

# Colonial Frontier Massacres in Australia, 1788-1930: Sources

## INTRODUCTION

In response to requests from viewers, the Bibliography for Stage 3 of the digital map of Colonial Frontier Massacres in Australia 1788-1930 has been restructured.

1. Printed and electronic sources are listed under separate headings for primary and secondary sources.
2. Consulted sources are listed under a separate heading.
3. Newspapers remain listed under a separate heading.

The research team would like to thank Professor John Fischetti for making the funds available to undertake the revision; and Le Hoang Le for preparing the revised Bibliography with flair and efficiency.

Responsibility for any errors or inadequacies is held by Lyndall Ryan.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABBREVIATIONS.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>UNPUBLISHED ARCHIVAL SOURCES .....</b>	<b>5</b>
Battye Library, Perth WA .....	5
Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales (MLSLNSW) .....	5
National Archives, Public Records Office (PRO), London.....	5
National Library of Australia (NLA) .....	6
Northern Territory Archives Service (NTAS) .....	6
Oxley Memorial Library, State Library of Queensland.....	6
Queensland State Archives (QSA) .....	6
State Records of NSW (SRNSW) .....	7
State Records of Western Australia (SROWA) .....	7
Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office (TAHO), Hobart TAS.....	9
Victorian Public Records Series (VPRS), Melbourne VIC.....	9
<b>MANUSCRIPTS, THESES AND TYPESCRIPTS.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>NEWSPAPERS.....</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>FILMS AND ARTWORK.....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>PRINTED AND ELECTRONIC SOURCES .....</b>	<b>16</b>
Primary Sources .....	16
Secondary Sources .....	21
<b>CONSULTED SOURCES .....</b>	<b>31</b>
Unpublished Archival Sources.....	31
Manuscripts, Theses and Typescripts .....	31
Newspapers .....	31
Printed and Electronic Sources .....	31

## ABBREVIATIONS

AJCP	Australian Joint Copying Project
ANU	Australian National University
AOT	Archives of Office of Tasmania
<i>BC</i>	<i>Brisbane Courier</i>
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
CCCL	Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands (NSW)
CCL	Commissioner of Crown Lands (State Records of NSW)
<i>CH</i>	<i>Christian Herald</i> (Sydney)
CLC	Crown Lands Commissioner (NSW)
COL	Colonial Secretary's Correspondence
CRES	Centre for Research in Economic Studies (ANU)
CSL	Colonial Secretary in Letters (State Records of NSW)
CSO	Colonial Secretary's Office (Hobart)
CSR	Colonial Secretary's Office, Letters Received (State Records of NSW)
<i>CT</i>	<i>Colonial Times</i> (Hobart)
<i>CTTA</i>	<i>Colonial Times and Tasmania Advertiser</i>
GSNT	Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory
HAR	Heritage Assessment Report
<i>HRA</i>	<i>Historical Records of Australia</i>
<i>HRNSW</i>	<i>Historical Records of New South Wales</i>
<i>HRV</i>	<i>Historical Records of Victoria</i>
HSNT	Historical Society of the Northern Territory
<i>HTC</i>	<i>Hobart Town Courier</i>
<i>HTG</i>	<i>Hobart Town Gazette</i>
<i>HTGSR</i>	<i>Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter</i>
<i>HTGVDLA</i>	<i>Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser</i>
<i>ICN</i>	<i>Inquirer and Commercial News</i>
<i>LA</i>	<i>Launceston Advertiser</i>
<i>MM</i>	<i>Maitland Mercury</i>
<i>MMHRA</i>	<i>Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser</i>
<i>MBC</i>	<i>Moreton Bay Courier</i>
ML	Mitchell Library – State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NLA	National Library of Australia

NSW	New South Wales
NSWLC	New South Wales Legislative Council
NT	Northern Territory
NTAS	Northern Territory Archives Service
NTRS	Northern Territory Records Series
<i>NTTG</i>	<i>Northern Territory Times and Gazette</i>
PRO	Public Records Office, London
QLD, Qld	Queensland
QPLA	Queensland Parliament Legislative Assembly
QSA	Queensland State Archives, Brisbane
QVP	Queensland Parliament, Votes and Proceedings
RAHC	Remote Area Health Corps
SA	South Australia
SAPP	South Australia Parliamentary Papers
<i>SG</i>	<i>Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, The</i>
<i>SH</i>	<i>Sydney Herald, The</i>
<i>SMH</i>	<i>Sydney Morning Herald, The</i>
SRNSW	State Records of New South Wales
SROWA	State Records of Western Australia
SUR	Lands and Surveys Office, Brisbane
TAHO VDL	Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office – Van Diemen’s Land Company Records
TAHO	Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office, Hobart
TAS, Tas	Tasmania
V&P	Votes and Proceedings
VDL	Van Diemen’s Land
VIC, Vic	Victoria
VPR	Victorian Public Records
VPRS	Victorian Public Records Series
VRD	Victoria River Downs (NT)
WA	Western Australia
WAPD	Western Australia Police Department

## UNPUBLISHED ARCHIVAL SOURCES

### Battye Library, Perth WA

Acc. 1266A Thomas Wheatley, 'Diary, 1895'. Policeman, kept by Sergeant Wheatley during patrols from Wyndham, from 6 November to 23 December 1895 [Wheatley Manuscript].

Acc. 327A, MN2575, 6895 A, 7146A, H.W. Bunbury papers, 1834-1837, 'Book of odds and ends in the Australian colonies'.

### Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales (MLSLNSW)

A63 Autobiographies, George Lang to GS Lang, 31 October 1858.

A773 Correspondence – Wallis to Macquarie, May 4, 1816.

A1715 Reverend Joseph Orton papers, 1825-1842.

A3951 John Calvert, Mineral and topographical survey of the five northern districts of New South Wales... 1845.

A7078 George Augustus Robinson papers, 1818-1924, vol. 57.

MSS 214/21-22; 214/24, William Thomas papers, 1834-1868, 1902.

MSS 3821 5-537C,22 A.E. Tonge, The Young's of Umbercollie: the first white family in South West Queensland.

A1197 NSW Governors' Despatches, vol. 8, p. 344.

A1197 Grey to Russell, May 29, 1841, NSW Governors' Despatches, vol. 16.

### Court Reports

Depositions to the Sydney Bench, October 24, 1818.

Report by Joseph Wild, district constable at Illawarra, n.d.

Maitland Circuit Court Depositions. March/April 1849.

### National Archives, Public Records Office (PRO), London

AJCP Reel no. 584 PRO CO 13 correspondence – Grey to Russell, 29 May 1841.

## National Library of Australia (NLA)

NL MS3460 Hobkirk, EO 1922, Queensland Historical Manuscripts – vol. 2, Original reminiscences of South West Queensland.

Cox et al. to Brisbane, June 3, 1824, NLA mfm N 257 Reel 6065: SRNSW CSO 4/1779.

NLA AJCP Reel M793 f278.

## Northern Territory Archives Service (NTAS)

NTRS 2224/P1 – Timber Creek Police Station copy book, 1895-1940.

NTRS 222 – Timber Creek Police Station register of reported deaths, 1895-1944.

NTRS 2710 – Borroloola Police letter books.

NTRS 2710/P1 Borroloola Police day book – memo, Foelsche to MC Power, 12 March 1892.

NTRS 3413 – Lonsdale, Patricia (Trish) – Records relating to research interviews with Centralians, 1963-1986.

NTRS 3414/Part 1, Sid Stanes, Reel 22, Side 2 (Trish Lonsdale Collection).

## Oxley Memorial Library, State Library of Queensland

Moreton Bay Book of Trials, 13 January 1842.

## Queensland State Archives (QSA)

Colonial Secretary's Correspondence (COL)

QSA COL/A2/39 Letters received re: Moreton Bay 1858, Wickham to Col Sec NSW, 21 April 1858, 1/ no 58.1492.

QSA COL/A26/1860/79, 381.

QSA COL/A26/1862/63, 823.

QSA COL/A185/1873/99.

QSA CSL micro 8 Cluny 12 Jan 1883.

Governors' Despatches

QSA Gov/23, Bowen to Newcastle, 16 December 1861.

## State Records of NSW (SRNSW)

### Colonial Secretary's Office

CSO 4/118, Extracts from 'Proceedings... relating to Major Mitchell's attack on the Aborigines', 1836.

CSO CSL (in Letters) 4/1779, Cox et al. to Brisbane, 3 June 1824.

CSO CSL (in Letters) 4/19744, micro12, Hodgson, A, Report on Aboriginal outrage, 27 October 1841.

CSO CSR (Letters received 1828) 4/1983 28/7772, Dunn to McLeay, May 6, 1828: Sadlier to McLeay, September 1828.

### Commissioner of Crown Lands (CCL) Correspondence and Reports

CCL Mayne to Thomson 23-28 February 1839, CSR 39.2519.

CCL 4/2601 Correspondence, Rolleston to Chief Secretary, 15 August and 12 October 1843.

CCL 4/2620 Bligh, Richard, CCL Gwydir to Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, 10 January 1849.

CCL 2/7634 Bligh, Gwydir to CCCL, 10 January 1849.

CCL 1841 4/2525.

