

Maribyrnong Aboriginal Heritage Study

December 1999

David Rhodes,
Taryn Debney and
Mark Grist

**Report for City
of
Maribyrnong**

**Maribyrnong Aboriginal
Heritage Study**

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Project no. 1217

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAV	Aboriginal Affairs Victoria (Heritage Services Branch)
AHPP	Aboriginal Historic Places Programme (Aboriginal Affairs Victoria)
AHC	Australian Heritage Commission
AMG	Australian Map Grid
ATSIC	Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission
BP	Before Present
DCNR	Department of Conservation and Natural Resources (now DNRE)
DNRE	Department of Natural Resources and Environment (formerly DCNR)
DOI	Department of Infrastructure
HV	Heritage Victoria (DOI)
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
LCC	Land Conservation Council
LPPF	Local Planning Policy Framework
MLMW	Melbourne's Living Museum of the West
MSS	Municipal Strategic Statement
RNE	Register of the National Estate
SPPF	State Planning Policy Framework
VAS	Victoria Archaeological Survey (now part of AAV and Heritage Victoria)
VPP	Victorian Planning Provisions

Cover Plate: View of the Maribyrnong River

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1.0 SUMMARY

The City of Maribyrnong is located in an area of Melbourne where the primary focus of past heritage studies has been on the built environment, particularly the industrial heritage of the region. There is frequently an assumption that there can be few Aboriginal heritage values in heavily developed portions of the Melbourne metropolitan area. However, the Aboriginal heritage of Melbourne's Western Region has been extensively documented over the past 10-15 years and there is evidence of human occupation in the Maribyrnong River valley that is at least 17,000 years old.

Aboriginal people do not view their heritage or their culture simply in terms of material remains or archaeological sites. Aboriginal culture is a dynamic force in contemporary Australian society, despite several decades of non-Aboriginal governments who attempted to use institutional controls to systematically erase it. The Aboriginal people of Melbourne today are the inheritors of one of the oldest living cultures in the world; the dynamics of their culture at present are reflected in the history of the people who moved through Melbourne from all parts of Victoria, following family and work and attempting to maintain their cultural identity.

The Maribyrnong Aboriginal heritage study is about tracking change and diversity in Aboriginal culture and conserving and explaining the places associated with that change. Place can be defined as “...associations people have/had with the location” (Goulding 1994: 4) and is not only constrained to material remains. At the time European settlers first occupied land in the Melbourne area, including what was to become the township of Footscray, the City of Maribyrnong was occupied by people of the *Woi wurrung* language group. The *Woi wurrung* were the descendants of a people who remembered the flooding of Port Phillip Bay around 10,000 years ago and who had occupied and used the land surrounding the Maribyrnong River valley for at least 17,000 years and probably longer than 40,000 years. This study attempts to examine some of the places associated with that history and to identify some of the people and their culture, in order to bring the Aboriginal heritage of the City of Maribyrnong to the surface in a manner which ensures its recognition for future generations of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people.

The City of Maribyrnong required a broad-based study into both the pre-contact and post-contact Aboriginal heritage of the City. This heritage study was partly intended to document material remains of pre-contact and post-contact places, but also aimed to trace the associations of place with the recent social and cultural history of the City. Ultimately, the study was to produce a methodology for incorporation of the identified places into the City of Maribyrnong's new format planning scheme, to produce policies within the Local Planning

Policy Framework for the protection and interpretation of Aboriginal heritage places within the City.

During the course of this study, consultation occurred with a wide range of local Aboriginal community groups, organisations and individuals. These people helped to identify a number of heritage places and also a range of people and places that could be further researched. Non-Aboriginal people and organisations also contributed valuable information to this study.

The context of the study is discussed in Section 2.0 of the report. Section 3.0 of the report contains a description of the natural environment within the City of Maribyrnong before the arrival of non-Aboriginal people and a summary of late nineteenth century land use history. Of particular importance to the economic aspects of Aboriginal land use within the study area are the volcanic plains and the valley of the Maribyrnong River.

The Maribyrnong River valley was once an environmentally rich area, containing a diversity of fauna and flora, which helped to make it an important resource base for Aboriginal people. Silcrete, a type of stone, was also an important resource available to Aboriginal people in the valley. Silcrete was the most widely used stone in the production of tools, as evidenced by its presence at the majority of Aboriginal archaeological sites on the Western Plains. Outcrops of silcrete are exposed in the walls of the river valley by stream incision and as a result, there were many stone working sites and Aboriginal stone quarries along the length of the Maribyrnong River valley. Many of these sites remain today, even in developed areas.

When non-Aboriginal people first began to occupy the volcanic plains west of Melbourne, the City of Maribyrnong was occupied by clans from the *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* language groups. A partial description of the life of these people, which has been compiled from the accounts of settlers, government officials and interviews with William Barak done by A.W. Howitt in the nineteenth century, is contained in Section 3.0 of the report. Non-Aboriginal or *ngamadjig* settlers rapidly decimated the *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* people and European settlers often gave highly biased accounts of their lifestyle. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that there was a dynamic and rich Aboriginal culture in the City of Maribyrnong before non-Aboriginal people arrived.

In Section 4.0 archaeological evidence of Aboriginal occupation of the study area is discussed. Excavations at the site of the Keilor cranium have revealed that Aboriginal people lived in the Maribyrnong valley at least 17,000 years ago, when the landscape and environment were markedly different from those at present. The Maribyrnong valley and the volcanic plains appear to have been occupied continuously through that time by Aboriginal people. The most

abundant evidence of Aboriginal occupation are stone working sites and quarries, but these are only the most visible survivals of pre-contact Aboriginal culture and reflect one aspect of the life of the *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* people.

Within the City of Maribyrnong, only six Aboriginal archaeological sites had been recorded prior to the present study. These were isolated stone artefacts, a quarry and surface scatters of stone artefacts, which were recorded in highly disturbed contexts. Rapid industrial development in the nineteenth century altered and destroyed many of the original land surfaces within the City of Maribyrnong and with it much of the material remains of pre-contact Aboriginal culture. As part of this project, an archaeological survey for pre-contact Aboriginal sites was carried out within the City of Maribyrnong. The survey methods and results are described in Sections 5.0 and 6.0 of the report. As a result of the survey, six new Aboriginal archaeological sites were located; these were all surface scatters of stone artefacts (MRSAS-1 - 6). All of the sites were located between the south bank of the Maribyrnong River and the escarpment along the northern boundary of the City (see Figure 3).

The former Commonwealth Explosives Factory on Cordite Avenue was surveyed during November 1999, due to delays in obtaining permission to access the site. The Commonwealth EFM Factory, between the former explosives factory and Cordite Avenue to the South, could not be accessed for the survey. One isolated artefact and several areas of potential archaeological sensitivity were defined, but most of the site was found to be heavily disturbed. The results of the former explosives factory survey are contained in Appendix 4 of the report.

Although all of the sites outside the former explosives factory, except one, are highly disturbed, they are considered to be highly significant in a local and regional context, as the only surviving evidence of pre-contact Aboriginal land use in the City. Of particular significance is the landscape context of these sites, since they provide evidence of a remnant cultural landscape contained in a corridor along the Maribyrnong River valley, including the Commonwealth EFM site and the former Maribyrnong Explosives Factory. This cultural landscape is likely to be highly significant to contemporary Aboriginal people not only for its archaeological values, but because the landscape and the special relationship which Aboriginal people have shared with the land in the past, form part of the significant values of the area. The significance of these sites is discussed in further detail in Section 7.0 of the report.

Section 8.0 of the report presents the results of a detailed program of research and consultation into Aboriginal historic places, which was carried out by Mark Grist. Several places which related to Aboriginal people living and working in the City of Maribyrnong and to the beginnings of modern-day Aboriginal political movements are described. Some

of the buildings and places which were identified by the Aboriginal people interviewed as being significant were:

Place	Address	Additional comments
Aunt Sally Russell Cooper's House	111 Ballarat Road, Footscray	
Lynch Cooper's House	92 Tarrengower Street, Yarraville	
William Cooper's Houses	73 Southampton Street, Footscray 120 Ballarat Road, Footscray	
Margaret Tucker's House	38 Pentland Parade, Seddon	
William Barak Pictorial Memorial	Maribyrnong River north of Duke Street, Braybrook	
Kinnears Ropes	Ballarat Road, Footscray	Employer of Aboriginal people during 1930s and 1940s
Pridhams Meatworks	Evans Street, Braybrook	Employer of Aboriginal people during 1930s and 1940s
William Angliss Meatworks	Lynch Street, Footscray	Employer of Aboriginal people during 1930s and 1940s
ADI Ammunitions Factory	Gordon Street, Footscray	Employer of Aboriginal people during 1930s and 1940s
Footscray Park	Maribyrnong River, Footscray	Margaret Tucker sang here during the Australia Day celebrations on the banks of the river
Bomb shelters	Ballarat Road	Now non-existent bomb shelters which use to provide privacy for courting couples
Army Stores Depot	Maribyrnong Road, Footscray	Buildings provided shelter for people at night
Sunshine Technical College	Sunshine	Harold Blair became a teacher there
Masonic Hall	Possibly either Yarraville or now destroyed Footscray centre	Sally and Mick Russell celebrated their 25 th wedding anniversary there
Original Melbourne Living Museum of the West	4 David Street, Footscray (now a car park)	
Current Melbourne Living Museum of the West	Pipemakers Park, Van Ness Avenue, Maribyrnong	

Table 1: Aboriginal historical places identified as significant within the City of Maribyrnong

Some of the history and people associated with these places is discussed in Section 8.8 of the report.

Recommendations for incorporation of Aboriginal sites and places into the City of Maribyrnong's new format planning scheme are contained in Section 10.0 of the report. This section of the report also contains recommendations for interpretation of the Aboriginal history of Maribyrnong and for management of specific archaeological sites.

In general, it is recommended that Aboriginal sites are best protected within the Local Planning Policy Framework (LPPF) rather than through inclusion on the State Heritage Overlay. It is suggested that an Aboriginal Heritage Zoning Plan shown in Figure 4 and associated Policies on Aboriginal heritage be attached to the Planning Scheme as instruments to assist planners with strategic planning decisions respecting Aboriginal sites and places.

It is recommended further that the land bordering the south bank of the Maribyrnong River which contains archaeological sites, including the former Maribyrnong Explosives Factory and Commonwealth EFM site, be managed as a 'cultural landscape' rather than managing individual components. This includes interpretation of the area through appropriate re-vegetation. It is also recommended that an Aboriginal cultural heritage interpretation trail, which incorporates archaeological sites, Aboriginal places and recent Aboriginal historic places and buildings be developed within the City of Maribyrnong to help in bringing to the fore the past associations and the Aboriginal heritage of Maribyrnong.

The recommendations contained in Section 10.0 should be read carefully, as only a summary of the recommendations is discussed above.

Archaeological reports and the management recommendations contained therein will be independently reviewed by the Heritage Services Branch of Aboriginal Affairs Victoria and the relevant Aboriginal community.

Although the findings of a consultant's report will be taken into consideration, recommendations in relation to managing heritage place should not be taken to imply automatic approval of those actions by Aboriginal Affairs Victoria or the Aboriginal community.

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Cultural heritage legislation protecting Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal heritage places applies in Victoria. These places are an important part of our heritage. They are evidence of more than 40,000 years of occupation of Victoria by Aborigines, and of the more recent period of settlement by non-Aboriginal people.

Heritage places can provide us with important information about past lifestyles and cultural change. Preserving and enhancing these important and non-renewable resources is encouraged.

It is an offence under sections of legislation to damage or destroy heritage sites without a permit or consent from the appropriate body (see Appendix 5 for a complete discussion of relevant heritage legislation and constraints).

When a project or new development is proposed, it must be established if any cultural heritage places are in the area and how they might be affected by the project. Often it is possible to minimise the impact of development or find an alternative to damaging or destroying a heritage place. Therefore, preliminary research and survey to identify heritage places is a fundamental part of the background study for most developments.

The first stage of a study usually incorporates background research to collect information about the land relevant to the proposed development project (the study area). A second stage often involves a field inspection of this area.

Possibly the most important part of the study involves assessing the cultural heritage significance of heritage places in the study area. Understanding the significance of a heritage place is essential for formulating management recommendations and making decisions.

The subject matter of this report involves the use of a number of technical words and terms with which the reader may be unfamiliar. An extensive glossary has been included at the end of the report and reference to this may be of assistance.

2.1 Project Background

The Aboriginal Heritage Study for the City of Maribyrnong was commissioned by Context Pty. Ltd. on behalf of the City of Maribyrnong. The broad objectives of the study were to establish the existing state of pre- and post-contact Aboriginal heritage sites and places within the City of Maribyrnong, including areas of potential sensitivity for Aboriginal sites, and to develop recommendations and policies for Aboriginal heritage places to be included in the City of Maribyrnong's New Format Planning Scheme.

The study area consists of the City of Maribyrnong (see Figure 1). The boundaries extend from Duke Street, Braybrook, in the north-west corner, follow the south and west banks of the Maribyrnong River and the west bank of the Yarra River to the Westgate Freeway and then follow the Westgate Freeway and Werribee Railway line in the south. The study area is described in detail in Section 3.0.

It should be noted that the former Maribyrnong Explosives Factory was originally not included as part of the City of Maribyrnong Heritage Study. Three of the previously recorded sites within the study area were recorded inside the boundaries of the Maribyrnong Explosives Factory. These sites are AAV7822/1036, AAV7822/1037 and AAV7822/1046.

Following protracted negotiations between the Maribyrnong City Council and the Department of Defence, permission was given to survey the former Explosives Factory, but not the operational EFM Factory further south. The survey of the Explosives Factory was not conducted until November 1999, well after the remainder of the Maribyrnong Heritage Study was completed. Consequently, the survey data has been included as a technical appendix (Appendix 4) and the results of the Explosives Factory survey have been integrated with other survey results presented in the body of the report.

2.2 Aims

The following discussion is a summary of the major objectives.

The outcomes of the project, as specified in Section 6 of the project brief (see Appendix 1) were:

- An overview of the broad picture of Aboriginal cultural heritage values of the City of Maribyrnong.
- Identification of places of Aboriginal heritage value and significance assessments made for all known Aboriginal cultural heritage places. All places identified were documented according to the requirements of

Aboriginal Affairs Victoria in a standard database format. An explanation of what makes each place significant was also provided. All places were recorded in photographic form.

- A set of predictive statements about areas likely to contain further Aboriginal heritage places and guidance about how to manage such areas.
- Maps showing the location and extent of identified places of Aboriginal heritage value and areas of high sensitivity, manually drafted onto base maps supplied by Council.
- Recommendations about what is required to retain the significance of identified places, particularly through land use planning and development control processes and recommendations for training of development assessment staff about places of significance.
- Recommended policies that Council might adopt, for example relating to Council works affecting Aboriginal heritage or Planning Scheme Policies.
- Guidelines on what to do if additional Aboriginal heritage places are found in future, including procedural guidelines for planners and developers to address development on recently identified places where a planning permit has already been issued.

2.3 Recommendations for further work

One variation on the brief during the course of this study was the proposal to produce mapping as a digital overlay for the Councils planning scheme. The figures in this report will be provided to Council as part of a digital mapping database for their GIS.

2.4 Consultation

Before undertaking surveys for heritage places there is a statutory requirement to notify the Heritage Service Branch of Aboriginal Affairs Victoria – the State government agency responsible for Aboriginal heritage places – and to consult with the relevant Aboriginal community. If the survey covers crown land, it

may also be necessary to contact the Department of Natural Resources and Environment (DNRE).

2.4.1 Consultation with Aboriginal Affairs Victoria and the Aboriginal Community

Aboriginal Affairs Victoria must be informed when a survey that aims to identify Aboriginal sites is to be undertaken by submitting a standard form (Form D). A completed Form D was forwarded to the Heritage Services Branch on 9 June 1999. Acknowledgement of receipt of the Form D is in Appendix 2.

The City of Maribyrnong lies within the boundaries of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. area, as defined in the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Regulations in force under the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984*. The study area also comes under the 'Melbourne' region as defined by the recent Aboriginal Affairs Victoria Cultural Heritage Program. The Melbourne region is administered by the Kulin Nations Cultural Heritage Organisation.

When the project commenced, Mark Grist, sub-consultant to Biosis Research Pty. Ltd., commenced consultation with the relevant members of the Aboriginal community. Mark Grist is an Aboriginal archaeologist and physical anthropologist and has extensive experience in Aboriginal community consultation. Mark was employed by Biosis Research Pty. Ltd. to conduct the consultation for this project. Mark contacted the Chairperson of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc., Mr Bill Nicholson Snr., and the Regional Coordinator of the Kulin Nations Cultural Heritage Organisation, Ms Annette Xiberras, to discuss the project with them.

The City of Maribyrnong and Context Pty. Ltd. also provided a list of attendants at a Maribyrnong Heritage Review community workshop who might know or be interested in Aboriginal archaeological issues within the study area. Siobahn Sheridan from the City of Maribyrnong also provided a list of contacts who were involved with or were members of the local Aboriginal community.

On 28 April 1999 Ms. Jane Kierce, Planning and Development Archaeologist with Aboriginal Affairs Victoria, was contacted by the consultants to discuss AAV requirements and expectations for the project. Further telephone consultation took place on 2 July 1999, and a meeting occurred between David Rhodes, Biosis Research Pty. Ltd., Kristal Buckley, Context Pty. Ltd. and Jane Kierce, on 13 July 1999. During the course of this meeting, the consultants discussed AAV's current position in relation to the listing of

archaeological sites on the State Heritage Overlay and policies on incorporation of Aboriginal archaeological sites into local government planning schemes. The outcomes of the meeting with Jane Kierce are discussed in Section 10.0.

