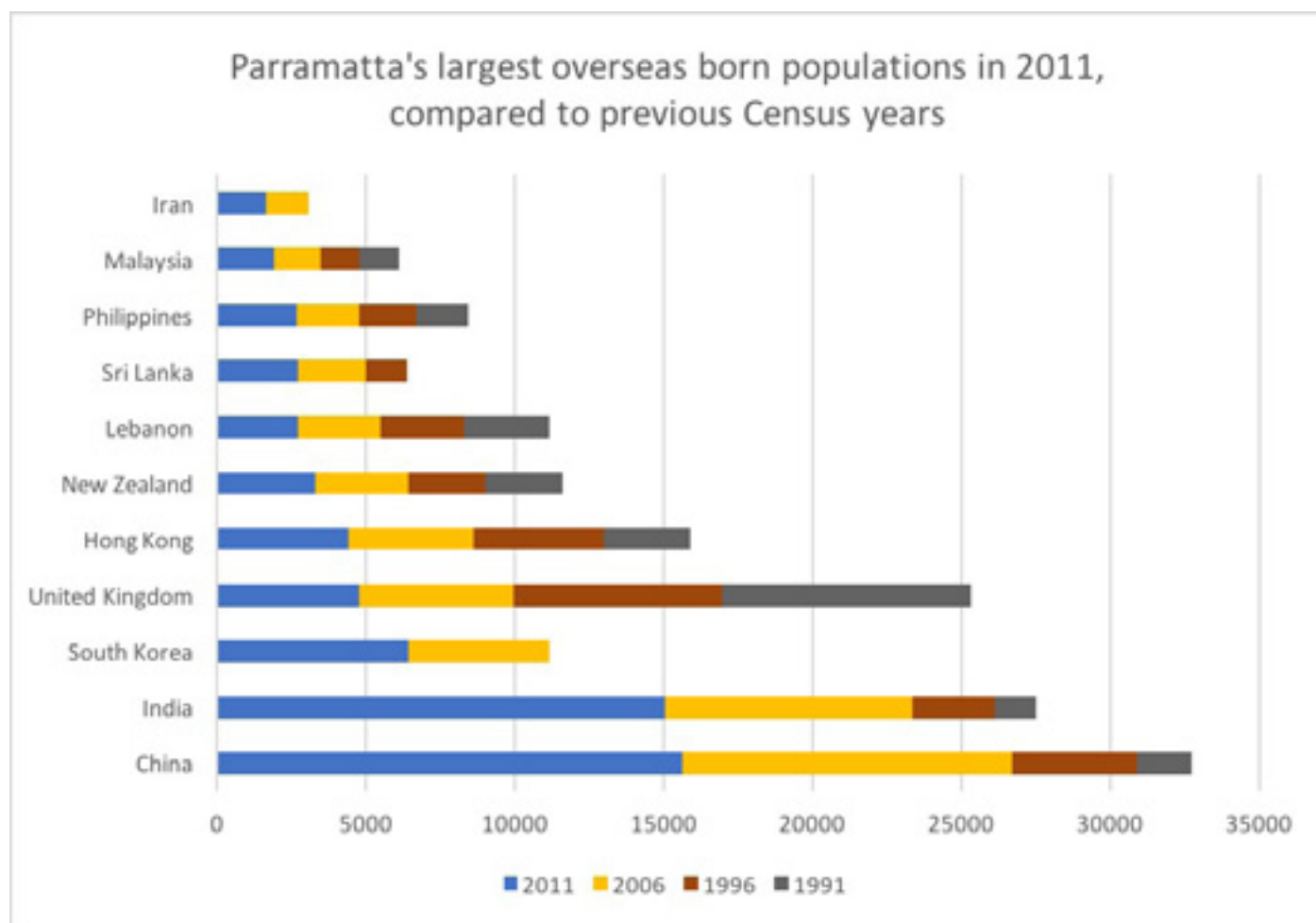


Figure 3. Trends in Immigration in Parramatta, 1991-2011. Source: 2011 Census.

¹⁰ This total excludes those overseas nations in which fewer than 20 people were born.

These trends are reflected across the Sydney region, where marked increases migration from Asia have been matched by declines in the proportion of migrants from the United Kingdom and Ireland over the same period (down from 78.7 per cent in 1947 to 14.4 per cent in 2006).¹¹

Indian migration in particular has increased dramatically in recent years, with 53 per cent of Australia's Indian born population arriving between 2006 and 2011.¹² The rise in Australia's Indian population reflects the influence of Australia's skilled migration program. Today, Indians comprise the second largest overseas-born community in Parramatta. By country of birth, Parramatta is second largest to Blacktown's Indian-born population. By language, Parramatta has by far the largest number of Gujarati speakers, followed by neighbouring Holroyd, and the second-highest number of Punjabi speakers, the third-highest number of Hindi speakers.

Parramatta's Indian-born population is young, and the majority (64 per cent) arrived between 2006 and 2011. Most are aged between 20 and 40, and more than 64 per cent have a degree qualification or higher.¹³ It is worth noting that while Parramatta's Indian population has grown significantly in recent years, new arrivals of Indian-born residents represent only 4 per cent of the total number of new Indian arrivals to Australia between 2006 and 2011.¹⁴ Parramatta has become an increasingly important destination for migrants arriving in Australia through skilled migration schemes, and is now one of the four top employment centres for skilled migrants.¹⁵

Having established the complexity of the current demography of Parramatta, we return to narrate how we got here: the waves of migration from the first arrival of Europeans to the most recent arrivals.

11 See <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p113381/html/ch01.xhtml?referer=310&page=5#toc-anchor>.

12 See <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/3418.0Main%20Features52011-12?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=3418.0&issue=2011-12&num=&view=>.

13 There is a general perception that most Indian residents are students, however at the 2011 Census only 6.3 per cent were attending university, which is only slightly more than the 5.6 per cent found for the total population of Parramatta. The percentage of the general population with a degree qualification or higher is 26 per cent. This information has been sourced from 'Glenn the Census Expert', (.id), <http://blog.id.com.au/2014/population/demographic-trends/the-story-of-culturally-diverse-communities-indians-in-parramatta/>.

14 Australian Bureau of Statistics, <http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/Latestproducts/3418.0Main%20Features52011-12?opendocument&tabname=Summary&prodno=3418.0&issue=2011-12&num=&view=>.

15 <http://www.sbs.com.au/yourlanguage/punjabi/en/article/2017/01/27/indians-top-list-newly-arrived-migrants-2016>.



