

INVESTIGATING PUBLIC MEMORY PLACES/CONCLUSION

A final inquiry reviews ways First Nations Peoples' experiences of dispossession in the 1830s and 1840s have been publicly remembered at special places. It deals briefly with the functions of public memory places. It looks to some of the places Australia-wide that have been deemed memorable enough to be officially recognised as part of the heritage of the nation or a state. It visits a similar set of places within the narrow geographic bounds of this resource. Last, it prompts considerations of the how and why of public memory places at three places in the region between Yass and the Goulburn River.

LEAD QUESTIONS

QUESTION 1: What are public memory places? What purposes do they serve?

QUESTION 2: How and why have people thought it important to remember places associated with massacres at Waterloo Creek, Myall Creek and Broken River in 1838?

QUESTION 3: How and why have people remembered Aboriginal Reserves as places associated with dispossession?

QUESTION 4: How and why might public remembering be advanced at three currently unmarked places associated with dispossession:

- the King River massacre site on Oxley Plains,
- the Wiradjuri/ Waywuru encampment at Lake Moodemere, and
- the mounted police barracks at the Bungambrawatha river crossing.

THE HOW AND WHY OF REMEMBERING AT PUBLIC MEMORY PLACES

Several themes run through commentaries made by historians, heritage and memory scholars on the functions and forms of public remembering at memory places. The commentators guide thinking about the tasks posed in this final set of investigations.

Public memory places

- Dacia Vieja-Rose says, 'Memorials can take the form of monuments such as cenotaphs and preserved ruins, but they can also come in the shape of ceremonies, commemorative days, songs, poetry, music, films, theatre and the naming of streets ... The meaning and uses of a given memorial are likely to evolve over time, different groups will also 'read' it differently ... If history has taught us anything it is that unresolved pasts are not easily put to rest. Memorials may lie dormant much of the year but they do not thereby lose their poignancy or rallying potential.'¹
- Jay Winter says, 'The critical point about the sites of memory is that they are points of reference not only for those who survived traumatic events, but also for those born long after them ... [Importantly] the public commemorations surrounding them have the potential of dominated groups to contest their subordinate status in public ... [Further] the richest texture of remembrance was always within family life. The intersection of the public and the private, the macro historical and the micro historical, is what has given commemoration in the twentieth century its power and its rich repertoire of forms.'²

Remembering at public memory places

- Laurajane Smith suggests that the meanings visitors draw from memory places depend a great deal on the expectations they bring to it.³

- Yaniv Poria found that visitors to heritage sites often came to find 'something that my tribe has done' or 'something that happened to my tribe.'⁴
- Rodney Harrison sees 'Remembering as an active process of cultivating and pruning, not one of completely archiving everything that may or may not be of value in the future.'⁵
- Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge explain 'Heritage is present-centred and is created, shaped and managed by, and in response to, the demands of the present.' And 'Heritage is that part of the past which we select in the present for contemporary purposes, whether they be economic, or cultural (including political and social factors) and choose to bequeath to a future.'⁶

Remembering massacres

- Jane Palmer and Celmara Pocock argue that 'Heritage asks us to hold on to something, hold it close; it makes a claim that this is a part of the past that has relevance for what we do and who we are today. Sometimes that involves holding **something prickly** to draw attention to it.'⁷ Bleak, dark, stories can give way to enabling stories of survival. Stories of violent conquest can be revisited with stories that provide the dignity of resistance.
- Grace Karskens warns that massacre history has been used as a convenient narrative to "clear the stage" so white history can "begin." Seen in isolation, massacre history implies there were no battles, no resistance and no survivors.'⁸