3.0 BACKGROUND INFORMATION

3.1 Environmental Background

3.1.1 Regional Geology

Maribyrnong's earliest geological deposition consists of a sedimentary sequence that dates from the Silurian to the Cainozoic period. The Silurian sequence involves layers of mudstone, siltstone and sandstone, which date from approximately 420 million years ago. These sedimentary formations were subjected to uplifting, folding and erosion (VandenBerg 1973: 16). This is followed by a period of major sediment deposition during the Cainozoic, when the Port Phillip Sunkland, of which Maribyrnong is a part, developed as a basin of marine and non-marine sedimentation and was subjected to periodic basaltic volcanic activity (VandenBerg 1973: 19). In the Maribyrnong area, marine sediments dating from the Middle Tertiary Marine Phase have been found in the form of minor pockets of impure bryozoal limestone along the Maribyrnong River downstream of Keilor. Overlying these pockets of limestone are the Newer Volcanics basaltic flows which date from the Quaternary.

Newer Volcanics basaltic flows cover most of Melbourne's western region, and originate from eruptions which mostly date to between 2.5 and 5 million years ago (Cochrane et al. 1995: 80-81, Rosengren 1986: 10). The numerous eruption points, such as Mount Cotterell, remain conspicuous landscape features, although the volcanic terrain is mostly of low relief. These flows form the western plains, which were created by relatively thin lava flows which spread rapidly from numerous vents and fissures. Individual flow thicknesses vary from between 2 metres to 10 metres, and the entire sequence is nearly 100 metres thick in some areas (Rosengren 1986: 10). Irregularities in the plain's surface usually mark the edge of the volcanic flows and the course of smaller streams. Most of the basalt is strongly jointed olivine basalt (Rosengren 1986: 11).

3.1.2 Geology of the study area

Maribyrnong occurs at the junction of Melbourne's western volcanic plains and deltaic sediments which developed during the Quaternary. Basalts from this area are among the most recent of Victoria's volcanic deposits. Dated samples from Newport and Albion are a mere 2.5 million years old (VandenBerg 1973: 24). Some of these formations feature a variety of preserved structures. At Footscray some well preserved pillow lavas occur at the base of Newer Volcanic flows. Pillow lava are rounded, bulbous masses of lava up to 30 centimetres wide which form when molten basalt solidifies as it flows into sea water (Cochrane et al. 1995: 103). Basalt flows extended from Mount Fraser as far as the Yarra

Delta. In the study area, the juncture of the basalt plain and delta is visible as you travel west over the Maribyrnong River and the road to Footscray rises up on the higher western bank (Dennis 1990: 4). This is well illustrated in Grimes' observations of Footscray in 1803 when he noted "The ground is a swamp on one side and high on the other" (in Shillingslaw 1878:20).

The development of this delta dates to a recent (Quaternary) phase of geological history, when a variety of shallow marine and carbonate sediments including thick brown coals were deposited (VandenBerg 1973: 14). The earliest deposition was of widespread fluvial gravels and sands, probably resulting from a lower glacial sea level. Subsequent interglacial periods of high sea level produced overlying silty clays and clays typical of Fishermens Bend deposits (VandenBerg 1973: 225). The delta is located to the east of Maribyrnong River and is clearly visible by the flat, marshy land around Dynon Road amongst the shipping and rail yards. This part of the delta lies outside the study area, although a similar accumulation of silts, sands, estuaries, marshes and lagoons has developed at the southern border of the study area around the Westgate Bridge and Stony Creek.

Stony Creek forms a small tributary of the Yarra River, and little known of the local geology until field investigations were conducted for selection of appropriate locations for the Westgate Bridge (Cochrane et al. 1995: 288). The drilling program showed that Quaternary deltaic sediments were 45 metres thick on average, and that below them, sands and silts of the Late Tertiary Brighton Group and basalts of the Newer and Older Volcanics were found overlying Silurian bedrock (Cochrane et al. 1995: 289). The Brighton Group sediments consisted of weakly cemented fine to medium sands and light clayey silt with pockets of coarse sand and clay. West of the Yarra in the Footscray area a relatively shallow, hard flow of Newer Volcanics basalt was recorded (Cochrane et al. 1995: 290). Estuaries, marshes and lagoons are a feature of these silts and sands (Lack 1991: 1).

In the north of the study area, the Maribyrnong River has incised a deep valley into the volcanic plains. Major rises and falls in sea levels over the past 100,000 years have caused corresponding changes in the river's morphology. As the sea level dropped, the river was forced to reach a lowered base level by deepening its valley into the surrounding lava plains and excavating narrow gorges rimmed by abrupt escarpments (Rosengren 1986:15). Sea level rises caused the gradient of the river to decrease, after which time the stream regime became depositional and deepened valleys contained flood plains. Sequential rises and falls in the sea

level created a series of alluvial terraces which “are especially well displayed along the Maribyrnong River below Keilor” (Rosengren 1986: 17).

The Maribyrnong valley illustrates the geological sequence present at Maribyrnong from the Silurian period, to the most recent alluvial terrace formations. These terraces have been identified along the banks of the Maribyrnong and its tributaries upstream and downstream of Brimbank Park (Tunn 1998: 37). Four terraces have been recognised in the Maribyrnong River valley (Keble and MacPherson 1946, Gill 1957). These terraces comprise the Arundel (oldest), Keilor, GGJ (Braybrook), GGL and GGM (Maribyrnong) (Bowler 1970: 17). Each of the formations can be distinguished by their sediments, superposition, internal structure, degree of oxidation and weathering, maximal height and type of erosion (Gill 1973: 32).

The soils in the study area are variable, but mostly comprise dark grey or sodic yellow duplex soils (LCC 1985: 185). However, black clays and shallow stony rise soils also occur. On the alluvial flood plains and terraces within the Maribyrnong valley deep loams could occur (Cochrane et al. 1995: 55). In 1803, Grimes travelled up the mouth of Stony Creek and recorded “Soil six inches deep of stiff black earth white clay at bottom, and many large stones” (in Shillingslaw 1878: 21). Of the Maribyrnong River, he noted “Soil black, eighteen inches, with blue clay at bottom” (in Shillingslaw 1878: 20).

3.1.3 Landforms

Maribyrnong mostly consists of ‘plains with minor undulations’ (LCC 1985: Map 5). These plains feature broad low ridges and weekly incised valleys (Rosengren 1986: 20-21). The northern boundary is marked by the deeply incised valley of the Maribyrnong River, which “runs in a narrow valley with steep sides” (Bowler 1970: 16). Stony Creek, which flows into the mouth of the

Yarra River, is an incised stream on the volcanic plain in the southern section of the study area.

These landforms can be divided into a number of landform units. These are:

Major waterways

- Maribyrnong River and Stony Creek. These permanent water sources can be further divided into various landform elements. These consist of escarpment, valley slopes, terraces, flood plain, river banks and river bed (see Plate 1).

Minor waterways

- Stony Creek is a small tributary of the Yarra River

Undulating plains

- Gentle plains forming wide, low ridges with weakly incised valleys.

Deltaic sediments

- Soft alluvial sands, silts clays and gravels forming part of the Yarra delta.

3.1.4 Past Environmental Conditions

For the past 30,000 years Aboriginal people have lived in and visited the Maribyrnong. In this large block of time there would have been considerable environmental change which affected the temperature, sea level and the surrounding natural environment.

During the Upper Pleistocene (127,000 to 10,000 years ago) sections of Australia's landmass were variably flooded or exposed as the world's sea levels rose and fell. During periods of glacial maximum, massive continental ice sheets developed which locked up significant amounts of the world's water. These ice sheets created a corresponding drop in sea levels and were accompanied by extremely harsh climatic conditions. Temperatures dropped by around 6 to 10 degrees Celsius, two and a half million square kilometres of continental shelf around Australia became dry land (Flood 1980: 32-33) and Tasmania was joined to Victoria by the Bassian Plain. It is generally thought that the reduction in sea levels during the Upper Pleistocene was about 65 metres (Jenkin 1980: 41), though it may have decreased by as much as 140 metres about 20,000 years ago

(Bird 1993: 25). The most recent of these glacial maximums date to between 25,000 to 14,000 years ago.

During the Last Glacial Maximum (25,000 to 14,000 years ago) the Maribyrnong area would have been at least 100 kilometres from the coast and would have formed part of the extended Werribee Plain. The Yarra River then combined with the waters of the Maribyrnong and Werribee Rivers and flowed close to the current eastern shoreline of Port Phillip Bay and out through the gorge of the Heads (Presland 1985:2, 7). It then flowed south of the exposed floor of Port Phillip Bay and Bass Strait and into the Southern Ocean (Lack 1991: 2). When the climate warmed after 14,000 years ago the sea level rose and Port Phillip became flooded. The rivers slowed and their channels became choked with sediment. The delta which has developed between Footscray and Melbourne was formed in this way (Lack 1991: 2).

About 7,000 years ago height above sea level peaked. The water level on Port Phillip Bay was then much higher, so that Footscray was a beach-side area and the Maribyrnong River was affected by tides as far north as Braybrook (Presland 1997: 2).

At about 6,400 years ago the sea level was approximately 2.5 metres higher than at present, after which time it gradually receded without any evidence of fluctuations, until it reached its present level about 1,000 years ago (Pirazzoli 1991: 156). The coastal shoreline, drainage systems and local topography appear to have stabilised by about 6,000 years ago. Natural accumulations of shell found at Millers Road, Altona date to 5560±80 years ago (Gill 1964: 390). Bird (1989: 23) states that the cliffs, shore platforms and marshes of Port Phillip Bay were configured about this time. Around the same time (5,000 years ago) however, Coode Island silts show a depth of 3 metres above present sea levels, indicating that Port Phillip Bay extended inland into the city of Melbourne (Lack 1991: 2). The Maribyrnong valley was likely to have formed an inland sea or estuary “which covered the playing fields below the Park, Newell’s Paddock, and the entire flat east of Whitehall Street” (Lack 1991: 2-3). After this time

reduction in sea levels exposed the Quaternary sands which today form the floor of the delta.

3.1.5 Climate

The study area generally experiences dry summers with warm to hot temperatures and wet winters, known as a temperate climate. Mean average rainfall in the area would be between 500-600 millimetres (LCC 1975: Map 5).

3.1.6 Flora

Prior to post-contact settlement, much of Melbourne's volcanic plains were virtually treeless (SGAP 1995: 12). This was a factor of the climate and soils of the plains. Plants on the plains would have been subjected to low rainfall, hot summers, winter frosts and constant, strong winds. Soils are "shallow, heavy and prone to waterlogging" (SGAP 1995: 12), so plant species had to be durable and resilient. As a result, much of Melbourne's western volcanic plains were covered with native grassland, although occasional trees such as sheoke, buloke, wattle and banksia would also have been present. The grasslands comprised a diverse number of species. Kangaroo grass dominated on well-drained, fertile soils, and was supported by other grass species, native orchids and lilies. Wallaby Grass and Tussock Grass typically occupied drainage lines, while larger wetlands were fringed with Tangled Lignum and River Red Gums. The more substantial watercourses were lined with forests of red gum (SGAP 1995: 12). The steep valley escarpments which line the Maribyrnong valley might originally have been covered with dense scrubland with species such as correas, bottlebrushes, acacias and Sweet Bursaria. On the plains above the escarpment, open grasslands would have graded into woodlands of casuarinas, box eucalypts, gums and acacias (SGAP 1995: 12).

Regular firing of the grasslands by Aboriginal people may have influenced the diversity of species on the volcanic plains (SGAP 1995:12). Firing of the landscape was used to reduce the vegetation density and modify the environment, for example, to encourage new growth, clear pathways for travelling, and affect the habitat and movement of animals (Dennis 1990: 42, Presland 1997: 2).

In the last 150 years, these vast tracts of grassland have been reduced by 99.5% (Scarlett et al. 1992: iii, Dennis 1990: 18). This native vegetation is now isolated in small pockets and contains a significant proportion of Victoria's endangered species (Scarlett et al. 1992: iii). For example the sheoke woodland which originally existed on the western side of the Maribyrnong was dramatically

reduced by tanneries such as Debney's Tannery, which used sheoke in the tanning process (Dennis 1990: 23).

The earliest observations of this native landscape were recorded by Grimes in 1803 when he travelled up the Maribyrnong River and noted that there were "...no trees for many miles" (in Shillingslaw 1878:20). Opposite the approximate location of the later Solomon's Ford, he wrote that there were "...only some straggling oaks by the side of the river" (in Shillingslaw 1878:20). On the lower reaches of the Maribyrnong near the junction with the Yarra, he recorded "at the entrance the land swampy" (in Shillingslaw 1878:20). Hoddle's map, dated to 1839, also shows a swampy environment inhabited by teatrees at the junction of the two rivers (Dennis 1990:21). A later map dated to 1855 of the Footscray township, shows swampy areas at the present Yarraville docklands area, and south of Napier Street.

During Batman's exploration of the first five miles of Maribyrnong River's west bank, he recorded the presence of kangaroo grass growing "to a height above his knees and that hundreds of tons of hay could have been made from the grass" (in Dennis 1990:21). Grimes' 1803 observations of Stony Creek flora were of "a few trees by the sea side; behind, a level plain to the mountains" (in Shillingslaw 1878:21). In Maribyrnong, a sheoke woodland is said to have grown on the western side of the river between Braybrook and Yarraville. The two tree species in this woodland were the black and drooping sheoke (Dennis 1990:21, Lack 1991:3).

After Grimes' early exploration, Joseph T. Gellibrand, Attorney-General to the colony, and a party from Tasmania travelled to the Port Phillip settlement from Corinella, where their ship was docked. Gellibrand noted of the Maribyrnong area:

The scenery from the Settlement to the Ford on the Saltwater [Maribyrnong] river is most beautiful and some of the spots quite enchanting...The land is very rich and consists of a succession of gentle hills and dales and the first view of the salt water and its Windings is beautiful beyond description. [After crossing the ford] The Land was then quite flat and rather rocky and from the Ford to the station on the Exe [Werribee] a distance of fourteen miles and in fact up to Geelong Harbour consists of open plains with a thin coat of grass and exposed to the cold winds (Gellibrand in Bridge 1983, Presland 1985: 6).

3.1.7 Fauna

By 40,000 years ago many of the present day faunal species could be found on Melbourne's volcanic plains. At that time they would have co-habited

with extinct giant marsupials (megafauna) such as diprotodons and thylacaleo. The Keilor archaeological site, in which human remains dating to 30,000 years ago were located (Bowler 1976: 63-65) also contained megafauna fossils, which indicates that such species were known and possibly hunted by Aboriginal people (Dennis 1990: 30).

The grassy woodland and volcanic plains of Maribyrnong would have supported a particularly rich modern faunal species due to the range of microhabitats (LCC 1977: 77). The range of species would have included a number of possums, the black wallaby and other common terrestrial species such as the bush rat and brown antechinus (LCC 1973: 79). Other characteristic species of grassy woodlands are the eastern grey kangaroo, tuan and the yellow-footed antechinus (LCC 1973: 81).

Early explorer and settler accounts of the fauna provide a valuable indication of the array of species present in Maribyrnong. For example, Grimes' exploration of present day Footscray in 1803 recorded the presence of "many swans, pelicans, and ducks" (in Shillingslaw 1878:20). In the 1850s near Whitehall Street, Footscray, there were so many wild geese living there that it was called 'Gosling Flat' (Dennis 1990:30). Joseph Solomon, who owned a property on the Maribyrnong River from 1836 where the Medway Golf Club now stands (Popp 1979: 21), also described the rivers fauna:

The river teemed with fish in the season and, like the swamp which then existed near the site of Maidstone, was covered with wild fowl. Though not in very large numbers, plover, quail, snipe, native companions, turkey and, occasionally, a flock of emus were found on the plains. Cockatoos, parrots and pigeons, with many kinds of smaller birds, lived in the trees and shrub. At night the weird cry of the curlew could be heard.

The river valley was the haunt of the kingfisher and there merry companies of laughing jackasses loudly announced the approach of morn or evening. Hawks, owls and other birds of prey played their part in the order of nature and the eagle from the mountain ranged visited the settler's flocks and carried off the lambs. Now and then a few kangaroos were to be met and the dingo and half-breed dogs were destructive at first. Reptiles and snakes in particular were numerous, the black and tiger species especially so (Solomon in Flynn 1906:6).

3.2 Post-Contact Land-use History

The nutrient-rich basaltic soils of the Port Phillip region and the Maribyrnong River were an attractive environment for Europeans. In 1836, 40,000 sheep were imported from Tasmania and grazed on the plains. Five years later, their

number had grown to over 100,000 (Dennis 1991: 50; Vines 1989: 19). By the 1840s, hundreds of Europeans had moved to Maribyrnong to work, firstly in grazing, and later in killing and boiling-down works. In the 1840s, a depressed economic situation meant that sheep were worth more as tallow than for meat or wool, and the tallow industry became the first to develop in the Port Phillip region as a result (Peel 1974: 33; Vines 1989: 19). By 1844 four boiling down companies were based in the region, most of which were situated on the Maribyrnong River. The Maribyrnong River was a favoured location for these extractive industries as it was adjacent to the western grasslands where stock was grazed, was close to Melbourne, and was “well enough away to be out of sight, and depending on the wind, out of smell” (Vines 1989: 19). Such works included Raleigh’s works at Yarraville, near Stony Creek, and Maribyrnong (Lack and Ford 1986: xi). The depression of the 1840s also gave a few landholders the opportunity to acquire large holdings at the expense of smaller, less financial landholders. The Staughtons, Chirnsides and W.J.T. Clarke were amongst those who took up large tracts of land (Lack and Ford 1986: xi).

In the 1850s, industry and agriculture began to diversify with the economic upturn. Farmers began ploughing the land and planting crops. This richer land lay in the fertile valleys of the Maribyrnong, and was planted with fruits and vegetables to supply Melbourne’s markets (Dennis 1991: 52; Vines 1989: 26).