CCL Wiseman to CCCL, 5 January 1856.

## State Records of Western Australia (SROWA)

CSO, AN24, Cons. 527, File 823/1895. Telegram dated 27 December 1895. Const. Inglis and party 'dispersed several tribes on Lissadell and Ord River Stations'.

CSR 647-66 SRWA, Sholl to Colonial Secretary, 12 June 1869.

SROWA, AN1, Cons. 495, Item 44: Aborigines Protection Board, Correspondence, 'Report for the Secretary of the Aboriginal Protection Board of Western Australia from Mr George Marsden on Oobagooma Cattle Station, 21 December 1896'.

SROWA, AN5, Acc. 738/3, WAPD: 'Report by Sergt Troy from R. McPhee regarding death of Fred Marriot', Derby Police Station, 3 July 1886.

SROWA, AN 5/1, Cons. 430, File 298/1887: WAPD, East Kimberley Wyndham Police Station, 'Ambush of John Durack and Party by natives, 17/11/86 to 12/12/86', report 11 January 1887; 'Report from P. C. Ritchie of the wilful shooting of 'Young Jacky' and 'Monday' by 'Nipper'. J.J. Durack implicated, December 28, 1897'.

SROWA, AN 5/1, Cons. 430, Item 1919/1812 - Alleged shooting of Aboriginal Natives at Gee Gully by G. Lovell, T. Tighe, Constable Jury, Constable Wilson and Aboriginal Natives Wilbun, Gunner and Carrangurra.

SROWA, CSR 647-66: R J Sholl to Colonial Secretary, 12 June 1869.

SROWA, AN24, Acc 527, File 2776/1888: CSO, 'Government Resident Wyndham – Natives (5) shot by PC Graham & others in April 88. Report, 'File Note BG Phillips, Commissioner of Police to Hon, Colonial Secretary, enclosing requests from Sergeant Troy and statements from PC Graham and native assistant Banjo, 2 October 1888'.

SROWA, Cons. 527, CSO, File 2773/1898, 'Clerk of Court, Wyndham – Murder of Ah Sing by Blacks – Reporting Supposed'.

SROWA, AN 5/1, Cons. 430, File 2108/1892: 'East Kimberley, Wyndham Station, Death of John Durack by Natives, Undated Note Signed 'Gurney', Det. Received by the Police Dept, 15 November 1892.' File 1801/1895: 'Wholesale killing of cattle on Margaret River, 23 July 1895; File 3548/1897: [Main Jandamarra/Pigeon Files], 'Capture of Wild Natives in the Oscar and Barrier Ranges, 10 November; 26 January 1894'.

SROWA, WAPD Cons. 430, File 1344/1897: 'PC Freeman's Journal whilst on Patrol on Ord River and Lissadell Runs', 25 December 1896; 'PC Freeman's Journal whilst on Patrol on Ord River and Lissadell Runs', 6 January 1897.

SROWA, WAPD Cons. 430, File 1345/1897: 'Journal of PC Rhatigan patrolling the Argyle, Lissadell and Order River Stations - January 17 to 22, 1897', Argyle Police Camp, 15 January 1897.

SROWA, WAPD Cons. 430, File 3688/1896: 'Copy of PC Freeman's Journal from Wyndham to Argyle Police camp, 24 October 1896.

SROWA, WAPD Cons. 430, File 3689/1896: 'Copy of PC Rhatigan's Journal for September 1896', Argyle Camp, 15 September 1896.

SROWA, WAPD Cons. 430, File 3690/1896: 'Copy of PC Rhatigan's Journal whilst travelling from Argyle camp to Wyndham from the 5 October to the 22 October 1896, 5 October 1896.'

SROWA, AN 5/2, Ace, WAPD, Cons. 430, File 1854/1915: 'Aboriginal Native Tracker "Nipper"'. From Commissioner of Police.

SROWA, AN 5/1, File 2873/1899, 'Police Constable Farley (305) and Others Report of the Murder of Aboriginal Assistant, Dicky, Speared by Hostile Natives at Durack River While Trying to Apprehend Murderers of Ah Sing', East Kimberley District, Wyndham Station, July 1899.

SROWA, AN24, Cons. 527, File 939/1892, 'Two men murdered and third wounded by natives on the Leopold Ranges' – Police Corporal Holmes, Derby [Thomas Henry; Robert Allen; William Armitage; Robert Goodridge; Thomas Yates; Robert Henry; 'Barrier Station'; Ernest Black].

SROWA, AN24, Cons. 527, File 90/1894, CSO: 'Encounter with native offenders in East Kimberley District H. Collins killed. Reporting - Sub Inspector Drewry', Journal of a trip by Sergt Brophy and party in pursuit of natives who are killing cattle on the Ord, Osmand and other rivers, Correspondence from Commissioner Phillips, J, 28 September 1893.

SROWA, AN24, Cons. 527, File 823/1895, CSO, 'Telegram from Sub-Inspector Orme to Commissioner of Police GB Phillips,' Wyndham Station, 15 December 1895.



SROWA, WAPD, Cons. 430, File 2301/96, Telegram to Commissioner of Police from Sub Inspector Ord., 7 August 1896.

SROWA, WAPD, Cons. 430, File 1808/1895, 'Wholesale killing of cattle on Margaret River,' 23 July 1895.

## Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office (TAHO), Hobart TAS

Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO) 1/321, 16 June 1829; 1/316, 24 August 1831.

TAHO CSO 1/316; 1/320; 1/323; 1/330; 1/331; 1/333, Correspondence and other papers relating to the Depredations of the Aborigines.

TAHO VDL 5/1, no. 2 Correspondence.

## Victorian Public Records Series (VPRS), Melbourne VIC

VPRS Police Magistrates Correspondence: Barton to La Trobe November 24, 1840; Blair to La Trobe July 31, 1845, in file 45/1721; 19,45/1391.

VPRS 19-21 Journal of Neil Black.

## MANUSCRIPTS, THESES AND TYPESCRIPTS

Amos, A 1823, Unpublished diary of Adam Amos, District Constable for Great Swanport, Glamorgan Historical Society, Swansea, Tasmania.

Contos, N, Kearing, TA, Collard, L & Palmer, D 1998, Pinjarra massacre site research and development project: report for stage 1, Murray District Aboriginal Association, Perth.

Copland, M 1990, A system of assassination: the Macintyre River frontier 1837-1850, bachelor's thesis, University of Queensland, viewed 26 October 2021, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/29267556>

Dixon, J 1854, 'Letter from James Dixon at Keilor Station, Victoria, 5 December 1854 to S. Wilson, Surry Lane, Battersea', letter held by Douglas Stewart Fine Books, Historical Artworks, Manuscripts, Ephemera, 720 High Street, Armadale, Vic.

Dunn, M 2015, A valley in a valley: colonial struggles over land and resources in the Hunter Valley, NSW 1820-1850, doctoral thesis, University of New South Wales, viewed 26 October 2021, <https://handle.unsw.edu.au/1959.4/55057>

Edmond, M 2013, Double lives: Rex Battarbee and Albert Namatjira, doctoral thesis, University of Western Sydney, viewed 26 October 2021, <http://handle.uws.edu.au:8081/1959.7/534259>

Gara, T n.d., 'The Flying Foam massacre: comprehensive summary of Flying Foam massacre articles', typescript in possession of the author.

Gardner, PD 2010, 'Notes on the Chimney Pot massacre in the Grampians, Western District', typescript in possession of the author.

Gardner, PD 2016, 'The firearm and massacre statistics in frontier Gippsland', typescript in possession of the author.

Gibbons, R 2014, 'Deconstructing the myth of Murdering Creek', typescript in possession of the author.

Gunn n.d., Letter, Goondiwindi and District File, Royal Queensland Historical Society, Brisbane.

Hartwig, MC 1965, The progress of white settlement in the Alice Springs district and its effects on the Aboriginal inhabitants, 1860-1894, doctoral thesis, University of Adelaide.

Hunt, SJ 1978, "The Gribble affair": a study of Aboriginal European labour relations in the north-west Australia during the 1880s, honours thesis, University of Western Australia, viewed 26 October 2021, <http://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/41009>

Lewis, D 2004, A wild history: the making of Victoria River pastoral society, doctoral thesis, Australian National University, viewed 26 October 2021, <http://hdl.handle.net/1885/10968>

McGregor, R 1985, 'Answering the native question: the dispossession of the Aborigines of the Fitzroy District, West Kimberley, 1880-1905', honours thesis, James Cook University, viewed 26 October 2021, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/9556756>

Schneider, P 2016, 'Walking and hearing Table Top Mountain: retelling the historical narrative through an audio walking tour of the summit', master's research project, University of New England.

Wilson, B 2000, A force apart? A history of the Northern Territory police force, doctoral thesis, Northern Territory University.

Wilson, J 1961, Authority and leadership in a 'new style' Australian Aboriginal community: Pindan, Western Australia, master's thesis, University of Western Australia, viewed 26 October 2021, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/13886862>

## NEWSPAPERS

*Adelaide Observer* (Adelaide, SA: 1843-1904): September 20, 1884.

*Advertiser, The* (Adelaide, SA: 1889-1931): July 16, 1928.