Remembering local place beginnings

- Amanda Nettelbeck and Robert Foster comment on marked differences between foundation stories told at the state or national level (which 'have typically remained silent of frontier conflict) and those told at the regional level, which 'draw on well-known episodes of conflict between Aboriginal people, settlers and police in ways that both anchor the history of the district to a specific set of events and describe a [wider story] of the Australian frontier in the course of British settlement.'⁹
- Mark McKenna argues, 'Every community **needs a creation story**, a story which explains the genesis and growth of a people and their culture ... In every community throughout the nation, respect for the rights and culture of Aboriginal people is dependent upon establishing a dialogue, which is part of a local and national conversation in understanding the perspective of the other, particularly how each of us view our own past and the ways in which this past affects our identity today.'¹⁰

All seem agreed that *remembering at* a site implies recognition with some form of on-the-ground marking. *Remembering with* a site implies no physical memorial but, instead, recognition of a place's importance in-the-mind and possibly with a commemorative event.

FINDING OUT ABOUT HOW CONFLICT IS REMEMBERED

The University of Newcastle, led by Lyndall Ryan, has undertaken a comprehensive survey of massacre sites that include brief well-substantiated descriptions.¹¹

The University of Newcastle listing includes place referenced in this resource:

- Waterloo Creek, 1838
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=577>
- Myall Creek, 1838
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=579>
- Faithfull Massacre, 1838
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=506>
- King River, 1841-42
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=559>

More information is available in the heritage listings of the first two sites.

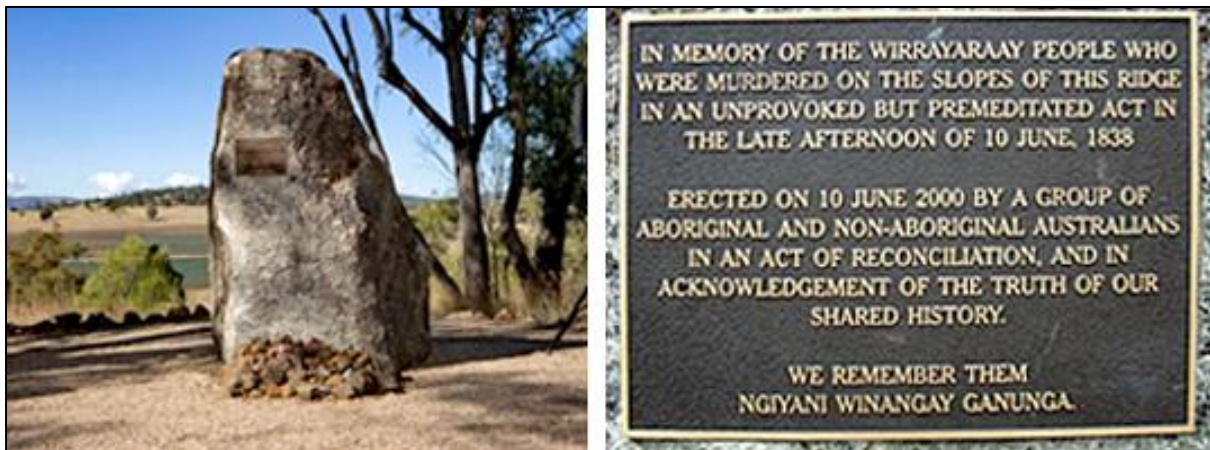
Those listings explain the significance of each site, that is why it is remembered.

Myall Creek Massacre

<https://www.dcceew.gov.au/parks-heritage/heritage/places/national/myall-creek>

Waterloo Creek Massacre

<https://www.hms.heritage.nsw.gov.au/App/Item/ViewItem?itemId=5067313>



Myall Creek Massacre Memorial

A bronze plaque on the Myall Creek memorial states: 'In memory of the Wirrayaraay people who were murdered on the slopes of this ridge in an unprovoked but premeditated act in the late afternoon of 10 June 1838. Erected on 10 June 2000 by a group of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal Australians in an act of reconciliation, and in acknowledgment of the truth of **our shared history**. We Remember them (Ngiyani winangay ganunga).' ¹²

There is no plaque at the Waterloo Creek Massacre Site. The heritage listing expressed the view that 'Today, places such as the Waterloo Creek Massacre Site serve to remind all Australians of **our shared history** and how this event [on 26 January 1838] helped shape our country. These places reclaim First Nations history as part of our holistic story to ensure Australia's colonial atrocities provide truths that do not fade from the national memory.' ¹³

Special acknowledgment is made of what the place might mean to the Wirrayaraay people or the Kamilaroi/Gamilaroy/Gamillaraay/Gomeroi people. Real on-the-ground or online visitors might,

have pride in resistance, and joy in resilience and survival. They might also feel a sense of satisfaction in seeing they have escaped the hurt of erasure from stories told of the colonial past.