*Daily chores at Dundas
Migrant Centre c.1954
(From the collection of
the National Archives
of Australia)*

The 'First Wave': Arrival of Europeans

The creation of a British colony in Australia, was marked by the arrival of Europeans to Sydney Cove in 1788. This period represents the first wave of European migration to Parramatta, with many successive waves of European migration over the following two centuries, reflecting the global dominance of European colonisation for many centuries.¹⁶ The centrality of the European arrival story to the wider founding of Australia as a British colony means this first wave of migration is well documented within the historical records. As such, Parramatta's historical collections are largely focused on this era of European settlement, and the experience of European settlers to Australia has been told extensively. Historic sites today, such as St Patrick's Cemetery, also provide insights into early patterns of migration, featuring French, Germans, Italians and Chinese.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the stories of people are vital to the successive waves of immigration that have shaped the city through time, and is worth recounting briefly in order to capture the diversity of 'arrival stories' in Parramatta, and there is still much research to be done in this area.

Europeans settling in Sydney found themselves in a climate very different to their own. They experienced near starvation when their first attempts at farming at what is now Farm Cove resulted in failure. In search of more suitable agricultural land, Governor Arthur Phillip travelled up the Parramatta River and found the arable plains surrounding the Parramatta River. At a point where fresh water replaced the tidal salt water of the river, Phillip established the settlement of Rose Hill, later called 'Parramatta'.¹⁸ A military enclosure (a 'Redoubt') was set up at what is now Parramatta Park to house the convicts who were brought up the river to begin the work of clearing the land and planting crops. The fledgling new colony was in desperate need of experienced farmers, and those convicts able to demonstrate

their self-sufficiency were rewarded with land grants. Governor Phillip awarded the English convict James Ruse an allotment at Rose Hill, where he was able to prove his self-sufficiency by growing the first successful wheat crop of the colony.¹⁹ Having proved his worth to the Governor, in 1789 Ruse was subsequently awarded a title to a 30-acre block of land known as 'Experiment Farm', the first land grant in the colony.

This early experiment in farming led to a further 200 acres of farmland being established over the next two years at the Government Farm at Rose Hill. Settlers and emancipists who could demonstrate their willingness and ability to cultivate crops and tend to livestock were given small parcels of land they were required to work, with the expectation that they could provide for themselves and potentially also produce surplus, thus loosening the burden of government to be the sole provider of food and other provisions within the colony.²⁰ Over the next decade, Parramatta served as the colony's food bowl. By 1792, farming had ceased entirely at Sydney, and Toongabbie, a cleared area of land just north of the Rose Hill township, was becoming the principal farm of the colony.²¹ This was expanded north to 696 acres (281.6 hectares) of land, cultivating wheat, barley and maize crops.

Convict labour was used to carve a three-metre wide bush track to transport goods and labour between Parramatta and Sydney Cove, later known as Parramatta Road.²² Wheat crops were planted, the first merino sheep were bred here, cattle were raised, and vineyards planted. At Elizabeth Farm in 1797 Captain John Macarthur imported merino sheep from the Cape of Good Hope, and within four years was able to demonstrate the suitability of his fine-fleeced wool to key figures from the powerful British wool industry, thus marking the birth of Australia's wool trade.²³ Macarthur established a property known as 'Vineyard'²⁴ as the first commercial

16 See Castles, De Haas & Miller 2014, p. 16.

17 See www.discoverparramatta.com/places/heritage_and_historic_sites/st_patricks_cemetery

18 www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/australian-agricultural-and-rural-life/life-land

19 Fletcher 1967.

20 A letter relating to early issues with agriculture at the colony is available digitally at State Library, www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/australian-agricultural-and-rural-life/first-farms.

21 The site is now home to Westmead Children's Hospital.

22 G. Wotherspoon 2010, dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/the_road_west.

23 S. Hill (n.d.), Sydney Living Museums, sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/turbulent-past.

24 M. Lech (n.d.) Sydney Living Museums, sydneylivingmuseums.com.au/stories/architectural-remnants-vineyard-subiaco.

plantation of grapes, also imported from the Cape of Good Hope. A farm established by the emancipist George Salter in the 1790s²⁵ was later taken over as a government dairy in 1813, though dairying activity is first documented in Parramatta from 1804.

During the early years of the colony, Parramatta played a critical role in supporting British emancipists who were eager to demonstrate not only their self-sufficiency as farmers and agriculturalists, but also their claims to be rehabilitated as free citizens. In this way, the arrival of Europeans to Parramatta was at once the expression of a convict system characterised by transportation, hard labour and discipline, but also a reflection of the desire on the part of transported convicts to live a reformed life of self-sufficiency on the land, often in stark contrast to the lives they had lived previously in England.

Parramatta also played a central role in the administration and governance of the colony. The arrival of Governor Macquarie in 1809 saw the rudimentary cottage established by Governor Phillip in 1799 expanded in 1813 to that of the more elaborate Georgian complex of Government House. The picturesque landscaped gardens surrounding it, known as the Domain, also functioned as a major working property employing convicts in quarrying, timber milling, blacksmithing, farming, dairying and blacksmithing.²⁶ A number of government institutions were establishing during this era. Parramatta's Government House functioned as the administrative centre of the colony prior to the construction of the new Government House at Bennelong Point in 1845. A new building designed by architect Francis Greenway was completed in 1821 to house the Female Factory, which operated there until 1847.²⁷ The first 'female factory' had operated from 1803 above the Parramatta's first goal, and housed those female convicts who had not been assigned to masters upon their arrival in the colony (discussed above).

The factory acted as a workhouse, gaol, and holding area for newly arrived female convicts and their children. The population of female convicts expanded during the years of the Female Factory's operation, leading to the introduction of a three-class system of women. First-class women were those simply awaiting assignment to a master; second-class women were those who, for reasons of minor criminal offences or motherhood, were considered not yet eligible for assignment to a master; third-class women were those deemed guilty of serious crimes and as the 'criminal class' experienced much harsher working and living conditions than those of the first and second class women. The Female Factory was also the site of a medical and maternity hospital designed by Greenway.²⁸

Other institutions central to the penal colony's administration were also established under Macquarie's governorship. The Parramatta Native Institution (also discussed above) was established in 1814 by Macquarie, with the objective of educating, training and converting Aboriginal children to Christianity. This was a program of assimilation into colonial society based on the removal of children.²⁹ Governor Macquarie encouraged 'by regular authority' the first public fair to be held in Parramatta in 1813,³⁰ saw that a turnpike road be built upon the bush track connecting Parramatta and Sydney,³¹ and commissioned a number of new public buildings in Parramatta, including new convict barracks, an Observatory and a convict hospital, later becoming the Parramatta District Hospital in 1948. By 1822 Parramatta Road had some 37 bridges, and travel by road between Sydney and Parramatta had become more common than by river.³²

This story of Parramatta's establishment as a European settlement is well documented, and indeed it is these earliest years of European arrival that have attracted the greatest attention in the historical documentation of Parramatta's history.

