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AUSTRALIAN CULTURAL
HERITAGE MANAGEMENT

Indigenous Cultural Heritage and History within the Metropolitan Melbourne Investigation Area

A report to the Victorian Environmental
Assessment Council

By: Dr Shaun Canning and Dr Frances Thiele

Date: February 2010

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Spatial Data

Spatial data captured by Australian Cultural Heritage Management (Victoria) Pty Ltd in this report for any newly recorded sites has been obtained by using hand held or differential GPS units using the GDA94 co-ordinate system.

Abbreviations

Term	Meaning
AAV	Aboriginal Affairs Victoria
ACHM	Australian Cultural Heritage Management (Vic) Pty Ltd
In Situ	in the original place of deposition
VEAC	Victorian Environmental Assessment Council

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1 Pre-Contact history of Melbourne

The enormous span of time prior to the arrival of Europeans in the Melbourne area is often a missing element in narratives of the history of the city and the state. People have lived and prospered in south-eastern Victoria for at least the last 30,000 years. The physical evidence of the Aboriginal occupation of the Melbourne metropolitan region is present almost everywhere within the study area. Sub-surface archaeological deposits, shell middens, quarries, fish traps, artefacts scatters, scarred trees and earth mounds bear silent witness to 1,000 generations of continuous land use prior to the arrival of Europeans.

1.1 Climate and Climate History

Radical, but gradual, climate change has been a feature of south-eastern Australia throughout the late Pleistocene (i.e. the 40,000 to 10,000 years ago) and Holocene periods (the last 10,000 years). The following section will briefly outline these climate changes over the last 40,000 years, and highlight the fact that throughout these changes Aboriginal people were moving through a series of vastly different landscapes, adapting to conditions unrecognisable in the region today.

1.2 Pleistocene

Broad scale but mostly gradual climatic change characterises most of the late Pleistocene epoch corresponding with the period of human occupation of south eastern Australia (i.e. 40,000 BP-10,000 Before Present). To date, a variety of methods have been utilised to reconstruct Australian late Quaternary environmental sequences. The majority of palaeoenvironmental data is derived from aquatic sources replete with fossiliferous sediments containing ancient pollen and charcoal samples (Kershaw, 1995).

Reconstructions of late Pleistocene climates generally show that conditions became cooler and drier from approximately 25,000 BP, reaching the coldest and driest period at the height of the Last Glacial Maximum (LGM) approximately 18,000 BP. Prior to the onset of increasing aridity and cooling at 25,000 BP, the continent had been generally warmer and wetter than it is today (Wasson and Donnelly, 1991).

At the height of the LGM mean annual temperatures across south-eastern Australia were between 3° Celsius and 10° Celsius below contemporary temperature ranges (Kershaw, 1995; Wasson and Donnelly, 1991). Significantly, the snow line was lowered to about 1,000 metres above sea level indicating much colder conditions (Hope, 1994; Kershaw, 1995; Wasson and Donnelly, 1991); rainfall was 30 to 50% of contemporary mean annual totals, while wind speeds were 120 to 250% greater than contemporary means. Throughout south-eastern Australia lake levels were generally low; while further inland, lakes were mainly dry (Wasson and Donnelly, 1991).

Vast tracts of south-eastern Australia were virtually treeless (Hope, 1994) at this time, despite forested environments being widespread previously, with *Casuarina* and *Eucalyptus* taxa comprising only minor elements of pollen samples analysed from this time (Kershaw, 1995). Better-watered and sheltered 'micro-habitats' (Kershaw, 1995: 661) or 'eco-niches' (Hope, 1994: 381) allowed small communities of these trees to survive through the extremes of the LGM. Away from these favoured 'micro-habitats', the landscape was generally one of cold steppe-like grasslands, and herb-fields (Mulvaney and Kamminga, 1999). At some time close to the LGM, between 25,000 BP and 20,000 BP all of Australia's megafaunal species had become extinct (Jones, 1968; Marshall, 1974), although it is thought that some may have survived in refugia until much later (Mulaney and Kamminga, 1999). A recent alternative view proposed by Roberts *et al.* (2001) argues that all megafauna were extinct by 46,000 BP. Various hypotheses have been advanced as to the cause(s) of megafaunal extinction which may have involved a combination of environmental, biological or anthropogenic factors (Duncan, 1998; Flannery, 1994; Gill, 1978; Gillespie *et al.*, 1978; Ladd, 1976; Marshall, 1974; Mulvaney and Kamminga, 1999; Orchiston, Miller and Glenie, 1977). Excavations continuing at Cuddie Springs in New South Wales have provided the only unequivocal evidence of interaction between Aboriginal People and megafauna, with residues present on excavated stone tools showing that they may have been used to butcher the carcasses of various extinct megafaunal species (Wroe and Field, 2001: 21-25).

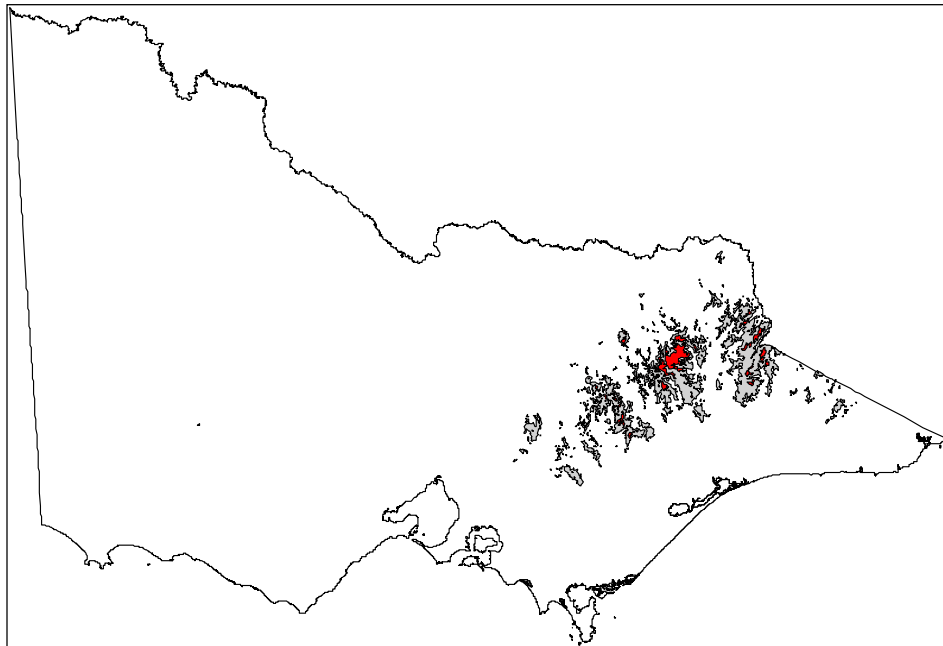


Figure 1-1: Map of Victoria showing the approximate extent of LGM snowline (>1,000 metres) shaded grey, and the contemporary snowline (> 1,400 metres) shaded red. Note: The coastline shown in this map is modern, and not the LGM coastline.

The extremity of global climatic conditions at the peak of the LGM resulted in vast amounts of surface water being frozen in glaciers and ice fields, particularly in the northern hemisphere. This phenomenon resulted in fluctuations of global sea levels. At around 18,000 BP sea levels were (on average) 65 metres below present day levels (Mulvaney and Kamminga, 1999). Indeed, sea levels have been lower than at present for most of the preceding 120,000 years (Chappell and Thom, 1977), with a period of slightly higher sea levels between 6000-5000 BP (Mulvaney and Kamminga, 1999). Archaeological evidence from a variety of locations has shown that people were present in south-eastern Australia throughout all of the climatic changes of at least the last 30,000 years. In Victoria, the sites of Clogg’s Cave (Flood, 1974), New Guinea II (Ossa, Marshall and Webb, 1995), Keilor (Bowler, 1969, 1970; Burke, 1990; Gallus, 1974, 1976; Gill, 1953b, 1954, 1955, 1966; Munro, 1997; Simmons and Ossa, 1978; Witter and Simmons, 1978) and the Gariwerd Ranges (Bird and Frankel, 1998; Bird, Frankel and Van Waarden, 1988) demonstrate this human occupation history.

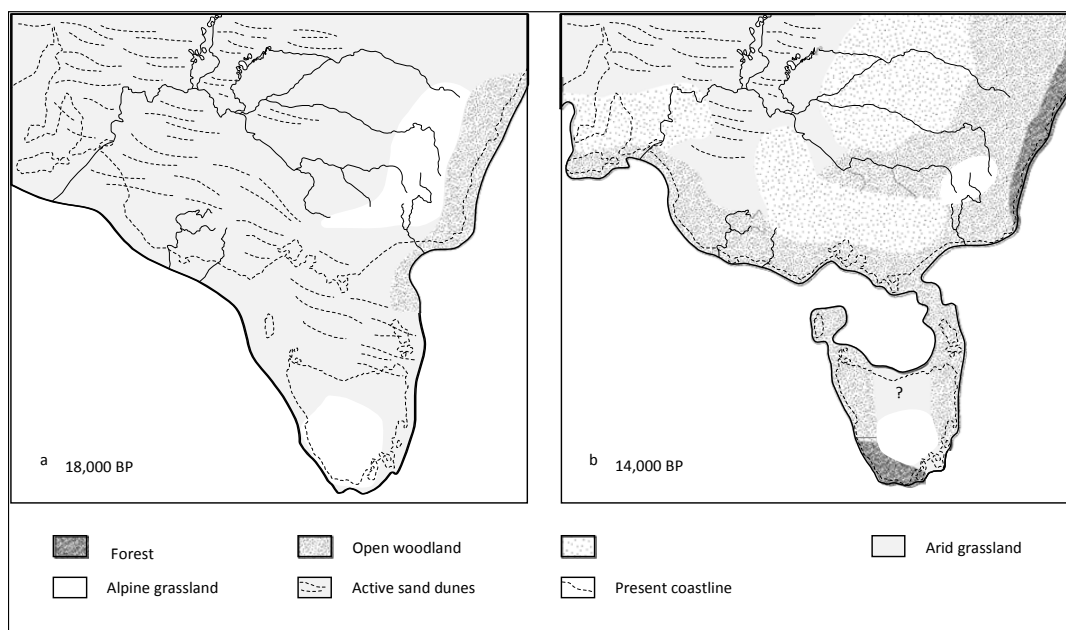


Figure 1-2: Coastline and vegetation types of south-eastern Australia at (a) 18,000 BP and (b) 14,000 BP. (After Bird and Frankel, 1998:57; Chappell 2001).

Recent work at Brimbank Park has also revealed dates on hearth features of between 15,000 and 16,000 BP (Canning *et al.*, in press; Tunn, 2002). South, across Bass Strait, Tasmanian sites such as Parmerpar Meethaner (Cosgrove, 1995a), Nunamira (Cosgrove, 1989; Cosgrove, Allen and Marshall, 1990), Bone Cave (Allen, 1989), and ORS 7 (Cosgrove, 1995b; McNiven *et al.*, 1993) have revealed some 35,000 years of Aboriginal occupation. North, evidence from Lake Mungo in western New South Wales, for example, has shown Aboriginal occupation of that region for in excess of 30,000 years (Mulvaney and Kamminga, 1999: 194-199). At various times throughout the last 250,000 years, Tasmania was linked to the mainland by a broad land bridge, known as the 'Bassian Plain' (Chappell and Thom, 1977:275-291). Climatic amelioration after the LGM, leading to a gradual release of waters trapped in ice fields and higher rainfall levels, lead to the final inundation of the Bassian Plain after 14,000 BP (Jones, 1977; Ross, 1986; Chappell, 2001), cutting Tasmania off from the mainland (Sim, 1990).

1.3 Holocene

From the climatic extremes of the LGM at approximately 18,000 BP, the climate of south-eastern Australia began to change once more. Between 16,000 and 10,000 BP, both rainfall and temperatures increased. Although rainfall was higher during this period, evaporation rates were also higher, resulting in little change in the available moisture levels (except in lakes) from the LGM (Jones, 1999). At the Holocene-Pleistocene transition, approximately 10,000 BP, rainfall across much of the region rose significantly (Jones, 1995). Temperatures and rainfall are generally thought to have peaked between 8,000 and 6,000 BP (Lourandos, 1997; Wasson, Fleming and Donnelly, 1991). Coincident with the changing rainfall and temperature patterns, prevailing vegetation regimes also changed considerably. In many areas grasslands gave way to re-colonising forest communities. However, the majority of the study area for this report has been dominated by grasslands and herb fields since approximately 14, 000 BP (Jones, 1999).

The peak in temperature and rainfall between 8,000 and 6,000 BP also coincides with lake levels being at their highest, and wind speeds approximating modern values (Wasson and Donnelly, 1991; Wasson, Fleming and Donnelly, 1991).

Perhaps the most dramatic change to occur during the transition from the drier and cooler Pleistocene to the generally warmer and wetter Holocene was the rise of global sea levels. Although there is much debate and little agreement on the timing and extent of Holocene sea level fluctuations in Australia the significant rise which isolated Tasmania from the mainland occurred somewhere between approximately 14,000 and 9,000 BP (Chappell, 2001; Kershaw, 1995). Sea levels rose continuously-sometimes at the rate of 10-15 metres per thousand years-(Mulvaney and Kamminga, 1999), reaching their present level after 6,000 BP. The transition to generally warmer and wetter conditions during the Holocene encouraged the re-colonisation of many tree species previously climatically restricted in distribution. Areas of wet sclerophyll forest and open woodland, in particular, rapidly expanded throughout much of south-eastern Australia (Kershaw, 1995). The Holocene therefore can be characterised as a period of relatively rapid climate change, followed by periods of stable, yet regionally variable, climatic conditions (Wasson and Donnelly, 1991; Wasson, Fleming and Donnelly, 1991).

The vast quantities of Aboriginal stone artefacts distributed across the land surface of the study area constitute the overwhelming majority of the archaeological record. Despite the quantity of material present, establishing pattern, change and/or chronology from these assemblages is particularly elusive.

The dating of surface scatters will always remain problematic unless the materials are found in direct association with dateable sediments or features (Holdaway *et al.*, 1998: 16). Essentially, the construction of chronologies and the identification of change are the cornerstones of archaeological research. Where these constructions are (in part) based upon highly differentiated and disturbed surface scatters, the establishment of any chronological association is, and will remain, problematic (Jones and Beck, 1992:188).

1.4 Ethnographic Evidence

Ethnographic information collected during the first years of contact between Aboriginal people and Europeans provides us with a vital interpretative link to the ways in which Aboriginal people organised their everyday lives in the recent past. Archaeologists utilise the ethnographic record as a means of informing aspects of the archaeological record. This ethnographic data provides a series of vignettes of Aboriginal behaviour in the years immediately after initial contact. By piecing together this information, it is possible to construct very general ideas of how Aboriginal people utilised landscapes or resources, or to develop models of Aboriginal behaviour to help interpret the archaeological record (Frankel, 1991).

While the available ethnographic data is a valuable historical resource, it must be treated with caution if used as the basis for reconstructions of Aboriginal society or land use practices in prehistory (Murray and Walker, 1988; Wobst, 1978). What the data does provide though is a view of Aboriginal society at, or just after, the point of contact between two very different cultures. Eurocentric notions of cultural superiority somewhat cloud many of the early ethnographic accounts of Aboriginal society (Coutts, Witter and Parsons, 1977: 132-134; McBryde,

1984a). As well as biases introduced by a Eurocentric worldview, the collection of ethnographic data during the first years of settlement in Victoria was by no means consistent. In some areas, a relatively large body of ethnographic literature exists, while in other areas there may be no ethnographic data at all. This means that the level of ethnographic detail known for each area differs enormously, and the inferences that can be drawn for each area similarly differ. Additionally, these types of ethnographic accounts were often recorded after Aboriginal people had suffered almost irreparable change, and the data recorded were one or two generations removed from pre-contact times (Coutts, Witter and Parsons, 1977; McBryde, 1984a: 132-134). Despite the inherent limitations of this data, ethnographic accounts of Aboriginal society during the years immediately after contact can be used as a means of informing both archaeological investigations and understandings of Aboriginal culture.