QUESTION 1: Find out more. Why are these conflict sites important to both First Nations Peoples and other Australians?

The Faithfull Massacre at Broken River

The Faithfull Massacre at Broken River is not heritage listed. However, the Benalla and District Historical Society has erected a marker near the site of the Faithfull Massacre.¹⁴



The wording on the plaque fixed to a commemorative rock agrees with one of the initial assessments of the principal cause of the attack. In a succinct summary of the event, it makes special mention that 'their drays were plundered.' Other reporters, both then and now, thought the attack was a 'deliberately formed scheme which had been in contemplation for some time previously.' It was a 'deliberate act of resistance,' rather than a chance robbery. Further, the wording does not mention the subsequent reprisals that were 'calculated acts of terror designed to clear the land for settler occupation.'¹⁵

QUESTION 2: Why are/were there differences in interpretations of First Nations Peoples' motives? Why do their motives matter? How might visitors be made aware of different interpretations?

QUESTION 3: In 1921 Dr Arthur Andrews, Albury's first historian, declared 'memory of the Faithfull Massacre is not likely to be forgotten.' Why was it not forgotten in the 1920s – and in the 2020s?

QUESTION 4: Should the event be known as the 'Faithfull Massacre' or the 'Battle of Broken River' or the 'Attack at Broken River'? What difference does the name given the event matter?

Other place memories of conflict

The University of Newcastle listings also include other near massacres, some drawn from wider, not referenced in this resource.

- Bathurst Potato Field, 1824
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=1088>
- Dora Dora Station Murray River, 1836
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=574>
- Mount Dispersion, Murray River, 1836
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=575>
- Mundy Pyalong Station, Goulburn River 1837
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=505>

- Moira swamp, 1843
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=1081>
- Murdering Island, Narrandera 1854
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=599>
- Rufus River, 1841
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=1059>
- Junction of the Murray and Murrumbidgee rivers, 1846
<https://c21ch.newcastle.edu.au/colonialmassacres/detail.php?r=1073>

QUESTION 5: Find out more. Why are such places remembered? Should they continue to be remembered?

Community and individual remembering of conflict

The residents of Bathurst remembered the first Wiradjuri war of 1824 with a Dhuluny Conference in 2024.¹⁶ They prompted the NSW Legislative Council to remember not only its establishment as Australia's only parliament in 1824, but also the declaration of war on the Wiradjuri near Bathurst in 1824. Both were linked to colonial expansion and to the dispossession of First Nations Peoples.

Individuals have shared their memories with the public.

Sheridan Jobbins has shared a story of how and why her four times great uncle featured in a corroboree hate song for his butchery of people at nearby Dora Dora.¹⁷

Nein-mudder, bel-mudder hong-a-lay
Calergin a-mine Jobbin Jobbin jole qui
Nar bun day, nar-r-r merijole-ah-qui-
Nar bun day, nar-r-r, &c.

Source: JFH Mitchell, *Aboriginal dictionary (Woradgeri tongue)*, J Walker, Albury, 1907.

Stan Grant has shared the stories he told his son about the place names 'Murdering Island' and 'Poison Waterholes Creek' near Narrandera.¹⁸



Julie Briggs, *The Guardian*.

QUESTION 6: How might descendants of the dispossessed and descendants of the dispossessors approach a memory site differently?

