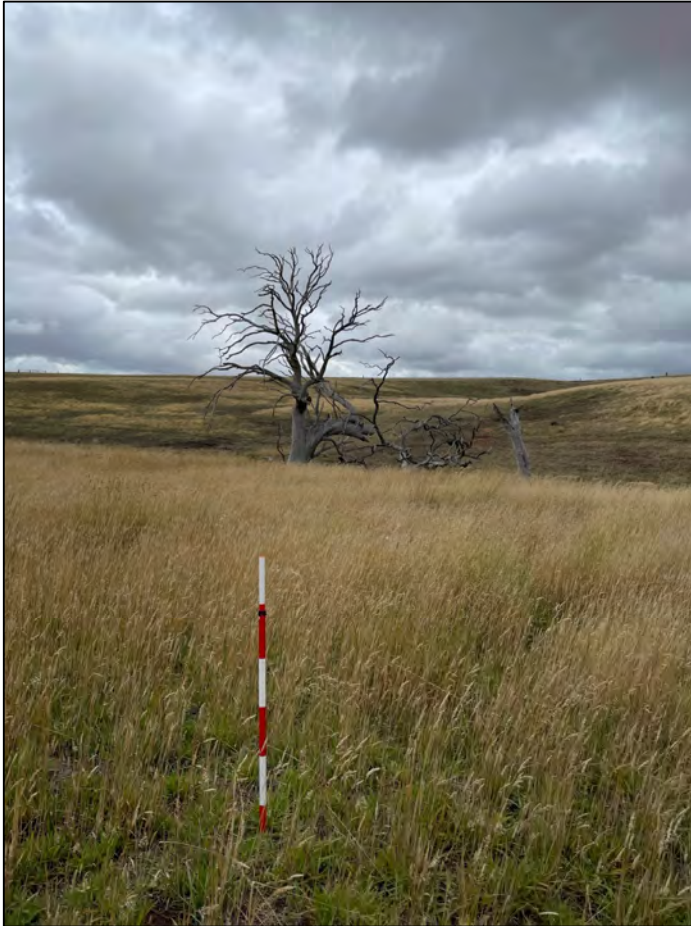


Bannockburn South East PSP

Cultural Values Assessment



Authors: Dr Peter Mathews, Joseph Brooke, David Mathews and Anna Light

Date of completion: 10 December 2021

Report prepared for: Victorian Planning Authority (VPA).





10 December 2021

Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006 Section 148(a)

Cultural Values Assessment – Notice of Approval

The Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation acting as the Registered Aboriginal Party hereby approves the Cultural Values Assessment referred to below:

Bannockburn South East PSP: Cultural Values Assessment

Cultural Values Assessment number: 3/2021

Sponsor: Victorian Planning Authority

Heritage Advisors: David Mathews and Joseph Brooke

Authors: Emeritus Professor Peter Mathews, Joseph Brooke, David Mathews and Anna Light in conjunction

with the Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation and Wadawurrung Traditional Owners

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8	9 December 2021	VPA and UHA confirmation of the content	David Mathews	Minor edits to the agent responsible column in the recommendations table
9	10 December 2021	Final WTOAC review	David Jones	Final minor edits and letter

Wadawurrung Statement of Significance for the Study Area

Under the watchful eyes of the Barrabools, this is Country of glistening waters and grassy plains, and a special place for Wadawurrung People and their animals, plants, birds, waters and skies; a place to care for and nurture.

Maiwan mirr mirr barra-bul, dja belleren ngubitj-bul parrarr baa Wadawurrung ngoon di kinkinbil
bango di tonak baa bangotanok marlo, booyankal, tolam ngubitj baa lakoora-bul, wul-a baa
karringa-a

Acknowledgement of Traditional Owners

We acknowledge First Nations People's as the Traditional Custodians of this Country and their continued connection to the lands, waters, seas, and their culture. We also acknowledge the Traditional Owners of the lands covered in this report, the Wadawurrung and the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan, whose estates they are, and we pay our respects to all their Elders, past, present, and future, and to all First Nations Peoples.

Acknowledgements

The authors wish to thank the Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation (WTOAC), Traditional Owners (TO) and staff, in particular those who were involved in the project: Uncle Norm Eccles (TO), BJ O'Toole (TO), Tyson Poulter (TO), David Jones (WTOAC Strategic Planning & Urban Design). The authors also wish to thank the following staff from Victorian Planning Authority (Emily Killin, Crystal Tang, Lachlan Buck), Golden Plains Council (Laura Murphy, Geoff Alexander) and Land Design Partnership (Greg Hocking).

In this report, Wadawurrung Language is used with the copyright and Intellectual Property Rights consent of the WTOAC and remains the living cultural heritage of the Wadawurrung People.

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Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people should be aware that this report contains names and words of deceased persons.

In addition, some quotations and references contain terms or views that should not have been acceptable in the times when they were written, and certainly are not appropriate now.

Cover photo: The study area, facing west_DMathews_4Jan2021

Executive Summary

This is a Cultural Values Assessment prepared for Victorian Planning Authority (VPA) to inform planning for the overall Bannockburn Growth Plan.

The Study Area

This Cultural Values Assessment (CVA), informed by Wadawurrung Peoples values, has been prepared for the Victorian Planning Authority (VPA) to inform and support planning for the Bannockburn Growth Plan (BGP) and in particular the Bannockburn South East PSP (BSE).

The area of the Bannockburn Growth Plan (BGP) and the Bannockburn South East PSP (BSE) that form the Study Area for this assessment is shown in Figure 2-1. The proposed future use will ultimately involve the subdivision and development of the Study Area, approximately 72 km southwest of the Melbourne CBD, Victoria (see Figure 2-1).

The primary purpose of this assessment is to document the known and potential Wadawurrung living cultural heritage values of the Study Area to assist in planning work and development designs within the Study Area. Post-contact/non-Indigenous heritage is not considered within this report.

The study area is located within the Golden Plains Shire Council local government area. The VPA has provided the following description of the overall Bannockburn Growth Plan

Bannockburn is one of the fastest growing towns in regional Victoria. The population is expected to reach more than 13,000 people by 2036, but there's a shortage of land available to develop for new houses. The growth plan identifies the most appropriate land for houses and ensures the infrastructure is provided to support these new homes. Bannockburn is the largest town in Golden Plains Shire. The Victorian Government and Council see it as an ideal place to support Golden Plains' growing population, thanks to its existing infrastructure and amenity. In addition to identifying land that is suitable for new homes, the Bannockburn Growth Plan identifies land for jobs and ensures that land with environmental values is protected. This will ensure that Bannockburn develops in a sustainable way. The proposed changes to the area will be implemented through a draft amendment to the Golden Plains Planning Scheme to include the Growth Plan as a Background Document and make changes to the Planning Policy Framework (*Bannockburn Growth Plan Public Consultation Report – Final December 2020* (VPA 2020: 4)).

Desktop Assessment

At the time of the European invasion, the current Study Area was occupied by and remains the Country of the Wadawurrung People (also known as Watha wurrung, Wathaurung, or Wathaurong in various references). The northern boundary of Wadawurrung Country at the time of European contact extended from Mount Misery and Yarram Yarram/Beaufort in the northwest to the Werribi Yaluk/Werribee River in the northeast. The western boundaries were Fiery Creek and Mt Emu Creek. The southernmost boundary was at Mangowak/Airey's Inlet, and in the east was Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula (Barwick 1984: 118; Clark 1990: 310-312). The boundaries appear largely to be determined by features of the landscape but were probably not fixed immutably over time: the boundaries described here are the ones that appear to have been in place at the time of contact with Europeans in the early 19th century, as presently recognized under the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006*.

Wadawurrung Country was part of a broad area of central and northern Victoria occupied by the Kulin Nation Peoples. The Kulin Nation were divided into different but linguistically-related 'language

groups'. Precisely how the groups should be categorized in linguistic terms is still a matter of some dispute. Some scholars have proposed as many as eight 'Western Kulin' languages and four 'Eastern Kulin' languages, along with the Wadawurrung Language, which has been considered a less closely related Kulin language; others have proposed as few as three Kulin languages: Western Kulin (with six to ten dialects), Eastern Kulin (with three dialects), and Wadawurrung (or "Wathawurrung"; Blake 2011). Because of the debated status of various of the Kulin languages, they have often been labelled with the term 'language groups'. According to the linguist Barry Blake, Wadawurrung shared 51% of its 'common' vocabulary with Eastern Kulin, and between 34% and 52% with Western Kulin dialects (Blake 2011: 9). The linguistic relationships between Wadawurrung and other Victorian language groups were more distant still (Blake and Reid 1998).

The current Study Area, at Bannockburn, is about 23 km northwest of Djilang/Geelong, between the Parwan/Barwon and Murrabul/Moorabool Rivers. It lies 20 km or more from the known locations of individual Wadawurrung clans. Several early reports indicate that clan boundaries often coincided with natural features (rivers, mountain ranges, etc.). There are several candidates for the clan whose estate included the present-day Bannockburn area.

The Watha wurrung bulluc clan is known to have been on the south side of Parwan/Barwon River, but it is not clear if their estate included country north of the river (Clark 1990: 330-334). The extent of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan's estate is not well understood (Clark 1990: 326), but they are generally described as being between Djilang/Geelong and Wurdi Youang/You Yangs. As such, the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk are the clan who appear to be closest to the Bannockburn area. There is some circumstantial evidence that indicates that the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan's country extended as far south as the Barwon River. William Buckley recounted a story in which a messenger from "another tribe" [i.e., clan] invited them to meet with them for buniya/eel-catching on Parwan/Barwon River near Buckley's Falls. This implies that Parwan/Barwon River might have been the boundary between the two clan's estates. It is highly likely that the other clan was the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk, who were the northern neighbours of the Watha wurrung bulluc.

A third clan, the Borogundidj, is very little documented (Clark 1990: 317), and is known only to have been located somewhere on the Leigh River. This river, called the Yarrowee by the Wadawurrung, has its headwaters about 14 km west of Meredith (which is about 50 km north-northwest of Bannockburn), and flows into Parwan/Barwon River just south of Inverleigh, about 10 km southwest of Bannockburn. In other words, depending on just where the Borogundidj were located on the Leigh River, their one historical location could have been anywhere from 10 to 50 km from the current Study Area. They cannot be ruled out as the clan whose estate included the Bannockburn area.

Derek Beaurepaire (1995), who wrote *The stepping stone: A history of the Shire of Bannockburn*, considered the current Study Area to be within the estate of the Tolloora clan (called here the Tolloora bulluk clan) of the Wadawurrung. Beaurepaire further argued that the Shire of Bannockburn boundaries "very closely align" with the estates of the Kureet clan (in the north of the shire) and the Tolloora clan in the south (Beaurepaire 1995: 5). The reported clan locations of the Tolloora bulluk clan as published by Clark (1990: 328) were quite widespread (Clark calls the clan the Toolloora balug or Tollerer bulluk), from Warrenheip (northeast of Ballarat) in the north, to south of Winchelsea, and east as far as Bacchus Marsh. George Augustus Robinson, the Chief Protector of Aborigines from 1839-1849, locates the Tolloora bulluk clan in a triangle formed by Warrenheip in the north, just east of Meredith in the south, and Bacchus Marsh in the east. Massola placed their "headquarters" at Durdidwarrah, about 10 km east-northeast of Meredith (Massola 1969: 71-72; he called the clan the Baronighurk). The *Coast to Country: Winchelsea, A History of the Shire* (Gregory et al., 1985) places the Tolloora clan further south, along the Leigh and Parwan/Barwon Rivers and the Warrambine

Creek, south and west of Winchelsea; their suggested locations are about 15 km and more to the south based upon other sources.

Of the various candidates, the most likely clan whose estate is the current Study Area is, in our opinion, the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan. less so.

For most of the year, the individual bands making up the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan, and other clans would have moved around their estate exploiting the various local resources (plant and animal) as they became available for harvesting. This would have involved resources from the gentle plains south of Wurdi Youang/You Yangs, the incised river valleys that flow through their Country, and the shore of Coriayo/Corio Bay north of Djilang/Geelong. At various times of the year, when resources were more widely abundant, larger gatherings – often involving other clans and even other language groups – would be possible. At these times initiations, marriage contracts, trade, and other ceremonies, as well as corroborees, would be conducted.

Archaeological sensitivity is a rating given as a predictor of the potential for Aboriginal archaeological material to occur within different parts of the landscape.

There are currently 59 Aboriginal places and no historical references or preliminary reports registered on the (Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (VAHR) within the geographic region. These comprise predominantly artefact scatters (n=46) with low-density artefact distributions (LDADs) (n=7), object collections (n=2) and scarred trees (n=4) also present. In regards to Wadawurrung place locations in relation to the Study Area, one place (VAHR 7721-0109, a scarred tree) is located within the 500m geographic region buffer, and all of the remaining Wadawurrung places are located within the BGP Study Area, with none registered within the BSE Study Area. Mapping of Wadawurrung places within the geographic region indicates sensitivity of the Bruce's Creek margins, with occasional stone artefact occurrences and scarred trees occurring greater than 200m from the creek. It is important to note that the recorded frequency of Wadawurrung places in the geographic region very much reflects investigation.

Based on the results of the desktop assessment and the distribution of Wadawurrung places within the geographic region, the most likely types of Wadawurrung places to be found across the Study Area are:

- Those comprising flaked stone artefacts, either as single isolated artefacts or scatters of stone artefacts ranging from extensive and higher density to smaller and/or diffuse scatters.
 - Stone artefacts will predominantly be fashioned from silcrete, quartzite and quartz.
- Scarred trees would once have been likely been prolific within the Study Area, however, due to large-scale vegetation clearance, will now be restricted to areas of remnant mature native trees.
- Suitable stone sources may occur within the Study Area, most likely in sedimentary and metamorphic exposures along Bruce's Creek.
- It is predicted that Aboriginal places may occur according on the following landforms with associated archaeological sensitivities:
 - Floodplain and terraces of Bruce's Creek– Very High archaeological sensitivity, especially for artefact scatters, scarred trees, earth features, Aboriginal Ancestral Remains, and to a lesser extent shell middens.
 - Land adjacent to the edge of the escarpment of Bruce's Creek – High archaeological sensitivity, especially artefact scatters.
 - Land adjacent to waterbodies and/or swamps – Moderate-High archaeological sensitivity, especially for artefact scatters, scarred trees, earth features and stone arrangements, with elevated land around waterbodies and/or swamps being of High archaeological sensitivity.

- Stony rises/knolls – Moderate archaeological sensitivity, higher near escarpment edge and/or near water, especially for artefact scatters and stone arrangements.
- Escarpment – Low-Moderate archaeological sensitivity, especially for Aboriginal Ancestral Remains and Quarries.
- Swampy / marshy areas – Low-Moderate archaeological sensitivity, particularly where seasonally dry, and especially for scarred trees and earth features.
- Undulating Volcanic Plain – Low archaeological sensitivity, most likely Aboriginal place types being low-density scatters or isolated occurrences of stone artefacts.
- Areas of significant ground disturbance – nil to negligible archaeological sensitivity.

Wadawurrung Country Context

To quote from the *Paleert Tjaara Dja: Let's make Country good together 2020-2030 – Wadawurrung Country Plan* (2020: 12-13):

Wadawurrung Country encompasses an area from the Great Dividing Range of Ballarat, the coast from the Werribee River to Mangowak (Airey's Inlet), including Djilang (Geelong), Ballarat (Ballarat), Torquay, Jan Jook, the Bellarine Peninsula and Surf Coast. This plan is for our Country as currently defined by our Registered Aboriginal Party (RAP) map and responsibilities and covers over 10,000 square kilometres or 1 million hectares. This area may change as Treaty and other land and water negotiations progress.

There are the imprints of our ancestors across this interconnected cultural landscape. The Mt. Rothwell and Little River stone arrangement is significant as a place of ceremony linked to our seasonal calendar. Nearby are the remains of our living spaces: our homes in the basalt stone hut, ovens and hearths. Across our Country are stone tool making sites, scar trees and ceremony places. Our people modified the basalt rocks to construct channel, weirs and dams as a system of water management to trap, store and harvest fish and eels.

A mass of stone tools are found throughout our Country today which form part of our cultural heritage.

Many of the place names are derived from Wadawurrung language. Geelong comes from Djilang, which means tongue of land or peninsula. Moorobull from Murrabul meaning mussel, Connewarre from Kunuwarra meaning black swan and You Yangs from Wurdi Youang meaning big hill.

Our has diverse landscapes from the hill ranges to grassland plains, down to coastal forests, heathlands and ocean. Much of the plains have already been converted into agricultural land and urban areas but as the population expands there is more pressure placed on water sources, more land is converted and more pests are introduced. Having many different land managers makes coordination of Country management difficult.

Figure 0.1 depicts Wadawurrung Country as presently defined under the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006*.

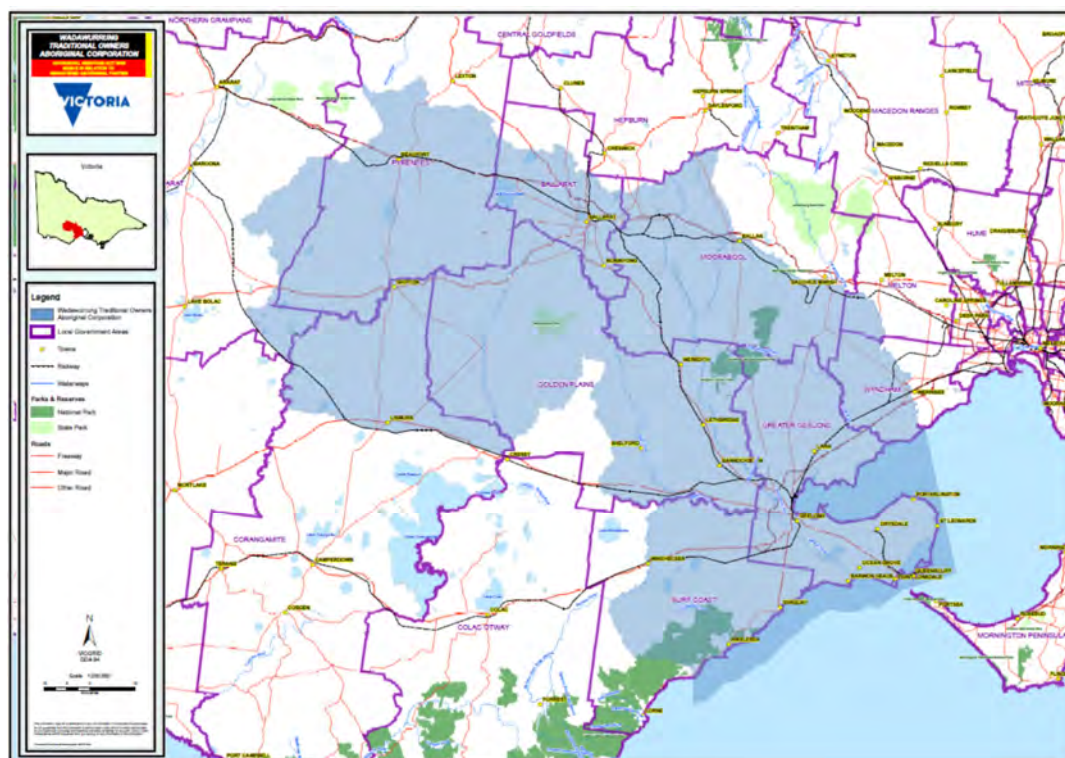


Figure 0.1 Wadawurrung Country as presently Recognised under the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006*.

Cultural Values Assessment – Site Visit

A cultural values site visit was undertaken on 10th March 2021 with representatives from Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation (WTOAC), Victorian Planning Authority (VPA) and Unearthed Heritage Australia Pty Ltd (UHA). Representative locations were visited with any values, observations and concerns being recorded.

Cultural Values Assessment – Workshop

A workshop was held on 10th March 2021 with representatives from WTOAC, VPA and UHA to discuss the results of the cultural values site visit and what recommendations could be formed to represent and protect these values within future planning.

Recommendations

- 9.A The WTOAC supports and recognises the merits in enabling the new southern extension to the Bannockburn urban footprint to be enabled and constructed on Country as a venue for future residents, subject to the above recommendations being addressed, and invitations being respected.
- 9.B The WTOAC wishes that the Bannockburn South East PSP adopt an alternate character and identity to the existing Bannockburn suburban footprint, aspirationally once that is more ecological responsiveness and respectful to the subject land, this grassy plains landscape, that avails Bruce's Creek Linear Park as a life-blood corridor of the Growth Area, and due regard is given to afford visual connections to the southern Barrabool Hills and Mount Gnarwarre
- 9.C The WTOAC invites co-design opportunities with all proponents and project designers to enable the above Recommendations, and any opportunities for Wadawurrung to be afforded employment experience associated with all project's within this Corridor.

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1 Introduction

1.1 The project and the Study Area

This Cultural Values Assessment (CVA) has been prepared for the Victorian Planning Authority (VPA) to inform and support planning for the Bannockburn Growth Plan (BGP) and in particular the Bannockburn South East PSP (BSE).

The area of the Bannockburn Growth Plan (BGP) and the Bannockburn South East PSP (BSE) that form the Study Area for this assessment is shown in Figure 2-1. The proposed future use will ultimately involve the subdivision and development of the Study Area, approximately 72 km southwest of the Melbourne CBD, Victoria (see Figure 2-1).

The primary purpose of this CVA is to document Wadawurrung living cultural heritage values associated with the Study Area to assist in preparing recommendations and advice to inform the overall planning work and development designs within the Study Area. Post-contact/non-Indigenous heritage is not considered within this report.

The Study Area is located within the Golden Plains Shire Council local government area. The VPA has provided the following description of the Bannockburn Growth Plan

Bannockburn is one of the fastest growing towns in regional Victoria. The population is expected to reach more than 13,000 people by 2036, but there's a shortage of land available to develop for new houses. The growth plan identifies the most appropriate land for houses and ensures the infrastructure is provided to support these new homes. Bannockburn is the largest town in Golden Plains Shire. The Victorian Government and Council see it as an ideal place to support Golden Plains' growing population, thanks to its existing infrastructure and amenity. In addition to identifying land that is suitable for new homes, the Bannockburn Growth Plan identifies land for jobs and ensures that land with environmental values is protected. This will ensure that Bannockburn develops in a sustainable way. The proposed changes to the area will be implemented through a draft amendment to the Golden Plains Planning Scheme to include the Growth Plan as a Background Document and make changes to the Planning Policy Framework (*Bannockburn Growth Plan Public Consultation Report – Final December 2020* (VPA 2020: 4)).

1.2 Proponent

The proponent of this Cultural Values Assessment is the Victorian Planning Authority (VPA)

1.3 Registered Aboriginal Party (RAP)

The *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006* establishes a system of Registered Aboriginal Parties (RAPs) that are given the responsibility of most Aboriginal heritage matters within their current registered area. Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation (WTOAC) is the RAP for the Study Area. Pursuant to the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006* (Victoria), WTOAC were appointed a RAP in 2007.

1.4 Authors and Heritage Advisors

This report was prepared by Unearthed Heritage Australia Pty Ltd. David Mathews, Anna Light, Dr Peter Mathews and Joseph Brooke, are the authors of this report.

David Mathews¹ has over 15 years of experience in heritage management and archaeology and is qualified as both a Heritage Advisor and an archaeologist and is on the AV list of approved Victorian Heritage Advisors. David's previous archaeological experience also includes archaeological investigations of a similar scope and scale as this CVA.

Anna Light is a Heritage Advisor in accordance with Heritage Advisor qualification requirements under Section 189 of the *Aboriginal Heritage Act* 2006. Anna gained a Bachelor of Arts (Archaeology, Honours, first class) from La Trobe University in 2001 and has provided heritage advice and services for 18 years.

Peter Mathews² is an Emeritus Professor of archaeology at LaTrobe University and a MacArthur Fellow with extensive experience in archaeology, linguistics and ethnohistory.

Joseph Brooke³ has over 14 years of experience in cultural heritage management and archaeology and is qualified as a Heritage Advisor and an archaeologist, and is on the Aboriginal Victoria (AV) list of approved Victorian Heritage Advisors. Joseph is a full member of the Australian Association of Consulting Archaeologists Inc. Joseph's previous archaeological experience includes archaeological investigation of a similar scope and scale as this assessment.

This report focusses on Wadawurrung living cultural values and has been prepared with consideration for requirements of the Victorian *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006*.

2 Study Area

2.1 Extent of the Study Area

The Study Area is located within the Golden Plains Shire local government area. Figure 2-1 to Figure 2- define the extent of the Study Area. The geographic region is discussed in Section 3 and defined in Figure 3-1.

¹ Bachelor of Archaeology (Honours – first class) 2005, University of Calgary, Canada.

² Bachelor of Arts, Honours - first class (1975), University of Calgary, Canada. MPhil (1979), Yale. PhD (1988), Yale

³ Bachelor of Archaeology (Honours – first class) 2006, La Trobe University.

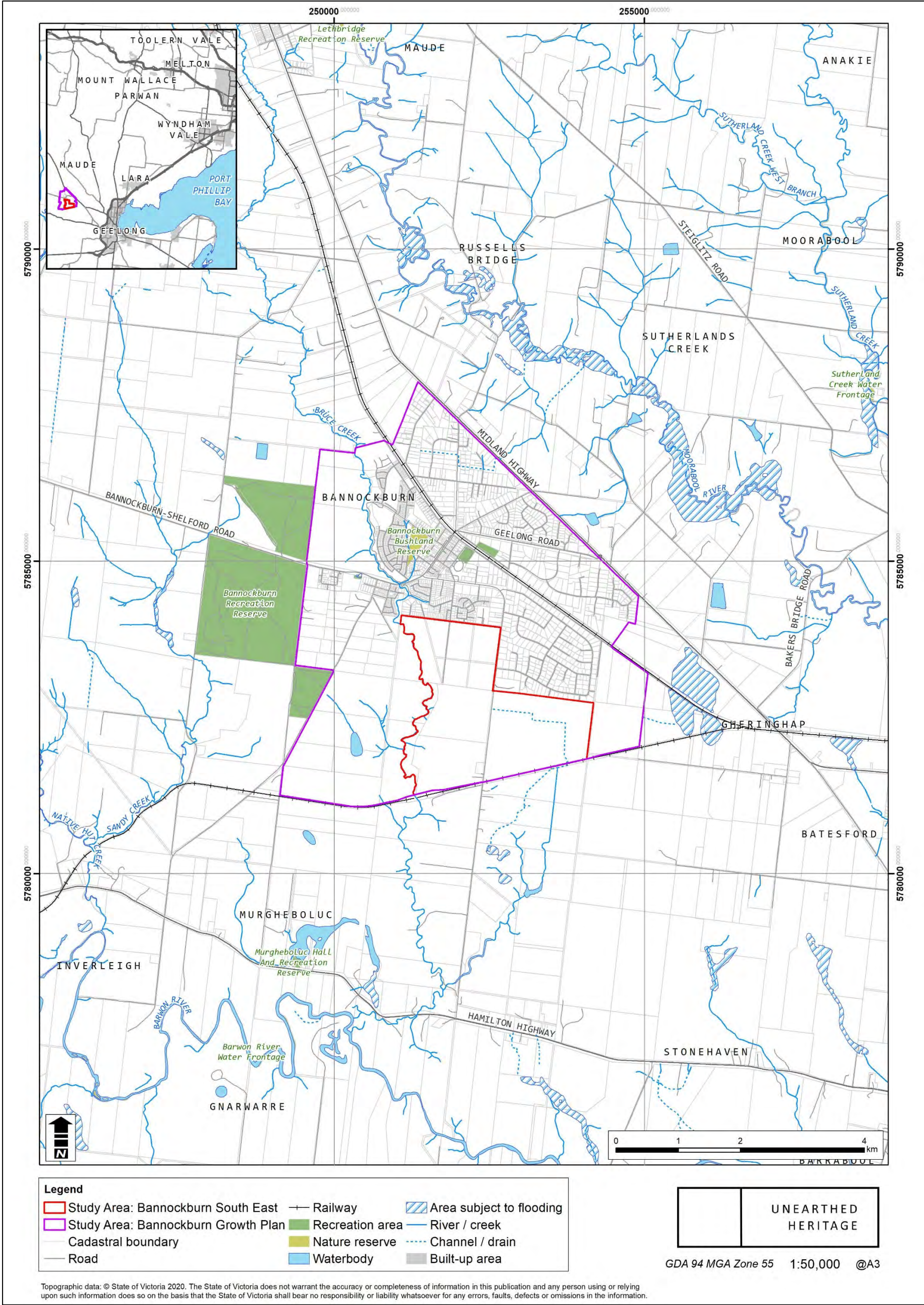


Figure 2-1 Location of the study area



Figure 2-2 Photomap of the study area, showing existing conditions

3 Desktop Assessment

This section provides background information on the Study Area and the surrounding region. This information is presented to provide an understanding of the physical, historical, cultural and archaeological setting in which the Study Area is located. This information is later used in developing an Aboriginal place prediction model for the Study Area. Anna Light, Peter Mathews and David Mathews undertook the background research for the desktop assessment. There were no obstacles encountered to undertaking the desktop assessment.

3.1 Aims of the Assessment

The aims of the desktop assessment were:

- determine the level of previous Wadawurrung living cultural heritage investigation of the Study Area and the surrounding region;
- To determine the presence of registered Aboriginal heritage places within the Study Area and the surrounding region;
- To determine the environmental context of the Study Area; and
- Review the historical and cultural setting of the Study Area and surrounding region.

The methods used to undertake the desktop assessment included:

- Reviewing appropriate sources, including Victorian government on-line information, and summarising relevant environmental background;
- Searching the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (VAHR) and other research sources (for example, consultancy reports and academic research) for information relating to the Study Area and the geographic region
 - A VAHR search was undertaken
- Reviewing this information to identify and characterise Wadawurrung site types likely to be present within the Study Area and to obtain relevant information to inform the cultural values assessment.

3.2 Environmental Context

This section provides an overview of the environmental context of the Study Area, with particular focus on factors that may have influenced past human behaviour and hence archaeological place formation processes and the distribution of Wadawurrung living cultural heritage places. The land-use history of the Study Area is also reviewed as it assists in identifying any site formation processes that may have impacted the occurrence and/or location of Wadawurrung cultural material.

It is necessary to place geographical parameters on this desktop assessment to provide a meaningful context broad enough to capture regional environmental and Aboriginal place distribution patterns, while remaining targeted so that these patterns are not missed. This will be called the **geographic region** in this report, to reflect the terminology used in CHMPs, and so that this desktop assessment can be used to inform a future CHMP or CHMPs within the PSP.

The geographic region used for this desktop assessment covers an area of 500m radius (Figure 3-1). The geographic region is located within the Victorian Volcanic Plain Bioregion. This geographic region provides a suitable context within which to view information relevant Study Area (BSEP and BGP) regarding flora and fauna, geology, soils, geomorphology and the past occupation by Wadawurrung people that may have led to the creation of Wadawurrung places. It also takes into consideration the post-contact land-use history and any impacts to the land from this time.

3.2.1 Landforms

Known landforms within the Study Area can be divided into several useful analytical categories:

- Flat to gently undulating volcanic plain;
- Bruce's Creek and tributaries;
- Bruce's Creek floodplain;
- Low rises on plain;
- Stony rises on plain;
- Wetland areas.

3.2.2 Geomorphology, Soils and Geology

The Study Area is located on the Victorian Volcanic Plain (VVP) bioregion of southwestern Victoria and within the subunit of the Western Plains Geomorphological Land Unit (GLU). The VVP is a large flat to undulating volcanic (basaltic) plain comprising landforms such as stony rises, lava flows, volcanic cones, eruption points and shallow lakes (salt and fresh water) (DELWP 2020). Three main subunits of the Western Plains Geomorphological Land Unit relevant to the geographic region are: 'Plains with poorly developed drainage and shallow regolith' (6.1.3) comprising 45.62% of the geographic region; 'Plains and plains with low rises' (6.2.4) comprising 36.47% of the geographic region, and; 'Plains with well developed drainage and deep regolith' (6.1.4) comprising 17.05% of the geographic region (

Table 3-1, Figure 3-1).

While the BGG Study Area comprises similar geomorphological units to the broad view of the geographic region (Table 3-3), the BSE Study Area is almost entirely located on 6.1.3 (Table 3-2). These are described in more detail below.

- GLU 6.1.3: This unit comprises lavas associated with the older Newer Volcanics and are poor draining with shallow drainage lines following the boundaries of lava flows and often ending in wetlands (VRO 2020). These volcanic plains formed during the Late Pliocene and the Pleistocene (c. 2-1 million BP). Soils are sodic and non-sodic texture Sodosols with some gradational soils and occasional rises due to clay movement (swelling and shrinking with weather) (VRO 2020).
- GLU 6.2.4: This unit comprises 'windows' of sand plains throughout the basalt plains and are associated with sodic and non-sodic mottled texture contrast soils and pale or grey sandy soils with 'coffee rock' or clay (VRO 2020).
- GLU 6.1.4: This unit comprises well-drained Pliocene volcanic plains (5-2mya) and comprise well established drainage systems and thick soil development. Regolith profiles include metres of kaolinitic clay with shallow ironstone development, and black and brown sodic mottled texture contrast soils (VRO 2020).

Two main geological units make up the geographic region (Table 3-4, Figure 3-2): the basalt flows of the 'Newer Volcanics Group' (Neo) in the east (59.81% of the geographic region), and; 'Black Rock Sandstone' (Nbb) in the west (34.22% of the geographic region). The course of Bruce's Creek and the peripheral margins of the Moorabool River floodplain are associated with 'Gellibrand Marl' (Ntg) and small areas of Pleistocene to Holocene 'Alluvium' (Qa1) occur in patches along the course of the creek.

The BSE Study Area is almost entirely located on the 'Newer Volcanics Group' with only minor areas of variation associated with the presence of 'Gellibrand Marl', 'Back Rock Sandstone' and 'Alluvium' along the east bank of Bruce's Creek (Table 3-5).

When considering the BGP Study Area, the majority of land east of Bruce's Creek (almost all of it) is 'Newer Volcanics Group' with 'Blackrock Sandstone' to the west of the creek.

Table 3-1: Geomorphological units within the geographic region

Geomorphological Units (Tier 3)	Description	Area (ha)	Area (%)
6.1.3	Western Plains (WP): Volcanic Plains: Plains with poorly developed drainage and shallow regolith (Wingeel)	1744.09	45.62%
6.1.4	Western Plains (WP): Volcanic Plains: Plains with well developed drainage and deep regolith (Cressy)	651.70	17.05%
6.1.5	Western Plains (WP): Volcanic Plains: Terraces, floodplains and lakes, swamps and lunettes and their deposits (Lough Calvert, Lower Woody Yallock, Chain of Ponds, Condah Swamp, Lake Murdeduke & Lunette)	9.54	0.25%
6.2.4	Western Plains (WP): Sedimentary Plains: Plains and plains with low rises (Duck Hole Plain, Irrewillipe, Hanson Plain)	1394.03	36.47%
6.2.5	Western Plains (WP): Sedimentary Plains: Terraces and floodplains, and coastal plains (Barwon River, Moolap sunklands, Cape Otway)	23.39	0.61%
Grand Total		3822.75	100%

Table 3-2: Geomorphological units within BSE Study Area

Geomorphological Units (Tier 3)	Description	Area (ha)	Area (%)
6.1.3	Western Plains (WP): Volcanic Plains: Plains with poorly developed drainage and shallow regolith (Wingeel)	519.66	99.36%
6.2.4	Western Plains (WP): Sedimentary Plains: Plains and plains with low rises (Duck Hole Plain, Irrewillipe, Hanson Plain)	3.37	0.64%
Grand Total		523.03	100%

Table 3-3: Geomorphological units within BGP Study Area

Geomorphological Units (Tier 3)	Description	Area (ha)	Area (%)
6.1.3	Western Plains (WP): Volcanic Plains: Plains with poorly developed drainage and shallow regolith (Wingeel)	1349.94	51.00%
6.1.4	Western Plains (WP): Volcanic Plains: Plains with well developed drainage and deep regolith (Cressy)	393.97	14.88%
6.2.4	Western Plains (WP): Sedimentary Plains: Plains and plains with low rises (Duck Hole Plain, Irrewillipe, Hanson Plain)	903.27	34.12%
Grand Total		2647.18	100%

Table 3-4: Geological units within the geographic region

Geological Unit	Description	Area (ha)	Area (%)
Black Rock Sandstone (Nbb): generic	Sand, sandstone, conglomerate, minor sandy limestone, local ironstone: pale to dark brown, reddish brown; generally very well sorted, variably cemented; horizontally laminated to low-angle cross-laminated; glauconitic; contains shelly fossils and burrows	1308.11	34.22%
Newer Volcanic Group - basalt flows (Neo): generic	Olivine tholeiite, quartz tholeiite, basanite, basaltic icelandite, hawaiiite, mugearite, minor scoria and ash, fluvial sediments: tholeiitic to alkaline; includes sheet flows and valley flows and intercalated gravel, sand, clay	2286.53	59.81%
Gellibrand Marl (Ntg): Gellibrand Marl in Torquay Group	Marl, mudstone, sandstone, calcarenite, minor lignite, ligneous clay: marl blue-green and yellow; abundant carbonate nodules; contains shelly fossils and microfossils; lignite dark brown; contains spores and pollen	203.04	5.31%
Alluvium (Qa1): generic	Gravel, sand, silt: variably sorted and rounded; generally unconsolidated; includes deposits of low terraces; alluvial floodplain deposits	16.84	0.44%
Swamp and lake deposits (Qm1): generic	Grey to black carbonaceous mud, silt, clay, minor peat: generally unconsolidated; rare dolomite	8.22	0.22%
Grand Total		3822.75	100%

Table 3-5: Geological units within the BSE Study Area

Geological Unit	Description	Area (ha)	Area (%)
Black Rock Sandstone (Nbb): generic	Sand, sandstone, conglomerate, minor sandy limestone, local ironstone: pale to dark brown, reddish brown; generally very well sorted, variably cemented; horizontally laminated to low-angle cross-laminated; glauconitic; contains shelly fossils and burrows	12.71	2.43%
Newer Volcanic Group - basalt flows (Neo): generic	Olivine tholeiite, quartz tholeiite, basanite, basaltic icelandite, hawaiiite, mugearite, minor scoria and ash, fluvial sediments: tholeiitic to alkaline; includes sheet flows and valley flows and intercalated gravel, sand, clay	479.06	91.59%
Gellibrand Marl (Ntg): Gellibrand Marl in Torquay Group	Sand, sandstone, conglomerate, minor sandy limestone, local ironstone: pale to dark brown, reddish brown; generally very well sorted, variably cemented; horizontally laminated to low-angle cross-laminated; glauconitic; contains shelly fossils and burrows	29.68	5.68%
Alluvium (Qa1): generic	Gravel, sand, silt: variably sorted and rounded; generally unconsolidated; includes deposits of low terraces; alluvial floodplain deposits	1.58	0.30%
Grand Total		523.03	100%

Table 3-6: Geological units within the BGP Study Area

Geological Unit	Description	Area (ha)	Area (%)
Black Rock Sandstone (Nbb): generic	Sand, sandstone, conglomerate, minor sandy limestone, local ironstone: pale to dark brown, reddish brown; generally very well sorted, variably cemented; horizontally laminated to low-angle cross-laminated; glauconitic; contains shelly fossils and burrows	830.73	31.38%
Newer Volcanic Group - basalt flows (Neo): generic	Olivine tholeiite, quartz tholeiite, basanite, basaltic icelandite, hawaiite, mugearite, minor scoria and ash, fluvial sediments: tholeiitic to alkaline; includes sheet flows and valley flows and intercalated gravel, sand, clay	1651.37	62.38%
Gellibrand Marl (Ntg): Gellibrand Marl in Torquay Group	Sand, sandstone, conglomerate, minor sandy limestone, local ironstone: pale to dark brown, reddish brown; generally very well sorted, variably cemented; horizontally laminated to low-angle cross-laminated; glauconitic; contains shelly fossils and burrows	153.71	5.81%
Alluvium (Qa1): generic	Gravel, sand, silt: variably sorted and rounded; generally unconsolidated; includes deposits of low terraces; alluvial floodplain deposits	11.38	0.43%
Grand Total		2647.18	100%

