References

- Ah Kit, J. (1994). "Aboriginal Aspirations for Heritage Conservation." *Northern Perspective*, Volume 17 (Number 1): pp. 17-21.
- Anway, A. and S. Guerin (2002). "A Complicated Story" in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*. D. Reed. Canberra, National Museum of Australia: pp. 160-167.
- Aplin, G. (2002). *Heritage: Identification, Conservation and Management*. South Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- Atkinson, A. and M. Aveling, Eds. (1987). *Australians: A Historical Library*. Sydney, Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates.
- Attenbrow, V. (1994). *Parramatta Park: Management and Interpretation of Aboriginal Sites: Stage 1* (report). Sydney South, Australian Museum Business Services.
- Attwood, B. (1996). *Aborigines, Australia and the (dis)course of History, Australian Humanities Review*, (online) Available: <u>http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-April-1996/Attwood.html</u> Accessed 12/11/03
- The Australia First Party (2004). Statement of the Australia First Party In Support of the Protest Rally, May 15 2004 (Captain Cook Drive, Kurnell), (online). Available: <u>http://ausfirst.alphalink.com.au/botanybay.html</u> Accessed 11/05/2004
- Australia ICOMOS (1999). *The Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.icomos.org/australia/burra.html</u> Accessed 12/11/03
- Australia ICOMOS (2003). *Telling Tales: Interpretation in the Conservation and Design Process,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.icomos.org/australia/tellingtales.htm</u> Accessed 12/11/03
- Australian Broadcasting Corporation (2001). *Bridge Over Myall Creek* (Television Broadcast Transcript), (online). Available: <u>http://www.abc.net.au/austory/transcripts/s332825.htm</u>
- Australian Council of National Trusts (2002). *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Policy,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.nationaltrust.org.au/nattrustweb/pdfs/acnt1.pdf</u> Accessed 13/1/03

- Australian Government Publishing Service (1975). *Museums in Australia 1975.* Report of the Committee of Inquiry on Museums and National Collections including the Report of the Planning Committee on the Gallery of Aboriginal Australia. Canberra
- Australian National Maritime Museum (n.d.) *The Welcome Wall* (Brochure). Sydney, The Australian National Maritime Museum.
- Australian National Maritime Museum (2000). *The Welcome Wall,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.anmm.gov.au/welwall.htm</u> Accessed 21/07/03
- Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation (2003). *Reconciliation Place,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.antar.org.au/reconcilitaion_place.html</u> Accessed 19/08/03
- Avery, J. (2003). Comments from Janet Avery to the Myall Creek Memorial Committee (Discussion Board), (online). Available: <u>http://www.myallcreekmemorial.com.au/Minutes.html</u> Accessed: 20/08/2003
- Ballantyne, R. (1995). "Interpreters' Conceptions of Australian Aboriginal Culture and Heritage: Implications for Interpretive Practise." *The Journal of Environmental Education*, Volume 26 (Number 4): pp. 11-17.
- Ballatyne, R. and D. Uzzell (1999). "International Trends in Heritage and Environmental Interpretation: Future Directions for Australian Research and Practice." *Journal of Interpretation Research*, Volume 4 (Number 1): pp. 59-75.
- Barrass, T. and B. Peace (1997). "Heading off Yagan Vandals." *The West Australian,* Perth, 9 December 1997, p. 2
- Batten, B. (2004), "Monuments, Memorials and the Presentation of Australia's Indigenous Past." *Public History Review*, Volume 11 (Outing the Past): pp. 100-121
- Behrendt, L. (2003). Achieving Social Justice: Indigenous Rights and Australia's *Future*. Sydney, The Federation Press.
- Betti, L. (1997a). "Yagan's Head Back in Perth." *The West Australian,* Perth, 2 September 1997, p. 11
- Betti, L. (1997b). "Key Players Take Sides on Native Title." *The West Australian,* Perth, 2 September 1997, p. 11
- Betti, L. (1997c). "Yagan's Statue Under Fire as Protest Planned." *The West Australian,* Perth, 17 September 1997, p. 38
- Betti, L. (1998). "Yagan's Head Must Go: Elders." *The West Australian,* Perth, 4 February 1998, p. 3