The 1850s goldrush was responsible for the improved economy, and lead to a rapid increase in the population and industrial expansion. Thousands of new migrants who had landed in Port Phillip Bay in search of gold travelled through the Maribyrnong area and over Raleigh’s Punt on their way to the goldfields (Ford and Lewis 1989:2). Later, access was improved when Michael Lynch moved the punt to a more direct route than Raleigh’s near the present Smithfield Road (Vines 1989:22), to the east of the study area.

The most important route to the goldfields went through Keilor and Mount Macedon, which brought more people into the Maribyrnong area. Some people stayed in the area and took up grazing. Others made money out of alleviating the traveller’s experience of the Keilor plains by supplying local amenities. The need for such amenities developed primary industries such as flour-milling, breweries, woollen mills, meat canneries, candle works and servicing of the port and railways (Lack and Ford 1986:xii).

The 1850s also saw the Maribyrnong area becoming increasingly industrialised. Footscray became known for its noxious development, as it saw industry as a route to prosperity. Industries associated with animal slaughter increased in the

area, with the development of bone mills at Yarraville, a tannery and bacon-curing works at Footscray (Vines 1989: 24-25).

Quarrying was another industry which took place there and in Braybrook. Quarrying was an important activity, as the bluestone which occurred in Footscray and Braybrook was used for building materials and as ballast for ships. In the early 1850s ballast grounds were opened up along the western banks of the Maribyrnong and Stony Creek (Vines 1989: 17; Vines 1993: 7). In Cruikshank Park, Yarraville, there were at least eleven quarries (Eidelson 1997: 8). The development and maintenance of railways from the late 1850s increased the demand for quarried stone in these areas (Vines 1989: 23).

The mid 1860s to late 1870s saw other industries moving into the Maribyrnong area. These included the Yarraville sugar refinery, fertiliser and chemical companies, bone mills, meatworks, dye works and the Maribyrnong munitions industry (Vines 1989: 27, 33). Companies specialising in slaughtering and meat processing were particularly prevalent on the Maribyrnong River, as it provided a convenient drain (Vines 1989: 28). Production of chemical fertilisers in the area between Somerville Road and the Stony Creek backwash transformed the marshy flats to an industrialised landscape (Vines 1989: 27).

The 1880s boom saw Footscray among the fastest growing suburbs. Noxious industry centralised around Footscray, though its base expanded to include Braybrook and Yarraville as major industrial centres (Lack and Ford 1986:xii-xiii). A decade later when the 1890s depression hit, this industry collapsed, and was especially marked in Footscray and Braybrook, where many firms closed down (Lack and Ford 1986: xiii; Vines 1989: 34). These industries had slowly revived by 1910.

The First and Second World Wars created an increase in demand for munitions manufacture, which became focussed around Maribyrnong. The outbreak of the Second World War forced large numbers of women into the workforce, and factories such as the munitions factory in Maribyrnong began defence preparations and adaption of local industries for military purposes (Lack and Ford 1986: xv).

The effects of 150 years of industrial development on the Maribyrnong River were devastating. The waterway went from being a pristine, natural environment to a river polluted by the effects of sheep grazing, the processing of meat, hides,

wool and bones (Dennis 1991: 50-51; Ford and Lewis 1989: 2), transport and drainage (Vines 1989: 19).

3.3 Aboriginal History

3.3.1 Ethnohistory & Contact History

Prior to occupation by Europeans (*ngamadjig*), the land comprising the City of Maribyrnong was occupied by clans of the *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* language groups. Both the *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* language groups identified with a larger grouping of clans in central Victoria known as the Kulin. The Kulin were an association of people from five language groups, who shared mutual economic and social relationships. The Kulin also shared common religious beliefs, having common creation legends and dreamtime ancestors. These religious beliefs formed the basis for social organisation and management of land and resources. Kulin people were affiliated with either one of two groups (moieties) named after dreamtime ancestors (*Bunjil* – eaglehawk and *Waa* – crow). Affiliation with either group was determined at birth, the individual person belonging to their father's clan's moiety. Moiety affiliation determined marriage and social relationships; people were required to marry outside their clan group and to marry a person from the opposite moiety.

The *Woi wurrung* language group comprised six clans that shared mutual economic and social relationships. The lands of the *Woi wurrung* clans followed the Werribee River almost to Ballarat in the north, to Melbourne in the south, to Mount Baw Baw in the east and to the Macedon Ranges in the west. One of these clans, the *Marin balug*, managed some of the land inside the present day City of Maribyrnong, between Kororoit Creek and the Maribyrnong River. The land managed by the *Marin balug* extended outside the City of Maribyrnong as far north as Sunbury (Barwick 1984: 117; Clark 1990: 365).

Most of the six clans of the *Bun wurrung* language group lived on the Mornington Peninsula and around Western Port Bay. However, the estate of one of these clans, the *Yallukit willam*, included a thin strip of land which extended from the Werribee River to the top of Port Phillip Bay (Presland 1997:4), thereby also falling partially within the study area.

The lands of the *Marin balug* stretched from Kororoit Creek, the Maribyrnong River and Jacksons Creek (Clark 1990: 384). The name *Marin balug* means “Marin people from the Saltwater (Maribyrnong) River” (Clark 1990:384). The clan head, or *Ngurungaeta*, of the *Marin balug* was a man named Bungaree

between 1800-1848. Bungaree was owner/manager of the Mount William greenstone quarry, which was an important source of stone for axes.

The lands of the *Yallukit willam* which incorporated part of the study area would have included all of present day Williamstown, most of Altona, and the southern parts of Footscray, Sunshine and Werribee (Presland 1997:5). The *Yallukit willam* clan was reported to be quite small, and it is uncertain whether their moiety was *Waa* or *Bunjil* (Clark 1990:369, Barwick 1984:119). The name *Yallukit willam* means “Yallukit dwellers”, although the meaning of Yallukit is unknown (Clark 1990:369). In the *Yallukit willam* there were two men, Derrimut and Eurenowel, who were part of a group who warned John Pascoe Fawcner of an intended attack on a white settlement in October 1835 (Clark 1990:368, Barwick 1984: 119; Presland 1997: 5).

The clans of the *Woi wurrung* shared a common border with the *Yallukit willam* at the north of the *Yallukit willam* territories (Clark 1990: 363), and had a common vocabulary (Clark 1990: 363).

3.3.2 Aboriginal resource use in Maribyrnong

The intersection of the Maribyrnong River and the volcanic plains landform would have provided a wealth of resources on which Aboriginal people could depend for food and shelter. In these areas, the combination of fertile, organic soils and a large, permanent river would have increased the diversity and abundance of plant and animal life and produced a wealth of floral and faunal resources for Aboriginal food sources.

The native grasses common on the western plains would have been used in a variety of ways by Aboriginal people in the study area. The yam daisy (*Microseris scapigera*) was said to have grown prolifically on the volcanic plains (Backhouse in Presland 1983: 35). The tuber of this plant was roasted or eaten raw and was available all year (Presland 1985: 61). Kangaroo grass (*Poa labillardieri*) was used to extract fibre for fishing nets and the seeds may also have been ground and baked (Zola and Gott 1990: 58). Native tussock grass fibres were also used to make string for nets, baskets and bags. Water plants found along the creek banks, such as the common reed, were eaten and used as spear shafts, while water ribbons would have been consumed for their edible tubers (Zola and Gott 1990: 12). The river red gums which line the creek banks would have provided bark for shelters, canoes and shields, and sap or gum was used to seal burns. The leaves of the red gum were also used in steam baths for a variety of illnesses (Zola and Gott 1990: 55).

The diversity of native faunal species in the study area would have provided ample food resources for Aboriginal people. The river is likely to have

been home to numerous species such as platypus and the eastern water rat (LCC 1973: 79-82). It would also have been host to waterfowl, wading birds, ducks, ibis, herons and egret. The bird life also probably included grassland species such as the plains-wanderer, bush thick-knee and grey-crowned babbler. Fish of all kinds, eels, yabbies, snakes, frogs, lizards, ducks and their eggs would also have been abundant. The plains fauna would have included emus, kangaroos, fat-tailed dunnarts, bandicoots and wombats.

The accounts of early post-contact explorers and settlers provide us with valuable information about what the economy of the *Marin balug* and *Yallukit willam* might have been like in the Maribyrnong area. They also give us an indication of what the procurement and preparation of food might have involved. However, it is worth noting that such accounts were often observations of a society whose culture and traditions had been affected by non-Aboriginal people. Thus their usefulness for analysing both *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* land use, ceremonial and religious activities is limited, but frequently accounts by early European occupants of the area are the only contemporary descriptions of Aboriginal culture which remain.

Grimes' 1803 account of his exploration of the mouth of the Maribyrnong River reveals that he and his party:

Went up the river till we came to rocks; could not get the boat over, crossed it at a place the natives had made for catching fish (in Shillingslaw 1878: 20).

Years later, on 21 March 1841, George Augustus Robinson, Assistant Protector, travelled through present day Footscray on the west side of Maribyrnong River

on his way to western Victoria. As he crossed the punt near Grimes' Reserve (bordered by Bunbury, Maribyrnong and Moreland Streets) he noted:

...Camped for the night at the Salt Water River near the punt, west side.
Saw native ovens as I rode along, some 12 feet wide; 4 I saw in one place.
It must have been a favourite resort (in Presland 1977: 1)

During the early days of his settlement in Braybrook, Joseph Solomon had many dealings with the local Aboriginal community, and the ford referred to above is named 'Solomon's Ford' after him (Flynn 1906: 6). He observed that:

He has often seen a blackfellow stand in the river and display his quickness of eye and sureness of stroke by striking fish with his spear, as they swam around him (Flynn 1906: 6).

This observation was most likely of the clan who lived in the Braybrook/Sunshine area, possibly the *Marin balug*.

3.3.3 Economic organisation

The search for food and the seasonal availability of food resources influenced a clan's movements throughout their lands. In traditional Koori society, the basic economic unit was the family, though in areas where resources were reliable such as the Port Phillip region, a number of families grouped and travelled together (Presland 1997: 6). William Thomas noted generally that:

In their movements they seldom encamp more than three nights in one place, and oftener but one. Thus they move from one place to another...They seldom travel more than six miles a day. In their migratory moves all are employed; 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, etc. They mostly are at the encampment about an hour before sundown-the women first, who get the fire and water, etc, before their spouses arrive (Thomas in Bride 1983: 399).

Presland speculates that these larger groups might have comprised up to between 30-35 people (Presland 1997:6). These groups moved around their lands depending on the availability of food sources and fresh water. Solomon, for example, noted that:

They appeared to be always on the move from one part of their tribal territory to another in search of food. He [Solomon] has witnessed the

corroborree and others of their customs and was, when a boy, very much in touch with the tribe.

Major camps were usually established close to permanent water sources. Assistant Protector E.S. Parker noted during a tour of the Macedon region that:

The very spots most valuable to the Aborigines for their productiveness - the creeks, water courses, and rivers - are the first to be occupied... The plain fact is that this is their ordinary place of resort, as furnishing them with the most abundant sources of food (Parker in Cannon 1983: 668-669).

Areas like the Maribyrnong River were likely to have been used as major, or base, camps (Presland 1997: 7). The resources present in the Maribyrnong River valley would have encouraged people to concentrate around this water source. In the winter, the resources of the valley might have been more heavily relied upon. For the *Marin balug*, whose clan estates encompassed part of Melbourne's western plains, the unrelenting winds are likely to have caused the clan to move east during the winter months into the shelter and relative abundance of Maribyrnong valley (du Cros 1989: 66).

People also moved within and outside their clan lands for inter and intra-clan gatherings. Clan members travelled to specific locations for ceremonial or social occasions, some of which we know about because they are recorded by early explorers or settlers.

For example, Howitt describes a "great tribal meeting of the Kulin Nation" which took place on Merri Creek in 1840.

[People] came from the lower Goulburn River, from its upper waters, and even from as far as from Buffalo River. Not only was barter carried on, but, as Berak (William Barak) said, people made presents to others from distant parts 'to make friends' (Howitt 1904: 718).

William Thomas wrote in 1840:

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 south bank of the Yarra] was the regular rendezvous for the tribes known as *Warorangs*, *Boonurongs*, *Barrabools*, *Nilunguons*, *Gouldburns* twice a year or as often as circumstances and emergencies required to settle their grievances, revenge deaths etc (Thomas in Presland 1985: 35).

During the first years of settlement, clans were still camping in their traditional locations. For example, in 1844 a group of *Woi wurrung* were camped on the present site of the Melbourne and Richmond cricket grounds and another at present day Fitzroy. In later years when the indigenous vegetation was

becoming more sparse around Melbourne, the clans are said to have camped where there were stands of original vegetation, at places like Fawkner Park, around Alfred Hospital and near Chapel Street (Presland 1985: 47).

3.3.4 Material Culture

A lack of specific information exists on what items people of the *Yallukit willam* and the *Marin balug* might have possessed, hence the following information is general and brief.

The majority of items possessed by members of the two clans were most likely mainly organic; fibre, wood, gum and hair. These materials were commonly used to make parts of the tool kit which Aboriginal people used as part of their daily lives.

Thomas' observations of the huts in which Aboriginal people were likely typical of those of the *Yallukit willam* and *Marin balug* clans. He observed:

In warm weather, while on the 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 (Thomas in Bride 1983: 399).

The mia which Thomas observed is an impermanent dwelling place. Also known as mia-mias, these shelters were:

A bark shelter used for short overnight stays, and which was little more than a wind-break...Two forked branches were set on the ground and a reasonably straight branch, or a sapling, was placed across them and held in position by the forked uprights. Sheets of bark were detached from living trees and leant across the cross-branch, and the shelter was then ready for occupation (Massola 1971: 95).

Native huts and canoes were both recorded near the mouth of the Yarra by Flemming, during his 1802 exploration of Port Phillip. (in Shillingslaw 1878: 18). Canoes, bark containers and shields were made by removing a piece of bark from a tree, usually chosen because of its particular size and shape, "and also

because it was not too far from the water where the canoe was to be launched” (Massola 1971: 98). Once the tree had been selected:

The bark is cut...along a line...and by pressing the wooden handle of the tomahawk and a pole between the bark and the wood, the sheet is gradually and carefully removed (Smythe 1876: 407-408).

The piece of bark was softened over a fire to make it more flexible and was then bent into the desired shape.

A variety of tools assisted in gathering and preparing food. Water buckets or containers were often made by detaching and hollowing out large growths on tree trunks, or from the inner bark of gum trees. Reeds were used as drinking tubes, and on the western plains where protection from inclement weather was sparse, a bundle of reeds were gathered and tied at one end to form a cape (Massola 1971:98-99). Reeds were also wove into baskets or fine string. String was also made from plant fibres and was made into finely woven net bags in which roots and tubers, like yams, were collected.

Animal parts were used for a variety of purposes. The meat was consumed and used for mixing pigments for decoration, bone and teeth were made into a number of weapons and ornaments and sinews were sometimes used to fasten weapons, such as axe heads to their hafts (Massola 1971: 99-101).

Animal skins such as possum skins were commonly used to make cloaks. A large number of skins, usually about eighteen, were needed to make a decent sized cloak. To make the cloaks the skins were carefully removed, cut into squares and stretched out on bark sheets using wooden pegs. The inner side of the skin was scraped clean with a mussel shell and, when dry, incised with lines. The lines made it more flexible (Presland 1985: 82) but were also decorative. The inside surface was then treated with a mixture of red ochre, fat and charcoal to increase insulation and then sewn together. William Thomas noted:

...[they were] employed in drawing into fine threads the sinews of the kangaroo tails; in pinning and stretching the skins; and in sewing the skins together as neat as any tailor would do a garment, pressing the seams down every three to four inches (Thomas 1841 in Presland 1985: 56).

The organic nature of many of the material culture items belonging to Aboriginal people means that only the more resilient types of items are present today. Stone artefacts are the most common type of evidence we have that Aboriginal people camped in an area. The type of stone commonly found in sites around Maribyrnong is a fine-grained silcrete. This silcrete can be found locally in Keilor, in such places as Brimbank Park to the west of the study area. Outcropping stone sources of this material show evidence of Aboriginal

people removing blocks of this material and taking it to campsites where they used it to make stone tools. Stone tools were made into a number of different implements and were used for such things as skinning animal hides, cutting meat and making wooden tools.

3.3.5 Traditional practices

William Thomas observed that:

There is not a portion of the aboriginal character that I feel less confident in remarking upon than their traditionary and superstitious notions, not but that I am aware that they exist, and that to a considerable extent, but to know their full import and meaning I feel persuaded that one had need to become a aboriginal native (Thomas undated in Pride 1983: 419).

Pre-contact Aboriginal culture was highly intricate, with traditional knowledge being passed down the generations by means of an oral tradition which had an educational and spiritual base. Dreamtime stories, rituals and events which told stories about the existence and purpose of life were maintained in this way. Bourke notes “Aboriginal people ensured that the maintenance of social structures and the passing on of the values through each generation. This was accomplished through a deep spiritual relationship with the environment which included a wide range of rights and obligations to guide their daily actions (in Bourke and Edwards 1994:36).

The full meanings of Aboriginal mythology, its Dreamtime figures, events and totems were often kept secret from outsiders, and were therefore never recorded by early settlers and explorers. Corroborees were occasionally put on to entertain Europeans, however it is doubtful that the meaning behind private or secret ceremonies was ever explained to them. Private ceremonies might be organised for the initiation of youths into full status within the clan, and the location was kept secret and only initiated clan members were invited to attend (Presland 1985: 86-87). Therefore, early ethnographic accounts only provide scant details.

3.3.6 Ceremony

Dances, or corroborees, formed part of the spiritual and social beliefs of Aboriginal people. Smythe (1876: 166) noted that “little is known of their mystic dances, with some regards as connected with a form of religion”. Assistant

Protectors William Thomas and Edward Parker are both recorded as having seen religious or sacred dances which involved painted figures of wood or bark.

