Sponsor: Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning (ABN: 90 719 052 204)
Heritage Advisor: Jonathan Howell-Meurs
Author: Brigid Hill, Melinda Albrecht, and Dr Josara de Lange
Date of Completion: DRAFT 9 May 2019
Photo caption (Cover plate): Yarra River, Banyule Flats, Viewbank, facing northeast (Hill 2019)
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ABBREVIATIONS
ACHRIS: Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Register and Information System
ADR: Alternative Dispute Resolution
AV: Aboriginal Victoria
ALA: Andrew Long and Associates
AMS: Accelerator Mass Spectrometry
BP: Before Present (Years)
CHMP: Cultural Heritage Management Plan
CHP: Cultural Heritage Permit
E: East
GMU: Geomorphological Unit
GSV: Ground surface visibility
HA: Heritage Advisor
HO: Heritage Overlay
IU: Investigation Unit
LDAD: Low density artefact distribution
N: North
NE: North East
NW: North West
RAP: Registered Aboriginal Party
S: South
SA: Survey Area
SE: South East
STP: Shovel test pit
SW: South West
VAHC: Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Council
VAHR: Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register
VCAT: Victorian and Civil Administrative Tribunal
W: West
Wurundjeri: Wurundjeri Woi-wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation

DEFINITIONS
Study area: The location defined as the area for focus in this study.

Geographic region: A desktop assessment must include the identification and determination of the geographic region of which the study area forms a part that is relevant to the Aboriginal cultural heritage that may be present in the study area.

Low Density Artefact Distribution: AV defines a Low Density Artefact Distribution (LDAD) as the occurrence of stone artefacts at densities of up to 10 counted artefacts in any area of approximately 10m x 10m, or 100m²

RAP: The Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006 defines a RAP as registered Aboriginal party means a body that is registered under Part 10 of the Act.
Sponsor: The Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006 defines a Sponsor as the person who is seeking to undertake the study to which a CHMP relates.

Standard assessment: The Aboriginal Heritage Regulations 2018 state a standard assessment must include a ground survey of all or part of the study area to detect the presence of Aboriginal cultural heritage in or associated with the study area.
PART 1 - ASSESSMENT
2. INTRODUCTION TO THE HERITAGE IMPACT ASSESSMENT

2.1 Purpose of the study

The Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning (DELWP) are undertaking future planning and policy measures under the Yarra River - Bulleen Precinct Plan. DELWP have engaged Andrew Long and Associates (ALA) to undertake a Heritage Impact Assessment and Traditional Owner Stakeholder engagement for the study area encompassed by the Bulleen Precinct Plan (BPP).

2.2 Access to Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register

An Application for Access to Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (VAHR) to prepare this assessment, was submitted to the Secretary of the Department of Premier and Cabinet on 12 April 2019, and a response was received on 15 April 2019. The project was allocated the Access Approval Number 6888.

2.3 The location of the study area

The Yarra River - Bulleen Precinct Plan arose in response to the 2017 Yarra River Action Plan in which 30 actions were recommended for the River. Action 21 of the Plan states:

‘Direction to the future land use changes for the Yarra Corridor between Bulleen Park and Banyule Flats. This precinct has the opportunity to become an internationally significant cultural precinct, centred on the relationship between the arts, nature and Traditional Owner heritage.’

The Bulleen Precinct Plan incorporates the above Plan and engages with the following three key elements of the Yarra River Protection (Willip-gin Birrarung murron) Act 2017:

- A 50-year vision.
- Objectives for achieving the vision.
- A Framework Plan, which includes initiatives for the environment, connectivity, land use and culture. The Framework Plan also sets out recommendations for action in key sub-precincts.

The study area is located within two Local Government Areas (LGAs): City of Banyule and City of Manningham. The location of the study area is shown in Map 1. The owners and occupiers of the land within the study area include a range of public and private entities (Parks Victoria, Councils, Heide and private landholders). Some areas are managed in partnership with others, including friends’ groups, Wurundjeri-Woiwurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation (WWCHAC) and Melbourne Water.

2.4 The name of the Sponsor

The Sponsor of this assessment is the Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning (DELWP) (ABN: 90 719 052 204).
2.5 The name of the Heritage Advisor

This assessment has been authored by qualified archaeologists and heritage consultants from Andrew Long and Associates Pty Ltd (ALA), who have been experienced in professional Aboriginal heritage assessment and evaluation since 1991, in accordance with section 189 of the Act (see Appendix 1 for full qualifications).

The Heritage Advisors for this assessment are:
- Jonathan Howell-Meers, Executive Director, Andrew Long and Associates.

The authors of this assessment are:
- Brigid Hill, Project Archaeologist, Andrew Long and Associates
- Melinda Albrecht, Senior Project Manager, Andrew Long and Associates.
- Dr Josara de Lange, GIS/lithics Manager, Andrew Long and Associates.

2.7 Registered Aboriginal Party

At the time of this assessment, there was one Registered Aboriginal Party (RAP) for the study area:
- Wurundjeri-Woiwurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation (Wurundjeri) (RAP)

2.8 The Yarra River - Birrarung

The Wurundjeri’s connection with their Country and the Birrarung as a living entity, is and has been contiguous through time and is reaffirmed in the Preamble of the *Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murron) Act 2017*:

The Yarra River is of great importance to Melbourne and Victoria. It is the intention of the Parliament that the Yarra River is kept alive and healthy for the benefit of future generations.

This Act recognises the intrinsic connection of the traditional owners to the Yarra River and its Country and further recognises them as the custodians of the land and waterway which they call Birrarung.

In the Woi-wurrung language of the traditional owners, *Wilip-gin Birrarung murron* means "keep the Birrarung alive". The following statement (in the Woi-wurrung language1 and in English) is from the Woi-wurrung—
Woiwurrungbaluk ba Birrarung wanganyinu biikpi
Yarrayarrapil, manyi biik ba Birrarung, ganbu marram-nganyinu
Manyi Birrarung murrondjak, durrung ba murrup warrongguny, ngargunin twarnpi
Birrarungwa nhanbu wilamnganyinu
Nhanbu ngarn.ganhanganyinu manyi Birrarung
Bunijl munggany biik, wurrwu-wurrwu, warriny ba yaluk, ba ngargunin twarn
Bii ku kuliny munggany Bunjil
Waa marrnakith-nganyin
Balliyang, barnumbinyu Bundjilal, banyu bagurrk munggany
Ngarn.gunganyinu nhanbu

nyilam biik, nyilam kuliny – balit biik, balit kuliny: balitmanhanganyin manyi biik ba Birrarung. Balitmanhanganyin durrungu ba murrupu,
ba nhanbu murrondjak!

We, the Woi-wurrung, the First People, and the Birrarung, belong to this Country. This Country, and the Birrarung are part of us.
The Birrarung is alive, has a heart, a spirit and is part of our Dreaming. We have lived with and known the Birrarung since the beginning. We will always know the Birrarung.

Bunjil, the great Eagle, the creator spirit, made the land, the sky, the sea, the rivers, flora and fauna, the lore. He made Kulin from the earth. Bunjil gave Waa, the crow, the responsibility of Protector. Bunjil’s brother, Palliyang, the Bat, created Bagarook, women, from the water.

Since our beginning it has been known that we have an obligation to keep the Birrarung alive and healthy—for all generations to come.

Wurundjeri Elders including, Aunty Alice Kolasa (2017)¹, addressed the State Parliament of Victoria, prior to the introduction of the Yarra River Protection (Wilip-gin Birrarung murrun) Act 2017, stating:

_The Birrarung has been central to our cultural, spiritual, social and economic wellbeing since the Dreaming. Our ancestors and the Birrarung shaped one another, living in balance together for countless generations. The State now recognises something that we as the First People have always known, that the Birrarung is one integrated living entity... the State has recognised the Woi-Wurrung as the First People of the Birrarung._

¹ For more information, or to watch the full address see: https://www.wurundjeri.com.au/our-story/recent-history-present/
The Birrarung, as stated by Wurundjeri Elders, is an entity that became manifest as part of the Dreaming, a part of Country imbued with life from the time of its creation by the Ancestral Being, Bunjil. W E H Stanner (1979, p. 24) provides further understanding of the Dreaming, a lifeway known to many Indigenous societies within Australia:

*The Dreaming conjures up the notion of a sacred, heroic time of the indefinitely remote past, such a time is also, in a sense, still part of the present. One cannot ‘fix’ The Dreaming in time: it was, and is, everywhen... Clearly, The Dreaming is many things in one. Among them, a kind of narrative of things that once happened; a kind of charter of things that still happen; and a kind of logos or principle of order transcending everything significant...*

For many Aboriginal people in Australia, the Dreaming provides the ontological origins of life and informs the processes by which knowledge is gathered and epistemological practices are carried out.

Wurundjeri is conducting an independent cultural values assessment (CVA) that is currently ongoing and will provide information regarding intangible and landscape heritage values for the study area. Where information relevant to the present study is available as a result of the CVA this will be made available by the RAP.
Map 1: Location of the study area
3. STUDY DESCRIPTION

4.1 Description of the study

The Bulleen Precinct is a unique part of the Yarra River (Birrarung), comprised of significant sections of the nationally significant Greater Yarra Urban Parklands. Over time, given Melbourne’s projected population growth and the impacts of climate change, this impressive cultural landscape will become only more important.

The significance of this precinct is defined by:

- **An ecology through time**: A high concentration of remnant landscapes—a network of billabongs and These landscapes provide uniquely immersive experiences within proximity to Melbourne’s central city area.

- **Traditional Owner Connection to Country**: An important confluence of Traditional Owner songlines and a series of highly significant sites that represent a continuous cultural connection to the river.

- **Colonial and modern art practice**: The inspiration and founding place for Australia’s early artists, the Heidelberg School, and the nexus of Australia’s modern art movement, the Heide Museum of Modern Art.

- **Melbourne’s environmentalist lineage**: The city’s site of environmental activism and stewardship through time.

- **Melbourne’s great parklands**: A diverse and extensive urban open space network, offering a range of landscape experiences and uses, accessible to the communities of Melbourne.

Overall, the cultural and environmental values embodied in the Bulleen Precinct tell important stories of Melbourne’s continuing relationship to the Yarra River (Birrarung). Making the right decisions to protect and enhance these values will set an important precedent for the long-term protection and enjoyment of the river into the future.
4. EXTENT OF THE STUDY AREA

5.1 Extent of the study area

The study area for the Bulleen Precinct Plan predominantly follows a relatively undeveloped section of the Yarra River corridor, an area also inclusive of parks and reserves, as well as community and recreational facilities and industrial areas. The study area is circumscribed by highly urbanised areas that include residential neighbourhoods, and shopping and commercial centres.

The study area targets the section of the Yarra River corridor that roughly corresponds with the alignment of the river floodplain. The alluvial floodplain has been shaped via long-term geomorphological processes which have in turn informed the ecological, cultural history and identity of the place. The land and water are intertwined here as evidenced by the network of wetlands and billabongs (or ox-bow lakes -former courses of the Yarra) which flood intermittently and provide essential habitat to threatened native species of flora and fauna.

The study area is located within two LGAs: City of Banyule and City of Manningham.

The study area measures 4145393.49 hectares. The extent of the study area is clearly defined in Map 2.
5. DOCUMENTATION OF CONSULTATION

5.1 Registered Aboriginal Parties/Traditional Owners

At the time of assessment there was one RAP appointed by the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Council (VAHC) for all land comprising the study area (Table 1).

Table 1: RAP for the study area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Status at time of NOI</th>
<th>Amount of RAP overlap with study area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wurundjeri Corporation</td>
<td>Woi-wurrung</td>
<td>Cultural Heritage Aboriginal</td>
<td>Wurundjeri RAP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To date, consultation with the Wurundjeri has involved a formal project inception meeting and an invitation for representatives to participate in fieldwork for the standard assessments. Wurundjeri has participated in the standard component of this assessment on 2-3 May 2019.

** Note: This section will be further expanded following the completion of standard assessment field inspections report and discussions with the RAP **

Section 5.3 provides a summary of consultation including formal meetings with Wurundjeri.

5.2 Participants in the assessment

The participants in the assessments are listed in Error! Reference source not found..

Table 2: Participants in the Assessment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Date(s)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brigid Hill</td>
<td>ALA</td>
<td>archaeologist</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>2-3/05/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin Yost</td>
<td>ALA</td>
<td>Archaeologist</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>02/05/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henty Lion</td>
<td>ALA</td>
<td>Archaeologist</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>03/05/2019</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wurundjeri</td>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Wurundjeri</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>02/05/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurundjeri</td>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Wurundjeri</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>02/05/2019</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wurundjeri</td>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Wurundjeri</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>03/05/2019</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3 Summary of consultation

The Sponsor, Wurundjeri, and Heritage Advisor (HA) engaged in formal consultation throughout the preparation of the assessment, summary details are provided below in Table 3.
Table 3: Summary of consultation between the HA, the Sponsor and the RAP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stakeholder</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Matters discussed</th>
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<tr>
<td>Wurundjeri Woi-wurrung Cultural Heritage Aboriginal Corporation (Wurundjeri).</td>
<td>10 April 2019</td>
<td>Initial meeting, introduction to the project, discussion of desktop assessment, cultural values assessment, site access and approach to standard assessment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2-3 May 2019</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
</tr>
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6. DESKTOP ASSESSMENT

6.1 Introduction and aims

This section outlines the aims, methods and results of the desktop assessment. The aims of a desktop assessment are:

- To undertake a search of the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (VAHR) for information relating to the study area;
- To determine a geographic region that is relevant to the Aboriginal cultural heritage that may be present in the study area;
- To review reports and published works about Aboriginal cultural heritage within the geographic region;
- To review historical and ethnohistorical accounts of Aboriginal occupation of the geographic region;
- To review the landforms or geomorphology of the study area;
- To review the history of use of the study area; and
- To collect and review oral history relating to the study area if applicable.

6.2 Method of assessment

The methods used to undertake the desktop assessment included:

- using appropriate sources, including Victorian government online information, reviewing and summarising relevant environmental background;
- searching the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (VAHR) and other research sources (for example, consultancy reports, academic research) for information relating to the study area and the geographic region (a VAHR search was undertaken on 17 April 2019);
- reviewing and analysing this information to identify or characterise the Aboriginal cultural heritage site types and locations likely to be present within the study area.

6.3 Obstacles

There were no obstacles to undertaking the desktop assessment.

6.4 Persons involved in the desktop assessment

The desktop assessment was completed prior to the commencement of the standard assessment, and subsequently updated during the drafting of this assessment. The following individuals were involved in completing the desktop assessment:

- Brigid Hill, Project Archaeologist, Andrew Long and Associates.
- Melinda Albrecht, Senior Project Manager, Andrew Long and Associates.
6.5 RAP information

No specific oral history information was collected during the desktop assessment. The RAP is conducting an independent cultural values assessment (CVA) that is currently ongoing and will provide information regarding intangible and landscape heritage values for the study area. Where information relevant to the present study is available as a result of the CVA this will be made available by the RAP.

6.6 Geographic region

It is important to understand the geographic and environmental context of the study area in order to gain a better understanding of the possible resources available to pre-contact Aboriginal people and European settlers which may have influenced past human activity. This information also assists in determining the degree to which environmental (e.g. natural erosion of landforms) and/or human processes (e.g. land clearance, cultivation, road construction, residential, industrial and commercial developments) have impacted on Aboriginal cultural heritage places.

The study area is located north east of the Melbourne city centre. For the purposes of the assessment the geographic region has been defined as a radial 500m buffer of the study area.

This geographic region neatly captures the dominant geological and vegetation classes historically relevant to the study area. It is deemed sufficient to adequately capture information relating to relevant landforms, geology and soils, fauna and flora, and past evidence for Aboriginal occupation relating to the study area, including all relevant Aboriginal cultural heritage site types.

6.7 Geomorphology, landforms and environment of the study area

6.7.1 Landforms and geomorphology

The study area is predominately located within the Victorian Eastern Uplands geomorphic land system and contains three dominant geomorphological units including (Table 4 and Map 3):

- Terraces, fans and floodplains (1.3.3) associated with the major waterways
- Moderately dissected ridge and valley landscapes associates with the northern part of the study area (1.4.5)
- Low relief landscapes at low elevation (1.3.1) associated with the southern portion of the study area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geomorphology</th>
<th>Geographic Region</th>
<th>Study Area</th>
<th>% area</th>
<th>Study Area</th>
<th>% area</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.3.3: Terraces, fans and floodplains (Kiewa Valley, Wonnangatta Valley)</td>
<td>5790935.21</td>
<td>51.13</td>
<td>3365685.02</td>
<td>81.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4.5: Moderately dissected ridge and valley landscapes (Alexandra, Yea, Baranduda)</td>
<td>3998630.80</td>
<td>35.30</td>
<td>720806.77</td>
<td>17.39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3.1: Low relief landscapes at low elevation (Cann River south, Silvan, Templestowe)</td>
<td>1536888.50</td>
<td>13.57</td>
<td>58901.69</td>
<td>1.42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are three main geological units within the study area (Table 5 and Map 4):

- Quaternary alluvium (Qa1) sedimentaries are associated with the major waterways. Alluvium deposits are located in active larger channels and floodplains and comprise unconsolidated deposits of poorly to moderately sorted silt, sand, and gravel (Doelling and Ross 1988).
- Anderson Creek Formation (Sxa) a marine mudstone (deposited during fast flow currents).
- Melbourne Formation (Sxm) sedimentary deposits of mudstone and very fine-grained sandstone associated with the north, west and centre-east of the study area.