FINDING OUT ABOUT REMEMBERING COEXISTENCE

The term 'Aboriginal Reserve' is elastic. In different states it includes government sanctioned settlements for Aboriginal people at what were called reserves, missions, protectorate stations and ration depots. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aboriginal_reserve

Displaced First Nations Peoples in this region were mainly settled in one of three missions or reserves – Coranderrk, Cummeragunja and Lake Tyers. The National Heritage Listing of one of these sites, Coranderrk, poses and helps answer questions relevant to all such places.

<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coranderrk>

<https://www.dcceew.gov.au/parks-heritage/heritage/places/national/coranderrk>

https://www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb/search.pl?mode=place_detail;place_id=106033

QUESTION 1: Why is Coranderrk important to all Australians?

QUESTION 2: Why has the listing made it compulsory to consult First Nations Peoples before changing the place?

Other near Aboriginal Reserves include:

- Lake Moodemere encampment/ ration depot/ reserve, near Wahgunyah,
- Tangambalanga Reserve, 1862 and 1873, and
- Erambie Mission, near Cowra on the Lachlan River.¹⁹

Wikipedia has some information on them and on the heritage-listed massacre sites.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cummeragunja_Reserve

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maloga_Mission

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lake_Tyers_Mission

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Erambie_Mission

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Myall_Creek_massacre;

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waterloo_Creek_massacre

Note that Mungabareena, near Albury, is a declared Aboriginal Place.

<https://www.nsw.gov.au/visiting-and-exploring-nsw/locations-and-attractions/mungabareena-reserve-and-water-works>

Declared Aboriginal Places are areas of land recognised and legally protected for their special significance to First Nations Peoples' culture. As such they have been nominated by First Nations Peoples seeking to recognize and protect their cultural heritage, ensuring its preservation for future generations. The sites are used to explain their spiritual, ceremonial, historical, or social importance to First Nations Peoples. The most common landscape features that are highly likely to contain First Nations Peoples' values include: rivers, lakes, swamps, riparian areas, flood plains, sandhills, grasslands, rocky outcrops and coastal areas.²⁰

TOWARDS REMEMBERING AND INTERPRETING

- **an unmarked massacre site**

As pointed out earlier, the Yoorrook Justice Commission's report *Truth Be Told* gives special attention to the reprisals on Oxley Plains, George Faithfull's property:

"THE KILLINGS ON THE OXLEY PLAINS, SOUTH OF WANGARATTA, REMAIN ONE OF THE BLOODIEST CHAPTERS IN VICTORIA'S HISTORY—BUT ALSO AMONG THE LEAST-KNOWN. Today its site is bereft of markers and monuments. There is scant acknowledgement of the event among the historical societies of Benalla and Wangaratta. At the site of coordinates -36.52,146.391, you will find no memorial to what happened by the river. Perhaps what happened on the Oxley Plains brings too much shame. Anywhere between 150 and 300 Aboriginal lives were taken in the years that followed, part of an ongoing cycle of reprisal for alleged cattle and sheep theft—and in retaliation for what became known as the Faithfull Massacre, which occurred just days after first contact in the region in April 1838 ..."²¹

QUESTION 1: Should the reprisals at King River on the Oxley Plains be marked or commemorated?

QUESTION 2: How?

- **an unmarked Wiradjuri/Waywurru encampment**

The editors have already posed questions about the how and why of remembering the Wiradjuri/Waywurru encampment at Lake Moodemere, not just because of its association with Tommy McRae, but also as a place illustrative of displacement and dispossession.

Yet in 2025 Lake Moodemere is remembered as nothing more than a nature reserve.

A Heritage Citation Report is currently being reviewed. At this time it states:

Lake Moodemere is a significant natural feature which has provided a recreational facility for district residents from the mid-19th century until the present time. The elm trees and refreshment booths which remain at the lake shore are historically significant as the location for regattas and social activities for the residents of the Rutherglen region from the mid-19th century to the present day. Local significance [Criteria A & G]

QUESTION 3: Should the significance of Wiradjuri/Waywurru encampment site at Lake Moodemere be re-considered?

