## **Colonial Frontier Massacres in Australia** 1788-1930

## **Sources**

© Ryan, Lyndall; Debenham, Jennifer; Pascoe, Bill; Smith, Robyn; Owen, Chris; Richards, Jonathan. The information and data on this site may only be re-used in accordance with the Terms Of Use.

The project was funded by the Australian Government through the Australian Research Council, PROJECT ID: DP140100399. http://hdl.handle.net/1959.13/1340762

Colonial Frontier Massacres in Australia 1788-1930	0
Sources	0
Abbreviations	1
Unpublished Sources	2
Archival Sources	2
Battye Library, Perth, Western Australia	2
Mitchell Library - State Library of New South Wales (ML SLNSW), Sydney	2
National Library of Australia (NLA), Canberra	3
Northern Territory Archives Services (NTAS), Darwin and Alice Springs	3
Oxley Memorial Library, State Library Of Queensland, Brisbane	4
Queensland State Archives (QSA), Brisbane	4
State Library Of Victoria (SLV) - La Trobe Library, Melbourne	6
State Records of New South Wales (SRNSW)	6
State Records Of Western Australia (SROWA), Perth	7
Tasmanian Archives And Heritage Office (TAHO), Hobart	9
Victorian Public Records Series (VPRS), Melbourne	9
Manuscripts, Reports, Theses and Typescripts	10
Published Sources	13
Newspapers	13
Films and Artworks	18
Printed and Electronic Sources	19

#### **Abbreviations**

AGPS Australian Government Publishing Service

AJCP Australian Joint Copying Project, National Archives London.

ANU Australian National University
AOT Archives of Office of Tasmania
APB Aborigines Protection Board

BC Brisbane Courier

BCHAR Barrow Creek Heritage Assessment Report, (NT)

BPP British Parliamentary Papers
CCL Commissioner of Crown Lands

CCCL Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands (NSW)

CH Christian Herald (Sydney)

CLC Crown Lands Commissioner (NSW)

COL Colonial Secretary (Correspondence) Queensland State Archives

CRES Centre for Research in Economic Studies (ANU)

C&RE&NEA Clarence and Richmond Examiner and New England Advertiser

CSL Colonial Secretary In Letters (State Records of NSW)

CSO Colonial Secretary's Office (Hobart) Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office CSO Colonial Secretary's Office (Sydney) State Records of New South Wales

CSR Colonial Secretary's Office, Letters Received, State Records of New South Wales

CT Colonial Times (Hobart)

CTTA Colonial Times and Tasmanian Advertiser
GA & SA Geelong Advertiser and Squatter's Advocate
GSNT Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory

HAR Heritage Assessment Report
HRA Historical Records of Australia

HRNSW Historical Records of New South Wales

HRV Historical Records of Victoria

HSNT Historical Society of the Northern Territory

HTC Hobart Town Courier
HTG Hobart Town Gazette

HTGSR Hobart Town Gazette and Southern Reporter

HTGVDLA Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser

ICN Inquirer and Commercial News

LA Launceston Advertiser
MBC Moreton Bay Courier

ML Mitchell Library – State Library of New South Wales, Sydney

MM Maitland Mercury

MMHRGA Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser

MMSKA Mackay Mercury and South Kennedy Advertiser

NAA National Archives of Australia
NLA National Library of Australia

NSW New South Wales

NSWLC V&P New South Wales Legislative Council, Votes & Proceedings

NT Northern Territory

NTDB Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography
NTRS Northern Territory Records Series

NTRS Northern Territory Records Series

NTTG Northern Territory Times and Gazette

PPD Port Phillip District, (Victoria)
PRO Public Records Office, London

QLD Queensland

QP V&P LA Queensland Parliament, Votes and Proceedings, Legislative Assembly

QPLA Queensland Parliament, Legislative Assembly

QSA Queensland State Archives, Brisbane

QVP Queensland Parliament, Votes and Proceedings

RAHC Remote Area Health Corps

SA South Australia

SACWM South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail SAPP South Australia Parliamentary Papers

SG Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, The

SH Sydney Herald, The

SHAR Shackle Heritage Assessment Report

SMH Sydney Morning Herald

SRNSW State Records of New South Wales SROWA State Records Office of Western Australia

SUR Lands and Surveys Office, Brisbane, Queensland State Archives

TAHO Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office, Hobart

TAHO VDL Tasmanian Archives and Heritage Office – Van Diemen's Land Company Records

TAS Tasmania VIC Victoria

V&P Votes and Proceedings
VDL Van Diemen's Land
VPR Victorian Public Records

VPRS Victorian Public Records Service

VRD Victoria River Downs (NT)

WA Western Australia

WAPD Western Australia Police Department

## **Unpublished Sources**

#### **Archival Sources**

## **Battye Library, Perth, Western Australia**

No.448A: Richard Allen, 'Reminiscences', Manuscript.

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".

Acc. 327A, 6895A, 7146A. Bunbury, H.W. *Lieut Bunbury Odds and Ends book*, Battye Library, MN 2575, Papers of the H.W. (Henry William) Bunbury.

Acc. 3829A MN 1237, D. Moore, 'Memoirs', Private Manuscript.

# Mitchell Library - State Library of New South Wales (ML SLNSW), Sydney

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

A773 Correspondence – Wallis to Macquarie, April 16-17, May 4, June 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, Vols. 54 & 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.

Fyans 1842 and 1845, NSW Government Despatches, vol. 51, ML SLNSW

'Dana to La Trobe, 6 September 1843', in Dixson, William *Documents collected by Sir William Dixson regarding Aboriginal Australians in Victoria, 1 April 1839-8* 1850 https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/record/9Bv7mO09

#### **Court Reports**

Depositions to the Sydney Bench, October 24, 1818.

Report by Joseph Wild, District Constable at Illawarra nd.

Maitland Circuit Court Depositions. March/April 1849.

## National Library of Australia (NLA), Canberra

NL MS3460 Hobkirk, E O 1922, Queensland Historical Manuscripts - Vol.2, Original Reminiscences of South West Queensland.

NLA AJCP Reel M793 f278.

## Northern Territory Archives Services (NTAS), Darwin and Alice Springs

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 (Trish Lonsdale Collection)

NTRS 3414, Bill Riley, Reel 3 (Trish Lonsdale Collection)

NTRS 3414, Harry Tilmouth, Reel 26 (Trish Lonsdale Collection)

#### **Northern Territory Library, Darwin**

Coulthard, William, 1903, Diary of William Coulthard, NT Library <a href="https://territorystories.nt.gov.au/10070/449299/0/">https://territorystories.nt.gov.au/10070/449299/0/>

Government Resident's Quarterly Report on the NT, Quarter ending 30 Sept 1884. pp 13-14.

## Oxley Memorial Library, State Library Of Queensland, Brisbane

Moreton Bay Book of Trials, 13 January 1842.

Collins, Vic. *Handwritten Account of an Aboriginal Massacre at Teewah.* 2000. John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland

## **Queensland State Archives (QSA), Brisbane**

**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/A23/61/2812 (DR57340) ITM846753, p 140 https://www.archivessearch.gld.gov.au/items/ITM846753

QSA COL/A23/61/3266, Letter from Bligh to Colonial Secretary (DR 57342.pdf) ITM846753, pp 164 - 171 <a href="https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM846753">https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM846753</a>

QSA COL/A23/61/3038 (DR57340) ITM846753, p 140 <a href="https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM846753">https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM846753</a>;

QSA COL/A25, DR110722, ITM3682016 https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM3682016

QSA COL/A26/1860/79,381.

QSA COL/A2/1860, 60/381. Letter from Lieutenant F.W. Carr at Bendemere to Inspector General (DR110779) ITM 846732 <a href="https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM846732">https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM846732</a>

QSA COL /A26/62/823, Letter from Moorehead to Commandant of Native Police, Rockhampton (DR 110719.pdf, pp1-4; TRANS DR 112352.pdf, pp 1-3) ITM 3682013 <a href="https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM3682013">https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM3682013</a>

QSA COL/A26/62/823, Letter from Bligh to Commandant of Native Police (with encl.) (DR64776.pdf) ITM 846756. pp169-177. https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM846756

QSA COL/A26/62/823, Letter from Cadet Johnson to Commandant of Native Police, Rockhampton (DR 112352.pdf pp1-3; TRANS DR112353 pp1-3) ITM 3682014 https://www.archivessearch.gld.gov.au/items/ITM3682014

QSA COL/A153/1871/524.

QSA COL /A185/1873/993. Letter from Walmond(?) to Insp. John Murray (DR62170.pdf) ITM 846915. p116. <a href="https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM846915">https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM846915</a>

QSA COL A/41765. Urquhart to Ahern, 15 March 1885 ID 290473 ITM290473 <a href="https://qsa-archivessearch.gaiaresources.com.au/items/ITM290473">https://qsa-archivessearch.gaiaresources.com.au/items/ITM290473</a>

QSA COL A/49714 Letter from Sub Inspector Urquhart to Commissioner of Police (DR178972.pdf pp4-9) ITM 665853 <a href="https://www.archivessearch.gld.gov.au/items/ITM665853">https://www.archivessearch.gld.gov.au/items/ITM665853</a>

QSA CSL micro 8 Cluny 12 Jan 1883.

QSA GOV/23/61/74 Letter from Governor Bowen to the Duke of Newcastle (DR110747) ITM17671 <a href="https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM3682012">https://www.archivessearch.qld.gov.au/items/ITM3682012</a>

QSA RES/2 58/920 Colonial Secretary at Sydney to the Government Resident at Moreton Bay (DR110707) ITM3681987 https://www.archivessearch.gld.gov.au/items/ITM3681987

#### **Governors' Despatches**

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

Lands and Surveys Office (SUR)

QSA SUR/A23/1864/62.

#### **Royal College of Surgeons, London**

MS number RCS-MUS/7/8, undated.

## State Library of South Australia

Buchanan, A 1839, Diary of Alexander Buchanan, State Library of South Australia, https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/D+7455(L)

#### State Library Of Victoria (SLV) - La Trobe Library, Melbourne

ms 5244 James Dredge Papers.

ms 9157 Memoirs of W. Moodie.

## **State Records of New South Wales (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) 4/19744, micro 12. 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 19, 1828.

CSO CSR (Letters Received 1838) 38/9458, Police Magistrates 1838, Day to Thomson, 31 July 1838.

#### Commissioners 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 Commissioner of Crown Lands, 15 August and 12 October, 1843.

CCL 4/2620 Correspondence, Bligh to Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, 10 Jan 1849.

CCL 2/7634 Bligh, CCL Gwydir to Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands, 10 Jan 1849.

CCL 4/2525, 1841.

CCL Wiseman to CCCL, 5 Jan 1856.

NRS-905-1- 4/2419.1 Edward Denny Day to Colonial Secretary, 10/09/1838, 38/9458

#### State Records of South Australia (SRSA), Adelaide

Ashwin, A.C. Recollections of Ralph Millner's expedition from Kopperamana to the Northern Territory with sheep and horses in 1870-1 (Compiled 1927).

SA Museum, Series AA 662/086, 1925-1929 -:

https://www.samuseum.sa.gov.au/collection/archives/provenances/series/items/aa-662-86-2-10.

#### State Records Of Western Australia (SROWA), Perth

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'.ribble

CSO, No 14, Stirling to Stanley, November 1 1834, CO18/14 f134.

SROWA Acc. 688, Hales, G.B., 'Letters written from the Kimberley Goldfields, 1886.'

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, AN5, Cons 741/11, WAPD: Wyndham Police Station Letter Book, June 1890.

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

SROWA, Cons. 430, File 3548/1897 - WAPD, 'Capture of Wild Natives in the Oscar and Barrier Ranges', 26 January 1895,. See telegram from Inspector Lawrence to Commissioner of Police, 5 January 1895.

SROWA, Cons. 608 1 WA S1243 Letter from W.H. Mackie to Col. Sec. P. Brown https://librarycatalogue.vincent.wa.gov.au/client/en\_GB/search/asset/3422/0

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, Cons 430, WAPD, File 1891/1037: 'Wyndham Police Station, Letter Book, 'Report for the Information of the Commissioner that Two Men Named William Miller and Joseph Webb were Speared by Aborigines. The Natives Responsible were Arrested', Halls Creek Police Camp.

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 the 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.

SROWA, WAPD, Cons. 430, File 7871/1921. 'Gribble to Chief Protector of Aborigines', See also Department of the North West, 'From Rev. Gribble: Re alleged shooting of natives by Police boys, "Quartpot" and "Long Billy", near Durack River', SROWA, Cons. 653, File 655/1922.

SROWA, Cons. 430, File 7871/1921, WAPD, 'Statement by Lightberi Alias Kitty'

SROWA, Cons. 388, File 13, 'The Governor – Statement of D Carley (ii) re: slaughter of natives at "Flying Foam" passage (3679/86)'.

SROWA, S2032, Cons 388, Item 9. 'The Governor - Statements of Rev JB Gribble (xi) Natives shot at Mounts Clere and Labouchere (3673/86)'

SROWA, Cons. 608 1 WA S1243 'Letter from W.H. Mackie to Col. Sec. P. Brown.

SROWA CSR ACC 36, Vol 6, p.146.

SROWA, WAPD, 'Alleged shooting of Natives by Bert Smith at Derby,' Acc 4431/1929.

SROWA Acc 741/1, Wyndham Police Occurrence Book, 1886-1888, Entries 26 Nov 1886 and 1 Dec 1886.