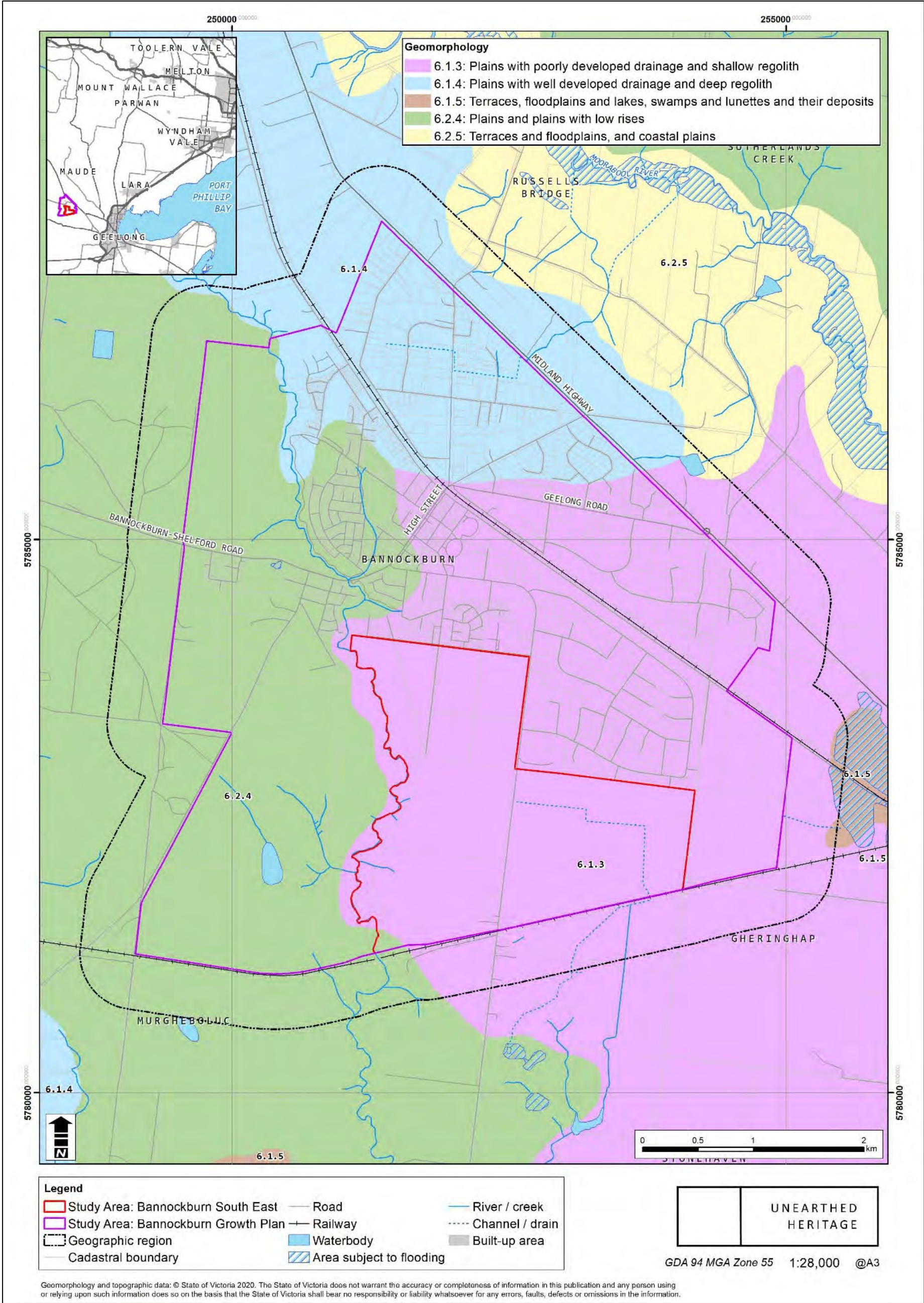


Figure 3-1 Geomorphology of the study areas and the geographic region

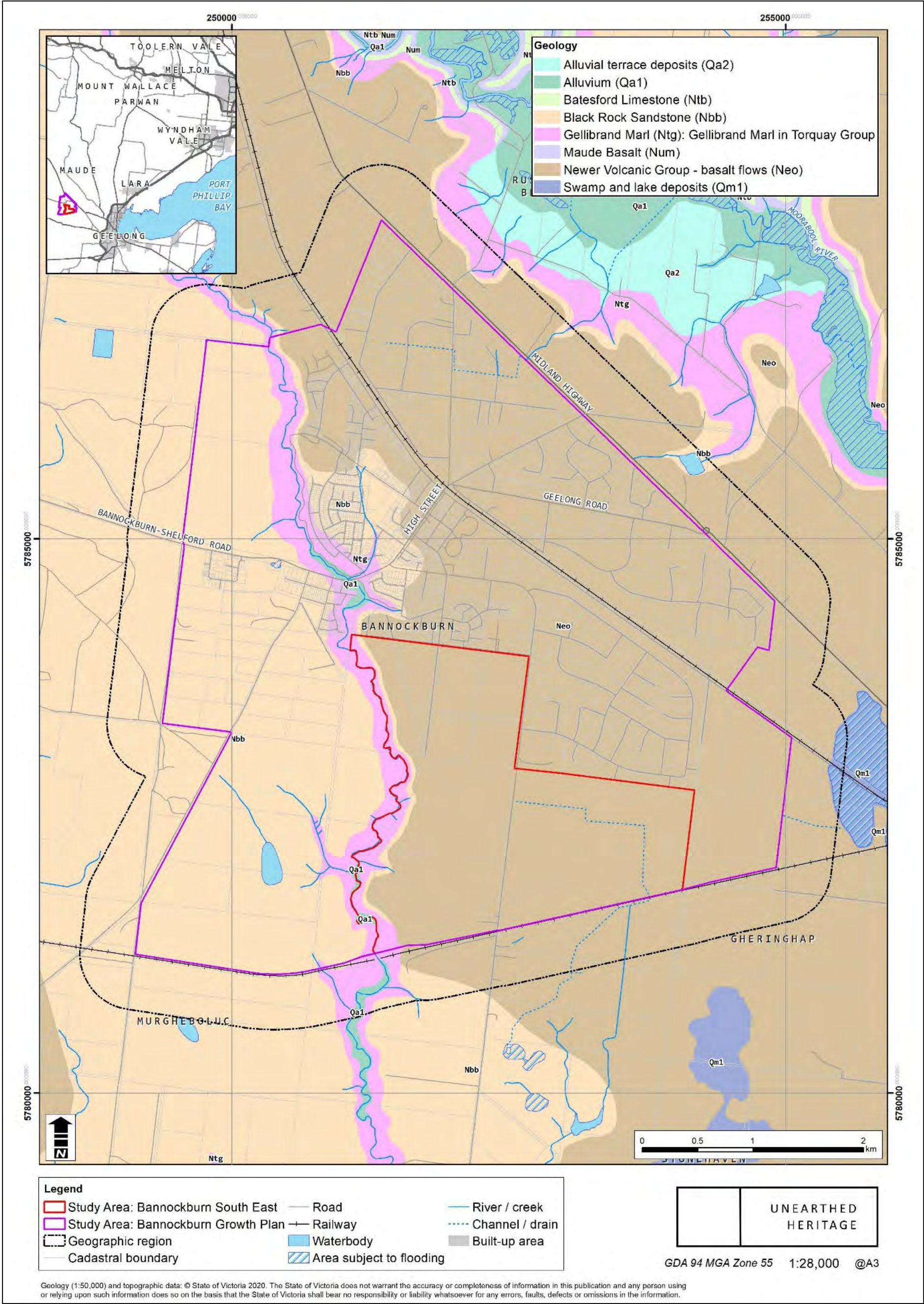


Figure 3-2 Geology of the study areas and the geographic region

3.2.3 Flora and Fauna

Prior to European settlement and land-use, the geographic region would have consisted (based on modelled 1750s Ecological Vegetation Classes [EVCs] - primarily of Plains Grassland and Chenopod Shrublands (EVC 132) with a small representation of Plains Woodland (EVC 55) and very small areas of Riverine Grassy Woodlands or Forests (EVC 68) associated with Bruce's Creek, and Wetlands (EVC 647 & EVC 691) (Figure 3-3, Table 3-7, Table 3-8, Table 3-9). The Plains Grassland and Chenopod Shrublands (EVC 132) unit dominates when considering all the geographic region, the BSE Study Area and the BGP Study Area. This unit was mainly treeless, with vegetation present generally growing to less than 1 m and dominated by herbs and grasses.

The vegetation would have provided habitat for a range of fauna, exploited by Wadawurrung People including ngaambulum/koalas, barnong/possums, go-yin/wallabies, goim/kangaroos, mon.ngarrk/echidna, wad-dirring/platypus, reptiles, woodland birds, and freshwater fish and buniya/eels.

The vegetation itself would have also provided many resources to Wadawurrung People, such as wood and bark for tools and bark huts, plant material for medicinal purposes, and native vegetable foods, such as nuts, fruits, tubers, and seeds.

Table 3-7: EVC units within the geographic region (DELWP 2020)

EVC Code/Name	Description	Area (ha)	Area (%)
55: Plains Woodlands or Forests	Open eucalypt woodland (to 15m) on poorly drained, fertile, flat to undulating plains at low elevations. Sparse shrub understorey and a species-rich grassy and herbaceous ground layer. Dominant species: <i>River Red Gum</i>	683.47	17.88%
68: Riverine Grassy Woodlands or Forests	Open eucalypt woodland (to 15m) on low-gradient ephemeral to intermittent drainage lines. Sparse shrub understorey and a species-rich grassy and herbaceous ground layer. Often associated with linear wetland system or interconnected small ponds. Dominant species: <i>River Red Gum</i>	171.09	4.48%
132: Plains Grasslands and Chenopod Shrublands	Generally treeless vegetation dominated by graminoids and herbaceous species on fertile cracking basalt soils.	2913.99	76.23%
647: Wetlands	Associated with seasonally wet depressions on both volcanic & sedimentary plains, particularly with heavy paludal soils. Mainly sedgy-herbaceous species with occasional teat-tree or eucalypt present as well as a range of aquatic herbs.	49.43	1.29%
691: Wetlands	Herblands associated with semi-permanent wetlands, dominated by sedges and aquatic herbs on fertile paludal soils.	4.76	0.12%
Grand Total		3822.75	100%

Table 3-8: EVC units within the BSE Study Area (DELWP 2020)

EVC Code/Name	Description	Area (ha)	Area (%)
55: Plains Woodlands or Forests	Open eucalypt woodland (to 15m) on poorly drained, fertile, flat to undulating plains at low elevations. Sparse shrub understorey and a species-rich grassy and herbaceous ground layer. Dominant species: <i>River Red Gum</i>	80.49	15.39%

EVC Code/Name	Description	Area (ha)	Area (%)
68: Riverine Grassy Woodlands or Forests	Open eucalypt woodland (to 15m) on low-gradient ephemeral to intermittent drainage lines. Sparse shrub understorey and a species-rich grassy and herbaceous ground layer. Often associated with linear wetland system or interconnected small ponds. Dominant species: <i>River Red Gum</i>	25.98	4.97%
132: Plains Grasslands and Chenopod Shrublands	Generally treeless vegetation dominated by graminoids and herbaceous species on fertile cracking basalt soils.	415.08	79.36%
647: Wetlands	Associated with seasonally wet depressions on both volcanic & sedimentary plains, particularly with heavy paludal soils. Mainly sedgy-herbaceous species with occasional teat-tree or eucalypt present as well as a range of aquatic herbs.	1.48	0.28%
Grand Total		523.03	100%

Table 3-9: EVC units within the BGP Study Area (DELWP 2020)

EVC Code/Name	Description	Area (ha)	Area (%)
55: Plains Woodlands or Forests	Open eucalypt woodland (to 15m) on poorly drained, fertile, flat to undulating plains at low elevations. Sparse shrub understorey and a species-rich grassy and herbaceous ground layer. Dominant species: <i>River Red Gum</i>	524.04	19.80%
68: Riverine Grassy Woodlands or Forests	Open eucalypt woodland (to 15m) on low-gradient ephemeral to intermittent drainage lines. Sparse shrub understorey and a species-rich grassy and herbaceous ground layer. Often associated with linear wetland system or interconnected small ponds. Dominant species: <i>River Red Gum</i>	137.87	5.21%
132: Plains Grasslands and Chenopod Shrublands	Generally treeless vegetation dominated by graminoids and herbaceous species on fertile cracking basalt soils.	1938.82	73.24%
647: Wetlands	Associated with seasonally wet depressions on both volcanic & sedimentary plains, particularly with heavy paludal soils. Mainly sedgy-herbaceous species with occasional teat-tree or eucalypt present as well as a range of aquatic herbs.	41.69	1.58%
691: Wetlands	Herblands associated with semi-permanent wetlands, dominated by sedges and aquatic herbs on fertile paludal soils.	4.76	0.18%
Grand Total		2647.18	100%

3.2.4 Climate

The climate in the geographic region is cool to warm. In summer the average maximum and minimum temperatures are c. 26.1°C (January) and 18.9°C (December), respectively, while in winter the average maximum and minimum are 13.3°C (August) and 12.3°C (July), respectively. The average annual rainfall is c. 544 mm (BOM 2020).

While these climatic conditions would have placed no strictures on Wadawurrung occupation, they would have clearly led to differential seasonal occupation across different parts of the landscape. Additionally, during the long period of Wadawurrung occupation of the broader region (at least c. 37,000 years BP), climatic conditions have varied significantly, including colder and drier conditions that would have seen the drying up of Nerm/Port Phillip Bay, and warmer and wetter periods that

would have provided different challenges and opportunities for occupation (Mulvaney and Kamminga 1999).

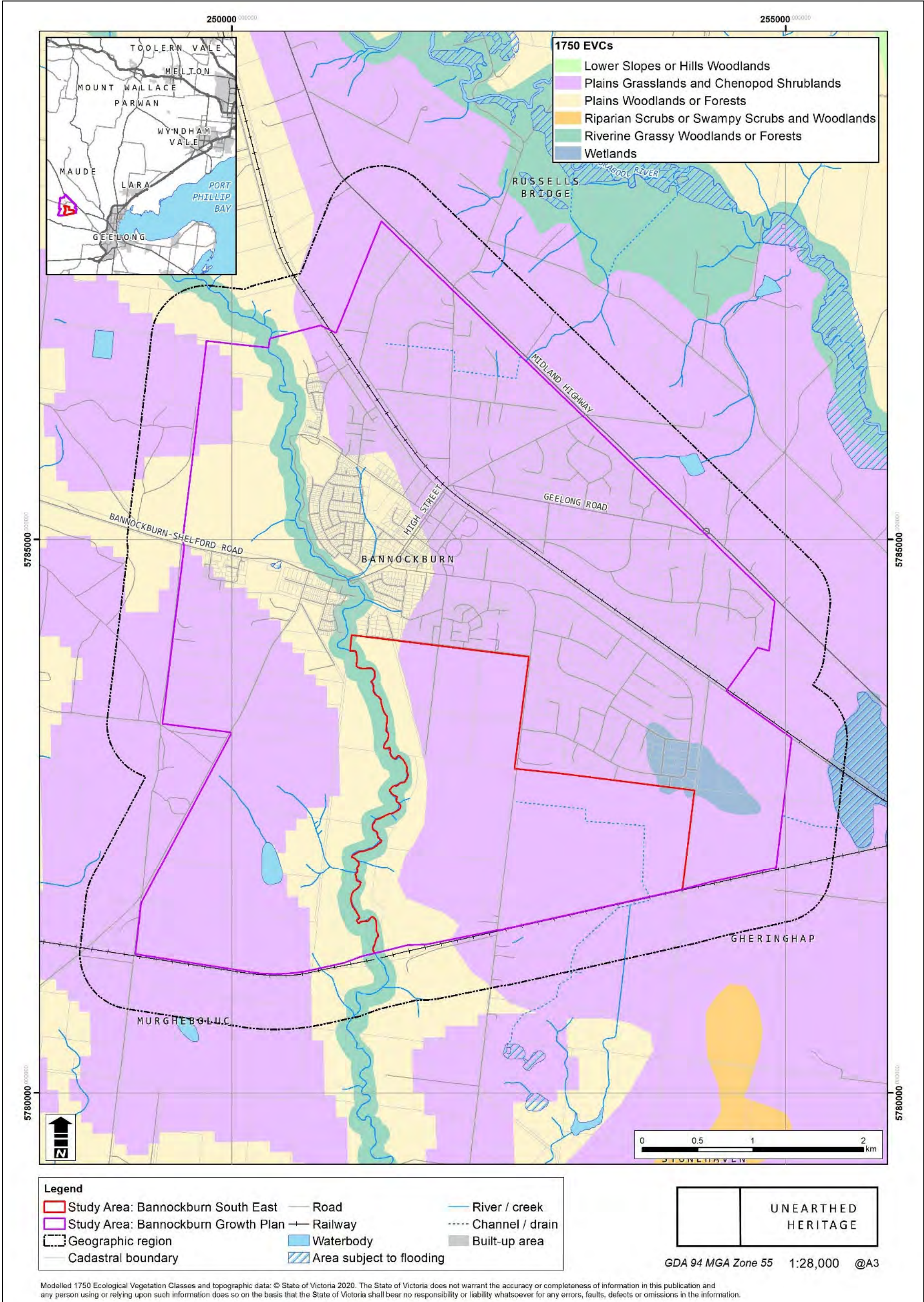


Figure 3-3 Modelled 1750s EVCs of the study area and the geographic region

3.3 Cultural Context

3.3.1 Introduction

The region around Nerm/Port Phillip Bay was ventured into by Kulin Nation People's occurred at least 40,000 years ago. But the People who moved into the area would have seen a very different landscape from that of today. Instead of a broad, shallow bay with seawater there would have been a gently rolling land basin intersected by an ancestral Birrarung Marr/Yarra River and its tributaries. The climate generally would have been cooler and drier than that of today, and the area would have been grassland, perhaps lightly wooded in some areas, with an extensive sand dune belt covering the present entrance to the Bay. The basin would have been a hunter's paradise, along with many types of plant food and readily available fresh water.

Some 1,600 generations or more after Kulin Nation People's settled the Nerm/Port Phillip Bay region, it was 'discovered' by invading Europeans. The impact on the lifeways, languages, and traditional knowledge of the Kulin Nation People in the region – and on the People themselves – was immediate and devastating.

It is difficult to estimate the population size of Aboriginal Australia at the time of European invasion, but most recent estimates range from about 500,000 to 1,000,000. By 1901 there were only about 650 Aboriginal people in all of Victoria (Presland 2010: 90). Only now, almost 200 years after the first European settlement, is the Aboriginal population of Victoria getting back to its pre-Invasion level. The catastrophic reduction of First Nation's populations in the face of European colonizers has been shared all over the world. It is due to the multiple effects of disease, warfare and massacres, loss of habitat and culture, and feeling of spiritual hopelessness.

3.3.2 Ethnohistorical Background

At the time of the European invasion, the current Study Area was occupied by the Wadawurrung people (also known as Watha wurrung, Wathaurung, or Wathaurong in some literature). The northern boundary of Wadawurrung Country at the time of European contact extended from Mount Misery and Yarram Yarram/Beaufort in the northwest to the Werribi Yaluk/Werribee River in the northeast. The western boundaries were Fiery Creek and Mt Emu Creek. The southernmost boundary was at Mangowak/Airey's Inlet, and in the east was the Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula (Barwick 1984: 118; Clark 1990: 310-312). The boundaries appear largely to be determined by features of the landscape, but were probably not fixed immutably over time: the boundaries described here are the ones that appear to have been in place at the time of contact with Europeans in the early 19th century.

In the following sections, ethno-historical and historical information relating to the Wadawurrung People in general, and in particular those groups living in the region around Bannockburn, is briefly reviewed. This information will assist in understanding Wadawurrung subsistence and occupation patterns across the region. It also helps inform the documented archaeological record of the region and assists in the interpretation of archaeological sites in the wider area, as well as helping to predict the potential location of archaeological site types within the activity area. Some of our information comes from early European travelers and settlers in the region, as well as government officials, and so must be viewed through a filter of bias and misunderstanding that these writers often had. On the European side there were problems due to the lack of understanding of Aboriginal languages, customs, and social systems. On the Aboriginal side was an extremely rapid loss of much of their traditional culture in the face of loss of lands, disease, and societal breakdown. The removal of Aboriginal groups to reserves and mission stations added to problems associated with early European accounts of the Aboriginal people of Victoria (Barwick 1984: 103). As the anthropologist Dianne Barwick pointed out, "... their [nineteenth century European writers'] jealousies, ambitions, loyalties and roles in colonial society shaped their inquiries and the content of their publications" (Barwick 1984: 103). These nineteenth century authors were writing from an Anglo-centric and gender-biased viewpoint for a colonial audience who had a very limited and generally negative view on Aboriginal life, heritage, and culture. Despite

these shortcomings, nineteenth century ethnographical accounts are a useful resource (and for some Aboriginal groups the only resource); the information has often been provided to the various authors by Aboriginal informants or by their first-hand observations and experience.

There is a relative wealth of information concerning the Wadawurrung People in general because their lands were among the first visited and settled by European explorers and colonizers in Victoria. Also, there is a unique source of information about the Wadawurrung People of the early 18th century. In 1803 the convict William Buckley escaped from a short-lived penal settlement at Sullivan Bay, near Sorrento, and ultimately made his way around Nerm/Port Phillip Bay to Wadawurrung Country, where he was befriended and adopted by a Wadawurrung clan whose estate was the area around modern-day Djilang/Geelong. He lived with them for over 31 years, until he revealed himself to a small group of Europeans and Sydney Aboriginal people at Indented Head in 1835. Buckley later recounted his life story while living in Tasmania, at the age of 72 (more of Buckley later). Although there is generally a fair amount of information concerning the Wadawurrung in general, the particular Wadawurrung clans whose Country was the current activity area are very little known; they disappear from the record very quickly after the first European settlement in the region in 1836.

3.3.2.1 Language Group

Wadawurrung country was part of a broad area of central and northern Victoria occupied by the Kulin Nation Peoples. The Kulin Nation were divided into different but linguistically-related 'language groups'. Precisely how the groups should be categorized in linguistic terms is still a matter of some dispute. Some scholars have proposed as many as eight 'Western Kulin' languages and four 'Eastern Kulin' languages, along with the Wadawurrung Language, which has been considered a less closely related Kulin language; others have proposed as few as three Kulin languages: Western Kulin (with six to ten dialects), Eastern Kulin (with three dialects), and Wadawurrung (or "Wathawurrung"; Blake 2011). Because of the debated status of various of the Kulin languages, they have often been labelled with the term 'language groups'. According to the linguist Barry Blake, Wadawurrung shared 51% of its 'common' vocabulary with Eastern Kulin, and between 34% and 52% with Western Kulin dialects (Blake 2011: 9). The linguistic relationships between Wadawurrung and other Victorian language groups were more distant still (Blake and Reid 1998).

3.3.2.2 Social Organization

The speakers of the four Eastern Kulin language groups of central and northern Victoria formed the core of what has been called the Kulin 'nation' or 'confederacy': Woi wurrung (today known as the Wurundjeri Woi Wurrung), Boon wurrung (Bunurong), Daung wurrung (Taungurung), and Ngurai-illam wurrung. Two other groups were considered 'honorary' members of the Kulin Nation: Wadawurrung (Wathaurung) and Djadja wurrung (Dja Dja Wurrung) (Barwick 1984: 105; Presland 2010: 12-15).

At the time of contact with Europeans the Wadawurrung comprised some 25 or 26 clans (Clark 1990: 307, 311, 312-335; Clark 1995: 169). Each of these clans was responsible for a particular area of land (called their 'estate' by Barwick [1984: 106] and Presland [2010]), and each shared a common identity in terms of history, genealogy and religion (Clark 1990: 379-386; Barwick 1984: 107-113).

The clan was the most important social group in Aboriginal society. It was the clan that owned the land, and it was the clan with which the individual identified himself or herself (Presland 2010: 18). But all the members of a clan did not permanently live together. Smaller groups, comprising extended families made up the basic economic group. These are generally called 'bands' and would typically number fifteen to twenty individuals – usually one or two families: men, their wives, sons, unmarried daughters, and a shifting population of other relatives (Presland 2010: 18). The band is the group that is most relevant to archaeological investigations, since it is most commonly their activities (hunting, fishing, gathering, camping) that are represented in the rather ephemeral archaeological record. While band membership could be rather fluid, clan membership was established at birth. Both one's moiety and one's clan were inherited from his or her father; this inheritance

was retained for life (Barwick 1984: 106). Once born, a clan member identified deeply and spiritually with his or her land. The clan members' connection to the land defined their very existence: it was theirs since the Dreaming: "Wherever one is born, that is his or her country" (William Thomas, cited in Cannon 1983: 624). And it was the land, tragically, that was taken away from the Aboriginal people: their suffering on this account cannot be overemphasized.

Perhaps the best known of the Wadawurrung clans is the Watha wurrung bulluc, partly because their estate is centered around the relatively well-documented Djilang/Geelong area and the Barrabuls/Barrabool Hills to its west, and partly because they were the clan that adopted William Buckley.

The current study area, at Bannockburn, is about 23 km northwest of Geelong, between the Barwon and Moorabool Rivers. It lies 20 km or more from the known locations of individual Wadawurrung clans. Several early reports indicate that clan boundaries often coincided with natural features (rivers, mountain ranges, etc.). Broadly speaking, there are four potential candidates for the clan whose estate included the present-day Bannockburn area: the Watha wurrung bulluc clan, the Neerer bulluc clan, the Borogundij clan, and the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan.

The Watha wurrung bulluc clan is known to have been on the south side of the Barwon River, but it is doubtful that their estate includes country north of the river (Bannockburn is about 9 km north of the Barwon River). (It should be noted that most previous cultural heritage management reports have concluded that Bannockburn region was "probably" or "most likely" within the estate of the Wada wurrung balug clan [e.g. Collins et al. 2004: 15; Marshall 2006: 16; Marshall and Hyett 2007: 17; Clark 2007: 9; Clark 2009: 15; Clark 2010: 12; Walker and McCulloch 2010: 15; Light and Teuchler 2014: 58; Stone 2014: 11; Bullers et al. 2014: 22; Teuchler and Spry 2016: 27].)

The extent of the Neerer bulluc clan's estate is not well understood, but the location of the clan is generally described as being between Geelong and the You Yangs. There is some circumstantial evidence that indicates that the Neerer bulluc clan's country extends as far south as the Barwon River. William Buckley recounted a story in which a messenger from "another tribe" [i.e., clan] invited them to meet with them for eel-catching on the Barwon River near Buckley's Falls (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 57-58). This implies that the Barwon River might have been the boundary between the two "tribes'" estates. It is highly likely that the other clan was the Neerer bulluc, who were the northern neighbours of the Watha wurrung bulluc (this is discussed in more detail below. If this is correct, then it would appear that the estate of the Neerer bulluc clan extends from the You Yangs (probably the southern side of the hills) to the left (north) bank of the Barwon River. The question is how far inland does their estate extend? Bannockburn lies about 25 km from the shore of Corio Bay, and perhaps more significantly is also to the west of the Moorabool River.

A third clan, the Borogundij, is very little documented, and is known only to have been located somewhere on the Leigh River (the Borogundij clan was also known as the 'Leigh tribe'). This river, called the Yarrowee by the Wadawurrung People, has its headwaters northwest of Meredith (which is about 50 km north-northwest of Bannockburn), and flows into the Barwon River just south of Inverleigh, about 13 km southwest of Bannockburn. In other words, depending on just where the Borogundij clan were located on the Leigh River, their one historically documented location could have been anywhere from 13 to 50 km from the current Study Area. They cannot be ruled out as the clan whose estate includes the Bannockburn area, but they are generally placed further north on the Leigh River. Clark, for example, centres Borogundij clan on the Yarrowee River southwest of Meredith (Clark 1990: 311).

The fourth candidate for the clan whose estate includes the Bannockburn area is the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan. Derek Beaurepaire (1995), who wrote a history of the Bannockburn Shire, considered Bannockburn and the current Study Area to be within the estate of what he called the Tolloora clan (called here the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan) of the Wadawurrung People. Beaurepaire further argued that the Shire of Bannockburn boundaries "very closely align" with the estates of the Kureet clan (in the north of the

Bannockburn Shire) and the Tolloora clan in the south (Beaurepaire 1995: 5). His 'Kureet' clan, however, is documented by Ian Clark to have their estate near Mount Buninyong (Clark 1990: 319-320), with no evidence that it extended anywhere near Bannockburn.

The reported clan locations of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan as published by Clark were quite widespread (Clark 1990: 328; he calls the clan the Toolloora balug or Tollerer bulluk): from Warrenheip (northeast of Ballarat) in the north, to south of Winchelsea, and east as far as Bacchus Marsh. George Augustus Robinson, the Chief Protector of Aboriginals from 1839-1849, locates the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan in a triangle formed by Warrenheip in the north, just east of Meredith in the south, and Bacchus Marsh in the east. Massola placed their "headquarters" at Durdidwarrah, about 10 km east-northeast of Meredith (Massola 1969: 71-72; he called the clan the Baronighurk). A 1985 publication (Gregory, Gregory, and Koenig 1985) places the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan further south, along the Leigh and Barwon Rivers and the Warrambine Creek, south and west of Winchelsea; his suggested locations are about 15 km and more to the south of the other sources.

Perhaps the most important information regarding the estate of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan comes from the Wadawurrung name of what is now Teesdale (formerly Native Hut), about 14 km west of Bannockburn. A Mr. C.A.C. Wilson, the former secretary and engineer of the Shire of Leigh, recounted in 1918 that the 'native name' of Teesdale was "'Tooleripah' as near as I can express the sound of it" (Geelong Advertiser, 29 October 1918).

Lois Lane, a Geelong area historian, stated:

... that 'Tooleripah' was a place on Native Hut Creek, in the vicinity of Teesdale where a great deal of Native Spinach grew naturally. She states that the term is a corruption of TAL: I: RUP meaning Native Spinach. Lane further states that 'Tooleripah' is in Tolloora territory (Lois Lane, 1999-2001 [ca. 1990]: 190-191, cited by David Jones (pers. comm. 11 October 2021).

David Jones also points out that:

In contemporary Wadawurrung Language translations, the suffix on 'Tooleripah' is 'paa/parr/parrarr' which means a place 'used for grass' or 'Native Spinach Grasses' (including Tetragonia sp plants) can occur in extensive ground cover patches so this nomenclature is botanically logical in this locality (pers. comm. 11 October 2021).

Of the various candidates, then, the most likely clan whose estate is the current Study Area is, in our opinion, the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan.

The Parish name is 'Wabdallah' that Blake (1977: 270) records as "... possibly fr. a misspelling of Waldallah, i.e. *wala*, uncultivated country, and *dahlr*, vale." From the WTOAC's investigations, 'wala dahlr' is phonetically pronounced 'nyala daa-la' meaning 'the land has already been cleared' or 'there's nothing here', or it could also be 'wala' being an abridged version of 'darrwal' (dog) or 'dawalma' (crack/sharp sound) given its proximity to Dog Rocks where dingoes once resided.

For most of the year, the individual bands making up the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk and other clans would have moved around their estate exploiting the various local resources (plant and animal) as they became available for harvesting. This would have involved resources from the gentle plains south of the You Yangs, the incised river valleys that flow through their country, and the shore of Corio Bay north of Geelong. At various times of the year, when resources were more widely abundant, larger gatherings – often involving other clans and even other language groups – would be possible. At these times initiations, marriage contracts, trade, and other ceremonies, as well as corroborees, would be conducted.

All the Kulin nations had a patrilineal descent system (rare among Australian Aboriginal people) and an exogamous moiety system. Each clan belonged to either the *Bundjil* ('Eaglehawk', or 'Wedge-tailed Eagle') or

Waa ('Crow') moiety; marriage had to be with someone from the other moiety. The moiety of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan was *Waa* (Clark 1990: 329; Presland 2010: 29). William Thomas, the Assistant Protector of Aborigines for the Central Protectorate District of Westernport, said the Kulin Aboriginal peoples could marry only outside their *tribe* (Thomas, cited in Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984: 94-95). Presland says Eastern Kulin men sought "marriage partners from within the confederacy but outside of their own *clan*", and that the Wadawurrung were included in this practice (Presland 2010: 15; emphases ours). There seems to have been a preference to marry a member of a distant clan; such marriages would often involve partners from different ecological regions, which would expand the possibilities for resource exploitation. Such marriages could cement alliances between far-flung groups of the Kulin confederacy (and beyond), but they could also cause tensions and enmities.

Wadawurrung clans intermarried with those of the Gulidjan, Djargurd wurrung, Djab wurrung, and Djadja wurrung to their south, west, and north (Clark 1995: 169). Wadawurrung clans reportedly also took part in emu hunts at Mirraewuae Swamp west of Caramut, in Dhauwurd wurrung country, along with Djab wurrung, and Girai wurrung clans (Dawson 1881: 3; Clark 1995: 169). And certainly they participated in multi-group eel-catching in the lakes and rivers of western Victoria: the most prominent of these places was the area around Lake Bolac, in Djab wurrung country. Near Lake Terang in Girai wurrung country was a traditional meeting place for trading objects such as adhesive gum and stone axes (Clark 1995: 169). William Thomas, Assistant Protector of the Aborigines for the district between 1839 and 1849 and later Guardian of Aborigines said:

Most tribes have intercourse or hold a kind of alliance with three or four neighbouring ones, with whom they barter for lubras, &c. They generally once a year at least unitedly assemble. There are many disputes, imaginary or real, to settle which cannot be done without some fighting. When all is settled they will corroboree night after night till they separate. All the tribes beyond the district of their friends are termed wild blackfellows, and when found within the district are immediately killed (Thomas [1854], in Bride [ed.] 1898: 68).

The Wadawurrung would also regularly meet with the Kulin nations to their east, the Woi wurrung and Boon wurrung, to renew family ties, as well as for trade and ceremonial purposes. William Thomas noted in 1840 that:

By what I can learn, long ere the settlement was formed the spot where Melbourne now stands and the flat on which we are now camped [on the banks of the Yarra River] was the regular rendezvous for the tribes known as Warorongs [Woi wurrung], Boonurongs [Boon wurrung], Barrabools [a name for the Watha wurrung bulluc clan of the Wadawurrung, but in this context for the Wadawurrung more generally], Nilunguons, Goulbourns [Daung wurrung] twice a year or as often as circumstances and emergencies required to settle their grievances, revenge, deaths etc" (Thomas, quoted in Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984: 96).

Thomas also noted that:

When they [clans] go in large bodies, two or three seniors direct their movements from encampment to encampment, giving instructions overnight or early in the morning the directions each is to take, and where to encamp the coming night (Thomas, quoted in Cannon 1983: 624).

Some of these senior men achieved the status of *Arweet*, clan-head or 'chief' (Barwick 1984: 107). The position of *Arweet* was not hereditary nor elected, but rather was recognition of a man's achievements and authority; it required endorsement from the group and even clan-heads from other Kulin clans (Barwick 1984: 107-108; Presland 2010: 18). Three clan-heads are known for the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan: Koo.mung.ur.ruk, Bondouin, and Karum (Clark 1990: 329; Presland 2010: 29).

Early reports indicate that the Wadawurrung were on good terms with the Boon wurrung (William Thomas, for example, stated that "the Bunurong had closer relationships with the Wathaurung of both [Bunjil and Waa] clans than with other groups [Goughwin and Sullivan 1984: 96]).

William Buckley, however, talked of the Boon wurrung and Woi wurrung as hostile to the Wadawurrung. In April 1839 seventy-two Wadawurrung men and women in Melbourne fought with the Woi wurrung in Melbourne in order to avenge some previous slight; in August the Woi wurrung and Boon wurrung joined forces for a revenge fight against the Wadawurrung, and in September there were preparations for a third battle (Presland 2010: 41). These tensions were at a time when Aboriginal society was disintegrating, so it is difficult to say how typical these fights were: traditionally they resulted from disputes over access to resources and infringements of protocol, but by early colonial times some had developed an aspect of 'spectator sport', the Aboriginal groups being "egged on and encouraged to fight by the morerowdy white residents of Melbourne" (Presland 2010: 41).

There is even an example of internal fighting, between clans of the Wadawurrung, again reported by William Thomas, who gives a very detailed description:

Fight between Barrabool and Buninyong Blacks North of Melbourne.—When two or more tribes congregate, they are ushered in by the messengers, who had been previously despatched with their diplomas [two sticks about 6 or 8 inches long], one of whom, some hours previous to the tribes' approach, will return, and state the success or ill-success of his mission. The new comers will sit down about half an hour, when the principal males assemble. If their meeting be hostile (which is known for days before), the war-cry is heard for a mile or more ere they arrive at the encampment. At length the party arrives; all males are seated together, their heads and faces daubed with clay; they look beastly and terrific. The one I shall describe took place 5th December 1844 at half-past four. The Barrabool blacks—close lined—ten lines, with eight and ten in each line, seat themselves W. of the Buninyongs. After half an hour, King William, chief of the Barrabool tribe, advanced and stated "that charges had been made against his blacks of killing two of the Buninyongs and stealing lubras; that his blacks were not afraid of them, and had come down and were ready to have the accusers' spears thrown at them." While speaking, another advances, and brings charges against the Barrabool blacks, and bids them to come forward. This rouses the ire of the opposite tribe, when two step forward and rebut or acknowledge the assertions, remarking that they also are ready, in the presence of the other tribes assembled, to stand foremost and receive the spears of their opponents, &c. A general bustle may be seen now in both parties; the parties more particularly accused prepare themselves, if of murder undisputed, perfectly naked, and in mourning from head to foot, squatted on the ground, without spear or any other weapon save a shield to ward off the spears. In this case it is more a judicial proceeding, or the law being carried into effect, and though the tribes are all under arms it is more to check any disturbance or interruption to the execution of what they consider the sentence. But if it be a disputed case, the parties accused on each side, generally two, three, or four, may be seen stepping forward, capering round and round, with small bunches of leaves round their ankles, as sometimes in a corroboree; both parties are now on the general move, shaking their weapons at each other, which raises their anger, giving three yells, stamping, and making the most frightful grimaces, and with distorted gestures gathering up dust and throwing towards their opponents, which excites both parties the more. A fire is made; then kicking the fire about they form themselves again into lines, and their chief leads them; they generally branch out and form a crescent, or extend into a long straight line. They may be seen now on both sides capering in the strangest attitudes the body can be placed in, some running to and fro with long spears in their hands, with their noses almost touching the ground; others vociferating, lifting up their heels to their bottoms; some advancing even among their opponents, and as actively backing themselves, pointing and

gritting their teeth, while others are dancing round and round like Jim Crow. Those with leaves around their legs are stationary. All the aforesaid moves and grimaces are merely flashes in the pan; the chiefs and other important characters keep on wrangling, pointing with their spears towards one party and another till the word of command. Then each black is at his post, and wonguims, spears, &c., all beside each fighting man, and the real warm work commences with wonguims, which are hurled apparently indiscriminately, but not so. You would be apt to doubt, seeing them five minutes after they commenced, to which side some belonged—there appears such confusion; but among them it is otherwise—each knows his work. The missiles are, in the first instance, hurled without intermission, directed to those who have the boughs on their legs. Some soon hit others, who plant themselves (purposely) near their friends, which causes a general fight. When the wonguims are all exhausted, then spears are used; and should, after all, the parties who should have received punishment escape (those with boughs around the ankles), they are pounced upon with bludgeons, and at close combat seldom escape unhurt. If things get too serious, the chiefs of other tribes will interfere (for the blacks never fight but in the presence of two or three other tribes, aware of their own weakness or passions), and with leonile rushing between the contending parties, bring the matter to a close, which is, like its commencement, ended in war, war, war, as they call it, or high words. The fighting over, one after another may be seen moving off grumbling as he goes, and in half an hour ail is the greatest harmony, and generally there is a corroboree at night. They seldom do much execution in their fights—a few wonguim and spear wounds in some not dangerous parts of the body. They are too adroit in warding off from the breast and other mortal parts [sic.] (Thomas [1854], in Bride [ed.] 1898: 94-96).

This appears to have been a fight between the Watha wurrung bulluc and Kureet bulluc clans of the Wadawurrung; both were of the Bundjil moiety.