QUESTION 4: How might it be marked on the ground?

- **an early contact zone**

The site of the police hut at Bungambrawatha on the Murray River has been identified in an archaeological survey as having the heritage potential.²² Yet, the site has no marker. The site is neglected, invisible, forgotten. It is nothing more than a mark on a map in an archive.



Riverside walks on both the banks of the Murray River mark the first official river crossing with two signs, one on each bank. A sign on the southern bank commemorates Yarre, an Aboriginal canoeist, who took the mail across river to the police barracks. A public art installation named 'Bungambrawatha' more obliquely claims the ford as an Aboriginal crossing place. The first pushes memory to peaceful cooperation and coexistence. The second marks the long ago.

There is no commemoration of the conflict associated with dispossession that prompted the establishment of a police presence. What is more, the police barracks were integral to the establishment of Albury as a town settlement. No police barracks, no Albury town.

QUESTION 5: Should the police barracks site be marked or commemorated?
QUESTION 6: How?

So What?

QUESTION 1: What are public memory places?

QUESTION 2: What purposes do they serve?

REVIEWING RELEVANCE TO THE CURRICULUM/SYLLABUS

QUESTION 1: What do public memory places contribute to the understanding of 'Aboriginal Peoples' experience of Colonisation along and about the route through the Murray River Crossing Place between 1838 and 1844.?

QUESTION 2: What do places reveal about 'how Aboriginal men, women and children were and continue to be impacted by civilisation.?'

CONCLUSION

So what?

The term 'investigating' in our title suggests readers can have expected to pursue open questions rather than follow a set of arguments leading to a decisive conclusion. Nevertheless, we have suggested lines of inquiry, selected evidence and placed emphasis on parts of it. We conclude with summary assessments of the times of dispossession by three commentators, two contemporary and one modern day. These assessments spur readers to draw their own conclusions on where the lines of thinking within this resource have taken them.

- Marie Fels concluded her work on Native Police with a judgement that applies to colonial policing more generally. She traced 'the incessant trouble between Aborigines and settlers in 1840 and 1841' and observed that there were few collisions after police were stationed in what is Northeast Victoria. She agreed with La Trobe:
The marked success which in numerous instances followed employment [of the Native Police] gave confidence to the settler, removed the pretexts under which he would feel justice in taking redress into his own hands, and left no excuse for the vindictive reprisals which have been a blot on the early years of settlement.²³
- The Yoorrook Justice Commission accused La Trobe of legitimising Major Lettsom's raids. Not surprisingly it differs from his views on the impact of the introduction of policing:
The Crown's law was not meant to serve First Peoples. It was meant to remove them ... This was how control was maintained. Not just by the mounted police or the gun, but by the quiet, bureaucratic sanctioning of violence.²⁴
- Like La Trobe, George Augustus Robinson felt satisfied with what had been achieved. He said of the Murray Crossing Place that in 1844,
The Wiradjuri are the original Inhabitants: they are in general well conducted and are employed by the Settlers ... From all the respectable Settlers I received attention and civility and was glad to find a sympathy evinced on behalf of the Aborigines and a desire for their general amelioration, a feeling I felt it my duty to foster and encourage, and I am happy to state that the Country generally as far as the Aboriginal and European Inhabitants were concerned was perfectly tranquil.²⁵

QUESTION 1: What measures are used to reckon how well colonists and First Nations People were learning to live together?

QUESTION 2: How important was the resolution of conflict?

QUESTION 3: Which changes in economic and social conditions had most impact on the lifestyles and life chances of First Nations Peoples?

QUESTION 4: In what sense is there an unfinished reckoning about these times?

QUESTION 5: What more might be done?