## Tasmanian Archives And Heritage Office (TAHO), Hobart

Colonial Secretary correspondence 1824-1836, File Number 14693, Record ID: NAME\_INDEXES:1616823, Image 7 -pp.117-118. (Edward White - Risdon Cove) https://stors.tas.gov.au/CSO1-1-655-14693\$init=CSO1-1-655-14693-7

Colonial Secretary's Office (CSO)

TAHO CSO 1/316, 24 August 1831

TAHO CSO 1/321, 16 June 1829

TAHO CSO 1/316; 1/320; 1/321/; 1/323; 1/330; 1/331; 1/333 Correspondence and other papers relating to the Depredations of the Aborigines.

Van Diemen's Land Company Records (TAHO VDL)

TAHO VDL 5/1, No 2 Correspondence.

## Victorian Public Records Series (VPRS), Melbourne

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 19/42 No 43/330 Correspondence - G. A. Robinson to La Trobe, January 4 1842.

VPRS 19-21 Journal of Neil Black.

VPRS 45/1721; 19, 45/1391 Blair to LaTrobe July 31, 1845.

Dana to Lonsdale (letter), 18/01/1847, correspondence 47/105 in file 47/1394, VPRS19/P0000/Box 94.

## Manuscripts, Reports, Theses and Typescripts

Albrecht, FW (1981) Following God's Tracks in Central Australia (typed manuscript), pp 5-6.

http://www.friendsofglenthorne.org.au/wp-content/uploads/FGTICA.pdf

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

Bob 2020, Mount Coliseum Massacre, in CFMC team (eds.) (pers. com.)

Coffey, Renee, 2006, Frontier Violence in Gin Gin a history of murder, massacre and myth. BA Honours Thesis, University of Queensland.

https://espace.library.ug.edu.au/data/UQ 319766/Renee Coffey Thesis.pd

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', BA thesis, University of Queensland (NLA bookmark <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/29267556">https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/29267556</a>).

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, Arans, Armadale, Vic.

Dunn, M 2015, 'A Valley in a Valley: Colonial Struggles over Land and Resources in the Hunter Valley, NSW 1820-1850', PhD thesis, University of New South Wales. https://handle.unsw.edu.au/1959.4/55057

Edmond, M 2013, "Double lives: Rex Battarbee and Albert Namatjira." D.C.A.Thesis, University of Western Sydney. http://handle.uws.edu.au:8081/1959.7/534259

Evans, R and Orsted-Jensen, R nd, "I cannot say the numbers that were killed": Assessing Violent Mortality on the Queensland Frontier', Typescript in possession of the authors.

Fels, MH 1986, Good men and true: the aboriginal police of the Port Phillip district 1837-1853, PhD thesis, Arts - School of Historical Studies. The University of Melbourne.

Fitzpatrick, FA, 1925, "History Relating to the Magnificent Manning and Municipality of Wingham: Reminiscences of Days Gone By and of the Blacks". ms.

Gara, T nd, 'The Flying Foam Massacre comprehensive summary of Flying Foam Massacre articles'. Typescript in possession of the author.

Gardner, P D 2004, 'Richard Broome and the Statistics of Frontier Conflict'. Typescript in possession of the author.

Gardner, P D 2016 'The Firearm and Massacre Statistics in Frontier Gippsland'. Typescript in possession of the author.

Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory, Record 579, *Anthony's Lagoon Mortuary Book*, NT Death Index.

Gibbons, R, 2014, 'Deconstructing the Myth of Murdering Creek'. Typescript in possession of the author. .

<a href="https://www.academia.edu/12361316/Deconstructing\_colonial\_myths\_the\_massacre\_at\_M">https://www.academia.edu/12361316/Deconstructing\_colonial\_myths\_the\_massacre\_at\_M</a> urdering Creek>

Goode, B. 2008. 'Aboriginal Cultural Values Study of Water Resources for the South Coast Region of Western Australia'. Report submitted to the Department of Water, Albany. Brad Goode and Associates.

Goode, B. 2011. 'Report of An Aboriginal Heritage Survey of 'The Proposed Bridgetown Library and The Rocky Bluff Canoe Launch Facility In The Shire of Bridgetown, Western Australia'.

Guilfoyle, D. 2011. Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management Plan for Southern Section of Kwoorabup Beelia (Denmark river.)

https://www.denmark.wa.gov.au/documents/169/aboriginal-cultural-heritage-management-plan-kwoorabup-beelia-(denmark-river)-july-2011?fbclid=lwAR39GeNkR37-g-x9tvix0DweC1i07UyYPtTTBq0YFnwaProxxCuFgUbsExk

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

Hadley, P 1995 Edited Transcripts of Bridgetown – Greenbushes Oral History; Aboriginal Sites and Events, Bridgetown Historical Society Heritage Council of Western Australia.

Hartwig, MC 1965, 'The Progress of White Settlement in the Alice Springs District and Its Effects on the Aboriginal Inhabitants, 1860-1894', PhD 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, BA honours thesis, University of Western Australia, http://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/41009

Lewis, D 2004, 'A wild history: the making of Victoria River pastoral society', PhD thesis, Australian National University. <a href="http://hdl.handle.net/1885/10968">http://hdl.handle.net/1885/10968</a>

Lyon, Robert Menli. 'Letter to Lord Goderich, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 26 November 1832'. Colonial Office, Series CO 18. Western Australia: Original Correspondence, 1828-1900. Offices and Individuals,1832 (File 18/11; AJCP Reel No. 298; Folios 147-52). <a href="https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2030106908/view">https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2030106908/view</a>

McCracken, R 1885, 'Letter to Mattie' [Martha Earle McCracken], Robert Niall-Elsie Ritchie Collection, Sydney.

McGregor, R 1985, 'Answering the native question: the dispossession of the Aborigines of the Fitzroy District, West Kimberley, 1880-1905', BA Honours thesis, James Cook University. (NLA Bookmark: <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/9556756">https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/9556756</a>)

#### Monument Australia

<a href="https://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/93363-mistake-creek-massacre">https://monumentaustralia.org.au/themes/conflict/indigenous/display/93363-mistake-creek-massacre</a>

Morris, G 2019, 'Edge of Sacred: exploring the life stories of the Nauiyu community. An investigation into trauma and the traditional healing practices of a remote Aboriginal community' PhD thesis, Charles Darwin University.

https://researchers.cdu.edu.au/en/studentTheses/edge-of-sacred-exploring-the-life-stories-of-the-nauiyu-community

Palmer, S 2016, '(un)making Angas Downs: a spatial history of a Central Australian pastoral station 1930–1980', PhD thesis, Australian National University.

#### https://openresearch-

repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/118267/1/Palmer%20Thesis%202017.pdf

Pederson, H 1980, 'Pigeon: An Aboriginal Rebel, A Study of Aboriginal European Conflict in the West Kimberley, North Western Australia during the 1890s', BA Honours thesis, Murdoch University. <a href="http://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/41488">http://researchrepository.murdoch.edu.au/id/eprint/41488</a>

Richards, J 2010, 'What really happened at Battle Mountain in 1881?' Unpublished paper in possession of the author.

Rose, D and Lewis, D, *Oral History with Big Mick Kanginang recorded at Yarralin, VRD*, 16 April 1982.

Schneider, P 2016, 'Walking and Hearing Table Top Mountain: Retelling the Historical Narrative Through an Audio Walking Tour of the Summit', Major Research Project, MA-History, University of New England.

van der Heide, F (1985) *Murwangi: A History of the Attempts to Establish a Pastoral Industry in North East Arnhem Land 1883 to 1983*, MLitt thesis, University of New England.

Webber, E to Smith, R 5 Dec 2021, (pers. com.), https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-229930404/view

Whitebeach, T 2006, Telling Someone Else's Story: the life history of Alexander Donald (Pwerle) Ross (1915-1999), PhD Thesis, Charles Darwin University, https://ris.cdu.edu.au/ws/portalfiles/portal/22709332/Thesis\_CDU\_6540\_Whitebeach\_T.pdf.

Wilson, W R (Bill) 2000, "A Force Apart? A History of the Northern Territory Police Force." Ph.D. thesis, Northern Territory University.

<a href="https://researchers.cdu.edu.au/en/studentTheses/a-force-apart">https://researchers.cdu.edu.au/en/studentTheses/a-force-apart</a>

Wilson, J 1961, 'Authority and Leadership in a new style Aboriginal Community', MA thesis, University of Western Australia. (NLA Bookmark: <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/13886862">https://trove.nla.gov.au/version/13886862</a>)

## **Published Sources**

#### **Newspapers**

Adelaide Observer, (Adelaide, SA: 1843-1904), September 20, 1884; July 11, 1891.

*Advertiser, The* (Adelaide, SA: 1889-1931), December 19, 1905; April 24, 1906; June 20, 1907; April 2, 1915; July 16, 1928.

Age, The (Melb. VIC:), November 20, 1857; August 8, 1874.

Alice Springs News Online, October 8, 2003; August 15, 2018.

*Argus*, (Melb VIC: 1848 - 1957), April 14, April 15, April 16, 1862; September 13, 1883; April 25, 1885.

Armidale Express and New England General Advertiser, (NSW: 1856 - 1861; 1863 - 1889; 1891 - 1954), June 23, 1860.

Australian, The (Sydney, NSW: 1824-1848), December 30, 1834; September 16, 23, 1826; March 3, 1827; November 8, 1836; July 17, November 17, December 1, 1838; April 13, 1847.

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

Australasian, The (Melbourne, VIC: 1864 - 1946), 15 December, 1883; October 31, 1885; March 9, 1927.

Beaudesert Times (Qld.: 1908 - 1954), 17 August 17, 1951.

Brisbane Courier, (Brisbane, QLD: 1864-1933), November 2, 1866; 18 July 1867; June 4, June 9, 1868; November 9, 1869; April 4, August 10, 1872; March 1, 1873; September 16, October 27, 1874; May 1, 1876; September 21, 1878; March 1, March 5, 1879; November 14, 1884; May 20, 28, 1889; October 13, 1900; March 9, 1927.

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

Burrowa News, (NSW: 1874 - 1951), January 31, 1879.

Canberra Times, 21 November 1988.

Capricornian, (Rockhampton, Qld: 1875 - 1929), July 13, 1878; September 6, 1890.

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

Central Queensland Herald (The) (Rockhampton, Qld.: 1930 - 1956) August 24, 1950.

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

Clarence and Richmond Examiner, (Grafton, NSW: 1880-1915) September 22, 1910.

Clarence and Richmond Examiner and New England Advertiser, (Grafton, NSW: 1859-1889), July 10, 1886.

Colonial Times, (Hobart, TAS: 1828-1857), February 27, March 20, March 27, April 10, September 18, 1829; September 3, October 15,1830.

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

Colonist, The (Sydney, NSW: 1835 - 1840), August 4, 1838.

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

Courier, The (Brisbane, QLD: 1861-1864), November 5, 11, 25, December 20; 1861; January 16, October 4, 1862.

Courier, The (Hobart, Tas.: 1840-1859), 23 Jun 1843

Daily Advertiser (NSW: 1893 - 1953), 27 May 1935.

Daily Examiner, (Grafton, NSW: 1915 - 1954), October 28, 1942.

Daily News, The (Perth, WA: 1882-1950), September 27, 1893; January 24, 1911; May 21, 1912; July 8, 1926; May 5, 1927; September 5, 1929.

Darling Downs Gazette and General Advertiser (The) (Toowoomba, Qld.: 1858 - 1880), August 26, 1858.

Don Dorrigo Gazette and Guy Fawkes Advocate, The (NSW: 1910 - 1954), October 27, 1939; August 3, 1945; September 25, 1953.

Dungog Chronicle: Durham and Gloucester Advertiser, (NSW: 1894 - 1954), July 31, 1900; June 7, 1932.

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

Empire (Sydney, NSW: 1850 - 1875), 3 December, 1853; 28 Jan, 1856; 22 Apr, 1856.

Evening Journal, The (Adelaide, SA: 1869-1912), Jan 20, 1879; June 4, 1885; July 6, 1891.

Evening News, (Sydney, NSW: 1869 - 1931), March 10, 1879; July 27, August 7, 22, 31, September 1, 1900.

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

Freeman's Journal (Sydney, NSW: 1850 - 1932), 5 January 1895

Fremantle Herald. "Historic Reset." 2021, <a href="https://heraldonlinejournal.com/2021/07/02/historic-reset/">https://heraldonlinejournal.com/2021/07/02/historic-reset/</a>

Garawa Land and Sea Country Plan Gangalidda and Garawa Native Title Aboriginal Corporation, 2014

https://www.clcac.com.au/sites/default/files/downloads/clcac\_garawa\_land\_sea\_country\_plan\_web\_version\_50dpi.pdf (accessed 2024)

Geelong Advertiser, (Vic.: 1840 - 1845) January 8, 1844.

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

Gippsland Mercury, The, April 1, 1875.

Guyra Argus, (NSW: 1902 - 1954), February 5, 1872; July 11, 1935.

Gympie Times and Mary River Mining Gazette, (Gympie, QLD: 1868-1919), December 19, 1903.

Hamilton Spectator, November 29 1884

Herald, The (Fremantle, WA: 1867 - 1886), 30 October 1869.

Hobart Town Courier, (Hobart, TAS: 1827-1839), November 24, 1827; March 15, March 22, April 5, October 18, November 1, December 13, 1828; February 28, March 7, April 18, June 13, June 20 1829.

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

Inquirer, (Perth, WA: 1840-1855), July 13, 1842; August 24, 1842.

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

Kalgoorlie Miner, (WA: 1895 - 1954), December 9, 1911.

Labor Daily, (Sydney, NSW: 1924-1938), January 1, 1926.

Laverton and Beria Mercury, (WA) September 24, 1910.

Launceston Advertiser, (Launceston, TAS:1829-1846), February 9, March 16, 1829.

Leader, (Melbourne, Vic.: 1862 - 1918, 1935), August, 30, 1884.