25 V. Mauldon 2012, www.parrapark.com.au/assets/Shaping-the-Domain-brochures/Shaping-the-Domain-World-Heritage-1788-1856-Parramatta-Park-Brochure.pdf.

26 www.environment.gov.au/heritage/places/national/old-government-house. See image at <http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110318143> See also Hinkson & Harris 2010, p. 125.

27 See www.parragirls.org.au/.

28 See Terry Kass, Carol Liston & John McClymont, 1996, p. 136; Michaela Cameron 2015, http://dictionaryofsydney.org/entry/parramatta_female_factory.

29 www.myplace.edu.au/decades_timeline/1810/decade_landing_19.html?tabRank=3.

30 McLachlan, N. D. 1967, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/macquarie-lachlan-2419.

31 Tony Prescott, 'The Road to Parramatta', Heritage Office website, www.heritage.nsw.gov.au/heritagensw/aug98/3_art.htm.

32 G. Wotherspoon 2015.

The story of Parramatta during these early years has been focused on the role of key identities and landmarks. The roles of Arthur Phillip, James Ruse, George Salter, John Macarthur and his nephew Hannibal Macarthur, and Governor Macquarie are the focus of many historical studies. A number of the public and private buildings dating from this time of early settlement remain, providing unique insights into the working and living conditions of early colonists and emancipators, including Experiment Farm, Elizabeth Farm, Parramatta Park, Old Government House within the Government Domain, the Female Factory, and the Female Orphan School. Landscape paintings, including the work of Conrad Martens (1801-1878) and John Eyre (1771-c1812),³³ capture the bush settings of the first colonial establishments, and diary records, including those of Governor Macquarie, and Elizabeth Macarthur, wife of Captain John Macarthur, also provide insights into the day-to-day life of the early colonists.³⁴

The significance of these locations and identities to the first wave of European settlement in Sydney cannot be overestimated. And yet, it is perhaps the emphasis on Parramatta's role as the 'cradle of the colony' that obscures the role of other migrant influences in its historical development. Convict transportation, labour shortages and, later, the growth of export industries, meant Sydney saw many transient workers come and go from the colony, including Chinese labourers.³⁵ Direct trading links with China were established quite early on in the life of the colony, with trading of tea and sandalwood a focus of trade between Sydney and Canton (now Guangzhou).³⁶ Likewise, there were Africans and Indians among the first convicts in Australia, and many Africans are also documented as arriving in Australia as free settlers.³⁷ The different nationalities caught up in the convict system reflected a number

of diverse political struggles being fought at the time of European arrival in Sydney. Political activists from around the world included the Scottish 'martyrs' of 1794 and 1795, Irish rebels of 1798 and 1803, trade unionists and insurrectionists from Canada, military prisoners from India and rebellious slaves from the West Indies.³⁸

1820s: Contract labour

A new wave of migration was precipitated in the 1820s by the development of acute labour shortages in the colony. A number of Chinese migrants were employed during this time on contracts as servants, artisans or general labourers, and while many of these simply fulfilled contracts and returned home, some stayed. These workers seem to have all come from Fujian province via the port then known as Amoy (Xiamen). It is believed that some may have been brought involuntarily, as kidnapping or the 'sale of pigs' was common at the time.³⁹

Partly to address labour shortages, and partly to grow the local economy, British authorities issued land grants to free settlers who could demonstrate they had the necessary resources to develop land and employ convict labour.⁴⁰ Parramatta's importance as an agricultural region within the new colony saw a number of these new Chinese free settlers take up land grants in Parramatta, while others were employed by prominent agriculturalists like Macarthur.

Australia's first permanent Chinese immigrant, Mak Sai Ying, was one of the first to arrive in Sydney as part of this scheme, one of a small number of Chinese immigrants arriving in Sydney before 1848. Having first arrived in 1818, Ying purchased land in Parramatta, and was later granted a licence for

33 State Library, www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/convict-artists-time-governor-macquarie. See also <http://archival.sl.nsw.gov.au/Details/archive/110326576>

34 Macquarie, Lachlan. Memoranda & Related Papers. 22 December 1808-14 July 1823. Original held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney. Elizabeth Macarthur played a vital role in establishing the merino sheep trade with her husband, though her importance is often overlooked. Australian Dictionary of Biography, adb.anu.edu.au/biography/macarthur-elizabeth-2387. Mitchell Library Reference: A772 103-114 ff. [Microfilm Reel CY301 Frames #115-126].

35 Records indicate that 3000 Chinese arrived in Australia prior to 1850. See www.border.gov.au/CorporateInformation/Documents/immigration-history.pdf p. 6.

36 Ex-convict and famous merchant Simeon Lord (1771 to 1840), is accredited as possibly being the first Australian to start the Pacific sandalwood trade with his schooner 'Marcia' in 1803. This was the start of the Chinese referring to 'Sydney sandalwood', which actually came from Fiji, not Australia.

37 C. Pybus 2001.

38 See www.border.gov.au/CorporateInformation/Documents/immigration-history.pdf p. 4.

39 See Michael Williams, 1999, p. 4.

40 James Jupp, (ed.) 2001, *The Australian People*.

'The Lion', a public house at Parramatta, and in 1823 married a European woman, Sarah Jane Thomson. At different times, he worked on John Blackland's Newington Estate and Elizabeth Macarthur's Elizabeth Farm. Ying, or John Shying as he became known, may have returned to his native Guangzhou (Canton) in 1832, returning back to Parramatta in 1837.⁴¹

By 1832, the program of land grants would cease, to be replaced by an assisted migration scheme that included a program for single women to be brought to the colony.⁴² This would impact significantly on the numbers of women housed at Parramatta's Female Factory. The availability of government-owned land proximate to the Female Factory also led to the construction of the Roman Catholic Female Orphan School commencing in 1840, taking its first 113 admissions by 1844.⁴³ The school would run for some 42 years and take in approximately 9,000 children during this time. The school was later repurposed as a Girls Industrial School (Parramatta Girls Home) in 1887 and would continue to operate as an institution of child welfare until 1980.

1851-1861: Chinese Immigration During the Gold Rush

The discovery of gold in Australia attracted vast numbers of new migrants to the country, and would play a key part in the early development of Australia as a multicultural nation. During the height of the gold rush, between 1851 and 1860, more than 600,000 people arrived in Australia. Of these 300,000 were from England and Wales, over 100,000 from Ireland and 100,000 from Scotland. At least 42,000 were Chinese, and another 5,000 people came from around the South Pacific, mainly New Zealand.⁴⁴ People also arrived from North America and Europe, from Germany, France, Italy, Poland and Hungary.