The periodic gatherings between various nations or tribes involved a variety of purposes, as was said above: renewing family ties, trade, dance and song and story-telling, and initiation and ritual and ceremony, as well as the settling of disputes through fighting. Corroborees were a feature of these meetings, which occurred in many different places across the Aboriginal landscape. There was a formality to the meetings: different groups would camp in separate spaces determined by tradition near the corroboree ground. Some of the Kulin confederacy corroboree grounds, for example, were in what is now inner Melbourne: near the present-day Botanical Gardens, Parliament Hill, and Royal Park. For these the Woi wurrung would camp in places where the Melbourne Cricket Ground and Richmond Oval are now. The Boon Wurrung had campsites in what are now the Botanical Gardens, and the Daung wurrung camped in today's Clifton Hill. The Wadawurrung camped in what was first the Old Melbourne Cemetery, later paved over as a car park for the Queen Victoria Market (Presland 1980). Other corroborees, such as ones described by Buckley, could involve different clans from within the same tribe or language group.

3.3.2.3 Belief systems

Spirituality and beliefs

The Wadawurrung People have a deep spiritual connection to the land, and believe that the world and all things in it were created by their great ancestor spirit Bundjil (or Bunjil), along with Waa, 'Crow', and a number of other ancestral spirit beings:

Since the beginning of the Dreaming, the great ancestor spirit, Bunjil, the wedge-tailed eagle, created the land, rivers, lakes, plants, laws and lore of the great Kulin Nation.

Bunjil establishes the laws and bonds connecting people to country and enables people to live on the land in harmony and in balance with the environment. This knowledge is passed down from

Elders in the oral tradition. For thousands of years the Wadawurrung people hunted and gathered across their lands and waters, with weather and food availability determining where campsites were located. This could have been by a yaluk (river) or buluk (lake) for a good kuarka (fishing place) to catch a kuwiyn (fish) (Introduction from the City of Greater Geelong Heritage Strategy, 2017-2023, written in consultation with Uncle Bryon Powell, Wadawurrung Traditional Owner), <http://www.youyangsregion.org/wadawurrung-wathaurong-country>).

Bundjil and Waa were the two main ancestral spirit figures of the Wadawurrung People and other Kulin People, who honour them by dividing their clans into either Bundjil or Waa moieties:

Bunjil taught the Kulin the arts of life, and one legend states that in that time the Kulin married without any regard for kinship. Two medicine-men (Wirrarap) went up to him in the Tharangalk-bek, and he said in reply to their request that the Kulin should divide themselves into two parts—"Bunjil on this side and Waang [Waa] on that side, and Bunjil should marry Waang, and Waang marry Bunjil" (Howitt 2001 [1904]: 491).

Bundjil also controlled evil beings, whom he could let loose on the world. One of the eminent clan heads of the Djadja wurrung, the northern neighbours of the Wadawurrung, was Munangabum, of the Liarga balug clan, whose estate was the east of Castlemaine. Munangabum was charged with sheep-stealing and jailed in Melbourne in January 1840. The Djadja wurrung and Woi wurrung (and their Kulin neighbours) were very fearful that if Munangabum was not released, Bundjil would release a huge snake, Mindi, who lived near Mount Buckrabanyule, a granite mountain northwest of Bendigo. Mindi hissed poison, and would bring a pestilence down on all people, black and white. He had already inflicted a plague called *monola mindi*, 'dust of Mindi', on the people – smallpox – so their fear was palpable. Munangabum was finally released from jail in August 1840; in the intervening eight months Aboriginal people stayed away from Melbourne (Smyth 1878, I: 444-446; Clark 1995: 85).

Another reference to Mindi was recounted by George Augustus Robinson, who wrote in his journal on 20 October 1840 that:

Yammerboke alias Mr Malcolm has been largely engaged in performing incantations to avert the coming calamity occasioned by the late proceedings with the military and police and Aboriginal natives. The native camp is in conference for fear the Darngorongs should come and slay them for rendering up the Goulburn blacks to prison (George Augustus Robinson, Journal entry for 20 October 1840, in Clark 1998: 17).

The incantations were evidently to try to avert a visitation from Mindi (Clark 1990: 323). The "military proceedings" refer to an armed assault against a large Aboriginal group ten days earlier. Major Samuel Lettsom had been sent by Governor Gipps of the Colony of New South Wales (NSW) to arrest Aboriginal leaders for their attacks on squatters in the 'frontier' region of the Goulburn and Ovens Rivers northeast of Naarm/Melbourne. This frontier zone was on the land of the Daung wurrung and Waveroo Aboriginal Peoples, a large number of whom had fled to Naarm/Melbourne in advance of Lettsom. On 10 October 1840, Lettsom and his men caught up with the group, surrounded between 200 and 400 in their camp in present-day Heidelberg. They drove them at bayonet point and hit them with musket butts, finally imprisoning them in the prison barracks in Naarm/Melbourne. One senior Aboriginal man was killed – the Woi wurrung leader Windberri. The local Assistant Protector of Aborigines, William Thomas, managed to get most of the prisoners released the same day, but thirty were held for a month and tried. Ten were convicted. One of those men died in custody (one of the first Aboriginal deaths in custody), and eight of the remaining nine managed to escape. It appears that there was a fear that Mindi would wreak retribution for the ill-treatment of the Aboriginal people by Lettsom and his men.

Creation and other stories

At Kareet Bareet (Black Hill, near Gordon) it is believed by the Wadawurrung that *Bundjil* created humans by gathering up a lump of clay and dividing it into two, which he placed on bark sheets. He formed the clay into the shapes of two men. He then asked his brother *Palian*, who controlled the waterways, to thump the water with his hands; the water became thicker and took on the shape of two women. Each man was given a hunting spear, and the women were given digging sticks; from them were descended the Wadawurrung (Uncle Byron Powell, *Kareet Bareet*, video available at http://www.hulballarat.org.au/cb_pages/videos.php).

Bundjil is centrally important in the belief systems of the Kulin peoples and of some of the people beyond, such as the Gunai Kurnai of Gippsland. He is believed to have used a large knife to carve the earth's surface into mountains and valleys, and rivers and creeks (Smyth 1878, I: 423). Bundjil was believed to live in a mountain called Warmum northeast of Warn-Mar-In/Western Port, between the Brrarung Maar/Yarra and La Trobe Rivers: "big one Punjil once sit on that mountain" (Thomas, in Bride [ed.] 1898: 91). Another story says that Bundjil rested after finishing his creation journey at sacred sites around Warn-Mar-In/Western Port Bay (Howitt, cited in Barwick 1984: 115).

A widespread story involved the sky and the belief that it is supported on four poles "somewhere in the mountains in the north-east of Victoria" (Howitt 1884: 186; Brumm 2010). If the poles were to collapse, the skies would crash down and their water would drown everyone. Howitt (2001 [1904]: 427) reported that the great Wurundjeri Woi wurrung elder Barak told him that before the Invasion messages were sent far and wide that the poles were becoming rotten, and that axes were urgently needed to cut new ones. William Buckley related that the Wadawurrung received the same message; it even travelled as far as tribes along the Murray River. Buckley's comments were as follows:

They [the Wadawurrung] have a notion, that the world is supported by props, which are in the charge of a man who lives at the farthest end of the earth. They were dreadfully alarmed on one occasion when I was with them, by news passed from tribe to tribe, that unless they could send him a supply of tomahawks for cutting some more props with, and some more rope to tie them with, the earth would go by the run, and all hands would be smothered. Fearful of this, they began to think, and enquire, and calculate, where the highest mountains were, and how to get at them, and on them, so as to have some chance of escape from the threatened danger. Notwithstanding this forethought, they set to work to provide the needful, and succeeded in this way. Passing on the word to the tribes along the coast, some settlers at a very great distance [these were apparently sealers in Western Port Bay] were robbed of axes, and saws, and rope, and tiers of dray wheels; all of which were forwarded on from tribe to tribe, to the old gentleman on the other side; and, as was supposed, in time to prevent the capsize, for it never happened [sic.] (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 44-45).

Just to the north of the estate of the Neerer bulluc clan lies Wurdi Youang/You Yangs. A Wadawurrung story concerning Wurdi Youang/You Yangs has been related by the Wadawurrung elder Uncle Byron Powell, who points out that the Wadawurrung name for the You Yangs is Wurdi Youang (Buckley called them the Yawang Hills). They were formed by one of the Kulin creator beings, Loăn: each place he rested on his journey turned into granite hills. The resting points formed a songline, which became a part of initiation ceremonies, involving walking the songline (Uncle Byron Powell, <http://www.youyangsregion.org/wadawurrung-wathaurong-country>).

Ceremonies

There is not very much surviving information on the ceremonies conducted by the Wadawurrung People, and none at all for the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan. There would have been innumerable ceremonies and rituals in Aboriginal society before the invasion, but they would have been severely disrupted in the years immediately following 1835, and Europeans would only very rarely have been permitted to view them or be

told about them. Many ceremonies, and the locations in which they were held, would have been carefully held secret from outsiders by Aboriginal people. The Wadawurrung People would no doubt have had a large number of ceremonies similar to those of their Kulin Nation neighbours.

One such ceremony was *tanderrum*, a freedom of passage ceremony, an 1845 example of which was described by William Thomas:

There is not, perhaps, a more pleasing sight in a native encampment than when strange blacks arrive who have never been in the country before. Each comes with fire in hand (always bark), which is supposed to purify the air—the women and children in one direction, and the men and youths in another. They are ushered in generally by some of an intermediate tribe, who are friends of both parties, and have been engaged in forming an alliance or friendship between the tribes; the aged are brought forward and introduced. The ceremony of Tanderrum is commenced; the tribe visited may be seen lopping boughs from one tree and another, as varied as possible of each tree with leaves; each family has a separate seat, raised about 8 or 10 inches from the ground, on which in the centre sits the male and around him his male children, and the female and her sex of children have another seat.

Two fires are made, one for the males and the other for the females. The visitors are attended on the first day by those whose country they are come to visit, and not allowed to do anything for themselves; water is brought them which is carefully stirred by the attendant with a reed, and then given them to drink (males attend males and females females); victuals are then brought and laid before them, consisting of as great a variety as the bush in the new country affords, if come-at-able; during this ceremony the greatest silence prevails, both by attendants and attended. You may sometimes perceive an aged man seated, the tear of gratitude stealing down his murky, wrinkled face. At night their mia-mias are made for them; conversation, &c., ensue. The meaning of this is a hearty welcome. As the boughs on which they sit are from various trees, so they are welcome to every tree in the forest. The water stirred with a reed means that no weapon shall ever be raised against them. On Saturday, the 22nd March 1845, at an encampment east of Melbourne, near 200 strangers arrived. The sight was imposing and affecting, especially their attendance upon that old chief Kuller Kullup, the oldest man I have ever seen among the blacks; he must have been near 80 years [sic.] (Thomas [1854], in Bride [ed.] 1898: 97-98).

The Aboriginal leader mentioned by Thomas, Kuller Kullup, was a Gunai Kurnai Elder from the mountains far to the northeast of Melbourne:

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 some one 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 discourse, 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 [Billibellary]—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 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 corroborees; that corroborees were conveyed by dreams to Kul-ler-kul-lup's people and other Australians; and that the men of the caves and rocks were altogether superior to the ordinary Aboriginal.

It is probable that Billi-billari gave a truthful account of Kul-ler-kul-lup's statements. It is more than probable that the Australians have always had a belief in the existence of races both superior and inferior to their own; and it is certain that the accidental intrusion of members of distant and strange tribes, acquainted with modes of fighting and decoration somewhat different from their own, must always have been regarded as proofs of the existence of peoples different from them. If easily taken and killed, such intruders would be regarded as inferior; if superior in skill, and greater in daring, and able to put to fight the warriors, then the visitors would be regarded as superiors. In the latter case, the adoption of any other hypothesis would have cast a slur on the fighting-men [sic.] (Smyth 1878, I: 136-137).

This is a reference to the sky-bearer pole story recounted above.

Mortuary practices

The Wadawurrung People had several forms of mortuary practice. The most common form, apparently, was burial, usually in fairly soft ground, for practical purposes (dune ridges were common locations). The dead would usually be placed in the ground on their side, flexed, bound, and wrapped in their possum skin cloaks. William Buckley owed his survival to the fact that near present-day Torquay he came across an Aboriginal burial, a “mound of earth, with part of a native’s spear stuck upright on the top of it, to indicate its being a grave” (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 20). Buckley kept the spear, and when members of the Watha wurrung bulluc clan found him two days later they took him to be their dead relative, whose spear it was. James Tuckey’s surveying expedition around Nerm/Port Phillip Bay encountered an Aboriginal grave while digging for water, “a human skeleton three feet under ground” (Tuckey 1805: 183).

Another type of Kulin Nation mortuary practice was to place the deceased in in the hollows or crooks of trees. They would also be tied in their cloaks, and usually at some later time the remains would be cremated.

William Buckley makes several references to cremation as another type of mortuary practice of the Wadawurrung (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 26, 27-28, 35). It appears to have been rarer (Howitt 2001 [1904]: 443).

There are references to Wadawurrung burials within what is possibly the estate of the Neerer bulluc clan. In 1872 human remains were found near the foreshore about 2.5 km west of Point Wilson:

The place near the beach on the north shore, where the human remains were found a few days ago, was visited by police. The skeleton was ascertained to be in a paddock near the summit of a mound that rises to a height of over 300 feet above high water mark, so that it appears impossible that it could have been washed ashore. The bones lay in a bed of shells covered over with the black surface soil, and to all appearances must have been buried there for upwards of 20 years. From the way in which the shells were arranged it is evident that the body must have been in a crouching position when it was placed there, the knees being drawn up toward the head. The skull has all the appearances of being that of an aboriginal ... The skeleton was so much decayed that it readily crumbled on being disturbed. The owner of the land, Thomas Walsh, has resided on the ground since 1841, and from the fact that the natives were then numerous in the neighbourhood infers that the remains are those of an aboriginal. Under the circumstances it was not deemed necessary to interfere with the remains further than slightly deepening the place in which they were buried (Geelong Advertiser, 23 May 1872).

This site has been recorded on the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (VAHR) in 1994 (VAHR 7721-0143).

The topographical description of the burial location is difficult to reconstruct but it appears to have been found within the pasture just inland of the dunes close to a steep rise. There are no rises of 300 feet above the high water mark on this section of coast but it's possible that this was a printing error for 30 feet. The bed of shells suggests that the burial may have been found with a coastal midden (Vines et al. 2013: 34-35).

The site has since been destroyed by a quarry.

A second reference to burials in the area is possibly to the same site, but it appears to be to a broader "burial ground" some 2-3 km west of VAHR 7721-0143:

A reported Aboriginal burial site was shown to the consultant [du Cros and Associates] and Alan Browning by Jim Mathieson during the course of the survey. This site is located near the south end of the eastern proposed access route between Point Lillias and Dandos Road ... Jim Mathieson claims that the site was shown to him by his father, who said local residents had regarded it as a burial ground. The site consists of a low lunette of sandy soil adjacent to a clay pan (du Cros and Associates 1995: Appendix Document 9A: 43, cited in Toscano 2008: 9).

These burials, near Point Wilson, are more likely within the estate of the Yaawangi clan, but just possibly were in the Neerer bulluc clan's estate if their lands included a long stretch of Nerm/Port Phillip Bay foreshore.

The deceased were of course dealt with reverentially by Aboriginal people, but in some horrific cases early European invaders used skeletal remains as a weapon against them. George Augustus Robinson wrote in 1839:

Several of the huts some of which [were] occupied by respectable settlers had a skull in front of their [huts]: Allan's was one, also Learmonth's another ... Allan placed over his hut door a black man's skull for the purpose of intimidating the blacks (Robinson, Journal entry for 15 April 1839, in Clark, ed. [1998a]).

Robinson and Charles Sievwright, his Assistant Protector of Aborigines for the Western District (including Geelong and most of Wadawurrung Country, and further west) agreed on the need to enforce European respect for Aboriginal funeral customs – largely to no avail.

3.3.2.4 Population Numbers

The pre-invasion population of the Wadawurrung has been estimated to have been between 1,620 and 3,240 (Clark 1990: 307). The decline in their population was catastrophic and precipitous. For example, the Watha wurrung bulluc clan of the Barrabool Hills (one of the best-documented Wadawurrung clans) numbered 297 people in 1837 (Clark 1990: 299). From about 1842 there survives a list of the Watha wurrung bulluc clan, naming 44 men, 41 women, 22 boys and 11 girls (Frances Sievwright Davenport, cited in Clark and Cahir, eds. 2016: 309-312); by this time several Wadawurrung clans were almost extinct. By 1853 the Watha wurrung bulluc clan was reduced to nine women, seven men, and one child, according to an early European settler, George Lloyd, who added that there had been no more than 24 Watha wurrung bulluc children born over the previous seventeen-year period (Lloyd 1862: 456, 458, 462, cited in Clark 1990: 307-308). This represents a population loss of over 94% in just 16 years for the Watha wurrung bulluc clan.

Two smallpox epidemics – one around 1789-1790 and the other 1829-1832 – appear to have devastated Victorian Aboriginal peoples (death rates were probably around 50% of those infected). The effect on the Wadawurrung and other Aboriginal groups would have been devastating. Some groups reportedly were wiped out entirely in western Victoria (Robinson, cited in Presland 2010: 87). Dysentery (1839), influenza (1847), pneumonia, tuberculosis, and venereal disease also ravaged the people in the early years of European settlement. George Lloyd recorded a story told to him by a Wadawurrung man in 1853 on the banks of the Barwon River:

"The stranger white man came in his great swimming corong [vessel], and landed at Corayio with his dedabul boulganas [large animals], and his aniki boulganas [little animals]. He came with his boom-booms [double guns], his white miam-miams [tents], blankets, and tomahawks; and the dedabul ummageet [great white stranger] took away the long-inherited hunting grounds of the poor Barrabool coolies and their children," . . . "Coolie! coolie! coolie! where are our coolies now? Where are our fathers—mothers—brothers—and sisters? Dead! all gone! dead!" (Lloyd 1862: 457, cited in Clark 1990: 308).

However Lloyd's story continued:

Then in broken English, they said, "Neber mind, Mitter Looyed, tir, by-'n'-by, all demblackfella come back whitefella, like it you." Such is the belief of the poor Aborigines of Victoria (Lloyd 1862: 457).

Lloyd then added, without a trace of irony:

Hence we may fairly infer that they possess a latent spark of hope in their minds as to another and a better world (Lloyd 1862: 457).

Robert Brough Smythe, who published an important study of the Aboriginal people of Victoria in 1878, echoed the pessimistic view of many in the late nineteenth century:

Now that the natives are no longer able to follow their old pursuits, now that they are cut off from those enjoyments which in their natural state kept them in health, now that they are held in restraint either at the stations established by the Government or where living in the neighbourhood of places peopled by whites, it is probable that the numbers will decrease, and that, as a race, they will ultimately be extinguished in Victoria. Nothing that can be provided for their sustenance and comfort can compensate for the loss they experience in being deprived of their lands, the society of their friends, and the delights of the chase (Smyth 1878, I: 45).

Some population figures exist for the Tolloora/Toollora bulluk clan of the Wadawurrung People. In early reports the clan was also called the 'Borhoneyghurk tribe', the 'Lal Lal tribe', and the 'Merimu tribe', among others.

One of the early squatters in the area, John Norman Macleod, who settled at 'Borhoneyghurk' near Meredith in October 1837, recalled that the first Aboriginal People whom he saw were a party of about twenty (J.N. Macleod, 18 August 1853, in Bride, ed. 1898: 2). Macleod went on to say "I have counted 340 together at their meetings in 1843 and 1844" (J.N. Macleod, 18 August 1853, in Bride, ed. 1898: 2). That high number undoubtedly reflects a meeting of many clans. In an 1840 census, Edward Stone Parker listed twenty members of the Tollerer bulluk clan, and in an 1843 census he listed twenty-three: eleven men (recording their names), along with eight wives and four children.

In January 1852 Edward Brown Addis, the Commissioner of Crown Lands of the District of Grant, reported in a half-yearly return, that there were eight men, six women, and four children of the 'Leigh tribe' that were frequenting Geelong (Addis 1854: 22), along with members of the 'Barrabool' and 'Colac' 'tribes', and that during the previous year the three had started mixing more frequently than before – an indication of the reduced numbers of the clans forcing social changes upon them:

The great facility with which they procure food [in Geelong], by gifts of bread and flour from the inhabitants, and also offal from the slaughter-houses, has led to this result . . . Without apparently suffering in health from other causes, the several tribes named are fast lessening in number (Addis 1854: 21).

It is not clear if any members of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan People were included in these figures.

Archibald Fiskien, a squatter at Lal Lal, was one of the people who responded to a circular letter sent in 1858 by the Victorian Government Select Committee appointed to enquire into the condition of the Aborigines.

Fiskien responded that in his district there were fifteen Aboriginal people (nine males, five females, and one male child), from the "Lal Lal, Ballan, Merimu, and Baronighurk 'tribes'" (Select Committee 1859: 26, 27). Fiskien also responded to a question regarding mortality over the previous ten years:

Mortality remarkable. Bronchitis, rheumatic pericarditis, psoriasis, intemperance. Particular disease.—No (Select Committee 1859: 28).

Ian Clark documents two people who were possibly among the last surviving members of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan in 1866:

Old King Johnathon, King of Borhanygurk, and his aged wife, Borongergerk, almost blind, visited Thomas's Merri River residence in March, 1866. In August, 1866 the Bacchus Marsh Express ran a story on the death of 'Old Mary', of the Carngham tribe and the wife of 'Old Johnathon, who died in her mia-mia in a Mr. Young's paddock. Old Johnathon belonged to the 'Bunninyong tribe' and was about 80 years old, and with his grandson, Jacky Smith, was to leave for Coranderrk in a couple of days (Clark 1990: 329).

There is some confusion over Johnathon's clan affiliation, since he is called 'King of Borhanygurk', which would indicate the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan, and of the 'Bunninyong tribe', which was a term used for the Kureet bulluc clan (although Buninyong was also an area where the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan was said to have lived).

3.4 Lifestyle, Environment, and Resources

3.4.1 Introduction

The general picture of Wadawurrung subsistence is one of small extended family groups (of fifteen to twenty individuals), moving about their land on a seasonal basis to exploit the changing availability of plant and animal

resources. A typical mobile Aboriginal encampment in the region was described by William Thomas, while travelling between Nerm/Port Phillip Bay and Westernport in 1854:

It seems that while travelling the people were busy but the day was not long: all are employed; the children in getting gum, knocking down birds etc; women in digging up roots, killing bandicoots, getting grubs etc; the men in hunting kangaroos, etc, scaling trees for opossums etc. They mostly are at the encampment about an hour before sundown – the women first, who get fire and water, etc. by the time their spouses arrive ... In warm weather, while on tramp, they seldom make a miam – they use merely a few boughs to keep off the wind, in wet weather a few sheets of bark make a comfortable house. In one half hour I have seen a neat village begun and finished" (Thomas, quoted in Gaughwin and Sullivan 1984: 93-4).

Thomas was describing a Wurundjeri/Woi wurrung or Boon wurrung band, but the description applies equally to the Wadawurrung.

The early European explorers were very favourably impressed with the land around Nerm/Port Phillip Bay and beyond. Navigator Matthew Flinders, for example, wrote:

The country surrounding Port Phillip has a pleasing, and in many parts a fertile appearance; and the sides of some of the hills and several of the vallies [sic] are fit for agricultural purposes. It is in great measure a grassy country, and capable of supporting much cattle, though better calculated for sheep (Flinders 1814, I, Journal entry for 1 May 1802).

Little did Flinders – or the Wadawurrung – know that within two generations the land he saw would indeed be taken over by sheep and cattle. By 1837, less than two years after the initial European settlement of Melbourne, there were over 50,000 sheep grazing in the Port Phillip district (Cotter 2006: 44). By 1851, when Victoria became a separate colony, there were 77,345 Europeans, 391,000 cattle, and 6,590,000 sheep (Barwick 1984: 108). The native plant and animal resources – so carefully tended by the Wadawurrung and their neighbours for thousands and thousands of years – had been destroyed, and the Aboriginal population had been decimated.

The initial European settlement (1835-1837) was of the rich plains from Geelong to Werribee to Melbourne. In March 1836, John Cowie and David Stead landed sheep at what is now called Cowies Creek and established a 'run' on the east bank of the Moorabool River near Bell Post Hill. By 9 July 1836 their colleague John von Stieglitz landed at Point Henry more stock for their run, which soon had 3,600 sheep (Wynd 1981: 18). A little earlier on the same day Thomas, John, and Peter Manifold had landed 340 sheep—the first landed at Point Henry—and squatted temporarily beside the Moorabool River (Thomas Manifold, 30 August 1853, in Bride, ed. 1898: 135). Within a few years they had moved up the Moorabool River to the northwest. One of the largest European landholdings in the area was by the Clyde Company, established in 1836, which at one time held much of the land between the Moorabool and Leigh Rivers (Thomas Manifold, 30 August 1853, in Bride, ed. 1898: 135). At one point, George Russell was based in Darriwil Parish, just north of Bannockburn (Spreadborough and Anderson 1983: 269). Thus the estates of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk and their neighbouring clans were lost to them within two years. The land to the west and northwest were quickly invaded in the years following. The first European settlement in the Buninyong-Ballarat area was in 1837-1838, and the first settlers in the Beaufort region – the northwest corner of Wadawurrung lands – were Kenneth and Katherine Kirkland and James and Robert Hamilton (Katherine's brothers), in 1838. Thus, within three years of the first European settlement in the Port Phillip District, the entirety of the Wadawurrung lands had been invaded and taken over by European squatters.

3.4.2 Fresh Water

The estate of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan was well watered by several rivers and creeks. The Parwan/Barwon River was most likely their southern boundary, and other important rivers and creeks in their Country were the Murrabul/Moorabool River, Cowies Creek, and Hovells Creek. Further to the west were Bruce's Creek, Native Hut Creek, and the Yarrowee/Leigh River, all tributaries to Parwan/Barwon River. It is not clear how far west and northwest the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan's Country extended, but almost certainly it included the area of the current Study Area around present-day Bannockburn, on Bruce's Creek. While not all of these rivers flowed all year round, they have waterholes along them that would have been available, in most cases, except in times of serious drought.

3.4.3 Plant Resources

The current Study Area had a variety of Ecological Vegetation Types (EVCs), according to the mapping of vegetation prior to 1750 by Victoria's Department of Environment, Land, Water and Planning (DELWP). The reconstructed EVCs comprised four vegetation types in the Bannockburn South East Study Area, and five in the broader Bannockburn Growth Plan Study Area:

<u>Vegetation Category</u>	<u>EVC Number</u>	<u>Bannockburn South East Study Area</u>	<u>Bannockburn Growth Plan Study Area</u>
Plains Grasslands and Chenopod Shrublands	EVC 132	79.36 %	76.23 %
Plains Woodlands or Forests	EVC 55	15.39 %	17.88 %
Riverine Grassy Woodlands or Forests	EVC 68	4.97 %	4.88 %
Wetlands	EVC 647	0.28 %	1.29 %
Wetlands	EVC 691	—	0.12 %

It can be seen at a glance that two vegetation types dominate the current Study Area. Three-quarters of the area comprised Plains Grasslands and Chenopod Shrublands (EVC 132, 79.36 % of the current Study Area), characterized by grassland and low shrubs, on fertile, cracking basalt-derived soils. This zone is part of the broad plains stretching from Djilang/Geelong northeast to the Werribee River. Before the Invasion, these plains were a major area for the harvesting of Murnong (*Microseris walteri* syn. *M. scapigera*), or 'Yam Daisy'. Murnong was easily the most important plant resource of the Wadawurrung (and other southeast Australian Aboriginal peoples). This plant grew abundantly along stream and riverbanks, as well as in grassland plains and open forests and woodlands.

Katherine Kirkland, an early European settler in the Yarram Yarram/Beaufort region, in the far northwest of Wadawurrung Country, describes Murnong as follows:

Maranong is a root found in the ground: it is white, and shaped like a carrot, but the taste is more like a turnip. The leubras dig for it with long pointed sticks, which they always carry in their hands. I have often eaten maranong; it is very good (Kirkland 1979 [1845]: 14).

William Buckley talks about "roots" in general terms only, except for one sentence in which he mentions Murnong by name:

There was another sort of food very useful to me; this was a particular kind of root the natives call Murnung—in shape, and size, and flavour, very much resembling a radish (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967: 65]).

Wadawurrung People would eat it raw or roasted. A form of plant husbandry was practiced, in which women would turn over the soil with digging sticks to get the tubers, and in the process aerate the soil. In open grasslands and woodlands fire would also be used: after burning, the women would dig out the tubers and, in the process, mix ash into the soil, to produce a high yield the following year; yields would gradually decline

until the process was repeated, after three or four years (Presland 2010: 71-72). The firing also promoted a new growth of grasses, which attracted game animals to the area. Murnong provided a major part of the Wadawurrung diet until its ecosystem was largely destroyed by European grazing animals very soon after the European invasion (Pascoe 2018: 18-27).

Apart from the Yam Daisy, the Plains Grassland cover of the current Study Area would have consisted largely of graminoid (grass-like) species, such as Knead Spear-grass (*Austrostipa bigeniculata*), Long-hair Plume-grass (*Dichelachne crinita*), bar-rang/Kangaroo Grass (*Themeda triandra*), Common Wallaby-grass (*Austrodanthonia caespitosa*) and Common Wheat-grass (*Elymus scaber* var. *scaber*) (DSE 2004). As the names of some of these plants imply, they would have provided good grazing food for goim/kangaroos and go-yin/wallabies.

The other major vegetation type reconstructed for the current Study Area is Plains Grassy Woodlands (EVC 55; 15.39 % of the current Study Area). This type is characterized by open eucalypt forest, dominated by biyal/Red River Gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*), with fertile but poorly drained soils on flat or gently undulating plains. The understorey is characterised by sparse shrubs over a grassy and herbaceous ground layer, including bar-rang/Kangaroo Grass (*Themeda triandra*), Supple Spear-grass (*Austrostipa mollis*), and garra/Golden Wattle (*Acacia pycnantha*) (DSE 2004). The bark from River Red Gum trees were used for shields and bowls and other utilitarian functions. Golden Wattle produces an edible gum. It would be harvested, especially in the summer, and softened by soaking in water; it was considered both a food and a tonic. The gum was also used as a glue in the fashioning of artefacts (Cahir *et al.* 2018: 63-64).

James Dawson, an early squatter and student of Aboriginal customs across the Western District, was probably talking of the Golden Wattle when he wrote:

The gum of the acacia, or common wattle tree, is largely consumed as food, as well as for cement [for tools and weapons]; and each man has an exclusive right to a certain number of trees for the use of himself and his family. As soon as the summer heat is over, notches are cut in the bark to allow the gum to exude. It is then gathered in large lumps, and stored for use (Dawson 1881: 21).

The third vegetation type is Riverine Grassy Woodlands or Forests (EVC 68; 4.97 % of current the Study Area). This type is along the incised, intermittent Bruce's Creek. It is characterized by open eucalypt woodland, dominated by River Red Gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*), with a sparse shrub understorey and a species-rich grassy and herbaceous ground layer.

The only other vegetation type in the current Study Area is Wetlands (EVC 647; 0.28 % of the current Study Area), in a small wetland depression in the northeast corner of the current Study Area. This type typically had sedgy and herbaceous species with a range of aquatic herbs. Occasionally tea-trees or even *Eucalyptus* sp. could be present as well.

In all, almost 300 plants were utilized by the Aboriginal peoples of Victoria (Gott and Conran 1991; Gott 1991, 2001, 2008; Zola and Gott 1992; Presland 2010: 71; Cahir *et al.* 2018).

3.4.4 Animal Resources

3.4.4.1 Mammals

In terms of geology, the Study Area is within a broad area called the Victorian Volcanic Plain. It had a wide variety of native animal resources before the European Invasion. Early European settlers and visitors in the plains and woodlands stretching between Djilang/Geelong and Naam/Melbourne describe the local native fauna as plentiful; the region would have been a rich one for the Wadawurrung clans whose estates they were, and especially abundant in the vicinity of water sources. This region was an immediate attraction for European settlers – as Flinders said, “It is in great measure a grassy country, and capable of supporting much cattle,

though better calculated for sheep” (Flinders 1814, I, Journal entry for 1 May 1802). In the years following the invasion many native animal species quickly became extinct from the area.

There were at least 45 mammals endemic to the Plains. Of these, seven were large animals (over 10 kg), and fourteen were medium-sized (1 – 10 kg).

Large Mammals (10 kg +)

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>Max. Weight</u>	<u>Habitat</u>
Eastern Grey Kangaroo	<i>Macropus giganteus</i>	90.0 kg	Grassland, Forest
Bare-nosed Wombat,			
Common Wombat	<i>Vombatus ursinus</i>	35.0 kg	Forest, Grassland
Swamp Wallaby	<i>Wallabia bicolor</i>	20.5 kg	Heath, Forest
Dingo	<i>Canis familiaris dingo</i>	20.0 kg	Grassland, Forest
Red-necked Wallaby	<i>Macropus rufogriseus</i>	18.6 kg	Forest, Heath
Tasmanian Pademelon	<i>Thylogale billardieri</i>	12.0 kg	Forest
Koala	<i>Phascolarctos cinereus</i>	11.8 kg	Forest

Medium-size Mammals (1 – 10 kg)

<u>Common Name</u>	<u>Scientific Name</u>	<u>Max. Weight</u>	<u>Habitat</u>
Bridled Nailtail Wallaby	<i>Onychogalea fraenata</i>	8.0 kg	Grassland, Forest
Short-beaked Echidna	<i>Tachyglossus aculeatus</i>	7.0 kg	Forests, Scrubland
Common Brushtail Possum	<i>Trichosurus vulpecula</i>	4.5 kg	Arboreal
Rufous Bettong	<i>Aepyprymnus rufescens</i>	3.5 kg	Forest
Bindjulang, Spotted-tail Quoll	<i>Dasyurus maculatus</i>	3.5 kg	Forest
Eastern Hare-Wallaby	<i>Lagorchestes leporides</i>	3.0 kg (av.)	Grassland
Platypus	<i>Ornithorhynchus anatinus</i>	2.5 kg	Rivers, Lakes
Eastern Barred Bandicoot	<i>Perameles gunnii</i>	2.0 kg	Grassland
Long-nosed Potoroo	<i>Potorous tridactylus</i>	1.8 kg	Forest
Luaner, Eastern Quoll	<i>Dasyurus viverrinus</i>	1.4 kg	Grassland, Forest
Southern Brown Bandicoot	<i>Isodon obesulus</i>	1.4 kg	Scrub with firing
Long-nosed Bandicoot	<i>Perameles nasuta</i>	1.1 kg	Woodland
Common Ringtail Possum	<i>Pseudocheirus peregrinus</i>	1.0 kg	Forest
Grey-headed Flying Fox	<i>Pteropus poliocephalus</i>	1.0 kg	Forest

The other 24 mammals in the region were all smaller than 1 kg in maximum weight, and thus would have been of less focus as resources for food or body parts, although Kirkland (1979 [1845]: 20) talks about obtaining skins of the “flying squirrel, or tuan, from the natives”. This animal is the Brush-tailed Phascogale (*Phascogale tapoatafa tapoatafa*), which has a maximum weight of about 300 g.

The current Study Area is very largely Plains Grassland in terms of vegetation. This means that the forest and woodland species listed above would not have occurred within the Study Area, but most would have been available in vegetation zones nearby, and within the overall estate of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan. The main food species within the Study Area would have been goim/Eastern Grey Kangaroo, Dingo, Rufous Bettong, Eastern bu/Barred Bandicoot, yurn/Luaner or Eastern Quoll, and possibly the ngurr-ngurr/Bare-nosed Wombat. It is not clear if the Bridled Nailtail Wallaby and the Eastern Hare-Wallaby ranged as far south as the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan estates; more likely they were only in the northern Wadawurrung Country, if that. William Buckley reported that the Watha wurrung bulluc clan considered the “wild dogs, and kangaroo rats” to be great delicacies (Morgan 1852 [Sayers ed. 1967]: 31): the Dingo would have been present in the current Study Area, but the Rufous Bettong would only have been in forested areas to the south.

Hunting techniques

The Wadawurrung People and their neighbours used a variety of strategies for hunting. No information has survived concerning hunting strategies of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan, but we have information on some of the techniques used by their southern neighbours, with whom William Buckley lived: the Watha wurrung bulluc of the region around Djilang/Geelong.

Goim/Kangaroos were hunted by approaching them holding a screen of branches in one hand in order to get close enough to spear them. Another method of goim/kangaroo hunting, by the Watha wurrung bulluc, was described by William Buckley:

Considerable dexterity is used by them in catching and killing kangaroo; for they place themselves at particular spots and distances, so as to drive them into corners like flocks of sheep, and then they spear them without difficulty. We killed several very large ones ... (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 29).

The southern Wadawurrung People's also used fire-drives. Buckley explains:

I should here observe, that the natives sometimes, and when the wind is favourable, hunt round a kind of circle, into which they force every kind of animal and reptile to be found; they then fire the boundary, and so kill them for food; it matters not what they are, whether kangaroo, wombats, opossum, or black snakes; they are to them, with the exception of the last named, all alike; as are also lizards, toads, rats, mice, and wild dogs; they cook them and eat them all (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 72)].

Buckley also describes the southern Wadawurrung technique for hunting ngurr-ngurr/wombats:

... the norngnor ... the creature the English call the wombat. They live in holes in the earth, of about twenty feet long and from ten to twenty deep, in an oblique direction, burrowing in them like the mole. When well cooked, they are good eating ... The wombats feed on grass chiefly, only venturing out after dark, or on moonlight nights, returning to their burrows at day-break. The natives take these creatures by sending a boy or girl into their burrows, which they enter feet first, creeping backwards until they touch the animal. Having discovered the lair, they call out as loud as they can, beating the ground over head, whilst those above are carefully listening—their ears being pressed close to the earth. By this plan of operations, they are enabled to tell with great precision the spot where they are. A perpendicular hole is then made, so as to strike the extremity of the burrow, and having done this, they dig away with sharp sticks, lifting the mould out in baskets. The poor things are easily killed, for they offer no resistance to these intrusions on their haunts. There is, however, a good deal of difficulty in making these holes, and in getting down so deep to them—so that it is a sort of hunting for food, of which the natives are not very fond (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 67).

Regarding barnong/possums, Buckley also has a description of Watha wurrung bulluc hunting strategies; he was shown:

How to ascertain when these animals were up the trees, and how the natives took them; this was, in the first place, by breathing hard on the bark, so as to discover if there was any possum hairs left attached to it when the animal ascended. This found, he next cut a notch in the bark with his tomahawk, in which to insert his toe, and then another notch, holding the tomahawk in his mouth after making the incision. And so on upwards; by this means climbing the highest trees, and dragging the animals out of their holes [in tree hollows], and off the branches by their legs and tails, and then throwing them down to me at the foot; my business being to kill, and carry them (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 46-47).

3.4.4.2 Birds

Many species of birds were hunted by Wadawurrung People. Of these easily the most important was the emu, which lived in the current Study Area. Other large birds hunted by Wadawurrung People include kunuwarra/swans and geese, but they and ducks probably would have been only occasional visitors to the current Study Area (although they would have been available to the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan elsewhere in their estate). Bush Stone-curlews were native to the Study Area. Other birds would have included parrots: for Katherine Kirkland, in the far northwest of Wadawurrung Country, parrot pie was a great favourite. Waa/Crows were not hunted by the Watha wurrung bulluc, the southern neighbours of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan. William Buckley relates the story:

Their notion of the origin of fire is this, that as a native woman was digging at an ant hill one day, for the purpose of getting their eggs for eating, a crow flying over her dropped something like dry grass, which immediately blazed, and set a tree on fire. For this reason, they very much respect the Waakee, as they call the bird, and do not kill and eat him, unless pressed by necessity (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 45).

Buckley also described the hunting of kawirr/emus, kunawarra/swans, geese, and ducks by the Watha wurrung bulluc (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 18, 30-31, 36, 37). He also mentions the hunting of eggs (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 36), which would have also been important food for the clans of the current Study Area. In addition, Buckley mentions bird parts as ornaments: kawirr/emu feathers for male and female ornament, kunuwarra/swan feathers for female ornament (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 37, 56). Buckley continues:

Many of the women have rings made out of the bones of birds suspended from the inside of their nostrils, and the men have a small straight bone with a sort of knob at one end. Those who have the most ornaments are considered the most fashionable and attractive (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 56).