By necessity, the ethnographic information for the study area will be synthesized into a brief general account of various aspects of Aboriginal life at the time of contact. This form of synthesis is required as much of the ethnographic data is simply not available. From the available data, it is possible to build a basic picture of Aboriginal life at the time of first contact with Europeans.

14.1 Social Organization

The principal unit of Aboriginal social organization in the southern parts of Victoria was the clan. The clan unit in southern Victorian Aboriginal society was a patrilineal descent group, sharing historical, spiritual, economic, territorial and genealogical identity (Barwick, 1984; Clark, 1990). At the time of first contact between Aboriginal people and Europeans, much of southern and central Victoria was the traditional estate of five tribal groups, noted below in Table 1-1. Each of the five tribes consisted of numerous smaller clans. The common spiritual, economic, genealogical and political identities shared by many of the clan groups, resulted in the larger tribal groups also being intimately interconnected. The study area encompasses sections of the traditional territories of the *Boon Wurrung* (*Bun Wurrung* or *Bunurong*) *Wada Wurrung* (or *Wathaurung*), and *Woi Wurrung* (or *Woiwurrung*) tribal groups. The diversity in spelling reflects the uncertainty of both early ethnographic recordings, and contemporary debates as to the correctness of the various naming conventions.

Name	Territory
<i>Bun Wurrung</i>	Mornington Peninsula and Westernport Bay, north into the Dandenongs
<i>Woi Wurrung</i>	Yarra and Maribyrnong rivers and surrounding tributaries. To Mt Macedon, Mt William, Kilmore. East of the Werribee river
<i>Wada Wurrung</i>	Bellarine Peninsula, Otway Ranges, west of the Werribee river to Streatham
<i>Djadja Wurrung</i>	Loddon and Avoca river catchments, Bendigo
<i>Daung Wurrung</i>	Kilmore to Euroa, east to Mt Buller, west to Kyneton.

Table 1-1: The 5 language groups of southern central Victoria, encompassing the Melbourne metropolitan area. These groups consisted of numerous smaller clans. There are numerous variations in the spelling of each clan or tribe name in the relevant literature. Clark (1990) has been used here.

The clan was further subdivided into individual family groupings, sometimes as described as a 'band' (Presland, 1994). These smaller family units were the principal economic unit of the clan on a day-to-day basis. Social, ceremonial, or ritual gatherings between band, clan and tribe were common. At these gatherings ceremonial duties were discharged, alliances formed, marriages arranged, goods traded, and kinship obligations met. Gatherings of up to 800 people at a time were known to have occurred in the study area (McBryde, 1978; McBryde, 1984a: 139; McBryde, 1984b: 279).

Within the *Woi Wurrung*, it is thought that there were 6 main clans at the time of European contact:

- **Wurundjeri-balluk & Wurundjeri-willam:** Yarra Valley, Yarra River catchment area to Heidelberg
- **Balluk-willam:** south of the Yarra Valley extending down to Dandenong, Cranbourne, Koo-wee-rup Swamp
- **Gunnung-willam-balluk:** east of the Great Dividing Ranges and north to Lancefield
- **Kurung-jang-balluk:** Werribee River to Sunbury
- **Marin-balluk (Boi-berrit):** land west of the Maribyrnong River and Sunbury
- **Kurnaje-berreing:** the land between the Maribyrnong and Yarra Rivers



Figure 1-3: Victorian Aboriginal Council for Languages map of the numerous language groups within Victoria (VACL, 2006).

Within the Bun Wurrung, it is thought that prior to European settlement 5 separate clans existed, each with an *arweet*, or clan headman.

- **Mayone-bulluk:** occupied the area at the top of the Mornington Peninsula and the head of Western Port
- **Ngaruk-Willam:** from Dandenong across to the Mordialloc area
- **Yallock-Bullock:** from the Bass River on the eastern side of Western Port
- **Burinyung-Ballak:** unknown territory
- **Yowenjerre:** the eastern-most side of Bunurong land

In the interface between the *Woi Wurrung* and the *Bun Wurrung*, a separate clan existed, and it is unclear to which of the tribal groups it belonged – possibly one or both.

Yalukit-willam: occupied the thin coastal strip from Werribee, to Williamstown, around to Mordialloc Creek

Within the *Wathaurung*, it is thought that there were some 25 clans at the time of European contact, the majority of which are outside the current study area.

Interactions between *Woi Wurrung*, *Wathaurung* and *Bun Wurrung* peoples are well documented in the historical literature. Also well documented is the general enmity that existed between these peoples and the Gunai – Kurnai peoples of Gippsland (Blake, 1991).

1.5 Economy

The traditional territories of the *Wathaurung* and *Woi Wurrung* encompassed a vast range of available economic resources. The traditional territories of both tribes stretched from the foothills of the Great Dividing Range in the north, south to sheltered bays, and the open ocean.

From early ethnographic accounts and contemporary research, it is known that Aboriginal people of the Melbourne region hunted, fished, or trapped a wide variety of fauna. This dependence on local flora and fauna demanded extensive knowledge of variations in seasonal availability and ecology (Cutts, 1981a, 1981b; Kirk, 1981). The animals hunted throughout the Melbourne region included kangaroo, emu, possum, bandicoot,

koala, echidna, wombat, and a variety of reptiles and smaller marsupials (Bunce, 1859; Thomas, 1854; Winter, 1837). Birds were caught in nets, traps or by hand. Fishing by trap or spear and eel harvesting were also widely used modes of food procurement throughout south-eastern Australia (Bunce, 1859; Coutts, 1981b).

Aboriginal people also placed great reliance upon the procurement of plant foods from their clan estates. While hunting activities often receive priority in contemporary accounts of prehistoric ways of life, the procurement and processing of various plants was of vital economic importance (Gott, 1982: 59-67). It has been estimated that vegetable foods gathered from the basalt plains made up approximately half of the diet of the Aboriginal population of that area (Gott, 1999).

Certain plant foods are regarded as having been staples in Aboriginal diets prior to European settlement. The 'Yam Daisy' (Frankel, 1982a: 43-45) or 'Murnong' (Gott, 1982: 59-67; 1983: 2-18) - *Microseris scapigera* - is particularly noted as having been a staple food throughout the region, and indeed many parts of Victoria.

Other plants contributed to nutritional requirements, as well as having medicinal uses or a more utilitarian function in the manufacture of utensils, string, baskets or clothing. The importance of subterranean tubers such as the 'yam daisy', however, was its ease of procurement and consistency of availability. Not only was this food source extensive and required limited processing, it was available year round (Gott, 1982: 59-67), and 'was always a fallback food' (Gott, 1999: 41-45).

15.1 Trade and Exchange

The work of Isabel McBryde at the Mt William greenstone quarry (McBryde, 1978, 1979; McBryde, 1984a; McBryde, 1984b; McBryde and Harrison, 1981; McBryde and Watchman, 1976) located near Lancefield established the existence of a complex trade and exchange network operating in the region at the time of European contact. Hundreds of greenstone hatchet heads have been found across south-eastern Australia. While there were several sources identified, McBryde was able to show that the greenstone sourced from the Mt William quarry was more widely distributed across southern Australia than that from any other quarry and that more of the Mt William greenstone had travelled further than stone from any other source. The significance of this is not simply that the material was widely distributed, the significance of the dispersal lies in the fact that Mt William greenstone was found in areas where Aboriginal people had access to local greenstone of equal quality and utility.

This patterned distribution in the archaeological record cannot simply be explained as a coincidence, or an artefact of site survival. Clearly, some type of behavioural influence was determining the widespread dispersal of this material. The survival of complete uncurated hatchet heads at great distances from the source, and the existence of heavily worked hatchet heads from other quarries in the same assemblages as the curated material indicate that the greenstone from Mt William held far more than just utility value. The patterned distribution observed by McBryde (McBryde, 1978; McBryde, 1984a; McBryde, 1984b; McBryde and Harrison, 1981; McBryde and Watchman, 1976) can be interpreted as part of a complex ethno-historical system of trade and exchange between the *Woi Wurrung* traditional owners of the Mt William greenstone quarry, and the recipients of its product (i.e. hatchet heads). The goods being traded (i.e. the greenstone) were more meaning-laden than a piece of stone would otherwise suggest. The items being exchanged formed part of a larger reciprocity system, where information, meaning, and socio-political identity were encoded in the act of exchange; and indeed, were the currency.

The distribution of Mt William greenstone was also reflected in the alliance and kin networks of the 5 language groups of the region and their closest allies. McBryde (1984b: 284) identified that greenstone from Mt William occurred most abundantly in areas linguistically related to the regions inhabitants, such as central and north-western Victoria, south-western Victoria, and south-eastern South Australia. The distribution of Mt William greenstone also illustrates the ethnographically recorded socio-cultural isolation that existed between the Kurnai of eastern Victoria, and the tribes of central Victoria. The enmity that existed between the language groups resulted in a distinct social, political and economic boundary between those west of the Thomson River and the Kurnai, and open hostility between the two groups was relatively common (McBryde, 1984b). McBryde's (1984b: 278) analysis showed that although 70% of the Mt William greenstone in her sample was found distributed outside of the traditional owners territories, none found its way east of Wilsons Promontory into the lands of the Kurnai people.

1.6 Aboriginal Land Use Model

The majority of landforms within the investigation area were heavily utilised by Aboriginal people before European contact.

1.6.1 Coast

Coastal resources were heavily exploited by Aboriginal people prior to European settlement. Coastal areas comprise one of the richest available resource zones and were of great importance and significance to the pre-contact population of the Melbourne area. The coastal zones were exploited for an incredibly wide range of resources including fish, molluscs, crustaceans, a staggering variety of coastal plants, and terrestrial animals co-inhabiting the coast. Seasonality was much less pronounced in coastal areas as many resources tended to be available year round; hence occupation evidence along the coast is often remarkably dense and varied. Shell middens for instance, are more or less ubiquitous features of southern Australian coastlines. Similarly, primary and secondary dune systems, coastal lagoons, estuaries and coastal swamps were all heavily utilised.

1.6.2 Basalt Plains

From the limited environmental and ethnographic data, it is clear that parts of the basalt plains of the Melbourne area were a valuable resource, rich in game and vegetable foods. However, the very nature of this landscape would have restricted many of the activities of Aboriginal people. Irrespective of season, this area offers very little shelter from the elements. During wetter periods, the easily waterlogged plains offer very little protection from wind or rain, while fuel for fires would have been hard to obtain. During the hotter months, the lack of trees and fresh water would have equally restricted Aboriginal use of this environment.

It is likely that Aboriginal use of this landscape was predominantly seasonal. The archaeological record of these activities will be limited to isolated artefact locations and small single-episode campsites, indicative of sporadic activities. Year-round foraging activities, such as the collection of *Microseris scapigera*, will have left virtually no archaeological signature on the plains. The occurrence of mounds may indicate Murnong processing activities; however this has not been demonstrated archaeologically in the study area. Hunting activities will have left only slight traces through the occasional occurrences of isolated artefacts, or small accumulations of artefacts. Areas of swamp situated in this area will also have been utilised seasonally. The archaeological record of this activity will be the presence of repeat-episode campsites located around the margins of swampy areas (du Cros, 1989).

1.6.3 River and Creek Valleys

The deeply incised river and creek valleys, common in the study area, have been the focus of many previous archaeological investigations—both academic and management orientated (Bowler, 1970; Bowler *et al.*, 1967; Burke, 1989, 1990; Casey and Darragh, 1970; Coutts and Cochrane, 1977; du Cros, 1989; Duncan, 1998; Ellender, 1988; Gallus, 1983; Gill, 1955; Mulvaney, 1964; Munro, 1997; Rhodes, 1990; Tunn, 1997). These valleys would have provided the most advantageous settlement localities for Aboriginal people throughout the history of human settlement in the region.

The valley environments provided Aboriginal people with a range of necessary resources, as well as providing shelter from the elements, timber for fires, tools, and housing; all manner of food sources, and stone for tool manufacture. The importance of the availability of perennial fresh water to the resident Aboriginal populations also cannot be overlooked. The valley landscapes may also have served as travel routes (du Cros, 1989). The intensity of occupation and use of the incised valleys is reflected in a relatively rich and dense archaeological record.

Intensive use of these environments has resulted in the formation of an almost continuous distribution of archaeological material within a corridor on either side of the waterways. The evidence for intensive Aboriginal occupation of these areas is manifest in a great many high density artefact scatters, scarred trees, stone quarries, fish traps, human burials, and earth mounds. The nature of the alluvial sediments in certain areas (i.e. Keilor) has revealed that this spatially continuous pattern is not of recent origin, but has a demonstrable Pleistocene antiquity (Gill, 1966; Tunn, 1997, 1998). The deeply stratified alluvial sequences found in the valley landscapes have the potential to reveal the archaeological signatures of spatially varied but continuous activities over a period of at least 30,000 years.

1.6.4 Hills

Very little archaeological or ethnographic evidence exists for hill environments. Where there is archaeological material present, these materials have been interpreted as evidence for ephemeral procurement activities during times seasonally suited for utilising the higher regions of the study area. Pleistocene utilisation of higher altitudes would have been limited, given the extreme climatic conditions and restricted growth patterns of many vegetation communities, and the subsequent restrictions on the distribution of fauna. Without archaeological or ethnographic evidence however, it can only be assumed that Aboriginal people did utilise the higher zones of the study area, particularly during the Holocene. To what degree this zone was utilised is not known.

1.7 Archaeological Research

The majority of research activity within the study area has been directed toward the Keilor and Green Gully sites. These are arguably the most significant archaeological discoveries yet made in the study area.

Through the work of a great many individuals (Bowler, 1969, 1970; Gill, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1966; Keble and Macpherson, 1946; Mahony, 1943; Wunderly, 1943) spanning several decades, much has been determined from the single cranium discovered at Keilor in 1940. The initial investigations revealed that, based on size and anatomical attributes, the cranium most probably belonged to a middle-aged male (Wunderly, 1943). This has subsequently been the subject of some debate, with Thorne (1977, 1980) placing the male crania into the modern female range of size variability. Brown (1987:45) however concluded that the cranium was that of a '*large and robust male*'.

Initial estimates of the age of the Keilor cranium relied solely upon erroneous geological and geomorphological associations. The development of radiocarbon dating techniques during the 1950s provided a means to date the Keilor cranium, independent of the problematic geomorphic correlations. Gill (1953) produced the first radiocarbon dates for this site, including various cultural features from the location where the Keilor cranium was originally recovered. This series of dates provided an absolute age of between 9,000 and 10,000 years for the terraces in which the cranium was located. Gill (1966) subsequently revised these ages upwards and finally settled upon an age of 19,000 years BP for the Keilor cranium. This age was based upon his belief that the cranium was a 'true fossil', and as such Gill believed that the skull was older than the terraces in which it was discovered, and the numerous similar dates coming to light from all over Australia during the 1960s. The belief that the skull was significantly older than the terraces in which it was discovered was significant in the debate about the earliest occupation of Australia by Aboriginal people.

Mulvaney (1964) attempted to answer many of the lingering questions surrounding the Keilor site by conducting a new series of excavations. This was, however, unsuccessful as a flash flood washed all of the excavation material into the Maribyrnong River (Mulvaney, 1964).

While there is data indicating human presence throughout south-eastern Australia as early as 30,000 years ago, many of the older radiocarbon determinations existing for the study area date non-cultural events (i.e. sediments associated with artefacts), and as such should be regarded with some caution (Gallus, 1969; Godfrey *et al.*, 1996).