The Literary Gazette and Journal of the Belles Lettres, December, 11, 1830.

Mackay Mercury and South Kennedy Advertiser, (Qld.: 1867 - 1887), April 24, 1867.

Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser, The (Maitland, NSW: 1843-1893), February 2, 1848; June 26, 1850; 13 Dec 1864; August 25, 1877.

Making Peace with The Past: Remembering the Coniston Massacre, 1928-2003 Central Land Council, 2003 <a href="https://digitalntl.nt.gov.au/10070/660392/0/4">https://digitalntl.nt.gov.au/10070/660392/0/4</a>

Maryborough Chronicle; Wide Bay and Burnett Advertiser, (Maryborough: QLD, 1860-1947), April 1, 1865; May 9, 1876.

Monitor, (Sydney, NSW), March 9, 1827; August 4, 1828.

Moreton Bay Courier (Brisbane, QLD: 1846-1861), April 24, 1847; April 6, 1850; April 24, 1858; June 9, 1858; March 24, 1860.

Morning Chronicle (Sydney, NSW: 1843 - 1846) 4 Feb 1846.

Morning Bulletin, (Rockhampton, QLD: 1878-1954), March 1, 1879.

Mt Leonora Miner, (WA) November 14, 1908.

Mullewa Mail, (WA: 1921 - 1947), September 9, 1926.

Muswellbrook Chronicle, (Muswellbrook, NSW) Oct 6, 1900.

National Advocate, (Bathurst, NSW: 1889-1954), August 5, 1895.

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

Newcastle Morning Herald, (Newcastle, NSW:1859-) July 25, 1964; September 19, 1987.

News (Adelaide, SA: 1923 - 1954), 21 February, 1942.

North Australian, (The) (Darwin, NT: 1883-1889), November 27, 1885; January 8, April 30, December 10, 24, 1886; January 21, 1897.

North Australian, Ipswich and General Advertiser (The) (Ipswich, Qld.: 1856 - 1862) January 12, 1858.

Northern Territory News, (Darwin, NT) August 19, 2016; August 25, 2018.

Northern Times, (Carnarvon, WA: 1905 - 1952), December 27, 1913.

Northern Standard, The (Darwin, NT: 1921-1955), October 13, 16, 1931; February 19, 1932; March 3; May 29, June 1, July 6, July 10, 1934.

Northern Territory Times and Gazette, (Darwin, NT: 1873-1927), December 26 1873; January 30, June 19, September 12 1874; July 17, August 7, 14, September 18, October 30, December 4, 18, 25, 1875; January 19, 26, February 2, 9, 23, March 9, April 13, 1878; October 7, 1882; October 4, 25, 1884; April 24, May 1, September 18, December 11, 25 1886; August 18, 1888; March 4, October 21, October 28, November 4, 11, 1892; August 11, October 20, 1893; June 14, 28, 1895; March 13, September 18, December 18, 25, 1896; March 5 1897; December 25, 1903; January 15 1904; January 12 1906; April 8, September 16, 1910; November 25, 1910; March 3 1911; September 10, 1914; April 20, May 11, 1918; January 17 1920.

North West Champion (Moree, NSW: 1915 - 1954) 20 Oct 1949.

Perth Gazette and Western Australian Journal, The (Perth, WA: 1833-1847), September 7, 1833; November, 1, 1834; July 22, 29, 1837; March 13, 1841; January 14, 1843.

Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News (WA: 1848 - 1864), Fri 12 Aug 1864.

Port Macquarie News and Hastings River Advocate, The (NSW: 1882-1950), February 5, 1921.

Port Phillip Gazette, (Melb. VIC:1838-1845), January 14, August 2, August 26, 1843; January 31,1844.

Port Phillip Herald, The (Melb. VIC) January 21, 22; February 16, 18, 23; 25; March 2, 1847.

Port Phillip Patriot and Morning Advertiser, (Vic. : 1845 - 1848), 22 January, 13, 16 February, 1847; February 9, 1848.

Queenslander, The (Brisbane: QLD: 1866-1939), November 3, 1866; June 13, 1868; April 6, 13, 1872; November 7, 1874; Jan 26; Aug 10; Oct 5, 1878; May 6, 1876; May 24, 1879; June 19, October 23, 1880; June 1, 1889; September 19, 1891; May 21, 1892; October 27, 1883; May 9, 16, June 6, December 26, 1896; April 20, 1901; January 8, 15, 1921.

Queensland Times, (Ipswich, Qld.: 1909 - 1954), January 28, 1862; 20 July 1867; November 26, 1927.

Queensland Times, Ipswich Herald and General Advertiser (Qld.: 1861 - 1908) 28 Jan 1862.

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

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

Rockhampton Bulletin and Central Queensland Advertiser, (Qld.: 1861 - 1871) November 2, 1861; January 4, 1862; 16 July 1867

Scone Advocate, (NSW: 1887 - 1954) April 25, 1922; May 7, 1935.

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

South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail, (Adelaide, SA: 1868 - 1881), 28 July 1877.

South Australian Gazette, No 29 of 1874, 16 July 1874.

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

South Australian Register, (Adelaide, SA: 1836-1931), April 24, 1839; August 1, 15, September 12, 19, 1840; June 25, 1874; January 28, 30, 1878; June 11 1885, February 12, December 9, 1886; June 12, 1895; September 4, 1900.

Southern Australian, (Adelaide, SA: 1838-1844), April 24, 1839.

Southern Cross Times, The (WA) December 24, 1904.

South Eastern Times, (Millicent, SA: 1906 - 1954), June 15, 1945.

Star, (Ballarat), 20 November 1861, 'Supplement'

Stringer, The - Independent News, April 20, 2013 <a href="https://thestringer.com.au/the-killing-times-2214#">https://thestringer.com.au/the-killing-times-2214#.XLBRNKQRWUm</a> Accessed 24/04/2018.

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

Swan River Guardian, The (Perth, WA: 1836-1838), July 20 1837; November 16, 1837.

Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, The (Sydney, NSW: 1803-1842), May 5, May 12, 1805; April 6, 1806; June 10, July 8, September 16, 30, October 28, 30, 1824; March 8, 22, 24, 1827; Jan 19, 1832; May 27 1834.

Sydney Herald, The (Sydney, NSW: 1832-1841), October 27, 1836; December 10, 1838; June 10, December 28, 1840; July 19, 1841.

Sydney Mail, (NSW: 1860 - 1871), December 14, 1861.

Sydney Morning Herald, The (Sydney, NSW:1842-1954), August 24, December 5, 1842; June 20, October 12, 1843; October 20, 1846; October 15, 1847; July 2, 1849; January 22, 1852; 18 Feb 1856; December 10, 11,12, 1861; December 3, 1869; July, 23, July 28, November 24, 1900; December 24, 1910; February 19, 1921; March 8, 1927.

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

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

Town and Country Journal, February 28, 1874.

Townsville Daily Bulletin, (Townsville, QLD: 1907-1954), June 29, 1917; January 27, 1931; February 2, 1933; August 16, 1948.

Truth, (Perth, WA: 1903 - 1931) January 19, 1930.

Uralla Times and District Advocate, The (NSW: 1915 - 1923), April 19, 1923.

Wagga Wagga Express and Murrumbidgee District Advertiser, (Wagga Wagga, NSW: 1858-1859; 1866; 1872-1874), August, 25, 1866; 5 November 1873.

West Australian, The (Perth, WA: 1879-1954), November 14, 1892; January 8, 1895; August 21, 1896, December 14, 1908; January 6, 1909.

Western Australian Record, (Perth WA), October 5, 1893.

Western Mail, The (Perth, WA: 1885-1954). March 6 1886; June 18, 1892; January 12, 1895; January 9, January 16, March 20, 1914; April 2, 1915; February 21, October 17, 1935.

Wingham Chronicle and Manning River Observer, (Wingham, NSW: 1898-1954), April 25, 1922, September 16, 1941.

#### **Films and Artworks**

Isaac, G and Torres, M 2002, *Whispering In Our Hearts, The Mowla Bluff Massacre,* video recording, Ronin Films, Canberra. <a href="https://aso.gov.au/documentaries.whispering-our-hearts/clip1/">https://aso.gov.au/documentaries.whispering-our-hearts/clip1/</a>

Green J, McDinny N, Hoosan S, Kerins S & Ritchie, T 2020, *Lead in My Grandmother's Body*, web site https://www.leadinmygrandmothersbody.com/

Johnson, Stephen (Dir), 2020, *High Ground*, Feature Film. <a href="https://www.imdb.com/title/tt9286908/">https://www.imdb.com/title/tt9286908/</a>>

Meakins, F 2017, 'The carbines were talking English: Violence and language in the colonisation of Gurindji Country' in *Still in my mind: Gurindji experience, location and visuality*, University of Queensland Art Museum, Brisbane. <a href="https://issuu.com/ugartmuseum/docs/simm\_publication">https://issuu.com/ugartmuseum/docs/simm\_publication</a> - low res

Ritchie, T 2020, 'Lead in my Grandmother's Body'. (exhibition) https://www.leadinmygrandmothersbody.com/

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

#### **Printed and Electronic Sources**

Agee, F 2011, Is there a connection between the Battle Creek Grave Sites and the massacre site at Battle Mountain? The History and the Mystery, www.smartculture.com.au

Ainsworth, J 1987 [1922], *Reminiscences 1847-1922: Ballina in the early days*, Beacon Print, Ballina, NSW.

Allbrook M (ed) 2012, Never Stand Still: Stories of Life, Land and Politics in the Kimberley, Jarlmadangah Burru Aboriginal Corporation, Derby, WA.

Allbrook, M 2014, *Henry Prinsep's Empire: Framing a Distant Colony*, Australian National University Press, Canberra,

<a href="https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13wwvzc.1?seq=4#metadata\_info\_tab\_contents">https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt13wwvzc.1?seq=4#metadata\_info\_tab\_contents</a>>

Allen, J & Corris, P (eds.), 1977, The Journal of John Sweatman A Nineteenth Century Surveying Voyage in North Australia and Torres Strait, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.

Allen, T & Queen, S 2015, 'Beyond the Map: Unpacking Critical Cartography in the Digital Humanities', *Visible Language*, vol. 49, no. 3, pp. 78-99.

Angelo, A C 1948, 'Kimberley and North West Goldfields', *Early Days*, *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society*, Perth, vol. 3. pp. 38 - 46.

Arkley, L 2000, *The Hated Protector: The Story of Charles Wightman Sievewright, Protector of Aborigines 1839-42,* Orbit Press, Mentone, Victoria.

Armstrong, R E M 1981, *The Kalkadoons: A Study of an Aboriginal Tribe on the Queensland frontier*, William Brooks & Co., Brisbane.

Arndt, W 1965, 'The Dreaming of Kunukban,' *Oceania*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 241-259. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40329542

Ashwin, A C 2002, Gold to Grass: The Reminiscences of Arthur C. Ashwin, 1850-1930, Prospector and Pastoralist, Hesperian Press, Perth.

Atkinson, A and 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. pp. 15-16.

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, Paper no.225, Canberra.

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.

Auty, K 2023, O'Leary of the Underworld The Untold Story of the Forrest River Massacres, La Trobe University Press in conjunction with Black Inc Press, Melbourne.

Baker, DWA 1967, 'Mitchell, Sir Thomas Livingstone (1792-1855)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol 2, pp.238-242. <a href="https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mitchell-sir-thomas-livingstone-2463">https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/mitchell-sir-thomas-livingstone-2463</a>.

Baker, G 2018, *A Legendary Partnership: Yolngu, Bapa Sheppy and Nandi Ella*, Historical Society of the Northern Territory, Darwin.

Baker, W and Mitchell, Thomas (1843) *A map of the County of Roxburgh* W. Baker, Sydney http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2236343516

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.

Bassett, M 1954, *The Hentys: an Australian colonial tapestry*, Oxford University Press, Melbourne.

Bell, D 1978, 'For our Families: the Kurndi Walk-off and the Ngurrantji Venture', *Aboriginal History*, 2:1, pp 33-62.

Bell, D 1983, Daughters of the Dreaming, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, U.S.

Bennett, G. 1964, *The Earliest Inhabitants Aboriginal Tribes of Dungog, Port Stephens and Gresford,* Dungog Chronicle, Dungog.

https://livinghistories.newcastle.edu.au/nodes/view/57393#idx101612

Berryman, I. (ed.) 2002, Swan River Letters, Glengarry, W.A, Swan River Press.

Billis, R V & Kenyon, A S 1974, *Pastures new: an account of the pastoral occupation of Port Phillip*, Stockland Press, Melbourne.

Birman, W 1976, 'Sholl, Robert John (1819–1886)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 6, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp.121-2. National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Canberra. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/sholl-robert-john-4576.

Blight, Mary 2024 "The Australian Massacre Map and Noongar Boodjar from 1830 Onwards." https://maryblight.com/2024/02/25/massacres-on-noongar-boodjar-from-1830-onwards/.

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, Ltd., Chippendale, NSW.

Blomfield, G 1986, *Baal Belbora the End of the Dancing*, Alternative Publishing Co-operative Ltd., Sydney.

Bohemia, J. & McGregor, W, 1992, 'A massacre on Christmas Creek station', *Journal of Australian Studies*, Vol.16, No.33.

Bohemia, J & McGregor, B 1995, *Nyibayarri: Kimberley tracker,* Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Bolton, G C 1963, *A Thousand Miles Away: a history of north Queensland to 1920,* Australian National University Press, Canberra.

Bolton, G C and Pedersen, H 1980, 'The Emanuels of Noonkanbah and GoGo', *Early Days, Journal of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society,* vol.8, part 4, pp.5-21.