The majority of these arrivals – around sixty percent – went to Victoria, however the population numbers of NSW also swelled considerably during this time, increasing from 200,000 in 1851 to 357,000 in 1861.⁴⁵ Among the different immigrant groups arriving, it was the influx of Chinese arrivals that ultimately captured the greatest attention, despite the fact that only seven per cent of all new arrivals were Chinese. The highest number of Chinese people arriving in any one year was 12,396 in 1856, but by 1861, 38,258 people, or 3.3 per cent of the Australian population, had been born in China.⁴⁶

Many of those seeking prosperity in Australia through gold digging didn't succeed. While many would return to their homelands, a number of Chinese immigrants in particular took up market gardening, opened stores or became hawkers.⁴⁷ According to Karl Zhao from the NSW Heritage Office: 'For many people, especially those from the Yiu Ming district of Guangdong, market gardens were their starting point in Australia. They worked hard and saved and then opened restaurants, grocery shops, their own businesses'.⁴⁸

There is mention of 26 Chinese men are documented having settled in the Parramatta area in the 1861 census.⁴⁹ Many were classified as market gardeners, gardeners or fruiterers, having been involved in agriculture in their homeland. The history of Chinese market gardening is somewhat sketchy. Jack Brook (2010) has detailed the work of Chinese market gardeners in Parramatta in research done with the help of the Parramatta Heritage Centre. It seems the Hop Yick (or Hop Yack) garden on Darling Mills Creek in North Parramatta may have been farmed from the 1870s. Gardeners formed small companies with each man holding a share in the business.⁵⁰ Sing Choy's garden, also in North Parramatta was established in 1880.

41 See arc.parracity.nsw.gov.au/blog/2017/01/27/chinese-settlement-in-new-south-wales/; arc.parracity.nsw.gov.au/blog/2017/01/27/mak-sai-ying-aka-john-shying/.

42 See State Records Authority of NSW (2001) Federation: 1840-1879, www.records.nsw.gov.au/state-archives/guides-and-finding-aids/federation/part-1-the-road-to-federation-and-beyond/part-1-1840-1879.

43 See Parragirls website: <http://www.parragirls.org.au/roman-catholic-orphan-school.php>.

44 James Jupp (ed.) 2001. *The Australian People*.

45 Robyn Annear, *Nothing but Gold. The Diggers of 1852*, Text Publishing, 1999.

46 Government of Australia (2015) *The Australian Gold Rush*. Available at www.australia.gov.au/about-australia/australian-story/austn-gold-rush.

47 See Williams, 1999, p. 6. See also www.environment.nsw.gov.au/Heritage/aboutheritage/chinesemktgarden.htm.

48 See 'The History of Chinese Market Gardens'. City of Parramatta Heritage Centre. See arc.parracity.nsw.gov.au/blog/2017/01/23/history-of-chinese-market-gardens/.

49 Kass et al 1996, pp 144-5. Some of those Chinese arrivals from this time have been documented in detail by Jack Brook (2010).

50 There is an image of the Rocky Hall estate with neat cultivated rows from a newspaper dated 1871. Brook 2010, p. 41.

The *Cumberland Mercury* of 25 June 1884 discusses the garden 'which for a considerable time has remained relatively unproductive, has been secured by a number of Chinese who are making diligent preparations to turn it into an extensive market garden'. Land along the Toongabbie Creek has also been identified as being cultivated by 'up to 50 Chinese', appearing on a map around 1890 as 'Chinamen Gardens'.⁵¹ In the 1890s there were also several large Chinese gardens close to Sing Choys' on the Hunt and Darling Mills Creeks.⁵² Groups of Chinese gardeners are also documented on the Rocky Hall estate, North Rocks.

The 'Chinaman's Garden', in Everley Park, South Granville, represents a historical connection to this period. It was established by George Louie Gay (not his original name), who originally arrived in Melbourne in 1890, before moving to Rose Bay to start a market garden. After market gardens in Rose Bay were resumed he purchased 25 acres of land in South Granville. He and his wife Ada Gay nee Hong would continue to work this market garden until 1950 (George died in 1946).⁵³

By Federation, people of Chinese-born descent constituted a significant number across NSW, and were known to run numerous stores, import-trade companies, societies, and several Chinese language newspapers. In 1901, there were 124 Chinese men documented as living in Parramatta, and one woman.⁵⁴ Immigration restrictions introduced during Federation would see the Chinese population of NSW steadily decline, before reaching its lowest point in 1947.⁵⁵ Those Chinese who remained in Parramatta opened fruit and vegetable shops along Church Street, and played an important part in the life of the community. As one past resident recounted:

'Many of our senior citizens can remember being sent to the Chinese gardens to buy vegetables for mum'.⁵⁶

1840-1930: Assisted Migration Schemes and the White Australia Policy

During the lead up to Federation policies were in place to restrict the migration of non-Europeans to Australia. A suite of measures introduced by the new Australian Government included an *Immigration Restriction Act 1901*, a *Pacific Island Labourers Act 1901* and then a *Naturalization Act 1903*. These laws would collectively provide the legislative framework for what would become known colloquially as the 'White Australia Policy'. The policy was in part driven by the desire on the part of the British to maintain the colony as a cultural and political outpost of the British Empire: in other words, to keep it as 'British' as possible. But the influx of the Chinese and other non-Europeans to Australia during the gold rush also provoked xenophobic reactions, and was widely regarded as a threat to wages and employment.

As a consequence, the great majority of immigrants to Sydney between 1840 and 1930 were British and Irish, who were able to migrate to Australia on assisted passage schemes. The need to address the shortfall of women in an otherwise male-dominated society saw the migration of large numbers of young English and Irish women in particular. In 1888, Cardinal Patrick Moran brought a group of the Sisters of Mercy to Parramatta where they ran and taught in St Patrick's Primary School. In 1889, the Sisters founded a secondary school for girls, Our Lady of Mercy College.⁵⁷

Lebanese Migration to Parramatta

In the late 1890s, a woman named Rosie Broheen migrated to Sydney after a three-month voyage from her home country of Lebanon, leaving her husband and children behind in a country experiencing political turmoil. Given the anglicised name 'O'Brien' by a customs officer, Rosie was granted a hawkers licence and eventually saved enough money to

51 Brook 2010, p. 41.

52 Brook 2010, p. 123.

53 See www.environment.nsw.gov.au/resources/heritagebranch/heritage/chinesehistory.pdf. An account by Bill Gay of the Chinese market gardeners of Parramatta can be found in Blay 1992, p. 30.