Within Maribyrnong, Alfred Solomon, son of Joseph, was recorded as witnessing corroborees in around the 1840s (Flynn 1906:6). Unfortunately no details are provided about the exact locations of these corroborees, though it is likely that they took place close to the Solomon's homestead, which was located on the present site of the Medway Golf Club.

Dances were increasingly held in Melbourne as people could not be moved into the town:

Aborigines were everywhere, and the nights were split assunder by the sound of corroborees and fights between rival tribes. Nearly every night a corroboree was gone through with all its grotesque and barbaric accompaniments of music, beaten by the lubras on opossum rugs, and the songs of excitement (in Wiencke 1984: 28).

Another account of activities in Melbourne is provided by Revered J.R. Orton, who had come to Melbourne to set up a mission within the township. He reported that four to five hundred Aboriginal people had gathered in Melbourne to settle disputes by having a corroboree, stating:

Upon their meeting a few spears were thrown, but without any serious consequences-and then this vast assemblage of sable savage warriors terminated their disputes by a succession of corroborees for several nights. It appears to be a part of their design in these native dances for the several tribes to corroboree, or dance, to each other, as an intended mark of respect or compliment...performing...a variety of gesticulations –grimaces, shoutings and yellings, of the most ludicrous and appalling kind-while the other tribe is seated on the ground paying the most profound attention, occasionally expressing their approbation by shouts and laughter (Rev. Orton in Cannon 1982: 118-119).

3.3.7 Burial practices

Early ethnographic references provide some indication of the ways in which Aboriginal people of the Port Phillip district buried their dead.

Howitt, an anthropologist who recorded many details about the *Woi wurrung* clans from interviews with Barak in the mid-late 1800s, remarked that the Yarra and Port Phillip clans buried their dead. He stated that the Wurundjeri clan

buried a man's personal property with him, such as his spear-thrower. A woman's digging stick was also buried with her (Howitt 1996: 458).

Reverend Orton observed in 1836 that when diseased people died "they...cover the body with leaves or bury it, or place it securely in a tree; the latter mode is intended as a mark of respect to distinguished characters" (Orton in Cannon 1982: 84).

William Thomas paid a visit to a *Woi wurrung* grave in the Melbourne area in 1836, where a youth had just been buried. He wrote:

The grave had a solemn appearance...the grave was for 20 yards around it as clean as a floor, not a blade of grass, and where the body lay was a conic rise, like as though a very large damper was in and covered with ashes. There were two fires lit up, which was intended to continue burning all night at the east and west points (Thomas in Cannon 1982: 535).

4.0 PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL WORK

4.1 Introduction

Aboriginal people have been in Australia for at least 40 000 years (O'Connor 1995) and have visited or occupied the Port Phillip Bay for over 30,000 years, as indicated by the following evidence:

- The Keilor archaeological excavation in the Maribyrnong valley (Bowler 1976: 63-65);
- Burial sites and associated artefacts dating from approximately 17,000 years from the Maribyrnong valley (Mulvaney 1970a and 1970b) and the Werribee valley (Coutts 1977 and 1980); and
- A large stratified deposit of stone artefacts and a hearth, which was utilised from at least 2160 years ago (du Cros, Long and Rhodes 1993).

4.2 Previously recorded Aboriginal archaeological sites in Melbourne's west

Four hundred and thirty four Aboriginal archaeological sites are listed on the Aboriginal Affairs Victoria Site Registry for the volcanic plains of western Melbourne. Of these, the most common are surface scatters of stone artefacts (46% of sites) and isolated stone artefacts (31% of sites) (AAV Site Registry data). The sites typically contain microlithic artefact assemblages, which date them to the last 5000 – 6000 years. One such site (AAV7822/488) was excavated on Kororoit Creek at Gisborne. This site, which is the remains of a large campsite, contains microlithic artefacts and has been dated to 2160 years ago (du Cros et al. 1992: 20).

The earliest evidence for human occupation in the Melbourne area was found in the Maribyrnong River valley at Keilor, at the confluence of the Maribyrnong River and Dry Creek. This area, now known as the Keilor Archaeological Area, has been a focus for archaeological investigation since 1940, when the 'Keilor cranium' was discovered (Gill 1966: 581). Excavations since then have resulted in a large number of stone and bone artefacts crafted by humans, ochre, charcoal and hearth stones. The stone material commonly found at the site is silcrete, chert, quartz, basalt and chalcedony. These stone types were manufactured into a small number of formal tool types such as microliths, thumbnail scrapers, larger scrapers and backed blades.

More recently, other evidence has come to light about early occupation of the Maribyrnong River valley. In 1965, some bones were uncovered in the

Keilor Terrace of the Maribyrnong River. These bones were found to have come from two shallow graves which provided a radiocarbon date of 6500 years old (Mulvaney 1970a: 1). Subsequent excavation exposed stone and bone artefacts and bone fragments. Some artefacts have been dated to over 17,000 years old (Mulvaney 1970b: 63). Stone artefacts were mostly flakes, small blades and cores made of quartzite, through silcrete became more frequent during more recent occupation (Mulvaney 1970b: 71).

Regional studies of the distribution of Aboriginal archaeological sites have been conducted within the region of the Maribyrnong River. Such studies include Presland's study of metropolitan Melbourne (1983), du Cros' study of Melbourne's western region (1989) and the Sydenham Corridor (1990), Rhodes' preliminary investigations of the Upper Maribyrnong River valley (1989) and the City of Keilor (1990), and Webb's identification and documentation of silcrete quarries, which includes a discussion of the Maribyrnong River valley. The data from these studies can be used to formulate a predictive model for Aboriginal archaeological sites within the City of Maribyrnong, which identifies where sites are likely to occur, in relation to landform, association with watercourses, and levels of disturbance.

Hilary du Cros' model for the western region of Melbourne suggests that sites will most likely occur within 100 metres of a major watercourse, on a river, creek, flood plain, flats, alluvial terrace or hill slope. Site types are usually surface artefact scatters, isolated artefacts, fresh water middens, scarred trees or burials. Stratified sites might occur on flood plains and alluvial terraces. Artefact scatters and isolated artefacts also occur on high ground (du Cros 1989: 67-68).

During her study of the Sydenham corridor, du Cros' model of the western region was expanded upon and details on the sensitivity of the Maribyrnong River clarified. She found that 'major rivers and creeks landscape' including the Maribyrnong River featured the largest number of sites. Surface artefact scatters were the most common type of site found in this landscape, most of which were recorded, in the Maribyrnong valley, at the edge of the escarpment (du Cros 1990: 23). Sites were most likely found within 100 metres of major watercourses and stone sources were found to have been suitable for quarrying stone artefacts. However, it was noted that sites may extend up to 400 metres back from the edge of the escarpment (du Cros 1990: 29). du Cros also noted that in the Sydenham corridor there was an absence of mature eucalypts, as these had been removed during the 1800s. Such trees may originally have borne cultural scars (du Cros 1990: 24). Sites with extensive sub surface archaeological deposits such as

hearths, burials or faunal material would most likely occur in areas with the best preservation.

Rhodes conducted a preliminary survey of the Upper Maribyrnong valley, including the Maribyrnong River, Deep Creek and Jacksons Creek. His survey resulted in the recording of 50 sites, all of which were open sites on exposed ground surfaces. Surface artefact scatters were most common, and within the Maribyrnong valley, most occurred on flood plains and alluvial terraces adjacent to the river, where ploughing had exposed them (Rhodes 1989: 12). In unploughed areas, sites tended to be located in eroded ground surfaces on hill slopes, exposed on tracks or eroded terraces. Scarred trees were found in very small numbers on the river channel. The lack of scarred trees along the major waterways was attributed to European land clearance (Rhodes 1989: 13).

Rhodes (1989: 12) speculated that the prevalence of sites on flood plains along the Maribyrnong River is partially a factor of ground surface visibility. The high number of sites found on alluvial terraces may partly due to their frequent use as market gardens, the practice of which exposes artefacts on the ground surface. The low number of sites on the escarpment may reflect the poor ground visibility in these areas. Site distribution may also be influenced by selective preference of alluvial terraces by Aboriginal people when choosing campsites. In the Upper Maribyrnong valley it was common to find sites on raised terraces above the flood plain and on hill slopes. Rhodes stated that “This may indicate a preference for use of higher areas above the flood plain, but in close proximity to campsites; however, there is also evidence of more intensive use of the flood plain (in some areas)” (Rhodes 1989: 13).

Another study by Rhodes which included the Maribyrnong River valley is the City of Keilor Archaeological Survey (1990). This comprised the boundaries of the City of Keilor and included a section of the Maribyrnong River. At the time of writing, 101 sites were present within the City, the majority of which were located in incised valleys. Rhodes found that within the major river and creek valleys, most sites tended to occur on the flood plain and escarpment, and that those sites found on undulating plains usually occurred within 100 metres of water. There were a greater range of site types in the incised valleys, which led Rhodes to suggest that these areas featured more intensive Aboriginal land use, whilst the more limited range of sites on the plains probably indicated a series of transient, short-term campsites (Rhodes 1990: 43).

A specific site type found in the Maribyrnong River valley are silcrete quarries, or stone outcrops. Webb (1995: 73) conducted an investigation of the quarries in this valley as part of a study of metropolitan Melbourne, and found that 11 confirmed silcrete quarries were recorded there. Seven of the stone sources occurred on the banks of the Maribyrnong River while the remaining sites

are located on Jacksons Creek and a tributary. The silcrete varied in colour and quality, was present at most sites as boulders, and was extensively quarried. Most of the sites showed severe disturbance (Webb 1995: 74).

4.3 Previously recorded Aboriginal archaeological sites in the City of Maribyrnong

A total of six registered Aboriginal archaeological sites have been located in the City of Maribyrnong prior to this study being undertaken (Aboriginal Affairs Victoria Site Registry data 1998, see Table 2 and Figure 3). Four of these sites are isolated artefacts, one is a silcrete quarry and one is a surface artefact scatter. All of these sites were located on Australian Defence Industry or CSIRO properties. Although all of the sites were heavily disturbed, the survival of some archaeological material remains can be attributed to the restricted access to and localised development of these properties over the past 100 years. This has meant that not all areas have been developed and parts of the land have survived comparatively undisturbed since the late nineteenth century.

Site No.	Site Name	Site Type	Description	Location
AAV7822/523	ADI 1 Footscray	Isolated artefact	1 isolated artefact Low significance assessment	West side of M'nong River, Footscray
AAV7822/524	ADI 2 Maribyrnong	Isolated artefact	1 isolated artefact Med significance assessment-may be more intact material in situ	South side of M'nong River, Maidstone
AAV7822/525	ADI 3 Maribyrnong	Isolated artefact	1 isolated artefact Low significance assessment	South side of M'nong River, Maidstone
AAV7822/1036	CSIRO South I	Surface artefact scatter	20-30 artefacts, some in situ sub surface Mod significance assessment	South side of M'nong River, Maribyrnong
AAV7822/1037	CSIRO South II	Silcrete stone quarry	Worked silcrete quarry Mod significance assessment	South side of M'nong River, Maribyrnong
AAV7822/1046	Chicago St 1	Isolated artefact	2 isolated artefacts Low significance assessment	South side of M'nong River, Maribyrnong

Table 2: Previously recorded Aboriginal archaeological sites

Each of the sites were recorded within a few hundred metres of the Maribyrnong River (see Appendix 2). Two of the isolated artefacts were found on slopes in agricultural land above the river (AAV7822/524-AAV7822/525), a third was located on a flood plain within approximately 100 metres of the creek (AAV7822/523), and a fourth occurred at the junction between the flood

plain and the hill slope above (AAV7822/1046). The surface artefact scatter (AAV7822/1036) and the silcrete quarry (AAV7822/1037) were both located on the valley hill slope below the escarpment overlooking the Maribyrnong River valley.

Of the isolated artefact occurrences, only one was considered to be in situ. This site, AAV7822/524, is located outside the eastern border of the Medway Golf Club (see Figure 2) and was assessed as being of moderate scientific significance, as it was possible that further material may be present (AAV7822/524 Site Card data). The other isolated artefacts were assessed as being of low scientific significance, as they were located in highly disturbed contexts and contained a minimal number of artefacts. Such sites were considered to be a common occurrence in Melbourne's western region (Nicolson 1998: 13-14).

All of the sites discussed above appeared to have suffered considerable disturbance due to high levels of land modifications (Nicolson 1998a: 13, du Cros in Allom Lovell 1992: 121), which substantially reduced the chance of locating intact archaeological material. Early land clearance could have removed any scarred trees, while subsequent construction and removal of buildings may have caused artefact redistribution and destruction.

The stone artefact scatter (AAV7822/1036) was also considered to be disturbed (Nicolson 1998b). The former CSIRO land on which the site was located was used for sheep and cattle grazing, which caused accelerated erosion. A total of 22 artefacts comprised the site, which was found at a gentle hill slope above the valley escarpment at the foot of a fence (see Figure 3). The artefacts appeared to have eroded down slope from surrounding slopes and accrued along a fence line which prevented further movement down slope. The artefacts were of coarse-grained, red-brown silcrete which occurs locally (Nicolson 1998b: 15). The site was assessed as being of moderate scientific significance (Nicolson 1998b: 18).

Within 50 metres of site AAV7822/1036 lies the quarry/stone source site AAV7822/1037 (Nicolson 1998b: 15). The site consists of coarse-grained silcrete which outcrops in a number of places on the sloping hillside below. The quarried stone outcropped as large, extremely weathered blocks on which there appeared regularly spaced negative flake scars, where flakes of stone had been removed for tool manufacture. The quarry was highly disturbed by soil erosion, a vehicle track, stock trampling and localised bulldozing of the earth around the site (Nicolson 1998b: 15). Despite such disturbance, this site was assessed as being of moderate scientific significance (Nicolson 1998b: 18).

A number of the above sites have most probably been disturbed by development since their recording. The Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Corporation Inc. have issued permits for sites AAV7822/1036,

AAV7822/1037 and AAV7822/1046 during the last year. Site AAV7822/1037 underwent a sub surface testing program to determine its extent, degree of disturbance and amount of artefactual material. It was also documented and photographed in detail prior to being disturbed, to ensure that knowledge provided by the site will be accessible in the future. Artefacts were then submitted to the Wurundjeri. AAV does not have records that sites AAV7822/523 or AAV7822/525 have been disturbed and it is not mandatory to notify AAV of site disturbance. However, as they were accorded a low scientific significance rating (AAV Victorian Site Register Cards), it is unlikely they still exist. In contrast, as site AAV7822/524 was assessed as having medium significance it may therefore still be present.

4.3.1 Summary

Previous archaeological surveys and sub-surface testing investigations have yielded some data on the distribution of pre-contact Aboriginal archaeological sites within the region of the Maribyrnong River valley, and within the study area. Because the sites are only a small remnant of the Aboriginal archaeological site types which once would have been present in the study area and as they occur in highly disturbed contexts, the evidence of past Aboriginal land use which they can provide us with is limited. However, the limited archaeological potential of these sites should not be considered to detract from their significance (see Section 7.0).

The location of the previously recorded sites and their contents, in conjunction with regional data on site distribution on the volcanic plains and in the Maribyrnong River valley, can be used to develop a site prediction model. Site prediction models can be used to identify which areas of land within the City of Maribyrnong might be considered of potential archaeological sensitivity. These areas have been investigated during the Aboriginal archaeological survey conducted as part of this project to refine areas which are considered to have possible archaeological values. This site prediction model is detailed below in Section 4.4.

4.4 Aboriginal archaeological site prediction model for City of Maribyrnong

The ethnographic evidence cited in Section 3.3 and the known regional distribution of archaeological sites and site types suggests that the Maribyrnong River valley generally considered to be high archaeological sensitivity. Prior to the late nineteenth century, the lower Maribyrnong valley is likely to have contained a high density of sites. Higher site densities have been recorded in the comparatively less developed regions of the Upper Maribyrnong valley in

Brimbank Park and north of the Calder Freeway. Within the City of Maribyrnong, the impact of industrial development on sites is likely to have been very severe, which may partly explain why only six Aboriginal archaeological sites have previously been recorded within its boundaries. Also as there have been no previous systematic surveys of the City of Maribyrnong there is still some potential for as yet unrecorded sites to exist in the study area. The following discussion will identify which landforms of the study area are likely to be of potential Aboriginal archaeological sensitivity, and of these, which areas have sustained sufficiently minimal disturbance for us to expect that some sites might still be present.

The City of Maribyrnong formed a major part of the territorial boundaries of two *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* clans, the *Marin balug* and the *Yallukit willam*. Accounts from early Victorian explorers, pastoralists and ethnographers have conveyed information about the practices and traditions of these clans. We know, for example, that the ford which lies directly outside the north-east boundary of the Council Boundary, generally known as Solomon's Ford, was a place used by Aboriginal people for fishing. Joseph often saw Aboriginal people spearing fish near his property and Grimes saw people fishing from Solomon's Ford when he sailed with a party up the Maribyrnong in 1803. Alfred Solomon's son also witnessed corroborees when a boy, and had many dealings with one of the clans when he lived on the Maribyrnong. Nearly forty years later, George Augustus Robinson noted a number of 'native ovens' near present day Grimes Reserve, which he presumed was "a favourite resort" (in Presland 1977: 1). Such accounts illustrate that the Maribyrnong River valley was an important part of the Kulin Nation, and a favourite camping ground for Aboriginal people. They also indicate that the Maribyrnong River was an important focus, providing a rich and varied source of foods and permanent fresh water.

The pattern of Aboriginal archaeological sites within the study area, although scant, reflects this dependence on major waterways. Although a very small number of sites have been previously recorded within the City of Maribyrnong, the high density of sites in the Upper Maribyrnong valley and throughout Melbourne's western region suggest that prior to the extensive industrial development which has defined the study area since the mid to late 1800s, there would have been a wealth of sites present. One indication of this is an observation by Solomon's son Joseph, who said of the local Aboriginal people who he witnessed in the vicinity of his property. "They appeared to be always on the move from one part of their tribal territory to another in search of food" (Flynn 1906: 6). This suggests that campsites would be frequently relocated

within clan territories, leaving the more visible elements of sites, stone artefacts, as markers of their movements.