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The editors have consulted with First People Knowledge Holders in addition to Yalmambirra. They have consulted with teachers to ensure an appropriate coverage is given to the NSW syllabus requirements.²⁶ They have also gathered advice from members of the Albury & District Historical Society on community historian needs and expectations. They appreciate the helpful suggestions they have received. The editors thank the individuals and groups who have helped with the research and provided feedback on draft presentations. Their special thanks go to the people who attended a preview session at Albury LibraryMuseum on 14 November 2024, the Dyiraamalang girbang (Wiradjuri Elders Group), Ruth Davys, Jacqueline Durrant, Michael Wenke, Hamish McPherson, Stephen Gapps, Morwenna Dixon, Greg Ryan and the Two State History Education Network.

Bruce Pennay thanks his wife, Marie, and the ten children they have had for their support.

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We have looked within the official colonial archive for accounts of how the dispossessed and the dispossessors interacted in the early post-contact years at the Murray River crossing and along the route to and from it. And we have looked for first-hand accounts recorded in letters, journals, memoirs and drawings that provided evidence of 'Aboriginal Peoples' experiences of colonisation.' However, like Bob Reece, before us, in his book *Aborigines and Colonists* in 1974, we are aware that 'all the documentary material available is from white sources.' Our work like his, 'centres on white perceptions of the Aborigines and the problems which cultural contract produced.'

However, we have been able to consult the 2025 report of the Yoorrook Justice Commission, *Truth Be Told* which is presented as:

A detailed account of the history of the State of Victoria from the start of colonisation ...

Written in the tradition of First Peoples' approach to storytelling, it blends oral history, collective memoir and rigorous research to offer a new perspective on colonial history—a reclamation of Victoria's past that privileges voices and stories previously overlooked or deliberately suppressed.

Two sections of *Truth Be Told* bear on the principal preoccupations of this resource: 'Squatters and Settlers' (pp. 32-46) and 'Massacres and the Dawn of Injustice' (pp. 46-60). Both show that 'colonial dispossession relied on a deadly combination of brute force and legal manipulation' and explain that by the early 1840s 'the conflict had reached a fever pitch.'

We have retrieved material from huge collections of despatches, reports and correspondence published by the British House of Commons in 1839 and 1844 – *Australian Aborigines: copies of extracts of despatches relative to the massacre of various Aborigines in Australia, in the year 1838, and respecting the trial of their murderers*, 1839; and *Aborigines (Australian Colonies)*, August 1844. We also used *Historical Records of Australia* compiled by Frederick Watson for the Commonwealth Government in 1923-1924, particularly Series 1, *Governors' Despatches to and from England*, vol. XIX, July 1837 to January 1839 and vol. XX, October 1840 to March 1842. Other accessible and relevant materials were found in Michael Cannon and Ian Macfarlane eds, *Historical Records of Victoria* compiled for the Victorian Government, Melbourne University Press, 1982-1991.

We have made much use of two valuable source books – Ian D Clark ed, *The Journals of George August Robinson, Chief Protector, Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate*, Heritage Matters, Melbourne, 1988; and Penny Russell ed, *This errant lady: Jane Franklin's overland journey to Port Phillip and Sydney, 1839*, National Library of Australia, 2002, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-5174472>.

We have acknowledged within the resource the access to and assistance we got with the wonderful drawings by Tommy McRae. Andrews Sayers sparked our initial interest.

Interpretations

Recently there has been a quickening interest in colonisation at the national, regional and local levels. In 2023, Rachel Perkins spurred new interest in the frontier/homeland wars at the Australian War Memorial with 'The Australian Wars' on SBS, <https://www.sbs.com.au/ondemand/tv-series/the-australian-wars>. In 2023, *Sydney Morning Herald* offered an apology for the ways it reported the Myall Creek massacre in 1838. In 2023, David Marr spurred family historians to look again at their family trees with his book *Killing for Country: a family story* Black Inc, Collingwood. In 2024 a new edition appeared of Richard Broome's book, *Aboriginal Victorians: A History since 1800*, Allen & Unwin, 2nd edition; Ray Kerkhove, *How they Fought: Indigenous Tactics and Weaponry of Australian's Frontier Wars*, Boolarong Press, Tingalpa, 2024, began with a comprehensive and current 'Frontier Wars Historiography'.