3.4.4.3 Reptiles Amphibians, and Insects

A variety of snakes, lizards, and amphibians live or did live in the current Study Area. Eastern Brown Snakes, Tiger Snakes, and Copperheads would have been the main snake species (and still are), and the Blue-tongue Lizard would have been the main large lizard. A variety of frogs would have inhabited Bruce's Creek.

Katherine Kirkland also commented on grubs, which she said were a favourite of the Moner bulluc clan in northern Wadawurrung Country:

They are also fond of a large grub found generally in the cherry and honeysuckle tree: they can tell, by knocking the tree with a stick, if any grubs are in it. When they knock the tree, they put their ear close to listen, and they open it with a tomahawk at the very spot the grubs are to be found. It is a large white grub, with a black head. I know a gentleman who was tempted to taste them from seeing the natives enjoy them so much, and he said they were very good (Kirkland 1979 [1845]: 20).

"Manna" was another delicacy:

Manna falls very abundantly from the gum-trees at certain seasons of the year. I think it was in March I gathered some. It is very good, and tastes like almond biscuits. It is only to be procured early in the morning, as it disappears soon after sunrise (Kirkland 1979 [1845]: 20).

"Manna" is more prosaically called lerp (from the Wemba-wemba word *laap*); they are the sugary secretions of insects used to create a shelter for them to live in, on gum leaves. They are small but plentiful in the autumn months.

3.4.4.4 Saltwater Fish and Shellfish

Saltwater resources – fish and shellfish – lay within the estate of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan and would have been an important source of food in their yearly travels around their estate. However, Coriayo/Corio Bay lies about 25 km east-southeast of the current Study Area, and so saltwater resources probably would not have been a factor in the food resources of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan while they were camping in the current Study Area.

In the Bay were numerous species, including kiang/purt/Bream (*Seriotelella brama*), Flathead (*Platycephalus spp.*), Garfish (*Hyporhamphus melanochir*), Mullett (*Mugil cephalus*), Snapper (*Chrysophrys spp.*), Whiting (*Sillago spp.*) and various species of stingrays and sharks.

Most ethnographic references are to the spearing of fish, but line fishing was also practised by the Bunurong/Boon wurrung, and presumably by the Wadawurrung People also. Nets made from fibre – from plants of the *Cyperus* genus, for example, were used to catch fish and crayfish (Cahir *et al.* 2018: 82), but it is not known if the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan of the current Study Area used this technology when visiting the Bay shore. Similarly, it is not known if canoes were used by the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk and neighbouring clans.

Fish traps were also used by the Wadawurrung People. Two stone tidal fishtraps have been found on the western side of Nerm/Port Phillip Bay (Lane 2009: 5). Both are in Coriayo/Corio Bay, at Point Lillias. The VAHR 7721-0505 site card describes it as “lines of basalt in [the] intertidal zone” and indicates that oral tradition exists that it was “a known fish trap which worked prior to coastal works along [the] Avalon coastline” (Lane 2009: 5). The second fishtrap, registered as VAHR 7721-0761, possessing some historical remains, is associated with a late nineteenth-century oyster industry nearby. For this reason it was initially recorded as a historical site (HV 7721-012) in 1995. However, in 2005 it was considered that “it is likely that the site was originally used by Aboriginal people as a fishtrap”, according to the site card for VAHR 7721-0761 (Lane 2009: 5). Both fishtraps are in what almost certainly was the estate of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan.

William Buckley described night fishing by the Wadawurrung People, in which bundles of sticks were set on fire to attract the fish. According to Buckley, the Wadawurrung People cooked fish by placing them on alternate layers of green grass and ashes.

3.4.4.5 Freshwater fish, mollusks, and crustaceans

There is one creek in the current Study Area: Bruce’s Creek, and although it does not flow year-round, waterholes along its course would have contained fresh water for longer periods. Bruce’s Creek had several resources that would have been exploited by the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan for food.

Two freshwater fish in particular were probably present in Bruce’s Creek: they have been attested in the Parwan/Barwon River, Murrubul/Moorabool River, Howells Creek, Little River, and Werribi Yaluk/Werribee River. They are the Tupong, or Congolli (*Pseudaphritis urvillii*), which grows to a maximum of 36 cm, and the River Blackfish (*Gadopsis marmoratus*), which reaches 60 cm in length and 5 kg in weight. The Tupong migrates to coastal estuaries between late April and August to breed.

The Balonne Freshwater Mussel (*Velesunio ambiguus*) has been documented in the Parwan/Barwon and Murrubul/Moorabool Rivers, and likely occurred in Bruce’s Creek as well. This mollusk was an important food source for Wadawurrung People and was endemic in rivers and streams throughout Victoria. In northern Wadawurrung Country, for example, along Mount Emu Creek near Trawalla/Trawalla, Katherine Kirkland observed:

In some of the fresh-water ponds there are immense quantities of mussels, which the native women dive for. We often saw numbers of shells lying in heaps where the blacks had been eating them (Kirkland 1979 [1845]: 19).

Balonne Freshwater Mussels are medium-sized mussels, growing to a maximum of 12 cm in length, but more commonly they are about 4 cm. These mussels were probably not a staple food resource, since they generally would have provided less than 1 g of food each and required an expenditure of energy to collect. However, they would have been a good dietary supplement, and they would have been a good food reserve in hot, dry summer months. Buried in damp ground they can survive for over a year, and Aboriginal people were observed by early European settlers digging for them in dry creek beds. An Aboriginal cache of freshwater mussels has been found: it consisted of over 360 neatly arranged shells, buried at a depth of 1 m (Anonymous 2008: 2; Anonymous 2019). Freshwater mussels are able to tolerate dry conditions for long periods, and so they could have been carried to other campsites away from their source. Conceivably they could have been traded to groups who did not have access to them. The shells of freshwater mussels were used for tools, as scrapers for animal skins or wood, and also, perhaps, for fashioning fishhooks (Anonymous 2008: 2; Anonymous 2019).

Apart from fish and shellfish, an important source of freshwater food was the Yabby (*Cherax destructor*) which has also been documented in Cowies Creek, in Neerer bulluc country to the east of Bannockburn. Yabbies grow up to 25 cm long, and like the mussels can survive in dry conditions, by digging burrows into the creek bank and hiding in them until water returns to the creek.

3.4.4.6 Eels

Buniya/Eels were a major Aboriginal source of food in Victoria south of the Great Dividing Range. Two species occur: the Southern Shortfin Eel (*Anguilla australis*) and the Longfin Eel (*Anguilla reinhardtii*). The Longfin Eel has not been attested recently in Wadawurrung Country, although Buckley describes it well, saying that it was not as numerous as the smaller [Southern Shortfin] eel (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 58). The Southern Shortfin Eel has been documented as being present in Cowies Creek, and possibly existed in pre-invasion times within the current Study Area, but more likely its habitat was a little further downstream. The Southern Shortfin Eel has also been attested in Parwan/Barwon River, Murrubul/Moorabool River, Howells Creek, Little River, and Werribi Yaluk/Werribee River, and was widespread in all the rivers and streams of southern Victoria. There were several major buniya/eeling localities across Aboriginal Victoria, at which large numbers of people would gather to harvest buniya/eels during their mass migrations in the late summer (late January to late March). At this time the buniya/eels reached their highest meat-to-weight ratio (Sullivan 1981:5). The buniya/eeling season was a time of great celebration, when large groups (multi-clan and even various language groups) could get together for buniya/eeling as well as for important ceremonial purposes. Perhaps the most important single location was Lake Bolac, but there were others such as the Bolin Wetlands on Birrarung Maar/Yarra River in Melbourne's north in Woi wurrung country.

In Wadawurrung Country the main location for buniya/eeling was at Buckley's Falls, on Parwan/Barwon River in Djilang/Geelong. William Buckley and his adoptive clan the Watha wurrung bulluc gathered there annually to harvest buniya/eels. Buckley and the Watha wurrung bulluc clan also participated in buniya/eeling at Lake Modewarre, about 20 km south of Bannockburn, probably in the estate of the Gerarlture clan [Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 38; Clark 1990: 311, 322], and in the Gerangamete swamps, south of Birregurra in Gulidjan Country [(Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 72-73). As we have seen, the southern border of the Neerer bulluc clan's estate was likely Parwan/Barwon River, and it is very likely that they also participated in buniya/eel harvesting by Buckley's Falls. Buckley describes the scene as follows:

A messenger now came from another tribe [the Neerer bulluc clan?], to tell us they would be glad to see our party near a river the call Boonea-Willock [the Barwon River around Buckley's Falls]—so named from a sort of eels they call Boonea—with which that stream abounds. It was very much swollen, in consequence of heavy floods, so that we could not cross it, to join our friends; we therefore pitched our huts on the other side. Many parts of that river are rocky, leaving but an inconsiderable depth of water, into which the eels get in great numbers; indeed so numerous were they, that we caught them in dozens. These eels appeared to be very sagacious, but not so much

as to avoid our fishing parties; for although they would shoot away into deep water at the falling of a star, or any extraordinary noise, yet they would come to our fishing torches and allow themselves very placidly.

When the flood in the river—which had been occasioned by very heavy and continuous rains—had subsided, we passed over, and huddled ourselves on the other side. Another tribe soon after joined us, amounting to about one hundred men, women, and children [is this the Neerer bulluc clan?]. I should here say, that the eels mentioned, seemed inexhaustible at this place, those of the smallest kind being the most numerous. They are light blue on the back, with white bellies; these the natives call Mordong; and the larger kind, the Babbanien; the latter being brown on the back, with white bellies. (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 57-58).

Buckley talks about catching eels by spearing them, and also by a line-and-hook:

... the bait being a large earth worm. Having these worms ready, they get a piece of elastic bark, and some long grass, on which they string them; this is tied to a rod, and as the eel, after biting, holds on tenaciously he is thrown or rather jerked upon the bank (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 32).

Buckley says that the buniya/eels were usually caught at night, when they could be attracted fairly easily to torches. He says that they were eaten roasted. George Augustus Robinson was given buniya/eels to eat when he visited Lake Bolac in 1841:

The eels given to us by the Boloke natives were cooked and were very acceptable, as we had been out of meat and none was at the hut. They were of delicious flavour. The natives from necessity were induced to adopt an excellent plan for cooking eels. They make a trench in the ashes and lay in the eel, cover it with ashes. The time necessary for baking is guessed with great precision. I saw several baked and in every case they have been well done. The flavour is preserved and the flesh is snow white; skin peels off. The eels of Lake Bolak are delicious (George Augustus Robinson, Journal entry for 2 April 1841, Clark 1998b: 123).

3.4.5 Stone Resources

The most common raw materials for stone tools of the Wadawurrung People were quartz, silcrete, and quartzite. In the Bannockburn area by far the most common artefact materials, in almost equal numbers, were quartz and silcrete, followed by quartzite. Sites in the current geographic region also include ochre, crystal quartz, and sandstone.

A source for silcrete is rumoured to be in the Barrbuls/Barrabool Hills to the south of the current Study Area (silcrete is fairly widely present, for example, in sites in the Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula, even though no source seems to exist there).

Outcrops of silcrete and quartzite occur from just north of Maude, about 15 km north of the current Study Area, in a band stretching north-northwest as far as Elaine:

Siliceous conglomerate and quartzite outcrop sporadically over a wide area in the Elaine Meredith-Morrison's district, along the valley of Sutherland Creek, and as isolated hillcaps to the north of Maude.

The quartzite is grey-white to buff in colour, and extremely hard and dense. Pebbly sand and medium to coarse grained gravel containing plant fragments and in situ rootlets, have been altered to siliceous conglomerate and quartzite. Some silcrete outcrops are silicified ordovician rocks in which quartz veins and bedding can be recognized. At Maude, the Sutherland Creek sand has been silicified (Bolger 1981: 6, quoted in Marshall 2002: 14).

These outcrops (the southern ones at least) were likely in Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk Country. Several Wadawurrung silcrete quarries in the Maude and Sutherland Creek area west of the Brisbane Ranges have been registered: VAHR 7722-0001, VAHR 7722-0053, VAHR 7722-0211, VAHR 7722-0212, and VAHR 7722-0213 (Light and Tuechler 2014: 53).

Quartz and quartzite are available from nearby watercourses such as Murrabul/Moorabool River, where they are found in the form of river cobbles (Birch et al. 1997: 98-99; Webb 1999: 103, cited in Light and Tuechler 2014: 53). On Murrabul/Moorabool River near Lethbridge, about 13 km north of the current Study Area, is silicified quartz (quartzite?) outcrop, VAHR 7722-0002 (Light and Tuechler 2014: 53).

James Dawson, an early settler and Local Guardian of the Aborigines, resident in the Camperdown area, talks of an obsidian source near Dunkeld, and says that obsidian was used for scraping and polishing (Dawson 1881: 78).

About 15 km southeast of the current Study Area, in the Barrbuls/Barrabool Hills just south of Murrabul/Moorabool River, is a potentially important quarry site (VAHR 7721-0001). This is the Dog Rocks Quarry, consisting of six greenstone outcrops with associated fragments (Bullers 2016: vi, 6, 32, 33, 44, 49). Since greenstone was an important source for axes amongst the Aboriginal Victorians generally, the Dog Rocks Quarry site is potentially of major importance. It is one outcrop group of a cluster located in the eastern Barrbuls/Barrabool Hills: there are several other registered greenstone quarry sites in the Barrbuls/Barrabool Hills region which could have provided stone for axes. These are at Gleeson Hill (VAHR 7721-0002) and Georges Hill (VAHR 7721-0128) at Ceres (Light and Tuechler 2014: 53). In the reports it is not clear whether the Dog Rocks 'Quarry' was actually utilized by Wadawurrung People. It is reasonable to infer that if this quarry was within the estate of Buckley's Watha wurrung bulluc clan, then he would have known about it, even if he did not visit it (although it is possible that it was sacred knowledge kept from Buckley). Therefore, it would seem more likely that the quarry was within the estate of the Wada wurrung bulluc's northern neighbour, the Neerer Bulluc clan.

More broadly, in Victoria there are six belts of Cambrian greenstone, several of which have Aboriginal quarries associated with them. Easily the most famous, and important, is the Mount William quarry site near Lancefield, in Woi wurrung country; axes from Mount William were traded far and wide. This site was jealously guarded by the Woi wurrung, as the anthropologist Alfred Howitt recounts:

As a good instance of the manner in which trespasses by a person of one tribe on the country of another tribe were dealt with, I take the case of a man of the Wudthaurung [Wadawurrung] tribe, who unlawfully took, in fact stole, stone from the tribal quarry at Mt. William near Lancefield. I give it in almost the exact words used by Berak [a great Woi wurrung leader of the Wurundjeri willam patriline] in telling me of it, and who was present at the meeting which took place in consequence, probably in the late forties.

It having been found out that this man had taken stone without permission, the Ngurungaeta Billi-billeri sent a messenger to the Wudthaurung, and in consequence they came as far as the Werribee River, their boundary, where Billi-billeri and his people met them. These were the men who had a right to the quarry, and whose rights had been infringed. The place of meeting was a little apart from the respective camps of the Wurundjeri and the Wudthaurung.

At the meeting the Wudthaurung sat in one place, and the Wurundjeri in another, but within speaking distance. The old men of each side sat together, with the younger men behind them. Billi-billeri had behind him Bungerim, to whom he "gave his word." The latter then standing up said, "Did some of you send this young man to take tomahawk stone?" The Headman of the Wudthaurung replied, "No, we sent no one." Then Billi-billeri said to Bungerim, "Say to the old men that they must tell that young man not to do so any more. When the people speak of wanting

stone, the old men must send us notice." Bungirim repeated this in a loud tone, and the old men of the Wudthaurung replied, "That is all right, we will do so." Then they spoke strongly to the young man who had stolen the stone, and both parties were again friendly with each other.

At such a meeting all the weapons were left at the respective camps, and each speaker stood up in addressing it [sic.] (Howitt 2001 [1904]: 340-341).

William Buckley also makes references to greenstone axes:

I must say something about their tomahawk; which, perhaps, as a very important instrument, ought to have been mentioned in an earlier part of this narrative. The heads of these instruments are made from a hard black stone, split into a convenient thickness, without much regard to shape. This they rub with a very rough granite stone, until it is brought to a fine thin edge, and so hard and sharp as to enable them to fall a very large tree with it. There is only one place that I ever heard of in that country, where this hard and splitting stone is to be had. The natives call it karkeen; and say, that it is at a distance of three hundred miles from the coast, inland. The journey to fetch them is, therefore, one of great danger and difficulty; the tribes who inhabit the immediate localities being very savage, and hostile to all others. I was told, that it required an armed party of resolute men, to obtain supplies of this very necessary article; so that the tomahawk is considered valuable for all purposes. They vary in weight from four to fourteen pounds; the handles being thick pieces of wood split, and then doubled up, the stone being in the bend, and fixed with gum, very carefully prepared for the purpose, so as to make it perfectly secure when bound round with sinews [sic.] (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 57).

The "karkeen" referred to is almost certainly the Mount William quarry, about 110 km north-northeast of Geelong near Lancefield.

3.4.6 Aboriginal tools and toolkits

3.4.6.1 Men's Toolkits

William Thomas has described a Port Phillip Aboriginal man's wooden toolkit as follows: five spears (two of which were barbed), a waddy [club], a bludgeon, a throwing stick for fighting or hunting birds, a boomerang, two shields (one for close and one for more distant combat), and an axe (Thomas cited in Sullivan 1981: 26). Elsewhere Thomas described how bark shields were curved due to fire treatment. Tools often had several purposes. The boomerang, for example, could be used for hunting, or its sharp, hardwood edge could be used as a knife. It could also be used as a hammer or a club, as well as a digging stick. Finally, it could be used as a percussive musical instrument, and even as a firestick. Stone tools are under-reported in early accounts of Aboriginal people, but they included blades for skinning and sharpening wooden tools, and spear points. Bones were used as barbed tips for fishing spears. Mussel shells were also used for cutting and for sharpening wood.

3.4.6.2 Women's Toolkits

Aboriginal women also had a wooden toolkit. The main item was a digging stick about two meters long, and about as thick as a man's wrist, with a sharp point, usually hardened by fire. Women also had a variety of wood and bark containers, and bags woven with string from reeds and rushes or from Messmate (*Eucalyptus obliqua*) bark (Presland 2010: 55).

3.4.7 Trade and Exchange

There was an active trade among Aboriginal groups throughout Victoria, both among clans and between different language groups. One group would have access to stone for axes, another the gum used for hafting and binding, and so on. James Dawson sums up the situation:

At the periodical great meetings trading is carried on by the exchange of articles peculiar to distant parts of the country. A favourite place of meeting for the purpose of barter is a hill called Noorat, near Terang. In that locality the forest kangaroos are plentiful, and the skins of the young ones found there are considered superior to all others for making rugs. The aborigines from the Geelong district bring the best stones for making axes, and a kind of wattle gum celebrated for its adhesiveness. This Geelong gum is so useful in fixing the handles of stone axes and the splinters of flint in spears, and for cementing the joints of bark buckets, that it is carried in large lumps all over the Western District. Greenstone for axes is obtained also from a quarry on Spring Creek, near Goodwood; and sandstone for grinding them is got from the salt creek near Lake Boloke. Obsidian or volcanic glass, for scraping and polishing weapons, is found near Dunkeld. The Wimmera country supplies the maleen saplings, found in the mallee scrub, for making spears. The Cape Otway forest supplies the wood for the bundit spears, and the grass-tree stalk for forming the butt piece of the light spear, and for producing fire; also a red clay, found on the sea coast, which is used as a paint, being first burned and then mixed with water, and laid on with a brush formed of the cone of the banksia while in flower by cutting off its long stamens and pistils. Marine shells from the mouth of the Hopkins River, and freshwater mussel shells, are also articles of exchange.

Attendance at these great meetings is compulsory on all [sic.] (Dawson 1881: 78).

3.4.8 Travel routes

There appear to have been two major types of travel routes employed by Victorian Aboriginal people. The first was along river valleys – an obvious choice, since so many resources were concentrated there. The second would have been across country guided by particular landmarks, such as hills or mountains (in many cases these would have also been important points along the sacred songlines). In the current Study Area, Bruce's Creek is an example of the former, hosting a north-south pathway, and is distinguished by the number of Aboriginal sites along its course. Regarding the latter, major landform features near the current Study Area are Wurdi Youang/You Yangs and the Barrbuls/Barrabool Hills. These were clearly visible and could have guided travel routes across the area.

3.4.9 Place Names

The clans of the Wadawurrung in the current Study Area appear to have disappeared almost immediately after the influx of squatters in 1836. This means, tragically, that almost no record of them has survived. A fleeting record of them possibly has survived from the names of parishes in the Shire of Bannockburn and neighbouring shires. The survival of these Wadawurrung names (most are Wadawurrung place names) is due not from any sense of acknowledging Country that the British had stolen, but rather as a bureaucratic move to avoid possible reduplication of European names.

The surveying and mapping of land in New South Wales began, under Augustus Alt, who had been appointed Surveyor of Lands in 1787, almost as soon as the First Fleet had landed in what they called Sydney. However, by the 1820s the land-grab around Sydney by Europeans was out-pacing the extent of the surveyed land. In 1825 the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Bathurst, ordered that "a systematic survey of the Colony should be carried out" (Bathurst, quoted in Cannon and MacFarlane, eds. 1988: xv). A plan ensued under which the invaded land of New South Wales would be divided into 'counties' about 40 miles (roughly 64 km) square on average—1600 square miles in area—and each county would be divided into 'hundreds' of about 100 square miles (roughly 259 square km). These in turn were to be further subdivided into 'parishes' of about 25 square miles (roughly 65 square km). The principal aim of the survey was to measure and define land grants for settlers; areas of the surveyed land would be reserved for towns, roads and recreation grounds (Cannon and MacFarlane, eds. 1988: xv).

Most of the survey work was headed by Thomas Mitchell, who was appointed Deputy Surveyor-General of New South Wales in 1827. The following year, upon the death of the Surveyor-General John Oxley, Mitchell became Surveyor-General in his own right, and proceeded with a triangulation survey of the counties that had been 'settled' around Sydney. By 1834 his Survey Department had mapped with precision almost 2 million acres of land in New South Wales (Cannon and MacFarlane, eds. 1988: xvi-xvii).

On 5 September 1829 Mitchell issued a direction to all surveyors concerning what he saw as the need for uniformity in Aboriginal place names on survey maps:

In order to establish uniformity in the spelling and pronunciation of native names, as well as to avoid the printing of long names which are by no means desirable on maps, I have to request that you will be particular in spelling such names with as few letters as possible, observing the following rules:

1. That where *g* begins a syllable it is never followed by *h*.
2. That the vowel *u* is always to be used instead of the diphthong *oo* excepting in the last syllable when the accent is upon it.
3. That no name is to terminate with *h*.
4. That two *r*'s are to follow the accented syllable only and no other.

By avoiding thus unnecessary consonants and diphthongs, names, to which some have given fourteen letters may be written in nine, as Beraweree for Bherrah-where, Gulangulah, for Ghoolan-ghoolah, Bhroulhee for Brule, Culapatambo for Coulahpatamboh, and many other words in which there are letters as superfluous as gum trees on the hills (Cannon and MacFarlane, eds. 1988: xviii).

In the 1820s the land surveys were around Sydney, but with the European invasion of what is now Victoria, land survey also extended there. By September 1836 the area around Melbourne and Geelong, stretching north as far as the Murray River and west as far as the Victoria–South Australia border, was named as an administrative district of New South Wales: the Port Phillip District. In January 1840 the Port Phillip District was expanded as far north as the Murrumbidgee River, but the northern boundary was soon withdrawn to the Murray River, and by 1843 the District had essentially been defined as the same as present-day Victoria, which formally came into being as a separate colony from New South Wales on 1 July 1851.

The surveying of the Port Phillip District began in earnest in 1837, following a letter from Samuel Augustus Perry, the Deputy Surveyor-General of New South Wales under Mitchell. On 31 July 1837, Perry wrote to Robert Hoddle, who had been appointed a few months earlier as Surveyor of Port Phillip District. Perry had just been directed by the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, Lord Glenelg, to hold periodic land sales in Port Phillip, and so surveying of the District was urgently needed.

Perry's letter to Hoddle gave quite specific instructions, largely following the earlier surveying directives of New South Wales around Sydney. These instructions included:

... each Parish is to comprise as nearly as may be, an area of 25 square miles, and to be described by a clear and well defined natural boundary line even at the sacrifice of regularity in the dimensions ...

It has been customary to make permanent water courses the boundaries of Parishes, probably because they usually form the boundaries of farms on one side, but to give each Parish its stream

would appear to be a more convenient arrangement, as it would admit of the towns being astride of the streams . . .

Every parish is to be divided into sections of one square mile each, or into portions with frontage on the sea, lakes, rivers or roads as has been the practice heretofore in the allotting of lands for sale in this colony . . .

In every Parish, you will make at least one reserve for a town or village, observing that the areas of lands so reserved should be about half a section [half a square mile, or 320 acres – about 129.5 ha] for a village, and a whole section or more for a town, and you will moreover be careful to reserve all tracts or pieces of land that may appear to be required for public purposes, and you will likewise make reserves for public roads . . .

. . . you will make reserves as the sites for churches, schools, or parsonage houses, or as places for the interment of the dead . . .

You will assign to each Parish a name, founded on the native appellations of any hill or place therein (Samuel Perry letter to Robert Hoddle, 31 July 1837, quoted in Cannon and MacFarlane, eds. 1988: 98-100).

Regarding the surveying of the Port Phillip District, the Colonial Secretary specifically instructed William Lonsdale, the Melbourne Police Magistrate:

I am directed by the Governor to inform you, that in all cases where names are to be given, His Excellency wishes as far as possible to adopt those already used by the natives, and to avoid the use of names already appropriated in other counties. The name of Geelong is therefore to be retained, as well as Melbourne, the latter having been already fixed (Colonial Secretary letter to William Lonsdale, 5 April 1838, quoted in Cannon and MacFarlane, eds. 1988: xviii).

The surveying of Victoria continued over several decades, expanding out from the initial surveys of the Melbourne and Geelong areas. By 1871, thirty-seven counties had been gazetted (thirteen in 1849, three in 1853, one each in 1869 and 1870, and nineteen in 1871). Until 1870, most of the counties were named after British politicians (one, Bendigo, was named after a bare-knuckle prize fighter!); most of the nineteen counties named in 1871 were given Aboriginal names.

Parishes in the Bannockburn area with Wadawurrung names are the following:

<u>Name of Parish</u>	<u>Translation (if known)</u>	<u>Reference</u>
Anakie	'little' (mountain)	Wynd 1981: 7, 56
Balliang	the name of a 'chief'	Wynd 1981: 7, 56
Barrabool	'big magpie' or 'old magpie'	Wynd 1992: ix, 16
Burtwarrah	??	
Carrah	??	
Darriwill	'native turkey' or 'bustard'	Beaurepaire 1995: 12
Durdidwarrah	'shelter of bank of trees'	Beaurepaire 1995: 10, 151-158
Gherineghap (later Gheringhap)	'golden wattle'	David Jones, pers. comm. *
Lara	'hut on stony ground' or 'Milky Way'	Geelong Advertiser 1918a
Moorpanyal	??	Wynd 1981: 7, 56
Moranghurk	??	Wynd 1981: 7, 56

Moreep	??	Beaurepaire 1995: 147
Murgheboluc	'brightness of the two waters'	David Jones, pers. comm. *
Murtcaim	'native cat'	Wynd 1981: 7, 56
Wabdallah	??	
Woornyalook	'brackish water'	Wynd 1981: 7, 56
Wurdi-Youang	'big mountain'	
Yowang	??	

* David Jones, pers. comm., 11 October 2021

Some of these names are descriptive of features in Country; an example is Murgheboluc, 'brightness of the two waters', which refers to the Native Creek and Bruce's Creek (Beaurepaire 1995: 40; David Jones, pers. comm. 11 October 2021). Other names can be used to infer features that would have been of importance to the Wadawurrung people in whose estates they are. An example is Gheringhap, 'golden wattle' (*Acacia pycnantha*), (David Jones, pers. comm. 11 October 2021), which was of economic importance to the Wadawurrung People. Golden Wattle produces an edible gum. It would be harvested, especially in the summer, and softened by soaking in water; it was considered both a food and a tonic. The gum was also used as a glue in the fashioning of artefacts (Cahir et al. 2018: 63-64). James Dawson, an early squatter and student of Aboriginal customs, was probably talking of the Golden Wattle when he wrote:

The gum of the acacia, or common wattle tree, is largely consumed as food, as well as for cement [for tools and weapons]; and each man has an exclusive right to a certain number of trees for the use of himself and his family. As soon as the summer heat is over, notches are cut in the bark to allow the gum to exude. It is then gathered in large lumps, and stored for use (Dawson 1881: 21).

In addition to parish names and 'run' and station names, the names of some of Geelong's major streets are based on Wadawurrung names: Moorabool, Gheringhap, Malop, Yarra, Bellarine (David Jones, pers. comm. 11 October 2021).

3.5 Post-contact History

3.5.1 Early European explorers

The earliest Europeans to encounter the Wadawurrung People were sealers, and they began a horrific pattern for what was to follow: the introduction of diseases, the seizing of local resources, and the kidnapping and raping of Aboriginal women (Cotter 2001: 19). They operated (as did whalers slightly later) on the Bass Strait coast from 1798 until the 1830s, and probably made occasional incursions into Nerm/Port Phillip Bay.

William Buckley's Aboriginal friends related a story to him about European visitors to the Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula before his arrival among them in 1803. A vessel landed near Indented Head and six or seven men came ashore. Two of the men were tied to trees and shot, at which point the others returned to their ship (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 81).

'Matilda', a Palawa (Tasmanian) Aboriginal woman who had been kidnapped by sealers and brought to Nerm/Port Phillip Bay, reported to George Augustus Robinson a story that two white men had their throats cut by other white men on the Mud Islands off the Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula (Plomley, ed. 1966: 405).

The first European known to have seen the entrance of what is now called Nerm/Port Phillip Bay was Lieutenant John Murray, commanding the *Lady Nelson*, on 4 January 1802. On 14 February 1802 he returned from surveying islands in Bass Strait and entered Nerm/Bay. Murray named the Bay 'Port King', after the third Governor of the colony of New South Wales, Captain Philip King; King subsequently renamed it 'Port Phillip

Bay', after the first Governor of the colony, Arthur Phillip). It only took three days for the first violent encounter with the Bunurong/Boon wurrung People of the eastern shore of Nerm/Port Phillip Bay. On 17 February, there was a near-spearings of one of the ship's company during a foraging expedition for water. The "unprovoked attack" by the Bunurong/Boon wurrung may well have been a warning: if they had wanted to spear the English sailor, it is unlikely that they would have 'missed'. The Europeans fired on the Aboriginal group and almost certainly killed one, possibly two, of them. In 1839 one of the Bunurong/Boon wurrung men involved in the battle, Bunja Logan, showed William Thomas the gunshot scars from the wounds he received in the encounter (Cotter 2001: 72).

On 8 March 1802 Murray 'took possession' of Nerm/Bay and surrounding lands in the name of King George III, and on 11 March the *Lady Nelson* left Nerm/Port Phillip Bay bound for Sydney, which he reached on 24 March.

On 25 April 1802 the French Commander Jacques Félix Hamelin, commanding the *Naturaliste*, entered Sydney Harbour. He had been separated from his companion ship, the *Géographe*, commanded by Captain Nicolas Baudin in Bass Strait, and his provisions had run out and his men were sick. Even though France and England were at war, Governor King received him well.

While Hamelin and his men were recovering in hospital and his stores were being replenished, Captain Matthew Flinders arrived in Sydney in the *Investigator*, on 9 May. Flinders had met Baudin a month earlier in what he named Encounter Bay, off what is now Victor Harbor in South Australia. After the encounter Flinders continued his voyage, and on 26 April 1802 entered Nerm/Port Phillip Bay. The following day he climbed Wonga/Arthur's Seat, and on 29 April he finished surveying the eastern side of Nerm/Bay and crossed to 'Indented Head', which was the original European label for the Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula. On 1 May Flinders set off to climb Wurdi Youang/You Yangs:

At day dawn I set off with three of the boat's crew, for the highest part of the back hills called Station Peak. Our way was over a low plain, where the water appeared frequently to lodge; it was covered with small-bladed grass, but almost destitute of wood, and the soil was clayey and shallow. One or two miles before arriving at the feet of the hills, we entered a wood where an emu and a kangaroo were seen at a distance; and the top of the peak was reached at ten o'clock. My position was then 21' of latitude from Point Nepean, in the direction of N. 28° 30' W., and I saw the water of the port as far as N. 75° E., at the distance of seven or eight leagues; so that the whole extent of the port, north and south, is at least thirty miles. The extremity of the western arm bore S. 15°45' W., which makes the extent, east and west, to be thirty-six miles; but there was no communication with the sea on that side, nor did the western arm appear to be navigable beyond seven miles above where I had crossed it. Towards the interior there was a mountain bearing N. 11° E., eleven leagues distant [Mount Macedon]; and so far the country was low, grassy, and very slightly covered with wood, presenting great facility to a traveller desirous of penetrating inland.

I left the ship's name on a scroll of paper, deposited in a small pile of stones upon the top of the peak; and at three in the afternoon reached the tent, much fatigued, having walked more than twenty miles without finding a drop of water. Mr. Lacy, the midshipman of the boat, had observed the latitude at the tent from an artificial horizon to be 38° 2' 22"; and Station Peak bore from thence N. 47° W.

In the evening we rowed back to Indented Head, and landed there soon after dark. Fires had been seen moving along the shore, but the people seemed to have fled; though we found two newly erected huts with fires in them, and utensils which must have belonged to some of the people before seen, since there was boiled rice in one of the baskets. We took up our quarters here for

the night, keeping a good watch; but nothing was seen of the Indians till we pushed off from the shore in the morning, when seven showed themselves upon a hill behind the huts. They ran down to examine their habitations, and finding every thing as they had left it, a little water excepted of which we were in want, they seemed satisfied; and for a short time three of them followed the boat [sic.] (Matthew Flinders 1814, I, Journal entries for 1-2 May 1802).

The Aboriginal group that Flinders met, on Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula, was almost certainly of the Bengalat balug clan of the Wadawurrung.

On 3 May 1802 Flinders left Nerm/Port Phillip Bay and set sail for Sydney. Although he had been in Nerm/Bay for only a week, and had found no good sources of fresh water, Flinders had a very favourable view of the region:

The country surrounding Port Phillip has a pleasing, and in many parts a fertile appearance; and the sides of some of the hills and several of the vallies are fit for agricultural purposes. It is in great measure a grassy country, and capable of supporting much cattle, though better calculated for sheep ... Were a settlement to be made at Port Phillip, as doubtless there will be some time hereafter, the entrance could be easily defended; and it would not be difficult to establish a friendly intercourse with the natives, for they are acquainted with the effect of fire-arms and desirous of possessing many of our conveniences [sic.] (Matthew Flinders 1814, I, Journal entry for 2 May 1802).

In November 1802 Charles Grimes, the Acting Surveyor-General of New South Wales, was sent to survey King Island in Bass Strait and Nerm/Port Phillip Bay. He sailed in the *Cumberland*, commanded by Charles Robbins. A convict gardener, James Flemming, was included in the expedition. Flemming was responsible to report on the soils and vegetation of Nerm/Port Phillip, and he kept a journal of the journey. On 20 January 1803 the *Cumberland* entered Nerm/Port Phillip Bay. On 22 January Grimes and Flemming, accompanied by several others, began a series of daily surveys around Nerm/Port Phillip Bay. Flemming climbed Wonga/Arthur's Seat and got a good view of Western Port. In his journal Flemming diligently recorded the soils, vegetation, and fresh water that they encountered. On 2 February Robbins, Grimes, and Flemming and two sailors came across Birrarung Maar/Yarra River. By 14 February the surveyors had reached Wadawurrung Country at the mouth of Werribi Yaluk/Werribee River. They continued surveying the western shore of Nerm/Port Phillip and by 17 February they had reached the area of Djilang/Geelong. On 18 February, on Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula, they met a group of 11 Aboriginal people, almost certainly Wadawurrung of the Bengalat balug clan:

... they were very civil. I gave one of them a biscuit; he looked at it; I took it again, eat of it, when he did the same; whatever we said they said it after us. There was one who appeared to be their chief. They handed us their spears to look at; one of them was barbed and one with two prongs. ... Two of them appeared to be marked with the smallpox (James Flemming 1802-1803, Journal entry for 18 February 1803).

On 27 February 1803 the *Cumberland* left Nerm/Port Phillip Bay, sailing for Sydney. Flemming summarised the lands around the Bay (he called it 'Port King') in glowing terms:

The most eligible place for a settlement that I have seen is on the Freshwater River (Yarra). In several places there are small tracts of good land, but they are without wood and water. I have every reason to think that there is not often so great a scarcity of water as at present from the appearance of the herbage. The country in general is excellent pasture and thin of timber, which is mostly low and crooked. In most places there is fine clay for bricks, and abundance of stone. I am of opinion that the timber is better both in quality and size further up the country, as I saw some what is called ash on the banks of the Freshwater River, and the hills appear to be clothed with wood. As to the quantity of good land at the different places, I shall be better able to describe

when I am favored with a sight of a chart, as I have not been permitted to see one since I came out. There is great plenty of fish in Port King. The country in general is newly burnt [sic.] (James Flemming 1802-1803, Journal entry for 26 February 1803).

3.5.2 British and New South Wales policies on Port Phillip settlement

By early 1803 the authorities in London were discussing the possibility of a settlement in Nerm/Port Phillip Bay (Cotter 2001: 11). While some have argued that the reason for a settlement was to thwart French colonization (which King himself believed was likely), the main reason for a settlement seems to have been simply to create another convict colony.

On 24 April 1803, the *Calcutta* and the *Ocean* set sail from Portsmouth, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel David Collins, with orders to found a new antipodean colony in Nerm/Port Phillip Bay. In early October, Collins entered Nerm/Port Phillip Heads, and established the first European settlement (apart from some earlier sealers' camps on Warn-Mar-In/Western Port) in what was to become Victoria. He 'settled' in Bunurong/Boon wurrung Country, at Sullivan Bay, near what is now Sorrento.

Shortly after the establishment of the settlement at Sullivan Bay, Lieutenant James Tuckey and several men left the camp (16 October 1803) and in two boats spent ten days exploring and surveying Nerm/Port Phillip Bay. In part Tuckey was looking for the possibility of a better site for the settlement than Sullivan Bay. He saw the mouth of Birrung Maar/Yarra River, but did not investigate it closely.