*Age, The* (Melbourne, Vic: 1854-1954): November 20, 1857.

*Alice Springs News Online*: August 15, 2018, viewed 26 October 2021,  
<https://alicespringsnews.com.au/2018/08/15/the-coniston-massacre-remembered/>

*Argus* (Melbourne, Vic: 1848-1957): September 13, 1883.

*Australasian, The* (Melbourne, Vic: 1864-1946): October 31, 1885.

*Australian, The* (Sydney, NSW: 1824-1848): September 23, 1826; March 3, 1827; November 8, 1836; July 17, 1838; November 17, 1838; December 1, 1838; April 13, 1847.

*Australian News for Home Readers, The* (Melbourne, Vic: 1864-1867): August 25, 1865.

*Brisbane Courier, The* (Brisbane, Qld: 1864-1933): August 10, 1872; October 27, 1874; November 14, 1884; June 9, 1868; March 9, 1927.

*Brisbane Telegraph* (Brisbane, Qld: 1872-1947): January 22, 1874.

*Centralian Advocate, The* (Alice Springs, NT: 1947-): September 5, 2017.

*Christian Herald, The* (Sydney, NSW): October 14, 1854.

*Colonial Times* (Hobart, Tas: 1828-1857): February 27, 1829; April 10, 1829; September 18, 1829; September 3, 1830; October 15, 1830.

*Colonial Times and Tasmanian Advertiser* (Hobart, Tas: 1825-1827): January 6, 1826; December 15, 1826; May 4, 11 and 25, 1827; July 6, 1827.

*Cornwall Chronicle* (Launceston, Tas: 1835-1880): July 30, 1836.

*Courier, The* (Brisbane, Qld: 1861-1864): November 25, 1861; October 4, 1862; August 10, 1872; November 14, 1884.

*Daily News, The* (Perth, WA: 1882-1950): September 27, 1893; May 21, 1912; September 5, 1929; July 8, 1926.

*Dungog Chronicle: Durham and Gloucester Advertiser* (Gloucester, NSW: 1894-1954): July 31, 1900.

*Eastern Districts Chronicle, The* (York, WA: 1877-1927): October 13, 1888.

*Evening Journal, The* (Adelaide, SA: 1869-1912): June 4, 1885; July 6, 1891.

*Evening News* (Sydney, NSW: 1869-1931): July 27, 1900; August 7, 22 and 31, 1900; September 1, 1900.

*Express and Telegraph, The* (Adelaide, SA: 1867-1922), December 18, 1905.

*Geelong Advertiser and Squatter's Advocate* (Vic: 1845-1847): August 8, 26 and 29, 1846.

*Hobart Town Courier* (Hobart, Tas: 1827-1839): March 15 and 22, 1828; April 5, 1828; October 18, 1828; November 1, 1828; December 13, 1828; February 28, 1829; March 7, 1829; April 18, 1829; June 13 and 20, 1829.

*Hobart Town Gazette* (Hobart, TAS: 1825-1827; 1830): September 23, 1826; December 16, 1826; May 5, 1827.

*Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth, WA: 1855-1910): April 1, 1868; January 5, 1870; September 28, 1894; January 4, 1895.

*Launceston Advertiser* (Launceston, Tas: 1829-1846): February 9, 1829.

*Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser, The* (Maitland, NSW: 1843-1893): June 26, 1850; August 25, 1877.

*Maryborough Chronicle; Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser* (Maryborough, Qld: 1869-1947): May 9, 1876.

*Monitor, The* (Sydney, NSW: 1826-1828): August 4, 1828.

*Moreton Bay Courier* (Brisbane, Qld: 1846-1861): April 24, 1847; April 6, 1850; April 24, 1858; March 27, 1860.

*Muswellbrook Chronicle* (Muswellbrook, NSW): October 6, 1900.

*Nepean Times* (Penrith, NSW): July 28, 1900.

*Newcastle Herald* (Newcastle, NSW: 1859-): July 25, 1964.

*North Australian, The* (Darwin, NT: 1883-1889): November 27, 1885; December 10 and 24, 1886; January 21, 1897.

*Northern Standard, The* (Darwin, NT: 1921-1955): October 16, 1931; May 29, 1934; June 1, 1934; February 19, 1932; July 10, 1934.

*Northern Territory News* (Darwin, NT): August 25, 2018.

*Northern Territory Times and Gazette* (Darwin, NT: 1873-1927): July 17, 1875; August 14, 1875; September 18, 1875; October 30, 1875; December 4, 18 and 25, 1875; January 19 and 26, 1878; February 2, 9 and 23, 1878; March 9, 1878; October 4 and 25, 1884; April 24, 1886; December 11 and 25, 1886; August 18, 1888; March 4, 1892; November 11, 1892; October 21 and 28, 1892; October 20, 1893; June 14 and 28, 1895; March 13, 1896; March 5, 1897; January 15, 1904; April 20, 1918; May 11, 1918.

*Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal* (Perth, WA: 1833-1847): September 7, 1833; November 1, 1834; July 29, 1837; March 13, 1841.

*Port Phillip Gazette* (Melbourne, Vic: 1838-1845): August 26, 1843.

*Queenslander, The* (Brisbane, Qld: 1866-1939): November 3, 1866; June 19, 1880; May 21, 1892.

*Register, The* (Adelaide, SA: 1901-1929): September 26, 1928.

*Riverine Herald* (Echuca, Vic; Moama, NSW: 1869-1954; 1998-2000): June 24, 1918.

*Singleton Argus* (Singleton, NSW): January 19, 1901.

*South Australian, The* (Adelaide, SA: 1838-1851): December 3, 1844.

*South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* (Adelaide, SA: 1836-1839, 1845-1847): April 27, 1939.

*South Australian Register* (Adelaide, SA: 1836-1931): August 1 & 15, 1840; September 12 and 19, 1840; June 25, 1874; January 28 and 30, 1878; June 11, 1885; February 12, 1886; December 9, 1886.

*Stringer, The*, April 20, 2013, viewed 24 April 2018, <https://thestringer.com.au/the-killing-times-2214#.XLBRNKQRWUm>

*Sunday Times* (Perth, WA: 1902-1954): September 13, 1908; October 20, 1918; March 13, 1927.

*Swan River Guardian, The* (Perth, WA: 1836-1838): November 16, 1837.

*Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, The* (Sydney, NSW: 1803-1842): May 5 and 12, 1805; April 6, 1806; July 29, 1824; September 16, 1824; March 22 and 24, 1827.

*Sydney Herald, The* (Sydney, NSW: 1832-1841): October 27, 1836; June 10, 1840.

*Sydney Morning Herald, The* (Sydney, NSW: 1842-1954): August 24, 1842; December 5, 1842; June 20, 1843; October 12, 1843; October 20, 1846; October 15, 1847; January 22, 1852; December 10, 11 and 12, 1861; December 3, 1869; March 8, 1927; July 23 and 28, 1900; November 24, 1900.

*Tasmanian, The* (Hobart, Tas: 1827-1839): November 16, 1827; October 31, 1828.

*Telegraph, The* (Brisbane, Qld: 1872-1947): January 22, 1874.

*West Australian, The* (Perth, WA: 1879-1954): November 14, 1892; January 8, 1895; August 21, 1896; November 14, 1892; January 8, 1895; August 21, 1896.

*Western Australian Record, The* (Perth, WA: 1888-1922): October 5, 1893.

*Western Mail, The* (Perth, WA: 1885-1954): January 12, 1895; January 9, 1914; April 2, 1915; October 17, 1935; January 12, 1895; January 9, 1914; April 2, 1915; October 17, 1935.

## FILMS AND ARTWORK

Isaac, G & Torres, M (dir.) 2002, *Whispering in our hearts: the Mowla Bluff massacre*, videorecording, Ronin Films, Canberra, <https://aso.gov.au/documentaries.whispering-our-hearts/clip1/>

Thomas, R 1985, *Ruby Plains massacre 1*, painting, Australian War Memorial Collection, <https://www.awm.gov.au/collection/C2148046>

## PRINTED AND ELECTRONIC SOURCES

### Primary Sources

Ashwin, AC 2002, *Gold to grass: the reminiscences of Arthur C. Ashwin, 1850-1930*, prospector and pastoralist, Hesperian Press, Perth.

Beard, W (ed.) 1967, *Old ironbark: Some unpublished correspondence (1817-1824) from and to William Lawson, explorer and pioneer of Veteran Hall, NSW*, Wentworth Press, Sydney.

Berryman, I (ed.) 2002, *Swan River letters*, Swan River Press, Glengarry.

Bladen, FM (ed.) 1979 [1892], *Historical Records of New South Wales, 1783-1811*, facsimile edition, Lansdown Slattery & Co., Mona Vale.

Bonwick, J 1870, *The last of the Tasmanians*, Sampson Low, Son & Marston, London.

Bonwick, J 1970 [1858], *Western Victoria, its geographical, geological and social condition*, William Heinemann Australia, Melbourne.

British Parliamentary Papers 1831, *Van Diemen's Land: copies of all correspondence between Lieutenant-Governor Arthur and His Majesty's Secretary of State for the Colonies, on the subject of the military operations lately carried on against the Aboriginal inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land*, House of Commons, vol. 19, paper 259.