4.4.1 Predictions for site location

The site prediction model which has gradually been developed for Melbourne's western region can be used to predict where sites will be located within the present study area. This model suggests that major waterways such as the Maribyrnong River valley were used intensively by Aboriginal people, and that sites will be distributed within the valley in areas which have better preservation or are less disturbed. Minor waterways such as Stony Creek might also contain sites, as might smaller tributaries of Jacksons Creek in the Upper Maribyrnong valley. Smaller waterways such as Stony Creek are likely to have provided a similarly rich variety of food sources and water for Aboriginal people. Away from these waterways, sites on the undulating plains are likely to be less frequent, reflecting short term occupation around resources such as swamps. The large swampy areas around present day Footscray might also have originally featured sites around their margins, as Aboriginal people exploited the rich variety of foods provided in swampy environments.

The site prediction model for the City of Maribyrnong is as follows:

Major and minor waterways

Alluvial Terraces

Alluvial terraces might feature sites such as stone artefact scatters or isolated artefacts as these landscape features are raised above the flood plain, and would have provided dry ground close to water and food resources. Terraces might also feature intact, in situ archaeological deposits including stratified stone deposits, faunal material, hearths or burials where they coincide with undisturbed sections of the Maribyrnong River valley or Stony Creek.

The banks of the Maribyrnong River would originally have been lined with Red Gum, some of which are likely to have featured Aboriginal cultural scars and possibly carved trees. Scarred trees are less likely to have featured along Stony Creek, as Grimes' observations of the creek in 1803 were of a "few trees by the seaside; behind, a level plain to the mountain" (in Shillingslaw 1878: 21).

Hill slopes below valley escarpment

The steep hill slope below the escarpment of the Maribyrnong valley might feature surface artefact scatters or isolated artefacts, particularly in eroded

areas. Such sites are unlikely to be intact; and are probably a factor of erosion of the above escarpment which has caused dislodgment and down slope movement of artefacts. These artefacts are more likely to be exposed, and hence recorded, in areas of improved ground visibility such as eroded sections of hillside.

The hill slope might also feature outcrops of worked silcrete, or quarries, as these generally occur below the rim of the escarpment, “as boulders, or pavements of silcrete on hill slopes, adjacent to the edges of basalt flows” (Webb 1995:12). These quarries are likely to be associated with related debris, such as resultant stone scatters from the reduction of silcrete nodules, or blocks.

Escarpment

The rim of the Maribyrnong valley escarpment and a distance from the edge of up to 400 metres is likely to feature stone artefact scatters and isolated artefacts. Areas of the escarpment which have a more gentle decline to the valley floor might be more likely to feature sites as they offered an easier route down to the river. Sites might also be found where the escarpment offers good vantage points over the river. Sites may also be a feature of the rim of the escarpment as it would have provided a good travel route above the river.

Undulating Plains

As Rhodes (1990) noted during the City of Keilor archaeological survey, there is likely to be a limited amount of archaeological material on the plains, it is expected to be found in close proximity to water such as swamps, and site distribution probably reflects a series of transient, short term campsites.

Deltaic sediments (swamps)

Grimes and Hoddle both recorded the lower reaches of the Maribyrnong near its junction with the Yarra as swampy, and Grimes noted the presence of many birds in this area when he sailed past present day Footscray (see Section 3.0). Sites might originally have been present in this area around swamp margins, where Aboriginal people might have camped to exploit the rich bird and aquatic species.

4.5 Areas of minimal disturbance

The site prediction model developed above must be balanced against the extent of land disturbance within the study area (see Section 3.2). Using local histories of places within the City of Maribyrnong and both recent and historical air photography, those areas identified as being less disturbed were identified. Areas of minimal disturbance which coincided with the site prediction model were regarded as areas where sites might still be likely to occur today.

The intention was to include these areas as ‘Survey Areas’ to be investigated during the ground survey. These areas are listed below:

4.5.1 Stony Creek

Most of the quarrying which was established along Stony Creek after the 1850s took place where the pillow lava was preserved at the base of Newer Volcanics flows, which occur mostly in Yarraville. Cruickshank Park in Yarraville, for example, featured as many as eleven quarries (Eidelson 1997: 8). Since then, the stretch of the creek east of Geelong Road, West Footscray, has been landscaped as parks and walking trails. Areas of the creek west of Geelong Road have been industrialised, though more recently. The creek also appears to have had its banks straightened. Walter Erm from Yarraville recalls that the creek was “a poorly defined watercourse, a place of swamp and marsh” when he lived adjacent to it from 1914 (in Eidelson 1997: 27). Ethel Waters also recalls that “the creek was much wider and not nearly as straight” as today (in Eidelson 1997: 25).

Despite such activity, a few pockets appear to have sustained less disturbance. Most of the quarrying appears to have taken place in West Footscray and Yarraville, leaving the more westerly stretch of the creek unquarried. Other than quarrying, Stony Creek was not much use to early settlers. Few farmers were attracted to Footscray due to its cracking clays and sporadically watered Stony Creek (Lack 1991: 43). After the 1870s, industrial firms and quarries set up along Stony Creek at the mouth of the creek in Yarraville, and also in West Footscray (Lack 1991: 86), however there was not much development further west in Tottenham. Today the banks of the creek are occupied by industrial firms.

4.5.1.1 Areas of minimal disturbance

Despite the extensive disturbance to Stony Creek, some sections might still feature Aboriginal archaeological sites. The area west of Geelong Road does not appear to have been quarried and sections which have not been excavated as part of industrial factory construction might still contain in situ archaeological deposits. Such deposits would most likely occur further back from the creek, as the straightening of its banks would have resulted in high levels of disturbance in a narrow band along the creek edge.

4.5.2 Maribyrnong River from Braybrook to Maribyrnong

The first series of land sales in this area took place in 1847, and were sold to Messrs. McIntyre, Solomon, Johnstone, Raleigh and Hall. W.J.T. Clarke

acquired land in 1853 which was bounded by Williamstown Road, Wests Road, Cordite Ave and the Maribyrnong River. Clarke's land later became the site of the Ordinance Factory, while James Johnstone's 628 hectares was absorbed into the Maribyrnong Explosives Factory (Anderson 1984: 54). Solomon's land is now the site of the Medway Golf Club. Raleigh's land, to the west of the Maribyrnong Explosives Factory, was sold to the Fisher brothers during the 1860s. To the west of Solomon's land, an allotment of 640 acres was taken up by an association founded by Messrs. Thorpe, Irish and Morris. The trio wished to found a 'closer settlement' township on the property, and after obtaining and subdividing it, it was known as the Albion township. However, as it was some distance from Ballarat Road, the township dwindled away.

It appears that the land in this area was not subjected to extensive quarrying, although the part of Johnstone's original holding presently occupied by Highpoint West shopping centre was quarried for many years (Anderson 1984:53). Solomon's land was grazed and farmed until 1885. Raleigh's land, after being sold to the Fisher brothers, was developed as the famous Maribyrnong horse stud on the land which was known as the Maribyrnong Estate (Ford and Lewis 1989:12). Raleigh's Homestead was built on the land, and the surrounding grounds were maintained as gardens and horse grazing paddocks. Mrs Clancy, who visited the Estate during 1852-1853, noted that "Some beautifully enclosed paddocks reach to the Creek [Maribyrnong River], and give an English park-like appearance to the whole" (in *A Lady's Visit to the Gold Diggings of Australia in 1852-1853* in Ford and Lewis 1989:9). During the 1980s Depression, a newspaper article observed of this stretch of Maribyrnong "it rests in solitude, a lovely undulating piece of country, the natural beauty of which could hardly be exaggerated" (in Ford and Lewis 1989:28).

After the Depression, the Commonwealth Government decided to reserve a large portion of Maribyrnong for munitions production. In 1907, the lands originally owned by Raleigh and Johnstone were chosen as the best site. By 1909, 30 buildings had been constructed on the site to provide for the manufacture of explosives which were later used in the First World War (Anderson 1984:60-61). Interestingly, Anderson states that during construction of the buildings "a wealth of quartzite Aboriginal knives and axe-heads were revealed" (1984:61).

4.5.2.1 Areas of minimal disturbance

The area extending of the Maribyrnong River valley from the north-eastern Council boundary to the eastern boundary of the Maribyrnong Explosives

Factory is considered less disturbed. This area includes the following places or landscape features:

- Cranwell Park
- Medway Golf Club
- Maribyrnong Explosives Factory, particularly the escarpment and banks of the river, which are believed to have outcrops of silcrete, and the hill to the east of the horse stables (Allom Lovell and Associates 1998: 5).
- Maribyrnong River alluvial terraces, hill slope and top of escarpment where not developed by housing from the edge of escarpment south for approximately 100 metres, depending on degree of disturbance.

4.5.3 Maribyrnong River from South Maribyrnong to Footscray

A major feature of this area is Pipemakers Park, which houses Melbourne's Living Museum of the West. This used to be the site of Humes Pipe Works. Humes' in turn took over the Melbourne Meat Preserving Company buildings in 1911, manufacturing reinforced concrete pipes using centrifugal forces to mould and set the concrete (Anderson 1984: 58). Subsequent owners MMBW bought the site in 1978 and used it to dump river mud.

About 800 metres downstream of Humes is the Munitions Canal, adjacent to Jack's Magazine, which was the site for the Powder Magazine after 1875 (Allom Lovell and Associates 1992: 9). The Maribyrnong River was chosen for the production of munitions as it provided cheap and convenient transport. Hence, the munitions factory was constructed close to the river "on a swampy flat bounded by the continuation of a hill from which many people from the Footscray side witness the races on the Flemington course" (Allom Lovell and Associates 1992: 14).

4.5.3.1 Areas of minimal disturbance

Areas not disturbed by construction of Melbourne Meat Preserving Company, Humes Pipeworks or landscaped area of Melbourne's Living Museum of the West might feature possible archaeological stratified material within the swampy flood plain below the escarpment.

4.5.4 Footscray Park and Newell's Paddock

Prior to 1908, Footscray Hill, on which Footscray Park was established, was a favourite promenading spot as it overlooked Flemington Racecourse

(Lack 1991: 208). In 1908 the owners of the present Footscray Park, the Victorian Racing Club, intended the land to be subdivided and sold for housing. Instead, it was purchased and reserved in perpetuity for public use (Anderson 1984: 62). The flat below the park was once swamp land and a municipal garbage tip, and is hence quite disturbed. However the rest of the park has been left relatively undisturbed, although landscaping has been undertaken.

Newell's Paddock, to the south of Footscray Park, has undergone some disturbance, having been grazed with cattle and sheep prior to the 1880s. During the 1880s Mr David Newell operated a nightsoil depot on the flats for his private profit. This spot was later established as 'Newell's Paddock' when the Ministry for Conservation established a wetlands nature reserve there (Lack 1991: 395).

4.5.4.1 Areas of minimal disturbance

Excepting the flat below the park, Footscray Park appears to have been relatively undisturbed. This means that alluvial terraces adjacent to the Maribyrnong River could still contain stratified archaeological deposits such as hearths, stone and faunal material. If present, such deposits are likely to exist intact below the uppermost 50 centimetres of soil, as landscaping would have destroyed any sites in the uppermost soil layers. The same is true for Newell's Paddock. Newell's operations in the 1880s are likely to have disturbed a significant portion of the park, however it is possible that stratified archaeological deposits may still be intact in areas less disturbed by his activities, and subsequent landscaping.

4.6 Possible remnant native red gums

Discussions with Mick Dalton, Arborist, City of Maribyrnong Parks and Gardens, led to the identification of two further areas of reduced disturbance within the study area. Mick Dalton indicated that there were two stretches of the Maribyrnong River which might still feature remnant red gums. As these areas might feature an Aboriginal scarred tree, they were included for further survey. These areas are:

- Bank of the Maribyrnong River between Londrew Court and Raleigh Road, Maribyrnong; and
- Bank of the Maribyrnong River between Bunbury Street and Youell Street, Footscray.
- The City of Maribyrnong also alerted the consultant to a possible scarred tree which had been located by a local resident in Sandford Grove Park,

Yarraville. This park was also included in the ground survey to investigate the tree further. This area is:

- Sandford Grove Park, Yarraville.

4.7 Summary

As a result of the Aboriginal archaeological site prediction model developed for the City of Maribyrnong, the following areas are regarded as being minimally disturbed, or otherwise identified as needing further survey. The following areas will be included in the ground survey for this project:

- Undisturbed sections of Stony Creek
- Maribyrnong River valley from Braybrook to Maribyrnong, including the following specific areas:
- Cranwell Park
- Medway Golf Club
- Maribyrnong Explosives Factory, particularly the escarpment and banks of the river, which are believed to have outcrops of silcrete, and the hill to the east of the horse stables (Allom Lovell and Associates 1998: 5).
- Maribyrnong River alluvial terraces, hill slope and top of escarpment where not developed by housing from the edge of escarpment south for approximately 100 metres, depending on degree of disturbance.
- The swampy flood plain below the escarpment in areas not disturbed by construction of Melbourne's Living Museum of the West.
- Footscray Park, excepting the flat below the park, and undisturbed sections of Newell's Paddock.
- Bank of the Maribyrnong River between Londrew Court and Raleigh Road, Maribyrnong.
- Bank of the Maribyrnong River between Bunbury Street and Youell Street, Footscray.
- Sandford Grove Park, Yarraville.

The former Maribyrnong Explosives Factory was surveyed at a later date, during November 1999. This was because the land is still owned by the

Commonwealth, and it was necessary to obtain security clearances to enter the base. It was not possible to gain access to the EFM Factory which lies south of the former explosives factory and north of Cordite Avenue. This factory is still operational and public access is not allowed. The area of the factory which was surveyed is shown in Figure 2 and the results of the former explosives factory survey are contained in Appendix 4.

5.0 ABORIGINAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL GROUND SURVEY METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

It was not possible to examine the entire City of Maribyrnong for Aboriginal archaeological sites, firstly because of the time constraints on the project, and secondly because some archaeological material may be buried beneath the ground surface and is therefore not visible to surface survey. The areas selected for ground survey therefore comprised those areas identified during the site prediction model as being of minimal disturbance, as these areas are therefore most likely to feature intact Aboriginal archaeological sites (see Figure 2 and Section 4.7).

5.2 Methodology

During the ground survey, each of the areas identified during the site prediction model as having minimal disturbance were examined. Detailed notes were made of each survey area on its location, landform features, size, ground surface visibility, presence and extent of erosion, degree of disturbance and other relevant observations. Photographs of each site were taken.

Aboriginal archaeological sites were defined in accordance with Aboriginal Affairs Victoria guidelines (Aboriginal Affairs Victoria 1993). Each archaeological site located during the survey involved the recording of the following features: locational information (including site plan sketch and boundaries), environmental information (land system, topography, landform, distance to water, vegetative cover and type), and archaeological information (site type, site description, site contents, preservation and stratigraphy). Attributes were not recorded for the stone artefacts found in each site due to time constraints. Scarred trees were to be assessed and recorded in accordance with the existing Aboriginal Affairs Victoria Site Register card for scarred trees.

Access to property was organised in consultation with the City of Maribyrnong and the Commonwealth of Australia in the case of the former Maribyrnong Explosives Factory.

5.3 Aboriginal community consultation

As outlined in Section 2.1, The City of Maribyrnong lies within the boundaries of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc.

area, and within the 'Melbourne' region as defined by the recent Aboriginal Affairs Victoria Cultural Heritage Program.

Prior to the survey being undertaken, Mr Bill Nicholson Snr. Of the Wurundjeri was again contacted to discuss which community representatives would participate in the survey. It was decided that Ms Tammy Hunter and Ms Odetta Webb would participate as representatives of the Wurundjeri. Mr Brian Powell, Cultural Heritage Protection Officer-Sites, at the Kulin Nations Cultural Heritage Organisation, was also contacted prior to the survey, and attended on the second day of the survey.

Ms. Doreen Garvey participated as the Wurundjeri representative in the later survey of the former Maribyrnong Explosives Factory.

A Form D Notification of Intent to Conduct a Survey was submitted to Aboriginal Affairs Victoria on 9 June 1999.

6.0 ABORIGINAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL GROUND SURVEY RESULTS

6.1 Introduction

The field survey was undertaken over 2.5 days on 10, 11 and 15 June 1999. Those participating in the survey were Taryn Debney, Biosis Research Pty. Ltd., Tammy Hunter and Odetta Webb, representatives of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc., and Bryon Powell, Kulin Nations Cultural Heritage Organisation.

6.2 Field methods

Based on the site prediction model, seven survey areas were selected which included all areas of potential archaeological sensitivity which were assessed as having minimal disturbance (see Figure 2 and Section 4.7).

A brief vehicular survey was conducted of each of the study areas first, to familiarise the survey participants with the boundaries of the survey area, the location of landforms, the degree and extent of disturbance, access and general ground surface visibility.

Following this each of the survey areas were investigated on foot by the field crew. The crew split into two groups to achieve greater coverage, with each group targeting areas of improved ground visibility and minimal disturbance. In each survey unit field notes were recorded and relevant features marked on an aerial photograph and field map supplied by the City of Maribyrnong. The movements of both field teams were later recorded on the field map to assist with estimates of effective survey coverage (see Section 6.3 below).

6.3 Survey Areas and Summary of Results

A summary of the survey data is provided in Tables 3 and 4 below and is discussed in more detail in Sections 6.4 and 6.5. Survey areas are shown in

Figure 2, site locations and areas of potential archaeological sensitivity are shown in Figure 3.