- Bickford, A. (1987). "Contact History: Aborigines in New South Wales after 1788." *Australian Aboriginal studies*, Number 1: pp. 55-61.
- Blair, D. (2003). *Naming Places and Placing Names* (lecture). Macquarie University Alumni Lecture 9/10/03.
- Blake, D. (2002). *Extract from a letter to John Brown,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.myallcreekmemorial.com.au/Minutes.html</u> Accessed: 20/08/2003
- Bonyhady, T. (2000). "Never Forget a Face." *The Sydney Morning Herald,* Sydney, Saturday, October 14, 2000, pp. 10-11
- *Bridge Over Myall Creek* (2001). Television Broadcast, Transcript, (online). Available: http://www.abc.net.au/austory/transcripts/s332825.htm, Original Broadcast on 26/7/2001
- Brook, J. and J. L. Kohen (1991). *The Parramatta Native Institution and the Black Town: A History.* Kensington, NSW, New South Wales University Press.
- Brown, J. (2003). *The Myall Creek Massacre* (Transcript), (online). Available: <u>http://www.abc.net.au/talks/perspectiv/stories/s870787.htm</u> Accessed 29/04/2004
- Brown, J. and A. N. Kinnear (2002). *Consultations and Reconciliation Place,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.alphalink.com.au/~rez/Journey/consult.htm</u> Accessed 19/08/03
- Bulbeck, C. (1988). *The Stone Laurel: Of Race, Gender and Class in Australian Memorials*. Griffith University, Institute for Cultural Policy Studies, Division of Humanities, Griffith University.
- Bulbeck, C. (1991). "Aborigines, Memorials and the History of the Frontier" in *Packaging the Past*. J. Rickard and P. Spearritt, Melbourne University Press. (Australian Historical Studies) Volume 24, Number 96: pp. 168-178.
- Burnell, R. H. (1997). "Bottom Line (letter to the editor)." *The Australian*, 22 August 1997, p. 14
- Burton, C. and B. McDonald (1987). *Parramatta Park Historic Landscape Study* (*report*). Parramatta City Council, Parramatta
- Byrne, D. (1996). "Deep Nation: Australia's Acquisition of an Indigenous Past." *Aboriginal History*, Volume 20: pp. 82-107.
- Byrne, D. (2002). "An Archaeology of Attachment: Cultural Heritage and the Post-Contact" In After Captain Cook: The Archaeology of the Recent Indigenous Past in Australia. R. a. W. Harrison, Christine. University of Sydney, Archaeological Computing Laboratory. Volume 8.

- Byrne, D. (2003). "The Ethos of Return: Erasure and Reinstatement of Aboriginal Visibility in the Australian Historical Landscape." *Historical Archaeology*, Volume 37 (Issue 1): pp. 73-86.
- Campbell, I. C. (1978). "Settlers and Aborigines: The Pattern of Conflict on the New England Tableland 1832-1860" in *Records of Times Past: Ethnohistorical Essays on the Culture and Ecology of the New England Tribes*. I. McBryde. Canberra, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies: pp. 5-16.
- Casey, D. (2002). "A Battleground of Ideas and Histories" in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*. D. Reed. Canberra, National Museum of Australia: pp. 18-21.
- Christchurch City Council (2001). *About Chalice,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.ccc.govt.nz/square/Chalice/About.asp</u> Accessed 21/07/03
- Clark, I. (1994). Sharing History: A Sense for All Australians of a Shared Ownership of Their History. Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Clarke, C. (1996). "From Landscapes to Stonemasons." *Historic Environment*, Volume 12 (Number 2): p. 44.
- Collins, P. (1994). *Goodbye Bussamarai Web Site* (Photo of Len Payne), (online). Available: <u>http://www.goodbyebussamarai.com/page4.htm</u> Accessed 16/12/03
- Committee of Inquiry into Museums and National Collections (1975). *Museums in Australia, 1975: Report of the Committee of Inquiry on Museums and National Collections including the report of the Planning Committee on the Gallery of Aboriginal Australia.* Australian Government Publishing Service, Canberra
- Commonwealth of Australia (2003). *Review of the National Museum of Australia -Its Exhibitions and Public Programs. A Report to the Council of the National Museum of Australia.*
- Condie, T. (2000). "Remembering Myall Creek." *The Koori Mail*, Wednesday June 28, 2000, pp. 3, 9-11
- *Confessions of a Headhunter (motion picture, 35 min.)* (2000), Scarlett Pictures, Australia, Producer Kath Shelper.
- Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (2000). National Strategy to Sustain the Reconciliation Process, (online). Available: <u>http://www.reconcilitaion.org.au/docrec/policy/natstrat.htm</u> Accessed 8/9/03

- Council for Aboriginal Reconciliation (n.d.) *Timeline (of little and not so little known facts)*, (online). Available: <u>http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/special/rsjproject/rsjlibrary/car/Timeline.html</u> Accessed 2/1/05
- Cowlishaw, G. (1999). *Rednecks, Eggheads and Blackfellas*. St Leonards, Allen and Unwin.
- Creamer, H. (1990). "Aboriginal Perceptions of the Past: The Implications for Cultural Resource Management in Australia" in *The Politics of the Past*. P. Gathercole and D. Lowenthal. London, Unwin Hyman: pp. 130-140.
- The Crossing Place Implementation Group (n.d.) *The Crossing Place: A Project to* Develop and Conserve our Remarkable Heritage, Create Economic Growth and Promote Community Development. (Brochure). Benalla, Victoria.
- Davison, G. (2003). "Conflict in the Museum" in *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*. B. Attwood and S. G. Foster. Canberra, National Museum of Australia: pp 201-214.
- Dawson, N. (2003). *Chalice: Icon for Christchurch*. Radio National, (online) Available: <u>http://www.abc.net.au/rn/arts/sunmorn/stories/s872952.htm</u> Accessed 12/8/03
- Department for Culture Media and Sport (2002). *People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment* (Report), Department for Culture, Media and Sport, United Kingdom, (online). Available: <u>http://www.culture.gov.uk/global/publications/archive_2002/people_places.h</u> <u>tm?properties=%2C%2Cmonth=</u> Accessed 12/8/03
- Department of Conservation and Land Management (n.d.) *Fremantle Aboriginal Heritage Walking Tour* (Brochure), (online). Available: <u>http://www.calm.wa.gov.au/tourism/pdf_files/freo_walk.pdf</u> Accessed 12/12/03
- Department of Conservation and Land Management (1998). *Best Recipes for Interpreting our Heritage*. Como, WA, Department of Conservation and Land Management.
- Devonport Visitor Centre (2004). *Devonport, Latrobe and Port Sorrell Visitors Guide* (Brochure).
- Dickson, F. (1981). *Aboriginal Settlements at Kurnell* (audio recording). Broadcast on 11/1/1981, copy available at Macquarie University Library DU124.A6.D5 (av).