Tuckey's expedition encountered Aboriginal groups at various points around Nerm/Bay. Mostly they were peaceful meetings, but one, on 23 October 1803, was not. In the northwest of Nerm/Bay, in what was almost certainly Wadawurrung Country (but was possibly the western extremity of Bunurong/Boon wurrung land), Tuckey and his men met a group of Aboriginal people:

The N.W. side of the port, where a level plain extends to the northward as far as the horizon, appears to be by far the most populous; at this place, upwards of two hundred natives assembled round the surveying boats, and their obviously hostile intentions made the application of fire-arms absolutely necessary to repel them, by which one native was killed, and two or three wounded. Previous to this time, several interviews had been held with separate parties, at different places, during which the most friendly intercourse was maintained, and endeavoured to be strengthened on our part, by presents of blankets, beads, &c. At these interviews they appeared to have a perfect knowledge of the use of fire-arms; and as they seemed terrified even at the sight of them, they were kept entirely out of view. The last interview which terminated so unexpectedly hostile, had at its commencement the same friendly appearance. Three natives, unarmed, came to the boats, and received fish, bread, and blankets. Feeling no apprehension from three naked and unarmed savages, the First Lieutenant proceeded with one boat to continue the survey, while the other boat's crew remained on shore to dress dinner and procure water. The moment the first boat disappeared the three natives took leave, and in less than an hour returned with forty more, headed by a chief who seemed to possess [sic] much authority. This party immediately divided, some taking off the attention of the people who had charge of the tent, (in which was Mr. Harris the surveyor of the colony,) while the rest surrounded the boats, the oars, masts, and sails of which were used in erecting the tent. Their intention to plunder was immediately visible, and all the exertions of the boat's crew were insufficient to prevent their possessing themselves of a tomahawk, an axe and a saw. In this situation, as it was impossible to get the boat away, everything belonging to her being on shore, it was thought advisable to temporise, and wait the return of the other boat, without having recourse to fire-arms, if it could possibly be avoided; and for this purpose, bread, meat, and blankets were given them. These condescensions, however, seemed only to increase their boldness, and their numbers having been augmented by the junction

of two other parties, amounted to more than two hundred. At this critical time the other boat came in sight, and observing the crowd and tumult at the tent, pushed towards them with all possible dispatch. Upon approaching the shore, the unusual warlike appearance of the natives was immediately observed, and as they seemed to have entire possession of the tent, serious apprehensions were entertained for Mr. Harris and two of the boat's crew, who it was noticed were not at the boat. At the moment that the grapnel was hove out of the Lieutenant's boat, to prevent her taking the ground, one of the natives seized the master's mate, who had charge of the other boat, and held him fast in his arms, a general cry of "Fire, Sir; for God's sake, fire!" was now addressed from those on shore to the First Lieutenant. Hoping the report only would sufficiently intimidate them, two muskets were fired over their heads; for a moment they seemed to pause, and a few retreated behind the trees, but immediately returned, clapping their hands, and shouting vehemently. Four musquets with buck shot, and the fowling-pieces of the gentlemen with small shot, were now fired among them, and from a general howl very different from their former shouts, many were supposed to be struck. This discharge created a general panic, and leaving their cloaks behind, they ran in every direction among the trees. It was hoped the business would have terminated here, and orders were, therefore, given to strike the tent, and prepare to quit the territory of such disagreeable neighbours. While thus employed, a large party were seen again assembling behind a hill, at the foot of which was our tent: they advanced in a compact body to the brow of the hill, every individual armed with a spear, and some, who appeared to be attendants of others, carrying bundles of them; when within an hundred yards of us they halted, and the chief, with one attendant, came down to the tent, and spoke with great vehemence, holding a very large war spear in a position for throwing. The First Lieutenant, wishing to restore peace if possible laid down his gun, and advancing to the chief, presented him with several cloaks, necklaces, and spears, which had been left behind on their retreat; the chief took his own cloak and necklace, and gave the others to his attendant. His countenance and gestures all this time betrayed more of anger than fear, and his spear appeared every moment upon the point of quitting his hand. When the cloaks were, all given up, the body on the hill began to descend, shouting and flourishing their spears. Our people were immediately drawn up, and ordered to present their musquets loaded with ball, while a last attempt was made to convince the chief, that if his people continued to approach they would be immediately fired upon. These threats were either not properly understood, or were despised, and it was deemed absolutely necessary for our own safety, to prove the power of our fire-arms, before they came near enough to injure us with their spears; selecting one of the foremost, who appeared to be most violent, as a proper example, three musquets were fired at him at fifty yards distance, two of which took effect, and he fell dead on the spot, the chief turning round at the report saw him fall, and immediately fled among the trees; a general dispersion succeeded, and the dead body was left behind (Tuckey 1805: 167-174).

In all one or two Wadawurrung men, possibly of the Worinyaloke bulluk clan, were killed, and several wounded. Tuckey ended his survey soon afterwards, leaving behind his description both of the landscape around Nerm/Port Phillip Bay and of the Aboriginal people – Bunurong/Boon wurrung and Wadawurrung – who inhabited its shores (Tuckey 1805: 156-190). After reporting back to Collins, the settlement was doomed; Collins, as unimpressed as Tuckey, decided it would be better to move to another location outside Nerm/Port Phillip Bay. Collins asked Governor King for permission to abandon the Sullivan Bay settlement, and, on 30 January 1804, Collins sailed to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania).

3.5.3 William Buckley

Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of the ill-fated expedition to Sullivan Bay was that on 27 December 1803 six convicts escaped. One was shot during the escape attempt, and one later returned to the camp. But one of the convicts, William Buckley, made his way around Nerm/Port Phillip Bay to the lands of the Wadawurrung,

around what is now Djilang/Geelong. He was found and adopted by the Watha wurrung bulluk clan of Wadawurrung, who thought he was the reincarnation of a recently deceased warrior, Murrangurk (Buckley had taken a spear from his grave, and spirits of the dead were thought to be white). Buckley lived with the Wadawurrung for over 31 years, before being found by a European exploration party at Indented Head on 6 July 1835. Buckley's account of his time with the Wadawurrung is an invaluable account of the contact-period Aboriginal peoples of Victoria, albeit with no doubt some faulty and exaggerated recollections and some hyperbole likely added by the man to whom he told his story, John Morgan (1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]).

During Buckley's three decades with the Wadawurrung there were a few encounters with Europeans. On one occasion he says that he was inland when he saw some Aboriginal people, one of whom was carrying a flag. He and others had raided a British ship lying at anchor off Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula. Buckley hurried to the spot and tried to attract the attention of the sailors, but they ignored him. After they had left, Buckley found the grave of a European (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 79-81)

This story has similarities to a story that Buckley recounted to John Helder Wedge about another European visit to Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula some time between 1804 and 1835. Wedge relayed the story:

He [Buckley] stated that on one occasion a small craft was in the Port [Phillip Bay], not far from its entrance. He was on the Peninsula on the eastern side of Swan Bay, on Indented Head, when a boat from the craft with three or four men in it put on shore, I think I understood him, for the purpose of burying one of their companions (John Helder Wedge, cited in Bonwick 1856: 16).

Buckley at first approached the Europeans, but they could not communicate, and the visitors ignored him. The following day they returned, but a more cautious Buckley (escaped convict that he was) kept himself hidden.

This story may be a reference to the *Lively*, a vessel that had been part of an expedition to explore and map Antarctica in 1830-1831. The vessels of the expedition became separated, and the *Lively* eventually made it to Nerm/Port Phillip Bay, with only three survivors out of a crew of ten due to scurvy. The survivors made it ashore and "after some considerable time they gradually recovered" (Mill 1934: 232). Sayers gives the interval as two weeks (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 81). During this time the *Lively* was found by the Wadawurrung, who proceeded to pillage it. The surviving crew managed to regain control of the *Lively* and sailed her to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) (Mill 1934: 232).

Buckley also said that a few months after the first of the stories recounted above, another vessel washed up on the coast of Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula. Buckley found a boat with eight large oars, partly buried in sand. Blankets were rigged as sails, and Buckley assumed that the boat was cast away from a whaling vessel. Buckley plundered the vessel and distributed the blankets that had been used for sails among the local Aboriginal people (the Bengalat balug clan?). They told Buckley that a few days before they had met two survivors, who had gone away in the direction of Wurdi Youang/You Yangs and the Werribi/Werribee plains. Buckley later heard that the two had been killed by the Woi wurrung while crossing Birrarung Maar/Yarra River (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 81-82).

3.5.4 Overland expeditions

While Buckley was living with the Watha wurrung bulluc, overland expeditions from the colony of New South Wales were beginning to be made. The first to reach Wadawurrung country were Hamilton Hume and William Hovell who in 1824 led an expedition to explore for new grazing territory. They began their journey in Appin, southwest of Sydney, and travelled to the area where Albury now is, and then crossed the Murray River, heading southwest. On 16 December 1824 they entered Wadawurrung Country:

Thursday, December 16.—This morning they crossed the river or creek without difficulty, the water not taking the cattle more than chest high. Mr. Hume named this stream the Arndell [now called the Werribee River], after the late Dr. Arndell, the father of Mrs. Hovell. They now proceed

S W. by S. through the plains about six miles, when they were struck with an appearance, respecting which they could not decide, whether it was that of burning grass, or that of distant water. They now proceeded S. and at four o'clock, had the gratification satisfactorily to determine that the appearance which had just now created so much doubt, was that of water; and which, leaving the river a short distance, and directing their march from S W. to S S W. they soon ascertain to be part of the sea, —the so long and ardently desired object of their labours. They now again alter their course to S W., and travel six miles in that direction along the shore, over excellent land, but quite clear of timber.

On the downs or plains to-day, they had seen several flocks of emues, and wild turkeys. The kangaroo however was seldom met with. Indeed this animal is not generally found in so open a tract of country, as that over which they have been passing the last three days.

The water near the shore was covered with water-fowl, of various descriptions, some of which were new to them.—And by the time they had halted for the night, they had procured an ample supply of black swans and ducks. They stopped for the night at seven o'clock, in a small wood about a mile from the beach, but where there was no fresh water; having travelled to-day, upwards of twenty miles.

Friday, December 17th.—Indications of rain, terminating in light showers. Wind high from the westward. They proceed this morning from the beach, in a direction about N N W. three or four miles, in quest of water, when they arrive on the banks of a creek [now called Hovells Creek], where they had the good fortune to find abundance, both of good water and of grass. Here therefore they remain the day, in order to refresh the cattle, who were not a little in want of this timely relief, more particularly as it is proposed to commence their return tomorrow. This determination of so soon retracing their steps, though it cost them much regret, had become indispensable, not only from the extreme scantiness of their remaining supplies [four weeks' flour and some tea and sugar], and the certainty of the many difficulties they would have to encounter, but still more so from the consideration that the mere circumstance of a fall of rain, by swelling the streams, might in the weak, and ill-provided state, to which the whole party were reduced, render their return altogether impracticable. This morning, one of the men, James Fitzpatrick, having proceeded a short distance up the creek, to shoot wild fowl, was suddenly surprised by a couple of natives who were lurking behind some reeds; the man no sooner perceived them, than he begun to retreat, and they to advance, throwing off their cloaks, and with their arms in their hands; perceiving this, he turned and snapped his piece at one of them; but as it missed fire, he had no resource left, except flight, and which also would have been unavailing, had not his shouts for assistance, brought him timely aid. About two hours after this occurrence, as two of the people were employed in procuring firewood, in a small clump of trees, not far from the tent, two natives sprung towards them from behind the trees. These, however, on the men presenting their muskets at them, made signs of peace. Mr. Hume who was at hand now approached, when laying down his arms, and beckoning to the men to do the same, the natives followed the example, and after much conversation, but of which not a word was understood by either party, they proceeded with Mr. Hume to the tent. These people by degrees began to be a little better understood, when they seemed to wish to describe that a vessel had been in that bay, and that the people had landed; and to imply that both the master and the people were continually in a hurry [possibly a reference to Tuckey's survey party]. They also appeared to point out where the vessel lay, and suiting "the action to the word," endeavoured to explain that they had seen men felling trees in that direction, and this was all done with a gesture and grimace, evincing that these people were at least not bad mimics.

These natives, who were soon joined by a third, it was discovered were inquisitive, troublesome, and great thieves, cunning and treacherous. They made a laugh of the circumstance of one of the people having been pursued, though there could be no doubt as to the hostility of their intentions on that occasion. Messrs. Hovell and Hume, had been desirous of taking their horses in the direction of what they supposed to be Port Phillip, but the conduct of these people, and the numerous fires which were being made around them, apparently as signals among the natives, made them conclude, that it would be unsafe for the party to separate.

The natives here, in their form and features, very much resemble those about Sydney, their manners and customs appeared very similar, and they have the same kind of weapons. Their language however seemed totally different, as to words, from that of the Sydney natives, or those about Jarvis's Bay, though in sound, it is much the same.

e.g.	The name of the bay	Geelong.
	Mount Wollstonecraft	Woolloomanata.
	The downs extending to the beach	Iranmoo.
	Water	Goolamoo.
	A certain bird	Bonering.
	A dog	Narranuke.

The harbour or bay consisted of an immense sheet of water, its greatest length extending E. and W. with land which seemed to them an island, to the southward, lying across its mouth, but which, in fact, is a peninsula, with a very low isthmus connecting it to the western shore. Hence the mistaking of this spot, Port Phillip, for Western Port, a bay about fifteen miles to the eastward of the latter. This error has been since satisfactorily rectified by Mr. Hovell, in his examination of Western Port, and its vicinities, on the occasion of the late settlement of that place; a short account of which will be given in the appendix.

The soil throughout the plains appeared good, in some places of considerable extent, and to afford a particularly fine dry sheep pasturage. There is however a deficiency of trees fit for building, though abundance for fuel. Ridges of stones, here and there intersect the plains, varying in elevation from two or three to five or six feet, and of perhaps fifty or sixty feet in breadth.

The stones are of various sizes, broken, angular, extremely hard, heavy, and some so large that they would weigh upwards of four or five hundred weight. Two such ridges as above described, extend from Mount Wollstonecraft a distance of six or seven miles, almost in a direct line, nearly down to the beach. Mr. Hovell took from the root of a tree, which had been recently blown down, a piece of very soft stone, consisting almost entirely of lime; and the banks of the creek, near its entrance into the bay, seemed to consist principally of beds of shells; emus are numerous every where on the Downs, and near the sea the Cape Barren goose. The bay too is literally covered with black swans, and various other aquatic birds. Caught some black bream in the creek. Messrs. Hovell and Hume each marked his initials on a tree with an iron tomahawk, at some distance from the left bank of the creek, about two miles from the beach.

Wind high from the N W. and S W. since Sunday. Thermometer from 55 to 60 deg. at noon; in the morning 45 and 50 deg.

Saturday, December 18.—This morning they commence their return, keeping between two and three miles to the southward and eastward of their outward route; at four, having travelled about fifteen miles, they halt on the banks of a large creek, taking its rise in Mount Wollstonecraft, and which they named "Dickson's Creek," [now called Little River] after Mr. John Dickson, sen. of Sydney.

Sunday, December 19.—They re-cross the Arndell, a short distance below the spot at which they had first met with it (Hovell and Hume, Journal entries for 16-19 December 1824, in Hovell and Hume [Bland, ed.] 1831).

This extended quotation has been included because it contains a detailed early description of the region adjacent to current activity area. Hume and Hovell and their party traversed the estates of the Worinyaloke bulluk and the Yaawangi clans, and possibly reached the estate of the Neerer bulluc clan. The Aboriginal people whom they met on 17 December 1824 were likely members of the Neerer bulluc clan, although possibly they belonged to the Yaawangi.

It should be noted, however, that recently there has been some debate as to whether Hume and Hovell reached what is now called Hovell's Creek or whether the furthest point they reached was the Werribi Yaluk/Werribee River (Pritchard 2021).

Another 'overlander' was Surveyor-General Major Thomas Mitchell, who passed through the far northwest tip of Wadawurrung Country, just north of present-day Yarram Yarram/Beaufort, in 1836. Mitchell was 100 km to the northwest of the estate of the Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clan, but his glowing description of that part of Australia as "Australia Felix" did much to encourage European squatters and settlers to Wadawurrung Country and their neighbours.

3.5.5 John Batman

William Buckley rejoined the European world on 6 July 1835, when he walked into a European camp established by John Batman reputedly near Indented Head, on Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula.

Batman was the leader of a private enterprise from Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) called the Port Phillip Association, whose aim was to sign an agreement with the Aboriginal people in the Port Phillip District to 'purchase' their land. Batman sailed through Nerm/Port Phillip heads on 29 May 1835, and headed up the western shore of the Bay, anchoring that evening near Indented Head:

we Anchored in a small Bay about 12 miles up the Port, and went on shore before we got into the Boat we saw a Dog on the sand we put off and came up to the Dog which proved to be a Native Dog of N. H – which had surely left the Natives within a Day or so has He came quite close to my Natives and did not appear at all afraid, but would not allow them to take hold of Him - our Dogs after some time took after Him, and ran Him into the water, where we shot Him - He was a large Dog, and much the same I have seen in N. S – Wales we fell in with the tracks of the Natives, which was only a day or two old also Huts on the Bay where they had been eating mussels, it cannot be more than two days back - we then went in the Bush, about 4 miles and passed over some beautifull Land and all good sheep country rather sandy, but the sand Black and rich covered with Kangaroo Grass, about 10 Inches high and as green as a field of wheat, we then went in another direction for about 4 or 5 miles over verry good sheep Land gentle rises, with wattle and oak, with stunted Gum none or verry little of this timber would split - we made the Bay again and crossed before we came to it a beautifull plain about 3 to 400 Acres of as rich Land as I ever saw with scarce a tree upon it - the Grass above our ancles, we saw several forest Kangaroo, but our Dogs being on ship board were stiff and could not fetch any saw several Native Huts and the marks on one tree where the Natives had been yesterday - we then came down the Bay, which consists of excellent Land rich black Sand the worst of it the other black soil but all covered alike thickly with Grass , of the best description - we saw some bare Hill's about 6 miles off which appears Grassy Hill - to the top I propose visiting them to morrow, I may expect a good view of the country from them to the N. W. – the Blacks, are sleeping on shore to Night - we walked about 12 miles - the Capt. quite knocked up – the wind blew hard up to 12 Oclock -

Saturday 30th May / 35

The wind continued to blow the whole of the Night, the Vessel rolled about much having no shelter, whatever at day light this morning we hailed the Natives and told them to go round a point of Land and meet the Vessel, we could not land a Boat to bring them off we beat round the Point about 15 miles - we then came to Anchor, saw the Natives coming along the Bay, I went on shore to look at the Land which appeared beautifull with scarcely any timber on - on my Landing I found the Hills of a most superior discription beyond my most sanguine expectation - the Land Excellent and very rich a light black Black soil covered with Kangaroo Grass 2 feet high and as thick as it could stand, good Hay, could be made and in any quantity, the trees where not more the six to the Acre and those small she oak, and wattle, I never saw any thing equal to the Land in my Life - I walked over a considerable extent - and all of the same discription, this Land forms an isthmas [the Bellarine Peninsula], which is about 20 miles long by 10 across it - upwards of 100000, Acres of good Land or more I could see five or six miles in every direction most of the high Hill - was covered with Grass, to the summit and not a tree, altho the Land was as good as Land could be - the whole appeared like land layed out in farms for some 100 years back and every tree transplanted - I was never so astonished in my Life - when on some of these Hills I could see on the opposite side where I intend to visit tomorrow large and extensive plains the Bay we came up to day varied from 6 fathoms to 2 ½ across the Bay - we Anchored in 3 fathoms water - and to my joy and dilight we saw at some distance the Natives fire I intend to go off to them early in the morning - and get if possible on a friendly footing with them, in order to purchase Land &c from them - from what I have seen I am quite delighted with Port Phillip we walked about 20 miles

Sunday 31st May 35

The Vessel lay verry snug last Night in the three fathom watter - in verry good Bay - which I gave the Name of Gillibrand Harbour [the shallow bay north of Point Wilson] - at day light this morning we landed to endeavour to meet the Natives. We had not proceeded more than 1½ mile when we saw the smoke at [three or 4 words deleted] 7 large Huts. My Natives striped off and went up to them quite Naked, when they got to the Huts, found that they had left this morning then with the Natives, when round and found their track the direction they went in we followed on the track for 10 miles or nearly when Stomert one of my Natives, saw a Black at the distance of a mile we were at this time spread along. He made a Sign to us - and all made in the same direction. He came up to the person (an old woman) quite cripple she had no toes on one foot we then saw the remainder of the Tribe about a mile further on we made towards them and got up to them about 1 oclock P.M. they seemed quite pleased with my Natives, who could parcially understand them they sang and danced for them - I found them to be only women and Children - 20 of the former and 24 of the latter the women where all of a small size - and every woman had a child at her back except one who was quite a young woman, and verry good looking - we understood that the men went up the River they had four Native Dog's and every woman had a load of 60 or 70 lbs on her back of one thing or another each had two or three Baskets Net bags Native tomahawks bones &c &c. I found in one of the Net bags a part of a strake of a Cart Wheel - which had two nail holes in they had ground it down to a sharpe edge and put it in a stick to cut with as a tomahawk tomahawk - they had also several pieces of Iron hoop ground sharp to cut with several wooden Buckets to carry water in they had some water with them which was verry bad - they came back with us were I had some Blankets, looking Glasses, Beads, Handkerchiefs, Sugar Apples I gave them 8 Pair Blankets, 30 Handkerchiefs, one Tomahawk 18 Neck laces of Beads, 6 lbs Sugar 12 looking Glasses, a quantity of apples which they seemed well pleased with they then went off again I promised to see them gain to morrow - the young woman who I have spoke of before gave me a verry

handsome Basket of her own make. Other women gave me two others, also some speares - I got a Native Bucket which I brought on board with me, - I walked to day over 15 miles out of nothing but Plain and verry good Grass well adapted for Sheep the plains is most extensive I should think what I have seen to be 20 miles square I came under a sugar Loaf Hill rather high but Grass to the top - this I named Mount Collicot [Flinders Peak] – after the Post Master General in V. D. Land – I never saw or could supposed there could be so extensive Plains as I saw to day 5,000 Sheep would be almost lossed upon them – but the only thing I see at present is the want of water, but am sure it could be obtained by digging in almost any place – the Children where good looking and of an healthy appearance, they were dreadfully afraitted by the discharge of a Gun, and all of them dropped down immediately. I think they never heard the report, or saw a Gun before, we saw a great number of wild Turkeys to day / but could not shoot one, we could not have walked less than 30 miles to day [sic.] (John Batman, Journal entries for 29-31 May 1835).

The Aboriginal group that Batman's party met on 31 May 1835 was probably near the foot of Wurdi Youang/You Yangs; they were most likely from the Yaawangi clan, but possibly they were Neerer bulluc.

A week later, on 6 June 1835, a remarkable event took place, probably on the banks of what is now known as the Merri Creek in Northcote, Melbourne. John Batman and his companions, which included seven Aboriginal men from Sydney, met leaders of the Woi wurrung, and signed two 'treaties'. According to the first document, which had been prepared in advance, the "Native Tribe" agreed to hand over about 500,000 acres [2023 km²] of land in exchange for "Twenty Pair Blankets, Thirty Knives, Twelve Tomahawks, Ten Looking Glasses, Twelve Pair Scissors Fifty Handkerchiefs, Twelve Red Shirts, Four Flannel Jackets, Four Suits of Clothes and fifty Pound flour" and an annual rent of similar items. The documents were signed by Batman and three other Englishmen, and eight "Chiefs" of the Woi wurrung.

There are of course several problems with these 'treaties'. There is some doubt whether the 'signatures' of the Aboriginal 'chiefs' were really theirs, and thus whether the 'treaty' is fraudulent – the 'signatures' look like ones by Sydney area Aboriginal people. There are even more problems with the second, 'Geelong', treaty, covering 100,000 acres (we have already seen that on 30 May Batman exulted over the "100000, Acres of good Land ... Land ... as good as Land could be" in Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula). This 'treaty' was not even 'signed' by any of the Wadawurrung People, whose lands were covered by it. In any case, the point is moot: within three months the 'treaties' were declared invalid by the British Crown, on the basis that (1) only the Crown could grant land, (2) that "all persons" found on those lands would be considered trespassers, and (3) that the land was "vacant". In the course of three months the Wadawurrung and Woi wurrung People's went from landowners to "trespassers" or worse, to non-humans, in the mind of the British Crown.

3.5.6 European Land-use History

Despite the Crown's objections, European settlers began to move into the area around the mouth of Birrarung Maar/Yarra River and Djilang/Geelong, and in September 1836 the Port Phillip District was formally established as an administrative division of the colony of New South Wales. In the first six months of 1836 about 20,000 sheep were shipped to Naarm/Melbourne and Djilang/Geelong from Van Diemen's Land. Yet more squatters (and sheep) quickly followed, and the invasion rapidly expanded. In the Djilang/Geelong area, European settlement was similarly rapid. By the end of 1836 – just one and a half years after Buckley rejoined the Europeans – sheep runs surrounded Djilang/Geelong to a radius of 40 km (Clark 1990: 281). By 1837 there were about 1,000 European settlers in the Port Phillip District, and they were invading more and more of the Kulin Nation People's Country's.

The process has been described by Thomas Learmonth, who arrived in Victoria in 1837 and had a succession of sheep-grazing properties from Bonang Youang/Buninyong to Burrumbeet and beyond. Learmonth wrote a report to Lieutenant-Governor La Trobe in 1853, from which the following extended quotation is taken:

Early in 1837 a fleet of small vessels, perhaps fifteen or twenty in number, and each carrying from 300 to 1,000 sheep, was employed in conveying stock from the Tamar on the opposite coast of Van Diemen's Land, from January to the middle of May, during the prevalence of the easterly winds in Bass's Straits. The vessels were much crowded, and the sheep were generally on board for seven or eight days, so that from want of a proper supply of food and water, or from stormy weather, whole shipments were sometimes almost entirely lost on the passage or shortly after landing. The average loss, however, on these importations was probably about 15 per cent. The sheep were purchased in Van Diemen's Land at prices varying from 20s. to 35s. each, and the freight and expenses were about five or six shillings a head more.

The original stock being composed entirely of breeding sheep, the first settlers lived exclusively on salted provisions during the first year of their occupation, the purchase of which and the large expenses necessarily incurred in forming their stations, added to the small increase and the loss of wool from the fever engendered by the crowded vessels, entirely absorbed the profits of several seasons, and in some cases ruined the adventurers.

The first stations were commenced with flocks varying from 500 to 1,500, and one or two, such as the Clyde Co. and Derwent Co., under the management of Mr. George Russell and Mr. D. Fisher, had 3,500 ewes respectively.

In the month of April of that year [1837] my brother and I landed three cargoes from Van Diemen's Land, or about 2,000 ewes, and we purchased 1,000 more at two guineas a head. These we drove up the Barwon River to a place about twenty miles from Geelong, and occupied a run on each side of the river, and another on the Native Creek to the eastward of the Leigh.

About a month previous to this, news had arrived of the loss of Messrs. Gellibrand and Hesse in the country towards the sources of the Barwon, or towards Colac; and as the aborigines were committing depredations within fifteen miles of Geelong [which at that time had not even a hut to mark its present site], settlers were afraid to penetrate into the interior in order to take up runs, and a line drawn at little more than 25 miles from the shores of Port Phillip Bay comprised nearly the whole of the sheep stations at that time and for some months later.

In the occupation of the country there was a tacit understanding that no one was to take up a station nearer than three miles to another person, the intervening ground being equally divided; and this regulation, in general, was sufficient to secure harmony among the adventurers as they arrived. There being no Crown Commissioner, however, at that time, nor any recognised authority but that of the strongest, feuds and quarrels with regard to boundaries did take place, which in some cases resulted in blows, though in general more good-feeling and consideration for the rights of others were observed in the then lawless state of the infant colony than might have been expected (Learmonth in Bride 1898: 38-39, 41, 42).

By 1838 the seizing of land by squatters for sheep runs had reached as far as Bonang Youang/Buninyong, where Thomas Learmonth and his brother Somerville were the first white settlers. The Yarram Yarram/Beaufort area had its first white settlers shortly afterwards, by early 1839, when the Kirkland family and William Hamilton took up runs there. Thus, within four years of Batman's 'treaties', the entirety of Wadawurrung Country had been taken over by the white invaders, whose sheep had begun to destroy the traditional Murnong plains and hunting grounds, and foul the precious waterholes.

The first phase of European colonization of Wadawurrung Country, the invasion phase, had been completed; the second phase was now to start: "the Aboriginal problem". This appalling term, or an even worse one, "the problem of the blacks", has been with Australia ever since the 1788 invasion of the Sydney region. In Victoria,

the “Aboriginal problem” started even as the Wadawurrung People and their neighbours were being chased off their lands.

In many parts of Victoria massacres began to take place as the competition for land gathered apace. In many cases the killings of Aboriginal people were argued to be in reprisal for the killing of squatters or their servants, or the stealing of sheep (which the Wadawurrung saw as animals on their land and as such ‘fair game’ for hunting). There were dozens of massacres and killings of Aboriginal people in Victoria (Clark 1995). Some truly were massacres involving a hundred or more people; in other cases ‘only’ one Aboriginal person was killed; in most cases the number of deaths is not certain. Certainly the total of Aboriginal murder victims was in the thousands. In contrast, by 1851 there had been 59 Europeans ‘murdered’ (Nance 1981, cited in Barwick 1984: 108-109). By 1851 there were 77,345 Europeans and 6,590,000 sheep in Victoria. By 1861, after a decade of gold rushes, there were over 540,000 Europeans and fewer than 2,000 Aboriginal survivors (Barwick 1984: 108, 109).

Most of the first squatters in Victoria had emigrated as free men from the United Kingdom to Tasmania between 1804 and 1835. Many of their overseers, shepherds and servants were former convicts. Katherine Kirkland wrote:

Bad servants were now our chief annoyance; and it seemed of no use being at the expense of bringing good ones from home, for they soon get corrupted (Kirkland 1979 [1845]: 16).

George Augustus Robinson, the Chief Protector of Aborigines from 1839-1849, wrote in 1841:

It is dreadful to reflect on the exposed and unexpected state of the original occupants of the soil. The past and the present state of the Aborigines is one of annihilation or destruction. The chief class and by far the largest of the labouring men employed in the province have been convicts and for the 16 years that I have been in these colonies I have never met with a more lawless and infamous a set. They acknowledge no authority and if they will, set their employer at complete defiance – and which is the case excepting a few individuals who have their servants direct from home as Neil Black, the manager, and a few more. It may be guessed what the fate of the poor Aborigines will be that fall into their hands (Robinson, Journal entry for 15 May 1841 [Clark, ed. 1998: 208]).

The “Neil Black” referred to was actually Niel Black, a landowner who settled a large property, Glenormiston, near Terang in Girai wurrung (Eastern Maar) country. In Robertson’s statement quoted above he comes across as a relatively liberal man, but in fact he was deeply conservative. For example, he opposed free education (for Europeans; he would not have even considered it for Aboriginal children) (Mennell 1892: 42). In his diary (an entry dated 9 December 1839), Black stated:

The best way [to procure a run] is to go outside and take up a new run, provided the conscience of the party is sufficiently seared to enable him without remorse to slaughter natives right and left. It is universally and distinctly understood that the chances are very small indeed of a person taking up a new run being able to maintain possession of his place and property without having recourse to such means — sometimes by wholesale ... it, however, seems to be little thought of here as it is only done in defense of self or property ... I believe, however, that great numbers of the poor creatures have wantonly fallen victims to settlers scarcely less savage though more enlightened than themselves, and that two thirds of them does not care a single straw about taking the life of a native, provided they are not taken up by the Protectors (Black, Journal entry for 9 December 1839 [Clark 1989: 16]).

Black bought Glenormiston because the destruction of the Aboriginal people around Terang had already been done by others:

... the blacks have been very troublesome on it and I believe they have been very cruelly dealt with ... The poor creatures are now terror stricken and will be easily managed. This was my principle [sic] reason for fighting so hard for it ... I could not stand the thought of murdering them, and to tell the truth I believe it impossible to take up a new run without doing so, at least the chances are 50 to one (Black, Journal entries of 4 and 18 January 1840 [Clark 1995: 1]).

Another squatter, Charles Griffith, who settled on the Werribi Yaluk/Werribee River in 1840, was even more blunt:

[H]ad a very warm argument at dinner on the subject of the treatment of the natives and of the injustice of Englishmen coming out and depriving them of their country. If civilized men have no right to take possession of a country which savages have for centuries left uncultivated and in its unimproved condition incapable of maintaining more than a few miserable hordes and even those in the lowest state of social existence — if this be the case no treatment of them can cure our original defect of title and the sooner that every Englishman packs up and returns home the better — but I maintain that this is not the case. I conceive that by their lacks they have forfeited their original right ... The contact of extreme civilization and absolute barbarism must always be productive of an immensity of mischief. Even in Ireland you see much of the misery resulting from a state of things something similar (Griffith, Diary entry for 18 December 1840 [Clark 1989: 18]).

This kind of mindset prevalent among the squatters of the Port Phillip District led to the devastation of the Aboriginal people. Life was cheap in the Australian colonies in the mid-nineteenth century, and Aboriginal lives were the cheapest. Stories abound like the one told to George Augustus Robinson by James Blair, the Police Magistrate at Portland Bay in 1841:

... he [Blair] believed the blacks had been badly used; that he [had] been told of a man named Robinson, a sawyer; that he had just sent to Melbourne gaol for a trifling offence; that the murder committed by this man upon the blacks was incredible and that Mr. Winter had told him he could prove a number which to his knowledge this man had committed. The most of these murders was for mere cruelty. He has been known to go up to a child and beat out its brains (Robinson, Journal entry for 15 May 1841 [Clark, ed. 1998: 208]).

Charles Griffith's dinner conversation well indicates how polarized views were in the Port Phillip District toward the Aboriginal population. Some European squatters openly called for their extermination; others were sympathetic to the plight of the Aboriginal people, but seemed conveniently resigned to the fact that they would probably die out fairly quickly.

The squatters rapidly became a dominant force in the Port Phillip District, even though their 'runs' were continually changing hands. Various attempts were made to curb their power through legislation, ultimately culminating in the *Land Act of 1862*, which made about 20% of Victoria's land available to "selectors".

The Batman carve-up of land allotted the Neerer bulluc and Tolloora/Toolloora bulluk clans' estates north of Djilang/Geelong to Michael Connolly, who held it in partnership with John Griffiths for just over a year, 1835-1836, when they moved to Port Fairy (Wynd 1981: 17). In March 1836 John Cowie and David Stead landed sheep at the mouth of what became known as Cowie's Creek, and established their base on the west side of Bell Post Hill (Wynd 1981: 18).

In the Bannockburn locality, initially, squatters' runs spread out north, along Murrubul/Moorabool River, and west, along Parwan/Barwon River. Away from the major, permanent rivers the squatting process was a little slower, but by the end of the 1830s most land was taken. Throughout the late 1830s and 1840s there was intense competition for land, with squatters and their stock (mainly sheep) entering from Van Diemen's Land

by sea and Sydney by land. A hurly-burly of buying, selling, bankruptcy and forfeiture ensued, gradually evolving into a more stable and regulated pattern.

With survey by surveyor Skene in the 1840s, land to the north of Bannockburn township was included in the Wabdallah Parish, and land to the south (in the Study Area) in the Murghebolac Parish. See parish plan below. While the name Wabdallah has an unknown meaning, Murghebolac means 'plenty of frogs' presumably referring to this Parwan/Barwon River riverine watercourse habitat for frogs.



Figure 3-4 Geomorphology Part survey of the Parish of Murghebolac for Subdivision of Section VII, dated c.1840. Note Bruce's Creek in the centre of the plan. The left flank of the creek is annotated as 'Lightly wooded with [xxx] Wattle & Honeysuckle, and the right flank, the Study Area, is annotated as 'Light country soil. Lightly wooded'. At the north reach of Bruce's Creek, where it intersects with Russell's land at the Charlton Road alignment today, the water to the south of Charlton Road is annotated as 'Brackish Water'.



Figure 3-5 Parish of Murgheboluc, dated 1981.

The Bannockburn region, for example, was taken up as part of the ‘Waddallah’ pastoral run originally held by George Russell (for the Clyde Company, 1837 to 1840) then by James Bruce from 1840 to 1850 (VHD 2020). Both the run and the creek that flowed through the middle of it were named after Bruce: the Bruce Creek run covered about 28.5 km². Bruce sold the run in 1850 to Jeremiah Ware, who sold it to Peter Sharp in 1851 (Spreadborough and Anderson 1983: 268). Wool, from Merino sheep, was the major focus of the early squatters in Bannockburn and the surrounding districts (Beaurepaire 1995: 10-15). The runs were so large that initially at least fences were not built – property boundaries were marked by blazed trees. This meant that the flocks had to be supervised by shepherds – often convicts, ex-convicts, or servants brought from ‘home’. The shepherds lived in ‘huts’ scattered through the properties.

Following the regulation of landholding, Sharp took up a pre-emptive right around 1851. This consisted of a 680 acre (275 ha) allotment fronting the Shelford–Bannockburn Road, where he built his homestead (Kiddle 1961). By 1862, the Geelong–Ballarat railway line was completed, and an unofficial town had grown up around the ‘Leigh Road’ railway station. Later in 1862, the township was gazetted under the name Bannockburn, and in 1864 the town became the administrative centre of the newly established Shire of Bannockburn. By the 20th century the local economy was becoming more diversified, and by the 1920s it had diversified to dairy and pigs as well as chickens, fruit orchards, and grapes (Beaurepaire 1995: 180, 197-200).

3.5.7 Depasturing

Thus, in the late 1830s and early 1840s there were two problems developing for the British Crown in the newly named Port Phillip District of New South Wales: illegal European settlers – the squatters – and the rapid decline of the Aboriginal inhabitants. The New South Wales colonial government attempted to deal with the first of

these through a succession of legislative bills, and the second through the establishment of an Aboriginal Protectorate.

As early as September 1836 the New South Wales government had announced that (White) occupation would be allowed under the grazing (“depasturing”) rights in operation in New South Wales around Sydney: grazing rights would be granted in return for a £10 annual license. William Lonsdale was appointed Police Magistrate of the Port Phillip District, and in 1837 Foster Fyans was appointed Police Magistrate in the Djilang/Geelong area, following a petition of 46 squatters who were worried about attacks by Wadawurrung People (Wynd 1981: 35; 1971: 11-12). Depasturing licenses were not, in fact, issued until 1838, and by 1839 a new Act added payments per sheep, cattle and horses – which had the effect of encouraging squatters to seek land further away from the settlements and authority. This process was continued when in 1847 all land in New South Wales was divided into three categories: settled, intermediate, and unsettled. An unspoken agreement was that homesteads would be separated by at least three miles.

3.5.8 Gold

On 1 July 1851, after much petitioning by the Port Phillip settlers, a separate colony – Victoria – was established by the Crown, and Charles La Trobe was appointed its first Lieutenant-Governor. By this time about 23,000 people lived in Melbourne.

Meanwhile, just a few days earlier, at the end of June 1851, gold was found at Warrandyte on Birrarung Maar/Yarra River, and finds all across the colony soon followed. In northern Wadawurrung Country, major goldfields at Ballaarat/Ballarat and Yarram Yarram/Beaufort opened up. Gold was not found near the current Study Area, but Djilang/Geelong became a major setting-off point for thousands of would-be prospectors heading for the goldfields. Victoria witnessed a huge population influx: by 1854 Naarm/Melbourne’s non-Indigenous population had risen to 123,000 and by 1861 there were over 500,000 non-Indigenous people in Victoria.

3.6 The Wadawurrung since invasion

3.6.1 Diseases

The Aboriginal people of Victoria are likely to have been severely impacted by Europeans long before they actually saw any of them. In April 1789 an outbreak of smallpox broke out in Sydney, and killed probably thousands of Aboriginal people in the Sydney region; it did not affect the European invaders. There has been much debate over many of the issues surrounding the Sydney outbreak. Was it actually smallpox? Was it introduced by the First Fleet, or by an earlier French expedition or by Macassan traders in northern Australia? Was it deliberately or accidentally introduced into the Aboriginal population by officials of the First Fleet (bottles of smallpox were carried by the First Fleet)? In 1829 a second epidemic of smallpox broke out in central New South Wales, in Wiradjuri and Kamilaroi country, as European pastoralists were beginning their invasion there (Cary and Roberts 2002: 822). A military surgeon who investigated the outbreak, John Muir, reported that Aboriginal people who already had marks from a previous smallpox infection were immune from the disease (Warren 2014). In other words, to answer the first question above, the earlier outbreak in 1789 must have been smallpox.

The earlier epidemic appears to have travelled via the communication and exchange routes in Aboriginal Australia as far as southern Victoria. In 1803 Charles Grimes, the Acting Surveyor-General of New South Wales was on board the *Cumberland*, exploring Nerm/Port Phillip Bay. On 18 February his exploring party on the Bella-wein/Bellarine Peninsula met a group of 11 Aboriginal people, almost certainly Wadawurrung of the Bengalat balug clan. His journalist, James Flemming, reported that two of them “appeared to be marked with the smallpox” (Flemming 1802-1803, Journal entry for 18 February 1803). The smallpox scars observed by Flemming and Grimes could have been the result of infection by early sealers, but much more likely they were the result of chains of contact from the 1789 Sydney epidemic.

A second smallpox epidemic appears to have swept through Victoria around 1830. James Dawson records:

The aborigines have been visited on several occasions by epidemics, which were very fatal. The first occasion which the natives remember was about the year 1830, and the last in 1847. The very small remnant of old aborigines now alive who escaped the first of these epidemics describe it as an irruptive fever resembling small-pox. They called it Meen warann—'chopped root.' They have still a very vivid recollection of its ravages, and of the great numbers cut off by it in the Western District. In remembrance of it they still chant a wail called Mallae mallaeae, which was composed in New South Wales, where the disease first broke out, and is known to all the tribes between Sydney, Melbourne, and Adelaide. The malady spread with rapidity from tribe to tribe, in consequence of the infection being carried by the messengers who were sent forward to communicate the sad news of its ravages (Dawson 1881: 60).