Bonwick, J 1870, *The Last of the Tasmanians or the Black War of Van Diemen's Land, Sampson Low, Son, & Marston, London.* 

Bonwick, J 1970 [1858], Western Victoria, Its Geographical, Geological and Social Condition, William Heinemann Australia, Melbourne.

Borowitzka, L.J. 2011, 'The Reverend Dr Louis Giustiniani and Anglican Conflict in the Swan River Colony, Western Australia 1836–1838', *Journal of Religious History*, Vol. 35, No. 3. pp 352-373.

Bottoms, T 2013, Conspiracy of Silence Queensland's Frontier Killing Times, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Bowman, M (ed) 2015, Every hill got a story: we grew up in country, Hardie Grant Books: Richmond, Vic.

Boyce, J 2011, 1835 the founding of Melbourne & the conquest of Australia, Black Inc, Collingwood, Vic.

Bradley, M 2019, Coniston, UWA Press, Perth.

Breen, S 1996, 'Human agency, historical inevitability and moral culpability: Rewriting blackwhite history in the wake of Native Title', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 20, pp. 108-132.

Breen, S 2001, Contested places: Tasmania's northern districts from ancient times to 1900, Centre for Tasmanian Historical Studies, University of Tasmania, Hobart.

Bride, Thomas Francis 1898, 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, Published for the Trustees of the Public Library by Robt. S. Brain, Govt. Printer, 1898, South Yarra, Victoria. <a href="https://archive.org/details/lettersfromvicto00publiala/mode/2up">https://archive.org/details/lettersfromvicto00publiala/mode/2up</a>

Bridges, R 1948, *That Yesterday was Home*, Australasian Publishing Company, Sydney.

British Medical Journal, 16 September 1927.

British Parliamentary Papers (BPP) 1831, Van Diemen's Land. Copies or Extracts of 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. London, Vol 19, Paper 259.

British Parliamentary Papers (BPP) 1834, *Australian Colonies. Papers relating to Australian Aborigines*. London, Vol. 31, Paper 425.

British Parliamentary Papers (BPP) 1839, Australian Aborigines. Return of an Address ... dated 19th July 1839 for copies of Extracts from Despatches relative to the Massacre of various Aborigines in Australia, in the Year 1838, and respecting the Trial of their Murderers, London. Vol 34, Paper 526.

British Parliamentary Papers (BPP) 1844, Aborigines (Australian Colonies) Return of an Address...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 said Colonies, from the Date of the last Papers laid before Parliament on the subject, London. Vol. 34, Paper 627.

Brockway, M 1998, 'The Dunns of Cocaranup', *Early Days, Journal of the Royal Western Australian Historical Society,* vol.11, Part 4, 428-445.

Broome, R 1994, 'Aboriginal Victims and Voyagers: Confronting Frontier Myths', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol.18, no.42, pp.70-77.

Broome, R 2005, Aboriginal Victorians: a history since 1800, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Broughton, A 1980, *The Mills Brothers of Port Fairy*, The McLaren Press, Abbotsford, Victoria

Broughton, G 1995, Turn Against Home, Jacaranda Press, Brisbane.

Browne, E 1922, A Short History of Goondiwindi, Argus Publishing, Goondiwindi, Qld

Buchanan, A 1922-3, 'Diary of a journey overland from Sydney to Adelaide', *Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch, Proceedings,* Vol.15. pp 51-76.

Buchanan, B. and A. Buchanan (2004). Guide to the "Swan River Papers" with Document Summaries in date order and Person and Subject Indexes. <a href="https://www.wa.gov.au/system/files/2023-04/Guide-SwanRiverPapers.pdf">https://www.wa.gov.au/system/files/2023-04/Guide-SwanRiverPapers.pdf</a> (accessed 28/08/2024)

Bunbury, H.W. 1930, Early days in Western Australia Being the Letters and Journal of Lieut. H. W. Bunbury 21st Fusiliers, Oxford Uni Press, London. <a href="https://library.dbca.wa.gov.au/static/FullTextFiles/628354.pdf">https://library.dbca.wa.gov.au/static/FullTextFiles/628354.pdf</a>>

Burgoyne, I 2000, Mirning: We are the Whale: a Mirning-Kokotha Woman Records Life Before and After Dispossession, Magabala Books, Broome.

Burke, H, Roberts A, Morrison M, Sullivan V and the River Murray and Mallee Aboriginal Corporation (RMMAC), 2016, 'The space of conflict: Aboriginal/European interactions and frontier violence on the western Central Murray, 1830-41', *Aboriginal History*, vol.40, pp.145-179.

'Burke Shire' - Queensland Places, Centre for the Government of Queensland, https://queenslandplaces.com.au/burke-shire, Accessed: 12/12/2022.

Butlin, N B 1993, *Economics and the Dreamtime: A Hypothetical History*, Cambridge University Press, Melbourne.

Byerley, F J (compiled & edited), 1867, *Narrative of the Overland Expedition of the Messrs Jardine, from Rockhampton to Cape York, Northern Australia,* J.W. Buxton, Brisbane. Gutenberg online, <a href="https://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00026.html">https://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00026.html</a>

Byrne, J.C, 1848, *Twelve Years' Wanderings in the British Colonies from 1835 to 1847*, 2 vols, Richard Bentley, London.

Cameron, J & Barnes, P (eds), 2014, Lieutenant Bunbury's Australian Sojourn The letters and journals of Lt. H.W. Bunbury, 21st Royal North Fusiliers, 1 of 186, 1834-1837, Hesperian Press, Carlisle, WA.

Campbell, A H 1987, John Batman and the Aborigines, Kibble Books, Malmsbury, Vic.

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

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

Cannon, M 1990, Who killed the Koories?, William Heinemann Australia, Port Melbourne.

Cannon, R 1885, Savage Scenes from Australia: Being a short History of the Settlement at Somerset, Cape York, Helfman, Valparaiso.

Carment, D 1980, 'The Wills Massacre of 1861: Aboriginal - European Conflict on the Colonial Australian Frontier', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol.4, no.6, pp 49-55.

Carment, D Maynard, R & A Powell (eds), 1990, *Northern Territory Dictionary of Biography,* Northern Territory University Press, Darwin.

Carmody, S, 2021. 'The Ghosts are not Silent,' ABC Background Briefing, <a href="https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-09-17/wonnerup-minninup-massacre-the-ghosts-are-not-silent/100458938">https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-09-17/wonnerup-minninup-massacre-the-ghosts-are-not-silent/100458938</a>

Carter, B. 2005, Nyungah Land, Records of Invasion and Theft of Aboriginal Land on the Swan River, Swan Valley Nyungar Community, Advance Press.

Chambers, B, 1988, *Black and White: the story of a massacre and its aftermath,* Methuen Australia. Melbourne, first published in *Country Life*, 1927.

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

Christie, M F 1979, *Aborigines in Colonial Victoria 1835-1886*, Sydney University Press, Sydney.

City of Armadale Local Heritage Survey 2019 Stephen Carrick Architects https://www.armadale.wa.gov.au/sites/default/files/assets/documents/council/attachment\_dr aft\_Local\_Heritage\_Survey\_-\_development\_services\_committee\_-\_16\_july\_2019.pdf.

Clark, I D 1990, Aboriginal Languages and Clans: An Historical Atlas of Western and Central Victoria 1899-1900, Monash Publications in Geography, no 37, Clayton, Vic.

Clark, I D 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. http://nationalunitygovernment.org/pdf/2014/lanDClark-Scars\_in\_the\_landscape.pdf.pdf

Clark, I D (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, I D (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, I D (ed) 1998c, *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Volume Three:* 1842-1843, Heritage Matters, Melbourne.

Clark, I D (ed) 1998d, *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Volume Four: 1 January 1844-24 October, 1845*, Heritage Matters, Melbourne.

Clark, I D (ed) 1998e, The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Volume Five: 25 October 1845 -9 June 1849, Heritage Matters, Melbourne.

Clark, I D (ed) 1998f, *The Journals of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, Volume Six, 10 June 1849 -30 September 1852*, Heritage Matters, Melbourne.

Clark, I D 2000, *The Papers of George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate. Volume Two: Aboriginal Vocabularies: South East*, Heritage Matters: Ballarat, Vic.

Clark, I D 2011, 'The Convincing Aboriginal massacre at Portland Bay, Victoria: fact or fiction?', *Aboriginal History*, vol.35, pp. 79-109.

Clarke, J M and Irwin, G T G 1977, Brothers George & Joseph Gorton Pioneer Cattlemen A History of the Early Days in New South Wales, Mount Kempsey House, Kempsey.

Clayton-Dixon, C 2019, Surviving New England: A History of Aboriginal Resistance & Resilience through the First Forty Years of the Colonial Apocalypse, Anaiwan Language Revival Program, Armidale, NSW.

Clement, C nd, National Museum of Australia, Review of Exhibitions and Public Programs [Mistake Creek]. https://www.nma.gov.au/ data/assets/pdf file/0015/2409/Dr Clement.pdf

Clement, C 1989a, 'Monotony, Manhunts and Malice: East Kimberley law enforcement, 1896-1908', *Early Days, The Western Australian Historical Society, Journal and Proceedings*, vol.10, part 1, pp.84-96.

Clement, C 1989b, *Historical Notes Relevant to Impact Stories of the East Kimberley,* East Kimberley Working Paper No.29, Centre for Research in Economic Studies, ANU, Canberra.

Clement, C 2000, Old Halls Creek A Town Remembered, National Heritage, Mt Lawley, WA.

Clement, C 2003a, 'Mistake Creek' in R Manne (ed), Whitewash On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Aboriginal History, Black Inc Agenda, Melbourne.

Clement, C 2003b, 'The impact of denial: an interrogation of evidence relevant to massacres at Mistake Creek', *Australian Historical Association Bulletin*, No 96, pp.66-77.

Clement, C and Bridge, P (eds) 1991, *Kimberley Scenes: Sagas of Australia's Last Frontier*, Hesperian Press, Carlisle, WA.

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.

Cole, N 2004, 'Battle Camp to Boralga: A local study of the colonial war on Cape York Peninsula 1873-1894', *Aboriginal History*, vol.28, pp.156-189.

Collins, P 2002, *Goodbye Bussamarai: The Mandanji Land War, Southern Queensland 1842-1852,* University of Queensland Press, Brisbane. <a href="https://www.goodbyebussamarai.com/text">https://www.goodbyebussamarai.com/text</a>

Connor, J 2002, Australian Frontier Wars, 1788-1838, UNSW Press, Sydney.

Connor, M 2005, The Invention of Terra Nullius: Historical and Legal Fictions on the Foundations of Australia, Macleay Press, Sydney.

Connor, M 2020, 'The Shoddy Research Behind the Massacre Maps, *Quadrant*, October, pp.52-55.

Connor, M 2020, 'How the Massacre Maps Are Killing Aborigines', *Quadrant*, November, pp.35-40.

Connor, M 2021, 'The Academic Cover-Up of Massacre Map Defects', *Quadrant Online*, November.

Connor, M 2022, 'Secrecy at Newcastle', Quadrant, January-February, pp.73-76.

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: 2, pp 13 -19.

Copland, M 2001, 'The Native Police at Callandoon: A Blueprint for Forced Assimilation', in M Enders and B Dupont (eds), *Policing the Lucky Country,* Hawkins Press, Sydney.

Copland, M, Richards, J & Walker, A 2006, *One hour more daylight: a historical overview of Aboriginal dispossession in southern Queensland,* Social Justice Commission, Catholic Diocese of Toowoomba, Toowoomba, Qld.

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, WA.

Cotter, Maria 2022 Submission to the NSW Government Independent Planning Commission (NSW IPC), 28 March 2022

https://www.ipcn.nsw.gov.au/resources/pac/media/files/pac/projects/2022/02/glendell-continued-operations-project-ssd-9349/public-submissions/general-public-submissions/220328-maria-cotter\_redacted.pdf

Cox. R 2021, Broken Spear The untold story of Black Tom Birch, the man who sparked Australia's bloodiest war, Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Crawford, J, Ellis, WJ & GH Stancomb (eds), 1962, *The Diaries of John Helder Wedge,* 1824-1835, Royal Society of Tasmania, 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.

Cunningham, P 1827, Two Years in New South Wales; A Series of Letters, Comprising Sketches of the Actual State of Society in that Colony; of its Peculiar Advantages to Emigrants; of its Topography, Natural History, &c. &c., 2 Vols, Henry Goulburn, London.

Curr, EM 1965 [1883], Recollections of Squatting in Victoria, Then called the Port Phillip District, from 1841 - 1851, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Cusack, F 1973, Bendigo: a history, Heinemann, Melbourne.

Daly, H 1887, Digging, Squatting and Pioneering Life in the Northern Territory of South Australia; Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London, UK.

Dargin, P 1976, *Aboriginal Fisheries of the Darling-Barwon Rivers*, Brewarrina Historical Society, Brewarrina, NSW.

Davidson, I; Cook, NDJ; Fisher M; Ridges, M; Ross, J & SA Sutton, 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.

Davidson, I; Burke, H; Sullivan, L; Wallis, L.A;, Artym U, & B Barker, 2019, 'Cultural conflict in text and materiality: the impact of words and lead on the northwest Queensland colonial frontier, Australia', *World Archaeology*, Vol 51, no 5, pp 724-740.

Davidson, I, Burke, H & LA Wallis 2020, 'Murdering Molvo Part II: Beyond History Written by the Victors', in I Davidson, H Burke & LA Wallis (eds.) *Archaeology on the Frontier*. <a href="https://dlwqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/64197957/Murdering 2020 Molvo Part II Beyond History Written by the Victors - Archaeology on the Frontier.pdf">https://dlwqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/64197957/Murdering 2020 Molvo Part II Beyond History Written by the Victors - Archaeology on the Frontier.pdf</a>

Davies, E C 1958, 'Some Reminiscences of Early Queensland', *Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal*, Vol.6, No.1, pp.36-9.