British Parliamentary Papers 1839, *Australian Aborigines: return to an address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 19th July 1839 for copies of extracts of despatches relative to the massacre of various Aborigines in Australia, in the year 1838, and respecting the trial of their murderers*, House of Commons, vol. 34, paper 526.

British Parliamentary Papers 1844, *Aborigines (Australian colonies): return to an address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 5th August 1844, for, copies or extracts from the despatches of the governors of the Australian colonies, with the reports of the protectors of aborigines, and any other correspondence to illustrate the condition of the aboriginal population of the said colonies, from the date of the last papers laid before Parliament on the subject*, House of Commons, vol. 34, paper 627.

Buchanan, A 1923, 'Diary of a journey overland from Sydney to Adelaide with sheep. July-December 1839', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia: South Australian Branch*, vol. 24, no. 1922-23, 51-76.

Burgoyne, I 2000, *Mirning: we are the whale; a Mirning-Kokotha woman records life before and after dispossession*, Magabala Books, Broome.

Cannon, M & Macfarlane I (eds.) 1982, *The Aborigines of Port Phillip, 1835-1839*, Historical Records of Victoria, Foundation series, vol. 2A, Victorian Government Printing Office, Melbourne.

Cannon M & Macfarlane I (eds.) 1983, *Aborigines and Protectors 1838-1839*, Historical Records of Victoria, Foundation series, vol. 2B, Victorian Government Printing Office, Melbourne.



Carter, B 2005, *Nyungah land: records of invasion and theft of Aboriginal land on the Swan River, 1829-1850*, Black history series, Swan Valley Nyungah Community, Guildford.

Charola, E & Meakins, F (eds.) 2016, *Yijarni: true stories from Gurindji Country*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Clark, ID (ed.) 1998a, *The journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate*, volume one: January 1839-30 September 1840, Heritage Matters, Melbourne.

Clark, ID (ed.) 1998b, *The journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate*, volume two: 1 October 1840-31 August 1841, Heritage Matters, Melbourne.

Clark, ID (ed.) 1998c, *The journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate*, volume four: 1 January 1844-24 October 1845, Heritage Matters, Melbourne.

Clark, ID 2000, *The papers of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate*, volume two: Aboriginal vocabularies: south-east Australia, Heritage Matters, Ballarat.

Costello, M 1930, *To the savage land: the life of John Costello: being the adventures of a pioneer, pastoralist and explorer in Queensland and the Northern Territory*, Hesperian Press, Carlisle.

Curr, E 1965 [1883], *Recollections of squatting in Victoria, then called the Port Phillip District (from 1841 to 1851)*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Donker, R 1985, 'Grannie and Grandfather Lovett', in *Special people*, Aboriginal History Programme, Abbotsford.

Dunderdale, G 1973, *Book of the bush containing many truthful sketches of the early colonial life of squatters, whalers, convicts, diggers, and others who left their native land and never returned*, Penguin Books, Ringwood.

Durlacher, JS 2018 [1900], *Landlords of the iron shore*, Hesperian Press, Carlisle.

Eldershaw, F 1854, *Australia as it really is, in its life, scenery, & adventure with the character, habits, and customs of its Aboriginal inhabitants, and the prospects and extent of its gold fields*, Darton and Co., London.

Fletcher, BH (ed.) 1975, *An account of the English colony in New South Wales, with remarks on the dispositions, customs, manners, etc. of the native inhabitants of that country by David Collins*, 2 vols., AH & AW Reed in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society, Sydney.

Forster, WT 1872, *The wreck of the Maria*, J. Reading and Co., Sydney.

Frost, L (ed.) 1992, *A face in the glass: the journal and life of Annie Baxter Dawbin*, William Heinemann Australia, Melbourne.

Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory n.d., *Anthony's Lagoon mortuary book*, record PR 579, NT Death Index.

George, J 2002, 'Extracts from a diary belonging to James George', *Oatlands District Historical Society Chronicle*, vol. 2, pp. 10-20.

Gunson, N (ed.) 1974, *Australian reminiscences & papers of L.E. Threlkeld, missionary to the Aborigines, 1824-1859*, 2 vols., Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Henderson, J 1851, *Excursions and adventures in New South Wales: with pictures of squatting and of life in the bush: an account of the climate, productions, and natural history of the colony, and of the manners and customs of the natives, with advice to emigrants*, 2 vols., W. Shober, London.

Hercus, L 1977, 'Tales of Nadu-wDagali (Rib-Bone Billy)', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 1, part 1, pp. 53-76.

Hercus, L & Sutton P (eds.) 1986, *This is what happened: historical narratives by Aborigines*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Irby, E 1908, *Memoirs of Edward and Leonard Irby*, William Brooks & Co., Sydney.

Jack, RL 1922, *Northmost Australia: three centuries of exploration, discovery and adventure in and around Cape York Peninsula, Queensland*, George Robertson & Co., Melbourne.

Kimberly, WB (comp.) 1897, *History of Western Australia, a narrative of her past, together with biographies of her leading men*, F.W. Niven & Co., Melbourne.

Lang, JD 1847, *Phillipsland: or the country hitherto designated Port Phillip*, Thomas Constable, Edinburgh.

Lee, I (ed.) 1927, *Rosalie Hare, the voyage of the Caroline to Van Diemen's Land and Batavia in 1827-28*, Longmans, London.

Mackness, G (ed.) 1941, *Report of a journey of two thousand two hundred miles to the tribes of the coast and eastern interior during the year 1844*, Ford, Sydney.

Macknight, CC 1981, 'Journal of a voyage around Arnhem Land in 1875', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 5, pp. 135-145, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24045707>

MacPherson, A 1879, *Mount Abundance; or the experiences of a pioneer squatter in Australia thirty years ago*, Fleet Press, London.

Marshall, P (ed.) 1988, *Raparapa Kularr Martuwarra: stories from the Fitzroy River drovers*, Magabala Books, Broome.

McKay, A (ed.) 1962, *Journals of the Land Commissioners for Van Diemen's Land 1826-28*, University of Tasmania in Conjunction with the Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Hobart.

McKellar, H 1984, *Matya-mundi, a history of Aboriginal people of south-west Queensland*, Cunnamulla Australian Native Welfare Association, Cunnamulla.

McLaren, J 1956, *My crowded solitude*, 8th edn., Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

McMaugh, HA n.d., *Early settlement of the upper Macleay*, Kempsey Historical Archives, Kempsey.

Melville, H 1965 [1835], in G Mackness (ed.), *The history of Van Diemen's Land from the year 1824 to 1835, inclusive during the administration of Lieutenant-Governor George Arthur*, Horwitz-Grahame, Sydney.

Mitchell, TL 1838, *Three expeditions into the interior of eastern Australia with descriptions of the recently explored region of Australia Felix and the present colony of New South Wales*, 2nd edn., T & W Boone, London.

Mitchell, TL 1848, *Journal of an expedition into the interior of tropical Australia, in search of a route from Sydney to the Gulf of Carpentaria*, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London.

National Archives of Australia n.d., *Snapshots: uncommon lives, Dhakiyarr Wirrapanda*, viewed 28 June 2018, <http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/uncommon-lives/dhakiyarr-wirrapanda/people.aspx>

New South Wales Legislative Council 1839, *Votes and proceedings*, 19 June 1839, Government Printer, Sydney.

New South Wales Legislative Council 1858, *Votes and proceedings*, vol. 2, Government Printer, Sydney.

New South Wales Legislative Council 1872, *Votes and proceedings*, Government Printer, Sydney.

Nicholls, M 1977, *The diary of the Reverend Robert Knopwood 1803-1838, first chaplain in Van Diemen's Land*, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Hobart.

Northern Territory Government 2017, *Habeas corpus: deaths at the Fannie Bay Gaol, 1883-1972*, Heritage Branch, Darwin.

O'Brien, VT & Adams, J 1999, *Borrooloola and Gulf district deaths*, Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory, Winnellie.

Perkins, C 1975, *A bastard like me*, Ure Smith, Sydney.

Plomley, NJB (ed.) 1966, *Friendly mission: the Tasmanian journals and papers of George Augustus Robinson, 1829-1834*, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Hobart.

Plomley, NJB (ed.) 2008, *Friendly mission: the Tasmanian journals and papers of George Augustus Robinson, 1829-1834*, 2nd edn., Quintus Publishing, Hobart.

Queensland Parliament Legislative Assembly 1861a, *Report of the select committee on the native police force and the condition of the Aborigines generally, together with the proceedings of the committee, and minutes of evidence*, Fairfax and Belbridge, Brisbane.

Queensland Parliament Legislative Assembly 1861b, *Votes and proceedings*, Fairfax and Belbridge, Brisbane.

Queensland Parliament Legislative Assembly 1867, *Votes and proceedings*, Fairfax and Belbridge, Brisbane.

Read, P & Read, J 1991, *Long time, olden time: Aboriginal accounts of Northern Territory history*, Institute for Aboriginal Development, Alice Springs.