### Table 5: Geological units within the geographic region and the study area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geological unit</th>
<th>Geographic Region Area (sqm)</th>
<th>% area</th>
<th>Study Area Area (sqm)</th>
<th>% area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colliuvium (Qc1)</td>
<td>187180.20</td>
<td>1.65</td>
<td>5347.30</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melbourne Formation (Sxm)</td>
<td>2940142.05</td>
<td>25.96</td>
<td>238677.33</td>
<td>5.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red Bluff Sandstone (Nbr)</td>
<td>90072.07</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>1487.02</td>
<td>0.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anderson Creek Formation (Sxa)</td>
<td>1830807.27</td>
<td>16.16</td>
<td>134997.84</td>
<td>3.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alluvial terrace deposits (Qa2)</td>
<td>654345.41</td>
<td>5.78</td>
<td>29181.23</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alluvium (Qa1)</td>
<td>5623907.52</td>
<td>49.65</td>
<td>3735702.77</td>
<td>90.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td><strong>11326454.51</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
<td><strong>4145393.49</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The study area includes or intersects with a number of waterways including:

- Yarra River
- Banyule Creek/Drain
- Salt Creek
- Plenty River
- Ruffey Creek

Map 3: The study area showing geomorphological units
Map 4: The study area showing geological units

Geological units (1:50,000)
- Alluvial terrace deposits (Qa2)
- Alluvium (Qa1)
- Anderson Creek Formation (Sxa)
- Colluvium (Qc1)
- Melbourne Formation (Sxm)
- Red Bluff Sandstone (Nbr)

Bulleen Precinct Plan - Heritage Impact Assessment
Assessment and Traditional Owner Engagement
Geological units in the geographic region

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Date: 18 April 2019
Project Code: BPPH_3858
Drawn by: Josara de Lange

GDA 1994
MGA Zone 56
6.7.2 Environment

The following information provides general context to the environment of the current study area.

The climate of Australia has altered and fluctuated since the time of earliest human occupation within the Pleistocene period around 40,000-60,000 years ago. The Pleistocene period is conventionally dated from two million to 10,000 years ago (Mulvaney and Kamminga 1999, 103; Aguirre and Pasini 1985; Lourens 2008, 239). During the Pleistocene, lower sea levels were present across Australia, and the southern coastline extended southwards, connecting Tasmania to the Australian mainland (Cosgrove 1999, 362). During the Late Pleistocene to Early Holocene (Holocene period generally dates from around 10,000 years ago to the present day, Mulvaney and Kamminga 1999, 103) sea levels began to rise in response to post-glacial marine transgression resulting from the melting of Late Pleistocene ice sheets (Lambeck and Nakada 1990, 143). This rise in sea levels separated Tasmania from the mainland, and reduced the Australian coastline. Victorian sea levels stabilised and reached modern levels before around 6000 years BP (Lambeck and Nakada 1990, 149).

During the period of Aboriginal occupation of the Melbourne region, the climatic conditions varied greatly regarding temperature and rainfall levels. During the Last Glacial Maximum of the Pleistocene period (21,000-15,000 years BP), temperatures were approximately 6-10 degrees lower than today (Mulvaney & Kamminga 1999, 116). During the late Pleistocene period, there was less rainfall and less precipitation throughout the continent, reducing the woodland forest areas of southern Australia and resulting in a predominance of grasslands. Within this time, there is evidence for dry/shallow lakes with conditions likely to have been too dry to support swamp or open-water environments (Bowler 1981, 436-437; Aitken and Kershaw 1993, 76). The inland of Australia was characterised by arid and dry conditions and it is likely that Aboriginal people during this period would have experienced severe drought. Within southern Victoria these climatic conditions generally discouraged tree growth, although some trees survived in particularly sheltered and watered areas (Mulvaney & Kamminga 1999, 116).

In the late Pleistocene to early Holocene (around 12,000-9,000 BP), warmer temperatures and increased precipitation resulted in the expansion of woodland and forest areas dominated by Eucalypts (Aitken and Kershaw 1993, 67). During this time, the Tadpole Swamp (now located within the Cranbourne botanic gardens) was formed, possibly supported directly by precipitation or, as is more likely, a rise in the regional water table caused by wetter conditions (Aitken and Kershaw 1993, 76). At Tadpole Swamp, pollen and charcoal sample analysis of sediment cores indicate that permanent wet conditions in the Cranbourne area were in existence after 8,500BP. The highest moisture levels occurred between 7,000 and 5,000 years ago as evidenced by the expansion of wet sclerophyll taxon Pomaderris in the understorey (Aitken and Kershaw 1993, 77). Similar peaks in Pomaderris also occurred in data from the Gippsland Lakes and with the period of highest lake levels in the volcanic crater lakes from the Western Plains (Aitken and Kershaw 1993, 77; Kershaw et al. 2004, 154).

The analysis from Cranbourne also displays the fluctuating environmental conditions of the Holocene, with data indicating that after 5,000 years ago, vegetation in the Cranbourne area became more diverse with an increased representation of understorey vegetation relating to Eucalyptus (Aitken and Kershaw 1993, 78). Aitken and Kershaw suggest that it is likely that the eucalypt canopy became more open with an understorey mosaic of heath, bracken and grassland, possibly resulting from climatic variability with lower rainfall experienced in the Late Holocene, and the possible result of increased burning indicated by relatively high levels of charcoal (Aitken and Kershaw 1993, 78). Palaeoecological studies of the Gippsland Lakes also indicate that lower levels of moisture were available during the late Holocene, with fluctuating fresh water conditions experienced at Lake Wellington (Reid 1989, 48). Data from crater lakes in south western Victoria also show a decline in water levels during the mid-Holocene, with a more substantive decline after approximately 5,000 years, and water levels oscillating perhaps a result of fluctuating temperatures until the later Holocene from around 1.8-1.3 thousand years ago (Wilkins et al 2013, 8, 10). Aitken and Kershaw’s investigations at Cranbourne also highlight vegetation changes during the period of European occupation, with analysis from Tiger Snake Swamp within the Cranbourne botanic gardens revealing the addition of exotic vegetation including pines, docks and sorrels, plantains and asters/daisies, and an increase in shrub understories of woodland vegetation or the replacement of woodlands by shrubland and heath vegetation.
(Aitken and Kershaw 1993, 78). This general increase in grasses is partially a response to vegetation clearance activities, with bracken and *Casuarina* showing a marked decline.

**Modelled pre-1750 vegetation of the study area**

The modelled pre-1750 vegetation of the study area (Table 6 and Map 5) provides insight into the environment utilised by Aboriginal people within the region, and the resources available prior to European land clearance and development. The 1750s EVCs within the study area are dominated by Riverine Grassy Woodlands or Forests (78.81%), Plains woodlands or forests (12.71%) and Wetlands (8.48%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EVC group name</th>
<th>EVC</th>
<th>EVC name</th>
<th>Geographic Region</th>
<th>Geographic Region</th>
<th>Area (sqm)</th>
<th>% area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dry Forests</td>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>317823.33</td>
<td>2.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Grassy Dry Forest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>273058.02</td>
<td>2.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>Valley Grassy Forest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>44765.31</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herb-rich Woodlands</td>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19472.95</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>164</td>
<td>Creekline Herb-rich Woodland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19472.95</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plains Woodlands or Forests</td>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5246764.11</td>
<td>46.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Plains Grassy Woodland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5223105.75</td>
<td>46.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>895</td>
<td>Escarpment Shrubland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23658.36</td>
<td>0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riverine Grassy Woodlands or Forests</td>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5381657.84</td>
<td>47.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Floodplain Riparian Woodland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5060487.61</td>
<td>44.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>Creekline Grassy Woodland</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>321170.23</td>
<td>2.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wetlands</td>
<td>TOTAL:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>360736.28</td>
<td>3.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>172</td>
<td>Floodplain Wetland Aggregate</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>360736.28</td>
<td>3.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAND TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11326454.51</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ecological resources noted in ethno-historical accounts within and in the vicinity of the study area**

Aboriginal occupation often focused on waterways, and areas adjacent to water sources, including swamps and billabongs, and these areas would have provided a wide range of food and material resources for Aboriginal people. The study area contains a number of water sources, including major watercourses such as the Yarra River (*Birrarung*), Plenty River and major creeks such as Merri Creek, sections of Darebin Creek and Koonung Creek. These water sources would have contained a variety of food and medicinal resources that would have been utilised by Aboriginal people. Faunal resources would have included aquatic birds, fish, eels, as well as supporting animals such as kangaroos, wallabies and emu.

In 1835 John Helder Wedge explored and surveyed lands purchased by the Port Phillip Association and studied the land around Plenty River in the east, and the lower reaches of the Yarra River (Forster 1968, 3). Wedge noted that wildlife in the more open country included emus and kangaroos with wild ducks, geese, cranes and black swans as well as wild native dogs around the swamps and water courses. Wedge also noted that Aboriginal people utilised the following native foods: kangaroos, kangaroo rat, fish, edible roots from various plants, black swans, ducks, birds and various reptiles including snakes (Forster 1968, 3-4).

Water rushes and marsh vegetation as well as a number of plant-food resources important to Aboriginal people would have grown in nearby watercourses and swamps. The rivers, creeks, lagoons and swamp areas, would have supported various species of fish, eel, frogs, tortoises and other aquatic species as well as various birds, kangaroos, wallabies, wombat, possums and emu inhabiting the plains of the wider geographic region. Plants were used for non-culinary purposes; such as making nets, baskets, and ornaments. Grasses such as Kangaroo Grass (*Themeda triandra*), were used in the manufacture of fishing nets (Zola and Gott 1992, 58), while tussock grass fibres were used to make string for bags, baskets and mats. Bark from the River Red Gum species was also utilised for a multiplicity of purposes, including for shelters and as vessels.
A variety of plant and animal resources have been noted in ethno-historical accounts for the general Melbourne area. These resources include animal resources used for food such as eels, fish, shellfish, birds, possums, bandicoots, emu and kangaroo. Plant resources include redgum and stringy-bark trees where the bark was utilised for canoes, reeds and grasses used to make baskets and bags, and edible roots. Some of this data also includes locational information that places these resources within and in the vicinity of the study area (see Table 7 and Table 8 below).

**Table 7: Locations of resources within and near study area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yarra River</strong></td>
<td>Pre-1889</td>
<td>Reference to the Wurundjeri legend of Lohan; Lohan was cooking eels at the Yarra River (Howitt 1904, 485)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. 1841</td>
<td>Yarra River (mention of Queen’s Bridge section of river) – canoes made from bark of redgum or stringy-bark trees with curved bole (Kyle 1925, 164-165)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarra River near Dights Falls</td>
<td>c. 1843/1844</td>
<td>Yarra River at Dight’s Falls – clear stream abounding in fish. Large camp of Aboriginal people on the Merri Creek (Kyle 1925, 164)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yarra River near Abbotsford opposite Convent</td>
<td>c. 1840s</td>
<td>Area on Yarra River opposite Abbotsford convent. This location known by Aboriginal people as &quot;Carran-Carronulk&quot; after the Carran or prickly myrtle (McRae 1912, 129)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Yarra River near Abbotsford, opposite convent – gentle slope above river then abrupt slope to river, area containing volcanic boulders; white-stemmed river gums and thorny myrtle tea-tree, wild hazel and dogwood. Amongst the boulders grew native tobacco, pink and white storksbill, great squat sleeping lizards with blue tongues, small black and spiny lizards. Also bell-birds, cranes, white owls, silver and gold wattles, mimosa (McRae 1912, 131-132).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merri Creek, Thomas’ quarters</td>
<td>c. 1840s</td>
<td>Merri Creek, William Thomas’ station – drink made from gum tree sugar mats soaked in water. Places in canoe shaped vessel of bark (coolamin) made from the curved or elbowed arm of a gum tree. Another concoction was a mix of wattle-gum and rough black ration sugar with water to make a sweet stick paste in the ‘coolamin’ (McRae 1912, 135-136)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banks of Plenty River, Darebin Creek, Merri Creek</td>
<td>Pre-1876</td>
<td>Mirrn-yong heaps (mussels) – numerous heaps of mussels on banks of River Plenty, Darebin Creek, Merri Creek. Oval shape about 100 ft long x 40 ft wide and 12 feet high or more. Made of burnt clay, soil, charcoal, ashes, burnt and unburnt bones and stones. Containing fragments of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
black basalt, chips of greenstone, sometimes whole or broken axes, human remains (Brough Smyth 1878 Vol. 1, 239)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yarra Bend, Clifton Hill</td>
<td>c. 1840s</td>
<td>Bandicoots and wild cats, possums, dingos – seen and hunted by early settlers at Yarra Bend, Clifton Hill, Reilly’s paddock, the new cemetery and Nicholson Street (Kyle 1925, 168)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near Merri Creek Aboriginal school</td>
<td>c. 1840s</td>
<td>Possums – hunting and eating, at or near Merri Creek Aboriginal school c. 1840s. Roasting possums on hot coals (Edgar 1865, 76-77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolin Billabong</td>
<td>c. summer/early autumn 1841-June 1841</td>
<td>Eels caught at Bolin Billabong and around the district during summer/early autumn (reference March 1841). People camping at location (VPRS 11 Unit 7 Item 375, Thomas to Robinson 12/3/1841; VPRS 4410 Unit 3 Item 69 Thomas to La Trobe/Robinson 24/6/1841: Journal of Proceedings 1/3/1841-31/5/1841).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confluence of Merri Creek and Yarra River</td>
<td>c. 1840s</td>
<td>Confluence of Merri Creek and Yarra – place of deep woodland with bell-birds (R. Howitt 1845, 193), native shrubs (Edgar 1865, 16) Confluence of Merri Creek and Yarra – thickly wooded hill beyond the Yarra River. Low ground at the confluence of Merri Creek and the Yarra, small promontory of land containing Aboriginal graves (Edgar 1865, 2, 33)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Resources with no locational information

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opossum</td>
<td>c. 1840s</td>
<td>Opossum skins – tied with sinews and used like a football by Aboriginal children and adults (Kyle 1925, 165) Possums – hunting and eating, at or near Merri Creek Aboriginal school c. 1840s. Roasting possums on hot coals (Edgar 1865, 76-77)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bandicoot</td>
<td>Pre-1876</td>
<td>Bandicoot – (known as Bang), caught by Aboriginal people in nest or knocked down with stick (Brough Smyth 1878, Vol. 1, 191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echidna</td>
<td>Pre-1876</td>
<td>Echidna (known as Ko Warren), caught by Aboriginal people by digging with a stick and is speared in the breast. Cooked by covering with clay and roasted in its quills (Brough Smyth 1878, Vol. 1, 191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native dog</td>
<td>Pre-1876</td>
<td>Native dog (known as Yearangin), speared or taken when young (Brough Smyth 1878, Vol. 1, 191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native cat</td>
<td>Pre-1876</td>
<td>known as Beathedel (Brough Smyth 1878, Vol. 1, 191)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emu</td>
<td>Pre-1876</td>
<td>Emu (known as Burri-mul), nutritious flesh. Caught in similar manner to kangaroo being speared, with nots or yards not being used as a rule. Not easily captured, very fast and strong. Roasted in ashes of fires (Brough Smythe 1878, Vol. 1, 192).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kangaroo</td>
<td>Pre-1889</td>
<td>Killing kangaroo – body was divided in accordance with tribal rules, providing for members of immediate and extended family (Howitt 1904, 765-766)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Edible roots | c. 1840s | Edible roots, baskets – women using yam stick to dig myrrnong or finger root. (c. 1840s) Placed in net or round bag worn over one hip and/or a
| Grasses, rushes, fibres | c. 1840s | Wallet shaped baskets made from closely plaited rushes, used by Aboriginal women to carry infants on their backs, or bag using upper part of the rug was also used (Edgar 1865, 34)  
Common reed made into large bags or baskets from the leaves. Common reed grows abundantly on banks of Yarra River. The reed is twisted into a rope and arranged in loops (Brough Smyth 1878 Vol. 1, 343)  
Bee lang bag made from twisted fibre of eucalypt (Eucalyptus obliqua) (Brough Smythe 1878 Vol 1, 344)  
Karrt-keerrt, fishing net made from stringy bark (Brough Smythe 1878 Vol 1,390) |
Map 5: Modelled 1750 Ecological Vegetation Classes (EVCs) of the study area

Modelled 1750 Ecological Vegetation Classes
- Creekline Grassy Woodland
- Creekline Herb-rich Woodland
- Escarpment Shrubland
- Floodplain Riparian Woodland
- Floodplain Wetland
- Grassly Dry Forest
- Grassly Woodland
- Plains Grassly Woodland
- Riparian Woodland
- Swampy Riparian Complex
- Swampy Woodland
- Valley Grassly Forest
- Valley Heathy Forest
6.8 Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register search

Inside the geographic region, there are a total of 41 previously registered Aboriginal cultural heritage places (Map 6). Most of these places consist of scarred trees (53.7%) followed by low-density artefact distributions (17.1%) and artefact scatters (21.9%). There is also a smaller quantity of historical references, as outlined in the table below (Table 9):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component Type</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artefact scatter</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarred tree</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>53.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical reference</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-density artefact distribution</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the time of the VAHR search (17 April 2019) a total of 16 registered Aboriginal cultural heritage places and two historical references were registered within the study area (Map 7; Table 10). These Aboriginal places comprise:

- 9 artefact scatters (50%)
- 1 Scarred tree (5.6%)
- 6 Low Density Artefact Distributions (33.3%)
- 2 Historical references (11.1%)

A total of eight of these Aboriginal places have a recorded subsurface context, and the deepest artefacts have been recorded to 0.65m. A total of eight Aboriginal places have a surface context. Aboriginal places have been recorded on a range on landforms including:

- Escarpments or crest (4)
- Floodplain or terrace (6)
- A number of places have no landform information recorded.