Survey Area	Geographic Place Name (Suburb)	Ground Surface Visibility	Ground conditions	Previously Recorded Sites	Newly Recorded Sites
1.Length of Stony Creek which extends inside study area (south-west of Sunshine Road, Tottenham, to West Gate Freeway, Yarraville)	Tottenham, West Footscray and Yarraville	0-5% ground surface visibility along investigated sections of Stony Creek	Heavily disturbed. No areas identified as being of potential Aboriginal archaeological sensitivity.	Nil	Nil
2.Maribyrnong River valley from west end of Burke Street, Braybrook, to Cordite Road, Maidstone.	Braybrook and Maidstone	0-20% on flood plains and alluvial terraces. 5-20% on hill slopes. 5-20% on rim of escarpment.	Flood plains and terraces partially landscaped. Hill slopes relatively intact yet eroded. Rim of escarpment usually highly disturbed.	Two isolated artefacts ADI 2-Maribyrnong (AAV7822/524) ADI 3-Maribyrnong (AAV7822/525)	Six surface artefact scatters Maribyrnong River SAS 1-6 AAV7822/1091-1096-
3. Pipemakers Park and Footscray ADI Munitions Factory grounds	Footscray	0-5% on flood plain and alluvial terrace.	Highly disturbed. Major landscape alteration to ADI grounds and extensive landscaping to river frontage of LMW.	One isolated artefact AAV7822/523	Nil
4. Footscray Park and Newell's Paddock	Footscray	0-5% on flood plain and alluvial terrace	Extensively landscaped.	Nil	Nil
5. Remnant native vegetation between Londrew Crt and Raleigh Road, Maribyrnong	Maribyrnong	0-5%	Highly disturbed	Nil	Nil
6. Remnant native vegetation between Bunbury Street and Youell Street, Footscray	Footscray	0-5%	Highly disturbed	Nil	Nil
Sandford Grove Park, Yarraville	Yarraville	0-5%	Highly disturbed but one remnant red gum still present	Nil	Nil

Table 3: City of Maribyrnong archaeological ground survey results (summary of survey areas, conditions and results).

Survey Area	Land tenure	Melways Map No.
1	Various-public and private	Melways Map 27
2	Mostly public, some private	Melways Map 27
3	Mostly public, public and private	Melways Maps 28 and 42
4	Public	Melways Maps 42
5	Public	Melways Map 28
6	Public and private	Melways Map 42
7	Public	Melways Map 42

Table 4: City of Maribyrnong Survey Area land tenure and Melways map no.

6.4 Location of Survey Areas, Ground Surface visibility and Disturbance

Ground surface visibility and land disturbance have a bearing on the assessment of Aboriginal archaeological site values. Poor ground surface visibility can disguise the location of archaeological sites or material remains during a surface survey and disturbance of the ground surface can destroy archaeological sites. These factors are discussed in relation to each survey area below.

6.4.1 Survey Area 1 – Stony Creek

Location

The section of Stony Creek which runs through the City of Maribyrnong stretches from Sunshine Road to the West Gate Freeway (see Figure 2). It is a small, intermittent creek which has incised a shallow course through the surrounding basalt. Much of the surrounding landscape is marshy flood plain, though small terraces have developed where the creek has deposited significant amounts of silt.

Land use today is mainly industrial (west of Geelong Road) and parkland (east of Geelong Road).

Ground surface visibility

Visibility in Survey Area 1 was extremely poor. The ground surface in all areas was densely covered with grass, leaf litter, and on the west side of Paramount Road, flood debris. Clear views of the ground were only afforded in flooded areas which had been trampled by foot or vehicle traffic, in eroded areas of the parkland or beneath trees east of Paramount Road. While such sections of the ground had improved visibility of 80-100% they were small and isolated. Recent rains had encouraged dense grass growth north of Paramount Road, while the parkland on the east side was highly manicured and maintained. Erosion

along Stony Creek appeared minimal, as the dense grass covering prevented severe wind and water erosion from occurring.

Ground disturbance

Stony Creek is a highly disturbed environment. The section between Sunshine Road and Geelong Road is mostly industrialised and surrounded by factory complexes. Some small drains run into the creek. The banks of the creek in this section have been straightened and all original native vegetation removed. Large soil, fill and basalt rock dumps are found in this area. Grass-covered mounds are frequent and may be associated with fill deposition from factory construction.

At Sara Street, both banks have been dumped with landfill within 2 metres of the creek. Some sections of the bank appear to have been levelled prior to factory construction.

East of Geelong Road most sections of the creek have been transformed into parkland. Prior to this, sections of the creek were quarried, it had its banks straightened and all original native vegetation was removed. We know that Cruikshank Park had at least eleven quarries, which have now been filled in, covered with imported fill and landscaped. Stands of native vegetation have been replanted, though no trees are old enough to feature Aboriginal cultural scars. Some sections of the creek have been lined with basalt blocks, and between Somerville Road and Francis Street, Yarraville, some two hundred metres of the creek are now a canal (Eidelson 1997:18). Other sections now feature artificial fords and a number of basalt lined drains which run into the creek.

6.4.2 Survey Area 2 – Maribyrnong River valley from Braybrook to Maribyrnong

Location

The section of the Maribyrnong River valley included in Survey Area 2 extends east of Burke Street, Braybrook, to Cordite Avenue, Maidstone (see Figure 2). The flood plain, alluvial terraces, valley hill slope and the rim of the escarpment are part of the survey area. A distance of 50-100 metres back from the rim of the escarpment was examined where possible.

The survey area features a linear park which covers the flood plain and, in some sections, the valley slope and escarpment, between Burke Street and Cordite Avenue (see Figure 2). Cranwell Park and the Medway Golf Club are part of this survey area. At present a housing subdivision is undergoing construction west of Cranwell Park. Most of the escarpment is used by light industrial firms or new

housing development, with the exception of Cranwell Park and Medway Golf Club.

Ground surface visibility

The visibility in Survey Area 2 is generally between 5-20%. Eroded patches are rare. Exposed sections of ground surface have sustained minor damage from hillside water run-off. The steep valley side slopes sharply uphill from the flood plain until it reaches the escarpment above. Ground coverage on the hillside is generally good, though some eroded sections afford localised patches of improved visibility. The rim of the escarpment has better visibility, having suffered extensive wind and water damage.

Ground disturbance

Survey Area 2 has been disturbed by cyclist and pedestrian pathway construction and small-scale landscaping, which are part of the linear park south of the Maribyrnong River.

Most of the valley slope which runs down to the flood plain from the escarpment is undeveloped. Some sections appear to have been incised to create a track, possibly to prevent debris falling onto the pathway below (Cranwell Park and section immediately east of Burke Street). Cranwell Park has been built up with artificial ledges of basalt to prevent erosion. Large storm-water drains have been

incised in the hill slope in areas such as the western end of Cranwell Park and east of the Buddhist Community Centre on Burke Street.

The rim of the escarpment is highly disturbed. With the exception of Cranwell Park, the rest of escarpment is now developed and covered by industrial factories, new housing developments and bitumen roads .

Only the occasional mature eucalypt exists along the flood plain. All other native vegetation has been removed and the survey area is dominated by thistle and mustard grass.

6.4.3 Survey Area 3 – Pipemakers Park and ADI Footscray

Location

Located on Van Ness Avenue, Maribyrnong, Pipemakers Park contains large areas of parkland.

Ground surface visibility

Recent rains have covered the park with grass, which afforded very poor ground surface visibility (0-5%). Improved areas of visibility were usually in eroded patches next to a pedestrian track which ran adjacent to the Maribyrnong River.

Ground disturbance

The flood plain and alluvial terraces of Pipemakers Park appear highly disturbed. The section of flood plain adjacent to the Maribyrnong River appears to have been graded and the banks of this section of river have been straightened and

partially lined with basalt blocks. A bitumen pathway runs within 30 metres of the Maribyrnong River, and recent plantings run alongside it to the west.

A large swamp lies at the southern end of the park, however this is artificially constructed (Tammy Hunter: Wurundjeri representative and member of Koori Gardening Team, pers. comm.). All mature native vegetation has been removed.

6.4.4 Survey Area 4 – Footscray Park and Newell’s Paddock

Location

Footscray Park and Newell’s Paddock are located on to the north and south of Ballarat Road, Footscray (see Figure 2).

Ground surface visibility

Ground surface visibility in both these areas was 0-5%. Both areas were covered by grass and park features such as car parks, roads and pathways. The only visible sections were beneath trees and on raised, eroded sections of the ground.

Ground disturbance

There appears to have been considerable disturbance in both parkland areas. Most of the disturbance has taken place on the flats,. The Footscray Park flats were used as a municipal garbage tip, and those in Newell’s Paddock as a nightsoil depot. However, the rest of the parks appear less disturbed, although

they have been landscaped and suffered localised impact of park facilities such as roads, pathways and car parks.

6.4.5 Survey Area 5 – Between Londrew Crt and Raleigh Road, Maribyrnong

Location

A line of possible remnant red gum eucalypt lining the bank of the Maribyrnong River.

Ground surface visibility

Along the banks of the Maribyrnong River in this area the ground surface visibility is very poor. The only visible surfaces were at the base of the eucalypts which line the river bank.

Ground disturbance

Ground disturbance in this area is exceedingly high, as the banks of the river has been developed as part of a pedestrian pathway, bituminised road and housing development. The trees which line the river bank do not appear to be original red gums dating prior to contact. The banks of the Maribyrnong River have been

straightened and lined with basalt blocks in this area, and the trees probably date to that period.

6.4.6 Survey Area 6 – Between Bunbury Street and Youell Street, Footscray

Location

A line of possible remnant red gum eucalypt lining the bank of the Maribyrnong River.

Ground surface visibility

Along the banks of the Maribyrnong River in this area the ground surface visibility is very poor. The only visible surfaces were at the base of the eucalypts which line the river bank.

Ground disturbance

Shipping and cargo freight development extends to the very edges of the Maribyrnong River in this section of Footscray. The banks of the river have been converted into car parks and bituminised roads. The trees do not appear to be original remnant red gums dating from the pre-contact period. As with

Survey Area 5, the banks of the Maribyrnong River have been straightened and lined with basalt blocks in this area, and the trees probably date to that period.

6.4.7 Survey Area 7 – Sandford Grove Park, Yarraville

Location

Sandford Grove Park, Yarraville. This area was surveyed to inspect a mature eucalypt containing a possible Aboriginal scar, which had been identified by a local resident.

Ground surface visibility

Ground surface visibility in park very poor, and covered with thick grass. The only visible surface was at the base of the eucalypt.

Ground disturbance

Sandford Grove Park is surrounded by housing and industrial factories. The ground is littered with bottle glass and fragments of tiles and cement.

6.5 Survey Results

6.5.1 Introduction

During the survey conducted in June 1999, a total of six Aboriginal archaeological sites were recorded (see Figure 3). All of these sites were recorded in Survey Unit 2, in the Maribyrnong River valley between Burke Street, Braybrook and Cordite Road, Maidstone. A further six sites had previously been recorded within the City of Maribyrnong, though at least two of these sites have been disturbed by development since they were originally recorded. The Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. have issued permits to disturb or destroy sites AAV7822/1036 and AAV7822/1037 on the former CSIRO property during the last year. None of the other previously recorded sites was relocated. One isolated stone artefact (AAV 7822/523) which had previously been recorded near Pipemakers Park was not relocated.

Each of the seven survey units, and the sites which were located within them during June 1999, are discussed below. Areas which were identified as being of potential archaeological sensitivity are also discussed.

Some time after the June survey had been completed, an additional survey was conducted of the Maribyrnong Explosives Factory, which had been

identified as an area of potential archaeological sensitivity. This survey was conducted in November 1999, and the survey results are contained in Appendix 4. One additional site, an isolated artefact (AAV 7822/1119), was located during this survey bringing the total number of pre-contact Aboriginal sites recorded within the City of Maribyrnong during the present study to eight.

6.5.2 Aboriginal archaeological sites identified and recorded

6.5.2.1 Survey Area 1 – Stony Creek

Aboriginal archaeological sites

No sites were identified within this Survey Area.

6.5.2.2 Survey Area 2 –Maribyrnong River valley from Braybrook to Maribyrnong

Aboriginal archaeological sites

All six Aboriginal archaeological sites were identified within this Survey Area. Each of these sites are listed and detailed below:

Maribyrnong River Surface Artefact Scatter 1 (AAV7822/1091)

Location

Site MRSAS-1 (AAV 7822/1091) is located in the north-east corner of the study area (see Figure 3 and Plates 2-3) adjacent to the Maribyrnong River.

The west end of the site is located 17.5 metres east of the base of the dirt track which runs down to the Maribyrnong River from the Buddhist Community Centre on the eastern corner of Burke Street. This dirt track branches off from a bituminised pedestrian pathway which winds down towards the river but veers north towards Solomon's Ford, which is immediately outside the City of Maribyrnong Council boundaries. The site is located at the base of this track where it rejoins a bituminised pathway running adjacent to the river. The site extends from this point for a length of 200 metres within the river valley (see Plate 2). Its most westerly point is a row of peppercorn trees which are planted on the south side of the pedestrian pathway which runs along the river bank. The site is located on two levels of the steep valley slope immediately above a more recent alluvial terrace on which the pathway is located. The valley slope runs sharply uphill to the rim or the escarpment above.

The valley slope appears to have been incised by a grader, which has created two insteps within the hillside. These may have been excavated to prevent

boulders and general debris from falling onto the pedestrian pathway below. The lower instep is approximately 12 metres above the pedestrian pathway (see Plate 2), but there is also a higher one 40 metres above that, in which a boulder baulk has been constructed. Many boxthorns now grow in amidst the rocks of the baulk. Above the lower incised wedge, the slope gradient is more gradual.

Artefacts were found on the excavated ground surface of the lower incised wedge and for a height up slope of 40 metres (see Plate 2). Their distribution appears to end at the foot of the basalt baulk.

Site contents

The site comprises a relatively large number of artefacts, although details of artefact numbers and attributes were not recorded in the field due to time limitations. Field observations indicate that the site contains quite a high proportion of tools and that most artefacts are local coarse-grained, yellow-brown silcrete (see Plate 3). Estimated artefact density was approximately 1 artefact per 5 square metres, with the highest density located within the excavated ground surface of the incised instep.

Site condition

Originally, artefacts were probably located above the steep section of hill slope on the more gentle gradient, or on the rim of the escarpment. Both areas would have provided a good vantage point over a large stretch of the Maribyrnong River and might have formed part of a pathway which Aboriginal people used to reach the river. An appropriate spot for such a pathway lies on the more gentle hill slope which runs down towards Solomon's Ford to the west of the Buddhist Community Centre. This spot forms a natural drainage line and would have been an easier walk down to the resources of the river. Its proximity to Solomon's Ford places it in an area where Aboriginal people were recorded as having camped in the 1830s.

Today it is highly unlikely that any in situ, stratified material still exists within the site. The site has been highly disturbed with the partial excavation of the hill slope and the materials which comprise the site are likely to have been eroded down slope from the more gentle gradient to the surface of the excavated instep.

Maribyrnong River Surface Artefact Scatter 2 (AAV7822/1092)

Location

This surface artefact scatter (AAV 7822/1092) is located at the foot of Cranwell Park (see Figure 3 and Plate 4). A pedestrian pathway is located on a more recent alluvial terrace above the Maribyrnong River, and runs adjacent to it.

Immediately above the path the steep-sided hill slope of the valley runs up to the top of Cranwell Park, where the rim of the escarpment commences.

The site is located immediately above this pedestrian pathway for an approximate height (up slope) of 30 metres, and length of 140 metres. As with site MRSAS 1 (AAV7822/1091), the site was located on the steepest part of the valley slope.

Site contents

The site comprises a relatively large number of artefacts, although details of artefact numbers and attributes were not recorded. Field observations indicate that most artefacts are local coarse-grained, yellow-brown silcrete (see Plate 5). Estimated artefact density was approximately 1 artefact per 5 metre square, with artefacts scattered relatively evenly across the ground surface.

Site disturbance

The site is located in the only section of Cranwell Park which has not been landscaped. The area where the site is located is not maintained by the Koori Gardening Team, which manages the landscaping and gardening at the park (Tammy Hunter: Wurundjeri representative and Koori Gardening Team, pers. comm.). This band of unmown vegetation mainly comprises thistles and mustard grass.

The artefacts do not appear to be part of an intact archaeological deposit. The steep slope on which they are located suggests that artefacts have eroded from the rim of the escarpment and more gentle gradients above, and become lodged in the thicker vegetation which exists immediately above the base of the slope.

Maribyrnong River Surface Artefact Scatter 3 (AAV7822/1093)

Location

MRSAS-3 (AAV7822/1093) is located at the north end of Evans Street in the open parkland which runs down slope toward the Maribyrnong River north of the Peerless Holdings car park (see Figure 3 and Plate 6). A small dirt track has been incised across this slope and joins a bituminised pedestrian pathway which runs along the river on an alluvial terrace. The slope is steep and is currently being revegetated with native species.

The site is located within the steep slope, with most artefacts present toward the base of the slope, or spilling onto the terrace below. Artefacts cover an area of

the hillside which is approximately 45 metres in height (up slope) and 100 metres in length.

Site contents

The site is a low density scatter of artefacts, with an estimated density of one artefact per 5 metre square (see Plate 7). Field observation indicates that many artefacts are river quartz, though there are some silcrete flakes and a core.

Site disturbance

This site has suffered high levels of disturbance.

The presence of artefacts on a steep hillside below a more gentle slope gradient, combined with high levels of disturbance caused by the construction of Peerless Holdings, indicate artefact relocation.

The construction of Peerless Holdings and its associated car park on the rim of the escarpment are likely to have caused the disruption of the site. Artefacts have likely been washed downhill and then been further disturbed by the track construction and recent revegetation program. The revegetation program seems to have been a response to an erosion problem, as most of the hillside is bare of vegetation and soil is constantly washed to the terrace below.

Disturbance and erosion problem make it highly unlikely that the slope would contain any intact stratified archaeological deposits.