The sedimentary sequences of the Maribyrnong River have been investigated in considerable detail (Anderson, 1972; Barlow, 1999; Bowler, 1969, 1970, 1987; Bowler *et al.*, 1967; Gallus, 1969), and shown to have differentially accumulated over the last 50,000 years. Fluvial activity has created a series of depositional terraces each distinct from overlying and underlying terraces, and indicating differing depositional regimes. These terraces have been extensively dated, and provide a means of geomorphologically dating certain surface finds on the terraces. For instance, material appearing on Maribyrnong Alluvium, otherwise known as the 'GGM, GGL, and GGJ sediments' (Bowler, 1970:53) can be no more than about 5,000 years old. Materials located on the Upper or Intermediate zone of the Keilor Terrace (Doutta Galla Silt) could have been deposited at any stage over the last 10,000 years, but not before. The sediments underlying the intermediate zone are only rarely exposed, and were deposited between 10,000 years to at least 40,000 years ago (Bowler, 1970; Joyce and Anderson, 1976). The implications of these geomorphological constraints upon the chronology of archaeological materials located in or near alluvial terraces throughout the study area are significant. While the antiquity of archaeological sites is only one of many attributes used to determine scientific significance, it is nonetheless important. The geomorphic control over chronology in the alluvial sequences of the Maribyrnong provides us with a valuable tool to predict the location of other similar sites. This degree of chronological control is generally not available from other archaeological data in the study area.

While Pleistocene evidence has been recovered from alluvial and swamp environments in the study area, the basalt plains are somewhat more problematic. At various stages throughout the human occupation of the area, the basalt plains have alternated from being virtually uninhabitable, to resource rich environments. For example, the environmental conditions prevailing on the plains 30,000 years ago were not altogether that different from contemporary conditions, yet during periods of maximum aridity (about 18,000-13,000 BP), the plains would have been quite inhospitable. While there is no evidence in the study area to support a recent human expansion (i.e. last 5,000 years) onto the plains for the first time and it is likely that the plains were intermittently utilised from the beginning of the human occupation of the region, and abandoned only at times of peak resource stress. The difficulty of chronological definition restricts our ability to determine any occupation sequences on the plains. The stone artefact assemblages of the Pleistocene sites found in the alluvial terraces display an essentially localised '*Maribyrnong Industry*'. Bird and Frankel (1998) have described this industry in detail, and it is characterised by the occurrence of a limited number of formal tools, small overall artefact dimensions throughout, the predominance of silcrete and quartzite, and the use of both freehand and bipolar flaking methods. The '*Maribyrnong Industry*' displays considerable intersite variability, and contains assemblages

reflecting both specific tool making episodes, and long-term general accumulations of cultural materials (Bird and Frankel, 1998). What is clear from the various 'Maribyrnong Industry' sites is that '*older assemblages, like more recent ones, vary markedly in time and space*' (Bird and Frankel, 1998: 58-60). The Maribyrnong Valley and environs can be considered as relatively stone rich, in terms of the geological variety and availability of raw materials for stone tool making. This diversity '*may account for the variability seen in the Maribyrnong Valley*' (Bird and Frankel, 1998:58-60). The relative wealth of stone raw materials for tool making provides another very attractive reason for Aboriginal people's occupation of the Maribyrnong Valley and surrounding areas. However, raw material availability may have changed significantly through time as land surfaces changed through geomorphic processes. To summarise, Pleistocene archaeological evidence in the study area will be limited to those areas where deeply stratified alluvial deposits occur.

1.8 Port Phillip Inundation

Until approximately 8,000 years ago, Port Phillip Bay was predominantly dry land, and formed part of the great land bridge connecting Tasmania to the Australian mainland (See Figure 1-2, above). With the amelioration of global climates after the last glacial maxima (circa 18,000 BP) the warming of the planet resulted in vast amounts of ice-locked water melting and entering the seas. As sea levels gradually rose over several thousand years, the relatively low lying land bridge connecting Tasmania to the mainland was subsumed. Eventually, with sea levels rising up to 100 metres, Port Phillip Bay itself was inundated, with the shoreline stabilising at present levels about 6,000 years ago. As a result of this inundation, the physical evidence of Aboriginal occupation of the bay area has been lost beneath the waters. Countless thousands of archaeological sites would have been located on the land bridge joining Tasmania to the mainland. There are several accounts of the flooding of Port Phillip Bay in the literature, such as that of Georgiana McCrae, one of the first European settlers on Mornington Peninsula. Georgiana recorded the following in her diary:

Mr Robert Russell says that Mr Cobb talks to the blacks in their own language, and that the following is an account, given by them, of the formation of Port Phillip Bay: 'Plenty long ago.....alonga Corio, men could cross, dry-foot from our side of the bay to Geelong.' They described a hurricane – trees bending to and fro – and then the earth sank, and the sea rushed in through the heads, till the void places became broad and deep as they are today (McCrae, 1934:176).

Since the stabilisation of the sea levels around 6,000 BP, evidence of Aboriginal use of the coast and seas can easily be found in the hundreds of shell middens and artefact scatters located around the shoreline of Port Phillip Bay.

1.9 Archaeological Sites

Within the VEAC investigation area there are literally thousands of archaeological sites and places. These places consist of a number of archaeological site types, and all have contemporary cultural value to the traditional owners of the country where they are situated. Archaeological site types may include:

1. Human Burials
2. Earth Mounds
3. Earth 'Rings'
4. Shell Middens
5. Scarred Trees
6. Stone Artefact Scatters
7. Fish Traps
8. Stone Arrangements, and
9. Historic places



Figure 1-4: Archaeological excavations in progress at Cranbourne West.

19.1 Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (VAHR)

The Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (VAHR) is the statutorily established mechanism where records of the existence of Aboriginal sites and places are documented. This database currently contains in excess of 30,000 site records from across Victoria, collected and managed since the early 1970's. Within the Wurundjeri and Wathaurung Registered Aboriginal Party areas (See Section 3.1), which comprises a large proportion of the VEAC investigation area; there are approximately 4,500 registered Aboriginal places.

19.2 Case Study – Woodlands Historic Park

Woodlands Historic Park is located approximately 20 kilometres northwest of the Melbourne central business district, and is immediately north of Tullamarine International Airport. Formerly known as Gellibrand Hill Park, Woodlands Historic Park encompasses an area of just over 700 ha of significant remnant native woodlands and grasslands (Parks Victoria, 1998). Woodlands Historic Park is also a significant cultural asset for numerous reasons. The park is culturally significant as a surviving example of the 1840s agricultural landscape, complete with rare examples of early pioneer buildings. Woodlands Historic Park is perhaps best known as the home for some of Australia's greatest race horses, such as *'Better Loosen Up'*, *'Fields of Omagh'*, *'Doriemus'* and *'Maldivian'* all enjoying their hard earned retirement.

There are 16 registered Aboriginal places within the boundary of the Woodlands Historic Park (8 artefact scatters, 7 scarred trees and 1 multiple component place). These sites reflect the types of Aboriginal land usage prior to European settlement. Artefact scatters are the result of stone tool manufacture, use or curation, often at the location of an ephemeral campsite, while scarred trees are the result of bark being removed from trees for use as housing material, carrying vessels, shields or watercraft.

Immediately adjacent to the eastern boundary of the Woodland Historic Park is the Weeroona Aboriginal Cemetery. This contemporary cemetery is the final resting place of a significant number of Melbourne's Aboriginal community, and so is of great significance to the community.

If viewed as a 'cultural landscape', the Woodlands Historic Park and environs possesses a great many 'values' which Aboriginal people may hold for certain places. There is tangible evidence of ancestral life ways prior to European occupation, great natural environmental attributes which are highly valued, and the deeply significant contemporary cemetery demonstrating a continued attachment to place.



Figure 1-5: The view south from Gellibrand Hill in Woodlands Historic Park. The Melbourne CBD can be seen in the distance. Tullamarine airport is to the immediate right of this view.

2 Post European Contact Aboriginal History

2.1 Introduction

In the period following the first contact between the Aboriginal populations of the Melbourne region and European settlers, traditional Aboriginal culture and society was severely and irrevocably impacted. From the first sporadic encounters with Europeans through to the establishment of permanent settlements, Aboriginal people began to experience changes and encroachments into their traditional territories which severely impacted a way of life that had allowed people to adapt and overcome the challenges of the preceding 40,000 years.

What was to come was like nothing they had experienced before.....

2.2 Thematic History

The following sections introduce a number of historic themes which cover the period from contact through to contemporary times. The discussion in each of the themes is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather serve as a series of sign posts, highlighting the nature and type of places which may exist within the wider investigation area.

2.2.1 Contact

Aboriginal people had contact with Europeans in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century through random meetings with explorers and more regular interaction with early whalers and sealers. The emergence of a permanent settlement in what was to become 'Melbourne' began in 1835 with John Batman's treaty with the traditional owners. Batman, acting on behalf of a group of Tasmanian entrepreneurs, who later formed the Port Phillip Association, arrived at Indented Head in May hoping to purchase land from the Aboriginal people who lived in the area (Shaw, 2003:45-47). Batman signed two treaties in early June believing that he had bought 500,000 acres of land around Melbourne and 100,000 acres around Geelong from a group of Aboriginal leaders. The British Government, however, refused to ratify Batman's treaties or recognise Aboriginal land ownership and instead claimed the area as Crown property. Part of the Colony of New South Wales, Governor Bourke declared the area known as the Port Phillip District open to European settlers in September 1836 (Shaw, 2003:66). Bourke appointed Captain William Lonsdale police magistrate and commandant of the new settlement.



Figure 2-1: 'Batman's Treaty with the Aborigines at Merri Creek, 6th June 1835'. Painted by John Wesley Burtt, 1875, Pictures Collection. State Library of Victoria. H92.196.

2.2.2 Protection and 'Civilisation'

Lonsdale had instructions to 'protect and conciliate' the Aboriginal people he found in Port Phillip but Governor Bourke also decided to encourage the establishment of a government mission in the newly emerging township of Melbourne (Shaw, 2003:67). The Colonial Government appointed clergyman George Langhorne to run the mission and gave him 895 acres on the south side of the Yarra River for this purpose at an area called Tromgin

(Clark & Heydon, 2004:29). The site was a meeting place and corroboree ground that included fertile swamplands and is now partly occupied by the Royal Botanical Gardens (Cannon, ed., 1982: 153).

When Charles Joseph La Trobe arrived to take up his Superintendency of Port Phillip in October 1839, the recently established Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate had superseded Langhorne's government mission. The Protectorate was a system established to protect the rights of Aboriginal people in the early years of white settlement. The Port Phillip District was nominally divided into four large areas each of which had an Assistant Protector employed to establish a friendly relationship with local Aboriginal groups and advocate for them. The Assistants reported to a Chief Protector - George Augustus Robinson. The government allocated each Protector a reserve site for the local Aboriginal people. Within the greater metropolitan area reserve sites existed at Yerrip Hills just north of Sunbury, and at Narre Warren, on the site of the old Native Police paddock. Another important site was that of the Merri Creek Aboriginal school, which was used as a make-shift Aboriginal station by Assistant Protector Thomas (Clark & Heydon, 2004:26-27).



Figure 2-2: 'Batman's Hill and the Township of Melbourne, 1837', engraving, 1872, Pictures Collection. State Library of Victoria. IAN31/12/72/SUPP/268.

2.2.3 Native Police and the Law

The government also encouraged the 'civilisation' of Aboriginal people through the establishment of the Native Police. Governor Bourke agreed to commission a corps at the end of 1837 and placed Christiaan De Villiers in command (Fels, 1988:11, 15). The corps was mainly composed of Aboriginal men, often elders, who the government hoped would become 'civilised' through their experience as policemen. Originally the police barracks and 'headquarters' were in Narre Warren but later Lonsdale moved the corps to a paddock adjoining his own residence on what is now the site of the MCG in Yarra Park (Cannon, ed., 1982: 238-239). Later, when under the command of Captain Dana, the police took over a government reserve at the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River. During the Protectorate period the Native Police were often involved in the capture of other Aboriginal people accused of crimes against settlers. During the 1840s five Aboriginal men were executed for attacks on whalers and settlers (Patton, 2006:10). On 20 January 1842 two of these men were hung near the Old Melbourne Goal site in Russell Street (Eidelson, 1997:80). A few days earlier La Trobe had approved the designation of an acre of land in the Old Melbourne Cemetery, which is now the Queen Victoria Market, as an Aboriginal burial ground. The two men hung in 1842, Jack and Bob, were the first Aboriginal people buried at this site (Clark, 1998:31-33).

224 Dispossession

The Colonial government abandoned the Protectorate system in 1849 by which stage there were only three main Aboriginal reserves still in existence in Victoria. These sites, however, were to become the basis on the next phase of colonial policy involving the enforced separation of Aboriginal people from European society. La Trobe had insisted that the Protectors move Aboriginal people out of the township of Melbourne by encouraging them to frequent sites further out (Clark & Heydon, 2004:23). After the closure of the Protectorate, William Thomas was appointed 'Guardian of Aborigines' and ordered to 'keep them altogether out of the Town and immediate neighbourhood' of Melbourne (La Trobe to the Colonial Secretary, 8 June 1850, 50/257, VPRS 16, Public Record Office Victoria). Aboriginal people were 'encouraged' to live on special reserves (Legislative Council, 1859:v). In 1860 the government created a Central Board to watch over the Interests of Aboriginal People in the Colony of Victoria and more vigorously compelled Aboriginal people onto mission and reserve sites away from major towns. During this time land for Aboriginal people was allocated at Coranderrk, Ebenezer, Lake Tyers, Framlingham, Lake Condah, Ramahyuck and Yelta (Broome, 2005:126). These reserves became established communities that were either church or government run. Aboriginal people were instructed by white school teachers, taught to be domestic servants or work in various trades and often converted to Christianity.

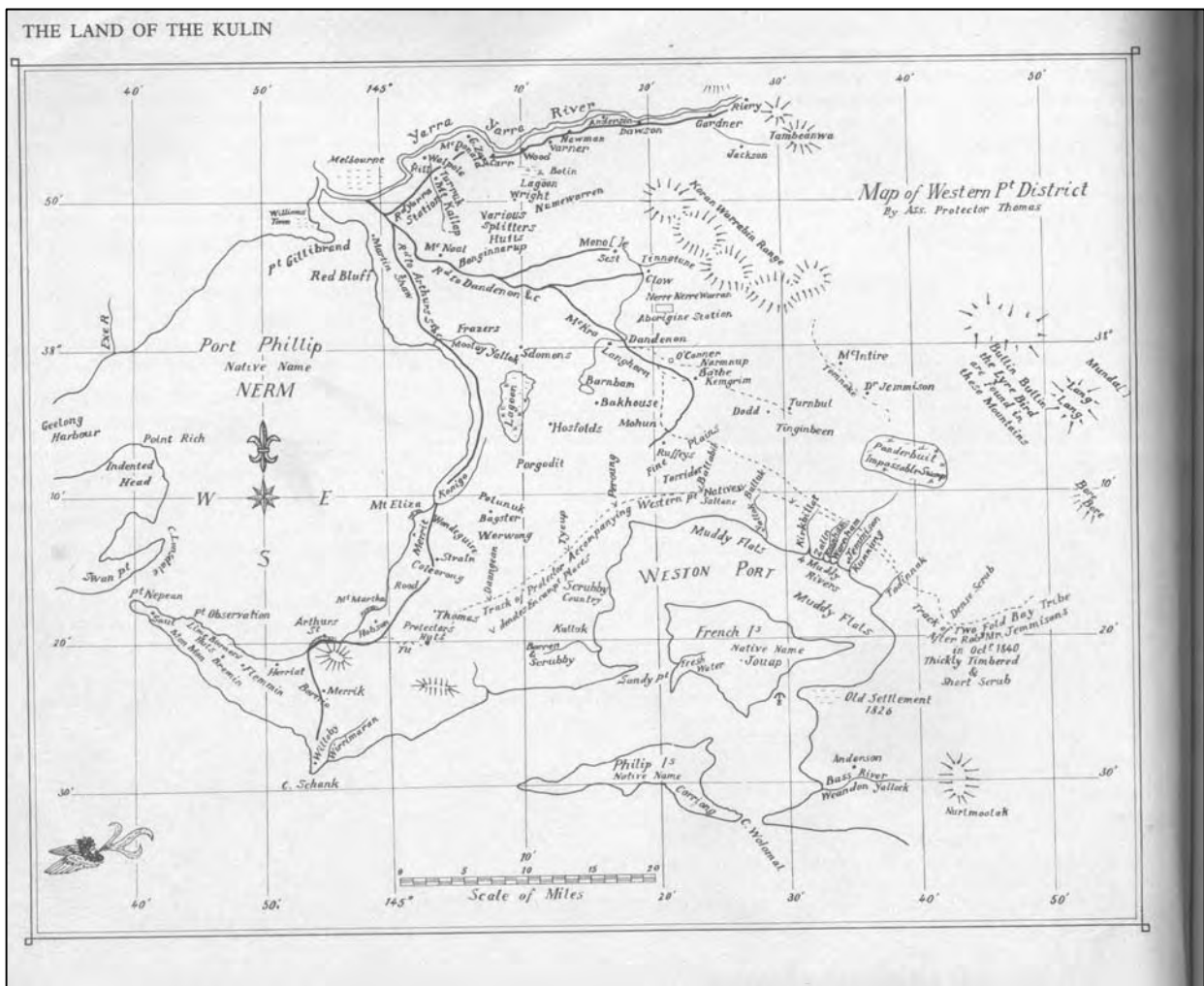


Figure 2-3: 'Map of the Western Port District', William Thomas to George Augustus Robinson, 29 January 1841, PROV, VPRS 11 Unregistered Inward Correspondence to the Chief Protector of Aborigines, Unit 7, Item 365.