54 Cass, Liston and McClymont 1996, p. 213.

55 Jupp 2001.

56 Blay 1992, p. 28.

57 See <http://web.stbedes.catholic.edu.au/Other/nuns/hist/rsmpr.html>.

purchase land in Parramatta.⁵⁸ Rosie is believed to be one of the first of the Kfarsghab community to settle in Parramatta. Zahra Youssef Assad Rizk is another woman from this village believed to have settled in Parramatta during the same period.

According to the Australian Kfarsghab Association, these first arrivals had been inspired to migrate by hearing stories told by returned travelers of mining operations in Broken Hill.⁵⁹ Arriving in Sydney during an era of restricted migration, they faced comparatively fewer obstacles than other non-European migrants. This may have been due to their comparatively light skin and Christian religion. Under Ottoman rule, Lebanon was part of the province of Syria, which meant immigrants who came to Australia from the area now known as Lebanon were referred to as 'Syrians'. Many obtained work as hawkers, serving an important function at a time when mail deliveries were scarce, and when visitors to remote farms were few. The hawkers would load onto their backs essential sheets, towels, brushes and household wares, and set off to walk from town to town, selling as they went.⁶⁰

The first Kfarsghab immigrants to Parramatta were known to send money back home to Kfarsghab, encouraging other village members to migrate. According to a recent interview with a descendent of one of the first immigrants, the first families from Kfarsghab were well established in Parramatta by the time of the post-war wave of migration to Sydney. By 2008 an estimated 10,000 people in Parramatta could trace their ancestry from Kfarsghab.⁶¹ Indeed, Parramatta is so important as a centre of Kfarsghabi settlement that the two-kilometer main street of the village in Lebanon has been renamed 'Parramatta Road'.⁶²

It is worth noting that since the 1960s, people from the village of Hadchit have also settled in Parramatta and there are now about 500 Hadchiti households in Westmead and Harris Park. Currently, both the

Canterbury local government area (LGA) and the Parramatta LGA have significant concentrations of Lebanese.⁶³

Monsour and Convy have reflected on historical patterns of Lebanese migration to NSW during the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century as part of the wider mass migration out of Lebanon in the late 19th and 20th century. The many reasons for this mass migration are cited as including:

Turkish oppression; the violent conflict between the Christians and the Druze in the 1860s; an exploitative feudal system; the influence of foreign missionaries who encouraged and assisted converts to pursue study abroad; the depressed state of the economy due particularly to the opening of the Suez canal in 1869 which caused a decline in the silk industry; a rapidly increasing population putting pressure on the availability of land; and reports of the success of early immigrants which then influenced relatives and friends to follow in their footsteps.⁶⁴

The Lebanese civil war of 1975-6 would provoke another wave of mass migration which would see a much larger wave of Lebanese migration to Australia. By 1976, approximately 43,000 Lebanese nationals were documented as arriving in Australia since the end of World War II, the majority arriving in 1975-1976.

Other Pre-World War II Migration

As well as Lebanese migrants, there are accounts of Greek and Maltese communities living and trading in Parramatta in the 1920s and 1930s. Wider international issues, including the expulsion of Greeks from Asia Minor and the introduction of US quotas, contributed to an increase in Greek and Italian migrants during the interwar years.⁶⁵

Bill Gay, the son of market gardener George Gay, recounts the Greek cafes of Parramatta including

58 The tract of land she bought is believed to have covered the area from Anderson Street down to Park Street. See Isabell Petrinic, 2012, <http://www.parramattasun.com.au/story/1136821/migrants-proud-past-revealed-in-pictures/>.

59 See <https://www.kfarsghab.com.au/kfarsghab-migration/>.

60 Monsour and Convy 2008a, p. 2.

61 See Monsour and Convy 2008, p. 24.

62 See <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2007/11/23/1195753310638.html>.

63 Monsour, A. and Convy, P. 2008b 'Sydney People: The Lebanese.' In Sydney Journal, 1 (2) June 2008, pp. 70-78.

64 See Monsour and Convy 2008, p. 4.

65 See www.border.gov.au/CorporateInformation/Documents/immigration-history.pdf p 19.



*Patrons seated
in the Australian
Lebanese Club
c.1953 (From the
collection of the
National Archives
of Australia)*



the Cumberland Cafe and another milk bar run by the Psaltis family. Italian families also moved into the area and established local businesses. Jim Tortas established a chain of restaurants beginning with the Bar Roma Steakhouse in Parramatta, and others went on to become poultry farmers and vegetable growers.⁶⁶ Another group of pre-World War II migrants to Parramatta were the Maltese. According to Blay, large numbers of Australian soldiers were sent to Malta during World War I to recover from war wounds, stirring interest among the Maltese in migrating to Australia in search of new opportunities.⁶⁷ Subsequently, many Maltese migrated to Parramatta to set up new businesses, and were known as particularly good agriculturalists, used to dry land and harsh conditions in their homeland.⁶⁸

As Hage captures in his study of Lebanese migrant experiences in Western Sydney:

*As each wave of immigrants to Australia settled in, little knots of eateries, evocative of the old world, served as meeting places where lonely groups of migrants chatted in their native tongue and recreated the tastes of home.*⁶⁹

Post-World War II Migration

Before 1945 Parramatta was a relatively small town on the outer fringes of Sydney, surrounded by orchards and poultry farms. It had strong links to Sydney, via an electric train service and Parramatta Road, and a number of major industrial facilities were nearby, including the Australian Gas Light Company and Clyde Engineering, an Australian manufacturer of locomotives, rolling stock, and other industrial products, based in Granville. There were relatively small groups of migrant groups such as the Lebanese, Greeks, Maltese and Chinese, however the vast majority of the population traced their ancestry back to England, Ireland, Scotland or Wales.

This landscape would change radically in the decades after World War II, with shifts in Australia's national immigration policy settings contributing significantly to Parramatta's transformation. The Australian Government committed to an expanded program of immigration based partly on the realization that Australia's isolation had made it vulnerable. According to Prime Minister Curtin, a population of at least 30 million was essential for Australia's future security. Australia also faced a critical shortage of labour to meet the demands of the post-war reconstruction of the economy. A new Department of Immigration was established in 1945 and Australia's first Immigration Minister, Arthur Calwell, declared that Australia must 'populate or perish'.

The Australian Government embarked on an international promotional campaign to encourage migration. It introduced the Assisted Migration Scheme, encouraging migration from countries of the Commonwealth by enabling adult migrants to travel to Australia for ten pounds, with children travelling for free. The predominantly British migrants who took up the scheme came to be known colloquially as 'ten pound poms'. The scheme would run for a number of decades, with 1969 becoming the peak year for the scheme when more than 80,000 people arrived in Australia via assisted passage.⁷⁰

While the original aim of the Australian Government's 'populate or perish' policy was to attract British settlers, by the late 1940s many immigrants were arriving into Australia from Eastern and Central Europe, and later in the 1950s and 1960s, from Southern Europe. Australia's drive to increase its population through immigration had coincided with the surge of displaced persons needing resettlement after World War II. The scale of the war crimes committed during this war, leaving up to ten million persons displaced, left a deep impression on countries like Australia.