Davis, S L & Prescott, J R V, 1988, *Aboriginal Frontiers and Boundaries in Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

De Landgrafft, T 2015, 'Memorial launch prompts reconciliation between farming and Indigenous communities in regional Western Australia', ABC News. <a href="https://abc.net.au/news/rural/2015-05-22/kukenarup-memorial-openedin-ravensthorpe/6490332">https://abc.net.au/news/rural/2015-05-22/kukenarup-memorial-openedin-ravensthorpe/6490332</a>. Accessed: 20/09/2021

Debenham, J 2020a, 'Truth Telling in the Digital Age: A Hunter Valley Massacre', *History, Magazine of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, vol. 146, pp. 10-13.

Debenham, J 2020b, Celluloid Subjects to Digital Directors: Changing Aboriginalities and Australian Documentary Film, 1901 - 2017, Peter Lang, Oxford.

Dewar, M 1992, *The 'Black War' in Arnhem Land: Missionaries and the Yolngu 1908-1940,* North Australia Research Unit, ANU Press, Canberra.

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

Doust, R F. New South Wales Legislative Council 1824 - 1856 : The Select Committees. Sydney: Parliament of New South Wales, 2011.

https://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/researchpapers/Pages/new-south-wales-legislative-council-1824-1856--t.aspx

Dow, G & Dow, H 1990, Landfall in Van Diemen's Land: The Steels Quest for Greener Pastures, Footprint, Footscray, Vic.

Drake-Brockman, H 1969, 'Brown, Maitland (1843–1905)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol 3, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, pp. 262-3.National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Canberra. https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/brown-maitland-3080

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, Vic.

Dunn, M 2020, The Convict Valley, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Durack, M P 1933, 'Pioneering in the East Kimberley', *Early Days, The Royal Western Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings*, vol.2, part 14, pp. 1 - 46.

Durack, M 1936, 'Golden Days of the Kimberley', Walkabout, April 1, pp. 35 - 6.

Durack, M 2008 [1959], Kings in Grass Castles, Vintage Classics, Sydney.

Durlacher, J S 2018 [1900], Landlords of the Iron Shore, Hesperian Press, Carlisle, WA.

Dwyer, P G & Ryan, L (eds), 2012, 'Introduction' in *Theatres of Violence Massacre, Mass Killing and Atrocity throughout History,* Berghahn Books, New York.

Dymock, J 1991, *Cornerstones to the Northern Territory's Pastoral History*, National Trust of Australia, Darwin, NT.

Dyson, M R 2002, Flying Foam Massacre: a grey era in the history of the Burrup Peninsular (sic) British justice or downright vengeful bloody murder, Karatha CAD Centre, Karatha.

Egan, T 1996, *Justice All Their Own: the Caledon Bay and Woodah Island Killings 1932-33*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Elder, B 2003, *Blood on the wattle: massacres and maltreatment of Aboriginal Australians since 1788*, 3rd edn, New Holland Publishers, Frenchs Forest, NSW.

Elder, B 2005, The A-Z of Australian facts, myths and legends, New Holland, Sydney.

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.

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.

Evans, R 2003, 'Across the Queensland frontier' in B Attwood & SG Foster (eds), *Frontier Conflict The Australian Experience*, National Museum of Australia, Canberra.

Evans, R 2007, A history of Queensland, Cambridge University Press, Port Melbourne.

Evans, R 2008, 'Done and Dusted', *Griffith Review* online, https://griffithreview.com/articles/done-and-dusted/#\_edn26, Accessed 14 April 2017.

Evans, R 2009, 'Queensland 1859: reflections on the act of becoming', *Queensland Review*, Vol 16:1, pp1-14.

Evans, R 2010, 'The country has another past: Queensland and the History Wars', in Peters-Little, F, Curthoys A and J Docker (eds), *Passionate Histories myth, memory & Indigenous Australia,* ANU e-Press, and Aboriginal History Inc, Canberra.

Evidence to Committee on Police and Gaols 5.9.1839, p 224, Votes and Proceedings 1839

Falkiner, S & Oldfield, A 2000, *Lizard Island The Journey of Mary Watson*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Farwell, G 1950, Land of mirage: the story of man, cattle and camels on the Birdsville Track, Cassell, London.

Fawkner, J P 2007, *Reminiscences of Early Hobart Town 1804-1840*, Melbourne, The Banks Society.

Fetherstonhaugh, C 1917, After Many Days, being the reminiscences of Cuthbert Fetherstonhaugh, E. W. Cole, Melbourne.

Fels, M H 1982, 'Culture Contact in the County of Buckinghamshire, Van Diemen's Land 1803-11', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, vol. 29, no. 2, pp. 47-68.

Fels, M H 1988, Good men and true: the Aboriginal police of the Port Phillip district 1837-1853, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Fenton, J 1884, A History of Tasmania, J. Walch & Sons, Hobart.

Finch-Hatton, H 1886, Advance Australia: an account of eight years' work, wandering, and amusement, in Queensland, New South Wales, and Victoria, W H Allen & Co, London.

Fletcher, B H (ed) 1975 [1802], 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.

Ford, R L 1995, *William's River The Land and Its People*, self-published, Clarence Town, NSW.

Forrest, K 1996, *The Challenge and the Chance: the Colonisation and Settlement of North West Australia 1861-1914,* Hesperian Press, Carlisle, WA.

Forster, W T, 1872, *The Wreck of the Maria,* J. Reading and Co., Sydney. <a href="https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-401685207/view?partId=nla.obj-401687311#page/n4/mode/1up">https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-401685207/view?partId=nla.obj-401687311#page/n4/mode/1up</a>

Foster, R 2009, "Don't Mention the War": Frontier Violence and the Language of Concealment', *History Australia*, vol.6, no.3: 1-68.

Foster, R, Hosking R, and A Nettelbeck, 2001, *Fatal Collisions: The South Australian frontier and the violence of memory,* Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Foster, R and Nettelbeck A 2012, *Out of the Silence: The History of South Australia's Frontier Wars*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Franklin, L E (comp.) 2021, *Truth Telling: Invasion or Peaceful Settlement 1838-1848 The Bangerang Tribes*, Nathalia, Nathalia Printers, Victoria.

French, M 1989, Conflict on the Condamine: Aborigines and the European invasion, Darling Downs Institute, Toowoomba.

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

Fyans, Foster 1986 *Memoirs Recorded at Geelong, Victoria Australia by Captain Foster Fyans* The Geelong Advertiser, Geelong.

Fysh, H 1961 [1950], Taming the North, Angus & Robertson, Sydney.

Gapps, S 2018, *The Sydney Wars conflict in the early colony 1788-1817,* NewSouth Publishing, Sydney.

Gapps, S 2021, Gudyarra The First Wiradjuri War of Resistance - The Bathurst War 1822-1824, New South Books, Sydney.

Gara, T 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.

Garden, D S 1984, Victoria: a history, Nelson: Melbourne.

Gardner, P 1980, 'The Warrigal Creek Massacre', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, June, pp.47-51.

Gardner, P D 1983, *Gippsland Massacres: the destruction of the Kurnai Tribes 1800-1860,* Warragul: West Gippsland and Latrobe Valley Community Education Centre.

Gardner, P D 1990, Our Founding Murdering Father, Ngarak Press, Ensay, Vic.

Gardner, PD 1993, *Gippsland Massacres The Destruction of the Kurnai Tribes 1800-1860*, 2<sup>nd</sup> revised and Enlarged edition, Ngarak Press, Ensay, Vic.

Gardner, P. D. 1994 *Through Foreign Eyes* Ngarak Press, Ensay

Gardner, P 1996, 'Some Notes on Tribal Warfare and an Event at Tambo Crossing', *Gippsland Heritage Journal*, no. 19, pp. 49-41, https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/GHJ-No-19\_P-D-Gardner-Article.pdf.

Gardner, P D 2001, *Gippsland Massacres: the destruction of the Kurnai Tribes 1800-1860*, 3rd edn, Ngarak Press, Ensay, Vic.

Gardner, P D 2010, 'A Grampians Massacre? An analysis of the Participant's account of an early Whyte Brothers massacre in the Portland district' <a href="https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/A-Grampians-Massacre.pdf">https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/A-Grampians-Massacre.pdf</a>.

Gardner, P D 2022, 'The Warrigal Creek Massacre - a Reply to Wayne Caldow' <a href="https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Warrigal-Creek-Massacre-a-reply-to-Wayne-Caldow.pdf">https://petergardner.info/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Warrigal-Creek-Massacre-a-reply-to-Wayne-Caldow.pdf</a> (accessed 2024)

Gardner, W 1854, *Northern and Western Districts of New South Wales* 2 vols. Sydney. <a href="https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/record/9yM6ADp9/QpVKJWRjqpRvj">https://collection.sl.nsw.gov.au/record/9yM6ADp9/QpVKJWRjqpRvj</a>

Gaunt, CE 'The Tragedy of Bowgun' [sic], Northern Standard, 19 February 1932, p 3.

Gaunt, CE 'Old Time Memories, The Lepers of Arnheim [sic] Land and Sketches', *Northern Standard* 10 July 1934, p 6.

Gaze, N 2017, 'Waterloo Bay Massacre Commemorated 170 years later with memorial', <a href="www.abc.net.au/news/2017/waterloo\_bay\_massacre\_commemorated\_170\_years\_later\_with\_mememorial/8539416">www.abc.net.au/news/2017/waterloo\_bay\_massacre\_commemorated\_170\_years\_later\_with\_mememorial/8539416</a> Accessed 6 June 2018.

Genever, G 1996, Failure of Justice, Eachem Historical Society, Eachem, Qld.

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

Gedge, Arthur Johnson (Dr), 1927, *British Medical Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 3479 (10 September) p 475. <a href="https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2524749/pdf/brmedj08291-0039b.pdf">https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2524749/pdf/brmedj08291-0039b.pdf</a>

Gibbons, R 2017, Deconstructing Australian genocide: Britain's legislative and procedural agency in the destruction of Aboriginal society, <a href="https://www.academia.edu/33839669/Deconstructing\_Australian\_Genocide\_Britains\_legislative\_and\_procedural\_agency\_in\_the\_destruction\_of\_Aboriginal\_society.">https://www.academia.edu/33839669/Deconstructing\_Australian\_Genocide\_Britains\_legislative\_and\_procedural\_agency\_in\_the\_destruction\_of\_Aboriginal\_society.</a>

Gifford, P (ed.) 2013, *Landlords of the Iron Shore* by J.S Durlacher, 1900, Hesperian Press, Carlisle, WA.

Gifford, P. 2018, 'The Battle of Minderoo', *Studies in Western Australian History,* Issue 32, April, pp. 89 - 94.

Gill, A. 1977, 'Aborigines, Settlers and Police in the Kimberleys 1887-1905', *Studies in Western Australian History,* No. 1, pp. 1-28.

Gilmore, M 1935, More Recollections, Angus & Robertson, Sydney.

Goodall, H 1999, 'Authority under challenge: Pikampul land and Queen Victoria's law during the British invasion of Australia', in M. Daunton and R. Halpern (eds.), *Empire and Others British Encounters with Indigenous Peoples, 1600-1850,* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Green, N 1981, 'Aborigines and White Settlers', in T Stannage (ed), *A New History of Western Australia*, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, WA.

Green, N 1984, *Broken Spears: Aborigines and Europeans in the southwest of Australia,* Focus Education Services, Perth.

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.* .

Gribble, J B 1987 [1905], *Dark Deeds in a Sunny Land, or, Blacks and Whites in North-West Australia, 1905*, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA.

Grose, J E 1927, 'The background to the encounter the Battle of Pinjarra' *Journal and Proceedings Western Australian Historical Society*, vol.1, part 1, pp.30-35.

Guilfoyle, D 2011, Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management Plan For Southern Section Of Kwoorabup Beelia (Denmark River), Applied Archaeology Australia, Perth.

<a href="https://www.denmark.wa.gov.au/documents/169/aboriginal-cultural-heritage-management-plan-kwoorabup-beelia-(denmark-river)-july-2011?fbclid=lwAR39GeNkR37-g-x9tvix0DweC1i07UyYPtTTBq0YFnwaProxxCuFgUbsExk>.

Gumana, B "Biography", <a href="https://www.aboriginal-bark-paintings.com/birrikidji-gumana/">https://www.aboriginal-bark-paintings.com/birrikidji-gumana/</a> Accessed 28 June 2018.

Gunn, J 1908, *We of the Never-Never* (20th Ed 1996, Angus and Robertson, Sydney), Hutchinson & Co, London, UK <a href="https://archive.org/stream/weofneverneverwi00gunn/weofneverneverwi00gunn\_djvu.txt">https://archive.org/stream/weofneverneverwi00gunn/weofneverneverwi00gunn\_djvu.txt</a>

Gunson, N 1968, *The Good Country a History of the Cranbourne Shire*, F W Cheshire, Melbourne.

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.

Hagan, R 2013, "Malaluba's grandfather survivor of their people" in *First Nations Telegraph*, 1 October, p 1.

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.III, pp.1-9.

Harris, J 1990, One Blood 200 Years of Aboriginal Encounter with Christianity: A Story of Hope, Albatross Books, Sydney.

Harris, J 2003, 'Hiding the bodies: the myth of the humane colonisation of Aboriginal Australia', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 27, pp. 79-104.

Hassell, K 1966, *The Relations between Settlers and Aborigines in South Australia 1836-1860*, Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide.