Where artefact numbers have been recorded (from Aboriginal stone artefact places) they are generally low:

- 1 Aboriginal place is an isolated artefact;
- 6 Aboriginal places have fewer than ten artefacts recorded;
- 6 Aboriginal stone artefacts were recorded at one place;
- 204 Aboriginal stone artefacts were recorded one place.

A wide range of raw materials have been recorded including:

- Silcrete
- Quartz
- Quartzite.

The single scarred tree has one scar and is recorded on a River Red Gum.

Bolin Billabong is located within the study area and is an area of particular Aboriginal cultural heritage sensitivity and is also registered as a heritage overlay (HO) within the City of Manningham planning scheme. This area contains one of a group of remaining billabongs within the Bulleen and Templestowe area, and one of the few along the metropolitan course of the River Yarra. Within the billabong is a stand of River Red Gums, individuals of which possibly predate European settlement.
Table 10: Aboriginal cultural heritage places and historical references within the study area divided into Aboriginal place types (Key: S: Stone; Ch: Chert, F: Flint, Q: Quartz, Qu: Quartzite, Si: Silcrete, R: Rhyolite)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Type</th>
<th>VAHR</th>
<th>Place Name</th>
<th>Site Particulars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Artefact scatter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Surface (50x150m), Floodplain, S: Q, Qu, F/Ch, (Hammerstone, flakes cores, microliths)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Surface (60x60m), Terrace, S: Q, Qu, F/Ch,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Surface (50x50m), Floodplain, S: Q, F/Ch (Flakes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Surface (100x200m),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Surface, Floodplain/terrace, S: Si (Flakes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-density artefact</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Surface (7x7m), Floodplain/terrace, S: (n=6) (Flakes, core, scraper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distribution</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subsurface (0-0.7m), Crest, sloping ridgeline above Yarra Flats, (5x3m) S: Q (n=1), Si (n=1) (core, flake)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Surface/Subsurface (0-0.15m), (40x2m), Escarpment, S: Si (n=12), Q (n=2), Qu (n=1) (Cores, flakes, debitage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subsurface, S: Si (n=139), Q (n=18), Qu (n=5), R (n=1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Surface, S: Si core (n=1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scarred tree</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subsurface (0-0.3m), S: Si (n=1), Q: (n=1), Qu (n=1), (flakes, core, angular fragment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical reference</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subsurface (0-0.65m), S: Si (n=22), Q (n=13), Qu (n=6) R: (n=1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subsurface, Escarpment, S: Q (n=1), Qu (n=1), Si (n=3) (flakes, core, angular fragment)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subsurface (0-0.3m), (2.2x1.2m) Terrace /escarpment, S: Si (n=2) (flakes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Subsurface (0-0.2m), S: Si (n=3), Q: (n=4), Ch: (n=1) (core, flakes, angular fragments)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Red Gum, good health, 1 scar (2.4x0.55m), girth: 4.9m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Living camps away from towns and properties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ceremonial place</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Map 6: Previously registered Aboriginal cultural heritage places in the geographic region *(this map has been redacted for reasons of cultural heritage sensitivity)*

Map 7: Map of the study area showing previously registered Aboriginal cultural heritage places *(this map has been redacted for reasons of cultural heritage sensitivity)*
6.9 Review of historical and ethnohistorical accounts of Aboriginal occupation in the geographic region

Archaeological evidence within the Melbourne metropolitan region suggests an extensive history of human occupation dating at least over 31,000 years Before Present (BP). The Keilor archaeological area, located approximately 16km northwest of Melbourne city centre (and outside of the study area), lies near the confluence of the Maribyrnong River and Dry Creek. Contained within the site are Aboriginal stone artefacts of the Australian Small Tool tradition (no older than 5-6000 y.a.) overlying deeper deposits containing older technological classes and a myriad of megafauna remains. The stratigraphic profile of the site is reflective of gradual geomorphological and fluvial processes that have shaped the area over thousands of years and is divisible into four distinct depositional layers: the Ploughzone; overlying Doutta Galla Silt (Keilor Terrace); overlying D Clay (Arundel Terrace); overlying ODCA (Arundel Terrace) (Duncan 2001). The river terraces formed by these processes were clearly important to the human occupants in the area, as demonstrated by the wealth of archaeological material uncovered within the site.

Radiometric dating has elucidated this evidence of human occupation in the area as one of the oldest in Victoria. The Keilor archaeological site is most famously known for the discovery of a human cranium in 1940 during quarrying works in the area, the dating of which was calculated to be around 14,700 BP, via the utilisation of radiocarbon dating and fluorine-phosphate analysis. Radiocarbon dates of charcoal samples obtained from hearths within the Doutta Galla Silt depositional layer revealed a date of 13,300 +1100/-900 BP (Munro 1997, 30), demonstrating at least a Late Pleistocene occupation of the area. These dates have been pushed back even further with radiocarbon dating of D Clay (Arundel Terrace) deposits containing lithic artefacts illustrating dates of 31,600 + 1100 -1300 BP (Gallus 1983). The dates obtained from river terrace deposits in Keilor are some of the oldest documented evidences of the antiquity of human occupation within Victoria.

The lives of Aboriginal groups in the Melbourne area were severely disrupted by the establishment and expansion of a European settlement. As a result, little information is available regarding the pre-contact lifestyle of Aboriginal people in the area. A full ethnographic search was outside the scope of this assessment and the following section summarises major syntheses previously undertaken on Aboriginal associations with the Melbourne area in general in the pre-contact and post-contact period (i.e. Clark 1990; Clark & Heydon 1998; Presland 1985).

There are several problems concerned with correctly identifying and describing 19th century Aboriginal groups within the geographic region. This is largely a result of discrepancies in early European accounts and the difficulties early settlers had in understanding Aboriginal languages and social systems. Furthermore, the devastating effects on Aboriginal people of European presence, e.g. the loss of traditional lands and resources, spread of disease, social breakdown and removal of groups and individuals to reserves and mission stations compounded the difficulties associated with accurately recounting an early ethnohistory of the Aboriginal people of the Melbourne region (Barwick 1984, 13).

6.9.1 Ethnohistorical accounts

At the time of European colonisation, central and north eastern Victoria was occupied by a collection of peoples known as the Kulin, who shared certain cultural, social and language characteristics (Barwick 1998, 13, 28). The Kulin were in turn divided by distinctive language variations and organisational attributes, resulting in the definition of individual groups by contemporary observers as ‘tribes’. Today they are more consistently defined by ethnohistorians as groups linked by commonalities of language, or ‘language groups’. In contemporary Aboriginal society in the Melbourne region, the terms ‘tribe’, ‘people’ or ‘nation’ are more

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commonly used by Aboriginal people to demonstrate a traditional identity or allegiance, beyond the strictly academic term ‘language group’.

A language group consisted of independent groups of closely related kin, or ‘clans’, who were spiritually linked to designated areas of land through their association with topographic features connected to ancestral beings or deities. Clan lands were inalienable and clan members had religious responsibilities (e.g. conducting rituals) to ensure ‘the perpetuation of species associated with the particular mythic beings associated with that territory’ (Berndt 1982, 4). Unfortunately, there is no available information at this level of study regarding mythic associations with landscape features within the study area.

The *Woi wurrung* are part of the Kulin Nation language group, and the *Woi wurrung* clan most closely associated with the study area were the *Wurundjeri willam*, who identified with the Yarra and Plenty rivers (Clark 1990, 385). Barwick identifies three sub-groups of the *Wurundjeri willam*; Jacky Jacky’s group from the south bank of the Yarra, from Gardiner’s creek upstream to Yarra Flats and north slopes of Dandenong mountains; *Billibellary*’s group on the north bank of Yarra ‘about Kew’, at Melbourne, west of Darebin Creek to east bank of Saltwater (Maribyrnong) River and Jackson’s Creek, north near Mt William Quarry; and Bebejan’s group ‘at Hydleburg’, up Yarra to Mt Bawbaw, about Yering (Barwick 1984, 123-124). Barwick bases these divisions on Howitt’s information (1904, 309) about the *Wurundjeri willam*, whom he calls ‘Kurnajeberring’.

Clan boundaries were defined by mountains, creeks and rivers, and clans were very familiar with the geography of their territory and the seasonal availability of resources within it. At European settlement, Bebejan was a *ngurungaeta* (clan head) of the *Wurundjeri willam* whose territory included the area around Darebin Creek (Howitt 1904, 309). Bebejan was the father of William Barak (Clark 1990, 365). Most references to *Wurundjeri willam* describe Aboriginal associations with either the Yarra River or Mount William, west of Kilmore (Presland 1985). The *Wurundjeri willam* had an extensive network of political, economic and social relations with neighbouring clans, including those from other language groups. Marriage was sought from the *Bunjil* moieties of the *Bun wurrung* (spelling according to Clark 1990, 364) to the south, the *Taungurong* to the north and a clan near Mount Macedon and Lancefield (Barwick 1984, 104).

Table 11 outlines historical accounts of Aboriginal people within and nearby the current study area. These accounts were recorded and presented by early European settlers within the 1800s including people such as William Thomas who was the assistant Aboriginal protector of the Port Phillip Aboriginal Protectorate, and also George Augustus Robinson, Chief Protector of Aboriginal people in Victoria from 1839 to 1849. These historical accounts relate to Aboriginal encampments, places were Aboriginal people collected and utilised natural resources, places were Aboriginal people interacted with other people including various Aboriginal groups and also European settlers.