⁶⁶ Blay 1993, p. 27.

⁶⁷ A newspaper article reports that by the end of World War I almost 58,000 Anzacs from the Gallipoli campaign were taken to Malta – 4,000 in May 1915 alone, after the first week of the landings – to be treated for various wounds. See <http://www.news.com.au/national/anzac-day/australias-unlikely-ww1-history-in-malta-where-anzac-troops-enjoyed-respite-recreation-and-rehabilitation/news-story/b48f7acdbd2ec8fd6845fae19046a84f>

⁶⁸ Blay 1993, p. 36.

⁶⁹ The personal experience of mostly post-war Lebanese migrants in Sydney's West has been documented by Ghassan Hage 1997, p. 8. Chapter retrieved 20 July, 2017 from https://www.academia.edu/12916012/At_Home_in_the_Entails_of_the_West_Multiculturalism_Ethnic_Food_and_Migrant_Home-Building

⁷⁰ See Museum Victoria, <https://museumvictoria.com.au/immigrationmuseum/discoverycentre/your-questions/ten-pound-poms/>

In 1947, the Australian Government established a Displaced Persons' Resettlement Scheme, and in 1954 ratified the 1951 United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. These policies saw Australia's immigration policy shift to include support for many arriving from displaced persons' camps across Eastern Europe. Southern Europeans were recruited through bilateral agreements with the Italian, Greek, Maltese, and later Turkish governments. Between 1947 and 1954, more than 170,000 displaced persons arrived in Australia from countries across Eastern and Western Europe. Of these, approximately one third were Polish.⁷¹

Immigration during this period encouraged permanent family movements of future citizens. Australia competed with other nations to attract applicants. Initial recruitment after the war subsequently led to processes of chain migration, through which early migrants helped relatives, friends and fellow villagers to come and join them. In 1955 the Department implemented 'Operation Reunion',⁷² which recognised family reunion as an important component of successful settlement.

These national immigration policies would introduce significant changes in Parramatta. An American Naval Base Hospital established in Granville Park in 1942 was used after 1945 as a hostel for migrants.⁷³ Other migrant hostels, also known as 'immigration dependents' holding centres', were located in nearby Ermington, Dundas and Villawood, and would accommodate displaced persons and recent migrants. Dundas Migrant Workers Hostel, based on the corner of Bettington Road and Kissing Point Road, Dundas (part of what is now Oatlands), was on a 12-acre block compulsorily acquired by the Commonwealth Government in 1949. The Villawood Migrant Hotel opened in 1949 initially to house arriving migrants temporarily.

However, a postwar housing shortage made it difficult for migrants to find a place of their own and

many migrants remained in Villawood for prolonged periods. Hostels such as these provide unique insights into migrant histories being the first home in Australia for many New Australians at this time.⁷⁴

Children from displaced families attended local schools such as Parramatta High School, and were encouraged to assimilate by mixing with local Australian children.⁷⁵ As described in one newspaper account, the children, the majority of whom lacked any English skills, were expected to 'just get on with it ... Even identifying the newcomers in school roles could be construed as discriminatory'.⁷⁶ It was a requirement for displaced persons to stay in Australia for at least two years after arriving, and were bound to work in whatever job they were placed regardless of prior skills and experience. In return they received hostel accommodation, unemployment benefits and facilities for learning English.

While little has been documented about this connection, it could be expected that the prevalence of factories around Silverwater and Clyde encouraged migrants arriving at Dundas and Villawood migrant hostels to settle in nearby suburbs. This is the experience of Villawood resident Tony Dockery, for example:

*After nine months of living in the hostel in 1960, Dockery and his wife had saved up enough money to move out of Villawood and into a flat in Granville.*⁷⁷

This account offers insights from Donald and Rita Roberts, two 'ten pound poms' who arrived in 1966: On arrival in Australia, they spent eighteen months at the Villawood Migrant Hostel.

*"It was a very good setup", says Donald. "You were fed and you didn't pay any rent until you had a job. When I found work as a carpenter at the Holsworthy Army Camp, we were able to afford a rented house."*⁷⁸

71 J. Collins 2011; see also Polish People and Australia, A Brief Overview.

72 Castles and Miller 2003.

73 See Parramatta Advertiser 13 August 2003, p. 29.

74 See Bethan Donnelly 2008, <http://www.phansw.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/BethanDonnelly2008.pdf>

75 See Blay 1993, p. 41. See also Parramatta High School (n.d.), <http://www.parramatta-h.schools.nsw.edu.au/documents/31068011/31075365/Fifth%20Decade.pdf>

76 "Success seemed assured for these refugees". Ruth Dewsbury, Sydney Morning Herald, 30 August 1988.

77 See B. Donnelly, Villawood Migrant Hostel, p6. A resident, Tony Dockery described the conditions as 'shocking and putrid'.

78 C. Mercer 2013, 'Fairsea Ten Pound Poms'. See <http://www.insidehistory.com.au/2013/06/public-sydney-ten-pound-poms/>

The post war period also saw changes to Sydney's metropolitan planning with the Parramatta designated as a strategic growth centre within the 1948 City of Cumberland Plan. This saw the rapid expansion of new retail and commercial premises accompanying new residential subdivisions of former orchards, market gardens and farmlands. Previously a relatively distinct township on the outskirts of Sydney, Parramatta was effectively absorbed as a key centre within a wider metropolitan landscape.

Much about the post-war migrant experience in Parramatta and its surrounds remains relatively undocumented. This may in part reflect the fact that Parramatta served primarily as a suburban centre within the wider Sydney metropolitan region. This has meant the distinctive nature and experience of migration in Parramatta has been absorbed into broader narratives of post war migration.⁷⁹ There may be personal anecdotes relating to people's experiences who are based in and around Parramatta, but there has not been a focused attempt to document the experience of different migrant groups in shaping the city's distinctive cultural diversity.

An example is the Greek community. While there was a small population of Greek immigrants present in Parramatta from 1910s, the population would expand significantly during the late 1950s. We know that between 1950 and 1973, tens of thousands of Greek migrants settled in the greater Sydney region. During this time, the Greek population of Parramatta must have also increased considerably, because in 1960, the Greek Orthodox Parish and Community of St Ioannis Parramatta was established. Prior to the creation of St Ioannis only three priests were serving the needs of the Greek community across Sydney. The establishment of St Ioannis as the fourth Greek Orthodox church in Sydney provides evidence of the important connections the Greek community had made in Parramatta during the early years of this wave of migration. There are doubtless many similar

institutions that provide unique insights into the reshaping of Parramatta during this post war period.