- Division of Law *Macquarie University* (2003). *The Myall Creek Massacre Trials,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.law.mq.edu.au/scnsw.../featured_case_current.html</u> Accessed 20/08/03
- Dunn, C. (2003). One Track for All, (online). Available: http://www.ulladulla.info/attractions/onetrack.html Accessed 12/12/03
- Dysart, D., Ed. (2000). Edge of the Trees. Sydney, The Historic Houses Trust of NSW.
- The Electronic Labyrinth (2002). *Palimpsest,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.iath.virginia.edu/elab/hfl0243.html</u> Accessed 23/12/02
- Flynn, M. (1995a). *Parramatta and the Aboriginal People of the Sydney Region, Part One 1788-1810*. Parramatta City Council,
- Flynn, M. (1995b). "Place of Eels: Aboriginal Parramatta in Australian History." *History*, Volume 44: pp. 8-10.
- Frances, R. and B. Scates (1989). "Honouring the Aboriginal Dead." *Arena*, Volume 86: pp. 72-80.
- Fredericksen, C. (2000). "History and Prehistory: Essential Dichotomy or Arbitrary Separation?" *Australian Archaeology* (Number 50): pp. 94-97.
- Friends of Old Government House (2002). *History of Old Government House,* (online). Available: <u>http://members.optusnet.com.au/~blinky411/history.html</u> Accessed 23/12/02
- Frost, A. (1994). Botany Bay Mirages. Carlton, Melbourne University Press.
- Frysinger, G. (2003). *Travel Photos: Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.galenfrysinger.com/ayers_rock.htm</u> Accessed 29/5/03
- Galt, S. (1995). Guidelines for Heritage Trails. Sydney, NSW Heritage Office.
- Gelder, K. and J. M. Jacobs (1998). *Uncanny Australia: Identity and Sacredness in a Postcolonial Nation*. Carlton South, Melbourne University Press.
- Geographical Names Board of New South Wales (2002). *Dawes Point/Tar-ra NSW First Dual Name Nomination* (online). Available: <u>http://www.gnb.nsw.gov.au/newsroom/180302.html</u> Accessed 19/9/03
- Goodall, H. (2002). "Too Early Yet or Not Soon Enough? Reflections on Sharing Histories as Process." *Australian Historical Studies*, Volume 118: pp. 7-24.
- Graham, D. (1997). "A Spirit Released, Now to be Put to Rest." *The Age*, 16 August 1997, p. 4

- Grassby, A. and M. Hill (1988). *Six Australian Battlefields: The Black Resistance to Invasion and the White Struggle Against Colonial Oppression*. North Ryde NSW, Angus and Robertson.
- Green, P. (1999). "Future Challenges for Australian and World Interpretive Methodology." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 5 (Number 3 & 4): pp. 149-160.
- Griffiths, T. (2003). "The Language of Conflict" in *Frontier Conflict: The Australian Experience*. B. Attwood and S. G. Foster. Canberra, National Museum of Australia.
- Hansford, P. (2004). "Devonport." TNT Magazine (Issue 42): pp.87
- Harmon-Price, P. and K. Tweedie (1996). *The Art of Interpretation Workbook*. Brisbane, Queensland Department of Environment and Heritage.
- Harrison, B. (1978). "The Myall Creek Massacre" in Records of Times Past: Ethnohistorical Essays on the Culture and Ecology of the New England Tribes. I. McBryde. Canberra, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies: pp. 17-51.
- Harrison, R. and C. Williamson, Eds. (2002). *After Captain Cook: The Archaeology of the Recent Indigenous Past in Australia*. Sydney University Archaeological Methods Series 8. University of Sydney, Archaeological Computing Laboratory.
- Harrow Promotion and Development Group (n.d.). *Historic Harrow: Victoria's Oldest Inland Town* (Brochure).
- Healy, C. (1997a). *From the Ruins of Colonialism: History as Social Memory*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Healy, C. (1997b). "In the Beginning was Captain Cook." *Australian Humanities Review,* March 1997, (online) Available: <u>http://www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/archive/Issue-MArch-1997/healy</u> Accessed 12/12/03
- Heritage Council of Western Australia (1998a). *Pigeon Heritage Trail: Aboriginal-European Relations in the West Kimberley, 1890s,* (online). Available: <u>http://trails.heritage.wa.gov.au/ht_pdf/Pigeon.pdf</u> Accessed 12/12/03