Headon, D 1988, 'The Coming of the Dingoes', in ES Nelson (ed.), *Connections: Essays on Black Literatures*, University of Queensland Press, St Lucia.

Heal, Lilian, 1998 *Jane Dodds, 1788-1844: a Swan River colony pioneer* Sydney : Book Production Services on behalf of L. Macalpine.

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.Shobert, London.

Henry M 1994, From City to the Sandhills of Birdsville, Copyright Publishing, Brisbane.

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

Hercus, L and Sutton P (eds) 1986, *This Is What Happened: Historical Narratives by Aborigines*, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Heritage Branch, NT Government 1995, *Barrow Creek Heritage Assessment Report*, (BCHAR) Darwin NT.

Heritage Branch, NT Government 2017, *Habeas Corpus: deaths at the Fannie Bay Gaol* 1883-1972, Darwin, NT.

Heritage Branch, NT Government 2015, *Roper River Police Station Heritage Assessment Report*, Darwin NT.

Heritage Branch, NT Government 2014, *The Shackle Heritage Assessment Report* (SHAR), Darwin, NT.

Hetherington, R 1966, 'George Gawler (1795-1869)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Canberra, <a href="https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gawler-george-2085">https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gawler-george-2085</a>>

Historical Records of Australia (HRA) Series I vols i-xxvi; Series III vols i-vi, (ed.) F Watson, 1914-1925, Library of the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia, Sydney. <a href="https://opal.latrobe.edu.au/articles/book/Historical\_records\_of\_Australia\_Series\_I\_Governors\_despatches\_to\_and\_from\_England\_Volume\_XIX\_July\_1837-January\_1839\_edited\_by\_Frederick\_Watson\_/22300282?file=39667741.

Historical Records of Australia (HRA) Resumed Series III, vols. vii-ix, (ed.) P Chapman, 1996-2000, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne. http://arrow.latrobe.edu.au:8080/vital/access/manager/Repository

Historical Records of New South Wales, (HRNSW), vols 1-6, (ed.) FM Bladon, 1979, facsimile edition. Lansdowne Slattery & Co., Mona Vale, NSW.

Hobler, G 1992, *The Diaries of Pioneer George Hobler, October 6 1800-December 13 1882*, C. & H. Reproductions, Sydney.

Hoff, J 2006, *Bandjalung Jugun = Bandjalung Country*, Richmond River Historical Society, Lismore, NSW.

Hope, Z 2016, 'Bones tell of past steeped in horror' in *Northern Territory News*, 19 August 2016 <a href="http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/news/2000s/2016/ntnews19aug2016.pdf">http://www.kooriweb.org/foley/news/2000s/2016/ntnews19aug2016.pdf</a> (Accessed 26 January 2020)

Hope, Zach 'A moment of truth: How hearing our First Nations can change this state' *The Age* March 14, 2021 https://www.theage.com.au/national/victoria/a-moment-of-truth-how-hearing-our-first-nations-can-change-this-state-20210310-p579ky.html

von Hügel, K. A. F. (1994) *New Holland Journal: November 1833-October 1834* (Vol. 17). Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

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.

Irby, E and L 1908, Memoirs of Edward and Leonard Irby, Sydney.

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

Jenkin, G 1979, Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri, Rigby, Adelaide.

Jennings, R. 1983. *Busselton "…outstation on the Vasse" 1830 – 1850,* Shire of Busselton, Busselton, WA.

Jones, Pauline (ed) 1981 *Historical Records of Victoria, Vol 1: Beginnings of permanent government* Victorian Government Printing Office, Melbourne

Keane, E 1957, Kyogle New South Wales 1839-1956, Oswald Ziegler Publications, Sydney.

Kelly, R and Evans, N 1985, 'The McKenzie massacre on Bentinck Island', *Aboriginal History*, vol.9, pp.44-58.

Kelsey, D E 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, R 2003 *Real True History: The Coniston Massacre* (serialised in 18 parts), Alice Springs News, vol 10, issue 32, to vol 11, issue 3, 2003-04. <a href="https://alicespringsnews.com.au/2018/08/15/the-coniston-massacre-remembered">https://alicespringsnews.com.au/2018/08/15/the-coniston-massacre-remembered</a>>

Kimber, R 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.

Kimberley Languages Resource Centre (eds) 1996, *Moola Bulla: In the shadow of the mountain*, Magabala Books, Broome.

Kimberly, W B (comp) 1897, *History of Western Australia, A Narrative of her Past, Together With Biographies of Her Leading Men, F W Niven, Melbourne.* 

Kungarakan Culture and Education Association, 2023, Kungarakan Culture, <a href="https://kungarakan.org.au/culture/">https://kungarakan.org.au/culture/</a> Accessed 16/03/2023.

Labilliere, Francis 1878 Early History of the Colony of Victoria v.II London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington.

Lack, C 1964, The Rifle and the Spear, Fortitude Press, Brisbane.

Lack, C 1967, One hundred years young- Bundaberg, the city of charm, 1867-1967, Bundaberg News Media, Bundaberg, Qld.

Lamond, W H 1971, 'Five Years in the Kimberley', *Early Days, Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Western Australia,* vol. VII, Part 3, pp.27-49.

Lang, JD 1847a, *Phillipsland: Or the Country Hitherto Designated Port Phillip*, Thomas Constable, Edinburgh, UK

Lang, JD 1847b, An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, 2 vols., Second edition, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London.

Lang, JD 1848, Cooksland, or, the Moreton Bay district of New South Wales: a highly eligible field for immediate and extensive colonization, John Wheeldon, London.

Lang, JD, 1861, Queensland, Australia, Edward Stanton, London.

Lauer, P (ed) 1977, Fraser Island, Occasional Papers in Anthropology, 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.

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

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

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 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.

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 (electronic), Armidale, NSW. <a href="https://hdl.handle.net/10070/305617">https://hdl.handle.net/10070/305617</a>>

Lewis, D 2021, *The Victoria River District Doomsday Book*, E-Books, E-Publications, NT, https://hdl.handle.net/10070/836453

Lewis, G 2021, 'Broken Promise Men: The malevolent absence of the state at the McArthur River Mine, Northern Territory'. in N Bainton and AE Skrzypek (eds.), *The Absent Presence of the State in Large-Scale Resource Extraction Projects*, Asia-Pacific Environment Monograph 15, ANU Press, Canberra.

https://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/n8574/html/ch08.xhtml?referer=&page=13# Lewis, J 1922, Fought and Won, WK Thomas & Co, Adelaide.

London Literary Gazette and Journal of Belles Lettres, The, (Arts, Sciences, Etc.) London, 1830.

https://books.google.com.au/books?id=AxwCRa2weagC&printsec=frontcover#v=snippet&q=wonderful%20settlement&f=false

Long, J 1989, 'Leaving the Desert: actors and sufferers in the Aboriginal exodus from the Western Desert', *Aboriginal History*, Vol. 13, pp 9-43.

Loos, N 1982, *Invasion and Resistance: Aboriginal-European Relations on the North Queensland Frontier 1861-1897*, Australian National University Press, Canberra.

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.

Lourandos, H 1997, Continent of Hunter-Gatherers: New Perspectives on Australian Prehistory, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Luke, J 2019 *Truth-telling to reimagine our nation(s) histories* <a href="https://indigenousx.com.au/truth-telling-to-reimagine-our-nations-histories/">https://indigenousx.com.au/truth-telling-to-reimagine-our-nations-histories/</a>

Lumholtz, C 1889, Among Cannibals, An account of four years travels in Australia, and of camp life with the aborigines of Queensland, John Murray, London.

Lydon, J 1996, "No Moral Doubt..." Aboriginal Evidence and the Kangaroo Creek Poisoning, 1847-1849, *Aboriginal History*, vol.20, pp.151-175.

Lydon, J & Ryan, L (eds), 2018, *Remembering the Myall Creek Massacre*, NewSouth Publishing, Sydney.

Mackaness, 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, by G.A. Robinson, G Mackaness, Sydney.

Mackaness G (ed.) 1965, *The History of Van Diemen's Land from the Year 1824 to 1835*, by H Melville [1835] Horwtiz-Grahame, Sydney.

Macknight, CC 1981, 'Journal of a voyage around Arnhem Land in 1875', *Aboriginal History*, vol 5, pp 135-146.

MacPherson, A 1879, Mount Abundance; or the Experiences of a Pioneer Squatter in Australia Thirty Years Ago, Fleet Press, London.

Mann, B A 2013, 'Fractal Massacres in the Old Northwest: the example of the Miamis', *Journal of Genocide Research*, Vol.15, No.2, pp.167-182.

Markus, A 1974, From the Barrel of a Gun. The Oppression of the Aborigines, 1860-1900, Victorian Historical Association, Melbourne.

Mansfield, J R 2016, Frances Well Land Claim No. 64, Report of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, Justice JR Mansfield AM to the Minister for Indigenous Affairs and to the Administrator of the Northern Territory, Commonwealth of Australia, Canberra.https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/download/publications/tabledpapers/856030dd-db65-48f4-8ac6-0e4cfc748b8f/upload\_pdf/PMC001\_16\_Frances\_Well\_ACCESS\_1509.pdf

Marr, David 2023 Killing For Country Black Inc., Collingwood.

Marshall, D (1997) *Her Father's Daughter: the Bonnie Henderson Story*, Random House, Australia.

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

Martens, Jeremy 2022 "In a State of War': Governor James Stirling, Extrajudicial Violence and the Conquest of Western Australia's Avon Valley, 1830–1840." History Australia, 19(4) 19, 4 (2022): 668-86. <a href="https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/14490854.2022.2072351">https://doi.org/https://doi.org/https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1080/14490854.2022.2072351</a>

Mason, H B 1980 [1909], Darkest Western Australia; A Treatise bearing on the Habits and Customs of the Aborigines and the Solution of 'The Native Question', facsimile edition, Hesperion Press, Carlisle, WA.

Massola, A 1969, Journey to Aboriginal Victoria, Rigby, Adelaide.

Mathews, J 1977, *The two worlds of Jimmie Barker the Life of an Australian Aboriginal* 1900-1972 as told to Janet Mathews, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Maxwell, Charles F. 1889 Australian Men Of Mark Charles F. Maxwell, Sydney.

Mayes, A. (1904-5). Series S5039 -- Swan River Papers. Copies of documents held in Colonial Office, London. They exist in typed-up form as well as manuscript. The typescripts were filmed by the Australian Joint Copying Project.

Mayor, T 2017, 'A dream that cannot be denied: On the road to Freedom Day'. *Griffith Review* No 70. <a href="https://www.griffithreview.com/articles/a-dream-that-cannot-be-denied/">https://www.griffithreview.com/articles/a-dream-that-cannot-be-denied/</a> Accessed: 10 November 2021.

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.

McFarlane, I 2008, *Beyond Awakening: The Aboriginal Tribes of North West Tasmania A History,* Fullers Bookshop, Riawunna and Community Place & Heritage Research Unit, University of Tasmania, Launceston.

McFarlane, L 1976, *Land of Contrasts: Recollections,* WR Smith & Paterson, Fortitude Valley.

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 66-88.

McGinness, J 1991, *Joe McGinness: Son of Alyandabu*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia.

McInnes, A 1983, 'The Wreck of the "Charles Eaton", *Papers and Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland*, pp.21-50. https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:241150

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-mundu, a history of Aboriginal people of South West Queensland,* Cunnamulla Australian Native Welfare Association, Cunnamulla.

McKenna, M 2016, *From the edge: Australia's lost histories,* The Miegunyah Press, Melbourne.

McLaren, J 1946 - 8th ed 1956, *My crowded solitude,* 8th edn, Angus and Robertson, Sydney.

McMaugh, H A, n.d. *Early Settlement of the Upper Macleay,* Kempsey Historical Archives, Kempsey, NSW.

McSwain, E.H. and Switzer, M 2006, A Thematic History of Maclean Shire, Vol.II, Report to Clarence Valley Council,

https://www.clarence.nsw.gov.au/files/assets/public/community/files/heritage/maclean\_them atic history small-1.pdf accessed 3 March 2021.

Medcalf, R. 1993, *Rivers of blood: Massacres of the Northern Rivers Aborigines and their resistance to the white occupation 1838-1870,* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Northern Star Publishing, Lismore.

Memmott, P., Richards J., and Kane, J. 2021. 'A Man of the 'Wild' Queensland Frontier: King Gida of the Kaurareg.' *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum – Culture* 

12:27-71. Brisbane. https://doi.org/10.17082/j.2205-3239.12.1.2021.2021-03

Merlan, F 1978, "'Making People Quiet" in the Pastoral North: Reminiscences of Elsey Station'. *Aboriginal History*, vol 2, no 1, pp 71-106.

Meyrick, FJ 1989, *Life in the bush a memoir of Henry Howard Meyrick* [1840-1847], Nelson, Melbourne.

Mills, V and Collins, B 2017, The Controversial Statue that was added to, not torn down <a href="https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-29/explorers-monument-added-to-not-torn-down-or-vandalised/8853224">https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-29/explorers-monument-added-to-not-torn-down-or-vandalised/8853224</a> Accessed 27 November 2018.

Millis, R 1980 *The Wallabadah Manuscript: Recollections of the Early Days* by William Telfer NSW University Press, Kensington.

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.

Mitchell, TL 1839, *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 edition completely revised, T & W Boone, London. https://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00036.html

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 Longman, London.

Monticone, J, 1999, *Healing the Land: A closer look at the needs of the Aboriginal reconciliation movement,* 2 vols. Healing the Land, Canberra.

Moore, C 1990, 'Black gin's Leap: A Window into Aboriginal-European Relations in the Pioneer Valley, Queensland in the 1860s', *Aboriginal History*, vol.14, pp.61-79.