Maribyrnong River Surface Artefact Scatter 4 (AAV7822/1094)

Location

MRSAS-4 (AAV7822/1094) is located approximately 50 metres north-east of site MRSAS-3 (see Figure 3). At the foot of the slope on which the MRSAS-3 is located, a small artificial wetland has been created. The site is located approximately 7 metres north-east of this wetland on the edge of an upper alluvial terrace above the pedestrian pathway which runs adjacent to the river (see Plate 8). Below the site, the slope of the alluvial terrace drops sharply to a lower terrace below, on which the pedestrian pathway is located.

The surface scatter is very small (approximately 10 x 4 metres).

Site contents

The site consists of a number of artefacts, all of the same coarse-grained local, yellow-brown silcrete. The artefacts appear to have derived from a

limited number of knapping episodes which have occurred on-site. The artefacts relate to both varying primary modification of a core, or different stages in the reduction process of stone into flakes. Some large silcrete nodules were present, some of which bore traces of being partially reduced, while others were complete flakes.

Site disturbance

The site is not yet substantially disturbed, though this will occur if left in its present state. As the site is located on the edge of an upper alluvial terrace and is presently exposed to the elements, erosion down slope is possible. The alluvial terrace on which the site is located has not been vegetated and is subject to localised erosion. Also, the dirt track which has been incised into the hill slope above this site leads down onto the alluvial terrace and becomes poorly defined in the vicinity of the site. There is therefore a danger that people will walk over the site in an attempt to reach the pedestrian pathway next to the Maribyrnong River.

The alluvial terrace on which the site is located may contain further, possibly stratified material. Except for localised disturbance from foot traffic and construction of the artificial wetland, the terrace appears relatively intact.

Maribyrnong River Surface Artefact Scatter 5 (AAV7822/1095)

Location

MRSAS-5 (AAV7822/1095) is located on the west side of the footbridge on the thin strip of parkland north of the Medway Golf Club, on the Maribyrnong River (see Figure 3 and Plate 9). The parkland is located on a small promontory which has developed around a bend in the river, and which is fronted by flood plain and a sequence of alluvial terraces which lay below the northern boundary of the golf club.

The site lies on a gentle slope above a lower alluvial terrace, which has been dissected into two hillocks. These have been created by the excavation of a drain which now runs down to the river and has separated the site into two parts. Artefacts are present on both hillocks in eroded patches of ground.

The site extends over an approximate area of 25 x 25 metres.

Site contents

The site consists of a low density scatter with an estimated density of one artefact per 5m². Field observations indicated that many of the artefacts were small quartz flakes, though some silcrete was also apparent in the assemblage. The

quartz may have been imported into the local area or obtained from river pebbles, although there was no evidence of cortex on the stone artefacts.

Site disturbance

The site has sustained some disturbance, mostly through excavation of the drain which now runs through the middle of the site. This would have caused some horizontal movement of artefacts and possibly disturbed any stratified material which may have been present in the area now used for drainage. The site is also suffering from erosion which may have caused further horizontal movement of artefacts.

It is possible that further, possibly stratified material such as hearths or faunal material exist in the vicinity of the site, either on the flood plain fronting the river or in the river terraces which form part of the promontory in this area, as disturbance of these areas appears to be minimal.

Maribyrnong River Surface Artefact Scatter 6 (AAV7822/1096)

Location

MRSAS-6 (AAV7822/1096) is found in a narrow dirt track which has been created by people walking along the northern fence line boundary of the Medway Golf Club (see Figure 3 and Plate 10). The site extends from the north-western corner of the Medway Golf Club boundary to where the path meets the footbridge over the Maribyrnong River to the immediate north of the club.

The site extends over a length of approximately 400 metres by 0.5 metres wide (the dimensions of the path). Artefacts are presently embedded in the path.

Site contents

This site is a low density artefact scatter, with an estimated artefact density of 1 artefact per 10 metres. Field observations indicate that many of the artefacts are small quartz flakes.

Site disturbance

Clearly the site has been disturbed by the creation and use of the path by pedestrians. However, disturbance is minimal as the earthen path is extremely

compacted and well drained, so that treadage is only likely to disturb the uppermost 5-10 centimetres of sediment.

The site probably extends further north of this track into areas of the promontory which are relatively undisturbed. They therefore might contain stratified, intact archaeological deposits.

Sites AAV7822/524 and AAV7822/525 Isolated artefacts

Neither of these previously destroyed sites could be relocated during the ground survey. It is assumed that both sites have since been disturbed.

Sites AAV7822/1036, AAV7822/1037 and AAV7822/1046 Isolated Artefacts and Silcrete Quarry

None of these previously recorded sites were relocated during the ground survey. As the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. are known to have issued permits to disturb two of these sites and they are in an area currently undergoing development it is assumed that all sites have been destroyed.

Maribyrnong Explosives Factory Isolated Artefact (AAV 7822/1119).

This site was located during a survey of the former explosives factory carried out as an adjunct to the existing study in November 1999. Details of the survey are contained in Appendix 4. The artefact is a coarse-grained silcrete flaked piece with two negative flake scars on the surface. It is situated on a north-facing slope under a row of *pinus radiata* trees and immediately north-east of the stables.

6.5.2.3 Survey Area 3 –Pipemakers Park and ADI Footscray

Aboriginal archaeological sites

No newly recorded sites were identified within this Survey Area.

Previously recorded Aboriginal archaeological sites

Site AAV7822/523 ADI 1 Footscray Isolated Artefact

The flood plain of the ADI Footscray premises were investigated briefly in an attempt to relocate site AAV7822/523, however no artefacts were found. It is assumed that this site has been disturbed or destroyed. Because of the extent of disturbance and landscaping that has occurred in this area it is considered that

any Aboriginal cultural materials are unlikely to survive, certainly in an in situ context.

6.5.2.4 Survey Area 4 –Footscray Park and Newell’s Paddock

Aboriginal archaeological sites

No sites were identified within this Survey Area.

6.5.2.5 Survey Area 5 –Red gums located between Londrew Court and Raleigh Road, Maribyrnong

Aboriginal archaeological sites

No sites were identified within this Survey Area.

6.5.2.6 Survey Area 6 –Red gums located between Bunbury street and Youell Street, Footscray

Aboriginal archaeological sites

No sites were identified within this Survey Area.

6.5.2.7 Survey Area 7 –Sandford Grove Park, Yarraville

Aboriginal archaeological sites

This area was inspected following reports by a local resident of an Aboriginal scarred tree in the park. The tree contains three scars, one of which is similar in some respects to an Aboriginal cultural scar. The other two scars on the tree show evidence of having been cut out with axes and one has nails hammered into the heartwood and it is likely that the first scar was also made by vandalism of the tree. The tree is a sugar gum and would have been introduced more recently into the park; therefore, it is considered that the scar has not been caused by the removal of bark by Aboriginal people in the past. No other evidence was found

of Aboriginal scarred trees in any other part of the park. Consequently, there are no Aboriginal sites within this area.

Location

Sandford Grove Park in Yarraville.

6.6 Identified areas of potential Aboriginal archaeological sensitivity

Areas or landforms of potential archaeological sensitivity are those which are known to contain Aboriginal archaeological sites or which the regional data on site distribution suggests that buried deposits of Aboriginal cultural materials are likely to occur. These are shown in Figure 3. The assessment of land where sites are likely to occur is based on the distribution of known Aboriginal sites, surface visibility and land disturbance.

6.6.1 Survey Area 1 – Stony Creek

Areas of potential archaeological sensitivity

No areas of potential archaeological sensitivity were identified in Survey Area 1.

Prior to European settlement of the Stony Creek area, it is quite possible that Stony Creek would have been frequented by Aboriginal people who were utilising the rich sources of food which would have been available there. However, the occupation and subsequent use of the area since European settlement for industrial and quarrying purposes would have disturbed any sites which were present there.

Background research into Survey Area 1 in Section 4.5.1 indicates that there may have been some less disturbed sections of Stony Creek. The section of creek west of Geelong Road was regarded as potentially having some less disturbed areas adjacent to the creek where Aboriginal archaeological sites might still be preserved. However, sites which might have been present such as stratified stone or faunal material, would have been disturbed by various other forms of disturbance such as drain excavation, bank straightening, excavation for industrial factories and deposition of fill adjacent to the creek banks, which were noted during the archaeological survey. These activities appear to have taken

place at regular intervals, no areas of Stony Creek are considered likely to feature preserved, intact Aboriginal archaeological sites today.

6.6.2 Survey Area 2 – Maribyrnong River valley from Braybrook to Maribyrnong

Areas of potential archaeological sensitivity

Many areas have been identified as being of potential archaeological sensitivity in Survey Area 2. These are defined in Figure 3.

In general, relatively undisturbed sections of the Maribyrnong River valley are considered to be of potential archaeological sensitivity for Aboriginal sites. Within the City of Maribyrnong, such areas only appear to be found within Survey Area 2, and might include the flood plain and alluvial terraces, valley slope and rim of the escarpment within the valley. In Survey Area 2, areas which have undergone major earth-moving activities such as storm water drain or building construction are unlikely to have any archaeological potential. Building construction is especially common on or near the escarpment, as the land is generally level and the location is preferred because of its proximity to the river. The escarpment of the Maribyrnong River valley therefore, has less potential to contain sites today.

Areas which have undergone minor disturbance should generally be regarded as having archaeological potential. Minor disturbances include:

- bitumen path construction
- pedestrian treadage
- minor excavation for drains and dirt tracks
- revegetation work
- small scale earth moving, particularly over small areas

Today, Aboriginal archaeological sites are most likely to be found within the following areas:

- i. The linear municipal park running from the north end of Burke Street to the eastern end of the Medway Golf Club. This large area has a number of places

which have been specifically identified in the ground survey as being of potential archaeological sensitivity (see Figure 3); which are:

- The hill slope above site AAV7822/1091 (MRSAS-1) from which artefacts are likely to have eroded down hill
 - The hill slope and alluvial terraces between Butler Street and Cranwell Park
 - Cranwell Park (including hill slope, alluvial terraces and rim of escarpment)
 - Hill slope and alluvial terraces between Lacy and Evans Streets
 - Promontory north of Medway Golf Club
- ii. The Medway Golf Club, particularly in areas closer to the Maribyrnong River where minor landscaping activities only have occurred (excluding excavation of bunkers and major earth deposition or removal)
- iii. The Commonwealth EFM Facility and former explosives factory north of Raleigh Road and Cordite Avenue. Subsequent survey of this area in November 1999 has located an isolated artefact (AAV 7822/1119) on a north facing hillslope, immediately north-east of the stables. Archaeologically sensitive areas within the EFM and former explosives factories are considered to be;
- Hillslope south of the ridgeline and south-east of the stables within the EFM factory.
 - North facing hillslope covering an area approximately 100 x 120 metres, immediately north-east of the stables and parallel with the former CSIRO factory.
 - Remnant alluvial terraces along the east bank of the Maribyrnong River and in the north-west quadrant of the EFM/former explosives factories.

6.6.3 Survey Area 3 – Pipemakers Park

Areas of potential archaeological sensitivity

No areas of potential archaeological sensitivity were identified in Survey Area 3.

It is unlikely that any areas within Pipemakers Park might still contain Aboriginal archaeological sites. Prior to its present use as Melbourne's Living

Museum of the West, the land was used by the Melbourne Meat Preserving Company and Humes Pipe Works.

Prior to industrial use of the land, it is possible that Aboriginal sites might have been present, given the close proximity of the Maribyrnong River and its associated resources. The site prediction model outlined in Section 4.4.1 identifies the Maribyrnong River valley as an area of potential sensitivity for such sites. However, subsequent use of the land is likely to have disturbed any sites which may have been present. Background research (see Section 4.5.3) indicates that the swampy flood plain below the area used by Humes and the Melbourne Meat Preserving Company might still contain sites, although some parts of it were used more recently by MMBW to dump river sludge.

The ground survey demonstrated that this area is quite disturbed. The flood plain has been extensively landscaped and an artificial wetland has been developed. The river bank has been bituminised, widened and lined with basalt blocks. Grassed areas have been landscaped, lined with pedestrian pathways, and possibly graded and levelled. Any sites which were present would have been highly disturbed as a result of such activities and are very unlikely to still exist.

6.6.4 Survey Area 4 – Footscray Park and Newell’s Paddock

Areas of potential archaeological sensitivity

Many of the areas inside Footscray Park appear disturbed. There are large sporting facilities in the northern corner and extensive tracts which have been landscaped along Ballarat Road. The flat below the park which was used as a garbage tip, and now comprises part of a bituminised road.

Newell’s Paddock has also suffered higher levels of disturbance on the flats, with the operation of a nightsoil depot there in the 1880s. Other areas of the park are

unlikely to contain stratified sites, as landscaping and revegetation have affected large areas.

6.6.5 Survey Area 5 –Red gums located between Londrew Court and Raleigh Road, Maribyrnong

Areas of potential archaeological sensitivity

No areas of potential archaeological sensitivity were identified in this Survey Area.

6.6.6 Survey Area 6 –Red gums located between Bunbury street and Youell Street, Footscray

Areas of potential archaeological sensitivity

No areas of potential archaeological sensitivity were identified in this Survey Area.

6.6.7 Survey Area 7 –Sandford Grove Park, Yarraville

Areas of potential archaeological sensitivity

No areas of potential archaeological sensitivity were identified in this Survey Area. This means that the potential for other sites to be located in the park is extremely low, given the high levels of disturbance.

6.7 Summary and Discussion

The archaeological sites and areas of potential archaeological sensitivity located during the survey are summarised in Tables 5 and 6 below. One of the most important results of the survey has been to identify that Survey Area 2 on the northern boundary of the City of Maribyrnong is the only remaining part of the City which contains pre-contact Aboriginal archaeological sites. Sites are present in a highly degraded landscape and all have been disturbed to some extent. However, this area of the City has potential to contain buried deposits of Aboriginal cultural materials.

The sites all comprise surface scatters of stone artefacts, which, with the exception of site 7822/1094, occur on the slopes of the river valley. At five of the sites (7822/1091-7822/1093 and 7822/1095-7822/1096) stone artefacts are likely to have been redeposited in earth fill from the edge of the escarpment, or redeposited during the grading of river terraces. One isolated stone

artefact (7822/1119) was located in a later survey of the former Maribyrnong explosives factory conducted in November 1999. This artefact was situated below the crest of an east-west oriented ridge and on a north facing slope, one of the least disturbed portions of the factory. It is possible that other stone artefacts will be found within this area, albeit in a disturbed context. The occurrence of sites between Braybrook and Maribyrnong indicate that this area contains the remains of a highly fragmented Aboriginal pre-contact cultural landscape; that is, the remains of archaeological sites, landforms and landform elements and some native vegetation which reflects what must have been an intensive Aboriginal use of the area prior to and at the time of contact with Europeans. The association of Aboriginal people with this area also continued into the post-contact period.

No other silcrete stone sources or quarried outcrops were documented within the study area, apart from the previously recorded quarry site AAV7822/1037, which has since been destroyed. It is possible that there may have been other silcrete sources exposed along the valley walls, which have since been buried under landfill.

The silcrete in the Maribyrnong River valley is metamorphosed Silurian sediments cemented by silica. It outcrops below the basalt of the newer volcanics and is exposed in the walls and terraces of the valley by stream incision through the Newer Volcanics. Site AAV7822/1037 was located on the eastern edge of a silcrete outcrop, which extends westward as a low ridge into the Commonwealth EFM site. Observations made during a brief site inspection of the EFM Site in 1997 indicate that the silcrete quarry may once have extended further west and that there are disturbed remnants of this quarry in the EFM site. The silcrete observed in this outcrop was a yellow-brown colour, similar to stone found at all of the archaeological sites further to the west. It is possible that some of the stone present at the six sites recorded was derived from this outcrop, although further geological sourcing of the material would be required to ascertain this.

7822/1094 is the only site assessed as likely to be partially intact or contain buried deposits of cultural materials. This site is on an alluvial terrace where there has been some surface disturbance. There does not appear, however, to be any introduced fill on the site, suggesting that some material may remain in situ below the ground surface. Whether this is an intact deposit of material could only be assessed by further evaluation; it could be suggested that if this type of study is ever undertaken, that it occur as a full archaeological excavation rather

than sub-surface testing, given that the site is possibly the only remaining stratified deposit of materials in the study area.

Survey Area	Aboriginal site number	Field Designation	Site still present
1	Nil	Nil	Nil
2	AAV7822/524	ADI 2 Maribyrnong isolated artefact	Probably not (not located during ground survey)
	AAV7822/525	ADI 3 Maribyrnong isolated artefact	Probably not (not located during ground survey)
	AAV7822/1036	CSIRO South I surface artefact scatter	No
	AAV7822/1037	CSIRO South II silcrete stone quarry	No
	AAV7822/1046	Chicago Street I isolated artefact	No
	AAV7822/1091	MRSAS-1	Yes
	AAV7822/1092	MRSAS-2	Yes
	AAV7822/1093	MRSAS-3	Yes
	AAV7822/1094	MSSAS-4	Yes
	AAV7822/1095	MRSAS-5	Yes
	AAV7822/1096	MRSAS-6	Yes
	AAV7822/1119	Explosives Factory 1 isolated artefact	Yes
3	AAV7822/523	ADI 1 Footscray isolated artefact	Probably not (not located during ground survey)
4	Nil	Nil	Nil
5	Nil	Nil	Nil
6	Nil	Nil	Nil
7	Nil	Nil	Nil

Table 5: Recorded Aboriginal archaeological sites within the City of Maribyrnong (noting which are still present)

The number of sites which have survived in Survey Area 2 strongly suggests that a far higher density of sites once existed along this section of the Maribyrnong River valley. Further analysis of the stone artefacts present at the site may provide some insight into the range of activities which took place at these sites, but because almost all of the material is in a highly disturbed context and lacks integrity, it is unlikely that it will be possible to reconstruct a detailed model of Aboriginal land use in the study area from the remnant Aboriginal sites alone.