Remote Area Health Corps n.d., *Katherine East region, community profile: Minyerri*, viewed 24 April 2018, [https://www.rahc.com.au/sites/default/files/documents/community\\_profiles/Minyerri%20Community%20Profile.pdf](https://www.rahc.com.au/sites/default/files/documents/community_profiles/Minyerri%20Community%20Profile.pdf)

Russell, HS 1888, *The genesis of Queensland: an account of the first exploring journeys to and over Darling Downs: the earliest days of their occupation; social life; station seeking; the course of discovery, northward and westward; and a résumé of the causes which led to separation from New South Wales: with portrait and fac-similes of maps, log, &c., &c.*, Turner & Henderson, Sydney.

Russell, P (ed.) 2002, *This errant lady: Jane Franklin's overland journal to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839*, National Library of Australia, Canberra.

Ryan, V (ed.) 2001, *From digging sticks to writing sticks: stories of Kija women*, Catholic Education Office, Perth.

Sayers, CE (ed.) [1899] 1983, *Letters from Victorian pioneers: a series of papers on the early occupation of the colony, the Aborigines etc., addressed by Victorian pioneers to His Excellency Charles Joseph La Trobe, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor of the colony of Victoria*, Lloyd O'Neil for Currey O'Neil, Melbourne.

Schubert, S 2018, *Coniston massacre: NT police apologise for state-sanctioned massacre of Aboriginal 198people*, viewed 24 August 2018, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-08-24/nt-police-apologise-for-state-sanctioned-coniston-massacre/10162849>

Shaw, AGL (ed.) 1971, *The history of Tasmania by John West*, Angus & Robertson and the Royal Australian Historical Society, Sydney.

Shaw, AGL (ed.) 1989, *Gipps-La Trobe correspondence 1839-1846*, Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, Melbourne.

Shaw, B 1986, *Countrymen: the life histories of four Aboriginal men as told to Bruce Shaw*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Smith, PA & Walshe, K 2017, *Oral testimony of an Aboriginal massacre now supported by scientific evidence*, viewed 23 September 2017, <https://theconversation.com/oral-testimony-of-an-aboriginal-massacre-now-supported-by-scientific-evidence-85526>

Snowdon, W 2016, *Commonwealth of Australia Parliamentary debates, House of Representatives: Federation Chambers, constituency statements: Gumana, Dr Gawirrin AO*, 23 November 2016, p. 4248, viewed 28 June 2018, <http://shorturl.at/wyLT5>

South Australia Parliamentary Papers 1885, *Report on the pursuit of the Daly River murderers*, Parliament of South Australia, no. 170.

South Australia Parliamentary Papers 1899, *Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines Bill 1899*, Parliament of South Australia.

Telfer, W 1980, *The Wallabadah manuscript: the early history of the northern districts of New South Wales: recollections of the early days*, University of New South Wales Press, Kensington.

Toohey, J 1979, *Claim by the Warlpiri and Kartangarurru-Kurintji: Aboriginal Land Rights (Northern Territory) Act 1976: report by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, Mr. Justice Toohey to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and to the Minister for the Northern Territory*, Australian Government, Canberra.

- Toohy, JL 1982, *Yutpundji-Djindiwirritj (Roper Bar) land claim report*, Aboriginal Land Commissioner, Australian Government, Canberra.
- Walker, F 1863, 'Journal of Mr Walker', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. 33, pp. 2-12.
- Watkins, G 1892, 'Notes on the Aborigines of Stradbroke and Moreton Islands', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland*, vol. 8, pp. 40-50.
- Watson, F (ed.) 1914, *Historical Records of Australia, series I (vols. i-xxvi): governors' despatches to and from England, 1788-1848*, Library of Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Sydney.
- Watson, F (ed.) 1921, *Historical Records of Australia, series III (vols. i-vi): despatches and papers relating to the settlement of the states, 1803-1829*, Library of Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Sydney.
- Watson, JD 2012, *Never stand still: stories of life, land and politics in the Kimberley*, M Allbrook (ed.), Jarlmadangah Burru Aboriginal Corporation, Derby.
- Wilson, TE 1968 [1835], *Narrative of a voyage around the world*, Dawson of Pall Mall, London.
- Wood, GT 1927, *Royal Commission of inquiry into alleged killing and burning of bodies of Aborigines in East Kimberley, and into police methods when effecting arrests*, Western Australia Government, Perth, viewed 21 October 2019, [https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/catalogue\\_resources/93281.pdf](https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/catalogue_resources/93281.pdf)
- Woodward, AE 1973, *Australian Aboriginal Land Rights Commission: first report*, Australian Government, Canberra.
- Wurmbrand, E n.d., *Police service record*, Northern Territory Police Historical Society, viewed 14 September 2019, <https://sites.google.com/site/ntpmhsociety/home/our-rich-history/people/biographies/wurmbrand-erwein>
- Yunupingu, BW 1981, *A true, bad story*, Charles Darwin University, Darwin.
- Yunupingu, G 2017, 'Rom Watangu', *Final report of Referendum Council*, 30 June, Appendix D, pp. 54-55.

## Secondary Sources

- Atkinson, A & Aveling, M (eds.) 1987, *Australians 1838*, Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, Sydney.
- Austin, T 1992, *Simply the survival of the fittest: Aboriginal administration in South Australia's Northern Territory 1863-1910*, Historical Society of the Northern Territory, Darwin.
- Auty, K 2004, 'Patrick Bernard O'Leary and the Forrest River massacres, Western Australia: examining 'Wodgil' and the significance of 8 June 1926', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 28, pp. 122-155.
- Baker, G 2018, *A legendary partnership: Yolngu, Bapa Sheppy and Nandi Ella*, Historical Society of the Northern Territory, Darwin.

- Bartrop, P 2004, 'Punitive expeditions and massacres: Gippsland, Colorado, and the question of genocide', in AD Moses (ed.), *Genocide and settler society: frontier violence and stolen Indigenous children in Australian history*, Berghahn Books, Oxford, pp. 194-214.
- Bassett, J 1989, 'The Faithfull massacre at the Broken River, 1838', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 13, no. 24, pp. 18-34, doi:10.1080/14443058909386991
- Bell, D 1983, *Daughters of the Dreaming*, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.
- Bennett, G 1964, *The earliest inhabitants: Aboriginal tribes of Dungog*, Port Stephens and Gresford, Dungog Chronicle, Dungog.
- Blomfield, G 1981, *Baal Belbora: the end of the dancing: the agony of the British invasion of the ancient people of the three rivers, the Hastings, the Manning and the Macleay, in New South Wales*, Alternative Publishing Co-operative, Chippendale.
- Bottoms, T 2013, *Conspiracy of silence: Queensland's frontier killing times*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Boyce, J 2011, *1835: the founding of Melbourne and the conquest of Australia*, Black Inc. Agenda, Collingwood.
- Breen, S 2001, *Contested places: Tasmania's northern districts from ancient times to 1900*, Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies, University of Tasmania, Hobart.
- Bridges, R 1948, *That yesterday was home*, Australasian Publishing Company, Sydney.
- Brockway, M 1998, 'The Dunns of Cocaranup', *Early Days: Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, vol. 11, part 4, pp. 429-446.
- Broome, R 1994, 'Aboriginal victims and voyagers: confronting frontier myths', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol. 18, no. 42, pp. 70-77, doi:10.1080/14443059409387188
- Broome, R 2005, *Aboriginal Victorians: a history since 1800*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Broughton, A 1980, *The Mills brothers of Port Fairy*, self-published, Thornbury.
- Browne, E 1922, *A short history of Goondiwindi*, Argus Publishing, Goondiwindi.
- Burke, H, Roberts, A, Morrison, M & Sullivan, V 2016, 'The space of conflict: Aboriginal/European interactions and frontier violence on the western Central Murray, South Australia, 1830-41', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 40, pp. 145-179, doi:10.22459/AH.40.2016.06
- Campbell, AH 1987, *John Batman and the Aborigines*, Kibble Books, Malmsbury.
- Cannon, M 1990, *Who killed the Koories?*, William Heinemann Australia, Port Melbourne.
- Chambers, B 1988 [1927], *Black and white: the story of a massacre and its aftermath*, Methuen Australia, Melbourne.
- Choo, C & Owen, C 2003, 'Deafening silences: understanding frontier relations and the discourse of police files through the Kimberley police records', *Studies in Western Australian History*, vol. 23, pp. 129-156.