### Table 11: Accounts of Aboriginal people at named locations within and near the study area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plenty River</td>
<td>May 1835</td>
<td>Plenty River - John Batman and his survey party in May 1835 came across people from a Woiwurung camp of 45 or 55 Aboriginal people in bark dwellings. Batman had likely interrupted a meeting Wurundjeri-balluk clan-heads (Barwick 1998, 21).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. 1840s</td>
<td>The Plenty (River) – Woiwurung people mixing with Yarranillums on the stations of Messrs. Campbell, Snodgrass and others (Baylie 1843, 90)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Historical accounts of Aboriginal people at various locations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heidelberg Road</td>
<td>January 1846</td>
<td>Conflict at Hydelburg Road encampment between the Taungurong and 'Campaspie Blacks' with the 'Yarra, Western Port and Mt Macedon Aboriginal people. The Loddon, Goulbourns and some Campaspie Aboriginal people form themselves in a fray against the Yarra, Western Port and Mt Macedon Aboriginal people. Throwing of 'wonguins' (Thomas to Robinson Monthly Report for January 1846; VPRS 4410 Unit 3 Item 84, Thomas to GAR January 1846: monthly report for January 1846).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junction of Merri Creek and Yarra Yarra</td>
<td>1840</td>
<td>Junction of Merri Creek and Yarra Yarra – 11 April 1839, fight between 'Port Phillip tribe and the Jacka Jacka tribe against the Barrabools'. Boomerangs were thrown, sparring occurred. The protectors and others interfered and the fighting stopped. At night there as a double corroboree (Rev. William Waterfield Jnl 11/4/1839 in Cannon 1983, 454)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1840s</td>
<td></td>
<td>Merri Creek, Aboriginal gathering at junction with Yarra and Merri Creek. More than 150 Aboriginal people came from north-west of Gippsland and north-east of the Delatite River, assembling at the Yarra Aboriginal peoples camp (Brough Smyth 1878, Vol. 1, 136-137)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spacious rise about 2 miles north of new jail (NB: Not specific to study area)</td>
<td>30 June 1844</td>
<td>Conflict between the 'Barrabools' and the 'Western Port Blacks' with the 'Goulbourn and Devil's River Blacks', 'Mount Macedon Blacks', 'Blacks from the North West' and the 'Yarra blacks' at an encampment on a 'spacious rise about two miles Nth of the new jail. On 30 June 1844 about 320 people were camped at this location. This camp was enlarged on 3 July by arrival of Western Port Aboriginal people. Thomas warned the people off, threatening to get the police involved. The 'Western Port Blacks' and some 'Barrabools' left this camp on 8 July. On 11 and 12 July many more Aboriginal people arrived from Goulbourn and Devils River (Thomas to Robinson 2/9/1844)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolin Swamp/Lagoon</td>
<td>August- November 1840</td>
<td>Bolin lagoon/swamp – Two Melbourne Aboriginal tribes (The Yarra Aboriginal people and Boonurong Aboriginal people) had partially agreed to locate themselves by a lagoon called Bolin, and Thomas was encouraging them to settle somewhere. The Aboriginal people had told Thomas that there was plenty of game at Bolin (VPRS 10 Unit 2 Item 867, Thomas to La Robinson 26/8/1840; VPRS 4410 Unit 3 Item 67, Thomas to GAR 7/11/1840: periodical report for March to Aug 1840)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>March 1841-May 1841</td>
<td>Bolin encampment – catching eels at Bolin and in the lagoons in the district. Aboriginal people made a hold for eel catching. Camping at Bolin, some complaints by European settlers at Heidelberg about Aboriginal people catching eels on private allotments, and stealing potatoes from Mr Bolden VPRS 11 Unit 7 Item 375, Thomas to Robinson 12/3/1841; (VPRS 4410 Unit 3 Item 69 Thomas to La Trobe/Robinson 24/6/1841: Journal of Proceedings 1/3/1841-31/5/1841)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Historical accounts of Aboriginal people at various locations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1841</td>
<td>Bolin encampment – Aboriginal people camped at this location end of June 1841 (VPRS 10 Unit 3 Item 940: Thomas to La Trobe 24/6/1841: “Regarding quarterly returns”).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1845</td>
<td>Bolin encampment - In December 1845 Thomas reports that Aboriginal people left the camp at Bolin, possibly heading out of Melbourne to Thomas' late quarters (Narre Warren?) (VPRS 11 Unit 10 Item 621 Thomas to Robinson 10/12/1845)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolden Farm near Bolin</td>
<td>2 May 1840</td>
<td>Bolden farm near Bolin – Camp of about 200-300 Aboriginal people in Bolden’s paddock on the Yarra Yarra belonging to Port Phillip and Goulburn River tribes, 2 May 1840 (Mr Armynge Bolden to C.J. La Trobe, 2 May 1840 in Cannon 1983, 732)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1841</td>
<td>Aboriginal people camped on the Yarra ‘opposite Mr. Brown and Mr. Bolden’s farm, they cross the River onto Mr. Bolden’s farm under the pretense of fishing in the lagoons on the farm’ (VPRS 11 Unit 7 Item 375 Bolden to Robinson 10/3/1841).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 June 1848</td>
<td>Bulleen/Boolleen – 46 Aboriginal people are camped south of the Yarra by Boolleen on 1 June 1848. On 6 June, these Aboriginal people moved to an area within 5 miles of Melbourne, and on the 8th shifted to the Yarra Ranges. (VPRS 10 Unit 9 Item 2172, Thomas to Robinson 31/8/1848: Journal of Proceedings 1/6/1848 to 31/8/1848)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1848</td>
<td>Junction of Plenty Rivulet with the Yarra River – 40 Aboriginal people principally from the Goulbourne River were camped at this junction on 1 June 1848. On 5th June, the Aboriginal people at this location shifted to to about 1 ½ miles in the bush from the residence of the late Captain McLean by the Darebean. On 15 June the Aboriginal people left Darebean (VPRS 10 Unit 9 Item 2172, Thomas to Robinson 31/8/1848: Journal of Proceedings 1/6/1848 to 31/8/1848)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 October 1841</td>
<td>John Aiken’s station on River Plenty, spearing of a bullock by Aboriginal people 6 October 1841 (VPRS 11 Unit 8 Item 406, Thomas to GAR 9/10/1841; VPRS 11 Unit 8 Item 413, Thomas to GAR 29/11/1841).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1841</td>
<td>Darebin Creek, November 1841, Aboriginal people with firearms intimidating other people; encampment on Darebin Creek (VPRS 11 Unit 8 Item 413, Thomas to GAR 29/11/1841)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1842-December 1842</td>
<td>Merri Creek, encampment September 1842, with Yarra Aboriginal people, Devils River Aboriginal people and Goulburn River Aboriginal people (VPRS 4410 Unit 3 Item 74, Thomas to Robinson 8/12/1842: Journal of Proceedings Sep-Nov 1842); encampment December 1842, much sickness; February 1843 – Goulbrune Aboriginal people arrived at camp as well as some of the tribe NW of Mount Macedon, and leave again (VPRS 4410 Unit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Historical accounts of Aboriginal people at various locations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 Item 75 Thomas to Robinson 8/3/1843: Journal of Proceedings 1/12/1842 to 1/3/1843).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1843</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict at Merri Creek/possibly camp south of the Yarra between Goulburn River Aboriginal people and Yarra Aboriginal people. Thomas ended fight by standing in the centre of the groups until the conflict was over “there has not been for the last 3 years so desperate a fight” (Thomas to Robinson 8/3/1843).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 February 1844</td>
<td></td>
<td>Conflict at Merri Creek camp, 8 February 1844. About 500 Aboriginal people were at the camp and the fight between the Aboriginal people had ceased. The cause of the fight was the murder of a Goulburn River youth at Mr Manton’s on 20 November 1843, by ‘the Yarra or Westernport blacks’. Fights over this death continued at Narre Narre Warren around 19 February 1844 (Robinson Jnl 21/11/1843; Robinson Jnl 8/2/1844; Robinson Jnl 19/2/1844).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1846</td>
<td></td>
<td>Merri Creek, April 1846 – Principal Aboriginal encampment was at Merri Creek near Thomas’ quarters consisting of 93 Aboriginal people (VPRS 4410 Unit 3 Item 86, Thomas to GAR 1/5/1846: “Notes...from the 1st to the 30th of April 1846 inclusive”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-11 May 1846</td>
<td></td>
<td>Merri Creek, 1 to 11 May 1846 – about 160 people encamped by Thomas quarters. On 12th some of the Devils River, Goulburn, and Yarra Aboriginal people left the Merri Creek and camped on Hydleburg Road about 1 and ½ miles from Thomas quarters (VPRS 4410 Unit 3 Item 84, Thomas to GAR January 1846: monthly report for January 1846)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1846</td>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Billibellary on 10 August 1846. Buried west of the mission house with a neat palisading 12 feet square (VPRS 4410 Unit 3 Item 89, Thomas to GAR 1/9/1846: Journal of Proceedings 1/6/1846 to 31/8/1846)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1847</td>
<td></td>
<td>March 1847, Merri Creek encampment, approximately 105 Aboriginal people camped at Merri Creek near Thomas’ quarters. On the 15 March several Aboriginal people leave the E encampment. On 17 March, some of the Gouldbourne blacks arrive with Billy Hamilton. On the 18th many of the Aboriginal people returned to the camp. May 3, many of the Devils River people leave the camp. On the 15th, ‘a body of Yarra Western Port and other blacks’ arrived at the camp. On the 16th 17th 18th and 19th more people arrive and the encampment is enlarged to 436. Moved to a ‘private nook’ north of Merri Creek (VPRS 4410 Unit 4 Item 97 Thomas to GAR 31/5/1847: JP 1/3/1847 to 31/5/1847)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Historical accounts of Aboriginal people at various locations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1847</td>
<td>June 1847, Merri Creek – on 1 June there were about 300 Aboriginal people camped in the vicinity of Melbourne, ‘several blacks leave for the Ranges to get Bulley Bullen tails’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1847</td>
<td>August 1847 – Merri Creek - two encampments North of the Yarra by Merri Merri Creek and one small encampment by the Brighton Road on the South of the Yarra (VPRS 4410 Unit 4 Item 99 Thomas to GAR 1/9/1847: Journal of Proceedings 1/6/1847 to 31/8/1847)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1847</td>
<td>September 1847 - On the 1st there was two encampments in the vicinity of Melbourne, one E of Melbourne by Thomas quarters containing 134 people, the other Sth of the Yarra containing 28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1847</td>
<td>November 1847 – On the 1st, one encampment by Thomas quarters. On the morning of the 23rd, the Aboriginal people located between Thomas quarters and the Yarra Aboriginal Mission left (VPRS 4410 Unit Item 102, Thomas to GAR 1/12/1847: JP 1/9/1847 to 30/11/1847)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NE of Melbourne, 1 ¼ miles about</td>
<td>July 1844</td>
<td>Yarra Aboriginal people camped NE of Melbourne, July 1844, 1 ¼ miles about. This camp included 68 Yarra and Goulbourne Aboriginal people (VPRS 4410 Unit 3 Item 81, Thomas to GAR 2/9/1844: Journal of Proceedings 1/6/1844 to 31/8/1844)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12 provides accounts of Aboriginal ceremonies and corroborees recorded and presented by Alfred William Howitt and Robert Brough Smyth as well as early European settlers to the Melbourne area. These ceremonies and gatherings relate to Woiwurrung Aboriginal people, unnamed Aboriginal groups as well as Aboriginal groups from places outside of the study area.

**Table 12: Accounts of Aboriginal ceremonies and gatherings within and near the study area**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceremonies, intertribal relations</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Corroborees</td>
<td>‘The Yarra Yarra tribe camped on the site now occupied by the Melbourne and Richmond cricket grounds, where they held numerous corroborees, of much interest to the white people. The Plenty River tribe had their camping ground at Newtown Hill (now Fitzroy). The Western Port tribes selected a spot near where the Governor-General’s residence now stands...The Murray and Goulburn tribes, when visiting the district, camped on Ryrie’s Hill, while the Corio and Western District tribes located themselves on the site of the General Cemetery, or sometimes west of Sydney-road, near Royal Park. These various tribes usually kept aloof from each other, but occasionally had united corroborees, with wild dancing, frantic contortions of limbs, and weird vocal music, accompanied by the beating of opossum rugs rolled up tightly and beaten with the palm of the hand</td>
<td>c. 1840s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Approximate Date</td>
<td>Details</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by lubras, others also keeping time with two sticks. The performers used red</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Kyle 1925, 165)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and white ochre with a few leaves and twigs for adornment.</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘When a tribe is at peace, and encamped at a pleasant spot, when the “mymvs” are made, and the hearts of the lordly portion are gladdened with food, when the fires are flaming, and the night is fair, they form a large circle inside which all the men appear, leaving their only covering, the rug, outside. Then they commence the dance called the “corroboree.” Slowly and tamely they begin, just putting one foot up and the other down, while the women, seated outside the circle with their rugs doubled up in their laps, the hairy side innermost, forming a sort of drum, beat the impromptu instrument with two sticks and sing in a terribly monotonous tone the corroboree chant. By-and-by they get more into the spirit of the thing. The men move round faster and take higher bounds; the women tap, tap louder, and raise their voices to a shriller pitch. More and more exciting grows the scene, until the men leap into the air and rush about in a maze of undistinguishable confusion; and finally, the women throw away their drums and sticks, and fling themselves into the mad revel.’ (Edgar 1865, 34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ‘The account given by the late Mr. Thomas of a great gathering of Aborigines at the Merri Creek, near its junction with the River Yarra Yarra, when a very old man appeared as a guest, is somewhat curious. More than one hundred and fifty Aborigines came from the country which lies to the north-west of Gippsland and north-east of the Delatite River, and assembled at the camp of the Yarra tribe, and they brought with them an aged head-man named Kul-ler-kul-lup. He was supposed to be more than eighty years of age. He was at least six feet in height, fat, and with a fine upright carriage. His forehead was corrugated; the fine horizontal wrinkles looked scarcely natural; it seemed as if a native artist had been at work on his countenance; and his cheeks too were finely and strangely wrinkled. His friends—indeed, all who saw him—paid respect to him. They embarrassed and encumbered him with their attentions. He could not stir without an effort being made by someone to divine his wishes. At sunrise, the adult Aborigines—strangers and guests—sat before him in semicircular rows, patiently waiting for the sound of his voice, or the indication by gesture of his inclinations. None presumed to speak but in a low whisper in his presence. The old man, touched by so much fealty and respect, occasionally harangued the people-telling them, probably, something of their past history, and warning them, not unlikely, of the evils which would soon surround them. Whenever Mr. Thomas approached for the purpose of gathering some hints of the character of his course, the old man paused, and did not resume his argument until the white listener had departed. Mr. Thomas endeavoured through the chief-man-Billi-billari—of the Yarra tribe, to gain some information touching the nature and substance of these long speeches, but though he succeeded in gaining a seat amongst the adult Aborigines, Kul-ler-kul-lup would not deliver a speech in his presence. Whatever the old man suggested as proper to be done was done; what he disliked was looked upon with disgust by all the men of all the assembled tribes; what he liked best was by all regarded as good. And he did not approve of the attempts of the white man to hear his discourses, and care was taken accordingly to prevent him from learning anything relating to them. But when Kul-ler-kul-lup and his people went away, Mr. Thomas ascertained from Billi-billari that the old man had come from a tribe inhabiting the Australian Alps (probably the north-western slopes), which was not in any way connected with any of the Gippsland tribes, and which had never had intercourse with any Gippsland people. He said that Kul-ler-kul-lup had informed them that there was a race living in the Alps who inhabited only the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Approximate Date</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceremonies, intertribal relations</td>
<td></td>
<td>rocky parts, and had their homes in caves; that this people rarely left their haunts but when severely pressed by hunger, and mostly clung closely to their cave-dwellings; that to this people the Australians were indebted for corrobborees; that corrobborees were conveyed by dreams to Kul-lerkul-lup's people and other Australians; and that the men of the caves and rocks were altogether superior to the ordinary Aboriginal.'(Brough Smyth 1878, Vol. 1, 136-137).</td>
</tr>
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<td>'One of the legends about Bunjil in the Woeworung tribe is perpetuated in a corrobboree which was witnessed in the early forties by Richard Howitt.' The legend is that Bunjil held out his hand to the sun (Gerer) and warmed it, and the sun warmed the earth, which opened, and blackfellows came out and danced this corrobboree, which is called Gayip. At it images curiously carved in bark were exhibited.'(Howitt 1904, 492)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flagstaff Hill</td>
<td>c. 1840s</td>
<td>'While we yet inhabited Mr. Simpson's teak-built Singapore cottage, we went out one evening into the &quot;bush&quot; at the back of the Flag-staff Hill to witness for the first time in our lives a corrobboree of the aborigines, camped then in some force in the immediate neighbourhood. Whether it was a &quot;Full Moon Dance,&quot; a &quot;Wind Dance,&quot; or a dance before a raid on some other tribe, or a religious ceremony in honour of the white man (with a collection to be taken up afterwards), I never knew—most probably the latter...There were said to have been about 200 men; these naked save for a small girdle whence depended a sort of apron made of long strings. Bunches of green gum leaves were twisted about their ankles, making a peculiar rustling as the dancers violently shook their knees, turned them in and drew them apart in the course of their leaping and bounding evolutions. Their faces, as well as their bodies and limbs, were adorned with stripes in dead white and red ochre, while feathers nodded from their forehead bands. In either hand was held a short, stout stick of some kind of hardwood, one of which, made to strike against the other smartly during the dance, produced a strange succession of sounds in perfect &quot;time.&quot; A large fire roaring up in front of the performers, they advanced &quot;in line&quot; right up into the red glow, and retired, still facing the flames, into the gloom of the forest—a process repeated several times—while the white smoke from the pile of burning branches ascending to the sky, the thunder of the trampling feet which actually shook the ground beneath them, and the choruses of the women squatted by the fire, together with the drum-like sound from the opossum rugs, beaten across their knees with the open hands, united to produce a weird and singular effect. The corrobboree in all its variety has been already described by many, more closely, more carefully, and more neatly, but this brief description goes merely to show how it struck one as seen for the first time when fresh from London and the long sea voyage. Both before and after this entertainment we saw a good deal of the blacks as they lounged about the settlement with boomerangs held in the hollow of the arm and a spear or two over the shoulder, the lubras and picaninnies following along with a tribe of half-starved dogs of no particular breed. Many wore the Government regulation blanket fastened with a short wooden skewer across the chest; several were in the opossum-rug, which became them the best, while a goodly number wore &quot;subscription suits&quot; of white men's garments, all odd, and nothing to match, but thus all the more picturesque and taking. Men and women alike wore fillets or head-bands that they called gilbuinecs, made of netted thread and liberally plastered with raddle or red ochre. In some of these would be found stuck in between the head and the band a long drooping cock's tail feather, but more frequently a short white clay pipe, which looked all the whiter against the background of brown skin and black hair. Some of them not carrying the pipe in</td>
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<td>Ceremonies, intertribal relations</td>
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<td>the head-band were wont to push it through a hole bored through the septum of the nose, where it stood out square against the swell of the lip and moustache like a spritsail yard. Of the women, some of the younger were well-favoured and really pretty. They affected very much a white or scarlet ribbon bound across the brow, which they wore in preference to the usual bands made of coiled or twisted strands of opossum skin with the fur on. Some of the more pronounced belles among them affected fringes of fine cord about their temples, from which depended numbers of the long white lower front teeth of the kangaroo, and would have considered themselves less than dressed unless with a shiny yellow necklace of 20 or 30 coils made from joints of the kangaroo reed, cut to a uniform length and properly strung or threaded. In addition to these adornments, a few really neat and very slightly raised tattoo-marks on bosom and shoulders and a brass or white-metal ring or bangle on thumb or wrist served to generally complete the picture. We saw, occasionally, men of very aged appearance and deeply pock-marked, seldom good looking, and more savage than the rest. Sometimes a very lean old crone would accompany them, a poor creature with hollow, sunken cheeks and eyes, and hair frizzed and clotted into spindle-shaped pendants with red ochre and grease.’(McRae 1912, 120-122)</td>
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| Tribal fight | c. 1843, 1844 | ‘I personally witnessed a great battle among the blacks at Ryrie's about the year 1843 or 1844. There was a gathering of tribes—the Yarra Yarra, Goulburn River, and Plenty River being allies against tribes from Lai Lai, Barabool, and Corio. The latter were camped on the west side of the old Plenty-road, about in a line with Nicholson-street. The road to Heidelberg was the dividing line between the two opposing camps. Having to pass twice a day through the camps, we heard that a fight would soon take place. For about a week there were meetings of the old men of the tribes, much “yabba yabba,” and angry discussion, wrestling matches among the young men, and preliminary wardances, but no weapons were thrown. At last one day a kind of ultimatum was delivered by one of the Western District natives throwing a spear right into the opponents’ camp. It was purposely thrown high to avoid striking any person. This seemed a signal of challenge, and then the conflict began in earnest. In order to get a good view, I hobbled my horse and climbed a tree, from which I was soon glad to descend owing to the position being a dangerous one for a non-combatant. I again mounted my horse, and, keeping a safe distance from spears, &c., rode backwards and forwards, watching the contest. For a short time the Lal Lal tribes and their allies seemed to prevail, then the tide ebbed, and their opponents forced them over the hill, and almost surrounded them, the western tribes suffering severely. A good few on both sides were severely wounded. One wounded became exhausted, hand weapons, such as the nullah nullah and the langeel, were used. The latter were the more effective at close quarters, for the missiles could be warded off with great dexterity. When the hand-to-hand conflict was in progress, a diversion was made by the sudden arrival of the Protector of Aborigines, Mr. Thomas, and two black troopers, whose coming soon brought peace to the scene. Feeling quite safe with the Protector, I rode up and saw the wounded and killed. The natives paid careful attention to their wounded. The number killed was about eight, and some were desperately wounded. The timely arrival of Mr. Thomas and his black troopers, well-disciplined and reliable men, undoubtedly prevented further slaughter. I witnessed the burial of several killed in the fight. The bodies, borne by males, were laid in an old graveyard of the Yarra tribe, on the banks of Merri Creek, in accordance with tribal customs. A sorrowing mother of one of the slain spent much time for a week on her son’s grave weeping and wailing, and inflicting
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<td>torture 011 herself by tearing her cheeks with her finger nails until the blood ran freely.’ (Kyle 1925, 166-167)</td>
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| ‘The late Mr. Thomas, in his notes prepared for this work at my request, describes a fight which he witnessed on the 5th December 1843. The tribes from Barrabool, Bun-ung-on, and Leigh River, encamped at a spot lying to the north of Melbourne, at half-past four o’clock p.m. They advanced in close lines, ten deep, and ten in each line, and squatted on the grass; the Barrabool west of the Bun-ung-on, and a little to the north-west of these the Leigh River tribe. After sitting in silence for about half an hour, King William, the principal man of the three tribes, advanced spear in hand, and quite naked, as indeed were all the warriors. King William harangued the groups. He stated that certain blacks were charged with killing two natives and abducting their wives; that the blacks so charged and their tribe were not afraid of appearing before the Goulburn, Mount Macedon, Yarra, and Coast tribes, and they were ready to have the accusers’ spears thrown at them. While King William was speaking, another black came forward and made speeches, and expressed their willingness to receive the spears of their opponents in the face of the assembled tribes. Then ensued a general disturbance. All the men of all the tribes were greatly agitated, and many seized the opportunity to re-furbish their weapons. Those accused of murder were quite naked and in mourning—that is to say, painted white—and those charged with a lesser offence, being accomplices or otherwise implicated, were also naked, but decorated with boughs (Murrum or Mooran Karrang) just above the ankles. The men with the boughs on their ankles were on this occasion stationed in front of the tribes, about ten yards from the nearest of those squatting on the ground. Their opponents advanced towards them, shook their weapons, threw dust in the air, and commenced stamping and hissing, and grinding their teeth, dancing from time to time through the ashes of a bark fire that was kept burning at the spot. Then they formed a line, and were headed by their principal men; then they arranged themselves in a moment in the shape of a crescent, and as quickly formed again a straight line, all the time hissing, grinning their teeth, stamping and grimacing, shaking their spears, and jumping to an extraordinary height. At one time they stretched themselves on the ground so as almost to touch the grass with their noses, keeping their spears parallel with their bodies, and, acting in concert, they presented a very remarkable spectacle. They ran backwards, sideways, and all ways, approaching often close to the line of the men in murrum. All these frantic gestures were used, however, merely to excite themselves and the accused. The principal men on both sides kept up their somewhat angry discourse during the whole of this procedure, and finally settled what was to be done. The word of command at length was given: each black was at his post armed with his wonguim, mulga, and leonile, either in his hand or lying on the grass at his feet; and in a moment a shower of missiles was directed towards the men in murrum. Some of the missiles hit others not implicated; their ire was aroused, and a general fight ensued. Spears were hurled, and those amongst the accused who were not struck were attacked with clubs and the leonile. (The latter, a most formidable weapon, is used to strike at the head only.) The men not engaged in the quarrel now interfered, going amongst the belligerents, with spears in their hands, not throwing them, but pretending to throw them, whereby they incurred danger in thus intermeddling, as spears were thrown by angry men at them. A blow of a waddy from a disinterested individual put an end, however, to this, and after a brief scrimmage the battle might be said to be over. At this stage the wives of the...
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<td>accused persons joined the melee; and wailing, howling, and jabbering, they commenced a fight of their own. Each woman, holding her yam-stick (Kun-ang),* advanced towards her opponent and aimed blow. This was received on the yam-stick, which in defence is held in a horizontal position, so as to protect the head. She struck perhaps two or three blows, and then held her stick downwards but ready for defence, and received the blows of her antagonist. This strange fight was continued for some time, and the awful howls and execrations were deafening. At last the men interfered. They hurled spears at the women, but so as not to touch them, yet not until a strong man went to them spear in hand in a very threatening manner did they disperse: As they departed, shrieking defiance, they beat the ground with their yam-sticks. Finally the head-men, after much discussion, settled the differences, and this great battle was finished. Mr. Thomas states that of all the fights he has seen he has never known but of one death to arise from their frays.* He has seen desperate wounds inflicted very often, but none but one was mortal. The one death referred to was that of Ter-run-uk, a fine young blackfellow of the Bun-un-ung-on tribe, who, in a fight with the Barabool men, was struck with a wonguim, which passed through the lower part of his thigh. He was carefully attended to by Mr. Thomas, who had him removed to his own farm at Pentridge, but he died, contrary to the expectations of the large number of natives who were encamped near Melbourne at the time and witnessed the occurrence. In the great fight above described six natives were severely wounded, one being penetrated by a double-jagged spear. It went quite through his thigh. The long part was broken off, and the remainder dragged through the wound. Ten of the women had their knuckles broken, and many of the men were injured by the wonguim.' (Brough Smyth 1878 Vol. 1 159-160)</td>
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<td><strong>Tribal Justice ceremony, Merri Creek</strong></td>
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| 'In the Wurunjerri tribe when a man, say a Bujil, was called on to appear and answer for having killed some other man, say of the Waang class, all the Bunjil men, his kindred, stood at one side, and all the Waang men, the kindred of his victim, at the other, each party under their Headman. The avengers would throw spears at him until he was killed, or so injured that he could no longer defend himself, or until his Headman called out "Enough." The following account of one of these ordeals in expiation was given to me by Berak, who was present at it. So far as I am able to fix the time, it must have been about the year 1840, and the locality was the Merri Creek near Melbourne...It was sent in the winter to give plenty of time for the meeting, which took place on the Melbourne side of the Merri Creek. The people present were the Meymet, whose Headman had not come with them, the Bunurong with their Headman Benbu, the Mt. Macedon men with their Headman Ningu-labul, the Werribee people with the Headman of the Bunurong; finally there were the Wurunjerri with their Headman Billibilleri. All these people except the Meymet and the Bunurong were onlookers, and each party camped on the side of the meeting-ground nearest to their own country, and all the camps faced the morning sun. When the meeting took place, the women were left in the camps, and the men went a little way off. The Bunurong man stood out in front of his people armed with a shield. Facing him were the kindred of the dead Meymet man, some nine or ten in number, who threw so many spears and boomerangs at him that you could not count them. At last a reed spear went through his side. Just then a Headman of the Buthera-baluk who had heard what was to take place, and had followed the Meymet down from the Goulburn River, came running up, and went in between the two parties, shouting "Enough!" and turning to the Meymet said, "You should now go back to your own country." This stopped the spear-throwing; they had had blood, and
Ceremonies, intertribal relations