Heritage Council of Western Australia (1998b). *Swan River Heritage Trail*, (online). Available: <u>http://trails.heritage.wa.gov.au/ht_pdf/SwanRiver.pdf</u> Accessed 12/12/03

Heritage Council of Western Australia (1998c). Jaburara Heritage Trail: The Natural History and Cultural Heritage of the Karratha District, (online). Available: <u>http://trails.heritage.wa.gov.au/ht_pdf/Jaburara.pdf</u> Accessed 12/12/03

- Hickman, B. (2003). "Red Tape Ruins Efforts to Return Black Remains." *The Australian*, 11 January 2003, p. 6
- Hinkson, M. (2001). *Aboriginal Sydney: A Guide to Important Places of the Past and Present*. Canberra, Aboriginal Studies Press.
- Historic Houses Trust (2003a). *Museum of Sydney on the Site of the First Government House* (online). Available: <u>http://www.hht.org.au/news_room/fact_sheets/museum_of_sydney</u> Accessed 6/01/04
- Historic Houses Trust (2003b). *Museum of Sydney.* (online). Available: <u>http://www.hht.org.au/news_room/guide_books/museum_of_sydney</u> Accessed 6/01/04
- Huxtable, D. (2000). "Interpreting our Heritage: The Quest to be Accessible, Relevant and Provocative." *Historic Environment*, Volume 14 (Number 4): pp. 5-14.
- ICOMOS Ename Charter for the Interpretation of Cultural Heritage Sites (Second Draft), (online). Available: <u>http://www.enamecenter.org/pages/ICOMOS%20EnameCharterENG-24-</u>06-04.doc Accessed 6/8/04
- Ingles, J. (2003). *To Whom It May Concern- Re Upgrade of Botany Bay National Park* (letter), (online). Available: <u>http://www.members.hostedscripts.com/board.cgi?user=ultraweb&a=read&r</u> <u>ead=1045805539</u> Accessed 26/2/2003
- Inglis, K. S. (1998). *War Memorials in the Australian Landscape*. Carlton South, Melbourne University Press.
- Jackson, S. (2001). *Heirisson Island Walk,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.nachohat.org/p/walking_110801/heirisson_island.html</u> Accessed 15/8/03
- Jervis, J. (1933). *The Story of Parramatta and District*. Sydney, The Shakespeare Head Press Ltd.
- Jesuit Publications (2003). "The Myall Creek Memorial" *Madonna* September/October 2003 (online), Available: <u>http://www.madonnamagazine.com.au/articles/0309pike.html</u>
- Johnny Mullagh Cricket Centre (2004). *Community Opening: Johnny Mullagh Cricket Centre* (Leaflet). Harrow, Victoria.

- Jones, K. (2003). Who's Telling the Story? Multiple Views of New Zealand's Past. Paper presented at the Australia ICOMOS 203 Annual Conference – 'Telling Tales: Interpretation in the Conservation and Design Process', Manly, NSW, 28-29 November 2003.
- Kelly, P. (2003). "Our Rival Storytellers." *The Weekend Australian*, September 27-28, 2003, p. 8
- Kohen, J. L. (1993). *The Darug and their Neighbours: The Traditional Owners of the Sydney Region*. Blacktown, Darug Link in association with the Blacktown and District Historical Society.
- Kohen, J. L. (2000). "A Different Story: An Aboriginal Interpretation of Old Government House." *Reflections*, Feb-April 2000: pp. 16-18.
- Kohen, J. L., et al. (1999). Uninvited Guests An Aboriginal Perspective on Government House and Parramatta Park. The National Trust of Australia, (NSW)
- Kremmer, C. (2003). "Discord and Lots of Concrete Fill Garden of Australian Dreams", Sydney Morning Herald, December 8, 2003, (online). Available: <u>http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/12/07/1070732072611.html?from=stor</u> <u>yrhs</u>
- Kurnell.com (2003). *Historical Perspective of Captain Cook*, (online). Available: <u>http://www.kurnell.com/home.htm</u> Accessed 22/9/03
- Lampathakis, P. (1998). "Hames Pledges Yagan Funds." *The West Australian* Perth, 24 December 1998, p. 6
- Lane, B. (2002). "Stripping the Armbands." *The Australian*, Friday December 6 2002, p. 12
- Langford, R. (1983). "Our Heritage Your Playground." *Australian Archaeology*, Volume 16: pp. 1-2.
- Laurence, J. (2003). *Interpretation Through Sculpture*. Paper presented at the Australia ICOMOS 2003 Annual Conference '*Telling Tales: Interpretation in the Conservation and Design Process*', Manly, 28-29 November 2003.
- Lawton, B. (2001). Understanding Aboriginal Perspectives of History and Heritage in Wyndham, Western Australia. Honours Thesis, Macquarie University
- Lennon, P. (2004). *First Phase of Healing Garden Complete* (Speech), (online). Available: <u>http://www.premier.tas.gov.au/speeches/garden.html</u> Accessed 25/6/04
- Macdonald, E. (2003). "Stolen Generations Monument Finalised." *The Canberra Times* Canberra, Monday June 30 2003, p. 2