- Clark, ID 1995, *Scars in the landscape: a register of massacre sites in western Victoria, 1803-1859*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS), Canberra.
- Clark, ID 2011, 'The convincing Aboriginal massacre at Portland Bay, Victoria: fact or fiction?', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 35, pp. 79-109, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24046928>
- Clement, C 1989, *Historical notes relevant to impact stories of the East Kimberley*, East Kimberley working paper no. 29, Centre for Research in Economic Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.
- Clement, C 2000, *Old Halls Creek: a town remembered*, National Heritage, Mt Lawley.
- Clement, C 2003, 'Mistake creek' in R Manne (ed.), *Whitewash: on Keith Windschuttle's fabrication of Aboriginal history*, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, pp. 119-214.
- Clement, C n.d., *National Museum of Australia review of exhibitions and public programs submission*, viewed 26 October 2021, [https://www.nma.gov.au/\\_\\_data/assets/pdf\\_file/0010/562834/Dr\\_Clement.pdf](https://www.nma.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/562834/Dr_Clement.pdf)
- Clement, C & Bridge, P (eds.) 1991, *Kimberley scenes: sagas of Australia's last frontier*, Hesperian Press, Carlisle.
- Clyne, R 1981, 'War with the natives: from the Coorong to the Rufus, 1841', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, vol. 9, pp. 88-102.
- Collins, P 2002, *Goodbye Bussamarai: the Mandanji land war, Southern Queensland 1842-1852*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.
- Connor, J 2002, *Australian frontier wars, 1788-1838*, University of New South Wales Press, Sydney.
- Connor, M 2005, *The invention of Terra Nullius historical and legal fictions on the foundation of Australia*, Sydney, Macleay Press.
- Connors, L 2015, *Warrior: a legendary leader's dramatic life and violent death on the colonial frontier*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Contos, N 1998, 'The Pinjarra massacre site project: from doctoral student to community consultant', *Journal of Prevention & Intervention in the Community*, vol. 19, no. 2, pp. 13-19.
- Copland, M, Richards, J & Walker, A 2006, *One hour more daylight: a historical overview of Aboriginal dispossession in southern and southwest Queensland*, Social Justice Commission, Catholic Diocese of Toowoomba, Toowoomba.
- Cox, R 2010, *Baptised in blood: the shocking secret history of Sorell*, Wellington Bridge Press, Hobart.
- Critchett, J 1990, *A distant field of murder: western district frontiers, 1834-1848*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Critchett, J 2003, 'Encounters in the western district', in B Attwood & SG Foster (eds), *Frontier conflict: the Australian experience*, National Museum of Australia, Canberra, pp. 52-62.

- Dargin, P 1976, *Aboriginal fisheries of the Darling-Barwon Rivers*, Brewarrina Historical Society, Brewarrina.
- Davidson, I, Cook, NDJ, Fisher M, Ridges, M, Ross, J & Sutton, SA 2005, 'Archaeology in another country: exchange and symbols in north-west central Queensland', in I Macfarlane, MJ Mountain & R Paton (eds.), *Many exchanges: archaeology, history, community and the world of Isabel McBryde*, Aboriginal History Inc., Canberra.
- Durack, M 1936, 'Golden days of the Kimberley', *Walkabout*, April 1, pp. 35-36.
- Durack, M 2008 [1959], *Kings in grass castles*, Vintage Classics, Sydney.
- Durack, MP 1933, 'Pioneering in the East Kimberley', *Early Days: Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, vol. 2, part 14, pp. 1-46.
- Dymock, J 1991, *Cornerstones to the Northern Territory's pastoral history*, National Trust of Australia, Darwin.
- Dyson, MR 2002, *Flying Foam massacre: a grey era in the history of the Burrup Peninsular (sic): British justice or downright vengeful bloody murder*, Karratha CAD Centre, Karratha.
- Elder, B 2003, *Blood on the wattle: massacres and maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians since 1788*, 3rd edn., New Holland Publishers, Frenchs Forest.
- Evans, R 1999, 'The Mogwi take Mi-an-jin: race relations and the Moreton Bay penal settlement, 1824-1842', in *Fighting words: writing about race*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane, pp. 48-78.
- Evans, R 2007, *A history of Queensland*, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne.
- Farwell, G 1950, *Land of mirage: the story of man, cattle and camels on the Birdsville Track*, Cassell, London.
- Fels, MH 1988, *Good men and true: the Aboriginal police of the Port Phillip district 1837-1853*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Ford, RL 1995, *William's river: the land and its people*, self-published, Clarence Town.
- Forrest, K 1996, *The challenge and the chance: the colonisation and settlement of north-west Australia 1861-1914*, Hesperian Press, Carlisle.
- Foster, R, Hosking, R & Nettelbeck, A 2001, *Fatal collisions: the South Australian frontier and the violence of memory*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide.
- French, M 1989, *Conflict on the Condamine: Aborigines and the European invasion*, Darling Downs Institute, Toowoomba.
- Gage, N 2017, *Waterloo Bay massacre commemorated 170 years later with memorial*, viewed 9 June 2017, <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-05-19/waterloo-bay-massacre-commemorated-170-years-later-with-memorial/8539416>



- Gara, TJ 1983, 'The Flying Foam massacre: an incident on the northwest frontier, Western Australia', in M Smith (ed.), *Archaeology at ANZAAS Perth*, Archaeology Department, Western Australian Museum, Perth, pp. 86-94.
- Gardner, PD 1996, 'Some notes on tribal warfare and an event at Tambo Crossing', *Gippsland Heritage Journal*, vol. 19, pp. 49-51.
- Gardner, PD 2001, *Gippsland massacres: the destruction of the Kurnai Tribes 1800-1860*, 3rd edn., Ngarak Press, Ensay.
- Genever, G 1996, *Failure of justice*, Eachem Historical Society, Eachem.
- Gifford, P 2018, 'The battle of Minderoo', *Studies in Western Australian History*, no. 32, pp. 89-94.
- Green, N 1981, 'Aborigines and white settlers', in T Stannage (ed.), *A new history of Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, pp. 72-173.
- Green, N 1995, *The Forrest River massacres*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle.
- Green, N 2003, 'Windschuttle's debut', in R Manne (ed.), *Whitewash on Keith Windschuttle's fabrication of Aboriginal history*, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, pp. 187-198.
- Gumana, B n.d., *Biography*, viewed 28 June 2018, <https://www.aboriginal-bark-paintings.com/birrikidji-gumana/>
- Gunson, N 1968, *The good country: a history of the Cranbourne Shire*, FW Cheshire, Melbourne.
- Hall, T 1925, *The early history of Warwick District and the pioneers of the Darling Downs*, self-published, Toowoomba.
- Hamann, J 1973, 'The Coorong massacre: a study in early race relations in South Australia', *Flinders Journal of History and Politics*, vol. 3, pp. 1-9.
- Harris, J 2003, 'Hiding the bodies: the myth of the humane colonisation of Aboriginal Australia', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 27, pp. 79-104, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24054261>
- Headon, D 1988, 'The coming of the dingoes', in ES Nelson (ed.), *Connections: essays on black literatures*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, pp. 25-40.
- Kelly, R & Evans, N 1985, 'The McKenzie massacre on Bentinck Island', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 9, part 1, pp. 44-58.
- Kelsey, DE 1975, *The shackle: a story of the far north Australian bush*, Lynton Publications, Adelaide.
- Kent, D 2006, 'Frontier conflict and Aboriginal deaths: how do we weigh the evidence?', *Journal of Australian Colonial History*, vol. 8, pp. 35-41.
- Kiddle, M 1961, *Men of yesterday: a social history of the western district of Victoria, 1834-1890*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Kimber, RG 1991, *The end of the bad old days: European settlement in Central Australia 1871-1894*, Occasional paper no. 25, State Library of the Northern Territory, Darwin.

- Kimber, RG 2003, *Real true history: the Coniston massacre*, viewed 29 September 2018, <https://www.alicespringsnews.com.au/1032.html>
- Kimberley Languages Resource Centre (ed.) 1996, *Moola Bulla: in the shadow of the mountain*, Magabala Books, Broome.
- Lack, C 1967, *One hundred years young: Bundaberg, the city of charm, 1867-1967*, Bundaberg News Media, Bundaberg.
- Lamond, WH 1971, 'Five years in the Kimberley', *Early Days: Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, vol. 7, part 3, pp. 27-49.
- Landgrafft, T 2015, *Memorial launch prompts reconciliation between farming and Indigenous communities in regional Western Australia*, viewed 20 September 2021, <https://abc.net.au/news/rural/2015-05-22/kukenarup-memorial-openedin-ravensthorpe/6490331>
- Lauer, P (ed.) 1977, *Fraser Island*, Occasional papers in anthropology series, no. 8, Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland, St Lucia.
- Laurie, A 1959, 'The black war in Queensland', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 155-173.
- Lennox, G 1990, 'The Van Diemen's Land Company and the Tasmanian Aborigines: a reappraisal', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, vol. 37, no. 4, pp. 165-208.
- Lewis, D 2012, *A wild history: Life and death on the Victoria River frontier*, Monash University Publishing, Melbourne.
- Lewis, D 2018, *The Victoria River doomsday book*, self-published, [http://www.territorystories.nt.gov.au/jspui/bitstream/10070/305617/1/Victoria\\_River\\_District\\_Doomsday\\_Book\\_0.pdf](http://www.territorystories.nt.gov.au/jspui/bitstream/10070/305617/1/Victoria_River_District_Doomsday_Book_0.pdf)
- Lydon, J 1996, "'No moral doubt..." Aboriginal evidence and the Kangaroo Creek poisoning, 1847-1849', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 20, pp. 151-175, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24046133>
- Markus, A 1974, *From the barrel of a gun, the oppression of the Aborigines, 1860-1900*, Victorian Historical Association, Melbourne.
- Massola, A 1969, *Journey to Aboriginal Victoria*, Rigby, Adelaide.
- McDonald, L 1981, *Rockhampton: a history of city and district*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.
- McFarlane, I 2003, 'Cape Grim', in R. Manne (ed.), *Whitewash: on Keith Windschuttle's fabrication of Aboriginal History*, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, pp. 277-298.
- McGregor, R 1993, 'Law-enforcement or just force? Police actions in two frontier districts', in H. Reynolds (ed.), *Race relations in north Queensland*, James Cook University, Townsville, pp. 63-82.
- McInnes, A 1983, 'The wreck of the "Charles Eaton"', paper read at the Royal Society of Queensland, 24 February 1983, *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland, 1983*, pp. 21-50.