Curiously, William Buckley does not mention smallpox in his recollections of his stay among the Watha wurrung bulluc from 1804 to 1835, but he does mention one epidemic during his stay that is possibly a reference to the disease:

I never observed any European contagious disease prevalent, in the least degree; and this I thought strange. There was at one time however, I now recollect, a complaint which spread through the country, occasioning the loss of many lives, attacking generally the healthiest and strongest, whom it appeared to fix upon in preference to the more weakly. It was a dreadful swelling of the feet, so that they were unable to move about, being also afflicted with ulcers of a very painful kind (Morgan 1852 [Sayers, ed. 1967]: 57).

The later epidemic referred to by Dawson was influenza, which hit again in 1876. Measles, whooping cough, and tuberculosis also devastated the Aboriginal population, and in the years after the Invasion venereal diseases and alcohol were added to the misery.

Venereal diseases were particularly cruel. Many Aboriginal women who were kidnapped and raped by sealers, whalers, and settlers contracted gonorrhea and syphilis, and they infected their Aboriginal families in turn:

... there was hardly a shepherd without disease. Large families of natives—husband, wife, boys, and girls—were eaten up with venereal disease. The disorder was an introduction from V. D. Land, and I am of opinion that two-thirds of the natives of Port Phillip have died from this infection (Foster Fyans, in Bride 1898: 115).

Apart from the mortality rate, the Aboriginal birth rate was seriously affected. Most Aboriginal groups suffered massive declines in the birth of children – largely due to venereal disease, but also to despair.

3.6.2 The Early Years of the Invasion

The early 1830s had been a period of “liberalism” in England, with the *Reform Act of 1832* and the *Slavery Abolition Act of 1833*. In England there were several prominent people who agitated for better treatment of the Aboriginal population of Victoria. In March 1837 Port Phillip District’s capital was named after Britain’s reform-minded prime minister of the day, Lord Melbourne. In the same year, 1837, the Aborigines’ Protection Society was founded in London, to lobby the British government for the rights and well-being of First Nations People’s subjected to colonial powers. Also in 1837, a British Parliamentary *Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes* published its report. One of the Committee’s recommendations was the establishment of an Aboriginal Protectorate in the Port Phillip District of New South Wales. The report was sent to Governor Gipps in Sydney in January 1838, and Gipps appointed George Augustus Robinson as the Chief Protector of Aborigines. Robinson took up his position as Chief Protector in March 1839, with four Assistant Protectors.

This was a period when the expansion of the squatters was at its peak, and there were still relatively large numbers of Aboriginal people still in competition with them over their traditional and unceded lands. The

killing of Aboriginal people by squatters and their employees was common, as was related above. There were several major massacres: the Waterloo Creek massacre of 26 January 1838 (in which 40 or more Aboriginal people were killed), the Slaughterhouse Creek massacre of 1 May 1838 (300 Aboriginal dead), and the Myall Creek massacre of 10 June 1838 (28 Aboriginal dead) – all in what is now northern New South Wales, where the killings already had a 40-year history. In the Port Phillip District also, the massacres had already started. Known massacres and killings of the Wadawurrung began with Tuckey's surveying party on 23 October 1803, and continued through to the late 1840s (Clark 1995: 169-175).

For the murderers the consequences were mostly negligible. In some cases they left the District for a time or for good; in other cases inquiries were opened but nothing came of them for want of witnesses willing to testify. Only the Myall Creek massacre was followed up in any serious way. Governor Gipps ordered an investigation, and eleven of the twelve murderers were arrested (the twelfth was the only free man, and the leader of the premeditated attack). The trial began in November 1838, and the eleven accused were represented by prominent barristers and supported by wealthy landowners. It ended in their acquittal; one of the jurors reportedly said afterwards:

... the sooner they [Aboriginal people] are exterminated from the face of the earth, the better. I knew the men were guilty of murder but I would never see a white man hanged for killing a black
(*The Australian*, 8 December 1838).

A second trial, of only seven of the original eleven accused, resulted in guilty verdicts, and the seven were hanged on 7 December 1838. The hangings resulted in a huge uproar in New South Wales, mostly in favour of the murderers. Governor Gipps stopped encouraging prosecutions for other massacres, and a code of silence quickly developed among squatters throughout New South Wales, including the Port Phillip District.

3.6.3 The Aboriginal Protectorate

It was in this atmosphere that the Aboriginal Protectorate of the Port Phillip District was created. It came about in large part due to lobbying from the Aborigines Protection Society that had formed in 1837 in London, and in June 1837 a House of Commons Select Committee recommended that a Protectorate be established, as was recounted above: it was created by the Colonial Office in January 1838 (Clark 1995: 3), and the Protectorate became operational in 1839.

The first objective of the Protectorate was to shield Aboriginal people from the encroachment on their lands (we have seen that the encroachment had already been virtually completed). Specifically, the Protectors were to attach themselves to the Aboriginal groups in their District, guard the interests and rights of the Aboriginal people, try to get them to settle in a particular location, instruct them in Christianity, teach them such things as agriculture and carpentry, educate the children, learn the language(s) in their district, and conduct a census of the Aboriginal people in their District: name, gender, and age (Clark and Cahir, eds. 2016: 1). In order to be able to assert their authority, the Protectors were also appointed magistrates (Clark 1995: 3).

George Augustus Robinson, who had gained a certain notoriety for his role in the 'conciliation' of the Van Diemen's Land Aborigines between 1829 and 1838, was appointed Chief Protector. The assistant protectors were William Thomas, Charles Wightman Sievwright, Edward Stone Parker, and James Dredge. Parker and Dredge were Methodist preachers, Thomas a Methodist educator, and Sievwright a British Army Officer. In March 1839, Robinson allocated regions of the Port Phillip District to his assistants: Thomas was given the Central Protectorate District of Western Port, Sievwright the Western District (which included Djilang/Geelong and stretched west to Portland), Parker was given the Loddon and Northwest District, and Dredge the Goulburn District.

Wadawurrung Country was divided between two Protectorate districts. The northern Wadawurrung lands around Yarram Yarram/Beaufort were overseen by Edward Stone Parker, although most of his District, the

Loddon District, was in Djadja wurrung Country. In the south, and covering most of Wadawurrung Country, was the jurisdiction of the Western District, overseen by Charles Sievwright.

Initially Charles Sievwright based himself near Fyansford, a few kilometers southwest of the current Study Area, in May 1839. In February 1841 he relocated out of Wadawurrung Country, establishing his base at Lake Keilambete, in Girai wurrung Country, near Terang. Meanwhile, in 1839 a Methodist missionary, Francis Tuckfield, had established the Buntingdale Mission, near Birregurra. The Mission was in Gulidjan Country, very near their borders with the Wadawurrung and Gadubanud. It was thought that this would be a convenient place to house and shelter members of the three groups, but Tuckfield completely misunderstood the spiritual power of Country to Aboriginal people, and the Wadawurrung and Gulidjan continually fought with each other. George Robinson, the Chief Protector, in his *Annual Report* for 1841, noted that the Wadawurrung had declined to occupy the Wesleyan mission station at Birregurra in Gulidjan Country, and suggested a tract of their own land should be reserved. By 1842 it was decided that the Buntingdale Mission would be for the Gulidjan only.

In many ways the Protectorate was doomed from the start: the Protectors were unable to offer much assistance to the Aboriginal inhabitants, neither with supplies nor protection from squatters. The squatters in turn considered the Protectorate an obstacle to the running of their enterprises, and most of the squatters actively opposed and undermined the Protectors, whose work was increasingly difficult. The Aboriginal population continued to decline rapidly, and reserves and missions became more prominent.

3.6.4 Missions and Reserves

In 1849 the Protectorate was abolished, and a period of government inaction and neglect followed. This situation was exacerbated when gold was found throughout much of Victoria, which marginalized the Aboriginal people even more – although they were largely ‘marginalized’ in settlements and in the goldfields. Their traditional hunting and plant harvesting estates had been taken over by sheep, and they survived as best they could. In 1860 the ‘Central Board Appointed to Watch Over the Interests of Aborigines’ was established, and three reserves were listed for the Wadawurrung. The three reserves were at Steiglitz (259 ha) near Staughton Vale, Karngun (1.2 ha) in Winchelsea, and Duneed (1 acre [0.4 ha]) south of Djilang/Geelong on Ghazeepore Road. At Duneed, a hut was built for the Wadawurrung; they were not allowed to remain in Djilang/Geelong after dusk. A depot was also created at Djilang/Geelong for the distribution of rations.

By the late 1860s many Wadawurrung People were being encouraged to move to Coranderrk, in Woi wurrung Country near Healesville. In 1863 Simon Wonga (son of Billibellary) and William Barak (Woi wurrung elders) had led about forty Aboriginal people – Woi wurrung, Bunurong/Boon wurrung and Daung wurrung – to a traditional camping ground place near Healesville, where they camped and petitioned for ownership of the land. In June 1863 land totaling 9.6 km² was granted to them as a temporary reserve; the settlement was called Coranderrk. Some Wadawurrung People also moved to Coranderrk. At first the settlement survived and even flourished, and by 1875 Coranderrk was virtually self-sufficient. Its produce won first prize at the Melbourne International Exhibition.

Meanwhile, in 1869, the *Aboriginal Protection Act 1869* was passed in the Victorian Parliament. It gave the colonial Governor of Victoria power to dictate where Aboriginal people could reside, and what activities they could undertake on and off reserves; it also gave the authority to take charge of Aboriginal children. The Act also established the Central Board for the Protection of Aborigines, which lasted from 1869 to 1900. From what we have already seen in how colonial governments (and later, Australian governments) have treated Aboriginal people under the guise of ‘protection’, it should be no surprise that from 1874 the Board began to undermine the settlement at Coranderrk. By this time European neighbours were beginning to eye the settlement’s land, and for the next dozen years the Coranderrk residents were continually fighting to keep their reserve (Barwick 1998: 1). They sent deputations to the colonial government, while the government for

its part held a Royal Commission (1877) and a Parliamentary Inquiry (1881) on the Aboriginal 'problem'. Bravely, the Aboriginal people of Coranderrk hung on.

In 1886 another Act was passed – the *Aborigines' Protection Act 1886* – as an amendment to the 1869 Act. Under this Act, 'half-castes' (another appalling term) were forbidden to live on reserves. All 'half-castes under the age of 35' were ordered to leave Coranderrk – presumably it was thought that with most of the younger residents gone, the rest would soon follow. About sixty Coranderrk 'half-castes' were evicted, and the settlement never really recovered. Only fifteen able-bodied men were left. But still the surviving Aboriginal people of Coranderrk resisted: William Barak, who had already led two protest marches to Parliament House, and others petitioned the government:

"Could we get our freedom to go away Shearing and Harvesting and to come home when we wish and also to go for the good of our Health when we need it ... We should be free like the White Population there is only few Blacks now rem[a]ining in Victoria, we are all dying away now and we Blacks of Aboriginal Blood, wish to have now freedom for all our life time ... Why does the Board seek in these latter days more stronger authority over us Aborigines than it has yet been?"

In 1893 almost half the remaining Coranderrk land was reclaimed by the government, and the reserve was formally closed in 1924. Most of the surviving residents were forcibly moved to Lake Tyers in Gippsland, in Gunai Kurnai Country. A few elderly residents refused to leave; the last Aboriginal woman at Coranderrk, Elizabeth Davis, died at the age of 104 in 1957. In a final act of spite by the Victorian government, permission was refused for her to be buried alongside her husband and siblings at Coranderrk.

The 'last' of the Watha wurrung bulluc was Willem Baa Nip, who died in 1885, aged about 48. Known as King Billy, or William Gore, he was often called the last of the Barrabool Aborigines (i.e. the Watha wurrung bulluc clan). His contemporary, Billy Leigh, also called King Bill, died around the same time and was called 'the last of the Yaawangi clan'. But, of course, the Aboriginal people of Victoria did manage, remarkably and heroically, to survive – although only just. In the 1921 census the count of Aboriginal people was only 586 (though likely many Aboriginal people were hiding their heritage at that time). Even as late as 1961 the count was less than 2,000. By the 2001 census, however, the count was almost 30,000.

Today the Wadawurrung are the descendants of their apical ancestor John Robertson (1846-1919). With two wives, Esther and then Margaret, John had seven children, and the subsequent seven family groups descended from John comprise the Wadawurrung. In 1997 these descendants were recognised as Traditional Owners, and the Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation (WTOAC) was incorporated under the *Aboriginal Councils and Associations Act 1976*. As such, the WTOAC acts on behalf of all Wadawurrung People and represents their interests. The WTOAC was appointed to Registered Aboriginal Party (RAP) status in 2009 for part of its application area, and on 20 March 2013 the whole of its application area was awarded RAP status (Anonymous 2019).

3.7 Land-use History

Initial European settlement of the Bannockburn region was for the purposes of sheep grazing. Extensive squatting runs were established in the 1830s with both sheep stock and squatters travelling overland from Sydney or via ship from Tasmania to make the most of the rolling hills between the permanent water sources of the Barwon and Moorabool Rivers (Beaurepaire 1995: 14). Stock population increased rapidly, nearly twenty-fold, between 1836 and 1840, with Merino wool production being the focus of industry (Beaurepaire 1995: 14-15). The geographic region was taken up as part of the 'Wabdallah' pastoral run originally held by George Russell (for the Clyde Company, 1837-1840) then by Tom Bruce until 1850 (VHD 2020).

Access around this region was along informal tracks via bullock and dray and was difficult given the size of the rivers and the need for livestock crossing and, as such, several fords were established (still referred to in

nomenclature such as Fyansford and Batesford). As squatters left the region once public sales brought settlers into the district more formal roads and bridges were established (Beaurepaire 1995: 21). Public sales were first offered as one-acre lots around Bruce's Creek (then named after local Tom Bruce, who also named the region 'Bannockburn' as a reflection of his Scottish heritage). These sales gave rise to an agricultural and a viticultural industry and a few fruit orchards and dairy farms, with smaller farms replacing the large sheep runs, with a change again toward commercial support for the gold rush including roadside inns and hotels in Bannockburn and saw mills and flour mills in the wider region (Boardman 1964: 8, Cameron *et al.* 1981: 22). The pastoral and agricultural history of the region is illustrated by several drystone walls, houses, stone huts, fords and larger, preserved 'rural sites' that are preserved via heritage overlays, National Trust Register listings and/or Victorian Heritage Registry/Inventory registrations (Table 3-10).

Note that the 'Bannockburn Lock Up' (still standing), a bluestone structure originally built in Lethbridge and relocated to Bannockburn as a prefabricated structure, while mainly fulfilling the role of jailhouse also acted for a time as a safe for gold while gold-escorts stayed overnight in Bannockburn on their travels between the goldfields and Geelong (Cameron *et al.* 1981: 40, Heritage Overlay HO18 and National Trust Register B2174). Vineyards were established alongside creeks and rivers, with one renowned vigneron, Lucien Pilloud, establishing the 'Rosemond Vineyard' in 1876 on the east bank of Bruce's Creek to the south of the Bannockburn township. The hill in the background of Figure 3-6 and Figure 3-7: Somerset Inn today (via Google Earth Pro): note the extant trees and the new development on the hill on the opposite bank of Bruce's Creek was the location of the vineyard. A Phylloxera outbreak (a disease of the vines) in the region in the late-1880s saw the majority of vines being uprooted, ploughed and burned on recommendation by the Phylloxera Board, with permission only granted in 1892 for replanting (Cameron *et al.* 1981: 49-50).

Table 3-10 Historical features retained in the geographic region

Description	Vic. Heritage Register/Inventory	National Trust	Heritage Overlay	Comment
Somerset Inn/Rosemond House				
Bruce's Creek Ford	D7721-0122			Historical modification of landscape & creek for agricultural/pastoral purposes
Bruce's Creek Stone Hut	H7721-0233			Pastoral & archaeological representation
Bruce's Creek Rural Site	H7721-0236			Reflects early pastoral development & workings, represented by historical ruins
Bannockburn Railway Station	VHR H1560	Yes	HO	Constructed for the Victorian Railways in 1862 by DM Barry, on the Geelong-Ballarat Line. It comprises a single storeyed station building with a two storeyed residence attached.
Bruce's Creek House Site	H7221-0234			
Bannockburn Rail Reserve Remnant Grassland				National Heritage Register
Bannockburn Precinct (High St)			HO	Bannockburn heritage precinct surrounding main centre of town
Bruce's Creek Dry Stone Walls	D7221-0123 & H7221-0124			
Bannockburn Lock Up		B2174		Stone lock-up at Bannockburn was originally constructed by Thomas

				Brooking and Co constructed in 1860 and moved to Bannockburn in 1869
Bannockburn Shire Hall		Yes		Constructed in 1876
Bannockburn War Memorial			HO	On Vic War Heritage Inventory
Bruce's Creek Sheep Wash	H7221-0235			

In the 1860s the railway was built, extending from Geelong to Ballarat and travelling through Bannockburn. It was constructed of bluestone stations and blue metal ballast and the Leigh Road Railway Station (now Bannockburn Station) still stands as a two-storey bluestone building. The majority of construction materials were locally sourced, with bluestone coming from Lethbridge, limestone from between Fyansford and Batesford, basalt over a wide area as well as timber (Boardman 1964: 3). The region was pronounced as the 'Shire of Bannockburn' in 1864, with the Township of Bannockburn forming the civic administrative centre (VHD 2020), with churches, schools, a post office, and Public Hall all erected. Several hotels were established and operated to serve the travellers along the trade route associated with transit of goods and people between the Ballarat goldfields and Geelong, a few which still stand today (VHD 2020). Somerset Inn (or Somerset Hotel), now known as Rosemond House, one of the first hotels in the region and initially the town developed around it until the railway was established in 1863 and development moved toward the east of the creek around that location. The hotel still stands today on the west bank of Bruce's Creek and was the location of the first shire meetings conducted (Beaurepaire 1995: 175, VHD 2020). It is listed on the National Trust Register and covered by a Heritage Overlay (HO46). Soldier Settlement Schemes and further subdivision of the larger estates acted to encourage population growth.



Figure 3-6: Somerset Inn (Boardman 1964: 2)



Figure 3-7: Somerset Inn today (via Google Earth Pro): note the extant trees and the new development on the hill on the opposite bank of Bruce's Creek

A subdivision was established east of Bruce's Creek and north of Shelford Road (called 'Wabdallah') and another to the south of Shelford Road (then renamed High Street at that location) and another around the railway station (Beaurepaire 1995: 84). A Bannockburn Timber Reserve was established west of the creek and utilised for the dumping of night-soil (Beaurepaire 1995: 84).

The development of motor vehicles and maintained roads, funded by toll gates (SoBACHC ND: 3), initially saw a downturn in business and population as there was little demand for water, fuel, bluestone ballast, station

cafes and railway hotels, however, the more recent 'tree-change' popularity, and its location as a 'satellite city' of Geelong, has seen growth associated with towns such as Bannockburn (Beaurepaire 1995: 73).

As aerial images show the densest development has been situated in proximity to the High Street on smaller allotments with development of larger allotments to the east of the railway line and south of the township occurring in the late-1900 and early 2000s and the spread of smaller residential subdivisions along the east bank of Bruce's Creek only beginning in 2009. The land south of Charlton Road and west of Glen Avon Drive has remained undeveloped and utilised for agricultural and pastoral purposes since settlement with ploughing and stone clearing activities evident and occasional residential or farm related structures present. The BSE Study Area has remained relatively unchanged, with agricultural and pastoral use occurring with occasional residences or farming structures. The BGP Study Area remains similarly farm-based at its southeast, southwest and northwest extremities.

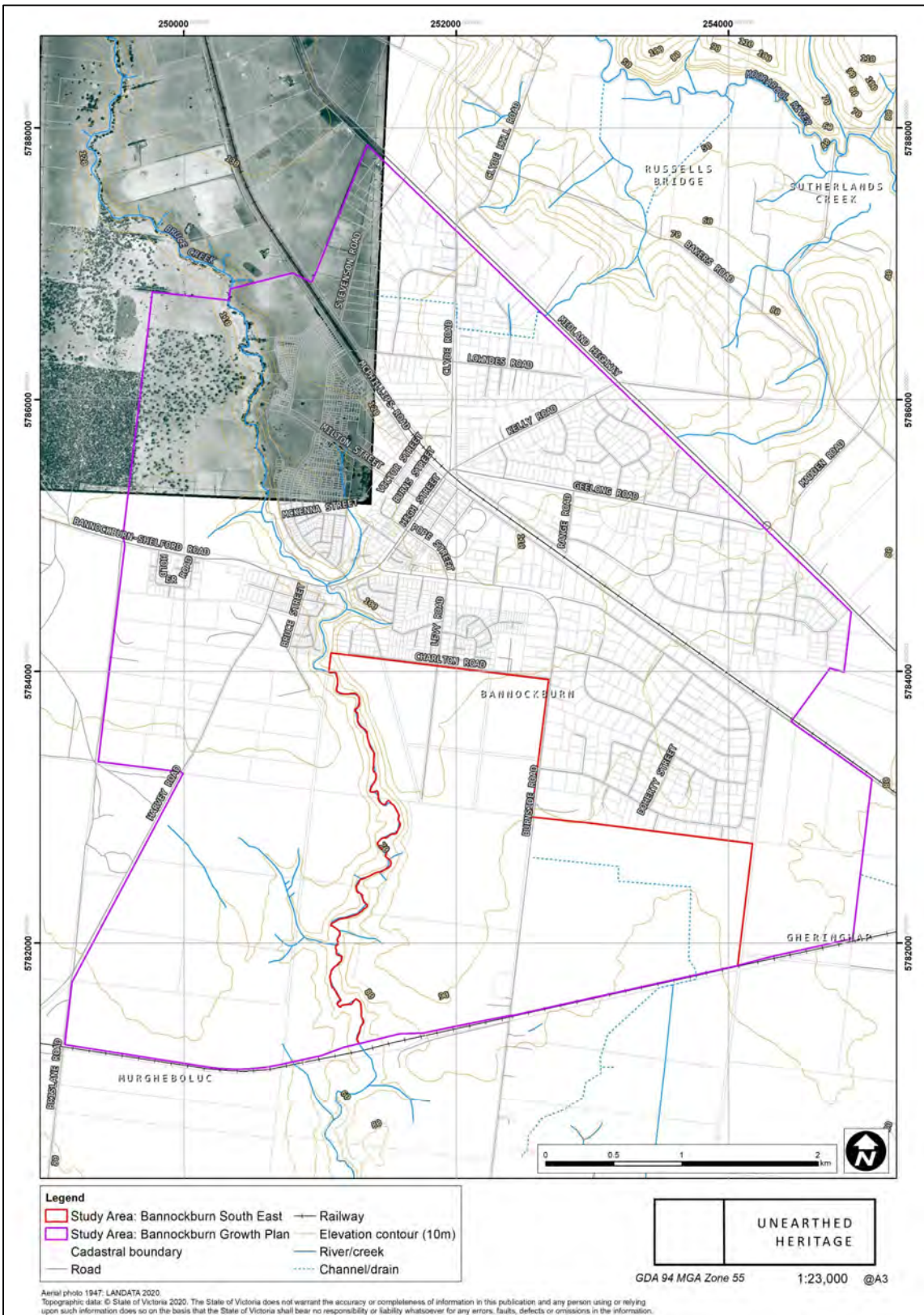


Figure 3-8: 1947 aerial image (source: www.landata.vic.gov.au)

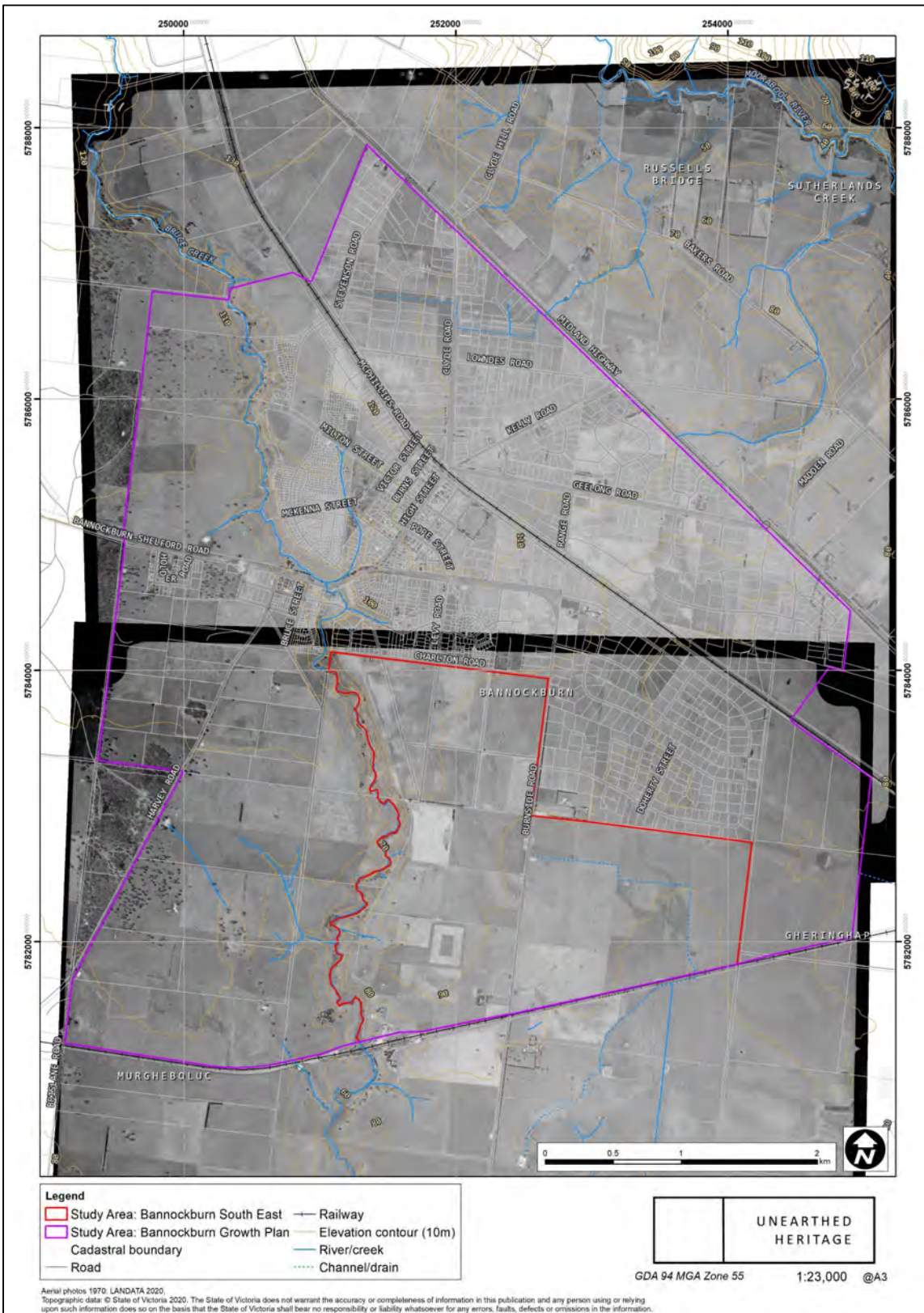


Figure 3-9: 1970 aerial image (source: www.landata.vic.gov.au)

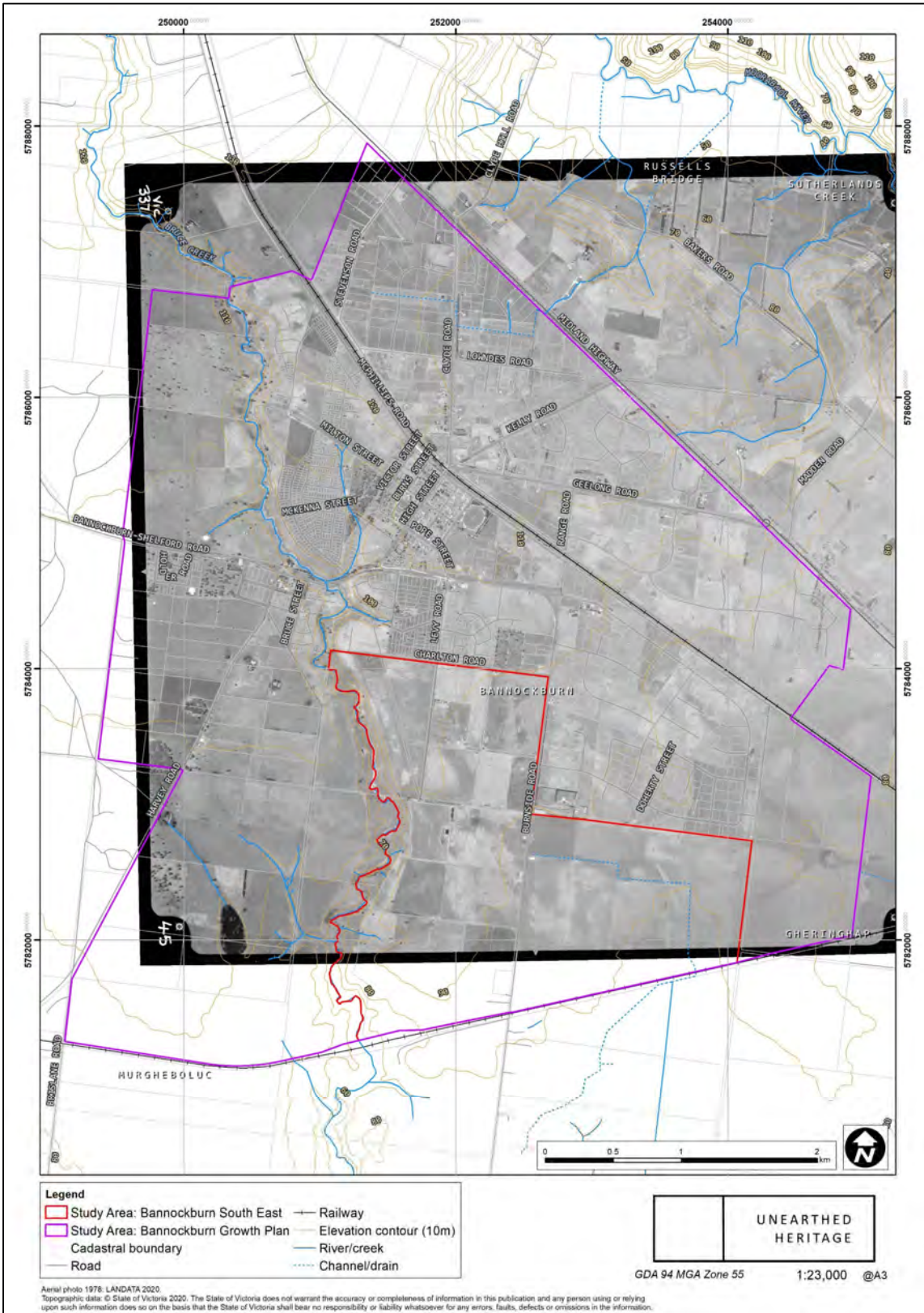


Figure 3-10: 1978 aerial image (source: www.landata.vic.gov.au)



Figure 3-11: 2005 aerial image (source: Google Earth)

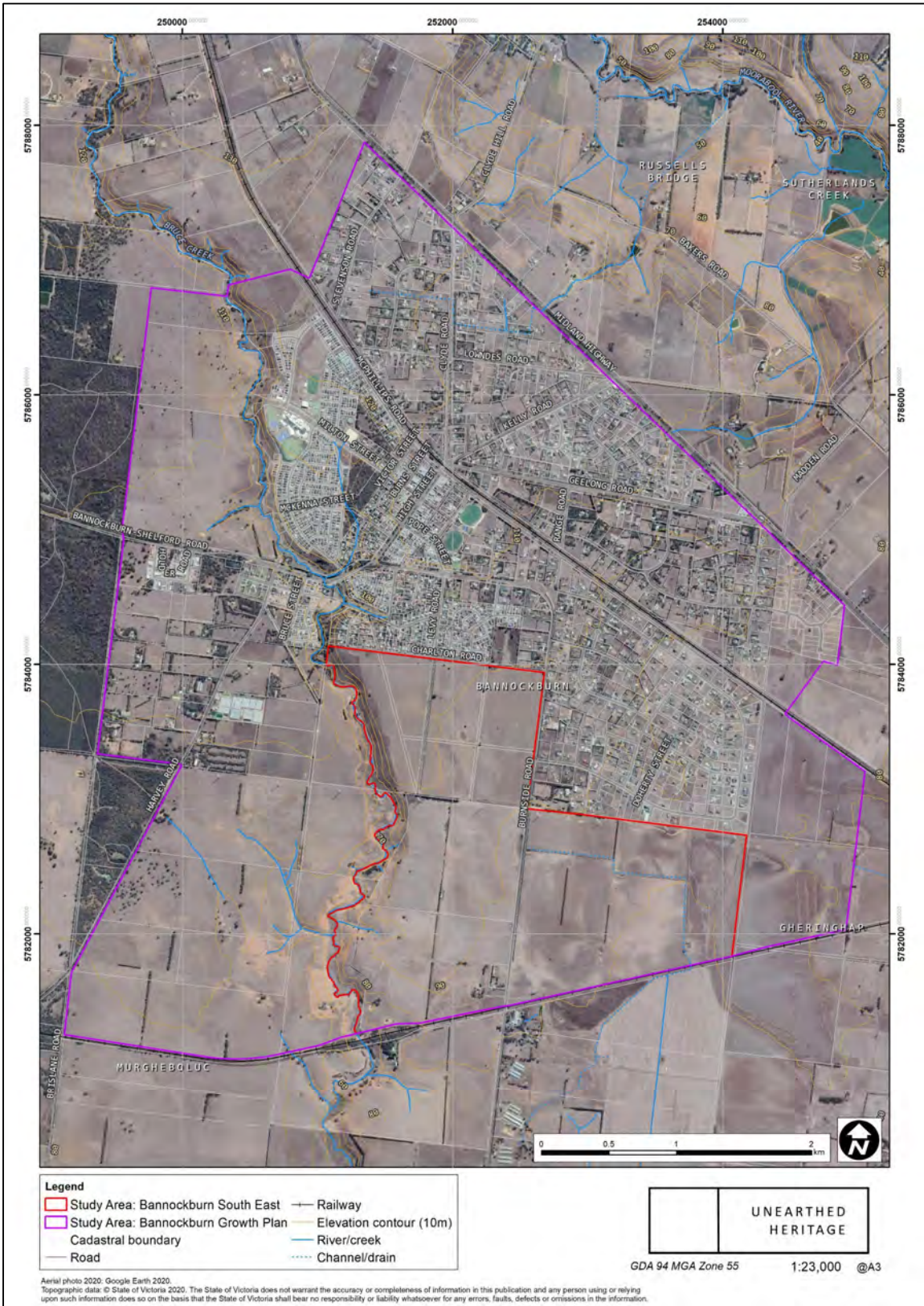


Figure 3-12: 2020 aerial image (source: Nearmap)

3.7.1 Impacts of land-use on the Study Area

Impacts of land-use on the Study Area include:

- Vegetation clearance;
- Continual cropping/ploughing on shallow volcanic soils of plain will impact location and context of cultural material;
- Impacts associated with expanding residential development;
- Localised modifications of creekbanks for unofficial crossing points (as per known example of Bruce's Creek Ford);
- Impacts associated with rail, road and bridge construction;
- The main impacts on the BSE Study Area have been associated with clearance, pastoral and agricultural use of the landscape, with minimal structural development outside of isolated residences, farm structures (shed, etc) and minor roadways;
- The BGP Study Area, while having similar areas with similar impact levels as the BSE Study Area, particularly west of the creek and at its southeast, has been subject to urban growth impacts since the mid-19th century and more rapidly in recent times. This includes rail, road construction, residential and commercial development zones and associated utilities and infrastructure.

3.8 Archaeological Background

The findings of previous cultural heritage assessments in the geographic region can help inform the current study by improving our understanding of the distribution of Aboriginal places in the region and the factors that have led others to their discovery. Therefore, a review of previous assessments in the geographic region, as well as more locally, is pertinent. As the majority of reporting is associated with development and Bannockburn has not been a rapid growth area, there are very few previous assessments for the size of the area being considered. The BSE Study Area has had no localised previous assessments undertaken within its boundaries. The BGP Study Area has had nine approved CHMPs within its boundaries between 2007-2016 of which three are associated with residential development and the remainder with linear utilities projects (e.g. rising mains, gas reticulation networks). There are currently two CHMPs listed on ACHRIS for large areas to the west of Bruce's Creek, however at the time of writing they were still listed as 'in prep' so not publicly available. One CHMP (CHMP 14703, Chamberlain 2017) has been undertaken outside of the Study Area, within the 500m geographic region radius.

3.8.1 Regional studies

There are no broad studies that have been conducted encompassing the geographic region, however Mulvaney (1964) discusses the implications of early settler surface collection of artefacts and typology. Mulvaney (1964) collated information regarding known surface artefact finds on the western basalt plains of Victoria. Mulvaney (1964: 427) described the numbers of microlithic artefacts collected (such as geometric & backed blades) as 'impressive' with particular reference to areas adjacent to Inverleigh, southwest of the geographic region. Stony rises were observed to be locations of remains of circular hut walls utilizing the available basalt, possibly roofed with brushwood. Similarly, Mulvaney (1964: 428) warns to avoid identifying Aboriginal people as stone industry focused as their resource use leaned heavily toward plant and animal raw materials, which do not survive in the archaeological record. Mound sites are references as numerous, with at least forty identified near Meredith, to the north of the geographic region. Mounds were often excavated by 19th century 'artefact fossickers' with burials within the mounds not uncommon - up to 6 individual burials being identified in one – with every large mound and some smaller ones containing burials (Mulvaney 1964: 428). Mounds were often still visible in the late-19th century, after ploughing and other land use practices had occurred, due to the ashy black patches that remained. Mulvaney (1964: 429) highlights the

problems caused by surface collectors, with larger items collected and privately stored or donated to museum collections with no clear provenance associated with them and the absence of them from more contemporary archaeological assessments possibly inferring a behavioural implication of stone artefacts in the region.

3.8.2 Local-scale assessments

Bruce Creek (Marshall 2003; Marshall, Collins & Paynter 2004)

Marshall (2003) conducted a survey of c.110 ha bordering the eastern banks of Bruce's Creek, under crop at the time, and including wide valley, steep escarpment and rocky outcrops. A field survey encountered very poor ground surface visibility, however four stone artefact scatters (all silcrete & quartz) (VAHR 7721-0610 – 0613) and one scarred tree (VAHR 7721-0614) were identified and landforms considered to be of Aboriginal archaeological potential (based on distance from the creek) were also identified. For one of the scatters the number of artefacts present was listed as 'unknown' (VAHR 7721-0610) and two of the others comprised five stone artefacts and the last place comprised one isolated artefact. The scarred tree (Red Gum) was located on the edge of the creek and had two visible scars present. Note that two additional places (VAHR 7721-0615 & -0616), both stone artefact scatters, were identified outside of the survey area, both comprising single silcrete artefacts. Marshall (2003: 21) observed that the artefacts identified close to the creek were eroding from the subsurface contexts and were likely to comprise some *in situ* material, and artefacts. Marshall (2003: 21) suggested that stone artefact densities will decrease with distance from the creek, with the easternmost paddocks (greatest distance) potentially having no artefactual content.

Marshall et al. (2004) conducted a survey of c.170 ha of thickly grassed land on the western side of the creek opposite the area previously assessed by Marshall (2003). Ground surface visibility was very poor (<1%) and a total of twenty artefact scatters were identified as a result of the survey in association with areas of exposure (VAHR 7721-0655 – 0675). Predictions remained as per Marshall 2003.

Willow Brae Residential Development (Marshall & Hyett 2007; Clark 2007)

Marshall and Hyett (2007) conducted a survey of c.12.2 ha flat to gently sloping land located mainly on the west bank of Bruce's Creek with some land to the east and including escarpment, slope, floodplain and immediate creek banks. Stone artefacts were identified on the surface at nine separate locations where ground surface exposure was present as a result of rabbit burrowing or, toward the north, with previous residential construction. The number of artefacts were not specified, however it was noted that quartz, silcrete, chert were present and that this was an expected result given the known sensitivity of the margins of Bruce's Creek. Marshall and Hyett (2007: 24) suggested the artefacts represented Aboriginal use during European times and that the location of the artefacts has likely been impacted by ploughing and other agricultural activities dispersing the items.