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<td>all were again friends. A great corroboree was held that night.’(Howitt 1904, 336-340).</td>
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Table 13 presents several examples of stories and knowledge of the *Woiwurrung* Aboriginal people recorded and presented in the mid to late 1800s to early 1900s by people such as Alfred William Howitt and Robert Brough Smyth. These narratives include knowledge relating to the Dreaming and Ancestral Beings.

**Table 13: Accounts of Woiwurrung stories and knowledge**

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<tr>
<th>Stories, religion</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bunjl</td>
<td>Pre-1876</td>
<td><em>'The Aborigines of the Yarra (the Wa-woo-ronq tribe) say that BUN-JIL made the earth (Beek-warreen) and all things besides. He had two wives, and he gave one of them to his brother Boo-err-go-en. He had two sons, Ta-jerrand Tarrn-nin, and these he sent very frequently to destroy bad men and bad women-wicked men and women who had killed and eaten blacks. Boo-err-go-en, the brother of BUN-JIL, was very wild, and though he had had given to him one wife, he was not satisfied. BUN-JIL had a sword or knife (Warra-goop), and also an instrument named Ber-rang, with which he could open any place or any thing, and in such a way as to make it impossible for any one to know how or whether or not it had been opened. No one could see the opening he made.' (Brough Smyth 1878 Vol. 1, 423)</em></td>
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<td>Bunjl – creating the first man</td>
<td>Pre-1876</td>
<td><em>'The Melbourne blacks say that PUND-JEL made of clay two males. This was in long, long ages past; and the two first breathed in a country towards the north-west (Oodi-yul-yul wootunno per-reen N’gervein). PUND-J-EL made of clay two male blacks, in the following manner: With his big knife he cut three large sheets of bark. On one of these he placed a quantity of clay, and worked it into a proper consistence with his knife. When the clay was soft, he carried a portion to one of the other pieces of bark, and he commenced to form the clay into a man, beginning at the feet; then he made the legs, then he formed the trunk and the arms and the head. He made a man on each of the two pieces of bark. He was well pleased with his work, and he looked at the men a long time, and he danced round about them. He next took stringybark from a tree (Eucalyptus obliqua), made hair of it, and placed it on their heads-on one straight hair and on the other curled hair. PUND-JEL again looked at his work, much pleased (Bul-li-to monomeeth), and once more he danced round about them. To each he gave a name: the man with the straight hair he called Ber-rook-boorn; the man with the curled hair, Koo-kin Ber-rook. After again smoothing with his hands their bodies, from the feet upwards to their heads, he lay upon each of them, and blew his breath into their mouths, into their noses, and into their navel; and breathing very hard, they stirred. He danced round about them a third time. He then made them speak, and caused them to get up, and they rose up, and appeared as fullgrown young men-not like children.' (Brough Smyth 1878 Vol. 1, 424)</em></td>
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"In company with some blacks, I was looking at a brickmaker at work, near the new bridge over the Yarra (Prince’s bridge), when a Western Port black, named ‘Billy Lonsdale,’ seeing the brickmaker smoothing the clay in the mould, said ‘
Marminarta, like 'em. that PUND-JEL make 'em Koolin.' " (The late William Thomas's MS. quoted in Brough Smyth 1878 Vol. 1, 424)

The story is thus told by another man of the Wa-woorong or Yarra tribe: - BUND-JEL was the first man. He made everything, and the second man (Kar-ween) he made also, as well as two wives for Kar-ween. But BUNTD-JEL made no wife for himself, and after the lapse of time he came to want Kar-ween's wives. Kar-ween watched his wives very jealously, and was careful that BUND-JEL should not get near them. BUND-JEL, however, was clever enough to steal both of the wives in the night, and he took them away. Kar-ween, taking some spears with him, pursued BUND-JEL, but he could not find him, nor could he find his wives. But in a short time BUND-JEL came back, bringing with him the two women. He asked Kar-ween to fight on the following day; and he proposed that if Kar-ween conquered he should have the women, and if BUND-JEL conquered that they should be his. To this Kar-ween agreed. But Kar-ween had in his mind a different plan. And this was his plan: to make Ingargiull or corroboree. Kar-ween spoke to Waung (the Crow), and asked him to make a corroboree. And many crows came, and they made a great light in the air, and they sang - Mene-Nar-in-gee, Targo Barra Targo, Burra mene long-go, Wah! Whilst they were thus singing, BUND-JEL danced. Kar-ween took a spear and threw it at him, and wounded him a little in the leg, but not in such a manner as to hurt BUND-JEL much. BUND-JEL, however, was very angry, and he seized a spear and threw it at Kar-ween. It was so well thrown that it went through the joint of Kar-ween's thigh. And Kar-ween could walk about no more. Kar-ween became sick. He became as lean as a skeleton, and thereupon BUNDJEL made Kar-ween a Crane, and that bird was thereafter called Kar-ween. BUND-JEL was the conqueror. The two women became his wives, and he had many children. After this, Ballen-ballen (the Jay), who at that time was a man, had a great many bags full of wind, and being angry, he one day opened the bags, and made such a great wind that BUND-JEL and nearly all his family were carried up into the heavens. '(Brough Smyth 1878 Vol. 1, 425-427)

Pal-ly-yan, who is described sometimes as a brother of PUND-JEL, and sometimes as a son, has the control of the waters, great and small. He is supreme over rivers, creeks, and lagoons; and the sea obeys him likewise. All creatures that live in the deeps or shallows he can control. There is nothing in the deep waters of the rivers that can perplex him; and his chief pleasure is to paddle in the shallow waters, and to dive to great depths in the deep waters. One day he was playing in a deep, deep water-hole. He thumped and threshed the waters with his hands, in the same manner as the women beat the skins when men dance the corroboree. The water became thick; it became very thick; it became as mud; and Pal-ly-yan could no longer see through it as before. But something he saw at length. And dividing the thick waters with a bough, so as to get a glimpse of things underneath, he beheld what appeared to be hands, such as PUND-JEL had given to the men he had created. Pal-ly-yan took a strong twig, bent it into the form of a hook, and again divided the waters, and there appeared two heads (such as PUND-JEL had given to the men), then bodies (similar to those made by PUND-JEL), and finally two creatures like Mon-mon-deek (young women). Pal-ly-yan named one Kunner-warra, and the other K-ur-rook, and he brought them to PUND-JEL, his brother, to show them to him. PUND-JEL gave to each man whom he had created a woman. PUND-JEL put into the hands of the men spears. To each man he gave a spear; and Pal-ly-yan gave to each woman and put into her hands a Kan-nan (digging-stick). Pal-ly-yan spake to the men and women, and told them to live together. He ordered that the men should use their spears for killing the kangaroo, and he told...
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<th>Stories, religion</th>
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<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Koolen Beek, man under the ground with a tail</td>
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<td>Lohan, (also reference to cooking eels at Yarra and swans)</td>
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<td>Bunjil</td>
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In the mid-1800s, William Howitt recorded information about *Wurundjeri* medical practices and functions of medicine men. Table 14 provides several examples of Howitt’s accounts of this information.

Table 14: Accounts of Wurundjeri medical practices and functions of medicine men

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<th>Medicine, doctors, supernatural</th>
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<td><em>Wer-raap/Wirrarap, doctor/medicine man</em></td>
<td>Pre-1876</td>
<td>‘Wer-raap (a doctor) is made by the spirits (Len-b a-moorr) of deceased doctors...When the people of the tribe see Wer-raap again, he is covered with feathers. He has had a long flight. He visits the sick man, and if after a time the sick man gets well, Wer-raap relates all the facts connected with the recovery of the kidney-fat; but if the man dies, Wer-raap tells them that the wicked black had eaten the kidney-fat before he could fly to him...Some fifteen years ago, Wonga, a principal man of the Yarra tribe, was afflicted with ophthalmia, and he went into the Melbourne Hospital, where he remained for several weeks. When he came out he could see nothing. But Tall-boy, a celebrated wer-raap belonging to the Goulburn tribe, which at that time was encamped on the Yarra, undertook to cure him. Tall-boy took out of Wonga’s head behind his eyes several rotten straws (which Wonga carefully preserved for several years), and on the second morning after the operation Wonga could see the ships in the Bay, and on the third morning he could see the mountains at the head of the Yarra. No one doubts the power of a skilful wer-raap.’ (Brough Smyth 1878 Vol. 1, 463)</td>
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<td><em>Burring, fat-taking practice of the Wirrarap</em></td>
<td>Pre-1889</td>
<td>‘The Wurunjerri believed firmly that the Wiwarap (medicine-man) could kill persons, far or near, by means of Mung, or evil magic, through the agency of many substances, among which the Thundal, or quartz crystals, stood first. This he could project, either invisibly, or else as a small whirlwind a foot or so high. The effect on a man caught in such a way was; according to Berak, that he felt a chill, then pains and shortness of breath. A medicine-man, being consulted, would look at him and say, “Hallo ! there is a lot of Mung in you.” Then alone, or with other medicinemen, he sat near and watched the man, until one of them saw the magical substance trying to escape, it might be in the middle of the night. Then he would run after it, catch it, and breaking a piece off it to prevent it escaping again, put it into his magic-bag for future use. Any article once belonging to, or having been used by, the intended victim, would serve to work an evil spell. A piece of his hair, some of his faeces, a bone picked up by him and dropped, a shred of his opossum rug, would suffice...’ (Howitt 1904, 365)</td>
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### Medicine, doctors, supernatural

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<td>Conversation; suddenly another would say, &quot;Look at those birds!&quot; or something of the sort, to take his attention, while a third man would fell him with a blow by a club (Kugering). Then, according to my informant, he would be rolled about on the ground to make his Murup (spirit) come out of him. The fat was then extracted in the usual way. If not actually killed by the blow, the man might come to himself and be able to return to his camp. I was told of such a case, where an old man of the Wurunjjerri tribe had been thus caught by some of the Jajaurung, but got back to his camp before he died. In all cases where such acts were said to have been done by a medicine-man, and the wound closed magically and invisibly, and the man died in the belief that his fat had been taken, we may feel assured that the origin of the belief was a dream, as in this particular case.'</td>
<td>Pre-1889</td>
<td>'I also heard of one of these higher branches of the medicine-men's art in the Wurunjjerri tribe. Soon after the white men came to Melbourne, a blackfellow living near where Heidelberg now is, was nearly dead. His friends sent for Doro-bauk,' who lived to the west of Mount Macedon. When he arrived, he found the man just breathing ever so slightly, and his Murup (spirit, ghost) had gone away from him, and nothing remained in him but a little wind. Doro-bauk went after the Murup, and after some time returned with it under his 'possum rug. He said that he had been just in time to catch it round the middle, before it got near to the Karalk. The dead man was just breathing a little wind when Doro-bauk laid himself on him and put the Murup back into him. After a time the man came back to life.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ngarrang, supernatural doctor</td>
<td>Pre-1889</td>
<td>'I may roughly define &quot;doctors&quot; as men who profess to extract from the human body foreign substances which, according to aboriginal belief, have been placed in them by the evil magic of other medicine-men, or by supernatural beings, such as Brewin of the Kurnai, or the Ngarrang of the Wurunjjerri. Ngarrang is described as being like a man with a big beard and hairy arms and hands, who lived in the large swellings which are to be seen at the butts of some of the gum-trees, such as the Red Gum, which grows on the river flats, in the Wurunjjerri country. The Ngawang came out at night in order to cast things of evil magic into incautious people passing by their haunts. The effect of their magic was to make people lame. As they were invisible to all but the medicine-men, it was to them that people had recourse when they thought that a Ngarrang had caught them. The medicine-man by his art extracted the magic in the form of quartz, bone, wood, or other things.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pre-1889</td>
<td>'I may roughly define &quot;doctors&quot; as men who profess to extract from the human body foreign substances which, according to aboriginal belief, have been placed in them by the evil magic of other medicine-men, or by supernatural beings, such as Brewin of the Kurnai, or the Ngarrang of the Wurunjjerri. Ngarrang is described as being like a man with a big beard and hairy arms and hands, who lived in the large swellings which are to be seen at the butts of some of the gum-trees, such as the Red Gum, which grows on the river flats, in the Wurunjjerri country. The Ngawang came out at night in order to cast things of evil magic into incautious people passing by their haunts. The effect of their magic was to make people lame. As they were invisible to all but the medicine-men, it was to them that people had recourse when they thought that a Ngarrang had caught them. The medicine-man by his art extracted the magic in the form of quartz, bone, wood, or other things.'</td>
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</table>

### 6.9.2 Post-contact history

In addition to events and interactions discussed above the following presents a broad synthesis of post-contact Aboriginal; history.