225 Dislocation and Concentration

In 1886 the Parliament of Victoria passed an Act to Provide for the Protection and Management of the Aboriginal Natives of Victoria, also known as the 'Half-Caste Act'. This legislation was a deliberate attempt to close missions and reserves that the government considered were no longer economically viable. Under the Act only 'full-blood' Aboriginal people and 'half-caste' Aboriginal people over the age of 34 could receive government assistance on allocated reserves (Broome, 2005:186). As a result of this legislation many Aboriginal people were forced off reserves that had become their home and separated from those family members who could remain. By 1917 the Board for the Protection of Aborigines, which had superseded the Central Board, decided to concentrate those Aboriginal people left under government care onto a single reserve at Lake Tyers (Broome, 2005:208). To achieve this goal the government began to close the other reserve sites opening them up as

soldier settlement land or for private sale. Many people like those who lived at Framlingham, refused to go to Lake Tyers and fought to stay in their own country.

2.2.6 King and Country

At the outbreak of World War One, Aboriginal people in Australia were not officially classified as citizens. Under the various state acts designed to segregate Aboriginal people they could not enter a public bar, vote, marry non-Aboriginal partners or buy property. Between the outbreak of World War One and cessation of hostilities in 1918, it is estimated that between 500 and 800 Aboriginal men served in the Australian Imperial Forces. The lure of 6 shillings a day for a trip overseas was equally alluring to young men - black or white.

While many were killed in the trenches of Europe, by far the most tragic aspect of war service was not to be found in the stories of those killed - it came after the survivors returned to Australia. When the troops returned home to Australia they were shunned, their sacrifices ignored and their families oppressed even further by their respective State and Federal governments with such cruel initiatives as the "Soldier Settlement Scheme", which appropriated land for returned men but was not available to Aboriginal service men. Returned Aboriginal soldiers were not allowed to have a drink with their comrades at their local pub, there was no Government support for the wounded or mentally scarred Indigenous veterans, and their children were often forcibly removed by various Government agencies.

The discrimination suffered by these men helped provide momentum to the growing Aboriginal rights movement in the 1930s. These men provided hard evidence that they, as a people, were willing to serve Australia, but at the time white Australia was not willing to honour the sacrifices made. In 1932, William Cooper established the Australian Aborigines League in Melbourne with the aim of working towards the same standard of human and civil rights for Aboriginal people as enjoyed by the wider Australian populace. Cooper's son had been killed in WW1.

Some 3,000 indigenous soldiers served in the AIF during World War 2, with the resultant disappointments on returning home largely unchanged and unrecognised. Prior to his death in 1941, William Cooper actively campaigned against Indigenous people enlisting in the armed forces. He was bitter that his own personal sacrifice and that of his countrymen had not brought about any improvement in the rights or living conditions of Aboriginal people. The Australian Aborigines League became the Aborigines Advancement League in 1957.

2.2.7 Assimilation

In 1955 the Victorian government commissioned a review of current Aboriginal legislation and whether it was 'necessary or desirable to maintain a system of administration for aboriginal people and if so . . . what persons or classes of persons should be deemed aboriginal for the purposes of the system' (Lyons, 1983:61). Headed by retired Chief Stipendiary Magistrate Charles McLean, the inquiry recommended Aboriginal 'absorption into the community' rather than continuation on reserve or other sites (Broome, 2005:314-315). In 1957 the Aborigines Welfare Board replaced the Protection Board (Lyons, 1983:64). The Welfare Board attempted to close the remaining Aboriginal station at Lake Tyers, and other government supported or unofficial Aboriginal settlements, in pursuit of the government's new assimilation policy inspired by the McLean Inquiry (Broome, 2005:333; Aborigines Welfare Board, 1958:5-7). Many Aboriginal people now lived in country towns or in Melbourne suburbs, like Collingwood and Fitzroy, but still had a strong connection to the old reserve stations and the people who lived there. The attempt to disperse communities such as those at Lake Tyers and Framlingham met with considerable resistance.



Figure 2-4: 'Melbourne in 1846: A View from Collingwood', by T.E. Proutt, 1888, Pictures Collection. State Library of Victoria. A/S01/11/88/SUPP/3.



Figure 2-5: 'Merry Creek. (Plenty Ranges 1864)', Lithograph by Charles Troedel, 1864, Pictures Collection. State Library of Victoria. 30328102131686/14.

2.2.8 Taking Back Control

In the years leading up to the 1967 referendum the Aboriginal community became increasingly active in asserting their rights to land and cultural recognition. In response to the Welfare Board actions the community fought for ownership of land that had been reserved for them with the support of organisations like the Aborigines Advancement League and the Council for Aboriginal Rights, which had formed in the 1950s. In 1970 the Aboriginal Lands Act returned land at Framlingham and Lake Tyers to Aboriginal people. These sites are now managed by community trusts. In Melbourne the Aboriginal community lobbied for the return of Aboriginal skeletal remains held in the Museum of Victoria since the nineteenth century. A successful law case resulted in the repatriation of these remains to community groups. The remains of 38 people whose home country could not be identified were ceremoniously buried in the Kings Domain in 1985 and a special plaque placed on the site in remembrance (Eidelson, 1997:8). In the same year, the Koorie Heritage Trust formed as a not-for-profit community organisation that aimed to promote and protect Aboriginal culture from further appropriation.



Figure 2-6: 'Melbourne. Zoological Gardens. Specimens of Aboriginal Amenities', photograph, 1889, Pictures Collection. State Library of Victoria. H32938.

2.2.9 Sharing Place

Since the 1830s European settlers have dominated the landscape pushing the majority of Aboriginal people out of the greater metropolitan Melbourne area. A sense of Melbourne's Aboriginal past was almost completely lost. In recent years, however, this has begun to change and the need for greater recognition of the importance of Melbourne to Aboriginal people is starting to be understood. New developments have used the *Woi Wurrung* language to designate spaces such as the central arterial road Wurundjeri Way; the new East link Mullum Mullum Tunnel and the first major public park in Melbourne for 100 years - Birrarung Marr. The Aboriginal dreamtime stories have been a source of inspiration for sculptural installations like Bunjil in the Docklands, while Aboriginal elder William Barak is the namesake of a new bridge connecting Birrung Marr to Yarra Park. Today Aboriginal community groups emphasise the continuity of Aboriginal culture in south-eastern Australia, the need for the acknowledgement of the past and the advantages of sharing their culture with the wider non-Indigenous community.

2.3 Historic Places

There are numerous examples within the Melbourne region of sites or places with strong links to contemporary Aboriginal people. Some of those, corresponding broadly to the themes discussed above, are discussed below.

2.3.1 Contact

Batman Treaty, Merri Creek – In 1835 John Batman signed two treaties with traditional owners that he believed gave him ownership over 500,000 acres of land around Melbourne and Corio Bay and 100,000 acres around Geelong and Indented Hill. The signing of the Batman treaties probably took place on the Merri Creek, although the exact location is a matter of debate among commentators (Clark & Heydon, 2004:27). Some historians have also suggested the locations of Edgars Creek and Darebin Creek (Shaw, 2003:46).

2.3.2 Protection and 'Civilisation'

Langhorne's Government Mission, Melbourne – In 1837 the New South Wales Governor Bourke approved the allocation of 895 acres south of the Yarra River for the first government sponsored Aboriginal mission in Victoria. Bourke appointed George Langhorne to run the mission or 'village'. Langhorne, the nephew of the Police Magistrate for Port Phillip, William Lonsdale, had some experience with Aboriginal people around Sydney and was an Anglican catechist (Clark & Heydon, 2004:14; Cannon, ed., 1982:153). The site of Langhorne's mission is now part of the Botanical Gardens near the ornamental lake, or '*Tromgin*' as it was known to Aboriginal people, near Anderson Street. In 1837 the site included a large building that functioned as a schoolroom and dormitory

for children. Langhorne also had his own cottage. After the closure of the mission, one of these buildings was used by Assistant Protector William Thomas for a few months (Clark & Heydon, 2004:14-15, 20). Robinson used one of the old mission buildings as an office from December 1839 until July 1843 (Clark & Kostanski, 2006:46). Robinson records show that four Aboriginal people were buried on the mission site including notable historic figures '*Toollermaene*' (1839) and Peter (1839) (Clark & Kostanski, 2006:108).

Bolin Bolin Billabong, Bulleen Park – Wurundjeri meeting place observed by Assistant Protector William Thomas 1843. Records of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate indicate that the Bolin Swamp (Bolin Lagoon or Bolin Bolin Billabong) was a popular location for *Woi Wurrung* groups before and post-contact with Europeans. The Bolin Swamp comprised a series of smaller lagoons that provided a source of seasonal eel catching (Goulding & Menis, 2006:51). Thomas observed that the area was of great significance to Aboriginal people and that they regularly camped on both the north and south sides of the Yarra River where it curved at this point (Clark & Heydon, 2004:31). The billabong area is now part of Bulleen Park.

Merri Creek Protectorate 'Station', Yarra Bend Park – The confluence of the Merri Creek and the Yarra River was a popular camping place for Aboriginal people. The area bounded by Heidelberg Rd, Merri Creek and the Yarra River was a government reserve from the late 1830s and in 1842 the Native Police Corps selected the site for their barracks. The Corps included many Aboriginal leaders whose family often camped around the station near their clansmen. Assistant Protector William Thomas soon noted the preference of the *Woi Wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* to congregate in this area close to Melbourne, rather than at his station in Narre Warren. In June 1842 he moved from his central station in Narre Warren and established quarters at Merri Creek to be near the people of his Protectorate district. In September 1842 around 500 people were camped in the area, although the site was never officially recognised as a Protectorate station (Clark & Heydon, 2004:34-35, 41). The outbreak of an influenza epidemic in 1847 had an appalling effect on Aboriginal people and their population decreased significantly. The remaining *Woi Wurrung* abandoned the Merri Creek site to escape the sickness and most never returned. Thomas moved to a house in Moonee Ponds the same year and the 'station' closed (Clark & Heydon, 2004:58). The site is now part of the Yarra Bend Park.

Western District Protectorate Station, Dandenong Police Paddock Reserve, Narre Narre Warren – Originally this site was chosen as the headquarters for the Native Police Corps, which had formed in October 1837 under the command of Christiaan de Villiers. When this early Corps disbanded briefly in January 1838, the site became available to Assistant Protector William Thomas who set up his central Aboriginal Station there in 1840 as a location that was appealing to both the *Woi Wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* groups (Clark & Heydon, 2004:26). With the Aboriginal people of his district, Thomas built huts for housing, cleared the surrounding land, constructed fencing and ploughed the ground to grow crops. Thomas stayed at this site until 1842, when he abandoned the Station and moved to quarters on the Merri Creek following the preference of the *Woi Wurrung* to camping sites closer to Melbourne. Superintendent La Trobe appointed a medical officer to manage the Narre Warren site and assist the few Aboriginal people who arrived there in need of supplies. The area is now a public park known as the Dandenong Police Paddock Reserve, accessed via Brady Road off Stud Rd in Dandenong North.

Mt Macedon Protectorate Station, Yerrip Hills near Sunbury – Yerrip Hills was the location of Assistant Protector Edward Stone Parker's first Protectorate station for Aboriginal people in the Mt Macedon District. Originally taken up by a member of the Wedge family in the mid-1830s, the site is located north of Sunbury adjacent Jackson's Creek about two miles above George Evans' Buttlejorrk run homestead. Parker built a wattle and daub hut for him and his family at Yerrip Hills and ran sheep (Clark, ed., vol. 1, 1998:123-125). Parker stayed there until encouraged by the Chief Protector George Robinson to select another location for his station further into his Protectorate District. Parker eventually settled near the Loddon River, just out of Daylesford at Larnebarramul adjacent to Mr Franklin. In so doing he lost regular communication with some of the *Woi Wurrung*, in particular the *Marin bulug* and the *Gunung willam bulug* people from the Sunbury and Mt Macedon regions.

Home of George Augustus Robinson, South Yarra – In 1840 Chief Protector Robinson bought 8 hectares of land for 744 pounds along the south side of the Yarra River at the northern end of Chapel Street. He described the location as '43 South Bank of Yarra' and 'suburban section No. 8 on Yarra Yarra, south side' (Clark & Kostanski, 2006:53). Local Aboriginal people referred to the area as Terneet and Robinson used various names for the property including 'Rivolia' or 'Tivolia' and 'Claremont'. Aboriginal groups often visited Robinson at his home where he also accommodated the Van Diemen's Land Aboriginal people he had brought with him from Flinders Island. These people helped Robinson build his brick and stone house, and farm the surrounding land. At least two of the Van Diemen's Aboriginal people are thought to be buried on the site including Peter Brune (1843) and Rebecca (1841) (Clark & Kostanski, 2006:108). Robinson sold the property in 1852 to Peter Snodgrass and returned to England (Clark & Kostanski, 2006:55).

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Old Melbourne Cemetery, Melbourne – The earliest burials in Melbourne took place at Flagstaff Hill but soon after, in 1837, the Old Melbourne cemetery opened on a 10 acre plot bordered by Franklin, Peel, Queen and Fulton Streets. The cemetery was divided into sections according to Christian denominations and an area set aside for Aboriginal burials. The number of burials in the Old Melbourne Cemetery is unknown because the pre-1866 registers have been lost but estimates are that up to 10,000 people were buried there. The Melbourne General Cemetery opened in 1853 and the old cemetery closed. In 1878 the Queen Victoria Market took over part of the site and in the twentieth century nearly 1,000 bodies were exhumed and removed to Fawkner Crematorium and Memorial Park or the Melbourne General Cemetery (Sagazio, 2008). The Aboriginal section of the cemetery is located near sheds F-J of the market close to Queen Street (Eidelson, 1997:77).

Gallows Hill, Melbourne – In January 1842 two Van Diemen's Land Aboriginal men were executed at Gallows Hill adjacent the site of the Old Melbourne Goal in Russell Street near MacKenzie Street (Eidelson, 1997:80-81). The original gaol building was on the corner of Russell and La Trobe Streets and was built over the period 1841-1844. Convicted of murdering two whalers in Westernport Bay, the capture of Bob and Jack was a direct result of a joint venture between the Native Police Corps and the Border Police (Fels, 1988:42). Jack and Bob were the first people publically hung in Melbourne and after their deaths Chief Protector Robinson used his cart to carry their bodies to prepared graves in the Old Melbourne Cemetery (Clark, ed. Vol. 3, 1998: 32-33).