The anthropologist Ghassan Hage has undertaken interviews with Lebanese post-war migrants of Western Sydney to understand the relationships between food and home-making. Hage has focused on Lebanese experiences of food production and consumption as the locus of practices within which migrants try to make themselves feel at home in Australia. Rather than trivialising ethnic cultures, Hage argues that understanding how Lebanese migrants created both public and private spaces of community around food provides a window into the making of 'homely living' in Western Sydney.⁸⁰

The End of the White Australia Policy and Refugee Resettlement

In 1945, Australia's population was around 7.4 million, but by 1970 it had almost doubled to nearly 13 million. The passing of the *Migration Act 1966* increased access to migrants other than those from Europe, including refugees fleeing Vietnam, as part of the initial dismantling of the White Australia Policy under Prime Minister Harold Holt. Australia was becoming a much more diverse society, with one in three people residing in Australia either a post-war migrant, or a child of one.⁸¹ Following the election of the Whitlam Government in 1972 the White Australia Policy was formally abandoned in 1973,⁸² and new international agreements relating to immigration were negotiated with a number of Asian countries to remove any remaining barriers. The concept of Australian 'multiculturalism' first emerged during this time.

These shifts in national immigration policy would also coincide with a new humanitarian crisis following the ending of the Vietnam War. Large-scale Asian immigration began in the late 1970s with the arrival of Indo-Chinese refugees, including Vietnamese 'boat people'. Between 1975 and 1985, the

79 See, in relation to the experience of 'ten pound poms' Hammerton, J. and Thomson, A. 2005 *Ten Pound Poms: Australia's invisible migrants*. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

80 Ghassan Hage, 1997, p1. Article available at https://www.academia.edu/12916012/At_Home_in_the_Entails_of_the_West_Multiculturalism_Ethnic_Food_and_Migrant_Home-Building.

81 See Commonwealth of Australia, Department of Immigration and Border Control 2017, p. 50, <http://www.border.gov.au/CorporateInformation/Documents/immigration-history.pdf>.

82 Both Holt and Whitlam are credited with dismantling the White Australia Policy. See <http://primeministers.naa.gov.au/primeministers/holt/in-office.aspx> Accessed 20 July 2017

Department processed around 95,000 Indochinese refugees for resettlement in Australia.⁸³ By the mid-1980s, Asia was the source of 40 to 50 per cent of Australian entries.

This influx of new arrivals highlighted the need for improved resettlement programs, with growing recognition that Australia lacked appropriate support mechanisms for newly arrived refugees and other migrants. A Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence 1977 report found that there was a ‘complete lack of policy for the acceptance of people into Australia as refugees rather than as normal migrants’. It ‘recommend[ed], as a matter of urgency, an approved and comprehensive set of policy guidelines and the establishment of appropriate machinery to be applied to refugee situations’.

In 1977, the Department of Immigration opened two experimental multicultural resources centres for migrants. The first was in Melbourne, operated by the Australian Greek Welfare Society. The second was located in Parramatta, and was operated by the Department.⁸⁴ In addition to the Parramatta Migrant Resource Centre, existing migrant hostels such as the Villawood Migrant Hostel, also housed migrants from Indo China and East Timor. These migrant resource centres would play an important role over coming decades in supporting recently arrived migrants settle in Australia.

Refugee Resettlement 1990s Onwards

Australia has continued to resettle vulnerable groups on an ad hoc basis in response to specific crisis situations. In the 1990s, economic and political crises brought about new inflows from the former Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia, the Middle East and South Africa, while in the early twenty-first century many Africans (especially from Sudan) were admitted as refugees. Both skilled migration and refugee entry led to entry of dependents.⁸⁵

Australia’s Humanitarian Program has averaged 12,000 entrants per year since the early 1990s. Since the release of the Report of the Expert Panel on Asylum Seekers in August 2012, significant changes have been made: the size of the program has been increased from 13,750 – as it was in 2010-2011 – to 20,000 places. The majority of visas are granted under the offshore component, that is, through applications for asylum before arrival in Australia. Australia remains one of only about ten countries in the world that have programs to resettle refugees from countries of first asylum in collaboration with the UNHCR. The statistics show that asylum applications increased to 8250 claims in 2010, up 33 per cent from 2009. Numbers increased significantly again in 2012-2013.⁸⁶

Western Sydney has been home to a larger proportion of refugee and humanitarian entrants than inner city areas of Sydney and many other parts of Australia. This has reflected the availability of relatively affordable housing and access to migrant resource centres. Many new arrivals also seek to be closer to relatives with existing connections to the area. As one migrant centre representative has explained: ‘They hope to be supported by family ... plus there’s the perception of cheap housing and more jobs – but that’s not necessarily the case’.⁸⁷

Since 2001, refugees and migrants from countries with limited history of settlement in Australia have come to comprise the largest proportion of Australia’s humanitarian intake. These have included arrivals from African countries, Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as stateless ethnic groups. In 2005-2006 Parramatta took the fifth highest number of refugees in NSW (346 people),⁸⁸ and a total of 1,243 between 2009 and 2014. The total number of humanitarian and family reunion migrants to Parramatta between 2009 and 2014 was 4,534. Reflecting the extent and range of humanitarian crises globally, Parramatta’s diversity has continued to evolve.

83 Department of Immigration and Border Control 2015, p. 60.

84 Department of Immigration and Border Control 2015, p. 55.

85 Castles and Miller 2003.

86 Castles and Miller 2003.

87 ‘Settler aid stretched to the limit’, Parramatta Sun, 6 June 2007, p. 12.

88 ‘Settler aid stretched to the limit’, Parramatta Sun, 6 June 2007, p. 12.

Parramatta
Lanes, 2016





The Rise of Temporary and Skilled Migration

Australia remains a country in which immigration settings are tightly controlled. For much of its history, the need to grow the size of the economy by increasing available labour has been a motivating force behind national immigration policies. In the post-war period, the need to 'populate or perish' to secure Australia's future in the event of another war also coalesced with the scale of the humanitarian crisis that saw many millions in need of resettlement. Right up to the 1990s, successive immigration programs were designed to encourage migrants to permanently settle in Australia, creating new homes, growing new families and making future Australian citizens.

In the 1990s this 'settler-citizen' approach to immigration would shift. Instead of encouraging permanent migration, Australia's national immigration settings would prioritise temporary and skilled migration, with stricter controls around family unions and permanent migration.⁸⁹ This has led to the shift away from policies that encourage 'a nation of immigrants' to a 'state of transience'.⁹⁰ Temporary migration has been encouraged through a number of programs that include employer sponsored temporary migrants (457 visas), international students, graduate workers (485 visas), tourist-workers (on working holiday visas), and New Zealand citizens.