- Macintyre, S. (2003). *The History Wars*. Carlton, Victoria, Melbourne University Press.
- *The Macquarie Essential Dictionary* (1999). Macquarie University, The Macquarie Library.
- Macquarie University. (2003). *Macquarie University Submission of a Non-Traditional Thesis*, (online). Available: <u>http://www.ro.mq.edu.au/HDRU/forms_thesis?NTTPolicy.pdf</u> Accessed 20/2/05
- Malan, A. (1997). "Statesman Finally Stands Tall." *The West Australian*, 4 February 1997, p. 14
- Manne, R. (2003a). "History to Suit Carries its own Peril." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, September 8, 2003, p. 11
- Manne, R., Ed. (2003b). *Whitewash: On Keith Windschuttle's Fabrication of Australian History* (Introduction Section pp. 1-12), Melbourne, Black Inc. Agenda, (online). Available: <u>http://evatt.labor.net.au/publications/papers/109.html</u>
- Markus, A. (1994). Australian Race Relations. St Leonards, Allen and Unwin.
- McArthur, S. and M. Hall (1993). "Visitor Management and Interpretation at Heritage Sites" in *Heritage Management in New Zealand and Australia: Visitor Management, Interpretation and Marketing*. S. McArthur and M. Hall. Melbourne, Oxford University Press: pp. 18-39.
- McBryde, I. (1995). "Dream the Impossible Dream? Shared Heritage, Shared Values, or Shared Understanding of Disparate Values?" *Historic Environment*, Volume 11 (Numbers 2 and 3): pp. 8-14.
- McCarthy, L., *et al.* (1997). *Culture and Heritage: Oral History*. Canberra, Department of the Environment.
- McDonald, N. (2000). "Descendants Gather for Healing." *Insights Magazine,* July 2000, (online). Available: <u>http://insights.uca.org.au/2000/july/myall.htm</u> Accessed 12/8/03
- McFadzean, M. (2002). From Dictation Tests to Detention Centres: Exhibiting Controversy, Past and Present, (online). Available: <u>http://www.museumsaustralia.org.au/conf02/Papers/McFadzean%20M.pdf</u> Accessed 5/01/04
- McGrath, A. (1995). *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines Under the British Crown*. St. Leonards, Allen & Unwin.
- McIntyre, K. G. (1982). The Secret Discovery of Australia. Sydney, Pan Books.

- McKenna, M. (2002). *Looking for Blackfellas Point: an Australian History of Place*. Sydney, UNSW Press.
- McLoughlin, L. C. (1999). "Environmental History, Environmental Management and the Public Record." *Australian Journal of Environmental Management*, Volume 6 (Number 4): pp. 207-218.
- The Metropolitan Land Council (2003). *The Art Community & the Sydney Metropolitan Land Council,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.artnews.com.au/madden.htm</u> Accessed 21/1/04
- Morgan, J. (2002). "Review of National Museum 'is Politically Motivated'." *Sydney Morning Herald*, Monday, December 16, 2002, pp. 15
- Mulvaney, D. J. (1989). *Encounters in Place: Outsiders and Aboriginals Australians 1606-1985*. St Lucia, Queensland, University of Queensland Press.
- Mundine, D. and S. Jenkins (2003). *The Aboriginal Memorial*, (online). Available: <u>http://www.nga.gov.au/memorial/</u> Accessed 15/8/03
- Museums Australia (2003). *Museums Australia Responds to the National Museum of Australia Review Panel Report,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.museumsaustralia.org.au/hottopics/nma_review_response.htm</u> Accessed 8/01/04, Released 18/07/03
- The Myall Creek Memorial Committee (2000). *Myall Creek Memorial Opening Ceremony* (Program), The Myall Creek Memorial Committee.
- The Myall Creek Memorial Committee (2002). *Minutes of the Public Meeting Held at the Myall Creek Memorial Hall, 19th October 2002,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.myallcreekmemorial.com.au/Minutes.html</u> Accessed: 20/08/2003
- The Myall Creek Memorial Committee (2004). *Myall Creek Memorial Annual* Service of Commemoration, 12th June 2004. (Booklet)
- National Capital Authority (n.d.) *Reconciliation Place: A Lasting Symbol of our Shared Journey* (Brochure):
- National Capital Authority (2002). *Reconciliation Place: Overview,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.nationalcapital.gov.au/PROJECTS/../overview.htm</u> Accessed 19/08/03
- National Estate Grants Program (1997). A Methodology for the Identification, Interpretation and Promotion of the Heritage of Women in Tasmania. Hobart, The Office of the Status of Women.
- National Museum of Australia (2004). *About Us: Land, Nation, People* (online). Available: <u>http://www.nma.gov.au/about_us/index.html</u> Accessed 6/5/04

National Museum of Australia (2004). *The National Museum of Australia: An Introduction*, (online). Available: <u>http://www.nma.gov.au/media/media_kits/the_national_museum_of_australia/general/</u> Accessed 12/5/04