Clark (2007) prepared a CHMP (CHMP 10068) for c. 9.5 ha of the area previously assessed by Marshall and Hyett (2007), including Bruce's Creek and its east and west banks and including seven of the nine places registered during the previous survey. Clark (2007: 11) used information from previous assessments in the region to predict that sandy areas adjacent to streams would be more sensitive for the presence of Aboriginal cultural material. A survey was carried out and an additional 131 stone artefacts (57 quartz, 39 silcrete, 35 quartzite) were identified on areas of ground exposure (i.e. road cuttings and spoil heaps). Areas that had already been subject to scraping did not comprise artefacts and these were suggested to have been displaced by that activity as it removed deposits to 250 mm (Clark 2007: 12). The highest density was located on a flat area on top of a slope. Subsurface testing included the mechanical excavation of seven test pits at the locations of previously registered surface artefacts (VAHR 7721-0835 – 0841) and an additional four pits at the west of the activity area to map the extent of cultural material. A total of twelve artefacts were identified over three different pits, all within the upper 250mm of sandy loam. Stratigraphic profiles were generally homogenous with sandy loam overlying clayey-sand at c.1 m but varying between 250-1500 mm dependent on location,

with deeper upper deposits on lower slope areas suggestive of down-slope soil movement (Clark 2007: 18). As a result of the assessment all seven places were determined to be a single place and were registered under one registration, VAHR 7721-0835. The artefacts are suggested to have been impacted by animal burrowing and agricultural land use practices.

Milton Street Residential Development (Clark 2009)

Clark (2009) prepared a CHMP (CHMP 10390) for c.60 ha of land of which 17.5 ha was designated for public space (along the eastern bank of Bruce's Creek). One Aboriginal place had been previously registered within the Study Area prior to the assessment (VAHR 7721-0613, a silcrete artefact). A pedestrian survey identified ten stone artefacts (5 quartzite, 3 quartz, 2 silcrete) on exposures on flat ground.

A subsurface testing program mechanically excavated eight test pits at the locations of the surface finds (including the previously registered place). No cultural material was identified during subsurface testing. Subsurface stratigraphic profiles comprised an A-horizon of clay soil, with occasional basalt floaters, overlying a fragmented basalt layer at c 650 mm above limestone. Clark (2009: ii) concluded that areas along the margin of Bruce's Creek were the most likely to contain greater quantities of cultural material, specifically larger scatters with higher numbers of artefacts.

Eight Aboriginal places were registered as a result of the CHMP assessment including seven small artefact scatters (VAHR 7721-0945 – 0951, 1-3 stone artefacts at each) and one scarred tree (VAHR 7721-0952, a dead Red Gum). Clark (2009: 37) suggested that these places represented the transitional use of the local landscape, rather than reflecting permanent camping.

No. 5 Bruce Street Residential Subdivision (Clark 2010)

Clark (2010) prepared a CHMP (CHMP 1861) for c.2.01 ha of land previously surveyed by Marshall and Hyatt (2007) (north of CHMP 10068) including the west bank of Bruce's Creek. Marshall and Hyatt (2007) had previously identified one surface stone artefact scatter in this location (VAHR 7721-0842). A survey was hindered by poor ground surface visibility, however at five locations where ground exposure was present thirteen stone artefacts were identified in small numbers (1-3 at each location) and were registered as VAHR 7721-0954 - 0958. Five test pits were mechanically excavated, located where surface artefacts had been identified and an additional five 0.5 x 0.5m shovel test pits. Only one location (VAHR 7721-0958) comprised subsurface cultural material (n=10 artefacts), all located in the upper 200 mm of sandy-clay loam. Stratigraphic profiles comprised a sandy-clay loam A-horizon overlying a plastic clay and cemented sandy clay B-horizon at c.450mm. Of the total of 23 artefacts, 44% were silcrete, 30% were quartz and 26% were quartzite. Clark (2010: 26) considered the artefacts identified at VAHR 7721-0958 to be associated with recent burial as a result of agricultural activities churning the soil.

Sewer Main, Chargrove Estate (Walker & MacCulloch 2010)

Walker and MacCulloch (2010) prepared a CHMP (CHMP 11109) for c.921 m² of land within Wabdallah Reserve located c.600m from Bruce's Creek on flat-lying sandy plain. A survey identified a single silcrete artefact exposed on the surface of a pedestrian track (VAHR 7721-0977). A subsurface testing program excavated three 1 x 1m test pits and three 0.25 x 0.25 m shovel test pits. One silcrete artefact was identified during excavations, considered to be associated with VAHR 7721-0977. Soil profiles were generally homogenous with a thin layer of grey silty topsoil to c.50-100mm overlying light brown-orange silty fine sand to c.300-600mm where a culturally sterile compact orange clay was encountered (associated with the underlying Pliocene-Miocene Formations). Both artefacts were snapped flakes and were identified in disturbed contexts.

Bioretention Basin (Light & Teuchler 2014)

Light & Teuchler (2014) prepared a CHMP (CHMP 12604) for c.27 ha of land east and west of Bruce's Creek including upper, mid and lower valley slopes, and the bed, bank and floodplain of the creek. A field survey was hindered by very poor ground surface visibility due to the presence of thick grass. Six stone artefacts were

identified on the surface of the lower-mid slopes of the valley west of Bruce's Creek in association with rabbit burrowing and were registered as a LDAD (VAHR 7721-1266, one artefact per m²). Subsurface testing was conducted on the east side of the creek where impact was proposed and included the excavation of two 1 x 1 m test pits and 32 0.5 x 0.5 m shovel test pits. Soil stratigraphy on the floodplain comprised light-mid brown silts overlying clay at c. 550mm. On the valley slopes brownish silty clays overlay a reddish brown clay at c. 500mm. A total of 65 stone artefacts were identified up to 550mm deep in silts on the floodplain east of Bruce's Creek (VAHR 7721-1241, 10 artefacts per m², or 16.07 per m³). Overall, quartz and quartzite dominated (40.8% and 35.2%, respectively) with a lesser proportion of silcrete artefacts present (23.9%). VAHR 7721-1241 was considered to be a larger scatter than generally identified in the region, where places such as VAHR 7721-1266 are considered more typical.

Somerset Estate Wetland and Drainage Basin (Tuechler & Spry 2016)

Tuechler and Spry (2016) prepared a CHMP (12362) for c.3.6 ha of gently undulating plain, mid-lower valley slope and floodplain of Bruce's Creek. A survey was hindered by very poor ground surface visibility and no Wadawurrung cultural material was identified, despite the presence of four registered places within 100m of the study area. It was determined that the floodplain was of high archaeological potential and the valley slopes were of moderate archaeological potential. A subsurface testing program excavated 4.5m³, with two 1 x 1 m test pits and 43 shovel test pits completed. On the floodplain, a total of 82 stone artefacts (dominated by silcrete and quartz with quartzite, basalt and ochre also present in minor quantities) were identified in subsurface contexts up to 450mm deep in silt or clayey-silt deposits. The testing on the floodplain suggested an average artefact density of 15.86m² (44.89m³) on this landform. On the valley slopes four artefacts were identified within the base of a natural basin between 100-320mm deep (in silt or clayey-silt deposit) during excavations, with an average artefact density of 0.55m² (1.48m³) on this landform. Two places were registered as a result of the assessment, both stone artefact scatters: VAHR 7721-1316 on the floodplain and comprising 71 artefacts and one piece of ochre, and; VAHR 7721-1315 extending across the floodplain and low-valley slopes and comprising 14 stone artefacts. The floodplain assemblage was considered to comprise some relatively intact deposits, with six analytical nodules identified. The floodplain was determined to be of *moderate-high* Aboriginal archaeological sensitivity, the shallow basin was determined to be of *low-moderate* Aboriginal archaeological sensitivity, and the remainder of the Study Area was determined to be of *low* Aboriginal archaeological sensitivity (Tuechler & Spry 2016: 104-105).

Linear Activities (Stone 2014; Bullers *et al.* 2014a; Bullers *et al.* 2014b)

Stone (2014) prepared a CHMP (CHMP 12673) for the installation of c.5.4 km of pipeline, mainly within road reserves. Two surveys were undertaken due to changing route alignments. During the survey three silcrete artefacts were identified on an exposure associated with thinner grass cover on the west bank of Bruce's Creek. Subsurface testing included the excavation of two 1 x 1 m test pit and 39 shovel test pits (0.4 x 0.4 m), with locations chosen to test both the valley of Bruce's Creek and the Tertiary sedimentary plain away from the creek. One additional surface artefact was identified during the testing program and eight artefacts were identified in subsurface contexts in the creek valley, within 50 m of the Creek (registered as VAHR 7721-1261, LDAD). The majority (n=10) of the artefacts were made on silcrete with one quartzite and one chert artefact also present. Stratigraphic profiles in the valley area comprised an introduced fill of yellowish-brown sand mixed with road gravels to c.180mm overlying light grey alluvial silt to c.240mm where a compact silt deposit was encountered. All the artefacts identified during the testing program were located within the upper 'artificial' layer, with even the deepest artefact (450mm) overlying rusted metal. Stone (2014: 23) suggested that the artefacts identified originate from the same 'off-site source' as the fill and testing ceased at an indurated 'pavement' layer suggested to be formed by machinery (rollers/graders).

Bullers *et al.* (2014a) prepared a CHMP (CHMP 13073) for c.11.15 km (63.82 ha) of gas pipeline traversing the town of Bannockburn and crossing Bruce's Creek and including volcanic plain, creek bank and creek gully slope.

Part of the Study Area includes the location of VAHR 7721-1261 registered by Stone (2014). The majority of the Study Area, as it was located within road reserve, was determined to have been previously disturbed by road construction and utilities installation. The field survey encountered poor ground surface visibility (c.10.6% effective coverage) and reidentified VAHR 7721-1216 as well as an additional eight artefacts (all silcrete) in proximity to this location which resulted in the inclusion of part of that previous LDAD into a new artefact scatter registration (VAHR 7721-1269). As the area surrounding the artefact scatter was not proposed for high impact no further assessment was undertaken. It was determined that the result of this assessment supported the predictions that areas in proximity to Bruce's Creek had the potential to comprise artefact scatters and low-density artefact occurrences (Bullers *et al.* 2014a: 49).

A subsequent CHMP (CHMP 13120) prepared by Bullers *et al.* (2014b) for the gas reticulation mains investigated a linear Study Area of c.37.68 km (94.36 ha), also traversing the town of Bannockburn and crossing Bruce Creek and mainly including low-lying volcanic plain with a small area of creek bank. This Study Area included the previously registered Aboriginal places VAHR 7721-0952 and VAHR 7721-0947 identified by Clark (2009, CHMP 10390). The survey was hindered by poor ground surface visibility (<10%). During survey these places were inspected and found to have been completely destroyed as per the approved CHMP 10390 (Clark 2009) activities. Two Aboriginal places were registered as a result of the survey, both LDADs, VAHR 7721-1267 (3 quartzite, 2 quartz) and VAHR 7721-1270 (1 quartzite, 1 silcrete), comprising five artefacts and two artefacts, respectively. Bullers *et al.* (2014b: 56-57) suggested that the current location of these artefacts is associated with down-slope soil movement and impacts of development. It was suggested that the artefacts registered as VAHR 7721-1267 were likely part of previously registered VAHR 7721-0945 and part of soil movement processes. The area at which VAHR 7721-1270 was identified was considered to be located within a larger area of potential overlooking Bruce's Creek, however, the proposed reticulation route was realigned to avoid impacting this area, and no further investigation was undertaken.

Midland Highway Overtaking Lanes (Chamberlain 2017)

Chamberlain (2017) prepared a CHMP (14703) for a discontinuous length of c.7.865km of proposed roadworks associated with overtaking lanes along a section of the Midland Highway to the north of the geographic region. The proposed works were located on generally flat plain west of the Murrumbidgee/Moorabool River with one small area comprising slightly sloping ground. Survey was hindered by poor ground surface visibility and extensive disturbances associated with road construction and utilities were observed. A subsurface testing program excavated a total of 116 pits, included 1 x 1 m test pits, mechanical test pits (1.2 x 1 m) and shovel test pits (0.5 x 0.5 m). None of the test pits contained previously undisturbed deposits. The majority of pits comprised disturbed, very shallow volcanic clayey topsoil and a lot of modern rubbish (mainly glass). At the north of the alignment a slightly different soil profile was encountered with slightly deeper deposits of finer silt. However, these pits were also extensively disturbed with modern rubbish (mainly glass) present throughout.

Two silcrete artefacts were identified at the north of the alignment (near Meredith) in the upper 200 mm of disturbed topsoil in two adjacent pits (registered as VAHR 7722-1128, LDAD).

The following implications summarise the most relevant data for this investigation and build on regional assessments undertaken within the geographic region:

- The area may have been subject to selective artefact collection activities in the late-19th century and in the 20th century, leaving behind a misrepresentative assemblage of artefacts (Mulvaney 1964);
- Of the thirteen localized assessments, which all included survey, only two did not identify surface stone artefacts and of the nine that included excavation eight identified subsurface stone artefacts. Of the assessments that included both survey and subsurface testing, only two generated results of higher subsurface content than surface content;

- While assessments (*cf.* Stone 2014, Bullers *et al.* 2014a and 2014b) have noted disturbance associated with artefact locations along Bruce's Creek (Stone suggested they were imported in fill), Aboriginal cultural material does appear to be localised to within the creek corridor;
- Stone artefact densities decrease with distance from Bruce's Creek (Marshall 2003; Marshall *et al.* 2004) and proximity to waterways will be a sensitivity predictor (Marshall 2003; Marshall *et al.* 2004; Clark 2007; Clark 2009);
- Artefacts are generally made on silcrete and quartz (with quartzite also present) and located in the upper 250 mm of deposit or where exposures are present on the surface;
- Down-slope soil movement may have impacted artefact location (Clark 2007; Bullers *et al.* 2014a and 2014b);
- Agricultural activities may have buried and dispersed artefacts (Marshall and Hyett 2007; Clark 2010);
- Scarred trees may be present where mature indigenous vegetation remains, however much of this was cleared for crops and pasture;
- The floodplain is considered most sensitive for the presence of Wadawurrung cultural material and has the potential to contain intact cultural deposits (Tuechler & Spry 2016);
- BSE Study Area: this area is away from road and residential impacts and therefore any localised topography and areas surrounding waterways, particularly in proximity to Bruce's Creek, will be expected to be of Wadawurrung archaeological potential;
- Due to the nature of the CHMP trigger system, much of the area assessed is in proximity to Bruce's Creek so it certainly appears that distance to this important waterway is a factor in place location.
- Generally, the floodplain is the most sensitive, with reasons possibly associated with distance from water, artefact wash from adjacent slopes and less development on this landform. Artefacts are likely to be identified in the upper 250mm of deposit (however may extend up to 550mm) and may remain in fairly *in situ* contexts where away from European land use impacts such as agricultural activities but are likely to still be present on the floodplain as dispersed scatters otherwise.

Aboriginal Heritage Places likely to be located within the Study Area are:

- Isolated or low density stone artefact occurrences: dominated by silcrete and quartz and dispersed, in surface and subsurface contexts, across the Study Areas.
- Moderate density stone artefact scatters: dominated by silcrete and quartz in surface and subsurface contexts on the floodplain.
- Moderate to high density stone artefact scatters: dominated by silcrete and quartzite and located in mainly surface contexts, located within 200 m of escarpment edge.
- Scarred trees: possible across any landform where remnant mature trees occur.

3.8.3 Registered Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Places

The Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (VAHR) was accessed by David Mathews on 18 December 2020 for previous archaeological reports and sources, and the locations and details of Wadawurrung living cultural heritage places within the geographic region. Registered Aboriginal cultural heritage places in the geographic region are discussed in detail in Section 4. Section 4 contains culturally sensitive information and is not to be made publicly available.

4 Desktop Assessment – Culturally Sensitive

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5 Wadawurrung Country Context

5.1 Wadawurrung Healthy Country Plan

In December 2020 the Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation (WTOAC) approved the release of their *Paleert Tjaara Dja – let's make Country good together 2020-2030: Wadawurrung Country Plan*.

The core Principles of the *Wadawurrung Healthy Country Plan* (WTOAC 2020, 5) are:

Wadawurrung are a proud first nations people committed to working with our members, neighbours, government agencies, land and water managers and the broader community as we protect and heal Country together for all people.

Paleet Tjaara Dja – Let's make Country good together 2020-2030 – Wadawurrung Country Plan invites a respectful working, learning and committed sharing together approach based on cultural knowledge and practices.

The principles that guide our partnerships in Caring for Country are:

- 1. Respect and Acknowledgement for Wadawurrung Traditional Owners and our cultural, ancestral, spiritual and historical connections to Country.*
- 2. Wadawurrung people's right to access and care for Country as an expression of our cultural obligation, responsibilities, connectedness, our well-being and as our economic basis.*
- 3. Country is interconnected, alive with dreaming and creation stories, imprinted with our cultural values and social history – there is no separation between cultural and natural resources and people.*
- 4. Free, prior and informed consent requires genuine engagement from the beginning of decision-making or project planning in a way that is relevant to us, providing timely information and processes that support cultural governance.*
- 5. We seek partnerships that are genuine, are of benefit to Wadawurrung people, are in the spirit of reconciliation, that address past negative impacts and enable self-determination and real outcomes.*
- 6. Providing appropriate and equitable resourcing for Wadawurrung people to participate in their obligation of care and management of Country.*
- 7. Open and honest relationships that sustain effective working partnerships.*
- 8. Wadawurrung Traditional Owners are the holders of cultural knowledge.*
- 9. Respect for and appropriate protection of our intellectual and cultural property rights in sharing information.*

With these Principles in mind, the *Wadawurrung Healthy Country Plan* has identified 'Our Values – Building Blocks'. Thus, "These are the important things that we want to look after," and they include Values set out in Table 5-1.

Table 5-1 Wadawurrung Country Values

	Values	Code
‘Our Values – Building Blocks’ “These are the important things that we want to look after”	• Wadawurrung culture and people	i.
	• Enterprise and employment	ii.
	• Wadawurrung cultural sites and places	iii.
	• Bush tucker, medicines and resources	iv.
	• <i>Yulluk</i> – Waterways, Rivers, estuaries and wetlands	v.
	• Inland Country	vi.
	• Coastal Country	vii.
	• <i>Warre</i> - Sea Country	viii.
	• Native Animals	ix.

Further, the *Wadawurrung Healthy Country Plan* has identified ‘Threats to Our Values’. Thus, “There are lots of threats that stop our values from being healthy but some are worse than others”, and these are detailed in Table 5-2.

Table 5-2 Wadawurrung Country Threats

	Threats	Code
‘Threats to Our Values’ “There are lots of threats that stop our values from being healthy but some are worse than others”	• Urban Development	a.
	• Lack of Capacity	b.
	• Lack of Recognition	c.
	• Vandalism	d.
	• Inappropriate Visitation	e.
	• Lack of coordination between land managers	f.
	• Location of windfarms	g.
	• Water extraction	h.
	• Sea level rise	i.
	• Drought	j.
	• Cinnamon fungus	k.
	• Weeds	l.
	• Foxes and Cats	m.
	• Rabbits	n.
	• Rising sea temperatures, and	o.
	• Bushfires	p.

The Wadawurrung Healthy Country Plan has additionally identified 3 Programs and 18 Strategies to “... focus on to reduce the worst threats and improve the health of our values.” These Programs and Strategies are detailed in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3 Wadawurrung Country Plan Programs and Strategies

Programs	Strategies	Code
<i>Gobata bengadak tjarra</i> (Us supporting Us – Cultural Strengthening)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Culture and Language Strengthening Program o Keeping Place – A safe place for our cultural resources, for Wadawurrung to come together on country and practice culture o Cultural Centre – For Sharing, Education and Enterprise o Wadawurrung cultural education and language o Elders Support Services 	A
<i>Gobata Dja baap Ngubiyt</i> (Taking Care of Country and Waters)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Caring for Country Team o Cultural Values Management o <i>Dja</i> and <i>Yulluk</i> – Country and Water Acquisition & Management o Co-management o Cultural Burning o Representation on Planning Committees o Cultural Heritage Management (Physical artefacts) 	B
<i>Wurrguurrwilwa Wadawurrung Corporation</i> (Strengthening Wadawurrung Corporation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> o Employment and mentoring o Enterprise development and support o Recognition and Respect for Wadawurrung People, Treaty o Engagement with Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation (WTOAC) Members o Structural reform of Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation (WTOAC) o Partnerships and Stakeholder Engagement 	C

With this mind, the key concerns of a Cultural Values Assessment rotate around Wadawurrung values and concerns about Country including its health and resilience to manage threats. These values and concerns can be assembled around the themes of Country – *Dja*, Water – *Yulluk*, Places, Shelter, Language, Pathways, Plants, Animals (and Birds) and the Rhythms that influence human and animal relationships with Wadawurrung Country. These are concerns and values are summarised in Table 5-4, cross-mapped against the Values, the Threats and the 3 Programs, to aid the cultural values discussions and the formulation of Recommendations to this Cultural Values Appraisal.

Table 5-4 Wadawurrung Cultural Values Themes

Theme	Essential Scope of Theme	Texture of Theme	Values Code	Threats Code	Program Code
Country - <i>Dja</i>	The substance and layers of Country	The tangible and intangible fabric of Country including humans, Sky Country, night and day landscapes, below Country, Wind Country,	i, iii, vi, vii, viii	a, c, d, e, h, p	B
Water - <i>Yulluk</i>	Water systems of Country	The permanent, ephemeral, saline, freshwater systems, wetlands, dams and lakes, creeks and rivers, bays and seas	v, vi, vii, viii	a, d, h, l, o, p	B
Places	Places of Country	The human tangible and intangible-valued gathering and activity places including points, settlements, landmarks, harvesting, aquaculture, key landmarks and hills, etc.	i, iii, vi, vii	a, d, e, g, p	B
Shelter	Homes and Habitats in Country	The residencies, homes, workplaces and lifestyle places of humans including houses, community facilities, and their orientations and fabrications	i, vi, vii	a, d	B
Language	The voice of Country	Wadawurrung language, place names, stories, images, designs, inspirations, etc.	i, vi, vii	c, d	A
Pathways	Routes through Country	Human, animal and infrastructure corridors and movement routes including tracks, roads/streets, trade routes, and corridors	i, vi, vii	c, d	B
Plants	The vegetative residents of Country	Vegetation species, communities and their habitats, and noxious species	iv, vi, vii	a, e	B
Animals	The animal residents of Country	Animal and bird species, communities and their habitats, including permanent and transient and migratory species and habitats, and noxious species	iv, vi, vii, ix	a, d, e, g, m, n	B
Rhythms	The seasonal patterns and character of Country	The seasonal patterns and character of Country including weather, droughts, floods, bushfires, cultural burning, climate change variables, <i>Phytophthora cinnamomi</i> , etc	i, vi, vii	a, d, e, l, j, k, o, p	B

5.2 Wadawurrung Statement of Significance

The following statement of significance of Wadawurrung Country was provided by WTOAC and is included unabridged.

Please note that this statement of significance pertains to Wadawurrung Country as enveloped for lands and waters of the Wadawurrung Registered Aboriginal Party (RAP), and not specifically for the Study Area under consideration.

Wadawurrung Statement of Significance

Since the beginning of the Dreaming, the great ancestor spirit *Bundjil*, the wedge-tailed eagle, created the land, waterways, flora, fauna, laws and lore. The land of the Wadawurrung - including Djilang (Geelong) meaning 'tongue of land' and Ballarat (Ballarat) meaning 'resting place' - encompasses a vast area from the Great Dividing Range in the North to the coast in the South, from the Werribee River in the East and along the Surf Coast in the West.

Comugeen budj-o thalikiyu kin bil beng-ordi-ngadak. Ngarrwabil, boron, guli, bagurk. Comugeen budjo bengadak ngarr-uk dja, ngubiyt, weagoon gobata gupma wurring-wurring baap beng-ordi-nganak, djarrima murrup-nhuk bengadak.

We deeply respect our people of the past. Elders, children, men, women. We deeply respect their knowledge of Country, water, life, their care of the traditions and of each other, we stand with their spirit.

Gobata Wadawurrung balug jumbuk didalbil murrup-nhuk bundjil monomeeth beek-o weagoon. Mutjak-ak noogie n'uder durrallully.

Great spirit *Bundjil* told us to take care of the great life within the land. To only take what you need without selfishness.

Bundjil establishes the laws that connect us to Country and teaches us that if we look after Country it will look after us. This knowledge is passed down from Elders in the oral tradition. For tens of thousands of years, the Wadawurrung People cared for Country – sustainably hunting and farming across their lands and waters – working in harmony with the seasons - with water and food available for their own needs and for trade. Their homes and campsites were usually located close to water - by a *yaluk* (river) or *buluk* (lake) for a good *kuarka* (fishing place).

Today's, Wadawurrung Traditional Owners continue strong connections to the land and accept the responsibility of looking after Country, practicing culture, upholding the dignity of their Ancestors and passing on knowledge to future generations. Historical remnants of the daily life of past generations of the Wadawurrung People can be found on Country today and include shell middens, fish traps, artefact scatters, stone quarries, scarred trees, stone arrangements, burial and other sacred sites.

All cultural heritage places within Wadawurrung Country are sacred in cultural terms as they are a tangible link to our past and a non-renewable resource of information about the lifestyle of our Ancestors. The cultural significance afforded to the heritage places by Wadawurrung Traditional Owners must be given a higher standing than the scientific ratings which are based on a European perspective without due regard to the values of Aboriginal culture as a whole.

Wunggurrwil gupma bengadak Wadawurrung wurring-wurring baap dja.

All people working together to make Wadawurrung Country and Culture strong.

5.3 Wadawurrung Time and Seasons

Wadawurrung People, as indeed all Australian Aboriginal People, possess a deep sense of identity that they reside within a long ‘history’ that dates back to the time of the Dreaming; such a temporal end does not possess a date nor does it resonant with archaeological and anthropological perspectives of Australian First nations origins and occupancy regime. Thus, this ‘history’ – to use a colonial word -- narrative confronts Western historical imagination and their written narratives. Wadawurrung People relate to time and ‘history’ as possessing have a connection to the past that is both quantitatively and qualitatively in its scope. Additionally, there no one generic Aboriginal ‘history’ of this continent, but rather there are Country-specific historical narratives continuously orally expressed, sung, hummed along with, seen through eyes lens, that possess metaphoric and visual frameworks. But which Country specific, such histories also intersect with Nation-specific, place-specific, and multi-Country specific narratives making the translation of these longue durée histories as metaphorically being a living tapestry with different coloured and textured woven threads.

Thus, time through the Wadawurrung lens is multi-layered, multi-faceted and highly dynamic and prone to change. In this sense, past present future is interchangeably something personal, something familial, something geological, something holistically ecological and additionally something that is omnipresent. The oft quoted preamble of ‘long ago past’ is a pliable time that reaches beyond short timeframes that is interwoven into narratives, in art and other human and ancestral enactments and incidents that explain connectedness between humans and other living beings within which the earth itself is a living force. A Wadawurrung Elder will therefore explain time as a non-enumerated, undated, multi-layered ‘now’, resided within by living spirits present and walking around, conducting themselves in the everyday life. Thus, many Wadawurrung do not sense any great escarpment dividing waters and reality from the present and from the past.

Turning to the Gregorian concept the Western quad-partite seasons, for the Wadawurrung People this winter-summer-spring-autumn construct are an irrelevant colonial imposition. This construct contradicts their long-understood temporal relationship to their Country that possesses a deep understanding of its patterns, ecological sensitivities, and its nuances. Instead, for the Wadawurrung seasons, and thus their temporal relationships to this Country, rotate around approximately seven seasons. These seasons have not been subject to considerable discussions by Wadawurrung People. Thus there is strong apprehensiveness that the generic Kulin Nation season calendar, that often appears in contemporary literature, does not reflect a seasonal calendar, or ecological and landscape aligned seasonal calendars, relevant within Wadawurrung Country.

In the last 20 years there has been considerable use of a generic Kulin Nation seven seasons calendar that has been appropriated from the Museum Victoria education literature associated with the Gallery of Life that houses a sample of the Upper Yarra Valley Mountain Ash forests – see Table 4-5. The difficulty with this seasonal calendar is that is incorrectly being portrayed as the generic template for use across the entire Kulin Nation, irrespective of whether the landscape hosts rainforests, grasslands, coastal dunes, wetlands, dry temperate forests, and alpine plateaus, and additionally it has increasingly been populated with Wurundjeri/Woi wurrung specific Language (Greenaway 2021; Museum Victoria 2020, Nguyen-Robertson 2020). The difficulty with this template is that it originated from research undertaken in the Mountain Ash (*Eucalyptus regnans*) forests of the upper Yarra Valley, in rainforest Country, so it is upper Yarra Valley specific in its origins that derived from deep conversations with Elders in this locality. Once devised it was serendipitously appropriated and used in the design brief to inform and guide the landscape architects who designed the award-winning Gallery of Life project at Museum Victoria that celebrates the Mountain Ash (*Eucalyptus regnans*)

forest landscape of the upper Yarra Valley (Jones, Mackay & Pisani 1997; Jones, Mackay, Paton & Pisani 1998).

Table 5-5 Upper Yarra Valley and Kulin Nation Seasonal Calendars

Jones et al (1997)	Western Months	Museum Victoria Kulin Nation Seasons (2020, 2021)
Dry Season (January-February) when the Valley is drying, and Eastern Grey Kangaroos are breeding, Wombats are seen at night, Native Cherries are ripe and the Growling Grass Frogs are restless	January	Biderap: Dry Season – hot, dry weather. High temperatures and low rainfall. Female Common Brown butterflies are flying. Bowat (tussock-grass) is long and dry. The Southern Cross is high in the south at sunrise
	February	
Eel Season (March) when the eels migrate downstream in the River, Cumbungi and Swamp Gums are in flower, ‘woof-woof’ calls are heard from the Barking Owl, Tiger Snake eggs are seen and Brushtail Possums are breeding	March	luk: Eel Season - hot winds cease and temperatures cool. luk (eels) are fat and ready to harvest. Binap (Manna Gum) is flowering. Days and nights are of equal length. Lo-An Tuka, the Hunter, is the star Canopus, seen almost due south at sunset
Wombat Season (April-August) when the Common Wombat becomes more active and basks in the sun, when Lyrebirds perform courtship displays, Wedge-tailed Eagles enter their breeding cycle from late June to early July, and Silky Hakea and Silver Banksia are in flower. The rainfall increases, and Bush Rats are seen indulging themselves with food	April	Waring: Wombat Season – cool rainy days follow misty mornings. Days are short and nights are long. The time of highest rainfall and lowest temperatures. Waring (wombats) emerge to bask and graze in the sunshine. Bulen-bulen (Superb Lyrebird) males perform their courtship displays. Hearts of Kombadik (Soft Tree-ferns) are the major food when no fruits are available. The constellation of Sagittarius rises in the southeast after sunset, indicating the mid point of cold weather
	May	
	June	
	July	
	August	Guling: Orchid Season – cold weather is coming to an end. Guling (orchids) are flowering. Ae-noke (caterpillars) of Common Brown butterfly feed on grasses at night. Muyan (Silver Wattles) are flowering. Bulen-bulen (Superb Lyrebird) males perform the last of their courtship displays. Gurborra (Koalas) begin mating. Males bellow at night. The star Arcturus is seen on the northwestern horizon soon after sunset.
Orchid Season (September) when orchids, Flax Lilies, Prickly Currants, Murnongs, Native Geraniums and Flat Peas are in flower, Pied Currawongs are singing while Tree Goannas are excavating egg-laying mounds	September	Poorneet: Tadpole Season - temperatures are rising but the rain continues. Flax-lilies are flowering. Pied Currawongs call loudly and often. The flowering of plants such as Myrnong (Yam Daisy), indicates the tubers are ready for eating, Bulen-bulen (Superb Lyrebird) males have finished displaying. Days and nights are of equal length
Tadpole Season (October) when tadpoles are prolific, Orchid Season plants continue their flowering, Dusky Antechinus give birth and Growling Grass Frogs lay their eggs	October	

Grass Flowering Season (November) when the Kangaroo Grass and Christmas Bush begin to flower, Orion arrives, and most of the Orchid Season plants are at the end of their flowering periods	November	Buath Gurru: Grass Flowering Season – the weather is warm, and it is often raining. Kangaroo Grass is flowering. Buliyong (bats) are catching insects in flight. Balyang, the Creation Being, is also referred to as the bat. Male Common Brown butterflies are flying, Coranderrk (Victorian Christmas Bush) is coming into flower. The Orion constellation is setting in the western sky around sunrise
Apple Season (December) when the weather is warming, the Pleiades are rising, Peron's Tree Frogs are laying their eggs, the Kangaroo Apple is ripe, and Kangaroo Grasses, Christmas Bushes and Black Wattles are in flower	December	Garrawang: Kangaroo Apple Season – Changeable, thundery weather. Days are long and nights are short. Dhuling (Goannas are active. Buliyong (Bats) are catching insects in flight. Fruits appear on Kangaroo-apple bushes. Bali (Cherry Ballart) is fruiting. Bundjil (Wedge-tailed Eagles) are breeding. Bunjil, the Creation Being, is also referred to as the 'eaglehawk'

In contrast, for Wadawurrung People, as a People they seasonally moved across their Country accordingly to specific environmental patterns and clues, and established camps according to the cycles of nature and resource available according to their seasonal calendars that were dynamic, and could consist of between 5 to 9 obvious seasons characterised by weather and environmental attributes. These seasonal cycles signalled various human movement changes including the construction of temporary and semi-permanent shelters, the management of the landscape through fire, the harvesting of plant roots, and the migration along coastal areas and inland according to the patterns of the seasonal cycles.

Table 4-6 offers a draft Djilang/Geelong – Bellarine Peninsula coastal-environment informed seasonal calendar of six seasons. The reader will notice major differences in time spaces, animal and bird species triggers and patterns, star movements, etc., when compared to the information presented in Table 4-5 above.

Remember, Tables 4-5 and 4-6 reflect seasonal characteristics of the coastal precincts of Wadawurrung Country, and the ecological and climatic characteristics of the Yarram Yarram/Beaufort area of the Central Victorian Uplands Bioregion is totally different, so these Tables should not be used as an answer for a seasonal calendar for Yarram Yarram/Beaufort area.

Table 5-6 Draft Djilang/Geelong – Bellarine Peninsula Seasonal Calendar

Time Period	Environmental Patterns and Characteristics
Early and Mid-Summer (November, December, January)	The Black Wattle tree (<i>Acacia mearnsii</i>) and Swamp Paperbark (<i>Melaleuca ericifolia</i>) flower in late November, signalling the beginning of the dry season, prompting people to set up camps around reliable water sources at creeks, rivers and billabongs. Due to the dry season, water bodies attract wildlife and Eastern Grey Kangaroos (<i>Macropus giganteus</i>), Emus (<i>Dromaius novaehollandiae</i>), Common Wombats (<i>Vombatus ursinus</i>) and Ring-tailed Possums (<i>Pseudocheirus peregrinus</i>) that come to drink and can be caught. Grasses flower, fruits ripen, and manna is collected from the coast Manna-Gum (<i>Eucalyptus viminalis</i>) trees. Fish move up the rivers, and fish traps are used. During this time of abundance, large gatherings of the clans and tribes take

Time Period	Environmental Patterns and Characteristics
	place. With permission from the Elders of the coastal clans, people move down to the sea and coastal wetlands and river mouths to gather shellfish, to catch Flathead fish (<i>Platycephalus fuscus</i>), Flathead Galaxias (<i>Galaxias rostratus</i>), and Black fish (<i>Gadopsis marmoratus</i>). When male Short-finned Eels (<i>Anguilla australis</i>) start to move down the rivers to the sea, it signals the start of the next season, Late Summer.
Late Summer (February to March)	With the early Autumn rains, the days become cooler. Various parts of the land are densely covered in scrub and grass, and by planned and carefully managed burning, areas are cleared to fertilise the soil before autumn rains. During this time the Messmate Stringybark (<i>Eucalyptus obliqua</i>), Moonah (<i>Melaleuca lanceolata</i>) and Coast Banksia (<i>Banksia integrifolia</i>) trees come into blossom, providing sweet nectar that attracts many insects and birds. The Coast Saltbush (<i>Atriplex cinerea</i>) on the coastal dunes provides fruits for mixing into meals. The Short-finned Eels (<i>Anguilla australis</i>) season starts with the migration of large quantities of female eels down the rivers to the sea, to begin their long journey up the east coast of Australia to the South Pacific. Eel traps are set, and the Wadawurrung clans set up camps along the rivers. The roots of water plants are part of a vegetable and fruit diet that includes the berries from late Summer fruits. The start of early Winter is marked by birds starting to migrate to the warmer north and more frequent heavy rains.
Autumn / Early Winter (April to May)	The soil is still warm after the rains, and the mushrooms sprout in circles at Freshwater Creek. Large groups of women, young and the Elders sit inside the circles and harvest the mushrooms, while talking about their travels, confirming between them the Dreaming stories of the past and future, endorsing the importance of caring for <i>Country</i> . The billabongs fill with water after more frequent rains. Moths emerge and native bees swarm across <i>Country</i> collecting nectar from the Flax-lily Grass (<i>Dianella caerulea</i>) and Cranberry Heath (<i>Astroloma humifusum</i>). The clans start to move inland to higher ground, as the rain of Winter starts to settle in.
Deep Winter (June to mid-July)	Winter rains result in frequent flooding of the flats near the rivers and creeks, while low lands and salt marshes are mostly wet and unsuitable for camping. Therefore, people move uplands to higher sheltered spots. Ring-tailed Possums (<i>Pseudocheirus peregrinus</i>), Koalas (<i>Phascolarctos cinereus</i>), Common Wombats (<i>Vombatus ursinus</i>) and Eastern Grey Kangaroos (<i>Macropus giganteus</i>), are also seeking shelter on higher ground, and people can catch them close to the campsites. Herbs and the Bower Spinach (<i>Tetragonia implexicoma</i>) growing on top of the mud roofs of the semi-permanent rock-wall shelters are convenient for food supply, while people stay inside the shelters and keep fires burning for warmth. Possum skins stitched together are wrapped around family members to protect against the intense cold spells that occur as the westerly winds rip through the Country ahead of the cold fronts.
Early Spring (Mid July to August)	The Golden Wattle (<i>Acacia pycnantha</i>), the Silver Wattle (<i>Acacia dealbata</i>) and the Coast Beard-heath (<i>Leucopogon parviflorus</i>) start to flower, the first signs of a change in season; winter is coming to an end and warmer weather is on its way. People move towards the lower lands and plains, wetlands and lakes where they catch ducks, wildfowl and other birds. Eggs are in abundance and are collected from nests, including from turtles along the beach. While the men hunt, the woman collect large quantities of Murnong (<i>Microseris walteri</i>) in string bags to take back to the camps. Temporary bark shelters are constructed in camp clusters along the watercourses, dry wood is collected and fires are kept burning during the cold nights to keep warm.
Spring (September to October)	The Murnong (<i>Microseris walteri</i>) continues to flower, and provides an abundance of root vegetables. Water lilies (<i>Nymphaeaceae</i> sp.), orchards, Sea Berry (<i>Hippophae rhamnoides</i>), Coastal Saltbush (<i>Atriplex cinerea</i>) and bower

Time Period	Environmental Patterns and Characteristics
	spinach (<i>Tetragonia implexicoma</i>) flower and large amounts of greens are used in food. This is a time of abundance; trees, grasses and shrubs flower, and bees and insects collect nectar. Snakes and lizards become active, and young kangaroos come out of the pouch. The floodplains are flooded and tadpoles appear in ponds, billabongs, rivers and lakes. Traps are set and tadpoles, snakes and lizards are roasted on the coals of the circle ovens in the ground. The different clans start to move towards the special sacred places for the annual gatherings of the tribes that will happen during the coming Summer season.
Autumn / Early Winter (April to May)	The soil is still warm after the rains, and the mushrooms sprout in circles at Freshwater Creek. Large groups of women, young and the Elders sit inside the circles and harvest the mushrooms, while talking about their travels, confirming between them the Dreaming stories of the past and future, endorsing the importance of caring for <i>Country</i> . The billabongs fill with water after more frequent rains. Moths emerge and native bees swarm across <i>Country</i> collecting nectar from the Flax-lily Grass (<i>Dianella caerulea</i>) and Cranberry Heath (<i>Astroloma humifusum</i>). The clans start to move inland to higher ground, as the rain of Winter starts to settle in.

Source: Tandop David gathered and synthesised in Roös (2017, 109-111) revised by Powell and Jones (2018), published in Powell et al (2019).