After the establishment of Melbourne and the rapid dispersal of pastoralists around Port Phillip in search of quality grazing and water for stock, the Woi wurrung were swiftly excluded from traditional food resources and the more reliable water sources in the region. In particular, the yam daisy or myrrnong, a staple food found in swamps, was rapidly destroyed by introduced grazing animals. Access to the woodlands, swamps and billabongs became difficult following the establishment of station homesteads at significant locations. In addition to the dislocation and social breakdown caused by this conflict, the limited resource diversity available to each group became critical, forcing the survivors increasingly to dependence on government and station supplied rations.
The development of Melbourne and its hinterland during the mid-19th century resulted in not only the rapid loss of traditional lands and resources, but also the spread of diseases including venereal disease, social breakdown and the removal of Aboriginal groups and individuals to reserves and mission stations (Caldere and Goff 1991, 3).

The close proximity of the mass of urban settlers to these Aboriginal groups inevitably caused problems for the Colonial administration, and consequently a Government Mission was set up in 1837 on an 895-acre site at South Yarra, close to an established camping area on the site of the Botanical Gardens. George Langhorne was responsible for its management. Rather than resolving Aboriginal grievances, the objective of the mission was to ‘civilise’ Aboriginal people and those who decided to live at the mission were provided with rations in exchange for agricultural endeavours. Children were also provided with rations for attending school classes. Woi wurrung people were mainly associated with the mission although a few Bun wurrung individuals and members of other language groups were noted as being affiliated to the mission in 1838 (Clark and Heydon 1998, 27). The mission was short-lived, and alternative locations were sought away from the ‘influence’ of Melbourne.

Various reserves were subsequently established as refuges for Aboriginal people around Port Phillip and Westernport by Assistant Protector William Thomas during 1839-1843 in an attempt to move the remaining Aboriginal people further away from Melbourne. These included Arthurs Seat, Merri Creek, Mordialloc Creek and most importantly the Westernport Protectorate Station on the Dandenong Creek at Nerre Warren (Clark and Heydon 1998, 28; Barwick 1998, 31). Thomas hoped that the stations would encourage Aboriginal people to take up an agricultural lifestyle, but he spent most of his time unsuccessfully trying to keep Aboriginal people out of Melbourne. One of the major problems was the way in which the Woi wurrung and Bun wurrung were frequently treated as the same group, leading to internal dissent and dissatisfaction. The Westernport Protectorate Station, for instance, was located on Woi wurrung land, which was not acceptable to the Bun wurrung, who were treated like strangers.

In 1839 a census requested by George Robinson, the Chief Protector of Aborigines in the Port Phillip Protectorate, of Aboriginal people living in and around Melbourne found that the probable Aboriginal population at this time consisted of 140 Woi wurrung, 50 Wada wurrung and 12 Bun wurrung people (Lakic & Wrench 1994, 110, 113). However, it is likely that the numbers of Aboriginal people in Melbourne varied greatly throughout this period and was subject to the influx of various groups and individuals.

From the 1830s onwards, Aboriginal people continued to camp in the vicinity of the township of Melbourne. Mostly they were Aboriginal people belonging to Woi wurrung and Bun wurrung clans, and their preferred camping places were along the south bank of the Yarra River, opposite the settlement of Melbourne, and Government Paddocks (between Princess Bridge and Punt Road) (Clark & Heydon 1998, 25). Woi wurrung and Bun wurrung people camped from the falls (near Princess Bridge) for approximately 1.5 kilometres south east along the river. A particularly favoured location for camping was on the hill overlooking 'Tromgin', a swamp south of the Yarra River. Robinson and Thomas, an Assistant Protector, reportedly spent much time throughout the late 1830s to mid-1840s attempting to ‘break up’ Aboriginal camps by the Yarra River and discouraging Aboriginal people from visiting the township itself (Clark & Heydon 1998, 34–5, 40, 49). In 1840, Thomas noted that:

   By what I can learn, long ere the settlement was formed the spot where Melbourne now stands and the flats on which we are now camped [on the south bank of the Yarra was] the regular rendezvous for the tribes known as Warorangs, Boonurongs, Barrabools, Nilunguons, Gouldburns twice a year or as often as circumstances and emergencies required to settle their grievances, revenge deaths…(Thomas in Presland 1985, 35).

The population of Woi wurrung and Bun wurrung people declined steeply in 1847, caused by an influenza epidemic, leading to deaths and the dispersal of Aboriginal people from camps by the Yarra River (Clark & Heydon 1998).
Through the influence of the Government, Missionary Societies and the new ‘landowners’, the number of Aboriginal people in the area dwindled as a result of high mortality rates and forced movement out of the township. Complaints from settlers who wanted to exclude Aboriginal people from their newly acquired land and move them further into the ‘bush’ and requests by Aboriginal people themselves for a ‘station’ of their own, led to the establishment of an Aboriginal reserve known as Coranderrk, near Healesville in 1863. The majority of Woi wurrung people lived at Coranderrk from 1863 to the early 1900s when the introduction of the Aborigines Act 1909 requiring all ‘half castes’ to leave Mission Stations, resulted in Aboriginal people moving back to Melbourne, attracted by work opportunities (Rhodes et al. 1999, 88-89).

6.10 Review of reports and published work about Aboriginal cultural heritage in the region

6.10.1 Regional studies - Introduction

Previous archaeological regional studies assist in characterising the general pattern of archaeological site distribution across a broad regional environment. The reports that have been reviewed are listed in Table 15 below.

Table 15: Review of reports about Aboriginal cultural heritage – regional studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological survey, Yarra Valley area (Witter and Upcher 1977)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Melbourne Metropolitan Area archaeological study (Presland 1983)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Lower Plenty River Archaeological Survey (Weaver 1991)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Doncaster and Templestowe Archaeological Survey (Ellender 1991)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Archaeological Sensitivities Study of the Waterways and Floodplains Greater Melbourne (du Cros and Rhodes 1998)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.10.2 Regional studies

Previous archaeological reports include regional studies, which assist in characterising the general pattern of archaeological site distribution across a broad region.

Archaeological survey, Yarra Valley area (Witter and Upcher 1977)
Witter and Upcher conducted an archaeological survey of parkland on the Yarra River between Burke Road bridge, in the west, to Pound Bend at Warrandyte in the east. Following a pedestrian survey of the land 24 Aboriginal cultural heritage places were identified. The majority of those places (19) were scarred trees, with the other four sites being comprised of four lithic scatters and one ground stone axe. The survey strategy was twofold. The first approach, which was undertaken in 1976, comprised of a pedestrian survey following the course of the river. This was supplemented in 1977 by a targeted survey of Pleistocene terraces along the courses of the study area. As a consequence, very large parts Banyule Flats Reserve was not subject to detailed investigation. Due to a poor surface visibility and constraints in the extent of land subject to survey, Witter and Upcher (1977, 11) argued there was not enough evidence to glean any meaningful patterns of settlement within the study area. The stone assemblages were found to be comprised primarily of chert, with quartz and quartzite making up the remainder of the assemblages (Witter and Upcher, 1977, 10).

The Melbourne Metropolitan Area (Presland 1983)
Presland undertook an archaeological study of the Melbourne Metropolitan area in 1983. Presland divided the study area into five landscape units consisting of Flat Plains, Undulating Plains, Low Hills, Hills and Coastal Margin.

The current study area is located primarily in landscape unit 2, defined as undulating land north of the Yarra River and west of the Plenty River (Presland 1983, 49). Landscape unit 2 comprises an area of 1025 km², of
which 161.5 hectares with an effective coverage of 7.6% were subject to survey. Contemporary use of the landscape north of the Yarra River and west of the Plenty River, being primarily urban at the time of the survey, constrained the effectiveness of survey near the study area. As a consequence, pedestrian surveys focused on the waterways, including the Yarra River and Plenty River.

A total of 27 Aboriginal cultural heritage places were identified by Presland in landscape unit 2 (1983, 57). The majority of those places (23) were comprised of lithic scatters. 19 of the sites were located along water courses, with the Kororoit Creek being a particular focal point. Four scarred trees were also located “in areas of reasonable proximity to permanent water sources” (Presland 1983, 58).

Presland argued that the results of the study reflected the general use by Aboriginal people of all landscape units present in the study area. He concluded that the limited survey coverage and lack of literature information on specific aspects of Aboriginal life did not allow for the definition of any clear patterns of subsistence behaviour and Aboriginal occupation (Presland 1983, 69-74).

The Lower Plenty River Archaeological Survey (Weaver 1991)
Weaver undertook a pedestrian survey of the Plenty River on behalf of the Melbourne Metropolitan Board of Works in 1991. Survey of the study area was hampered by poor surface visibility, and it is thought that cattle ringbarking trees had hampered the identification of Aboriginal scarred trees.

Throughout Weaver’s (1991, 33) study area, a total of 23 archaeological sites were identified, the majority of which (n=13) were scarred trees. Only one artefact scatter was identified with the remainder (n=9) of the Aboriginal cultural heritage places identified being comprised of isolated stone artefacts.

The scarred trees were primarily River Red Gum (*E. Camaldulensis*), and geographically located in the lower third of the study area and within 10m of the Plenty River (Weaver 1991, 62). However, Weaver (1991, 27) also remarks that European alteration of the landscape, which includes land clearing practices, has possibly resulted in the loss many scarred trees throughout the general landscape. As such, they may have once been more ubiquitously distributed throughout the landscape, whether near a river or not.

The stone artefacts were comprised of silcrete, chert and some quartz. Silcrete was the preferred raw material, and most of the stone artefacts had been subject to sufficient reduction so as to completely remove any traces of their cortex.

City of Doncaster and Templestowe Archaeological Survey (Ellender 1991)

Following targeted surveys, 6 Aboriginal places were identified in the river flood plains, 9 places were identified in the steep country, and no places were identified in the gentle undulating country (Ellender 1991, 33). Ellender (1991, 45) argues that the absence of Aboriginal places being identified in the gentle country is likely the result of urban redevelopment and agricultural destroying evidence of past Aboriginal land use rather than an avoidance of the landscape by Aboriginal people. There was little difference in place distribution between steep country and river flood plains. Eight of the places identified by Ellender (1991) are scarred trees. Artefact scatters were identified at five locations, and the final two places are isolated artefacts. The dominant raw materials utilized in the stone artefact assemblages was silcrete and quartz.

In building a predictive model for the location of Aboriginal cultural heritage places within Doncaster and Templestowe, Ellender (1991) concludes that river banks have a high potential of containing scarred trees, and flat land, regardless of landform context, would have a high potential of containing artefact scatters.

Aboriginal Archaeological Sensitivities Study of the Waterways and Floodplains Greater Melbourne (du Cros and Rhodes 1998)
A study of Aboriginal archaeological sensitivities of the waterways and floodplains of greater Melbourne was undertaken by du Cros and Rhodes (1998). The study noted that many of the waterways within and around Melbourne had been historically altered, either resulting in the complete loss of waterways, or modification of their original channels, leading to a loss of cultural material along many waterways. However, the study also notes that wherever a permanent source of water existed there is a high probability that it was visited by Aboriginal people in the past. Du Cros and Rhodes (1998, 20) also note that the limited number of surface archaeological sites being identified near waterbodies is more likely due to either limitations in survey, such as poor ground visibility, or alternatively disturbance due to flooding and the reworking and deposition of alluvium by rivers. It is also possible that floodplains adjacent to waterways were subject to ploughing in order to grow crops. It is also likely that land clearance has removed most scarred trees, with exception of along river banks, which were not subject to land clearing practices.

### 6.10.3 Localised studies - Introduction

Previous archaeological reports include localised studies, which assist in developing an understanding of archaeological sensitivity and the extent and scope of prior investigation in a relatively limited area or environment. These reports have been undertaken within and in the vicinity of the current study area and contain similar landforms and geology to the current project. The reports that have been reviewed are listed in Table 16 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHMP / Report ID</th>
<th>Title and Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10702</td>
<td>Rehabilitation works at Koonung Creek Lower, Bulleen (Ricardi et al 2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11068</td>
<td>Four-lot subdivision, Heidelberg (Hyett 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11708</td>
<td>Rosanna, Multi-Unit Development (Barker 2011)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11713</td>
<td>Water Treatment, Harvesting and Redistribution Project at the Bolin Bolin Billabong and Wetlands (Freedman et al. 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12446</td>
<td>Birrarung Park Outfall Drain Remediation Works, Lower Templestowe, Victoria (Lawler and Vick 2013)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13793</td>
<td>Yarra Valley Country Club Bulleen (Berelov and Vines 2016)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14563</td>
<td>Banyule Flats Reserve, Banyule (Green and Albrecht 2017, in prep.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15455</td>
<td>Rosanna, Residential Subdivision (Welsh and Janson 2018)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15156</td>
<td>Viewbank, Residential Development (Holzheimer 2017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15576</td>
<td>North East Link (in prep.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 6.10.4 Localised studies

**Rehabilitation works at Koonung Creek Lower, Bulleen (Ricardi et al 2009)**

CHMP 10702 was prepared by Australian Cultural Heritage Management Management Pty Ltd on behalf of Melbourne Water with regards to the landscaping works along the banks of the Koonung Creek at its confluence with the Yarra River. No Aboriginal cultural heritage places were identified following a standard and complex assessment of the study area, and areas of significant previous disturbance were noted, including creek realignment activities.

**Four-lot subdivision, Heidelberg (Hyett 2010)**

TerraCulture prepared CHMP 11068 on behalf of Banyule Management Pty Ltd with regard to the four-lot subdivision of the property. Despite bordering the Banyule Flats Reserve this study area is in fact located on the elevated upland above the Yarra River floodplain. No Aboriginal cultural heritage places were identified on the property following standard and complex assessments, and previous disturbance was noted with imported materials present, as well as evidence of disturbance from car park construction.

**Rosanna, Multi-Unit Development, CHMP 11708 (Barker 2011)**
Barker (2011) prepared a complex CHMP for the proposed residential development in Rosanna, approximately 0.3 ha in size. The desktop assessment identified no previously registered Aboriginal places within the study area, and highlighted that Banyule Drain adjacent to the study area was a manmade artificial drainage line.

The standard assessment recorded poor ground surface visibility (20%) owing to grass coverage and existing infrastructure. The complex assessment comprised of a single 1 x 1 m test pit and four 0.4 x 0.4 m shovel test pits, with a homogenous stratigraphic profile of disturbed clayey silt to depths of 100 mm directly overlying a dark yellowish-brown basal clay to 300 mm. It was concluded that previous ground disturbance had entirely removed or disturbed the natural A horizon. No Aboriginal cultural heritage was identified, and no specific management conditions were required by the CHMP.