Unlike the permanent migration program, the level of temporary migration to Australia is not determined or subject to quotas or caps by Government, but is demand driven. In 2000-2001, long-term temporary migrants outnumbered permanent arrivals for the first time. These programs have seen a rise in the total numbers of migrants arriving in Australia, reflecting high levels of demand. The shift towards demand-driven temporary migration has also seen a rise in the number of people arriving from nations such as China and India, now the two biggest sources of migrants to Australia, followed by those from the UK and New Zealand.⁹¹

This shift towards skilled and temporary migration in national policy settings has led to growing interest in the range of challenges faced by temporary migrants who lack access to many of the benefits of permanent citizens.⁹² The rise in Chinese and Indian immigration has also seen concentrations of Chinese and Indian communities across Sydney. The 2016 census found 4.7 percent of Sydney's population was Chinese, higher than the proportion of Sydney born in the UK (3.1 per cent), confirming the way Sydney is now increasingly embedded within its Asian context. These shifts have had a dramatic impact on the nature of migrant experiences in Parramatta, with significant rises in Chinese and Indian arrivals over the past decade. The central Parramatta suburb of Harris Park is now colloquially known as 'Little India'. Many of Parramatta's Indian residents are very skilled migrants, with 64.1% having a degree qualification or higher (the rate among the total population in Parramatta is 26%).⁹³ As well as Harris Park, Indians tend to be concentrated in the suburbs of central Parramatta and Westmead, which tend to be dominated by denser housing patterns. They are also predominantly Gujarati speakers from the north-west of India, and tend to be young (aged between 20 and 40 years). This suggests that many Indians arriving in Parramatta in recent years have done so through temporary migration programs introduced over the past 20 years.

These recent shifts in migration patterns mean Parramatta has become increasingly diverse, reflecting many different cultural practices and associations with home, community and a sense of place. This diversity offers increasing appeal to Parramatta as a tourist and food destination. As one local chef has described it:

*"There's so much diversity in the Parramatta dining scene, and the scene has changed a lot, from having five or six main restaurants in all of Parramatta 30 years ago, to now when there must be close to 300. The variety is my favourite thing about eating out in Parramatta."*⁹⁴ ■

89 Castles and Miller 2003. See also Shanthi Robertson 2015. 'Contractualization, depoliticization and the limits of solidarity: noncitizens in contemporary Australia.'

90 Shanthi Robertson 2016. See also S. Robertson, Discover Society, <http://discoversociety.org/2016/04/05/noncitizens-down-under-how-migrant-belonging-is-changing-in-a-nation-of-immigrants/>

91 Castles & Miller 2003.

92 Robertson 2016.

93 Glenn the Census Expert', <http://blog.id.com.au/2014/population/demographic-trends/the-story-of-culturally-diverse-communities-indians-in-parramatta/> See also Neena Badhwar, N. 2012. <http://www.indiandownunder.com.au/2012/07/harris-park-the-little-india-of-australia/>

94 'Taste Parramatta' p 4. See http://www.discoverparramatta.com/__data/assets/pdf_file/0003/195249/Taste_Parramatta_2016.pdf

Enjoying Australia Day in Parramatta Park, 2017 (Image courtesy of Jay La Photography)



*A little tai chi in
Centenary Square,
Parramatta (Image
courtesy of Mark
Bowyer)*

Conclusion.



Parramatta has been decisively shaped by both the continuing presence of First Peoples and successive waves of immigration – just as the place has shaped them. More recently this has been complicated by the increasingly differentiated nature of Australia's migration flows and experiences. From labour migration, family reunions and chain migration to refugee movements and, increasingly, growing volumes of temporary skilled migration, each of these different forms of migration mean very distinct experiences of arrival and resettlement, and will continue to shape the future of Parramatta in important ways.

Parramatta is now obviously a very different kind of global city than it was at its inception. The landing at Botany Bay was an act that began two concurrent processes for the continent of Australia. Firstly, the settlement opened a new territory as a refuge for the burgeoning movement of people across the globe, particularly migrants and refugees from the Old World. The colony of New South Wales, and then the country of Australia, was born during a period in which the movement of people was changing in its form and intensifying in its social effect.

As the first inland settlement beyond Sydney Cove, Parramatta was at the centre of this process. In the period immediately after settlement, Asians and Africans came to Australia in only small numbers, even though across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they were either moving or being moved across the world in massive numbers.

By the twentieth century, and particularly after World War II, waves of migration from many parts of the world brought new complexities to Australian society and to the diverse experiences of making Parramatta home.

The second global process concerned the internal displacement of indigenous peoples. As in other places, the settlement of Australia began a process of massive displacement of indigenous peoples within the continent, including in and around the Parramatta region. Apart from the many Aborigines who were killed in the course of settlement or

died of globally transported diseases, a significant proportion of Aboriginal people in Australia became refugees in their own land. This is not a concept that most of the literature on settlement uses,¹ but in terms of the current definitions this is an appropriate term for many Aboriginal groups, even if at times they actively chose where they wanted to go. Aboriginal displacement was part of a global process of indigenous displacement – one that set up new conditions of local oppression, resistance, and connection. It did not simply wipe out such older ways of life.²

The documentation of the lives of the displaced needs much filling out, but we know that Aboriginal people continued to make Parramatta home in various ways for the entire period from 1788 to the present. Writing about the future implications of this 'displacement', the novelist Alexis Wright projects a future Australia in which climate change has brought all Australians into common peril.³ Recognition of the complexities of diversity demands closer attention to the changing nature of Australian identity, including the shift away from citizen-settlers towards more transient states of connection. This becomes increasingly pressing as countries around the world are experiencing the overt strains of multicultural difference.

Those two global processes – along with many others including the changing nature of the economy and communications – have made Parramatta what is today: a vibrant, diverse global city, aware of its mixed past, dark and glorious, ordinary and magnificent. In this context, understanding Parramatta today, and looking towards its future, means being aware of this history and finding ways of celebrating both difficult differences and the vital connections that together constitute this place. ■

1 For instance, in Tony Dingle's 1984 book, *Settling*, Aboriginal people are the subject of Chapter 1 'Hunters and Gatherers', then thereafter disappear from the narrative.
2 K.S.A. Coates, 2004; Ravi de Costa 2006.
3 Alexis Wright 2013, *The Swan Book*.

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*Meal time at Dundas
Migrant Centre c.1954
(From the collection
of the National Ar-
chives of Australia)*





Dancing at Parramasala
(Image courtesy of
Peter Dovgan)



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