Pentridge Stockade, Coburg – In 1850 Superintendent La Trobe ordered the construction of a stockade for the detainment of prisoners doing hard labour. After the Port Phillip District separated from the Colony of New South Wales in 1851, the new Colony of Victoria had to take responsibility for its own prisoners instead of sending them to New South Wales as they had been previously. The stockade opened in December 1850, in anticipation of this responsibility, and La Trobe appointed a detachment of the Native Police Corps to guard the prisoners. The Native Police had to undertake sentry duty around the stockade and supervise road gangs. The Native Police undertook this role for eight months until August 1851 (Fels, 1988:206-207; Eidelson, 1997:36). The original stockade of wooden buildings was transformed into the enclosed bluestone Pentridge Prison more familiar to us today over the period 1857-1864. Eventually the State Government closed the prison in 1997 and sold off part of the site for housing development.

Police Magistrate's Paddock, Yarra Park - This area was known as the Police Magistrate's paddock because it was part of a government reserve on the Yarra River, bounded by Wellington Parade, Punt Road and the River, where Police Magistrate William Lonsdale had his office. Lonsdale was in charge of the settlement of Port Phillip until Superintendent La Trobe arrived from England in 1839. After the missionary George Langhorne made some accusations of impropriety against the superintendent of the Native Police Corps Christian de Villiers, the superintendent resigned and the Corps disbanded until Lonsdale reinstated De Villiers in September 1838 (Fels, 1988:23-26). At this time Lonsdale moved the headquarters the Native Police Corps to the Police Magistrate's paddock where he could monitor their activities more closely. The Native Police barracks were near the corner of Punt Road and Wellington Parade (Eidelson, 1997:14). Chief Protector George Augustus Robinson also had an office on this site in 1839 and Aboriginal groups continued to camp in the area until the 1850s.

Old Supreme Court House, Melbourne – The Chief Protector, George Augustus Robinson, ran the Chief Protector's Department from a brick building on the corner of Bourke and Kings Streets from 27 July 1843. This building used to house the Supreme Court from its establishment in 1841, but in 1843 the Court moved to a new building on the corner of Russell and La Trobe Streets (Cuthill, 1973). Robinson used the jury room as an office until 1848 (Clark & Kostanski, 2006:46).

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Mordialloc Aboriginal Reserve, Mordialloc – The Mordialloc depot opened in 1852 encompassing 832 acres alongside the Mordialloc Creek and Port Phillip Bay. In June 1852 William Thomas, by then Guardian of Aboriginal People, requested and was given two sites closer to Melbourne for him to use as depots for Aboriginal people. La Trobe agreed to the designation of 832 acres at Mordialloc, at a popular *Bun wurrung* camping spot, where he could distribute supplies and food. La Trobe also agreed to 1908 acres on the Yarra at Warrandyte for the same purpose (Barwick, 1998:35-36). Thomas fought for the continuation of the Mordialloc reserve in the early 1860s against the steady encroachment of European settlers. The site was a significant *Bun wurrung* camp for many years and had been an Aboriginal burial ground since 1839 (Barwick: 1998:52, 62). Unfortunately, the site was never officially reserved for Aboriginal people and the government eventually divided the area into smaller blocks of land offering them for sale in 1863 (Barwick, 1998:66). Some Aboriginal people remained on part of the site until 1878 but when the reserve was revoked they were removed to Coranderrk Aboriginal Reserve (Caldere & Goff, 1991:7). A part of the original reserve remains as Attenborough Park, Mordialloc.

Pound Bend Aboriginal Reserve, Warrandyte – The government created this reserve in 1841 and allocated 1,908 acres for Aboriginal people on the Yarra River at Pound Bend. The government revoked the area as an Aboriginal reserve in 1861 (Caldere & Goff, 1991:7). The land is now part of the Warrandyte State Park.

2.3.5 Dislocation and Concentration

Bayswater Boys' Home, The Basin – Run by the Salvation Army, the Boys' Home opened in 1893 as a care facility for children. The Boys' home included 200 hectares of farmed land where children were trained 'to make them upright and intelligent members of the community' (Broome, 2005:193). Under the Aboriginal protection legislation of 1886 and 1890, the government could remove 'neglected' Aboriginal children from their parents and placed them in care. In practice the Board for the Protection of Aborigines could remove any child from their family without evidence of neglect (Public Record Office Victoria, 2005:87-88). In the late nineteenth century a small number of children were taken and placed with the Salvation Army's Bayswater Boys' Home on Basin-Olinda Rd or Albion Training School for Girls (Broome, 2005:192).

Menzies Boys' Home, Frankston – The Menzies organisation have provided care for children from 1865 when William Minton established 'The Ragged School Mission' on the corner of La Trobe and Exhibition Streets. In 1901 the children's home moved to what is now the Nepean Highway in Frankston. Initially this home was called the Minton Home for Boys but the name was later changed to the Menzies Home for Boys in recognition of the Committee of Management long term president James Menzies, father of the former Prime Minister (Menzies, Inc., 2009). The Menzies Boys' Home was a care facility in which the government placed some Aboriginal children after separating them from their families in the 1940s (Public Record Office Victoria, 2005:93).

2.3.6 King and Country

Aborigines Advancement League Offices, Northcote - established in the same vicarage building as described at the Aboriginal Girls' Hostel, Northcote.

2.3.7 Assimilation

Bethesda Aboriginal Mission, Fitzroy – In 1938 Sister Maude Ellis started a mission to Aboriginal people at 406 Fitzroy Street. A deaconess in the Methodist Church, Ellis ran church services and ministered to the poor offering assistance where possible. She also ran a kindergarten for Aboriginal children. The mission continued into the 1950s, although at some stage was moved to the Independence Hall on the corner of Fitzroy Street and Brunswick Place (Broome, 2005:295).

George Street Primary School, Fitzroy – When Aboriginal people began to settle in areas such as Fitzroy, they sent their children to the local schools. In the early 1940s there were around 100 Aboriginal children attending the George Street Primary School (Broome, 2005:290).

Aboriginal Chapel, Fitzroy – In 1943 Pastor Doug Nicholls began preaching on a Sunday to the local Aboriginal community of Fitzroy from the old Church of Christ Sunday school building at 258 Gore Street. Nicholls took over the lease of the building at '12/6 a week' (12 shillings and 6 pence) after the Church of Christ sold the associated old bluestone church nearby. Nicholls ran church services from the site under a Committee of Management but wanted the support of an established Church. He approached the Victorian Aborigines Committee of the Federal Aborigines Mission Board of the Church of Christ who agreed to take over responsibility for the site and pay Nicholls a small stipend. The chapel became known as the Church of Christ Aborigines Mission and ran for the next 27 years (Clarke, 1972:128-129; Broome, 2005:291).

Aboriginal Girls' Hostel, Northcote – In 1956 Pastor Doug Nicholls undertook considerable fund raising to open a hostel for Aboriginal girls in Melbourne. He bought an old Church of England vicarage at 56 Cunningham Street, Northcote, and opened up the hostel in 1958. The hostel was run by the Girls' Hostel Committee, which later became an auxiliary committee of the Aborigines Advancement League. The hostel opened with twelve girls that were cared for by Henry and Amy Charles (Clarke, 1972:170-171).

2.3.8 Taking Back Control

Kings Domain Resting Place, Melbourne – In 1985 the Koorie Community buried the skeletal remains of 38 Aboriginal people at a site in the Kings Domain near the Royal Botanical Gardens. The remains were previously held by the Melbourne Museum and were returned to the Koorie Community after successful legal action. Buried ceremoniously near the corner of Linlithgow Avenue and St Kilda Rd in the Kings Domain, the remains were placed under a large granite bolder. A memorial plaque was embedded in the stone acknowledging the tribal groups from where the remains are thought to have derived (Eidelson, 1997:8-9).

Aborigines Advancement League, Thornbury – In 1982 the Aborigines Advancement League gained title over their site in Thornbury. Under the *Aboriginal Land (Aborigines Advancement League) (Watt Street, Northcote) Act (1982)* the League was given 2 acres of land in Watt Street for their headquarters. This was the first time

freehold land had been given back to Aboriginal people in Victoria. A few years later in 1989 the League also took ownership of the Sir Douglas Nicholls recreational reserve adjacent the League offices as a result of further legislation (Caldere & Goff, 1991:24).

Melbourne Museum, Carlton – Under the *Aboriginal Heritage Act (2006)*, the Victorian government gave Museum Victoria responsibility for looking after Aboriginal ancestral remains before they are returned to their communities (Museum Victoria, 2009). Since the nineteenth century the Museum has held a significant collection of manuscripts, photographs and artefacts relating to south-eastern Aboriginal people. In July 2000 the Melbourne Museum opened *Bunjilaka*, an Aboriginal cultural centre and keeping place designed for the exhibition and greater appreciation of these collections items.

Koorie Heritage Trust, Melbourne – In 1984 Jim Berg successfully initiated legal proceedings against several major collecting institutions for the return of Aboriginal skeletal remains, in particular the Murray Black Collection from northern Victoria. In 1988, following this success he joined with Ron Castan A.M. Q.C. and Justice Ron Merkel to form the Koorie Heritage Trust Inc in 1985. The Trust gradually developed its own collection of Koorie cultural artefacts that would remain in the hands of Koorie people. Since this time the Trust has continued to collect a diverse range of significant cultural materials including oral histories. Originally housed in the Melbourne Museum, the Trust operated from a temporary home in Flinders Lane in 1999 before moving permanently to a new building at 295 King St in 2003 (Koorie Heritage Trust, 2003).

Weeroona Aboriginal Cemetery, Greenvale – The Weeroona Aboriginal cemetery reserve is adjacent to the Woodlands Historic Park in Greenvale. An Aboriginal Committee of Management called Weeroona Incorporated maintain and ‘take care’ of the cemetery. The site is significant to the *Woi Wurrung* people as an historic camping area and to the *Gunung willam bulug*, in particular, whose elder, Uncle Norm ‘Wonga’ Hunter, is buried there. The first burials took place on the site in 1993 and in 2003 the area encompassed 33 burials. Aboriginal skeletal remains are also sometimes interned in the Weeroona cemetery following repatriation (Swinbourn, 2006).

2.3.9 Sharing Place

Merri Creek Wurundjeri Trail, East Brunswick – A walking track along the Merri Creek, the Wurundjeri Wander or Bunjil Discovery Trail includes part of the Community Environmental Park in Lee St, East Brunswick. Described as a ‘journey through Aboriginal ancestral land’, the trail can be self-guided or directed through a representative of the Wurundjeri people. The walking trail also includes the Kulin Nation Lookout, contemporary rock art and the Weroona Garden (Eidelson, 1997:34-35).

Brimbank Park, Keilor – In the 1960s archaeologists found significant Aboriginal remains in what is now Brimbank Park on the Maribyrnong River. The importance of the area to the *Woi Wurrung* is recognised through the protection of the Kulin Wetlands and an Aboriginal cultural display in the information centre at the Park. The site also includes a native plant walking trail designed to educate visitors about the indigenous foods that were available to Aboriginal people before European settlement (Eidelson, 1997:64-67).

The Keelbundoora Scarred Tree and Heritage Trail, Bundoora – This trail opened in May 2008 as a ‘self-guided walk created to recognise and preserve the ecological and cultural significance of remaining vegetation on RMIT’s Bundoora campus, which sits on Aboriginal (Wurundjeri) land’ (RMIT, 2008). The creation of the trail was a joint project between RMIT’s Ngarara Willim Indigenous Centre, Property Services, School of Art and School of Education, and the Wurundjeri Land Council and the City of Whittlesea. The trail is designed to highlight the existence of a rare stand of river red gums estimated to be around 800 years old including six scarred trees and three canoe trees (RMIT, 2008).

Birrarung Marr, Melbourne – The most recent public park established in Melbourne, Birrarung Marr is located on the north bank of the Yarra River adjacent to Federation Square. The park encompasses 6.9 hectares of land in central Melbourne that have been extensively landscaped with plantings of over 200 native trees. The name of the park derives from the *Woi Wurrung* language in which “Birrarung” means “river of mists” while “Marr” refers to the side of the river’ (City of Melbourne, 2009). The park opened on Australia Day, 26 January, 2002 and is connected to Yarra Park and the Melbourne Cricket Ground via the William Barak Bridge.

2.3.10 Known Camps at the Time of Contact:

- Gellibrand Hill Park in Greenvale near the Melbourne Airport - *Wurundjeri-willam* camp
- South bank of the Yarra River between Princes Bridge and Punt Road – *Bun wurrung, Daung wurrung* and *Woi Wurrung* camps
- Richmond Cricket Ground (Punt Road Oval) - *Wurundjeri-willam* camp

- Melbourne Cricket Ground – *Wurundjeri-willam* camp
- New Town Hill (Fitzroy) – *Wurundjeri-willam* camp
- Riery's Hill (Clifton Hill) around Heidelberg Road – *Daung wurrung* and possibly *Ngurai-willam wurrung* camp
- Royal Park and both sides of Sydney Road – general camping area for all Aboriginal groups
- Melbourne General Cemetery site – preferred camp site for Corio and Western District groups
- Worrown (Brighton) – *Bun wurrung* camp between the Yarra River and the coast
- Euro-yoroke (St. Kilda swamp) now part of Albert Park Lake – *Bun wurrung* camp
- South of the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River in Studley Park, west of the Merri Creek
- Turrak (Toorak)
- Fawkner Park, South Yarra

2.4 Case Study – Dights Falls, Abbotsford

European observers in the 1830s and 1840s noted that the confluence of the Merri Creek and Yarra River was an important camping and ceremonial area for the *Woi Wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* peoples (Clark & Heydon, 2004:12). During this period the British Government established the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, a system designed to protect the rights of Aboriginal people in the early years of European settlement. Under the Protectorate, the government divided the Port Phillip District (now the State of Victoria) into four large areas each of which had an Assistant Protector employed to establish a friendly relationship with local Aboriginal groups and advocate for them. The Western Port or Melbourne Protectorate District was 'bounded on the south by the coast, on the north by the Australian Alps, on the west by Port Phillip; the eastern boundary undefined' (Great Britain, 1844:72). The Assistant Protector with responsibility for this district was William Thomas.

The promontory of land bounded by Heidelberg Road, Merri Creek and the Yarra River was a government reserve from the late 1830s and in 1842 the Native Police Corps selected the site for their barracks. The Corps included many Aboriginal leaders whose family often camped around the station near their clansmen. Assistant Protector Thomas noted the preference of the *Woi Wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* to congregate in this area close to Melbourne. In June 1842 he moved from his central station in Narre Warren and established quarters at Merri Creek to be near the people of his Protectorate district. In September 1842 around 500 people were camped in the area, although the site was never officially recognised as a Protectorate station (Clark & Heydon, 2004:34-35, 41). In 1844 Thomas recorded that 242 Aboriginal people were camping at the confluence of the Yarra River and Merri Creek (Clark & Heydon, 2004:43). The confluence provided not only water but also a food supply for Aboriginal people. Recent studies indicate an extensive variety of fish species present above and below Dight's Falls (Arthur Rylah Institute for Environmental Research, 2003:4).

In 1842 school teacher Noble Keenan, who was also a teacher at the Narre Warren Protectorate Station, conducted classes for Aboriginal children from Assistant Protector Thomas' hut at Merri Creek. When Keenan left at the beginning of 1843, Thomas took over his teaching responsibilities although classes were irregular and gradually dropped off completely. In 1845 however, Edward Peacock began a Sunday school for Aboriginal children near the Merri Creek government reserve under the auspices of the Collins Street Baptist Church (Clark & Heydon, 2004:59-60). The location of the school was described by Thomas McCrombie in March 1846:

'The situation of the school is one of the most beautiful about the town. It is within a few hundred yards of Dight's Mills, just above the junction of the Merri Creek and the Yarra. The house was formerly occupied by Dr McArthur, and has the Yarra in front, where it winds and curves most beautifully, and the Merri Creek at the back' (Clark & Heydon, 2004:63).

In 1848 Francis Edgar replaced Peacock as teacher at the school and lessons continued from the 'mission house', a wattle and daub building of several rooms. Land around the school house was cultivated and animals farmed. The number of children enrolled at the school varied from year to year but Superintendent La Trobe continued to give his support to the Baptists' educational establishment even after the Protectorate period ended in 1849. By the end of 1850, however, only five students were attending classes and in early 1851 the Edgar family left Melbourne signalling the end of the school (Clark & Heydon, 2004:72-73).