Water Treatment, Harvesting and Redistribution Project at the Bolin Bolin Billabong and Wetlands (Freedman et al. 2012)

In 2012 Biosis prepared CHMP 11713 on behalf of Manningham City Council with regards to a water treatment, harvesting and redistribution project through the Bolin Bolin Billabong and wetlands. A desktop assessment indicated that Aboriginal archaeological material may remain in the terraces elevated above the floodplain. Following a standard and complex assessment of the study area two Aboriginal cultural heritage places were identified.

Birrarung Park Outfall Drain Remediation Works, Lower Templestowe, Victoria (Lawler and Vick 2013)

Lawler and Vick (2013) prepared CHMP 12446 on behalf of Manningham City Council with regards to remediation and reinstatement works associated with an outfall drain in conjunction with the reinstatement/stabilisation of the adjacent Yarra riverbank. The activity area falls within Birrarung Park, Templestowe Lower. The terrace deposits which constitute the escarpment landform of the activity area are Holocene alluvial sediments. The complex assessment included the manual excavation of a 1x1m test pit and the mechanical excavation of a 1x1m test pit (to extend and deepen the test pit) on the escarpment. A low density of artefacts was identified within a disturbed context (possibly relating to the 19th century cultivation). The OSL dating undertaken indicates that the river terrace sediments tested were part of a raised Pleistocene river terrace, deposited during the last interglacial period.

Yarra Valley Country Club Bulleen (Berelov and Vines 2016)

In 2016 Berelov and Vines prepared CHMP 13793 for the proposed redevelopment of the Yarra Valley Country Club in Bulleen. Geotechnical investigations of the study area were undertaken. The results indicated that whilst large sections of the study area had been subject to previous ground disturbance which would have substantially impacted on any potential Aboriginal cultural heritage, soils within other sections of the study area were relatively intact (Berelov and Vines 2016, 36). A standard assessment was conducted, and the frontage of the study area was noted to have been subject to previous disturbance with levelled and sealed carpark, a substantial club housed and terraced sporting facilities (Berelov and Vines 2016, 41). Further inspection revealed that the entire plateau fronting Templestowe Road is an artificial feature created through the dumping on fill, including bricks, bluestone, metals and general waste, with much of this demolition fill dating no earlier than the 1960s, and most likely imported to the study area. The floodplain landform comprising the mid and northern sections of the study area contained small sections that were possibly more natural. A complex assessment was then undertaken, with three initial 1x1m test pits excavated on each landform identified during the standard assessment; a potential raised terrace, the alluvial floodplain and an elevated Silurian area. Aboriginal cultural heritage was identified on the alluvial floodplain landform where a 1x1m test pit had been positioned on a small rise. Three shovel test pits also contained Aboriginal cultural heritage material, and additional test pits were then excavated. A total of 5 Aboriginal artefacts were identified and registered. This Aboriginal material consisting of silcrete and quartz artefacts was located at a depth range of 30-200mm (Berelov and Vines 2016, 66). Salvage excavation in the vicinity of locations of the Aboriginal cultural heritage material was recommended, with at least two square metres proposed at each of the three salvage locations (Berelov and Vines 2016, 74).

Banyule Flats Reserve, Banyule (Green and Albrecht 2017, in prep.)
In 2017, Green and Albrecht conducted a CHMP (14563) on behalf of Banyule City Council for a proposed construction of a shared trail at Banyule Flats reserve. There were no registered Aboriginal places within the study area for this CHMP at the commencement of the project, although the desktop assessment revealed that there were a number of previously registered Aboriginal places in the vicinity of the study area, primarily comprising scarred trees and artefact scatters, with low density artefact distributions also recorded, as well as an object collection, a quarry and an earth feature (Green and Albrecht 2017 in prep., 31). Most of these Aboriginal places were recorded on landforms that were associated with the major water courses, Darebin Creek and the Yarra River. The results of the desktop assessment also indicated that despite the modifications that have taken place to many of the waterways in and around Melbourne, it is highly likely that permanent watercourses were visited and utilised by Aboriginal people, and that river banks had a high potential of containing scarred trees and flatter landforms had high potential of containing artefact scatters. A standard assessment was undertaken, and the area was assessed as containing a single landform of flat to gently inclined floodplain associated with the Yarra River (Green and Albrecht 2017 in prep. 53). The study area was assessed as having low-moderate to moderate previous disturbance, with moderate to high archaeological potential. A complex assessment was then undertaken, and a total of two 1x1m test pits and sixty-six 50x50cm shovel test pits were excavated. A sampling methodology was utilised, focusing on areas of apparent least disturbance. Initial subsurface testing revealed relatively high concentrations of Aboriginal cultural heritage, and after meeting with the RAP and Sponsor, the subsurface testing methodology was refined, and additional excavations were scheduled. During the second phase of testing, additional test pits were excavated including a total of thirty-three 50x50cm STPs were excavated to define the nature and extent of the Aboriginal cultural heritage material identified. During this phase of the complex assessment testing programme, the field team excavated test pits to the maximum depths of impact from the proposed construction at specific locations that had been mapped after discussions between the RAP, Sponsor and the HA. The maximum depths of excavation were also buffered by an additional 100mm to allow for anomalies. These excavations included 50x50cm test pits excavated to a maximum depth of 200mm; 50x50cm STPs excavated to sterile basal clay in areas of proposed deeper impacts; a 1x1m test pit (1x1B) excavated to sterile basal clay; 50x50cm STPs to be excavated to 400mm to allow for construction of drainage (Green and Albrecht 2017 in prep. 64). Soil types, colours and textures were mostly consistent across the study area, comprising alluvial silt to silty clay sediments. Some disturbance was noted within the excavated soils, in shallow soil contexts and also in deeper soil deposits. European inclusions of glass and ceramic were present most likely introduced into the area during the mid to late 19th century pastoral uses of Banyule Flats. A total of 204 Aboriginal stone artefacts were identified in 32 pits. The artefacts were located at various depths including shallow depths ranging from 0-200mm as well as depths below this to a maximum depth of 800-900mm. Approximately 92% of the artefacts were located at depths above 500mm, with fewer artefacts identified below 500mm (Green and Albrecht 2017 in prep. 68). The consultants noted that the study area has also been subject to inundation from flooding, and it is likely that this inundation and the previous and current land use disturbance has impacted upon Aboriginal cultural heritage within the study area. Due to this previous disturbance and the shallow soils within which much of the Aboriginal cultural heritage material was found, it is possible that some of the Aboriginal stone artefacts were not in situ, particularly those found at shallow depths. This Aboriginal cultural heritage material has been recorded. After this registration took place, the project was placed on hold by the Sponsor and the management conditions for this CHMP have not been discussed and agreed upon between the Sponsor and the RAP.

Rosanna, Residential Subdivision, CHMP 15455 (Welsh and Janson 2018)
Welsh and Janson (2018) undertook a standard CHMP for the proposed residential subdivision in Rosanna, approximately 0.75 ha in size and incorporating the land in Rosanna, previously addressed by CHMP 11708 (Barker 2011). The standard assessment recorded poor ground surface visibility (20%) across the entire study area, and identified the modification of a property in Rosanna as including previous terracing and levelling by cutting and filling of a naturally sloped landform.

It was agreed that no further assessment of the property in Rosanna was required, and that no specific management conditions for the study area were required.
Holzheimer (2017) undertook a complex CHMP for the proposed residential development in Viewbank, approximately 0.94 ha in size. The desktop assessment identified no previously registered Aboriginal places within the study area and stated that it was likely extensive previous development across the activity had disturbed or destroyed any in situ Aboriginal cultural heritage.

The standard assessment recorded poor ground surface visibility (<5%) owing to thick grass coverage and existing infrastructure. A high level of previous ground disturbance was also recorded, as the result of residential dwelling, ancillary building and structure construction and subsurface utility installation. The complex assessment consisted of a two 1 x 1 m test pits and 15 0.5 x 0.5 m shovel test pits. The stratigraphic profile varied across the study area as the result of previous disturbance, with evidence of stripping and levelling identified in the absence of A1 horizons in a number of excavated test pits. Where upper horizons remained intact, the stratigraphic profile comprised of silty clay overlying cemented clay and siltstone and ranged between 110-450mm depth. Siltstone, gravel inclusions and clay content generally increased with depth, consistent with the predicted underlying geology of the study area.

No Aboriginal cultural heritage was identified during the standard or complex assessments, and no specific management conditions for the study area were required.

**6.10.5 Implications of previous archaeological investigations relating to the current study area**

Implications of previous archaeological investigations relating to the current study area

- Previous archaeological investigations within the study region have indicated that despite the modifications that have taken place to many of the waterways in and around Melbourne, it is highly likely that permanent watercourses were visited and utilised by Aboriginal people (Presland 1983; du Cros and Rhodes 1998).
- Landforms away from watercourses have lower archaeological potential often due to land modification (Ellender 1991).
- River banks have a high potential of containing scarred trees and flat landforms have high potential of containing artefact scatters (Ellender 1991; Green and Albrecht 2017).
- Urban development and modification that has taken place in vicinity of watercourses has likely been responsible for the destruction and loss of Aboriginal cultural heritage places (Weaver 1991; Ricardi et al 2009; Hyett 2010; Berelov and Vines 2016).
- Land that has been highly modified by activities such as ground preparation for urban development are unlikely to contain Aboriginal cultural heritage material (Holzheimer 2017; Welsh and Janson 2018).
- It is possible that Aboriginal cultural heritage may be present in areas previously disturbed particularly in areas that contain sensitive landforms associated with watercourses (Freedman et al. 2012; Berelov and Vines 2016; Green and Albrecht 2017).

**6.11 A review of the history of the use of the study area**

This section contains a brief synthesis of available local historical records concerning information about the European occupation of the Bulleen and Banyule Flats region, and specific information regarding the European history of the study area. These activities are likely to have impacted on the study area both in terms of historical archaeological materials and disturbance to Aboriginal cultural materials. The European land use history of the wider geographic region provides context to the information presented about the land use history of the study area.
European interest in the Port Phillip region was initiated by reports from Hamilton Hume and William Hilton Hovell, who explored the area in 1824. Following these reports, John Batman, a small landholder in Van Diemens Land, set up the Port Phillip Association, to explore and settle the Port Phillip hinterland (Payne 1975, 1-2).

Joseph Gellibrand, ex-Attorney General of Van Diemen’s Land, first ventured into the Heidelberg district in 1835-6, on behalf of the Port Phillip Association. The long-term presence of Europeans settlers in the Banyule area began in 1837-1838 with the Heidelberg region one of the first areas of Melbourne to be subdivided, with the fertile land along the rivers near Heidelberg highly sought after (Dyke, Neylon, Paul and Holt 2014, 17). In 1837, Edward Willis took up the pastoral lease at the junction of the Plenty and Yarra Rivers. This area was surveyed by William Wedge Darke and Robert Hoddle in preparation for sale, and the land encompassing Banyule Flats was demarcated as Section 6, Parish of Keelbundoora, County of Bourke (Garden 1972, 6; Dyke et al. 2014, 17). In 1838, this land was auctioned in Sydney and largely purchased by Sydney-based speculators with Section 6 bought by Richard H. Browne. Browne called his estate Heidelberg and the locality was possibly named after his estate (Garden 1972, 20).

Whilst discussing the establishment of Heidelberg, Rolf Boldrewood mentioned R. H. Browne as a social celebrity of the day, ‘fashionable and distinguished’ (Boldrewood 1969, 100). Boldrewood described the Heidelberg of R. H Browne as follows:

The flats and bends of the Yarra were composed of a deep, black, fertile loam, eminently suited for orchards, cereals, and root crops. Taking into consideration the quality of the soil, the proximity to the river, the variety of the landscape, no suburb would have equalled Heidelberg in attractiveness had it not been handicapped by distance from the metropolis (Boldrewood 1969, 162-163).

In 1839, Section 6 was subdivided, with Joseph Hawdon one of the main purchasers, establishing Banyule Estate on 657 acres, with Banyule Homestead built around 1847 (Dyke et al. 2014, 18). The name ‘Banyule’ came from a 264 acre property purchased by Arthur Hogue from R. H. Browne around 1839 (Garden 1972, 36). This land was leased to Archibald Thom, most likely until Hogue sold it in 1843. Banyule contained an excellent ring fence with about 50 acres under regular cultivation, and much money had been spent on clearing the land, stumping, fencing draining and erecting buildings. The residence consisted of a two storeyed veranda cottage containing seven rooms and was surrounded by a substantial garden and orchard (Garden 1972, 37).

During the 1850s most of the Banyule Estate was utilised for six tenant farms. Market gardens, orchards and crops were grown on the flats, and produce was sold to people working the goldfields. These types of land uses were common in the wider Heidelberg district during this period. In the late nineteenth century, Chinese-run market gardens were operating on the river flats at places such as Ivanhoe and Heidelberg, where vegetable crops were watered using pumps direct from the Yarra (Doyle and Neylon 2018, 15).

In 1853, Hawdon subdivided into smaller holdings, clearing much of the native vegetation in order to grow orchards and market gardens. Land near the Yarra River was utilised for industries such as dairying, and fruit orchards. In the late 1850s and early 1860s, most of the fruit trees which had grown along the bend of the Yarra River were decimated by drought and floods in 1861 and 1863 (Garden 1972, 107; Dyke et al. 2014, 21). After the flood damage to this area, changes were made to the land uses of the river flats with grazing of dairy cows, sheep, chickens and pigs predominating, and dairies being established, with dairying becoming the main local industry from the early 1860s into the twentieth century (Garden 1972, 119). Farming and market gardening of these areas continued until the 1920s, when severe flooding during 1924 and 1934 caused widespread damage (Dyke et al. 2014, 22). In the late 1800s, land around Banyule Flats and in the Heidelberg area was represented within the artwork of the Heidelberg school of painters (Garden 1972, 156). These paintings depicted rural scenes showing the early landscape of these areas.

In 1903, Banyule Estate was leased to Gordon Lyon who established a successful Jersey cow herd which operated until 1942. In 1942, the 275 acre property was purchased by Herbert Allen who developed a cattle stud farm, selling the land in the late 1950s to Stanhill Pty Ltd (Dyke et al. 2014, 22). During the late 1950s and
early 1960s, proposed residential subdivision of the former Banyule Estate brought about a concern to protect open space around the Yarra Valley and river areas. In 1967, the ownership of Banyule Flats was transferred to the local Council in order to provide public open space. During the 1970s, two recreational ovals were built at Banyule Flats along with a native garden (Dyke et al. 2014, 30). In addition, conservation groups became involved in the revegetation of the Warringal swamp that had been reconstructed by the Heidelberg Council in 1972. In the 1980s, Banyule Swamp was fenced off from cattle grazing and converted to a wildlife sanctuary. Until 1992, the land containing Banyule Flats (including the current study area) was utilised for grazing pasture (Dyke et al. 2014, 22). In 1991 the Yarra River walking and cycling trail that traverses Warringal Parklands and Banyule flats was opened (Dyke et al. 2014, 30). Throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s, conservation projects and improvements took place across Banyule Flats.

Sections of the current study area around Banyule were originally part of the former Banyule Estate, with the existing Banyule homestead located on the top of the escarpment overlooking the area of open parkland below as well as the Yarra River. Banyule Flats contains historic features relating to the former pastoral occupation of this area, including drainage channels, stone dam, fences and posts and a former stockyard site that has been relocated from the homestead when the area was subdivided in the early 1960s (Dyke et al. 2014, 45). The Banyule flats area also contains the site of the former cottage of Arthur Hogue. The site does not contain any physical remains, however there is a mound and a number of mature trees that were part of the gardens (Dyke et al. 2014, 45).

Other industries that were prevalent within the activity region included quarrying, brickworks and timbercutting. In 1909, the Warringal quarry commenced operation, and in the late 1900s a series of quarries were established north of Greensborough to assist with works on the Watts River (Maroondah) aqueduct (Doyle and Neylon 2018, 21). Several quarries were also situated in Heidelberg.

Soon after the founding of Melbourne many of the sections of the study area that focus on the Yarra River around areas such as Abbotsford and Kew had been reserved for a variety of purposes. For instance, the Yarra Bend Park area had been viewed as a potential site for a prison or asylum, a purpose for which parts of the area was later used by the Kew Lunatic Asylum which was operational from 1871 to 1988. In 1877 Studley Park was permanently reserved for recreational purposes, although in a bid to raise funds the park was leased for grazing. Grazing continued in the park until at least the 1930s (Clark and Heydon 1998, 98). Following the closure of the Yarra Bend Lunatic Asylum in 1926, both the north and south sides of the river came to be used primarily for recreational purposes (Clark and Heydon 1998, 101). In 1863 the Studley Park Boathouse (formerly Riversdale Boat House) was established and during the 19th century the area was a popular picnic ground (Parks Victoria 1998).