This draft Djilang/Geelong – Bellarine Peninsula coastal-environment informed seasonal calendar of six seasons, offers a framework guide as food resource harvesting settlement patterns across Wadawurrung Country as summarized in Table 3-7.

Table 5-7 Wadawurrung Settlement Areas and Bush Tucker (Food Sources)

Landscape Type / Vegetation Community	Indicator Species (<i>Wadawurrung</i> name in brackets)	Season
High Ground and Mountains	Wombat (<i>Gnor-Gnor</i>) Wattle Grubs (<i>Woeeekam</i>) Tree sap running Fungi/Mushrooms (<i>Tubar</i>) Manna (<i>Laap</i>) - Gum Tree	All year Late Summer All Year Autumn/Winter Autumn/Winter
Open Areas and Plains	Kangaroo (<i>Goim</i>) Fungi/Mushrooms (<i>Tubar</i>) Grass Flowers Tree sap running Lerp and Manna (<i>Laap</i>) Honey Ants Salt Bush	All Year Autumn/Winter/Spring All Year Late Summer After Rain All Year
Coast and River Mouths, Sandhills	Lizards (<i>Gaan</i>) Snakes (<i>Kangalang</i>) Wattle Grubs (<i>Woeeekam</i>) Eggs (including Turtles) Eels (<i>Kooyang</i>) Salt Bush Oyster (<i>Barrabool</i>) Mussel (<i>Moorabool</i>) Flathead Fish Black Fish	Summer Summer Spring/Summer Early Spring Late Summer All Year Spring/Summer Spring/Summer Spring/Summer Spring/Summer
Waterways, Riverbanks, Wetlands	Frogs (<i>Djerrm</i>) Snakes (<i>Kangalang</i>) Lizards (<i>Gaan</i>) Ducks and Swans Wattle Grubs (<i>Woeeekam</i>)	Summer Summer Spring/Summer All Year Spring/Summer

Landscape Type / Vegetation Community	Indicator Species (<i>Wadawurrung</i> name in brackets)	Season
	Tree sap running Eggs (including Turtles) Eels (<i>Kooyang</i>) Grass Flowers Yam Daisy (<i>Murnong</i>)	All Year Early Spring Late Summer Spring/All Year Spring/Summer
Mallee	Emu (<i>Karwir</i>) Wattle Grubs (<i>Woeeekam</i>) Tree sap running Lerp and Manna (<i>Laap</i>) Mallee Fowls / Turkey Grass Flowers	All Year Spring/Summer All Year Summer/Winter All Year Spring/All Year
Bush and Scrub	Possums (<i>Wallart</i>) Lizards (<i>Gaan</i>) Snakes (<i>Kangalang</i>) Wattle Grubs (<i>Woeeekam</i>) Tree sap running Lerp and Manna (<i>Laap</i>) Galahs/Pigeons/Birds	All Year Summer Summer Spring/Summer All Year Summer/Winter All Year

Source: Tandop David, pers. comm., 2014. The language included is the version used by Tandop David. Revised by Powell and Jones (2018); published in Powell et al 2019.

6 Cultural Values Site Visit

6.1 On Country Visitation

The site visit was held on 10th of March 2021 with the following participants:

Unearthed Heritage Australia	WTOAC	VPA
Joseph Brooke Anna Light	Norm Eccles (TO) BJ O'Toole (TO) Tyson Poulter (TO) David Jones (Staff)	Emily Killin Crystal Tang Lachlan Buck

A site visit was held to spend time on-country to document and discuss cultural values associated with the Study Area. While the Study Area was the focus of the site visits, as it is a constructed boundary it is acknowledged that there is an interconnectedness of cultural values which do not necessarily stop or start at fixed or discrete boundaries.

Meeting Point: Bannockburn Recreation Reserve

Emily:

- Brief introduction into purpose of CVA.
- PSPs will lead to restructuring with development of land in 2-3 years.
- The CVA process will embed cultural values into the planning process at an early stage.
- There will be the standard requirement for 5% open space in addition to drainage and the creekline. There will be 1-2 primary schools and the possibility of a high school (although high school may be in different PSP area).
- A future town centre and indicative arterial road with a bridge over Bruce Creek in proximity to the exiting electricity easement is planned.

Location 1: Bruce's Creek escarpment overlooking floodplain

This location is a high point overlooking Bruce's Creek with a steep walk down the escarpment slope to the creek itself (Photo 6-1 & Photo 6-1).

BJ:

- Rabbits are the main disturbance in this area and this is a concern.
- This area definitely represented part of a travel route as can be seen in the nature of the sites along the corridor suggesting they are all larger, more permanent living and camping sites rather than ephemeral use.
- The creek connects to two prominent river systems.
- The creek has a constant flow and is wider and more open in some areas and narrow in some areas. There is a scarred tree in the corridor but outside the current Study Area.
- There is a gap in the faunal knowledge in this location.



Photo 6-1: Facing south at Location one at high point east of Bruce's Creek



Photo 6-2: Facing south at Location one at bank east of Bruce's Creek



Photo 6-3: Facing south at Location one at high point east of Bruce's Creek



Photo 6-4: The inner watercourse Bruce's Creek with its poor condition and invasive vegetation

David:

- Highlighted the north-south nature of the alignment of Bruce's Creek from Parwan/Barwon in the south to Russells Bridge in the north.
- Queried availability of scoria in regards to fish traps.

BJ:

- *Djjirup* is the white cockatoo which are all around here.
- Bunjil's lookout is located at Maude to the north and the Maude silcrete quarry is near there.

Anna:

- Asked around language in this area for the creek and the area of land – there are limited ethno-historical records on which to offer clear guidance on Language at the time of land survey in the 1840s, less the use of Wabdallah and Murghebolac in Parish nomenclature.

Location 2: Beneath transmission easement overlooking Bruce's Creek

Large scatter at this location. View to Barrabool Hills to the south and Maude to the north.



Photo 6-5: Looking west over Bruce's Creek with the transmission lines above



Photo 6-6: Bruce's Creek looking south with the Barrabool Hills and Mt Gnarwarre in the distance



Photo 6-7: Looking south over Bruce's Creek towards the Barrabool Hills



Photo 6-8: Bruce's Creek looking south to Mt Gnarwarre



Photo 6-9: Old *Eucalyptus* sp. trees in the Bruce's Creek watercourse outer edge



Photo 6-10: Facing south beneath easement east of Bruce's Creek at Location 2

David:

- Noted the patchy *Eucalyptus* sp. along the creek corridor – particularly the old, dead Red Gums.
- Noted the view of Maude plateaux from here.

BJ:

- Many sites are located where there is a 360 degree view, such as this spot.
- For him this is an absolute connection point to Country and it's places like this where he connects most.
- *Parwan* is language for magpie – as here in the trees.
- He noted that stony rises are very significant as a location for heritage however not a trigger point under the Act.
- *Karrkiyn* is language for basalt and *getyawil laa (rr) (ng) derk* is language for 'many rock ground, which may indicated stony rise.
- *War bullock* is plain.

Emily:

- The plan includes revegetation of the creek corridor, the creation of shared pathways, a new waterway/drainage corridor at the east.
- Ausnet provides guidance for activities permitted beneath the easement (possibly, minimal low plantings, pathways, community spaces) and requirements for buffers. This may allow for a shared path network beneath the easement.

David:

- A recommendation would be around corridors associated with waterways in terms of cleaning and revegetating to regenerate fauna and to maintain visual sightlines (360 degrees and landscape markers such as Barrabools, Maude plateaux – Bunjil's Lookout).

Joseph:

- Raised the possibility of regular cultural burning beneath the easement and possibly in the drainage corridors.

Emily:

- Noted that some outfall from the suburbs would be directed into the new drainage line and some would go to the creek.

BJ and David:

- Stated that no outfall could go into the creek without treatment through slow flow filtration through vegetation ponds.

Emily:

- There is a Golden Plains Council *Approved Street Tree Guide* (GPC 2020) and there may be a *Bruce's Creek Masterplan* (Land Design Partnership 2009) to reference from wider vegetation landscaping.

Anna:

- Raised linkage via a heritage trail with interpretive signage/information sources?

David:

- Reiterated the importance of maintaining the curvilinear shape of the creek corridor – this is culturally important.

Location 3: Proposed Town Centre

High point between creek to west and swamps to east. A good view point beneath the easement.

Location 4: Stony Rise east of Burnside Road

Very disturbed by modern activities (

)). Noted the rise beneath the transmission tower as a viewpoint that is less impacted and protected from extensive disturbance (as beneath easement) as a potential location for viewpoint/interp. Potential for integration into open space.

BJ:

- Thought that there may be an ephemeral watercourse to the west of the rise.
- The view here is to Barrabuls/Barrabool, Anaki Youang/Anakie Hills, Wurdi Youang/You Yangs.
- Was very wet underfoot during previous survey.



Photo 6-11: Beneath the transmission line corridor, where the town centre site is proposed, looking east

Photo 6-12: Beneath the transmission line corridor, where the town centre site is proposed, looking south-west



Photo 6-13: Facing south from the eastern stony rises



Photo 6-14: Looking east from the eastern stony rises

Location 5: Artefact tree at railway line

Different soil deposits visible here than in other parts of the study area (sandier). Close to easier creek access (not steep) (Photo 6-15 to Photo 6-16). At the creek here the water is dirty and Wallaby Grass and Cumbungi is present.



Photo 6-15: View west, within the amphitheatre, across Bruce Creek at Location 5



Photo 6-16: View west, within the amphitheatre, across Bruce Creek to the railway line embankment



Photo 6-17: Elderly River Red Gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*) at Location 5



Photo 6-18: Looking northwards, within the amphitheatre, up Bruce's Creek from Location 5

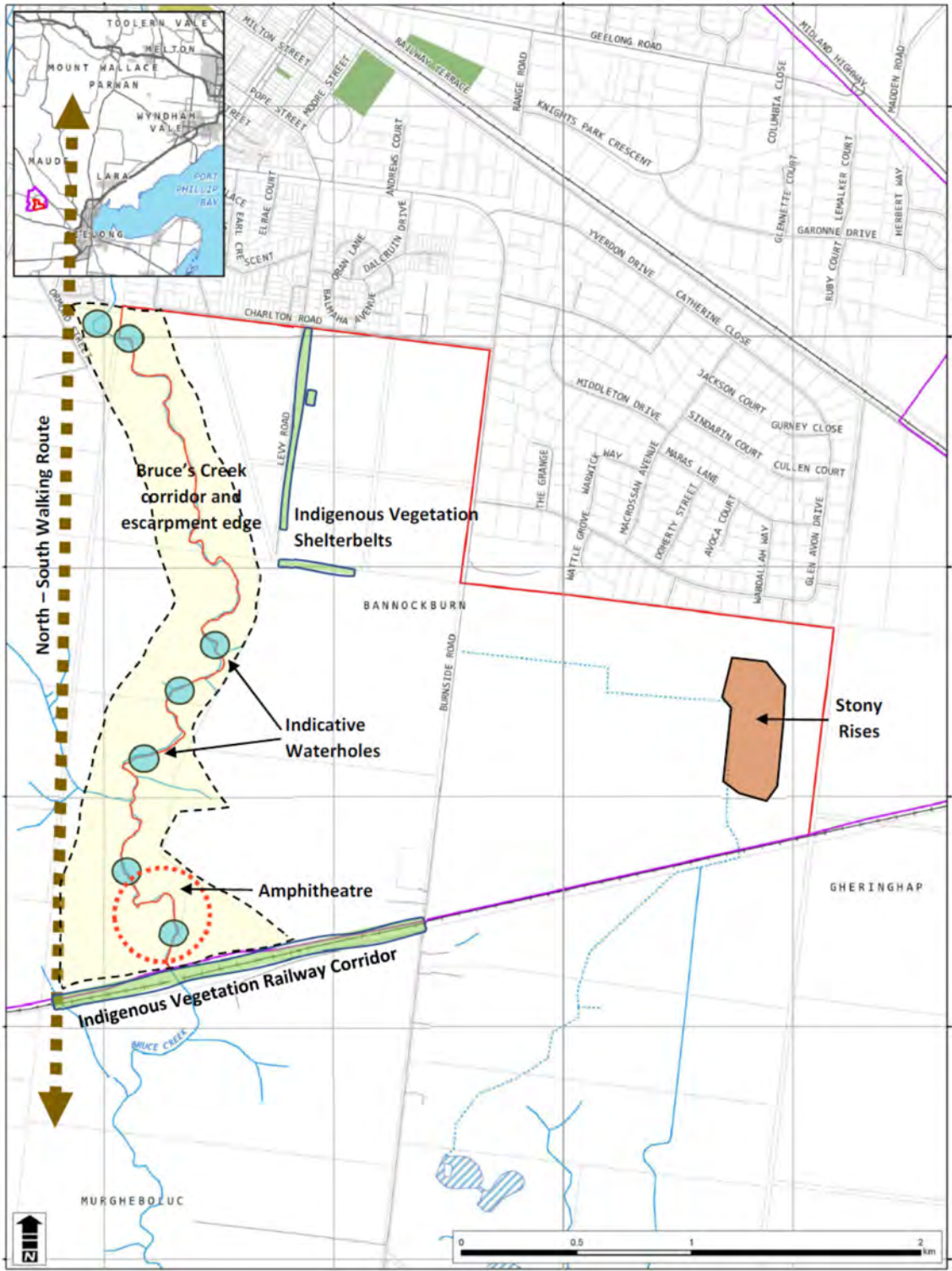


Figure 6-1 Select Key Wadawurrung Country Values

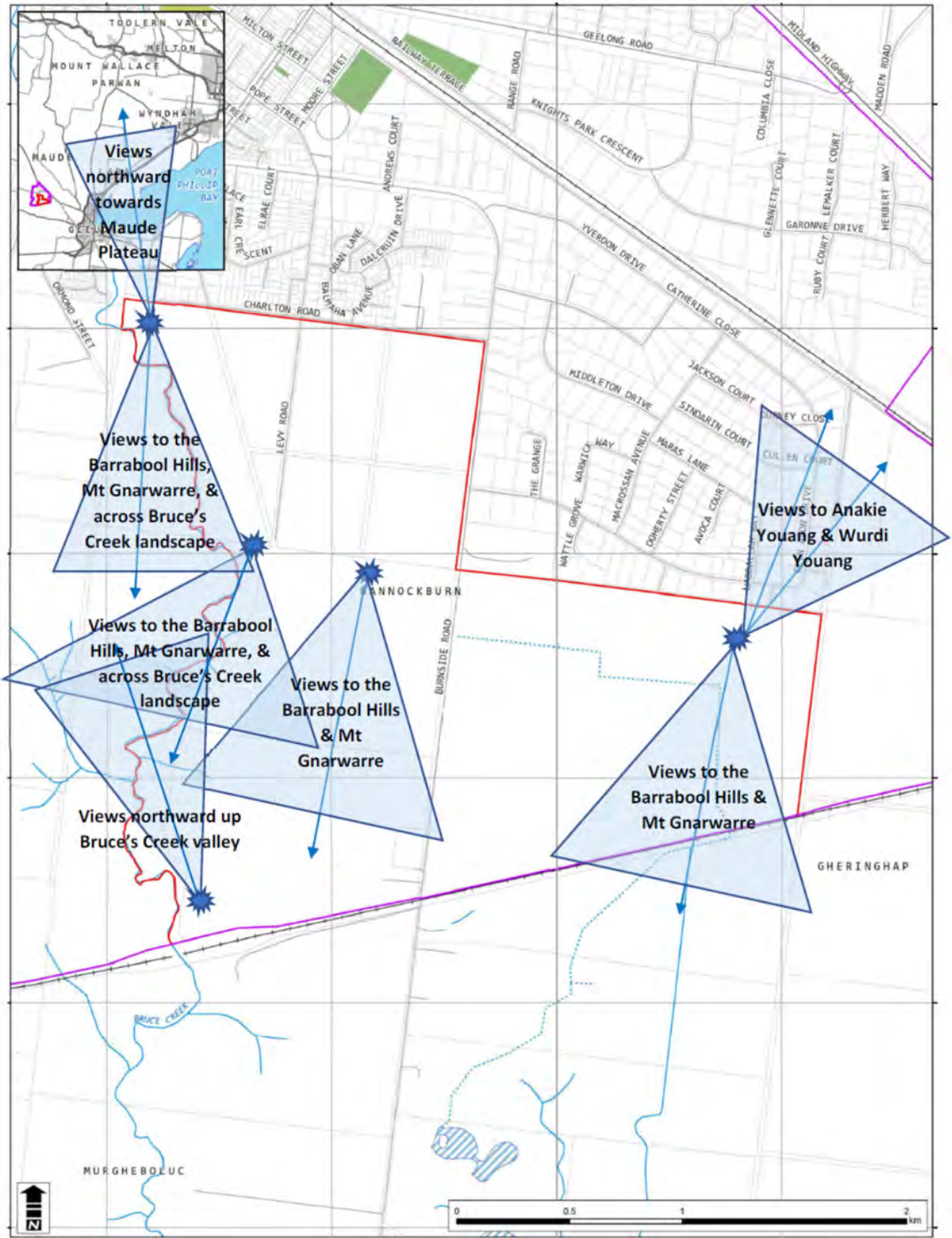


Figure 6-2 Select Key Wadawurrung Visual Connectivities

7 Culturally Sensitive Recommendations

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8 Recommendations – Culturally Sensitive

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9 Recommendations

The collaboration with WTOAC at this early planning stage creates an opportunity to explore both shorter-term input into planning documents as well as establishing protocol for long-term future-thinking development programs and community relationships.

Note that none of these recommendations negate the requirement to adhere to the legislative requirements associated with the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006* and the *Aboriginal Heritage Regulations 2018*, approved Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Management Plans (CHMPs) or impact the necessity or otherwise for the conduct of a CHMP.

All bookings with WTOAC should be sent to rap@wadowurung.org.au and then the bookings will then be delegated to the right person for the job.

9.1 Wadawurrung Statement of Significance for the Bannockburn Study Area

The following is tabled as the Wadawurrung Statement of Significance for this tract of Country:

Under the watchful eyes of the Barrabools, this is Country of glistening waters and grassy plains, and a special place for Wadawurrung People and their animals, plants, birds, waters and skies; a place to care for and nurture.

Maiwan mirr mirr barra-bul, dja belleren ngubitj-bul parrarr baa Wadawurrung ngoon di kinkinbil bango di tonak baa bangotanok marlo, booyankal, tolam ngubitj baa lakoora-bul, wul-a baa karringa-a

Theme	Theme	Recommendations	Agent Responsible
Country - Dja	The substance and layers of Country		
		1. It is recommended that the Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation's (WTOAC) <i>Paleert Taara Dja: Wadawurrung Country Plan</i> (2020) and video be essential preliminary reading/listening resources for all consultants and contractors for issuance as part of their engagement in future planning and design for the subject area.	VPA, GPC & WTOAC
		2. It is recommended that staff involved in the design and construction phases of this project be party to Wadawurrung Cultural Awareness Training to ensure respect and appreciation of this tract of Country and Wadawurrung tangible and intangible values in this study area.	VPA, GPC & WTOAC
		3. It is expected that all Cultural Heritage Management Plan (CHMP) recommendations pertinent to or arising from any future CHMP for works within the subject area are complied with in accordance with the respective CHMP recommendations.	GPC
Water - Yulluk	Water systems of Country		
		4. It is recommended that all cultural water flows, as set out as objectives A1-A11 in Table 12 of the <i>Upper Barwon, Yarrowee and Leigh Rivers FLOWS Study</i> (Alluvium 2019), be respected and maintained as much as possible in their authenticity of flow route, water purification and ponding, and servicing of ephemeral and perennial wetlands vegetation systems	VPA & GPC
		5. It is recommended that suitable hydraulic engineering measures be taken to ensure the quality of cultural flows during the construction phase of the suburb to protect and ensure the health of water systems and the habitats adjacent to such watercourses, as set out as objectives A1-A11 in Table 12 of the <i>Upper Barwon, Yarrowee and Leigh Rivers FLOWS Study</i> (Alluvium 2019).	VPA & GPC

		6. It is recommended that all steps be taken to delimit direct stormwater flow access both directly down the escarpment and entering Bruce's Creek watercourse be subject to natural systems water purification and pollutant treatments, as well as slow-release pondage water movement into the watercourse to negate sedimentation, erosion, and excessive disturbance of indigenous vegetation and animal habitats.	VPA & GPC
Places	Places of Country		
		7. It is recommended that where sound barriers, bridge, walling, cutting treatments and similar are proposed associated with the future E-W arterial road across Bruce's Creek, that the overall bridge/road design be a visually light and textured in scale, bulk and design-finish as is possible	VPA & GPC
		8. It is recommended that an integrated approach be taken when commissioning a CHMP for the study area so that both sides of Bruce's Creek including 10m from the escarpment edge are included and thus the watercourse and immediate edges of the watercourse	GPC
		9. It is recommended that an integrated "Bruce's Creek Linear Park", for the entire length of the Creek from adjacent to McPhillips Road downstream to the Gheringhap-Inverleigh Railway Line, in accordance with the purpose and scope of the <i>Bruce's Creek Masterplan</i> (2009), be prioritised for preparation enveloping both the existing and proposed Bruce's Creek parklands along this creek corridor through Bannockburn so to better coordinate sensitive and respectful access, overall vegetation and cultural values conservation, co-ordinated infrastructure provision, and overall and consistent revegetation activities, including the scope identified in Figure 9-1 within the Study Area. Our recommendation is also that all non-recreational structures (and their associated underground infrastructure) be keep more than 10m from the watercourse edge and plains edge of the escarpment area.	GPC
		10. It is recommended that WTOAC be invited to consult as to design, art treatments, location, and materiality of any barriers, walling, cutting treatments and similar associated with any future E-W bridge/road design over Bruce's Creek.	VPA, GPC & WTOAC
		11. It is recommended that the service centre node for the new suburb be located where already identified by VPA (see Figure 9.1) but that a possible a linear walking/cycling/green connection between the node and Bruce's Creek, including a primary school and any other school coalesce	VPA

		between the Burnside Road frontage and stretch westwards to afford a direct relationship for the centre node to the “Bruce’s Creek Linear Park”.	
Shelter	Homes and Habitats in Country		
		12. It is recommended that the stony rises (see Figure 9.1) should be reserved as a passive recreational venue only with a priority upon indigenous vegetation restoration and renourishment, be guided by the ‘Outer Zone’ recommendations in the <i>Bruce’s Creek Masterplan</i> (2009) section 3.2.1 and Table 6 with vegetation drawn from Table 2.	VPA
	The voice of Country		
		13. It is recommended that existing watercourse and geographical feature names be maintained, but where new opportunities for nomenclature designations that the WTOAC be invited to propose Language-informed names, including where dual-naming opportunities are possible.	VPA, GPC & WTOAC
		14. It is invited that WTOAC be afforded the opportunity to Language-name the new suburb to be established within the Study Area	VPA, GPC & WTOAC
		15. It is invited that WTOAC be afforded the opportunity to Language-name the new E-W arterial road that would be constructed traversing the Study Area connecting the Midland Highway to Harvey Road	VPA, GPC & WTOAC
		16. It is invited that WTOAC be afforded the opportunity to review and or Language-name any new primary roadways and shared pathways within the Study Area	VPA, GPC & WTOAC
		17. It is invited that WTOAC be afforded the opportunity to Language-name any new shared pathways proposed within the existing E-W transmission line corridor that traverses the Study Area, and within the “Bruce’s Creek Linear Park”.	VPA, GPC & WTOAC
		18. It is invited that a co-design approach with the WTOAC is employed in the Study Area towards achieving integrated planning outcomes through the streamlined PSP preparation process.	VPA, GPC & WTOAC
Pathways	Routes through Country		

	19. It is recommended that the new east-west arterial road that would be constructed traversing the Study Area connecting the Midland Highway to Harvey Road follow the alignment graphically depicted in Figure 9.1, subject to additional CHMP investigations of the alignment corridor.	VPA
	20. It is recommended that the new east-west arterial road that would be constructed traversing the Study Area connecting the Midland Highway to Harvey Road cross Bruce's Creek at a point north of the location 38° 04' 53.63" S, 144° 09' 58.65" E so to minimise any damage to extant tangible and intangible Wadawurrung artefact and associated sites downstream, subject to additional CHMP investigations of the alignment corridor.	VPA
	21. There is a need to recognise in future planning and design activities within the Study Area that culturally-relevant visual connectivities to the Barrabool Hills (including Mt Moriac, Mt Gnarwarre, Mt Pollock) are paramount in Wadawurrung relationships to the Study Area, and that all road, shared pathway, and landscape design activities (including street-tree plantings), within a designated 'Area of Visual Connectivity Sensitivity' as depicted in Figure 9.2 needs to prioritise, respect and offer uninterrupted vantage points as much as possible to the Barrabool Hills in future planning and design activities within this Study Area.	VPA
	22. It is recommended that advantage should be afforded of the existing E-W transmission line corridor and 60m wide easement in offering a major linear park that can entertain native grassland re-establishment as well as regular cultural burning, and a shared-pathway	VPA
	23. It is recommended that the substantive recommendations embodied in the <i>Bruce's Creek Masterplan</i> (2009) be adopted for the same geographical areas (Open Space Link, Escarpment Zone, Creekline Zone, Activity Zone, Outer Zone) in this Study Area, as expressed in their Context Plan extracted in Appendix B of this report.	VPA & GPC
Plants	The vegetative residents of Country	
	24. It is recommended that where practicable opportunities for cultural burning of grasslands be availed on extant areas of Kangaroo Grass (<i>Themeda triandra</i>) saved and or established as part of the new suburb development and subsequent revegetation works.	GPC

		25. It is recommended that the two Indigenous Vegetation Shelterbelts and the Indigenous Vegetation Railway Corridor (Figure 9.1) be conserved in future planning and design activities within the Study Area, and disturbance from roadways, under/above infrastructure be minimised, and consideration be given to their use as shared pathway / passive movement and habitat corridors.	VPA & GPC
		26. It is recommended that, to enable biodiversity refuges, all extant dead trees or native stags of appropriate EVC area applicability, whether standing or fallen, be conserved within the Corridor, and be salvaged and kept as close as possible to their original locations to enable wildlife use	VPA & GPC
		27. It is recommended that during the construction phase for the new suburb that strong measures be implemented to eradicate all noxious plants and weeds from being transferred into the Study Area, including suitable strong measures to mitigate and impede any noxious plant establishment within the construction area	VPA & GPC
		28. It is recommended that, notwithstanding the contents of the <i>Approved Street Tree Guide</i> (2020), that the Bannockburn Growth Area PSP seek to adopt a street policy that enables the creation of an unique street tree palette for the Study Area that also increases streetside shade, biodiversity richness and a respectful plains grassy woodlands character and identity.	VPA & GPC
		29. It is recommended that should any state/Commonwealth legislated/regulated environmental offset be incurred arising from development within the Study Area, that is within the Victorian Volcanic Plains bioregion, that the offset be applied towards the generation of general habitat units to be achieved within the Victorian Volcanic Plains bioregion of the Golden Plains municipality area of Wadawurrung Country to replenish and strengthen this species community.	VPA & GPC
Animals	The animal residents of Country		
		30. It is recommended that during that during the construction phase for the new suburb that strong measures be implemented to eradicate all noxious and exotic terrestrial animals from being transferred from being transferred into the Study Area, including suitable strong measures to mitigate and impede any noxious and exotic terrestrial animal habitat establishment within the construction area	VPA & GPC

		31. It is recommended that consideration should be given to conserving and protecting existing terrestrial wildlife movement corridors in the Bruce's Creek Corridor.	VPA & GPC
Rhythms	The seasonal patterns and character of Country		
		32. It is recommended that the <i>Bruce's Creek Masterplan</i> (2009) be adopted as the linear park planning framework for the Bannockburn PSP Growth Area, and should any animal (including Growling Grass Frog (<i>Litoria raniformis</i>), Striped Legless Lizard (<i>Delma impar</i>), bird and or vegetation (including any remnant Kangaroo Grass (<i>Themeda triandra</i>) species be identified being vulnerable and critically listed under the <i>Environment Protection & Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999</i> (Cth) through future biodiversity assessments, that immediate measures be taken to map, identify and conserve such species and communities and use local provenance species that aid the conservation and restoration of habitats that enhance the survival of vegetations species and communities to further minimise impacts as far as practical of these habitats. Where impacts cannot be avoided and to ensure the vegetations species and communities survival ensure that offsets are provided in accordance with State and Commonwealth legislative requirements.	VPA & GPC

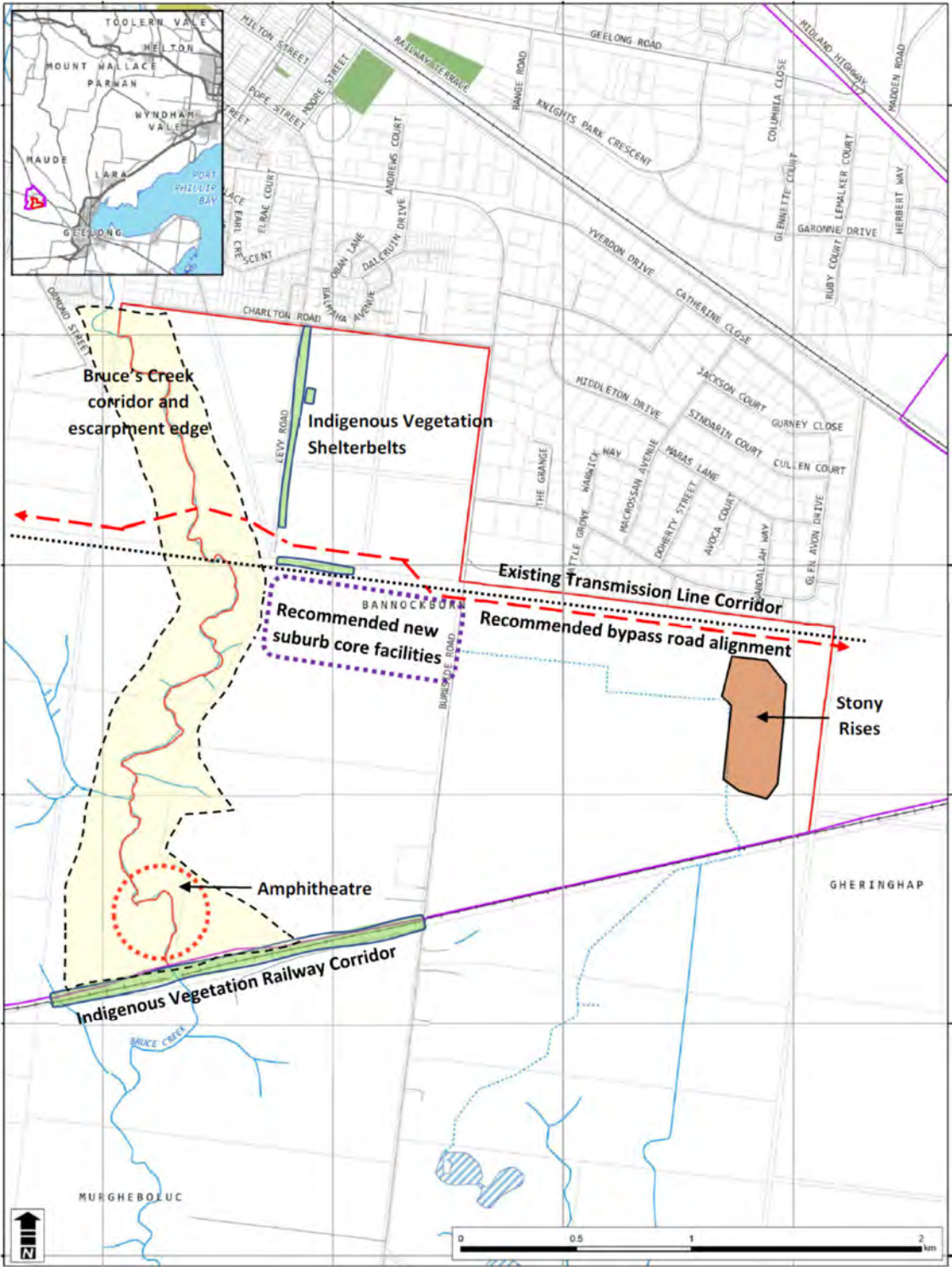


Figure 9-1 Wadawurrung Recommendations on Country Strategic Planning

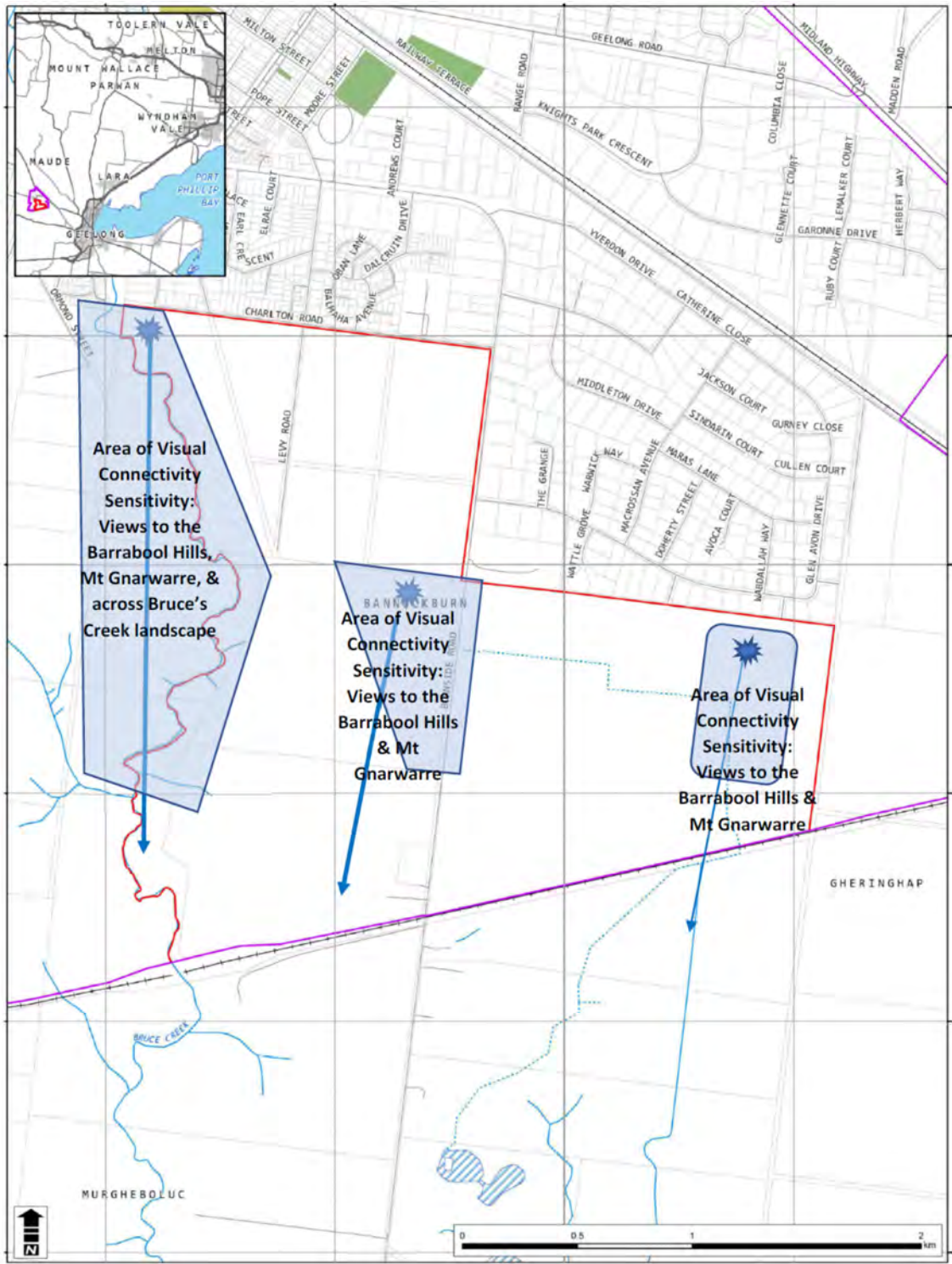


Figure 9-2 Select Key Wadawurrung Areas of Visual Connectivity Sensitivity

Overall Recommendations:

- 9.A The WTOAC supports and recognises the merits in enabling the new southern extension to the Bannockburn urban footprint to be enabled and constructed on Country as a venue for future residents, subject to the above recommendations being addressed, and invitations being respected.
- 9.B The WTOAC wishes that the Bannockburn South East PSP adopt an alternate character and identity to the existing Bannockburn suburban footprint, that is more ecological responsiveness and respectful to the subject land, this grassy plains landscape, that avails Bruce's Creek Linear Park as a life-blood corridor of the Growth Area, and due regard is given to afford visual connections to the southern Barrabool Hills and Mount Gnarwarre
- 9.C The WTOAC invites co-design opportunities with all proponents and project designers to enable the above Recommendations, and any opportunities for Wadawurrung to be afforded employment experience associated with all project's within this Corridor.

Notes:

- The Wadawurrung Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation (WTOAC) is the Registered Aboriginal Party (RAP) under the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006*, and any successor in law where applicable.
- In terms of any of the above Recommendations that implicate planning schemes, section 148 of the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006*, states that "A registered Aboriginal party has the following functions ... [including] (f) to advise the Minister administering the *Planning and Environment Act 1987* on proposed amendments to planning schemes which may affect the protection, management or conservation of places or objects of Aboriginal cultural heritage significance".
- Nothing in these recommendations and invitations obviates the proponent of the need to comply with provisions in the *Aboriginal Heritage Act 2006* (Vic), the *Planning & Environment Act 1987* (Vic), and the *Environment Effects Act 1978* (Vic), or the *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation Act 1999* (Cth), or their successors in law.

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Appendix A: Glossary of terms

Activity Area: The area to be used or developed for an activity (CHMP)

Alluvium: Sediment laid down by flowing water

Chert: A fine-grained stone composed of cryptocrystalline silica. It exhibits a range of textures and colours. Chert is easy to work and retain a sharp edge for an extensive period of time before re-sharpening is required. It has a low to medium fracture toughness and is hence used for flaked stone artefacts.

Devonian: A geological period spanning from about 419 million years ago to about 359 million years ago.

Exposure: Refers to the percentage of the sub-surface exposed, through actions such as erosion or in excavated areas.

Flake: A stone piece removed from a core by percussion (striking it) or by pressure. It is generally identified by the presence of a striking platform, a bulb of percussion, and/or several other features not usually found on a naturally shattered stone.

Granite: Hard igneous rock with that is granular in texture, mainly consisting of mica, feldspar and quartz.

Holocene: The Holocene epoch forms part of the late Quaternary period and extends from about 11,000 years ago to the present day.

Igneous: A rock of volcanic origin

In situ: A description of any cultural material that lies undisturbed in its original point of deposition.

Quartz: The second most abundant mineral on earth made up of a crystalline structure of SiO₄.

Scarred trees: Tree scars from Aboriginal cultural traditions are distinct from naturally occurring scars by their generally oval and/or symmetrical shape, and sometimes presence of steel or stone axe marks on the scar's surface. The size and shape of scars depends on the intended use of the bark removed. Bark was used for a variety of dishes and containers, shields, canoes, and construction of bark-slab huts.

Significant Ground Disturbance: Means disturbance of (a) the topsoil or surface rock layer of the ground; or (b) a waterway, by machinery in the course of grading, excavating, digging, dredging or deep ripping, but does not include ploughing other than deep ripping (to 60cm).

Silcrete: Soil, clay or sand sediments that have silicified under basalt through groundwater percolation. Silcrete ranges in texture from very fine grained, to quite coarse grained. At one extreme it is cryptocrystalline with very few clasts, with almost the appearance of chert. It is used for flaked stone artefact production, sometimes after heat treatment to increase the ease and predictability of its flaking.

Silurian: A geological period that spans between about 443 million years ago to 419 million years ago.

Study area: The area subject to this investigation – i.e. the Bannockburn Growth Plan and the Bannockburn South East PSP

Visibility: Refers to the degree to which the surface of the ground can be observed. This may be influenced by natural processes such as erosion, the character of the extant vegetation, and/or by land use practices, such as ploughing or grading. It is generally expressed in terms of the percentage of the ground surface visible for an observer on foot.

Appendix B: Context Plan from Land Design Partnerships' (2009)
Bruce's Creek Masterplan, Bannockburn: Final Master Plan Report.
Bannockburn