Moran, R 1999, Massacre Myth A Investigation into allegations concerning the mass murder of Aborigines at Forrest River, Access Press, Bassendean, WA.

Moresby, J 1876, *Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea and the D'Entrecasteaux Islands,* John Murray, London. http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks13/1301151h.html

Morris, GP 2005, Son of Caledon, Graham P Morris, Kilsyth.

Morrison, J, *Australian Frontier Conflicts (1788-1940s),* <a href="http://www.australianfrontierconflicts.com.au">http://www.australianfrontierconflicts.com.au</a> (accessed 24 April 2018)

Mowaljarlai, D 1993, *Jutta Malnic Yorro yorro Everything standing up alive: spirit of the Kimberley*, Magabala Books, Broome.

Muecke, S, Rumsey, A and 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,* Earthscan from 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, Qld.

Mulvaney, DJ 1990, 'Willshire, William Henry (1852-1925), *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University <a href="http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/willshire-william-henry-9128">http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/willshire-william-henry-9128</a>>

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.

Murgatroyd, W 2001, Mt Grace Resources NL Magnesium Mine, Batchelor, NT, Environmental Impact Assessment, Anthropological Component, Initial Report, URS Australia Pty Ltd, Darwin <a href="https://ntepa.nt.gov.au/">https://ntepa.nt.gov.au/</a> data/assets/pdf file/0008/289142/anthropologicalreport.pdf>

National Archives of Australia, *Snapshots, Uncommon Lives, Dhakiyarr Wirrapanda*, <a href="http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/uncommon-lives/dhakiyarr-wirrpanda/people.aspx">http://www.naa.gov.au/collection/snapshots/uncommon-lives/dhakiyarr-wirrpanda/people.aspx</a> (Accessed 28 June 2018).

National Museum of Australia, *Collaborating for Indigenous Rights, Wave Hill Walk Off, Petition to the Governor-General* <a href="https://indigenousrights.net.au/">https://indigenousrights.net.au/</a> data/assets/pdf file/0003/384123/f23.pdf (Accessed 26 January 2020)

Nettelbeck, A 2004, 'Writing and remembering frontier conflict: the rule of law in 1880s central Australia', *Aboriginal History*, vol. 28, pp. 190-206.

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.

Nettelbeck, A & Foster, R 2007, *In the name of the law: William Willshire and the policing of the Australian frontier*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, SA.

New South Wales Legislative Council, 1839, *Votes and Proceedings*, 19 June 1839, Sydney.

New South Wales Legislative Council, 1858, Votes and Proceedings, Vol.2, Sydney.

New South Wales Parliament 1872 [LL1], *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.

Niewojt, L 2010, 'The Massacre of the Gadubanud at Aire River', *Victorian Historical Journal*, vol.81, No. 2, pp.193-213,

Noble, J 1975, *Pigeon* [videorecording], Film Archives Collection, Filmwest, Pty Ltd, Perth.

Northern Territory Parliamentary Record, Pastoral Land Tenure Inquiry Report debate, 2 June 1981, p 877, Northern Territory Government Printer <a href="https://parliament.nt.gov.au/">https://parliament.nt.gov.au/</a> data/assets/pdf\_file/0009/367245/PR04-Debates-2-June-11-June-1981.pdfnla.gov.au/nla.obj-1194437380/view?partId=nla.obj-1196267850#page/n2/mode/1up

Northern Territory Government, 2014, *The Shackle Heritage Assessment Report*, [SHAR] Heritage Branch, Darwin.

O'Brien, P. 2022, 'The Misrepresentations of the Massacre Map', *Quadrant,* September, pp.46-53.

O'Brien, V T & Adams, J 1999, *Borroloola and Gulf district deaths*, Genealogical Society of the Northern Territory, Winnellie, NT.

O'Connor, R; Bodney, C; Little, L; 1985 Preliminary Report on the Survey of Aboriginal Areas of Significance in the Perth Metropolitan and Murray River Regions

Olney, H 1989, Kidman Springs/Jasper Gorge Land Claim Report No 30 of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra

Olney, H 1993, *Harts Range Land Claim, Report No 44 of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner*, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra. <a href="nla.qov.au/nla.obj-1194437380/view?partId=nla.obj-1196267850#page/n2/mode/1up">nla.qov.au/nla.obj-1196267850#page/n2/mode/1up</a>

Olney, H 2003, Lower Roper River Land Claim No 70 of the Aboriginal Land Commissioner, Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra.

*Ooratippra Consent Determination*, Central Land Council, Alice Springs, 12 April 2011: https://www.clc.org.au/articles/info/401

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.

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 of Western Australia 1882-1905, University of Western Australia Press, Nedlands, Western Australia.

Owen, C and Bracknell, C (2021) A Buried History https://www.samedrum.com/research

Owen, C and Choo, 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. 128-156.

Palmer, J (ed) 1973 William Moodie: a pioneer of Western Victoria J.A. Palmer, Mortlake.

Palmer, S 2022 *Unmaking Angas Downs: Myth and History on a Central Australian Pastoral Station*, Melbourne University Press, Victoria.

Parks and Wildlife Commission of the Northern Territory, 2002, *Anna's Reservoir Conservation Management Plan*, Northern Territory Government <a href="https://depws.nt.gov.au/">https://depws.nt.gov.au/</a> data/assets/pdf\_file/0008/249038/annas\_pom.pdf

Parks and Wildlife Commission of the Northern Territory, 1999, *Ryan's Well Historical Reserve Plan of Management*. https://territorystories.nt.gov.au/10070/619864.

Pashley, A R 2002. 'A Colonial Pioneer: The Life and Times of John Nicol Drummond, policeman, magistrate, pastoralist, Educant, Cloverdale.

Pearson, M 1984, 'Bathurst Plains and Beyond: European Colonisation and Aboriginal Resistance', *Aboriginal History*, vol.8, pp.63-79.

Pederson, H and Woorunmurra, B 1995, *Jandamarra and the Bunuba Resistance*, Magabala Books, Broome.

Peel, L (ed) 1996, *The Henty Journals*, Miegunyah Press, Melbourne.

Peel, Lynnette (ed) 2013, *The Henty Journals: A Record of Farming, Whaling and Shipping in Portland Bay, 1834–1839* Miegunyah Press Digital.

Pepper, P & De Araugo, T 1985, What did happen to the Aborigines of Victoria, Volume 1: The Kurnai of Gippsland. Hyland House, Melbourne.

Perkins, C 1975, A Bastard Like Me, Ure Smith, Sydney.

Perrin, L 1998, *Cullin-la Ringo the Triumph and Tragedy of Tommy Wills*, self-published PO Box 1269, Stafford, Qld.

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) 1987, Weep in Silence: A History of the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement, Blubber Head Press, Hobart.

Plomley, NJB (ed) 1991, *Jorgen Jorgenson and the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land*, 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.

Plomley, NJB (ed) 2008, *Friendly Mission: the Tasmanian Journals and Papers of George Augustus Robinson 1829-1834*, 2nd edition, Quintus Publishing, Hobart.

Poignant, R 2004, Professional Savages, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn.

Pope, A 1989, Resistance and Retaliation Aboriginal-European Relations in Early Colonial South Australia, Heritage Action, Bridgewater, SA.

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

Povinelli, E A 2002, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism*, Duke University Press, Duke, NC, USA

Powell, A 2018, Forgotten Country: a short history of Central Australia, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne.

Powell, A 2016, World's End: British Military Outposts in the 'Ring Fence' Around Australia 1824-1846, Australian Scholarly Publishing, Melbourne.

Powell, A & McFarland, B 2016, *Blood and Sand: Alyawarra and cattlemen in the Sandover River country*, Charles Darwin University Press, Darwin.

Presland, G (ed) 1977, *Journals of G.A. Robinson, March 1841 - May 1841*, Aboriginal Affairs Victoria, Melbourne.

Queensland Parliament, Legislative Assembly, 1861, 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, 1867, Votes and Proceedings, Fairfax and Belbridge, Brisbane.

Ramsland, J 2019, The Legacy of Douglas Grant A Notable Aborigine in War and Peace - A Historical Biography, Brolga Publishing, Melbourne.

Randell, JO 1982, *Pastoral Settlement in Northern Victoria Volume Two The Campaspe District*, Chandos Publishing Company, Burwood, Vic.

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.

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

Reece, RHW 1974, Aborigines and Colonists: Aborigines and Colonial Society in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s, Sydney University Press, Sydney.

Reeves, J 2017, Online Submission to Colonial Frontier Massacre website (2017-12-08 09:48:04.)

Refshauge, W F 2016, *The Killing at Risdon Cove,* Australian Scholarly Publishing, North Melbourne.

Reid, B 2020, Power and Protection: The Contest Between the Government Residents and the Medical Protectors of the Aborigines in South Australia's Northern Territory, Historical Society of the Northern Territory, Darwin.

Reid, G 1980-1, 'From Hornet Bank to Cullin-La-Ringo', *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland*, pp.62-82.

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.

Reid, G 1990, A Picnic with the Natives: Aboriginal-European relations in the Northern Territory to 1910, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne.

Remote Area Health Corporation (RAHC), Katherine East Region, *Community Profile, Minverri.* 

<a href="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</a> (Accessed 24 April 2018.)

Reuss, F. H & Browne, J. L & Degotardi, 1860, Reuss & Browne's map of New South Wales and part of Queensland shewing the relative positions of the pastoral runs, squattages, districts, counties, towns, reserves &c, F.H. Reuss & J.L. Browne, Surveyors & Architects, Sydney.

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', *The Monthly*, <a href="https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2009/november/1330478364/tony-roberts/brutal-truth">https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2009/november/1330478364/tony-roberts/brutal-truth</a> (Accessed 24 April 2018, 14 September 2019.)

Robinson Ltd, H.E.C. Map of Northern Territory showing pastoral stations &c Canberra: H.E.C. Robinson, 1945 <a href="http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-410786254">http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-410786254</a>>

Robinson Ltd., H.E.C. *Map of Queensland showing pastoral stations &c* Sydney: H.E.C. Robinson, 1933.

Robinson Ltd., H.E.C. *Map of Queensland showing pastoral stations &c* Sydney: H.E.C. Robinson, 194?.

Rogers, TJ & Bain, S 2016, 'Genocide and frontier violence in Australia', *Journal of Genocide Research*, vol. 18, no. 1, pp. 83-100.

Rose, D B 1991, *Hidden Histories: Black Stories from Victoria River Downs, Humbert River and Wave Hill Stations*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Rose, D B 1992, *Dingo Makes Us Human: Life and Land in an Australian Aboriginal Culture*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Rose D & Lewis D, 1982, Oral history with Big Mick Kanginang recorded at Yarralin, VRD, 16 April.

Ross, D B 1967, 'Thomas Shuldham O'Halloran (1797-1870)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, Canberra, <a href="https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ohalloran-thomas-shuldham-2523">https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/ohalloran-thomas-shuldham-2523</a>.

Ross, H (ed.) and Bray, E (trans.) 1989, *Impact Stories of the East Kimberley*, East Kimberley Working Paper No.28, Centre for Research in Economic Studies, ANU, Canberra.

Ross River Homestead 2018 http://rossriverresort.com.au/the-resort>

Rosser, B 1990, *Up rode the troopers: the Black Police in Queensland*, University of Queensland Press, Brisbane.

Roth, W 1905, *Royal Commission on the Condition of the Natives,* Western Australian Parliament, Second Session, No 5, Perth.

<a href="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+th
e+Royal+Commission+on+the+condition+of+the+natives.pdf">http://www.parliament.wa.gov.au/intranet/libpages.nsf/WebFiles/Royal+Commissions++Report+of+the+natives/\$FILE/Report+of+th
e+Royal+Commission+on+the+condition+of+the+natives.pdf</a> (Accessed 21/10/2019)

Rothwell, N 2007, Another Country, Black Inc., Melbourne.

Rowland, M 2004, 'Myths and Non-Myths: Frontier "Massacres" in Australian History - The Woppaburra of the Keppel Islands', *Journal of Australian Studies*, vol.28, no.81, pp.1-16, 197-9.

Rowse, T 1998, White Flour, White Power: From Rations to Citizenship in Central Australia, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press.

Russell, H S 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, L 1996, The Aboriginal Tasmanians, 2nd edn, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Ryan, L 2003, 'Waterloo Creek, northern New South Wales, 1838', in B Attwood & S G Foster (eds), *Frontier Conflict. The Australian Experience*, National Museum of Australia, Canberra, pp.33-43.

Ryan, L 2006, 'Massacre in Tasmania: how do we know?', *Australia and New Zealand Law and History ejournal*,

http://www.anzlhsejournal.auckland.ac,nz/pdfs\_2006/Paper\_6\_Ryan.pdf (accessed 27 April 2018).

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. 479-500.

Ryan, L 2012, Tasmanian Aborigines a History since 1803, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Ryan, V (ed) 2001, From Digging Sticks to Writing Sticks: Stories of Kija Women. Catholic Education Office, Perth.

Savill, V 1976, 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, Vic.

Sayers, C (ed.) 1983, [1898] 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, Currey O'Neil, Melbourne. Reprinted from the original edition edited for the Trustees of the Public Library by Thomas Francis Bride. Published for the Trustees of the Public Library by Robt. S. Brain, Govt. Printer, 1898, South Yarra, Victoria.

Scates, B 1989, 'A Monument to Murder: Celebrating the Conquest of Aboriginal Australia', *Studies in Western Australian History*, no. 10, pp.21-31.

Schlunke, K (ed.) 2005, *Bluff Rock: autobiography of a massacre*, Fremantle Arts Centre Press, Fremantle, W.A.