The outbreak of an influenza epidemic in 1847 had a devastating effect on Aboriginal people in the Port Phillip District. The Aboriginal population decreased significantly and many of the remaining *Woi Wurrung* abandoned the Merri Creek site to escape the sickness. Most never returned, although Thomas recorded that there were still some 20 Aboriginal people camping near Dights Falls in the spring 1848 (Clark & Heydon, 2004:43). By this

time Thomas had moved to a house in Moonee Ponds and the Merri Creek Protectorate 'station' closed (Clark & Heydon, 2004:58).

The whole area of the confluence of the Yarra River and Merri Creek is of particular importance to Aboriginal people and at least two Wurundjeri elders are known to have been interred nearby. Billibellary, *ngurungaeta* (head man) of the *Wurundjeri willam*, who died on the 10th of August 1846, was buried at the confluence. The site of Billibellary's burial is unmarked, although originally a picket fence was placed around the grave. This fence was later swept away by flood waters and the exact location of the site is now unknown (Ellender & Christiansen, 2001:107). Thomas' papers record the burial of Billibellary and another *ngurungaeta*, Bebejan, in the area. Clearly, the '*choice of the confluence as the appropriate burial place of important leaders and warriors highlighted the traditional relevance of the locality*' (Ellender & Christiansen, 2001:116). The establishment of the Aboriginal school and Native Police station at the site also indicates the popularity of the confluence as a camping and gathering place for Aboriginal people, and also contributes to the great significance of this place to contemporary Wurundjeri people.

2.5 Contemporary values and attachment to 'Place'

While there has been no regional oral history program or concerted contemporary ethnographic research to provide consistent primary data, there is no doubt that Aboriginal people living in the study area continue to hold numerous cultural values and deep attachment for a great many sites and places within the study area. The following comment from the Wurundjeri Tribe Land and Compensation Council embodies these concepts.

For Aboriginal people, there are many different kinds of cultural values associated with the landscapes that were once lived in by their ancestors. These include the tangible values normally recorded during archaeological investigations, such as artefact scatters and scarred trees. These places are physical reminders of the cultural lives of the Wurundjeri ancestors and a special connection therefore exists between those places and contemporary Wurundjeri people. This special connection underpins the high significance of these places. Once they are destroyed, the connection is largely destroyed.

There are other values that the Wurundjeri people connect to in landscapes. Natural values, including waterways and remnant vegetation, are all integral to the cultural landscape in which Wurundjeri ancestors hunted and gathered and in which they lived their lives for many thousands of years. These landscape characteristics are therefore significant in accordance with Aboriginal tradition.

3 Victorian Cultural Heritage Legislation

There are numerous pieces of legislation which protect both Aboriginal and Historic heritage objects, items and places in Victoria. This section provides a review of Victorian and Commonwealth heritage protection legislation and processes.

3.1 Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006

In 2006 the Victorian *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006* was introduced, and was formally enacted on the 28th May 2007. This new Act replaced Part IIA of the Commonwealth Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984 and the State *Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act 1972*. From this date Aboriginal cultural heritage in Victoria is protected through the Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006 and the *Aboriginal Heritage Regulations 2007*.

The introduction of new and comprehensive Aboriginal heritage legislation and regulations in 2007 has had far reaching effects on the conduct of Aboriginal cultural heritage management across the state. Many developments involving ground disturbing activities are now required to develop cultural heritage management plans prior to development applications proceeding through the local government planning approvals process.

Some of the changes introduced with the Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006 are:

- The establishment of an Aboriginal Heritage Council (AHC) which advises the Minister for Aboriginal Affairs on cultural heritage matters;
- The establishment of Registered Aboriginal Parties (RAPs) who are involved in heritage management at a local level;
- Requirements for Cultural Heritage Management Plans (CHMPs), for all projects that may have a significant cultural heritage impact to be completed by Cultural Heritage Advisors (archaeologists and other heritage specialists);
- Where a CHMP is not required, the issue of Cultural Heritage Permits (CHP's) for activities that are likely to impact or harm an Aboriginal heritage site. Permits are issued by the Secretary for the Department for Victorian Communities (DVC);
- Declarations may be made under the Act by the Minister, to protect and preserve important Aboriginal cultural heritage places;
- Penalties for failing to comply with the Act are substantially increased;
- 'Stop Orders' can be issued by Inspectors or the Minister, in order to stop any activity that endangers or harms an Aboriginal site; and
- The Act establishes the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register which holds details on all recorded Aboriginal heritage sites in the State.

3.1.1 Cultural Heritage Management Plan (CHMP)

Section 46 of the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006* requires a mandatory CHMP to be completed if:

- The regulations require the preparation of the plan for the activity, or
- The Minister directs the preparation of a plan for the activity under Section 48, or
- A plan is required for the activity under Section 49.

Although it is unlikely that the Minister would direct that a plan be prepared (Section 48) where the mandatory triggers have not already caused a plan to be prepared, the following (mutually exclusive) circumstances will require a mandatory CHMP.

Regulation 6 of the Aboriginal Heritage Regulations 2007 states that a cultural heritage management plan is required for an activity if –

- All or part of the activity area for the activity is an area of cultural heritage sensitivity; and
- All or part of the activity is a high impact activity,
- Section 49 of the Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006 would also require a CHMP to be prepared if the proponent was required to prepare an Environmental Effects Statement for the activity under the *Environmental Effects Act 1978*.

3.2 Heritage Act 1995

The Victorian *Heritage Act 1995* is the single, overarching state heritage legislation for historical sites. The main aims of the act are to provide for the registration, and subsequent protection and conservation of places and objects of cultural heritage significance. The other purposes of the Act are to establish a Heritage Council and the Victorian Heritage Register.

All non-Aboriginal archaeological sites in Victoria more than 50 years old are protected under the Heritage Act 1995, regardless of their level of heritage significance. Archaeological sites such as cemeteries or missions, which may have a combination of both historic and Aboriginal heritage values, are protected under the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006*.

The *Heritage Act 1995* provides protection for a wide range of cultural heritage places and objects, including:

- historic archaeological sites and artefacts
- historic buildings, structures and precincts
- gardens, trees and cemeteries
- cultural landscapes
- shipwrecks and relics, and
- significant objects

3.2.1 The Victorian Heritage Register

The Victorian Heritage Register is maintained under the Victorian *Heritage Act 1995* and provides the highest level of protection for heritage places and objects in Victoria.

The Victorian Heritage Register is governed by Heritage Victoria, and includes places or objects of outstanding significance to the State of Victoria. All places or objects included on the Victorian Heritage Register are legally protected under the Victorian *Heritage Act 1995*.

The Heritage Council of Victoria determines what places and objects are included in the Victorian Heritage Register. Places on the Register are considered to have special character or value and assist in documenting Victoria's history. Registered heritage places are considered to have 'State-wide' cultural heritage significance.

Archaeological site or places including relics can be nominated to the Victorian Heritage Register.

Section 64 of the *Heritage Act 1995* holds that it is an offence under the Act to remove or demolish, damage, develop or alter or excavate all or any part of a registered place. Under Section 67 of the Act a person may apply to the Executive Director of Heritage Victoria for a permit to carry out works or activities in relation to a registered place or registered object.

3.2.2 The Heritage Inventory

Under Section 121 of the *Heritage Act 1995*, the Heritage Inventory records all places or objects identified as historic archaeological sites, areas or relics, all known areas where archaeological relics are located, all known occurrences of archaeological relics and all persons known to be holding private collections of artefacts.

Heritage Victoria also maintains the Heritage Inventory. Places listed on the Heritage Inventory do not have to be of state-wide significance, such as those on the Victorian Heritage Register. It is important to consider however, that all archaeological sites are protected under the *Heritage Act 1995*, whether listed in the Heritage Inventory or not. Any activities that will result in the excavation or disturbance to an archaeological site or its objects must have first obtained the consent of the Executive Director of Heritage Victoria.

Under Section 129 of the Act, consent from Heritage Victoria is required if a person or corporation wishes to:

1. uncover or expose an archaeological relic;
2. excavate any land for the purpose of discovering, uncovering or moving an archaeological relic; or
3. deface or damage or otherwise interfere with an archaeological relic or carry out an act likely to endanger an archaeological relic; or
4. possess an archaeological relic for the purposes of sale; or
5. buy or sell an archaeological relic.

Up to date information on the Victorian *Heritage Act 1995* and its implementation can be found on the Heritage Victoria website at <http://www.heritage.vic.gov.au/>

3.23 Heritage Victoria D Classification

Heritage Victoria has a 'D' classification for places that are considered to have low historical or scientific significance. These sites are listed on the Heritage Inventory but are not subject to statutory protection, therefore there is no requirement to obtain consent to disturb or destroy these sites. Heritage Victoria has requested that a letter be sent to them informing them if 'D' listed sites or places are destroyed to maintain a record of any destroyed places or sites.

3.3 Victorian Planning and Environment Act 1987

All municipalities in Victoria are subjects to land use planning controls which are prepared and administered by State government authorities. The legislation governing such controls is the *Planning and Environment Act 1987* as amended in 2000. Places of significance to a locality can be listed on a local planning scheme and be protected by an instrument known as a Heritage Overlay (or other overlay where appropriate). Heritage Overlays are contained within local council planning schemes and assist in protecting the heritage of a municipality. Heritage Overlays include places of local significance as well as places included in the Victorian Heritage Register. It should be noted that places of Aboriginal heritage significance are not often included in Heritage Overlays and Aboriginal Affairs Victoria should be consulted regarding the presence of any Aboriginal site(s) in an area. A planning permit may be required from the local council in a place that is subject to the controls of a Heritage Overlay.

3.4 The National Trust

The National Trust is an independent non-profit organisation that actively works towards conserving and protecting heritage throughout Australia. The National Trust classifies various heritage places (most of which are privately owned). Classification by the Trust does not impose any legal restrictions on private property owners or occupiers. Many places classified with the National Trust are also nominated to the Heritage Council for listing on the State Heritage Register. At local government level, most of the National Trust's classifications have been adopted and are protected by a Heritage Overlay (or other overlay where appropriate) in the local planning scheme.

3.5 Local Government Heritage Overlays

The Victoria Planning Provisions (VPP) includes a Heritage Overlay that sets out the requirements for planning permit applications for places identified as having cultural heritage significance. A Heritage Overlay is a planning scheme control applied to areas (or precincts), or individual buildings, land, gardens, trees or other items that have been determined to be of cultural heritage significance. Sites and areas covered by Heritage Overlays vary greatly in character and nature of significance, but generally exclude Aboriginal sites or places, which are managed through other legislative mechanisms.

4 Commonwealth Heritage Legislation

There are several pieces of Commonwealth legislation which may be relevant to the protection of Aboriginal cultural objects, items or places in Victoria. Aboriginal heritage sites or places are protected by the various legislative instruments regardless of the antiquity or type of cultural heritage place. For example, a post-contact Aboriginal place may be protected by both the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006* and the *Heritage Act 1995*.

4.1 The Native Title Act 1993

The Commonwealth *Native Title Act 1993* establishes the principles and mechanisms for the establishment of Native Title rights at law for Aboriginal people.

Under Subdivision P of the Act, (Right to Negotiate), Native Title claimants can negotiate in regard to certain types of proposed developments over land and waters (known as 'Future Acts') Claimants gain the right to negotiate if their native title claimant application satisfies the National Native Title Tribunal registration test conditions.

The right to negotiate is not a right to stop projects going ahead. It is a right to be consulted about how development takes place. In some situations, the right to negotiate does not apply. In these circumstances, claimants may have the right to be notified, to be consulted, to object and to be heard by an independent arbitrator.

The right to negotiate is mostly triggered when a relevant authority issues a notice to say that it intends to allow certain things to occur on land, such as granting a mining lease on lands which are the subject of a Native Title claim. If the right to negotiate applies, the government, the developer and the registered native title parties must negotiate 'in good faith' regarding the effects the proposed development may have on the registered native title rights and interests of the claimants. The parties can ask the National Native Title Tribunal to mediate during the negotiations.

If the negotiations do not result in an agreement the parties can ask the Tribunal (no sooner than six months after the notification date) to decide whether or not the Future Act should go ahead, or on what conditions it should go ahead. The National Native Title Tribunal administers the Future Act processes under the *Native Title Act 1993*. The Tribunal's role includes mediating between parties, conducting inquiries and making decisions (called 'future act determinations') where parties can't reach agreements.

When the Tribunal receives a Future Act determination application, it must conduct an inquiry (arbitration) in order to determine whether the future act can be done, and if so whether any conditions should be imposed. A member of the Tribunal (or a panel of three members) will be appointed to conduct the inquiry, and will initially hold a preliminary conference and set directions for the parties to provide submissions and evidence. Members who have mediated a particular matter are not usually appointed as inquiry members. Inquiry members conduct hearings, receive submissions and evidence from the parties and take into account matters set out in Section 39 of the *Native Title Act 1993* such as:

- the effect of the future act on the enjoyment by the native title party of their registered native title rights and interests; their way of life, culture and traditions; the development of their social, cultural and economic structures; their freedom of access to the land and freedom to conduct ceremonies and other cultural activities; and the effect of the future act on any area or site of particular (special) significance to the native title party;
- the interests, proposals, opinions or wishes of the native title party;
- the economic or other significance of the future act;
- the public interest; and
- the presence of any existing non-native title rights and interests and use of the land by other persons (such as pastoralists).

4.2 The Australian Heritage Council Act 2003

The Australian Heritage Council is a body of heritage experts established by the *Australian Heritage Council Act 2003*. The Council replaced the Australian Heritage Commission as the Australian Government's independent expert advisory body on heritage matters when the new Commonwealth heritage system was introduced in 2004 under amendments to the *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999*. The Council plays a key role in assessment, advice and policy formulation and support of major heritage programs. Its main responsibilities are to:

- assess places for the National Heritage List and the Commonwealth Heritage List
- nominate places for inclusion in the National Heritage List or Commonwealth Heritage List
- promote the identification, assessment, conservation and monitoring of heritage
- advise the Minister on various heritage matters including the preparation and amendment of heritage strategies and management plans for Commonwealth areas and agencies

4.3 Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999

The *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999* (the EPBC Act) is the Australian Government's central piece of environmental legislation. The EPBC Act provides a legal framework to protect and manage nationally and internationally important flora, fauna, ecological communities and heritage places — defined in the Act as matters of national environmental significance.

The seven matters of national environmental significance to which the EPBC Act applies are:

1. World heritage sites,
2. National heritage places,
3. Wetlands of international importance (often called 'Ramsar' wetlands after the international Treaty under which such wetlands are listed),
4. Nationally threatened species and ecological communities,
5. Migratory species,
6. Commonwealth marine areas, and
7. Nuclear actions

In addition, the Act confers jurisdiction over actions that have a significant environmental impact on Commonwealth land, or that are carried out by a Commonwealth agency (even if that significant impact is not on one of the seven matters of 'national environmental significance').

The EPBC Act comes into play when a proposal has the potential to have a significant impact on a matter of national environmental significance. When a 'proponent' wants an 'action' assessed for environmental impacts under the Act, they must refer the project to the Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts. This 'referral' is then released to the public for comment on whether the project is likely to have a significant impact on matters of national environmental significance. Public comments are assessed and, if relevant to the Act, are taken into consideration. The Minister or his delegate will then decide whether the likely environmental impacts of the project are such that it should be assessed under the Act.

There are five different levels of assessment, depending on the significance of the project and how much information is already available. Each level involves considering technical information assembled by the proponent and comments made by the public.

Once a project has been assessed by the Department of the Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts, the Department makes a recommendation to the Minister or delegate about whether or not the project should be approved to proceed. The Minister assesses all the information provided by the Department before making a decision about whether or not the project should proceed, and if so, whether any specific conditions need to be attached to that approval. In addition to considering potential impacts on matters of national environmental significance, in making their decision the Minister also considers the social and economic impact of any project.