- The National Parks and Wildlife Service NSW (1972). *Captain Cook's Landing Place Historic Site - Plan of Management*. The National Parks and Wildlife Service - NSW
- National Trust Aboriginal Interpretation Reference Group (1999a). *Minutes of the First Meeting of the National Trust Aboriginal Interpretation Reference Group, May 26th 1999.*
- National Trust Aboriginal Interpretation Reference Group (1999b). *Minutes of the Second Meeting of the National Trust Aboriginal Interpretation Reference Group, November 22nd 1999.*
- National Trust Aboriginal Interpretation Reference Group (2000a). *Minutes of the Third Meeting of the National Trust Aboriginal Interpretation Reference Group, April 7th 2000.*
- National Trust Aboriginal Interpretation Reference Group (2000b). *Minutes of the Fourth Meeting of the National Trust Aboriginal Interpretation Reference Group, May 22nd 2000.*
- The National Trust of Australia (NSW) (1981). *An Educational Kit on Old Government House Parramatta and Experiment Farm Cottage Harris Park.* Observatory Hill, The National Trust of Australia (NSW).
- The National Trust of Australia (NSW) (2000a). 1997/98 National Estate Grants Program: An Aboriginal Interpretation of Old Government House, Parramatta - Final Report. The National Trust of Australia, (NSW)
- The National Trust of Australia (NSW) (2000c). Summary of Evaluation of the Aboriginal Interpretation of Old Government House.
- The National Trust of Australia (NSW) (2002b). *Old Government House, Parramatta Park, Parramatta,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.nsw.nationaltrust.org.au/gov.html</u> Accessed 23/12/02
- Nicholson, A. M. (2003). *Museum Review Attracts Historian's Ire* (TV Broadcast transcript), Original Broadcast Date15/07/03, (online). Available: <u>http://www.abc.net.au/lateline/content/2003/s902872.htm</u> Accessed 21/07/03,
- Nilar, S. (2002). Sydney's premier Indigenous Film Festival celebrates four years, (online): Available: <u>www.parracity.nsw.gov.au/news/20020621_127.html</u> Accessed 8/7/03

- NSW Council for Reconciliation (2004). *Launch of the NSWRC's Local History Project,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.nswrecon.com/lhp/print.html</u> Accessed 31/03/2004
- NSW Hansard (2000). *Myall Creek Massacre*, (online). Available: <u>http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/Prod/Parlment/HansArt.nsf/0/ca256d110</u> 00bd3aaca25691500175d98?OpenDocument Accessed 16/12/03
- NSW Hansard (2001). Dual Naming Policy, (online). Available: http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/Prod/Parlment/HansArt.nsf/)ca25611000 bd3aaca256a7d004b19ec?OpenDocument. Accessed 16/12/03
- NSW Hansard (2004). Captain Cook's Landing Place, (online), Available: <u>http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/Prod/Parlment/HansArt.nsf/6c0d5d79184</u> <u>1aef8ca256d1000816e0b/2125bff36f432223ca256e5f0017abf7?OpenDocu</u> <u>ment</u> Accessed 16/12/03
- NSW Heritage Office (1998). *Living with Aboriginal Culture: An Introduction to Aboriginal Heritage*. Parramatta NSW, NSW Heritage Office.
- NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (2002). *Botany Bay National Park Plan of Management,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.npws.nsw.gov.au/</u> NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service,
- NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (2003a). *Botany Bay National Park Community Meeting* (Flyer).
- NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (2003b). *Meeting Place Precinct Draft Master Plan - Botany Bay National Park, Kurnell*. NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service,
- NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (2003c). *The Meeting Place Precinct Master Plan - Botany Bay National Park, Kurnell,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.nationalparks.nsw.gov.au/PDFs/botany_bay_masterplan.pdf</u> NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service,
- O'Brien, D. (2002). *Dispossessed* (short film). Video, (currently under copyright and distribution negotiation may be accessed via Parramatta Park Trust)
- O'Brien, G. (2003). "Blue Over Big Red's Capital Offence." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, August 30-31, 2003, p. 2
- O'Brien, N. (1997). "Statue Decapitation Blamed on Rednecks." *The Australian*, 8 September 1997, p. 9

O'Connell, G. (2000a). Indigenous Australians at War: Interpretations and Exhibitions, (online). Available: <u>http://www.fortunecity.com/meltingpot/statu.../exhibitions.htm</u> Accessed 20/08/03