Nationally and regionally the history of early colonial interactions is beginning to be officially recognised with public memory places at Myall Creek, Waterloo Creek and Appin where First People and non-First People gather to share early post-contact stories.

Our work also draws on and adds to earlier works including: Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier: Aboriginal resistance to the European invasion of Australia*, Penguin, Ringwood, 1982; Charles White, 'Black Outrages and White Revenge, Port Phillip', *Adelaide Observer* 3 September 1904; S Uren, 'History of Benalla', *Benalla Standard*, 9 October, 1906; MT Christie, *Aborigines in Colonial Victoria 1835-86*, Sydney University Press, Sydney, 1979; Richard Broome, 'The struggle for Australia ' in M McKernan & M Browne ed, *Australia: Two Centuries of War and Peace*, Allen & Unwin, Sydney. 1988; Judith Bassett, 'The Faithfull Massacre at the Broken River', *Australian Studies*, vol 13, no 24, 1989; Roger Milliss, *Waterloo Creek: The Australia Day Massacre of 1838, George Gipps and the British Conquest of New South Wales*, McPhee Gribble, 1992; Judith Bassett, 'The Faithfull Massacre of 1838', *Quadrant* 2019; John Connor, *The Australian Frontier Wars, 1788-1838*, University of NSW Press, 2002; James Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne & the Conquest of Australia*, Black Inc, Collingwood, 2011.

This resource follows hard upon the publication of work by Hamish McPherson and by Stephen Gapps. Hamish McPherson, *"Original Rights": Colonial invasion and Aboriginal resistance in Benalla and northern Victoria, 1838-1858*, Benalla, 2023 unravels the story of the attack at Broken River, 'Benalla's secret'. Stephen Gapps, *Uprising: War in the Colony of New South Wales, 1838-1844*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 2025 is a powerful version of interactions which focused on dispossession and resistance across the Murray Darling Basin river system. Gapps hails the 'Battle of Broken River' as 'the beginning of the uprising' and argues there was coordinated resistance to dispossession and coordinated counter-offensives in the Australian Wars of the late 1830s and early 1840s. We have used two locally oriented works related to Wiradjuri wars of resistance at Narrandera and earlier at Bathurst, as well as to work on the attack at Broken River: Bill Gammage, 'The Wiradjuri War 1839-40', *Push from the Bush*, vol 16, no 110, 1983; Bill Gammage, *Narrandera Shire*, Narrandera Shire Council, 1986; Stephen Gapps, *Gudyarra: The First Wiradjuri War of Resistance, The Bathurst War 1822-1824* New South Publishing, Sydney, 2021. Other local work has included Michael Wenke, 'Kubbermitter, Wiradjuri Nation', unpublished paper, 2025.

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- ¹⁹ Lawrence Bamblett, *our stories are our survival*, Indigenous Studies Press, Canberra, 2013.
- ²⁰ Declared Aboriginal Places: <https://alc.org.au/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Site-Protection-Fact-Sheet-3-Aboriginal-Places.pdf>
- ²¹ *Truth be Told*, Oxley Plains: https://cdn.craft.cloud/06ad3276-b3d9-4912-bcbb-37795aade9a8/assets/documents/Yoorrook_Official-Public-Record_Accessible.pdf, pp. 54-55. (image 29-30)
- ²² Rebecca Morris (2017) *Main Sewage Pump Station and Rising Main Investigations*, Albury, NSW: *Statement of Heritage Impact*, Biosis Pty Ltd, pp. vi-vii, pp 35-43.
- ²³ Fels, *Good Men and True*, p 172.
- ²⁴ Yoorrook Justice Commission, *Truth Be Told*, pp 58-60.
- ²⁵ Mackaness, *Robinson's Journal*, p 344 and pp 348-349.
- ²⁶ NSW curriculum content example: <https://curriculum.nsw.edu.au/learning-areas/hsie/history-7-10-2024/content/stage-4/fa1230b35b?show=advice%2Cexample>