The earliest routes from Heidelberg to Melbourne largely follow the course of the Yarra River and would likely have been based on Aboriginal paths (Doyle and Neylon 2018, 18). Infrastructure such as roads and bridges was an early focus of European settlers in the Heidelberg district. Heidelberg Road was completed in 1842, and was the first major road in the district. By the mid 1840s a coach service operated from Melbourne and was run by Greenways who traversed areas from Melbourne to Heidelberg as well as to other nearby locations such as Templestowe (Doyle and Neylon 2018, 18). Road boards emerged and roadways gradually increased in quantity and quality. Other early roads included the Lower Plenty Road in 1856, and a road through the Rosanna Estate, which was agitated for in 1857 but not opened until 1861. In 1881 Studley Road was constructed to improve access between Ivanhoe and Heidelberg. In 1901 the railway between Collingwood and Heidelberg was opened, extending to Eltham by 1904 and Hurstbridge by 1912 (Doyle and Neylon 2018, 19). In the 1920s, the railway continued to Greensborough.

While areas such as Heidelberg were well established by the early 1900s, the country to the north was generally sparsely settled, comprising open paddocks. By the 1920s the pressure of suburban growth was being felt and a number of subdivisions took place in areas such as Rosanna, Montmorency and Greensborough, heralded by the arrival of the electric train (Doyle and Neylon 2018, 26). Although without connections to water, sewerage and gas, house blocks were advertised for sale and many people acquired an affordable block in areas that would soon be new suburbia. Postwar prosperity enabled dramatic suburban
expansion in the outlying suburbs of Melbourne, including sections of the study area. New land opened up in the then outer-ring suburbs of Melbourne, areas including Rosanna, Montmorency and Lower Plenty. These areas gradually transformed from orchards and paddocks into suburbia (Doyle and Neylon 2018, 27).

6.12 Conclusions

By comparing the results of the background research and the archaeological investigations previously undertaken within the geographic region, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding the nature of Aboriginal archaeological material within the study area:

- The study area is located within the traditional language area of the Woi wurrung language group and the Woi wurrung clan most closely associated with the study area were the Wurundjeri willam, who identified with the Yarra and Plenty rivers.

- The study area contains a number of water sources, including major watercourses such as the Yarra River, Plenty River and major creeks such as Banyule Creek. These water sources would have contained a variety of food and medicinal resources that would have been utilised by Aboriginal people.

- The study area and geographic region are situated predominantly within the Eastern Uplands geomorphological unit and include the following subunits:
  - Terraces, fans and floodplains associated with the major waterways
  - Low relief landscapes at low elevation
  - Moderately dissected ridge and valley landscapes.

- Inside the broader geographic region that comprises the study area, there are a total of 41 previously registered Aboriginal cultural heritage places. Most of these places consist of scarred trees (53.7%) followed by low-density artefact distributions (17.1%) and artefact scatters (21.9%). There is also a smaller quantity of historical references.

- At the time of the desktop study there were 16 registered Aboriginal places and two historical references within the study area. These places comprise 9 artefact scatters, one scarred tree, six LDADs, and two historical references.

- Aboriginal places have been recorded on a range on landforms including:
  - Hills, moderately inclined slopes or crest (10)
  - Floodplain, riverbank or terrace (7)
  - A number of places have no landform information recorded

- Where artefact numbers have been recorded (from Aboriginal stone artefact places) they are generally low.

- There is a wide range of raw materials recorded within Aboriginal artefact assemblages including silcrete, quartz and quartzite.

- Previously registered Aboriginal places have often been found on landforms associated with water courses including river terraces and elevated land in proximity to water.

- Previous archaeological investigations within the geographic region have indicated that despite the modifications that have taken place to many of the waterways in and around Melbourne, it is highly likely that permanent watercourse was visited and utilised by Aboriginal people.

- The results of previous archaeological investigations have suggested that landforms away from water courses have lower archaeological potential often due to land modification. Urban development and modification that has taken place in vicinity of watercourses has likely been responsible for the destruction and loss of Aboriginal cultural heritage places.
• Localised archaeological studies have indicated that land that has been highly modified by activities such as ground preparation for urban development are unlikely to contain Aboriginal cultural heritage material.

• Localised archaeological studies have also indicated that it is possible that Aboriginal cultural heritage may be present in areas that contain previous disturbance particularly in areas that contain sensitive landforms associated with water courses.

• The current study area has been impacted by previous and current activities such as works associated with major roadway construction, industrial, commercial and residential construction.

• The study area comprises landforms that may be sensitive for Aboriginal cultural heritage material including volcanic plains, river and creek margins, river terraces and elevated landforms associated with water courses. Buried deposits consisting of stone artefacts may survive within undisturbed landforms present within the study area, depending upon the effects of disturbance from historical and modern land uses.

As shown by the results of the desktop assessment, it is possible that Aboriginal cultural heritage could be present within the study area, especially in proximity to waterways, therefore a standard assessment was undertaken.
7. STANDARD ASSESSMENT

7.1 Introduction

This section outlines the aims, methods and results of a standard assessment (field survey) undertaken for the study area.

The standard assessment is still in preparation and is being conducted in consultation with the RAP and in accordance with proper archaeological practice as set out in regulation 63 of the *Aboriginal Heritage Regulations 2018*.

**Note: This section will be further expanded following the completion of standard assessment field inspections and discussions with the RAP.**

7.2 Previously registered Aboriginal cultural heritage places

At the time of the VAHR search (17 April 2019) a total of 16 registered Aboriginal cultural heritage places and two historical references were registered within the study area. These Aboriginal places comprise:

- 9 artefact scatters (50%)
- 1 Scarred tree (5.6%)
- 6 Low Density Artefact Distributions (33.3%)
- 2 Historical references (11.1%)

7.3 Method of assessment

7.3.1 Aims

The aims of a standard assessment are:

- To undertake a general assessment of the archaeological sensitivity and level of ground disturbance and thereby determine the archaeological potential of targeted places within the study area;
- To reinspect previously registered Aboriginal cultural places in the study that may overlap with proposed impacts from the activity;
- To inspect a sample of the study area through pedestrian survey and at these locations to examine areas with ground surface visibility for Aboriginal archaeological sites within the study area;
- To characterise parts of the study area through a vehicular survey; and
- To involve representatives of the RAP and provide an opportunity to discuss any broader cultural values of the study area and cultural significance of Aboriginal places in the study area.
- Where access was available and impacts proposed, to examine all mature indigenous trees and check for the presence of caves, rock shelters or cave entrances within the study area;
- To collect and review oral history relating to the study area if applicable.

7.3.2 Survey methodology

The field survey methodology responded to the need to examine the previously registered Aboriginal Places within the study area and confirm the results of the desktop assessment. Given the large size and urban nature
of the study area it was not possible or necessary to undertake a comprehensive pedestrian survey of the entire study area. The field investigations were thereby undertaken by both targeted and opportunistic pedestrian transects and by vehicular survey. Several sites of future proposed development were also targeted for investigation, in particular two potential bridge crossings traversing the Yarra River.

Where pedestrian survey occurred, spacing was sufficient to identify any areas of significant ground exposure. According to regulation 63 (3) of the *Aboriginal Heritage Regulations 2018*, which stipulates what a standard assessment must include, where pedestrian survey occurred, the field survey involved the examination for potential mature trees, caves, rock shelter or cave entrances within the study area. There were occasional mature eucalyptus trees growing within the accessed part of the study area and these were all inspected for cultural scarring, with one previously unregistered culturally scarred trees identified.

The study area was assessed in terms of the overall archaeological sensitivity and overall disturbance.

### 7.4 Obstacles

The ground surface visibility of the study area was typically limited due to sealed surfaces (such as roadways) and dense ground cover of introduced grass and weed species and shrub vegetation. Such ground cover obscured visibility across the majority of the study area.

Due to the size of the study area and property access constraints, it was not possible to conduct a pedestrian survey of the entire area. Further, the location of much of the study area within road reserve, limited pedestrian access.

### 7.5 Participants in the standard assessment

The participants in the standard assessment are listed in Table 19.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Date(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brigid Hill</td>
<td>ALA</td>
<td>Lead archaeologist</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>02-03/05/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justin Yost</td>
<td>ALA</td>
<td>Archaeologist</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>02/05/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henry Lion</td>
<td>ALA</td>
<td>Archaeologist</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>03/05/2019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurundjeri</td>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>02/05/2019</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurundjeri</td>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>02/05/2019</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wurundjeri</td>
<td>Representative</td>
<td>Standard assessment</td>
<td>03/05/2019</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.6 RAP information

As set out in regulation 63 (2) of the *Aboriginal Heritage Regulations 2018*, the standard assessment may include the collection and review of oral history relating to the study area.

To date, no oral information relating to the study area has been provided.

### 7.7 Results of the standard assessment

Where land was accessed, the field survey included the examination of potential mature trees for signs of scarring, with one previously unregistered culturally scarred tree identified. The field survey identified no caves, rock shelters or cave entrances within the activity area.
Due to the poor ground surface visibility, it was difficult to fully assess the full degree and precise depth of prior disturbance across much of the activity area. Despite the probable degree of prior disturbance within much of the activity area, Aboriginal cultural heritage material was identified during the current field survey and is known to be previously registered within the study area.

During this survey and a survey undertaken by Wurundjeri for the Cultural Values assessment, a total of 18 surface artefacts were identified in two areas with good ground surface visibility. These artefacts were recorded in situ.

Implications of these findings require that any potential future works in these areas would constitute for further place investigations.

**Yarra River, Bulleen (Kim Close)**

A section of floodplain east of the Yarra River in Bulleen was surveyed on 02 May 2019. The river corridor area was accessed via Kim Close Reserve, off Kim Close, Bulleen. This portion of river floodplain is bounded to the north and east by an industrial precinct.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Method</th>
<th>Pedestrian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sampling Strategy</td>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Participants</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visibility</td>
<td>Bare patches on walking tracks, and beside creek channel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Settings</td>
<td>Inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landform, Land systems, Elevations</td>
<td>Lowland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locality Landforms</td>
<td>Flats, alluvial terrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Yarra River is adjacent, and unnamed creek connected to north</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbance</td>
<td>Erosion impacts from flooding. Minor impacts from pedestrian use.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous + Current Land use</td>
<td>Recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetation Condition</td>
<td>Modified Native/Urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetation Type</td>
<td>Modified urban, remanent native. Introduced grasses and weeds; eucalypts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Vegetation Types</td>
<td>Exotic and remanent native</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aboriginal Place Identified</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments</td>
<td>The floodplain of the Yarra River is gently undulating. Ground covers and grasses grow up to 0.4 m height, and much of the ground surface is covered in vegetation and leaf litter.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1: Showing drainage channel with ground surface exposed banks

Figure 2: Showing poor ground surface visibility due to vegetation cover, facing south (Hill 2019)

Figure 3: West of Bulleen Drive-in, facing west over the Yarra River (Hill 2019)

Figure 4: Showing remnant mature native trees, on bank of Yarra River, facing northwest

Figure 5: Previous disturbance, footings of past creek crossing, facing west

Figure 6: Modified land at Bullen Drive-in, facing east
Bolin Bolin Billabong

The grounds of Bolin Bolin Billabong were surveyed on 2 May 2019.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Method</th>
<th>Pedestrian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sampling Strategy</td>
<td>Systematic and opportunistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Participants</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visibility</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure(s)</td>
<td>Bare patches on informal pedestrian and vehicular tracks</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Environment**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental Settings</th>
<th>Inland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Landform, Land systems, Elevations</td>
<td>Lowland,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locality Landforms</td>
<td>Flats, alluvial floodplain, terraces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Bolin Bolin Billabong and Yarra River is adjacent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbance</td>
<td>Minor impacts from pedestrian use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous + Current Land use</td>
<td>Aboriginal camp site, European deposition within billabong, Recreation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vegetation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vegetation Condition</th>
<th>Modified Native/Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vegetation Type</td>
<td>Modified urban, remanent native. Introduced grasses and weeds; eucalypts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Vegetation Types</td>
<td>Exotic and remanent native</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 7: Informal pedestrian walkway circumnavigates the billabong

Figure 8: Grass cover at Bolin Bolin

Heide and Banksia Park

The grounds of Heidi and Banksia Park were investigated and an opportunistic survey of areas nearest the Yarra River were undertaken on 2 May 2019.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Method</th>
<th>Pedestrian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sampling Strategy</td>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Participants</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visibility</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure(s)</td>
<td>Bare patches on informal walking tracks, near fence lines and around the bases of some trees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Environment**
Environmental Settings | Inland
--- | ---
Landform, Land systems, Elevations | Lowland
Locality Landforms | Flats, alluvial floodplain and terrace
Water | Yarra River is adjacent
Disturbance | Minor impacts from pedestrian use. Ground modification as a result of infrastructure, construction and public recreational facilities associated with Heide and Banksia Park.
Previous + Current Land use | Recreation and arts education
Vegetation
Vegetation Condition | Modified Native/Urban/Manicured gardens
Vegetation Type | Modified urban, remanent native. Introduced grasses and weeds; eucalypts
Major Vegetation Types | Exotic and remanent native

Figure 9: Ground surface visibility at Banksia Park
Figure 10: Example of introduced gravel pathway, Heidi

Birrarung Park
The grounds of Birrarung Park, Templestowe Lower, were subject to an opportunistic survey on 2 May 2019.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Method</th>
<th>Pedestrian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sampling Strategy</td>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Participants</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Visibility
| Exposure(s) | Bare patches on informal walking tracks, and in manicured lawn areas where grass has thinned or is non-existent. |

Environment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Environmental Settings</th>
<th>Inland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Landform, Land systems, Elevations</td>
<td>Lowland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locality Landforms</td>
<td>Flats, alluvial floodplain and terrace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Yarra River is adjacent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbance</td>
<td>Minor-moderate impacts from pedestrian and recreational use. Ground modification as a result of infrastructure and construction of and public recreational facilities associated with Birrrarung Park. Rabbit and insect burrowing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous + Current Land use</td>
<td>Recreation, and adjacent commercial nursery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Vegetation
| Vegetation Condition | Modified Native/Urban/Manicured gardens |
Vegetation Type | Modified urban, remanent native. Introduced grasses and weeds; eucalypts
---|---
Major Vegetation Types | Exotic and remanent native

Heidelberg Park

The grounds of Heidelberg Park were subject to a targeted survey on 3 May 2019.

**Table 22: Heidelberg Park**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Method</th>
<th>Pedestrian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sampling Strategy</td>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Participants</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visibility</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exposure(s)</td>
<td>Minimal bare patches beside sealed walking tracks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Settings</td>
<td>Inland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landform, Land systems, Elevations</td>
<td>Lowland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locality Landforms</td>
<td>Escarpment above salt creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Salt Creek is adjacent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disturbance</td>
<td>Minor-moderate impacts from pedestrian and recreational use. Ground modification as a result of infrastructure associated with pedestrian path and benches.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Previous + Current Land use | Recreation
---|---
**Vegetation**
Vegetation Condition | Modified urban/manicured gardens
Vegetation Type | Modified urban. Introduced grasses and weeds; eucalypts
Major Vegetation Types | Exotic and native

**Table 23: Banyule Flats**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Method</th>
<th>Pedestrian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sampling Strategy</td>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. of Participants</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Visibility**
Exposure(s) | Minimal bare patches beside sealed walking tracks

**Environment**
Environmental Settings | Inland
Landform, Land systems, Elevations | Lowland
Locality Landforms | Alluvial floodplain, terraces, escarpment
Water | Yarra River and Plenty River
Disturbance | Minor-moderate impacts from pedestrian, cycling and recreational use. Ground modification as a result of infrastructure associated with drainage, sports oval facilities, pedestrian and cycle paths and signage. Historical homesteads.

**Previous + Current Land use** | Recreation
**Vegetation**
Vegetation Condition | Modified urban, native remanent
Vegetation Type | Modified urban. Introduced grasses and weeds; eucalypts
Major Vegetation Types | Exotic and native remanent

Banyule Flats Reserve was subject to an opportunistic and targeted survey on 3 May 2019.

Figure 15: Ground surface visibility adjacent pedestrian path, Heidelberg Park
Figure 16: Disturbance and ground surface visibility, Heidelberg Park
Figure 17: Ground surface exposure at Banyule Flats
Figure 18: Ground surface visibility at Banyule Flats
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VPRS 4410 Unit 3 Item 67, Thomas to GAR 7/11/1840: periodical report for March to Aug 1840
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VPRS 11 Unit 7 Item 375 Bolden to Robinson 10/3/1841
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