- O'Connell, G. (2000b). Indigenous Australians at War: Memorials to Aboriginal Soldiers, (online). Available: <u>http://www.fortunecity.com/meltingpot/statue.../memorial.htm</u> Accessed 20/08/03
- O'Rourke, C. (2003a). "Nation's Birthplace to Get a New Lease on Life." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, January 24 2003, p.5
- O'Rourke, C. (2003b). "Heritage List Draws a Line in the Sand to Protect Dunes." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, February 7th 2003, p. 3
- Paroissien, L. (2002). "Modelling a Museum for the 21st Century" in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*. D. Reed. Canberra, National Museum of Australia: pp. 168-177.
- Parramatta Advertiser (2003). "Heritage Award for Park Trust." *Parramatta Advertiser*, p. 26
- Parramatta Park Trust (2003). *Parramatta Park Trust,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.ppt.nsw.gov.au/index.htm</u> Accessed 13/1/03
- Peckham, S. (1992). *Gariwerd: A Kit for Teaching Aboriginal Rights and the History of the Grampians/Gariwerd area*. Malvern, Victoria, Action for Aboriginal Rights.
- Prosser, D. (1996). "Interpreting Social Values: The Museum of Sydney Experience" in Assessing Social Values: Communities and Experts. A workshop held by Australia ICOMOS, Australian Heritage Commission.
- Proudfoot, H. (1971). *Old Government House: The Building and its Landscape*. Sydney, Angus and Robertson.
- The Public Action Project (1989). "Unmasking the Monument: The Other Side of the Pioneer Myth" in *The Murdoch Ethos: Essays in Australian History in Honour of Foundation Professor Geoffrey Balton*. Murdoch, Western Australia, Murdoch University Press.
- The Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery (n.d.). A Guide to the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery (Brochure). Launceston.
- Rapp, C. (1980). *Who Owns Parramatta Park?* (Audio Recording) Access available at Macquarie University Library.
- Read, P. (1996). Returning to Nothing. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Read, P. (2000). *Belonging: Australians, Place and Aboriginal Ownership*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Read, P. (2003a). Haunted Earth. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

- Read, P. (2003b). *Contested Frontiers,* (Radio Broadcast 20/02/03 Transcript), (online). Available: <u>http://www.abc.net.au/rn/talks/perspective/stories/s788566.htm</u> Accessed 12/05/04
- Reconciliation and Social Justice Library (2003). Valuing Cultures Identifying Social Values and Addressing Conflicting Attachments, (online). Available: <u>http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/IndigLRes/car/1993/3/17.html</u> Accessed 12/8/03
- Reece, R. H. W. (1974). *Aborigines and Colonists*. Sydney, Sydney University Press.
- Reed, D. (2002). "A Volatile History" in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*. D. Reed. Canberra, National Museum of Australia.
- Reynolds, H. (1999). Why Weren't We Told? Ringwood, Victoria, Viking.
- Reynolds, H. (2000). Black Pioneers. Ringwood, Victoria, Penguin.
- Reynolds, H. (2003). "Too Sure of Himself." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, August 23-24, 2003, pp. 8-9
- Reynolds, H. and B. Dennett (2002). *The Aborigines*. Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- Ricketts, W. (n.d.). William Ricketts Sanctuary (brochure).
- Riddell, C. (2002). *Comments on 'What Next'* (Discussion Section on Web Site), (online). Available: <u>http://www.myallcreekmemorial.com.au/Minutes.html</u> Accessed: 20/08/2003
- Roberts, K. (2002). Canberra's Reconciliation Place: Empty Gesture or Step in the Right Direction? (online). Available: <u>http://www.sjc.uq.edu.au/insite/.../reconciliation%20place.htm</u> Accessed 19/08/03
- Rose, D. B. (1992). *Dingo Makes Us Human*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, D. B. (2001). "The Saga of Captain Cook Remembrance and Mortality" in *Telling Stories: Indigenous History and Memory in Australia and New Zealand*. B. Attwood and F. Magowan. Crows Nest, Allen and Unwin: pp. 61-79.
- Russell, J. (1997). "Towards More Inclusive, Vital Models of Heritage: An Australian Perspective." *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Volume 3 (Number 2): pp. 71-80.

- Salt, D. (2000). *Kurnell Birthplace of Modern Australia*. Como West, Clarion House.
- Salvestro, D. (2002). *Interview with Janet Laurence,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.artwrite.cofa.unsw.edu.au/0020/2020_pages/Salvestro_Janet_L</u> <u>aurence.html</u> Accessed 23/1/04
- Scates, B. (1989). "A Monument to Murder: Celebrating the Conquest of Aboriginal Australia." *Studies in Western Australian History*, Volume 10: pp. 21-31.
- Schlunke, K. (2003). *Dumb Places,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.transforming.cultures.uts.edu.au/writingevents/papers/dumbplaces.html</u> Accessed 16/1/04
- Scott, L. (2002). Opening of Reconciliation Place and Commonwealth Place (Broadcast), (online). Available: <u>http://www.abc.net.au/canberra/stories/s613276.htm</u> Accessed 12/8/03
- Sculthorpe, G. (2001). "Exhibiting Indigenous Histories in Australian Museums" in Negotiating Histories : National Museums : Conference Proceedings. D. McIntyre and K. Wehner. Canberra, National Museum of Australia: pp. 73-84.
- Shanahan, A. (2003a). "Indigenous Guilt Push Countered." *The Sunday Telegraph*, January 19, 2003, p. 71
- Shanahan, A. (2003b). "An Interpretative Dance Across History." *The Australian*, August 7th, 2003, pp. 15
- Simpson, M. (2001). *Making Representations: Museums in the post-Colonial Era*. New York, Routledge.
- Skelsey, M. (2004). "Kurnell's European Symbols Facing Axe", *The Daily Telegraph,* Sydney, 22nd March 2004, (online). Available: <u>http://www.dailytelegraph.news.com.au/printerfriendly.jsp?sectionid=1260st</u> <u>oryid=1074663</u> Accessed 1/4/04
- Slater, J. (2002). *Not So Secret Sacred,* (online). Available: <u>http://milkstone.d2.net.au/jan/sacred-wok-website/</u> Accessed 16/1/04
- Stanner, W. E. H. (1991). *After the Dreaming* (1968 Boyer Lectures). Crows Nest, Australian Broadcasting Corporation.
- Stubbins, T. (2002). *Where Next?* (Letter), (online). Available: <u>http://www.myallcreekmemorial.com.au/Minutes.html</u> Accessed: 20/08/2003
- Stubbins, T. and P. Smith (2001). *The Myall Creek Massacre: Its History, Its Memorial and the Opening Ceremony*. Bingara, The Myall Creek Memorial Committee.