The Federal Minister's primary role under the EPBC Act is to protect areas of national environmental significance in accordance with the guiding principles of the Act. This means that the Minister must always consider these critical environmental decisions in the broader context of Australia's social and economic needs. However, the Minister cannot intervene in a proposal if it has no significant impact on one of the seven matters of national environmental significance, even though there may be other undesirable environmental impacts.

4.4 The Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984

Protection of places of significance to Indigenous Australians is provided through the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984* (the Act) which the Indigenous Heritage Section of the Commonwealth Department of Environment, Water, Heritage and the Arts administer. The Act offers protection for significant places or objects through ministerial decision.

Aboriginal people who believe that a place or object is threatened and believe that state government processes offer inadequate protection can apply to the Federal Environment Minister to protect the place or object under Section's 9 and 10 of the act.

There have been 200 applications for an emergency declaration to the incumbent Minister to protect places or objects believed to be threatened, and where other legislative mechanisms have been perceived to have failed. There have however, only been 22 emergency declarations enforced since the inception of the act.

5 Conclusions

Within the Metropolitan Melbourne Investigation Area there are literally thousands of 'places' for which the Aboriginal community hold a range of cultural values. These places may not be immediately apparent or obvious to the wider community, but are nonetheless an important component of any assessment of the social or community values of any public lands within the investigation area. The types of places present within the investigation area range from 30,000 year old pre-contact archaeological sites to contemporary cemeteries, with almost as wide a range of values.

While it has not been possible to address the entire gamut of Aboriginal history, land usage and '*attachment to place*' within this report, a variety of information is presented intended to raise awareness about the range and diversity of types of places which may exist on public lands, rather than simply the quantum of places which exist.

Importantly, there are countless thousands of archaeological places as yet to be discovered within the investigation area, there will be deeply stratified complex places through to ephemeral places such as small artefact scatters, and such is the nature of 30,000 years of human occupation. Likewise, there will be new places identified or made known to the investigators of tomorrow which will reflect Aboriginal associations and involvement in historical events since European contact.

It is vital that the investigation and assessment of any lands - public or private - continues to strive to determine and manage all of the extant values of place - Aboriginal, European, archaeological, social or cultural. Without diligent and professional assessment of the values of 'place', and an on-going dialogue with both Traditional Owners and other stakeholders, many of the most important associations and values of places could be irretrievably lost to the community as a whole.

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7 Glossary

Absolute Dating: Is the process of determining a specific date for an archaeological or paleontological site or artefact. Some archaeologists prefer the terms chronometric or calendar dating, as use of the word "absolute" implies a certainty and precision that is rarely possible in archaeology. See also relative dating.

Adze: A stone tool made on flakes with steep flaking along the lateral margins and hafted for use as a wood working tool.

Alluvial Terrace: A terraced embankment of loose material adjacent to the sides of a river valley.

Amorphous: Showing no definite crystalline structure.

Angle Of Applied Force: The angle at which the force of flaking is applied to a core.

Angular fragment: A piece of stone that is blocky or angular.

Anisotropic: Having some physical properties which vary in different directions.

Anvil: A portable stone, used as a base for working stone tools. Anvils most frequently have a small circular depression in the centre which is the impact damage from where cores were held while being struck by a hammer stone. An anvil may be a multi-functional tool also used as a grindstone and hammer stone.

Archaeological Context: The situation or circumstances in which a particular item or group of items is found.

Archaeological site types: The archaeological site types encountered in Australia can be divided into three main groups:

Historical archaeological site: An archaeological site formed since the European settlement containing physical evidence of past human activity (for example a structure, landscape or artefact scatter).

Aboriginal contact site: A site with a historical context such as an Aboriginal mission station or provisioning point, or a site that shows evidence of Aboriginal use of non-traditional Aboriginal materials and technologies (e.g. metal or ceramic artefacts).

Aboriginal prehistoric archaeological site: A site that contains physical evidence of past Aboriginal activity, formed or used by Aboriginal people before European settlement.

These sites may be:

Artefact scatters	Scarred Trees
Isolated artefacts	Mounds
Rock shelters	Rock art
Burial Structures	Hearths
Shell middens	Quarries
Ethnographic Items	Grinding Patches

Archaeology: The study of the past through the systematic recovery and analysis of material culture. Archaeology relies heavily upon science and cognate disciplines to provide interpretations of the past life ways of the peoples under investigation.

Artefact: any movable object that has been utilised modified or manufactured by humans.

Artefact scatter: A surface scatter of cultural material. Aboriginal artefact scatters are often defined as being the occurrence of five or more items of cultural material within an area of about 10m x 10m.

Australian Height Datum: The datum used to determine elevations in Australia. The AHD is based on the mean coastal sea level being zero metres AHD.

Australian Small Tool Tradition: Stone tool assemblages found across Australia, with the exception of Tasmania, dating between 8000 BP to European contact. The tool types include hafted implements (e.g. Bondi points), bifacial and unifacial points, geometric microliths, and blades. The assemblage is named for its distinct lack of larger 'core tools' which characterised earlier assemblages.

Axe: A stone-headed axe or hatchet or the stone head alone, characteristically containing two ground surfaces which meet at a bevel.

Backed Artefact: Backed artefacts are flakes retouched until they have one or more steep and relatively thick surfaces that are covered with negative scars. Since the backing retouch was accomplished with a bipolar and/or anvil-rested knapping technique, these retouched surfaces typically show negative scars originating from two directions, a pattern that is sometimes described as "double backing". Backed pieces are a feature of the 'Australian small tool tradition', dating from about 8000 BP in southern Australia.

Bearing: An angle measured clockwise from a north line of 0° to a given surveyed line.

Bevelled Edge: An edge which has had its angle altered.

Biface: A flaked stone artefact which has flake scars on both ventral and dorsal surfaces.

Bipolar: Technique of knapping where a core is rested on an anvil and force applied to the core at an angle close to 90° in the direction of the core's contact with the anvil.

Blade: A flake at least twice as long as it is wide.

Blaze: A mark carved in a tree trunk at about breast height. This type of mark was traditionally used by explorers or surveyors to indicate a route of passage in a certain direction, or a particular camp location.

Bulb of Percussion: Is a convex protuberance located at the proximal end of the ventral surface of a flake, immediately below the ring crack.

Bulbar Scar: The negative scar on a core that results from the bulb of percussion on the extracted flake.

Burial site: Usually a sub-surface pit containing human remains and sometimes associated artefacts. Human burials can also occur above the ground surface within rock shelters or on tree platform burials.

Burin: A stone implement roughly rectangular in shape with a corner flaked to act as a point for piercing holes.

Cadastral: From the Latin, a cadastre is a comprehensive register of the real property of a country, and commonly includes details of the ownership, the tenure, the precise location (some can include GPS coordinates), the dimensions (and area), the cultivations if rural and the value of individual parcels of land.

Chert: Is a fine-grained silica-rich microcrystalline, cryptocrystalline or microfibrillar sedimentary rock that may contain small fossils. It varies greatly in colour (from white to black), but most often manifests as gray, brown, greyish brown and light green to rusty red. Its colour is an expression of trace elements present in the rock, and both red and green are most often related to traces of iron (in its oxidized and reduced forms respectively).

Cleavage Plane: A plane of weakness or preferred fracture in a rock.

Composite: An artefact made up of two or more parts joined together.

Conchoidal Fracture: describes the way that brittle materials break when they do not follow any natural planes of separation. Materials that break in this way include flint and other fine-grained minerals, as well as most amorphous solids, such as obsidian and other types of glass. Conchoidal fractures often result in a curved breakage surface that resembles the rippling, gradual curves of a mussel shell; the word "conchoid" is derived from the word for this animal. A swelling appears at the point of impact called the bulb of percussion. Shock waves emanating outwards from this point leave their mark on the stone as ripples. Other conchoidal features include small fissures emanating from the bulb of percussion.

Conjoin: A physical link between artefacts broken in antiquity. A conjoin set refers to a number of artefacts which can be been refitted together.

Contours: Lines joining points of equal height on a topographic map. Contour lines that are relatively close together depict an area of steep terrain on the earth's surface; whereas lines depicted a distance apart represent flat areas on the earth's surface.

Core: An artefact from which flakes have been detached using a hammer stone. Core types include single platform, multi-platform, and bipolar forms.

Cortex: Weathered outer surface of rock, usually chemically altered.

Crazing: Production of visible surface cracks by uncontrolled heating of rock.

Crown land: Technically belonging to the reigning sovereign, is a class of public land, provided for the enjoyment and benefit of the people.

Crushing: Abrasion, small fracturing and the formation of ring cracks, usually along an artefacts edge.

Cryptocrystalline: Rock in which the crystal structure is too fine for clear resolution with an optical microscope.

Cultural significance: Cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations (Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter Article 1.2).

Cultural Materials: The products of human behaviour, such as stone artefacts or food debris.

Datum: In surveying and geodesy, a datum is a reference point or surface against which position measurements are made, and an associated model of the shape of the earth for computing positions. Horizontal datum's are used for describing a point on the earth's surface, in latitude and longitude or another coordinate system. Vertical datum's are used to measure elevations or underwater depths. The previous datum used in Australia was known as the Australian Geodetic Datum (AGD). However, this was restricted because it was defined to best fit the shape of the earth in the Australian region only. The change in datum's had a major consequence to all coordinates. Both latitudes/longitudes and eastings/northings were shifted by approximately 200 metres in a north-easterly direction.

Debitage: The term debitage refers to the totality of waste material produced during lithic reduction and the production of chipped stone tools. This assemblage includes, but is not limited to, different kinds of lithic flakes, shatter, and production errors and rejects.

Decortication: Removal of cortex from a stone artefact.

Dendrochronology: Is the method of scientific dating based on the analysis of tree-ring growth patterns.

Denticulated: Describes a stone tool which has one edge worked into a series of notches giving a toothed or serrated cutting edge.

Discard: The movement of an object from its systemic context to an archaeological context.

Distal: The end of a flake opposite the bulb; the area of a flake containing its termination.

Direct Freehand Knapping: A method of holding the material to be flaked in the unsupported hand and directing the hammer stone with the other hand.

Dorsal Surface: The face of a flake which was the core surface prior to flake removal and may therefore retain negative flake scars or cortex.

Edge ground implement: A tool, such as an axe or adze which has been flaked to a rough shape and then ground against another stone to produce a sharp edge.

Edge modification: Irregular small flake scarring along one or more margins of a flake, flaked piece or core, which is the result of utilisation/retouch or natural edge damage. Edge damage refers to the removal of small flakes from the edge of an artefact.

Elevation: The height above mean sea level.

Eraillure Flake: A flake formed between the bulb of force and the bulbar scar. Sometimes the eraillure flake adheres to the core in the bulbar scar. The eraillure flake leaves no scar on the core, but always leaves a scar on the ventral surface of the flake. The eraillure flake is convex / concave (like a meniscus lens), has no distinct features on the "dorsal face", but may contain compression rings on the bulbar face.

Ethno-archaeology: The study of human behaviour and of the material culture of living societies in order to learn how items enter the archaeological record, thus allowing the formation of hypotheses as to how items of material culture entered the archaeological record in pre-history.

Ethnographic Site: Often overlooked in cultural heritage management, an ethnographic site is one which has particular spiritual or ritual significance to a particular group of people. They are more commonly referred to as 'dreaming sites' in Australia, and most appropriately recorded by someone with anthropological qualifications.

Excavation: The systematic recovery of archaeological data through the exposure of buried sites and artefacts. Excavation is a destructive process, and hence it is accompanied by comprehensive recording of every aspect.

Excavation Report: Once an excavation has finished, a report outlining the reasons, aims, methods used and findings from the excavation as well as some conclusions drawn from interpreting the artefacts.

Faceted Platform: A platform which is created by the removal of a number of flake scars.

Feather Termination: A termination of the fracture plane that occurs gradually (i.e. there are no sharp bends in the plane), producing a thin, low angled distal margin.

Feature: In excavations, a feature is something that a human made in the past that has not been or cannot be moved. Examples of this would be a house floor or a hearth (fire pit). When archaeologists are excavating, they often come across features.

Flake: A piece of stone removed from a core during the process of knapping by the application of external force, which characteristically shows traces of the processes of removal: concentric fracture ripples and a bulb of percussion. Flakes with a length: breadth ratio of 2:1 or more are usually referred to as blades. In some cases flakes are the result of shaping a block of stone into a tool of some kind. When removed from a prepared core, however, they were usually used as blanks for making tools. Primary flakes (also called decortication flakes) are large, thick flakes struck off a core when removing the cortex and preparing it for working. Secondary flakes (also called reduction flakes) are large flakes struck off a piece to reduce its size or thickness. Tertiary flakes are small flakes struck off when shaping the detail of a piece to make a specific tool. Retouching flakes are tiny, extremely thin flakes pinched or pushed off a piece to finish it, to fine-shape part of the surface, sharpen it, or resharpen it. Notching flakes are produced when putting hafting notches in stone tools.

Force: The quantity of energy exerted by a moving body; power exerted; energy exerted to move another body from a state of inertia.

Formal tool: an artefact that has been shaped by flaking, including retouch, or grinding to a predetermined form for use as a tool. Formal tools include scrapers, backed pieces, adzes and axes.

Fracture: Irregular surface produced by breaking a mineral across rather than along cleavage planes.

GDA94: Geocentric Datum of Australia. A spatial reference system which is universally implemented across Australia. The Geocentric Datum of Australia (GDA) is a coordinate reference system that best fits the shape of the earth as a whole. It has an origin that coincides with the centre of mass of the earth, hence the term 'geocentric'

Geodesy: The science and mathematical calculations of the shape and size of the Earth.

Geographic coordinates: a geographic coordinate system enables every location on the earth to be specified, using mainly a spherical coordinate system. There are three coordinates: latitude, longitude and geodesic height.

Geographic Information Systems: Is any system for capturing, storing, analysing, managing and presenting data and associated attributes which are spatially referenced to Earth. GIS is a system or tool or computer based methodology to collect, store, manipulate, retrieve and analyse spatially (georeferenced) data.

Geometric microlith: A small tool that has been fashioned from breaking apart a microblade. The piece is then retouched or backed and a small tool formed.

Gilgai soils: Soils with an undulating surface, presenting as a pattern of mounds and depressions. Gilgai soils contain swelling clays, which shrink and swell with alternate drying and wetting cycles. They display strong cracks when dry. Elements of the soil circulate and move during the shrink-swell process.

Global Positioning System: GPS is a satellite based navigation system originally developed by the United State's Department of Defence. A GPS receiver calculates a position by measuring distances to four or more satellites of a possible 24. These orbit the Earth at all times.

Grain: A description of the size of particles or crystals in rocks or sand. Coarse grained rocks have particles or crystals which are large (1mm or more), and fine grained rocks have particles which are small (0.1mm or less).

Greywacke: Hard fine-grained rock of variable composition containing some quartz and feldspar but mostly very fine particles of rock fragments.

Graticule: A network of crossing lines on a map representing parallels of latitude and meridians of longitude as defined by the projection.

Grid: The division of an archaeological site into small squares that denote different areas of excavation, making it easier to measure and document the site.

Grid coordinates: A point on a map given as an easting and northing reading. The values are given in metres.

Grindstone: The abrasive stone used to abrade another artefact or to processes food. Upper and lower grind stones used to grind plants for food and medicine and/or ochre for painting. A hammer stone sometimes doubles as a hammer stone and/or anvil.

Hammer stone: a piece of stone, often a creek/river pebble/cobble, which has been used to detach flakes from a core by percussion. During flaking, the edges of the hammer stone become 'bruised' or crushed by impact with the core. Hammer stones may also be used in the manufacture of petroglyphs.

Hand-Held: Description of the method used to immobilize the rock during knapping, it which it is held in one hand and struck by a hammer stone held in the other hand.

Hardness: Resistance of material to permanent deformation.

Hearth: Usually a sub-surface feature found eroding from a river or creek bank or a sand dune – it indicates a place where Aboriginal people cooked food. The remains of hearth are usually identifiable by the presence of charcoal and sometimes clay balls (like brick fragments) and hearth stones. Remains of burnt bone or shell are sometimes preserved with a hearth.