- McKenna, M 2016, *From the edge: Australia's lost histories*, The Miegunyah Press, Melbourne University Publishing, Melbourne.
- Medcalf, R 1993, *Rivers of blood: massacres of the Northern Rivers Aborigines and their resistance to the white occupation, 1838-1870*, 2nd edn., Northern Star Publishing, Lismore.
- Merlan, F 1978, "'Making people quiet" in the pastoral north: reminiscences of Elsey Station', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 2, no. 1, pp. 71-106.
- Milliss, R 1980, *City on the Peel: a history of Tamworth and district, 1818-1976*, Reed, Terrey Hills.
- Milliss, R 1992, *Waterloo Creek: the Australia Day massacre of 1838, George Gipps and the British conquest of New South Wales*, McPhee Gribble, Penguin Books Australia, Melbourne.
- Morrison, J n.d., *Australian frontier conflicts (1788-1940s)*, viewed 24 April 2018, <http://www.australianfrontierconflicts.com.au>
- Muecke, S, Rumsey, A & Wirrunmurra, B 1985, 'Pigeon the outlaw: history as texts', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 9, no. 1-2, pp. 81-100.
- Muir, C 2014, *The broken promise of agricultural progress: an environmental history*, Routledge, New York.
- Mullins, S 1994, *Torres Strait - a history of colonial occupation and culture contact 1864-1897*, Central Queensland University Press, Rockhampton.
- Mulvaney, DJ 1989, *Encounters in place: outsiders and Aboriginal Australians 1606-1985*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.
- Mulvaney, DJ 2003, 'Barrow Creek, northern Australia, 1874', in B Attwood & SG Foster (eds.), *Frontier conflict: the Australian experience*, National Museum of Australia, Canberra, pp. 44-51.
- Nettelbeck, A & Foster, R 2007, *In the name of the law: William Willshire and the policing of the Australian frontier*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town.
- Nettelbeck, A 2004, 'Writing and remembering frontier conflict: the rule of law in 1880s central Australia', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 28, pp. 190-206.
- Niewøjt, L 2010, 'The massacre of the Gadubanud at Aire River', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol. 81, no. 2, pp. 193-213.
- Northern Territory Government 1994, *The Shackle heritage assessment report*, Heritage Branch, Darwin.
- Northern Territory Government 1995, *Barrow Creek heritage assessment report*, Heritage Branch, Darwin.
- Northern Territory Government 2014, *The Shackle heritage assessment report*, Heritage Branch, Darwin.
- Northern Territory Government 2015, *Roper River Police Station heritage assessment report*, Heritage Branch, Darwin.

- Owen, C 2003, "The police appear to be a useless lot up here": law and order in the East Kimberley 1884-1905', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 27, pp. 105-30.
- Owen, C 2016, *'Every mother's son is guilty': policing the Kimberley frontier in Western Australia 1882-1905*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands.
- Pashley, AR 2002, *A colonial pioneer: the life and times of John Nicol Drummond, policeman, magistrate, pastoralist*, Educant, Cloverdale.
- Pederson, H & Woorunmurra, B 1995, *Jandamarra and the Bunuba resistance*, Magabala Books, Broome.
- Pepper, P & De Araugo, T 1985, *What did happen to the Aborigines of Victoria, volume 1: the Kurnai of Gippsland*, Hyland House, Melbourne.
- Perrin, L 1998, *Cullin-la-Ringo: the triumph and tragedy of Tommy Wills*, self-published, McDowall.
- Pope, A 1989, *Resistance and retaliation Aboriginal-European relations in early colonial South Australia*, Heritage Action, Bridgewater.
- Randell, JO 1982, *Pastoral settlement in Northern Victoria, volume II, the Campaspe District*, Chandos, Melbourne.
- Read, P & Japaljarri, EJ 1978, 'The price of tobacco: the journey of the Warlmala to Wave Hill, 1928', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 2, pp. 140-148.
- Reece, RHW 1974, *Aborigines and colonists: Aborigines and colonial society in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s*, Sydney University Press, Sydney.
- Reid, G 1981, 'From hornet bank to Cullin-la-Ringo', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol. 11, no. 2, pp. 62-82.
- Reid, G 1990, *A picnic with the natives: Aboriginal-European relations in the Northern Territory to 1910*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Richards, J 2008, *The secret war: a true history of Queensland's native police*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.
- Roberts, T 2005, *Frontier justice: a history of the Gulf country to 1900*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.
- Roberts, T 2009, *The brutal truth: what happened in the Gulf country*, viewed 24 April 2018 and 14 September 2019, <https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2009/november/1330478364/tony-roberts/brutal-truth>
- Rogers, TJ & Bain, S 2016, 'Genocide and frontier violence in Australia', *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 83-100, doi:10.1080/14623528.2016.1120466
- Ross, H (ed.) 1989, *Impact stories of the east Kimberley*, East Kimberley working paper no. 28, trans. E Bray, Centre for Research in Economic Studies, Australian National University, Canberra.

- Rosser, B 1990, *Up rode the troopers: the black police in Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.
- Rothwell, N 2007, *Another country*, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne.
- Ryan, L 2003, 'Waterloo Creek, northern New South Wales, 1838', in B Attwood & SG Foster (eds.), *Frontier conflict: the Australian experience*, National Museum of Australia, Canberra, pp. 33-43.
- Ryan, L 2008, 'Massacre in the Black War in Tasmania, 1823-1834: a case study of the Meander River region, June 1827', *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 479-99.
- Ryan, L 2012, *Tasmanian Aborigines: a history since 1803*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Scates, B 1989, 'A monument to murder: celebrating the conquest of Aboriginal Australia', *Studies in Western Australian History*, vol. 10, pp. 21-31.
- Schlunke, K (ed.) 2005, *Bluff rock: autobiography of a massacre*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle.
- Shakespeare, N 2004, *In Tasmania*, Knopf, Random House, Sydney.
- Sharp, N 1992, *Footprints: along the Cape York sandbeaches*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Shaw, AGL 1996, *A history of the Port Phillip District: Victoria before separation*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Shaw, B 1981, *My country of the Pelican Dreaming: the life of an Australian Aborigine of the Gadjerrong, Grant Ngabidji, 1904-1977*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Shaw, B (ed.) 1983, *Banggaiyerri: the story of Jack Sullivan as told to Bruce Shaw*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.
- Shaw, B 1998, 'Is the pen mightier than the word?': a comparison between oral and written sources on the East Kimberley bushranger, Major, Curtin Indigenous Research Centre, Perth.
- Shaw, B & McDonald, S 1978, 'They did it themselves: reminiscences of seventy years', *Aboriginal History*, vol 2., no 2, pp. 122-139.
- Shay, J & Shay, B 2012, *Battle camp fact or fiction? an investigative review of the altercation that occurred on the first rush from Endeavour River to Palmer Gold Fields, 1873*, self-published, Cooktown.
- Skinner, LE 1975, *Police of the pastoral frontier: native police, 1849-59*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia.
- Smethwick, CA 2003, 'Conflict along the Murray', in J Henwood & M Swann (eds.), *Early history of the Upper Murray*, John Henwood, Camberwell, pp. 2-8.
- Smith, P 2016, *Purrkuji: massacre on Sturt Creek, report of the history, archaeological survey and forensic investigation*, viewed 18 July 2018,  
[http://www.flinders.edu.au/ehl/fms/archaeology\\_files/research/Kimberley%20Frontier/Sturt%20Creek%20-%20Final%20Report%20March%202016.pdf](http://www.flinders.edu.au/ehl/fms/archaeology_files/research/Kimberley%20Frontier/Sturt%20Creek%20-%20Final%20Report%20March%202016.pdf)