- Sunday (2003). *Fabricating Aboriginal History* (Television Broadcast Transcript), (online). Available: <u>http://sunday.ninemsn.com.au/sunday/inc.../transcript_1286.as</u> Accessed 11/10/03
- Sydney Harbour Federation Trust (2001). *Woolwich Dock and Parklands: History* of the Site, (online). Available: <u>http://www.harbourtrust.gov.au/topics/sites_woolwich.html</u> Accessed 10/11/03
- Taylor, N. (2003). *Traveller's Tales: Remembering the Myall Creek Massacre,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.walkabout.com.au/tales/Travellerstales00037.shtml</u> Accessed 16/12/03
- Tiagarra Aboriginal Cultural Centre and Museum (n.d.). *Visitor Information and Tiagarra Museum Self Guided Tour* (Leaflet). Devonport.
- Tickner, L. (2002). "Naked Chief Defended." The West Australian, 21 June 2002,
- Tilden, F. (1977). *Interpreting Our Heritage*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.
- Tourism Queensland (2000). *Innovation in Interpretation*. Brisbane, Tourism Queensland.
- Tumarkin, M. (2003). *Traumascapes* (transcript). Radio National, (online) Available: <u>http://www.abc.net.au/rn/science/ockham/stories/s907643.htm</u> Accessed 12/12/03
- Verghis, S. (2003). "Taking the Waters." *The Sydney Morning Herald*, March 1-2, 2003, p. 34
- The Wakpa Sica Historical Society (2002). *The Wakpa Sica Reconciliation Place,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.wakpasica.org</u> Accessed 19/08/03
- Waldersee, J. (1979). "The Myall Creek Massacre: The Execution of Seven Unfortunate Men." *Historical Perspectives*, pp. 70-72.
- Walker, J. (1969). *Two Hundred Years in Retrospect, Kurnell-Sutherland* 1770-1970. Cronulla, Cronulla Printing Company.
- Walker, M. (2001). "Heritage in a Changing Landscape" in *Heritage Landscapes: Understanding Place and Communities*. M. Cotter, B. Boyd and J. Gardiner. Lismore, Southern Cross University Press.

- Walking Together (1999). "Remembering the Myall Creek Massacre" *Walking Together,* March 1999, (online). Available: <u>http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/special/rsjproject/rsjlibrary/car/wtno24_mar199</u> <u>9/pages/wtmar15.htm</u> Accessed 12/8/03
- Watson, D. (2003). *Recollections of a Bleeding Heart*. Milsons Point, Random House.
- Weller, R. (2002). "Mapping the Nation" in *Tangled Destinies: National Museum of Australia*. D. Reed. Canberra, National Museum of Australia: pp. 124-137.
- Wettenhall, G. (1999). *The People of Gariwerd : the Grampians' Aboriginal Heritage*. Melbourne, Aboriginals Affairs Victoria.
- Whitton, P. (2000). *Aboriginal Heritage Walks Melbourne and Sydney*, (online). Available: <u>http://www.abc.net.au/message/blackarts/review/s65742.htm</u> Accessed 12/12/03
- Wilkins, P. (2003). *Wilkins Tourist Maps: Ayers Rock: Uluru National Park,* (online). Available: <u>http://www.wilmap.com.au/NT3.html</u> Accessed 29/5/03
- Williams, R. and W. Brennan (1999). *Evaluating Face-to-Face Interpretation in The Human Factor in Interpretation*. IAA National Conference, Hobart, Interpretation Australia Association.
- Windschuttle, K. (2001). "How Not to Run a Museum." *Quandrant*, September 2001: pp. 11-19.
- Women Tasmania (2004). Significant Tasmanian Women: Ida West, (online), Available: <u>http://www.women.tas.gov.au/siginificantwomen/search/ida_west.html</u> Accessed 25/6/04
- Wong, J. L. (2002). Who We Are: A Re-assessment of Cultural Identity and Social Inclusion, (online). Available: <u>http://www.ben-network.org.uk/pdf/Vol4_2.pdf</u> Accessed 6/8/04
- Young, D. (1996). *Making Crime Pay: The Evolution of Convict Tourism in Tasmania*. Hobart, Tasmanian Historical Research Association.
- Zeppel, H. (1999). "Who Were Bennelong and Pemulwuy? Museums in Sydney and Interpretation of Eora Aboriginal Culture." *International Journal of Heritage Research*, Volume 5 (Numbers 3 & 4): pp. 182-187.