Schubert, S 2018, 'Coniston massacre: NT police apologise for state-sanctioned massacre of Aboriginal people' *ABC News*, 24 August 2018, viewed 24 August 2018, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2018-08-24/nt-police-apologise-for-state-sanctioned-coniston-massacre/10162850.

Searcy, A 1907, In Australian Tropics, Kegan Paul, Trench, Tubner, London.

Semelin, J 2005, *Purify and Destroy The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide*. Translated from the French by Cynthia Schoch, Hurst & Company, London.

Seymour, S, Brown, G and Karge, R 2022, *Truth-Telling at Risdon Cove*, Risdon Cove Publishing, Prahran, Vic.

Shakespeare, N 2004, In Tasmania, Knopf, Random House, Sydney.

Shann, E 1978, *Cattle Chosen: the story of the first group settlement in Western Australia*, 1829 to 1841, University of Western Australia Publishing, Nedlands. <a href="https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Cattle">https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Cattle</a> Chosen/Chapter 7>

Sharp, N 1992, Footprints: Along the Cape York Sand Beaches, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

https://books.google.com.au/books?printsec=frontcover&vid=LCCN92178318&redir\_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false

Shaw, A G L (ed) 1971, *The History of Tasmania by John West [1852]*, Angus & Robertson published in association with the Royal Australian Historical Society, Sydney.

Shaw, AGL 1989, *Gipps - La Trobe* Correspondence 1839-1846, Melbourne University Press at the Miegunyah Press, Melbourne.

Shaw, A G L 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, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Shaw, B (ed) 1982, When the dust come in Between; Aboriginal Viewpoints in the East Kimberley prior to 1982, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

Shaw, B (ed) 1983(a), *Banggaiyerri The Story of Jack Sullivan as told to Bruce Shaw,* Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra.

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

Shaw, B 1998, 'Is the pen mightier than the sword?' a comparison between oral and written sources on the East Kimberley bushranger Major, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Shaw, B and McDonald, S 1978, 'They Did it Themselves: Reminiscences of Seventy Years', *Aboriginal History*, Vol 2 No 2, pp 122-139.

Shaw, M 1969, On Mount Emu Creek: the story of a nineteenth century Victorian sheep station, Robertson & Mullins, Melbourne.

Shay, J and 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, PO Box 541, Cooktown, QLD.

Skinner, LE 1975, *Police of the pastoral frontier: native police, 1849-59* University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, Qld.

Smethwick, CA 2003, J Henwood & M Swann (eds), *Early History of the Upper Murray*, John Henwood, Camberwell.

Smith, C 2004 Country, Kin and Culture: survival of an Aboriginal community, Wakefield Press, Adelaide.

Smith, Nicholas 2020. "'Carried Off in Their Hundreds': *Epidemic Diseases as Structural Violence among Indigenous Peoples in Northwestern Australia*." History and Anthropology 31, no. 4 (2020): 526-43.

Smith, P A 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.

Smith, P 2016, *Purrkuji: massacre on Sturt Creek report of the history, archaeological survey and forensic investigation,* Flinders University. <a href="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</a>

Smith, PA & Walshe, K 2017, 'Oral testimony of an Aboriginal massacre now supported by scientific evidence', *The Conversation*, 31 October 2017. <a href="https://theconversation.com/oral-testimony-of-an-aboriginal-massacre-now-supported-by-scientific-evidence-85526">https://theconversation.com/oral-testimony-of-an-aboriginal-massacre-now-supported-by-scientific-evidence-85526</a>

Smythe, R B 1878, *The Aborigines of Victoria: With Notes Relating to the Habits of the Natives of Other Parts of Australia*, Victorian Government Printer, Melbourne.

Snowdon, W 2016, Australian Parliament, 23 November 2016, *Hansard*, House of Representatives, Warren Snowdon MHR, https://www.openaustralia.org.au/debate/?id=2016-11-23.156.2 (accessed 28 June 2018).

Somerville, M and Perkins, T 2010, Singing the Coast, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.

Spearim, B and McVeigh, S 'Fred Leone went looking for his mother's lost family history. He discovered he was a descendent of an Aboriginal warrior' ABC *Days Like These*, 19 December 2022 <a href="https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-12-19/fred-leone-garrinjamaji-aboriginal-warrior-family-ties/101761576">https://www.abc.net.au/news/2022-12-19/fred-leone-garrinjamaji-aboriginal-warrior-family-ties/101761576</a> (accessed 19 December 2022).

St. Pierie, W 1969, 'History of South West Queensland' in *Warrego and South West Queensland Historical Society Collection of Papers, Cunnamulla and District,* Vol.1.

South Australia Parliament, 1899 *Legislative Council Select Committee on the Aborigines Bill 1899*, www.firstsources.info/uploads/3/4/5/4/34544232/royal commission 1899.pdf

South Australia Parliament 1866, Report of Commission Appointed by the Governor-in-Chief to inquire into the Management of the Northern Territory Expedition,. <a href="https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-54820786/view?partId=nla.obj-54880745#">https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-54820786/view?partId=nla.obj-54880745#</a>, SA WC Cox Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia Parliament 1885, 'Report on the pursuit of the Daly River murderers', Paper No.170, WC Cox, Government Printer, Adelaide.

South Australia Legislative Council, 1899, Select Committee Inquiry into the Aborigines Bill.

South Australian Parliamentary Papers, 1885, APP, No. 170.

Sutton, C 2019, 'Grisly secret of cattlemen who kept '40 pairs of ears' as trophies in outback horror house, <a href="https://www.news.com.au/news/grisly-secret-of-cattlemen-who-kept-40-pairs-of-ears-as-trophies-in-outback-horror-house/news-story/17022ba7691314b4cff5aadbf8511936">https://www.news.com.au/news/grisly-secret-of-cattlemen-who-kept-40-pairs-of-ears-as-trophies-in-outback-horror-house/news-story/17022ba7691314b4cff5aadbf8511936</a>, The News.com.au, viewed 26/02/2021.

Suttor, W H 1887, *Australian Stories Retold and Sketches of Country Life*, Glyndwr and Whalan, Bathurst.

Ta'ala, S; Berg, G; Haden, K 2006 'Blunt Force Cranial Trauma In The Cambodian Killing Fields' Blunt force cranial trauma in the Cambodian killing fields. *Journal of forensic sciences*, 51(5), 996–1001. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1556-4029.2006.00219.x

Tardif, P, 2023, 'A Most Lamentable Encounter: Edward White and the Risdon Cove massacre', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings*, Vol 70 No.1, pp 6-28.

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.

Tedeschi, M 2016, Murder at Myall Creek, Simon & Schuster, Sydney.

Telfer, W 1980, The Wallabadah manuscript: the early history of the northern districts of New South Wales: recollections of the early days. Introduction and notes by Roger Milliss, University of New South Wales Press, Kensington, NSW.

Thomas, M 2012, *The Many Worlds of RH Mathews: In Search of an Australian anthropologist,* Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

Tindale, Norman B, 1962a 'Geographical knowledge of the Kaiadilt people of Bentinck Island' in *Records of the South Australian Museum* Volume 14, pp 252-296.

Tindale, Norman B, 1962b 'Some population changes among the Kaiadilt people of Bentinck Island, Queensland' *Records of the South Australian Museum* Volume 14 pp 297-318.

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 Publishing Service, Canberra.

Toohey J L 1981, Finniss River Land Claim Report, AGPS, Canberra <a href="https://dpir.nt.gov.au/">https://dpir.nt.gov.au/</a> data/assets/pdf file/0004/261517/Finniss River Land Claim1981.

Toohey, J L 1982, *Yutpundji-Djindiwirritj (Roper Bar) Land Claim Report*, Aboriginal Land Commissioner, Australian Government, Canberra.

Trangmar, E.R 1964[?], *The Aborigines of far Western Victoria: a short talk.* Hamilton Tourist Office, Hamilton, Vic.

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, NSW.

Turnbull, C 1967, *Black War: The Extermination of the Tasmanian Aborigines*, Cheshire-Lansdowne, Melbourne.

Tyers, CJ 1845, *Australia, South Coast, Portland Bay* Great Britain, Hydrographic Dept http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-233815684

Tyers, CJ 1859, 'Division II: Geography and Statistics' in *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the Aborigines Together with the Proceedings of Committee, Minutes of Evidence, and Appendices, Melbourne.* 

https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/docs/digitised\_collections/remove/92768.pdf

Ucko, P & Layton, R 1999, *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping Your Landscape*, Routledge, UK.

Vallee, P 2004, *Gods, guns and government on the Central Australian Frontier,* Restoration Books, Canberra.

Vogan, A J, 1890, *The Black Police: A Story of Modern Australia,* Hutchinson, London. http://arrow.latrobe.edu.au:8080/vital/access/manager/Repository/latrobe:34661

Walker, R. 1966, Old New England, Sydney University Press, Sydney.

Walker, F 1863, 'Journal of Mr Walker', *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society,* Vol.33: pp 2-12, in'Frederick Walker's Journal, October 1861', *Burke and Wills Web* <a href="http://www.burkeandwills.net.au/Journals/Walkers Journal/Walker October 1861 RGS.ht">http://www.burkeandwills.net.au/Journals/Walkers Journal/Walker October 1861 RGS.ht</a> m.

Ward, C. 2016, A Handful of Sand: The Gurindji Struggle, After the Walk-Off. Monash University Publishing, Melbourne.

Watarrka National Park Joint Management Plan, 2010, https://hdl.handle.net/10070/619652

Watkins, G 1892, 'Notes on the Aborigines of Stradbroke and Moreton Islands', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Queensland,* no. 8, pp.40-50.

Watson, P L 1998, Frontier Lands & Pioneer Legends How pastoralists gained Karuwali land, Allen & Unwin, Sydney.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/323236206\_Frontier\_Lands\_and\_Pioneer\_Legend

<u>s\_How\_Pastoralists\_Gained\_Karuwali\_Land\_Allen\_and\_Unwin\_St\_Leonards\_NSW\_Austral</u>ia.

Watton, N 1989, 'Where Rivers Feed a Creek', Australian Shooters Journal, July, pp 34-5.

Webb, R J 1922, "The Rising Sun" A History of Moree and District, North West Champion Moree Centenary Celebrations Committee, Moree, NSW.

West, J 1852, The History of Tasmania, 2 vols. Henry Dowling, Launceston.

Whelan, K & Thompson, G 2018, 'Rediscovering Kitty Gollaginya Pon', *Northern Territory Historical Studies*, vol. 29, pp. 39-50.

White, J 2017, "Paper talk", Testimony and Forgetting in South-West Western Australia', Journal of the Association for the Study of Australian Literature, No.1. ps://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/JASAL/article/view/12148/11483> (Accessed 21/10/2019)

Whittington, A. J. 1965 "The Queensland native mounted police" *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* volume 7 issue 3: pp. 508-520 Brisbane, Qld. Royal Historical Society of Queensland <a href="https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/15094936.pdf">https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/15094936.pdf</a>

Willshire, W H 1895, A Thrilling Tale of Real Life in the Wilds of Australia, Frearson & Brother, Adelaide.

Willshire, W H 1896, Land of the Dawning being facts gleaned from cannibals in the Australian Stone Age, WK Thomas & Co, Adelaide.

Willey, K, 1964, *Eaters of the Lotus*, Jacaranda Books

Wilson, H L 1889, The early days of Port Macquarie. Sydney.

Wilson, T E 1968, [1835], *Narrative of a Voyage around the World*, Dawson of Pall Mall, London.

Wilson, W R (Bill), 2001, A Force Apart? A history of the Northern Territory police force 1870-1926, Peacock Academic Press, Sydney.

Wilson, W R (Bill) & O'Brien, J, 2003, "To infuse a universal terror": a reappraisal of the Coniston killings', *Aboriginal History*, vol 27, pp. 59-78. <a href="https://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p73641/pdf/ch0452.pdf">https://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p73641/pdf/ch0452.pdf</a>>

Wood, G T 1927, Royal Commission of enquiry into Alleged Killing and Burning of bodies of Aborigines in East Kimberley, and into police methods when affecting arrests, Government Printer, Perth. <a href="https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/catalogue\_resources/93281.pdf">https://aiatsis.gov.au/sites/default/files/catalogue\_resources/93281.pdf</a> (Accessed 21/10/2019)

Wood, W A 1972, *Dawn in the Valley: The Story of the Settlement in the Hunter Valley to 1833*, Wentworth Books, Sydney.

Woodward, A E 1973, *Australian Aboriginal Land Rights Commission First Report*, Australian Government, Canberra.

Wurmbrand, E, *Police Service Record*, Northern Territory Police Historical Society <a href="https://sites.google.com/site/ntpmhsociety/home/our-rich-history/people/biographies/wurmbrand-erwein">https://sites.google.com/site/ntpmhsociety/home/our-rich-history/people/biographies/wurmbrand-erwein</a> (accessed 14 September 2019).

Yunupingu, B W 1981, *A True, Bad Story*, Charles Darwin University, Darwin <a href="https://territorystories.nt.gov.au/10070/871805/0">https://territorystories.nt.gov.au/10070/871805/0</a> (accessed 2024)

Yunupingu. G 2016, 'Rom Watangu' in *The Monthly*, July 2016 <a href="https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2016/july/1467295200/galarrwuy-yunupingu/rom-watangu">https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2016/july/1467295200/galarrwuy-yunupingu/rom-watangu</a> (accessed 28 June 2018.)

Yunupingu, G 2017, in *Final Report of Reconciliation Council*, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Canberra. 30 June 2017, Appendix D, pp 54-55.

Zelinsky, A 2021, 'Open Inquiry and Robust Challenge', Quadrant, December, p.2.