- Smith, PA 2000, 'Into the Kimberley: the invasion of the Sturt Creek Basin (Kimberley Region, Western Australia) and evidence of Aboriginal resistance', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 24, pp. 62-74.
- Sutton, C 2019, *Grisly secret of cattlemen who kept '40 pairs of ears' as trophies in outback horror house*, viewed 8 July 2019, <https://www.news.com.au/lifestyle/real-life/grisly-secret-of-cattlemen-who-kept-40-pairs-of-ears-as-trophies-in-outback-horror-house/news-story/17022ba7691314b4cff5aadb8511936>
- Tardif, P 2003a, *John Bowen's Hobart: the beginnings of European settlement in Tasmania*, Tasmanian Historical Research Association, Hobart.
- Tardif, P 2003b, 'Risdon Cove', in R Manne (ed.), *Whitewash: on Keith Windschuttle's fabrication of Aboriginal History*, Black Inc. Agenda, Melbourne, pp. 218-224.
- Thomas, M 2012, *The many worlds of RH Mathews: in search of an Australian anthropologist*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Trangmar, ER n.d. [1956], *The Aborigines of far Western Victoria*, self-published, Coleraine.
- Traynor, S 2016, *Alice Springs: from singing wire to iconic outback town*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide.
- Trudgen, R 2000, *Why warriors lie down and die*, Why Warriors Pty Ltd, Nhulunbuy, NT.
- Turbet, P 2011, *The first frontier: the occupation of the Sydney region, 1788-1816*, Rosenberg Publishing, Kenthurst.
- Ucko, P & Layton, R 1999, *The archaeology and anthropology of landscape: shaping your landscape*, Routledge, London.
- Walker, R 1966, *Old new England*, Sydney University Press, Sydney.
- Watson, PL 1998, *Frontier lands and pioneer legends: how pastoralists gained Karuwali land*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.
- Webb, RJ 1922, *'The rising sun': a history of Moree and district*, North West Champion Moree Centenary Celebrations Committee, Moree.
- White, J 2017, "'Paper talk': testimony and forgetting in south-west Western Australia', *Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature*, viewed 21 October 2019, <https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/JASAL/article/view/12148/11483>
- Wilson, B & O'Brien, J, 2003, "'To infuse a universal terror": a reappraisal of the Coniston killings', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 27, pp. 59-78.
- Yunupingu, G 2016, *Rom Watangu*, viewed 28 June 2018, <https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2016/july/1467295200/galarrwuy-yunupingu/rom-watangu>

## CONSULTED SOURCES

### Unpublished Archival Sources

National Library of Australia (NLA)

NL MS3460 Hobkirk, EO 1922, Queensland Historical Manuscripts – vol. 2, Original reminiscences of SouthWest Queensland.

Queensland State Archives (QSA) - Lands and Surveys Office (SUR)

QSA SUR/A23/1864/62.

### Manuscripts, Theses and Typescripts

Gardner, PD 2004, 'Richard Broome and the statistics of frontier conflict', typescript in possession of the author.

### Newspapers

*The Advertiser* (Adelaide: SA: 1889-1931): December 19, 1905; April 24, 1906; June 20, 1907; April 2, 1915.

*Newcastle Herald* (Newcastle, NSW: 1859-): September 19, 1967.

### Printed and Electronic Sources

Allen, T & Queen, S 2015, 'Beyond the map: unpacking critical cartography in the digital humanities', *Visible Language*, vol. 49, no. 3, pp. 78-99.

Arkley, L 2000, *The hated protector: the story of Charles Wightman Sievwright, Protector of Aborigines 1839-42*, Orbit Press, Mentone.

Australian Parliament 1978, *Claim by the Warlpiri and Kartangarurru-Kurintji / report by the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, Mr. Justice Toohey, to the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs and to the Minister for the Northern Territory*, Parliamentary paper no. 225/1978, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

Billis, RV & Kenyon, AS 1974, *Pastures new: an account of the pastoral occupation of Port Phillip*, Stockland Press, Melbourne.

Blomfield, G 1986, *Baal Belbora: the end of the dancing*, Alternative Publishing Co-operative, Sydney.

- Bolton, GC 1963, *A thousand miles away: a history of north Queensland to 1920*, Australian National University Press, Canberra.
- Brock, P 1993, *Outback ghettos: a history of Aboriginal institutionalization and survival*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.
- Broughton, G 1995 [1965], *Turn again home*, Jacaranda Press, Milton.
- Critchett, J 1998, *Untold stories: memories and lives of Victorian Koories*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Gilmore, M 1935, *More recollections*, Angus & Robertson, Sydney.
- Hagan, R 2013, 'Malaluba's grandfather survivor of their people', *First Nations Telegraph*, 1 October, p. 1.
- Huggonson, D 1990, 'Cecil "Ngaka" Ebsworth Wongkumana man of the Corner Country', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, vol. 14, no. 3, pp. 113-118.
- James, JS 1969, *The Vagabond papers*, edited and with an Introduction by M. Cannon, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.
- Lack, C 1964, *The rifle and the spear*, Fortitude Press, Brisbane.
- Lewis, D 1995, *Beyond the big run: life in Australia's last frontier*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.
- Lewis, D 2005, "'Invaders of a peaceful country": Aborigines and explorers on the lower Victoria River, Northern Territory', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 29, pp. 23-45.
- Loos, N 1993, 'A chapter of contact: Aboriginal European relations in North Queensland, 1606-1992', in H Reynolds (ed.), *Race relations in North Queensland*, Department of History & Politics, James Cook University, Townsville, pp. 4-39.
- McFarlane, L 1976, *Land of contrasts: recollections*, WR Smith & Paterson, Fortitude Valley.
- Monticone, J 1999, *Healing the land: a closer look at the needs of the Aboriginal (re)conciliation movement*, Healing the Land, Canberra.
- Nettelbeck, A 2013, "'Equals of the white man": prosecution of settlers for violence against Aboriginal subjects of the Crown, colonial Western Australia', *Law and History Review*, vol. 31, no. 2, pp. 355-90.
- Organ, M (ed.) 1990, *A documentary history of the Illawarra & South Coast Aborigines 1770-1850*, Aboriginal Education Unit, University of Wollongong, Wollongong.
- Orsted-Jensen, R 2011, *Frontier history revisited – colonial Queensland and the 'history war'*, Lux Mundi Publishing, Brisbane.
- Pearson, M 1984, 'Bathurst plains and beyond: European colonisation and Aboriginal resistance', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 8, pp. 63-79.



Plomley, NJB (ed.) 1987, *Weep in silence: a history of the Flinders Island Aboriginal settlement: with the Flinders Island journal of George Augustus Robinson, 1835-1839*, Blubber Head Press, Hobart.

Plomley, NJB (ed.) 1991, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land: being a reconstruction of his 'lost' book on their customs and habits, and on his role in the roving parties and the black line*, Blubber Head Press, Hobart.

Plomley, NJB 1992, *The Aboriginal/settler clash in Van Diemen's Land, 1803-1831*, Occasional paper no. 6, Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery, Launceston.

Pope, A, 2011, *One law for all? Aboriginal people and criminal law in early South Australia*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Reid, G 1982, *A nest of hornets: the massacre of the Fraser family at Hornet Bank Station, Central Queensland, 1857, and related events*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Roth, W 1905, *Royal Commission on the condition of the natives*, report no. 5/1905 6th/1st 1905 – vol. I, Parliament of Western Australia, viewed 21 October 2019, [http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/intranet/libpages.nsf/WebFiles/Royal+Commissions+-+Report+of+the+Royal+Commission+on+the+condition+of+the+natives/\\$FILE/Report+of+the+Royal+Commission+on+the+condition+of+the+natives.pdf](http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/intranet/libpages.nsf/WebFiles/Royal+Commissions+-+Report+of+the+Royal+Commission+on+the+condition+of+the+natives/$FILE/Report+of+the+Royal+Commission+on+the+condition+of+the+natives.pdf)

Ryan, L 2006, 'Massacre in Tasmania: how do we know?', *Australia and New Zealand Law and History ejournal*, viewed 27 April 2018, [http://www.anzlhsejournal.auckland.ac.nz/pdfs\\_2006/Paper\\_6\\_Ryan.pdf](http://www.anzlhsejournal.auckland.ac.nz/pdfs_2006/Paper_6_Ryan.pdf)

Savill, V c.1972, *A tourist guide to the local sites and facilities of the southwestern region of Victoria and the Mount Gambier region of South Australia*, Western Wonderland Regional Travel Association, Heywood.

Shaw, B (ed.) 1982, *When the dust come in between; Aboriginal viewpoints in the East Kimberley prior to 1982*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Slaughter, C 1901, 'The Aboriginal natives of north-west Western Australia and the administration of justice', *Westminster Review*, vol. CLVI, no. 6, pp. 411-426.

Smythe, RB 1878, *The Aborigines of Victoria: with notes relating to the habits of the natives of other parts of Australia*, Victorian Government Printer, Melbourne.

St. Pierie, W 1969, *History of south-west Queensland*, Warrego and South West Queensland Historical Society collection of papers, vol. 1, Cunnamulla and District.

Stevens, C 1994, *White man's Dreaming Killalpaninna mission 1866-1915*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Watton, N 1989, 'Where rivers feed a creek', *Australian Shooters Journal*, July, pp. 34-35.

© Ryan, Lyndall; Debenham, Jennifer; Fairbairn, Hedy; Gilbert, Stephanie; Le, Le Hoang; Richards, Jonathan; Smith, Robyn; Owen, Chris; Pascoe, Bill; Anders, Robert J; Brown, Mark; Price, Daniel; Newley, Jack; Usher, Kaine, 2021. (Stage 3 team: Ryan, Lyndall; Debenham, Jennifer; Fairbairn, Hedy; Gilbert, Stephanie; Le, Le Hoang; Smith, Robyn; Owen, Chris; Pascoe, Bill; Price, Daniel; Usher, Kaine.) The information and data on the Colonial Frontier Massacres website and in this document may be re-used in accordance with the [Terms of Use](#).

This research was funded by the Australian Government through the [Australian Research Council](#), PROJECT ID: DP140100399.

<http://hdl.handle.net/1959.13/1340762>