Heat treatment: The thermal alteration of stone (including silcrete) by stone workers to improve its flaking qualities.

Heritage: The word 'heritage' is commonly used to refer to our cultural inheritance from the past that is the evidence of human activity from Aboriginal peoples through successive periods of later migration, up to the present day. Heritage can be used to cover natural environment as well, for example the Natural Heritage Charter. Cultural heritage can be defined as those things and places associated with human activity. The definition is very broad, and includes Indigenous and historic values, places and objects, and associated values, traditions, knowledge and cultures.

Heritage Place: A place that has aesthetic, historic, scientific or social values for past, present or future generations – 'this definition encompasses all cultural places with any potential present or future value as defined above'. Heritage place can be subdivided into Aboriginal place and historical place, for the purposes of this document.

Hinge Termination: A fracture plane that turns sharply toward the free surface of the core immediately prior to the termination of the fracture. The bend of the ventral surface is rounded and should not be confused with a step termination.

Historic place: A place that has some significance or noted association in history.

Homogeneous: Uniform structure and property throughout the material.

Hunter-gatherer: A member of a society who gains their subsistence in the wild on food obtained by hunting and foraging.

Hydrology: Is the study of the movement, distribution, and quality of water throughout the Earth.

ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites): ICOMOS is a nongovernment professional organisation closely linked to UNESCO, with national committees in some 100 countries with the headquarters in France. ICOMOS promotes expertise in the conservation of cultural heritage. It was formed in 1965, and has a responsibility to advise UNESCO in the assessment of sites proposed for the World Heritage List. Australia ICOMOS was formed in 1976. Its fifteen member executive committee is responsible for carrying out national programmes and participating in decisions of ICOMOS.

Incipient Crack: A crack or line of weakness in the rock.

Inclusion: An impurity or foreign body in the stone that reduces the homogeneity of the rock.

Indirect Percussion: Punch technique.

Interpretation: The process of explaining the meaning or use of an artefact.

Inward Force: Force applied to the platform, and directed into the body of the core.

Isolated artefact: The occurrence of less than five items of cultural material within an area of about 100 sq. metres. It/they can be evidence of a short-lived (or one-off) activity location, the result of an artefact being lost or discarded during travel, or evidence of an artefact scatter that is otherwise obscured by poor ground visibility.

Knapper: A person who creates stone artefacts by striking rocks and causing them to fracture.

Knapping Floor: The debris left on one spot and resulting from the reduction of one block of raw material. A knapping location is a site comprised of one or more knapping floors.

Koori: Koori is an Aboriginal term used to describe Indigenous people from Victoria and southern New South Wales.

Lateral Margins: The margins of a flake either side of the percussion axis.

Latitude: The angular distance along a meridian measured from the Equator, either north or south.

Layer: The layer is the level in which archaeologists dig. All excavation sites have different numbers of layers. Archaeologists try to work out when they are moving to a new layer by cultural or man-made clues like floors, but sometimes they will go by changes in soil colour or soil type.

Longitude: The angular distance measured from a reference meridian, Greenwich, either east or west.

Longitudinal Cross Section: The cross-section of a flake along its percussion axis.

Magnetic north: The direction from a point on the earth's surface to the north magnetic pole. The difference between magnetic north and true north is referred to as magnetic declination.

Maintenance: The process of keeping an artefact in a particular state or condition. An edge which is being used is maintained by flaking off blunted portions. A core is maintained by keeping its characteristics within the limits required for certain types of flaking.

Manufacture: The process of making an artefact.

Manuport: Foreign fragment, chunk or lump of stone that shows no clear signs of flaking but is out of geological context and must have been transported to the site by people.

Map scale: The relationship between a distance on a map and the corresponding distance on the earth's surface.

Margin: Edge between the ventral and dorsal surfaces of a flake.

Material culture: A term that refers to the physical objects created by a culture. This could include the buildings, tools and other artefacts created by the members of a society.

Mercator projection: A conformal cylindrical projection tangential to the Equator. Rhumb lines on this projection are represented as straight lines.

Meridian: A straight line connecting the North and South Poles and traversing points of equal longitude.

MGA94: The Universal Transverse Mercator coordinates of eastings, northings, and zones generated from GDA94 are called Map Grid of Australia 1994 coordinates.

Microblade: A very small narrow blade.

Microcrystalline: Rocks in which the crystals are very small but visible in an optical microscope.

Microwear: Microscopic use-wear.

Moiety: A moiety is a half. Tribes were composed of two moieties (halves) and each clan belonged to one of the moieties.

Mound: These sites, often appearing as raised areas of darker soil, are found most commonly in the volcanic plains of western Victoria or on higher ground near bodies of water. The majority were probably formed by a slow build-up of debris resulting from earth-oven cooking: although some may have been formed by the collapse of sod or turf structures. It has also been suggested some were deliberately constructed as hut foundations.

Morphology: The topographical characteristics of the exterior of an artefact.

Mosaic: A number of continuous aerial photographs overlapped and joined together by way of 'best fit' to form a single non-rectified image.

Negative Bulb of Force: The concave surface left after a flake has been removed. See Bulbar Scar.

Notched: Serration or series of alternating noses and concavities.

Obtrusiveness: How visible a site is within a particular landscape. Some site types are more conspicuous than others. A surface stone artefact scatter is generally not obtrusive, but a scarred tree will be.

Overhang: The lip on a core or retouched flake, caused by the platform being undercut by the bulb on the flake removed.

Overhang Removal: The act of brushing or tapping the platform edge in order to remove the overhang in a series of small flakes.

Overlays: The Victorian Planning Provisions establish a number of different Overlays to show the type of use and development allowed in a municipality. Heritage Overlays will list places of defensible cultural heritage significance.

Patina: An alteration of rock surfaces by molecular or chemical change (but not by attrition, hence not to be confused with sand blasting).

Pebble/cobble: Natural stone fragments of any shape. Pebbles are 2-60 mm in size and cobbles are 60-200 mm in size.

Percussion: The act of hitting a core with a hammer stone to strike off flakes.

Percussion Flaking: The process of detaching flakes by striking with a percussor.

Percussion Length: The distance along the ventral surface from the ring crack to the flake termination.

Place: Place means a site, area, land, landscape, building or other works, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views. (Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter Article 1.1)

Plane of Fracture: The fracture path which produces the ventral surface of a flake.

Planning scheme: The legal instrument that sets out the provisions for land use, development, and protection in Victoria. Every municipality in Victoria has a planning scheme.

Platform: Any surface to which a fabricator is applied when knapping.

Platform Angle: 1. The angle between the platform and core face on a core. 2. The angle between the platform and dorsal surface on a flake. 3. The angle between the platform and flaked surface on a retouched flake.

Platform Preparation: Alteration of the portion of the platform which receives the fabricator by grinding, polishing or flaking. Removal of small flake scars on the dorsal edge of a flake, opposite the bulb of percussion. These overhang removal scars are produced to prevent a platform from shattering.

Platform removal flake: A flake which contains a platform on the dorsal surface.

Point of force application: The area of the platform in contact with the indenter during knapping. Also known as point of contact.

Positive Bulb of Force: Bulb of force.

Post-depositional processes: The natural or cultural processes which may differentially impact upon archaeological sediments after they deposited.

Potlids: A concave-convex or plano-convex fragment of stone. Potlids never have a ringcrack or any other feature relating to the input of external force. They often have a central protuberance which indicates an internal initiation to the fracture. Potlids are the result of differential expansion of heated rock.

Pre-contact: Before contact with non-Aboriginal people.

Post-contact: After contact with non-Aboriginal people.

Pressure Flaking: The process of detaching flakes by a pressing force. Also Static Loading.

Primary decortication: The first removal of cortex from a core, creating a primary decortication flake. The flake will have a dorsal surface covered entirely by cortex.

Procurement: Obtaining raw materials.

Provenance: The location of an artefact or feature both vertically and horizontally in the site. Archaeologists record the provenance of artefacts and features in their field books and on the artefact bag. Provenance is important because it gives archaeologists the history and context of an object, i.e., exactly where it was found on the site.

Punch: An object which is placed on a core or retouched flake and receives the blow from the percussor.

Quarry: A place where humans obtained stone or ochre for artefact manufacture. A place where stone or ochre is exposed and has been extracted by Aboriginal people. The rock types most commonly quarried for artefact manufacture in Victoria include silcrete, quartz, quartzite, chert and fine-grained volcanics such as greenstone.

Quartz: A form of silica.

Quartzite: Sandstone in which the quartz sand grains are completely cemented together by secondary quartz deposited from solution.

Radiocarbon Dating: Also called carbon dating and C-14 dating. It is used to work out the approximate age of an artefact by measuring the amount of carbon 14 it contains. This dating technique is not perfect. It can only be used on organic remains (typically wood or charcoal). Also radiocarbon is only accurate to ± 50 years, and cannot accurately date objects more than 50,000 years old.

Redirecting Flake: A flake which uses an old platform as a dorsal ridge to direct the fracture plane.

Redirection: Rotation of a core and initiation of flaking from a new platform situated at right angles to a previous platform. It produces a redirecting flake.

Reduction: Process of breaking down stone by either flaking or grinding.

Reduction Sequence: A description of the order in which reduction occurs within one block of stone.

Rejuvenate: The process of flaking in such a way that further reduction is possible or is easier. This usually involves removing unwanted features, such as step terminations, or making unsuitable characteristics more favourable, for example changing the platform angle. A Rejuvenation flake is a flake that has been knapped from a core solely for the purpose of preparing a new platform and making it easier to get flakes off a core, as it reduces that angle between platform and core surface.

Relative Dating: A general method of dating objects, which uses their relation to other objects. For example, artefacts found in lower layer are typically older than artefacts in higher layer.

Relic: Deposit, object or material evidence of human past.

Replica: A copy of a prehistoric artefact made by a modern investigator for research purposes.

Replicative Systems Analysis: A method of analysing prehistoric artefacts by creating exact replicas of all the manufacturing debris.

Reserves: The word 'reserve' derives from the land being reserved for a particular public use. Crown land retained in public ownership, but not reserved is termed unreserved Crown land.

Resharpening: The process of making a blunt edge sharper by grinding or flaking.

Retouched Flake: A flake that has subsequently been re-flaked. A flake, flaked piece or core with intentional secondary flaking along one or more edges.

Retouching: The act of knapping a flake into a retouched flake.

Ridge: The intersection of two surfaces, often at the junction of two negative scars.

Ring Crack: A circular pattern of micro-fissures penetrating into the artefact around the Point of Force Application and initiating the fracture. It appears on the ventral surface usually as a semi-circular protuberance on the edge of the platform.

Rock art: Paintings, engravings and shallow relief work on natural rock surfaces. Paintings were often produced by mineral pigments, such as ochre, combined with clay and usually mixed with water to form a paste or liquid that was applied to an unprepared rock surface.

Run: A large area of land in which squatters could pasture their stock without a lot of fencing necessary. Employed shepherds looked after various areas of the runs. Runs became consolidated pastoral holdings. Many of the runs were about 25 sq miles in area and later became parishes.

Sand: Quartz grains with only a small content of other materials. Grain size 2.00 mm to 0.05 mm.

Sandstone: A sedimentary rock composed of sand, and with only a small amount of other material, which has been consolidated by argillaceous or calcareous bonding of grains.

Sahul: This is the name given to the continent when Australia and New Guinea were a single landmass during the Pleistocene era. During this period, sea levels were approximately 150 metres lower than present levels.

Scar: The feature left on an artefact by the removal of a flake. Includes negative bulb, negative ring crack and negative termination.

Scarred tree: Scars on trees may be the result of removal of strips of bark by Aborigines e.g. for the manufacture of utensils, canoes or for shelter; or resulting from small notches chopped into the bark to provide hand and toe holds for hunting possums and koalas. Some scars may be the result of non-Aboriginal activity, such as surveyors' marks.

Scraper: A flake, flaked piece or core with systematic retouch on one or more margins.

Screen: A screen is used by an archaeologist to sift excavated soil in search of small artefacts like nails, ceramic fragments, and organic material like seeds, shell, and bone. Can be either manual (hand held) or mechanical.

Secondary Decortication: The removal of cortex from a core after the primary decortication flake. A secondary decortication flake is one that has both cortex and flake scars on the dorsal surface.

Selection: Runs were subdivided into selections for farming, agriculture and grazing homesteads. After a period of yearly rental payments, the selector could often obtain freehold ownership.

Shell midden: A surface scatter and/or deposit comprised mainly of shell, sometimes containing stone artefacts, charcoal, bone and manuports. These site types are normally found in association with coastlines, rivers, creeks and swamps – wherever coastal, riverine or estuarine shellfish resources were accessed and exploited.

Sieve: See Screen.

Significance: Significance is a term used to describe an item's heritage value. Values might include natural, Indigenous, aesthetic, historic, scientific or social importance.

Silica: Silicon dioxide.

Silcrete: A silicified sediment.

Siliceous: Having high silica content.

Site: An area designated for archaeological exploration by excavation and/or survey usually due to the presence of a concentration of cultural material.

Step Termination: A fracture plane that turns sharply towards the free surface of the core immediately prior to the termination of the fracture. The bend of the ventral surface is sharp, often a right angle.

Stratification: Over time, debris and soil accumulate in layers (strata). Colour, texture, and contents may change with each layer. Archaeologists try to explain how each layer was added--if it occurred naturally, deliberately (garbage), or from the collapse of structures--and they record it in detailed drawings so others can follow. Stratigraphy refers to the interpretation of the layers in archaeological deposits. Usually, the artefacts found on top are the youngest (most recent), while those on the bottom are the oldest.

Structures (Aboriginal): Can refer to a number of different site types, grouped here only because of their relative rarity and their status as built structures. Most structures tend to be made of locally available rock, such as rock arrangements (ceremonial and domestic), fish traps, dams and cairns, or of earth, such as mounds or some fish traps.

Surface Site: A site where artefacts are found on the ground surface.

Taphonomy: The study of the depositional and preservation processes which produce archaeological or paleontological material.

Termination: The point at which the fracture plain reaches the surface of a core and detaches a flake.

Tertiary Flake: A flake without cortex.

Theodolite: Instrument used by a surveyor for measuring horizontal and vertical angles.

Thermal Treatment: Alteration of siliceous materials by controlled exposure to heat.

Thickness: Measurement of the distance between the dorsal and ventral surfaces of a flake.

Thumbnail scraper: A convex edged scraper that is small, generally the size of a thumbnail.

Tool: Any object that is used.

Topographic map: A detailed representation of cultural, hydrographic relief and vegetation features. These are depicted on a map on a designated projection and at a designated scale.

Transverse Cross Section: The cross section of a flake at 90° to the length.

Transverse Mercator projection: A projection similar to the Mercator projection, but has the cylinder tangent at a particular meridian rather than at the equator.

True north: The direction to the Earth's geographic North Pole.

Tula: A flake with a prominent bulb, large platform and platform/ventral surface angle of about 130°, which is retouched at the distal end. Not to be confused with a Tula Adze.

Tula Adze: A composite tool observed ethnographically, consisting of a stone artefact (often a Tula), a wooden handle and resin.

Unidirectional Core: Core from which flakes were removed from one platform surface and in only one direction.

Unifacial: Artefact flaked on only one side.

Unit: Archaeologists lay out a grid over a site to divide it into units, which may vary in size, and then figure out which units will be dug. Archaeologists dig one unit at a time. Keeping track of specific measurements between artefacts and features gives archaeologists the ability to draw an overall map looking down on the site (called a floor plan), to get the bigger picture of the site.

Use-wear: Damage to the edges or working surfaces of tools sustained in use.

Ventral Surface: The surface of a flake created when it is removed and identified mainly by the presence of a ring crack.

Visibility: The degree to which the surface of the ground can be seen. This may be influenced by natural processes such as wind erosion or the character of the native vegetation, and by land-use practices, such as ploughing or grading. Visibility is generally expressed in terms of the percentage of the ground surface visible for a project area.