Seen in a regional context, the general patterning of site locations is similar to that on other areas of the Maribyrnong River valley, with surface scatters of stone artefacts occurring both along the escarpment and on the lower valley slopes and terraces. Many of these sites are likely to have been associated with stone working or manufacture, but there would need to be further analysis of the materials to confirm this. There are unlikely to be ancient Aboriginal archaeological sites within the study area, such as the Keilor Archaeological Area or the Green Gully Burial. The latter are contained in ancient river

terraces, which have accumulated in wider sections of the river valley. As the valley form within the study area is narrower in cross-section than that further upstream, the formation of river terraces over a long period of time has been more restricted.

The entire belt of land comprising Survey Area 2, including the less disturbed sections of the Medway Golf Course and land within the Commonwealth EFM site and former explosives factory, is assessed as being potentially sensitive for pre-contact Aboriginal archaeological sites. Of particular concern are areas of remnant river terraces near 7822/1095 and the north facing slope and river terraces at the EFM site and former explosives factory. Areas of potential sensitivity for pre-contact Aboriginal archaeological sites are shown in Figure 3 and Table 6.

Survey Area	Area of potential archaeological sensitivity	Specific places within area
1	Nil	Nil
2	Linear municipal park running adjacent to Maribyrnong River from north end of Burke Street to eastern end of Medway Golf Club.	The hill slope above site AAV7822/1091 (MRSAS1) from which artefacts are likely to have eroded down hill The hill slope and alluvial terraces between Butler Street and Cranwell Park Cranwell Park (including hill slope, alluvial terraces and rim of escarpment) Hill slope and alluvial terraces between Lacy and Evans Streets
	Medway Golf Club	Promontory north of Medway Golf Club Especially areas closer to river where only minor landscaping activities have occurred Area approximately 100 x 120 metres on a north facing slope NE of the stables within the former explosives factory.
	The Maribyrnong Explosives Factory	Area of slope SE of the stables within the EFM factory. Remnant river terraces within the former explosives factory.
3	Nil	Nil
4	Footscray Park and Newell's Paddock	Nil
5	Nil	Nil
6	Nil	Nil
7	Nil	Nil

Table 6: Areas identified as being of potential Aboriginal archaeological sensitivity within the City of Maribyrnong

Together, the remains of the archaeological sites, areas of potential sensitivity and their landscape context form the remnants of a pre-contact cultural landscape within the Maribyrnong River valley. Although the archaeological sites are not the best examples of Aboriginal site types within the Maribyrnong River valley, they are nevertheless almost the only material evidence of pre-contact

Aboriginal land use and occupation within the City of Maribyrnong and are of particular local significance. They are also examples of a archaeological site type and cultural resource which is rapidly disappearing in other parts of the Western Suburbs of Melbourne and their long term conservation should be considered. This is discussed in more detail in Section 10.0 of the report.

7.0 AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE FOR PRE-CONTACT ABORIGINAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL VALUES

7.1 Criteria for Significance Assessment

Criteria for significance assessment of heritage sites are set out in the Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, which sets out guidelines for the significance assessment and management of places of cultural significance. Cultural significance is defined by Section 1.2 of the Burra Charter as “..scientific or social value for past, present or future generations.” In assessing the cultural values of a place, the Burra Charter requires assessment of social, scientific, educational and aesthetic values. These are discussed below in relation to the archaeological sites.

The Burra Charter encompasses a concept of ‘Place’ as embodied in the fabric and material remains at a place. While this is appropriate for assessing material objects, to Aboriginal people it is sometimes less important than their overall relationship with the land. Aboriginal Australians have held a different religious and spiritual association with their landscape. Thus the actual material remains of past activities by Aboriginal people, while considered important, only constitute one aspect of a broader religious and cultural significance which the Australian landscape holds for Aboriginal people. As Aboriginal people enhance and re-discover their culture, this relationship takes on a contemporary significance which may be greater to some people than the material values of a site or place. Consequently, the expression of religious or spiritual values through the natural features of the landscape is also an important factor in the significance of an Aboriginal place or landscape containing Aboriginal material remains.

7.2 City of Maribyrnong: Areas of High Significance for Pre-Contact Aboriginal archaeological values

7.2.1 Introduction

Four areas have been identified within the City of Maribyrnong which are considered to have high Aboriginal archaeological significance. Each area has sustained varying levels of disturbance, which makes those sites still present

within the City of Maribyrnong extremely significant, as they represent a valuable and severely depleted resource.

7.2.2 Archaeological values

The Aboriginal archaeological sites within the City of Maribyrnong are of archaeological and scientific significance because the sites occur within an area which is highly industrialised and are therefore relatively rare. They occur in very similar environmental landscapes and geomorphological conditions, and provide valuable information on how Aboriginal people were using the Maribyrnong River valley and surrounds.

The sites are valuable because:

- They are a surviving part of a severely depleted and valuable resource.
- Some of the sites may be part of large camp sites, and can provide valuable information on how and why certain parts of the Maribyrnong River were used.
- The Maribyrnong River was an ethnographically significant marker between two Aboriginal clan boundaries and some of the sites may therefore have had special ceremonial significance.
- The sites represent a significant remnant of past Aboriginal land use of the Maribyrnong River valley environment, which is virtually unique within the river's predominantly urban-industrial environment.
- There is some potential for stratified sites to occur within the alluvial terraces of the Maribyrnong River valley at any point where they have not been extensively disturbed.

7.2.3 Social Values

Today, descendants of the *Woi wurrung* still live in the Melbourne area, and are chiefly represented by several families who are members of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. The Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council is an Aboriginal community group that has recognition under Commonwealth legislation as a statutory heritage authority.

The Wurundjeri see themselves as the custodians of the lands and resources of their ancestors and feel they have a moral and religious obligation to look

after the country of their ancestors, a role which is recognised in the legislation. The Wurundjeri are likely to view all Aboriginal archaeological sites and their landscape context as being the cultural property of, and having religious and spiritual significance for, contemporary Aboriginal people, irrespective of scientific values.

The Wurundjeri Aboriginal community regards the Aboriginal archaeological sites within the Maribyrnong River valley as a significant part of their heritage and a direct and visible link with their past. They are also resources which can be used for interpretive purposes, and are particularly valuable since information about Aboriginal movements and traditions has largely been lost, because clashes between Aboriginal groups and European settlers were especially violent in the western region, resulting in the decimation of the local Aboriginal population. The river was a boundary between the *Marin balug* and the *Yallukit willam* clans and was probably an important gathering point for social, economic and ceremonial interaction. Therefore, the recorded Aboriginal sites reflect some aspects of Aboriginal land use before European arrival.

Aboriginal archaeological resources are an important part of the common heritage of all people. Making cultural heritage information accessible to the community in the form of interpretation boards or walks enhances the value of residents and visitors within the City of Maribyrnong. Cultural interpretation of the Maribyrnong River provides the interested visitor or community member with an insight into the prehistory and Aboriginal land use of the area.

7.2.4 Educational Value

Aboriginal archaeological sites within the Maribyrnong River valley are a diminishing resource, and the City of Maribyrnong has the opportunity to ensure that the sites which are still present are preserved in perpetuity.

Archaeological investigation in the Melbourne region has demonstrated that alluvial terraces of major rivers such as the Maribyrnong River can contain highly significant archaeological remains, such as the Keilor and Green Gully archaeological deposits. Fortunately such areas are usually incorporated within municipal parks and recreation reserves before post-contact land use causes extensive disturbance. This is the case in the City of Maribyrnong. Alluvial terraces are significant for the time range which they represent, and because of the quality and range of archaeological materials they contain, such as hearths, stone artefacts, faunal material, ochre, shellfish and burials (Brown and Long 1997: 55). Sites might date from the late Pleistocene, Holocene or the time of contact with Europeans. Within such terraces there is enormous potential to research archaeological deposits within a complex geomorphological context, which can provide information of how and when people were using the

river environment, seasonal patterns of movement, site distribution, trading relations and stone tool manufacture and use. It is crucial that the archaeological values of the Maribyrnong River therefore be retained for future generations so that fundamental research can be ongoing and this resource does not deteriorate further.

8.0 ABORIGINAL POST-CONTACT HISTORY

8.1 Contact history from 1803

When the first ethnographic reports were written of early relationships between colonialists and Aboriginal people, they indicate a degree of harmoniousness (Wiencke 1984: 19). Joseph Solomon, for example, had a good relationship with the Aboriginal people he met in the vicinity of his property on the Maribyrnong River at Braybrook. Alfred Solomon, son of Joseph, notes that:

During the early years of (Joseph Solomon's) settlement, he had many dealings with the blacks, but they did not cause him much trouble...It was [Joseph Solomon's] rule to allow them to bring their weapons when visiting the homestead to receive food and presents, but they rarely showed any signs of hostility (Flynn 1906: 6).

Interestingly, Joseph Solomon was among the first white people in the region to have a written work agreement with an Aboriginal person. In 1839 Chief Protector Robinson formalised the verbal agreement which had existed between Solomon and his employee and drafted an official agreement. This detailed a contract between E.T. Newton, Solomon's overseer, and Robert Bullett, an Aboriginal person who had originally worked for John Batman. The contract stated that Robert Bullett agreed to the terms of the contract for a period of twelve months for the sum of 26 pounds sterling per annum with board and lodging, payment of which was to be lodged with the Melbourne Savings Bank in the name and for the use of Robert Bullett (Cannon 1983: 743).

8.2 Settlement conflict after the 1830s-

Despite this positive start, relationships soon soured as Melbourne's west was among the first tracts of land to be taken up for grazing, when traditional estates became increasingly occupied by non-Aboriginal settlers. The Port Phillip Association, a group of pastoralists headed by John Batman, had 'purchased' two large tracts of land in the Melbourne-Geelong region in 1835 by virtue of Batman's 'Treaty'. This treaty was considered a proper and legal document which was signed by three Aboriginal people, one of which was Bungaree, the clan head of the *Marin balug* clan between 1800-1848 (Wiencke 1984: 8, Clark 1990:384). The purpose of the treaty was to open up the Port Phillip district for grazing land and to bypass Governor Richard Bourke's decision not to extend settlement into areas so remote from the Sydney government (Wiencke 1984:

11). The Port Phillip Association used the treaty as a means of putting their settlement into effect by appealing to the English government.

Although the treaty was not accepted by the government in Sydney or London, Governor Bourke then decided to establish the formal occupation of Port Phillip under his own government. Bourke sent William Lonsdale to act as Police Magistrate in the Port Phillip district to ensure that Aboriginal people were being cared for and protected. This reflects the Christian and Eurocentric attitudes in London at that time, when it was commonly thought that Aboriginal people needed to be ‘civilised’ (Presland 1985: 92-94). Hence, conciliation and protection were regarded in terms of distributing presents (blankets, suits, night caps) and getting Aboriginal people to work in return for food and clothing (Wiencke 1984: 12).

Although the administrators had peaceful intentions, relations between Aboriginal people and pastoralists and settlers broke down as traditional clan estate lands were rapidly taken up for grazing during the 1830s and 1840s. Pastoralism resulted in a drastic reduction of food and water resources for Aboriginal people, introduced diseases and direct assaults on clans, all of which decimated their populations. Such serious conflict caused Governor Bourke to issue a proclamation in 1836 threatening prosecution “of all persons who may be guilty of any outrage against Aborigines in Port Phillip” (Wiencke 1984: 19). Governor Bourke also organised the establishment of an Anglican mission for displaced Aboriginal people in the hope that it would be a ‘civilising’ experience. This mission was run by Reverend Langhorne and was set up in South Yarra in a corroboree area.

Regardless of Bourke’s attempts to protect Aboriginal people from European settlers, the situation worsened. *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* clans in the vicinity of Melbourne rapidly became dispossessed by the increasing numbers of European immigrants and restrictive legislation. To provide some idea of how rapid the clan depopulation was, Assistant Protector William Thomas estimated that the clans in the vicinity of Melbourne had numbered 350 persons in 1836. However, in 1838 he counted only 292, and only 207 were listed in Thomas’ census of November 1839 (Barwick 1998: 30). Although Thomas reported that

no *Woi wurrung* died at the hands of Europeans after 1839, only 59 survived by 1852 (Barwick 1998: 30).

The dispossession of clan estate lands steadily increased with the introduction of the ‘Squatters Act’, which meant that settlers could establish themselves on any part of the land. It was a commonly regarded result that:

...the natives who remain in the neighbourhood of the settled districts became pilfering, starving and obtrusive mendicants...for no adequate provision is made for them (Orton in Wiencke 1984: 33).

8.3 Government sponsored ‘protection’ 1837-1860

In response to such reports, the British government established a scheme whereby Protectors of Aborigines were appointed from 1837 (Cannon 1983: 365). The role of the protectors was to provide food and shelter, record information and to Europeanise Aboriginal people. William Thomas, the Assistant Protector for the Melbourne region, attempted to draw *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* people away from the new Melbourne township, where they were camped about three kilometres above Melbourne, under clan head Billibillery (Barwick 1998: 31). He entreated them to join him at Narre Narre Warren, where Thomas planned to set up a station (Presland 1994: 103).

Thomas had established this station, on the Dandenong Creek, by October 1840. It was established inside the territory of an eastern *Woi wurrung* clan, but had virtually failed by the end of 1841 due to a lack of attendance. Barwick (1998: 31) attributes this inattendance to a lack of rations. Those present at the station were only provided with rations if they cooperated in the planting of wheat and vegetables, and were then only given scanty amounts, mostly of vegetables. Many *Bun wurrung* were also reluctant to settle there, possibly because they were of the same moiety as the owning clan and had no rights relating to intermarriage (Barwick 1998: 31). As a result, many *Woi wurrung* drifted back to camps in Melbourne, though by June 1846, by government orders, they were forced to leave. Thomas is reported as saying “Poor fellows, they are now compelled to shift almost at the will and caprice of the whites” (Barwick 1998:33). The clans’ grief was exacerbated by the death of their clan head, Billibellary, who died on 9 August 1846 (Wiencke 1984: 37).

A separate reserve was finally set up for the *Bun wurrung* in 1852, after pressure was exerted by Thomas on Superintendent La Trobe, who wanted the Kulin kept out of Melbourne. The *Bun wurrung* had requested land for cultivation in their own territory from Thomas in 1849, and three years later that they were finally granted 367 hectares at Mordialloc, one of their favourite hunting places

(Barwick 1998: 35). The Mordialloc camp became the *Bun wurrung*'s main camp for 25 years, though by 1860s there were only a few survivors left. The rest were buried at the reserve cemetery (Barwick 1998: 52). The 1858 Select Committee was told of Derrimut's complaints that Europeans were coming onto the reserve and building homes. Derrimut, the *Yallukit willam* clan head of the *Bun wurrung*, had complained to William Thomas that 'white man take away Mordialloc where black fellows sit down' (Barwick 1998: 64). However, the Lands Board approved its sale and the surveyors then divided it up into allotments. Derrimut pleaded desperately that the graves of his ancestors had been buried there since 1839, but the Lands Board were not swayed in their decision to sell the land, stating that it had never been gazetted as an Aboriginal reserve (Barwick 1998: 64).

Between the 1840s and early 1860s, the *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* suffered increasingly. Subsistence hunting was no longer feasible as European settlers were using increasingly aggressive measures to keep Aboriginal people off their land. William Thomas continually appealed to the government to set aside reserves within the clans' traditional territories, though greedy colonists constantly opposed land reservation. Clan heads of the *Bun wurrung* and *Woi wurrung* also appealed constantly to William Thomas and Superintendent La Trobe, without success. Meanwhile, clanspeople were forced to seek work to obtain food.

8.4 Establishment of Coranderrk Mission Station 1860s-1920s

After Billibellary's death, the remaining *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* had left Melbourne for a site at which they had camped for generations. In 1860, Billibellary's son, Wonga, who had become a clan head, and William Barak, Wonga's cousin, who 'stood beside' Wonga (Wiencke 1984: 66), approached Thomas about setting up a refuge and school there. Finally, after 1860, the Coranderrk Mission Station was established near Healesville (PROV&AA 1993:70). The many Aboriginal people who lived and died at the station belonged to many Aboriginal clans from throughout Victoria, although a large number of people were *Woi wurrung* (Barwick 1998: 71; Wiencke 1984: 55).

The Coranderrk community is perceived as being quite a happy one initially (Barwick 1998: 67; Wiencke 1984: 55). The men were employed felling trees and clearing land, and there were over 9 acres of wheat, 98 acres of various vegetables, 70 head of cattle and 20 calves. By 1865 fifteen huts had been erected to house the community (Wiencke 1984: 60). However, a sense of insecurity and alarm developed with the drawing up of a piece of restrictive legislation called the Aborigines Act in 1886. This was implemented by the Victoria's Board for the Protection of Aboriginal People and forced all 'half-

castes' under 34 years of age to be turned off the mission stations to be absorbed in the white community (Critchett 1998: 133; PROV&AA: 54). This, and the government threat that the reserve would be taken away if Coranderrk did not become self-supporting, encouraged most Coranderrk people to leave the station.

Between 1879 and 1886 fifteen 'fullblood' and twenty nine 'half caste' adults and children who came to live at Coranderrk migrated to the Maloga Mission on the New South Wales' side of the Murray River (Barwick 1998: 302). After Maloga was closed, residents were relocated to the new government station established at Cummeragunga, near Echuca, between 1888-1889 (Atkinson n.d.: 2). The majority of the 50 'half castes' who were exiled from Coranderrk after the introduction of the 1886 rule also eventually made their way to Maloga and eventually to Cummeragunga. The names of many families (Barber, Briggs, Campbell, Charles, Davis, Dunnolly, Hamilton, Jackson, Kerr, Morgan, Nelson, Simpson and Wandin) from Coranderrk therefore became known across the Murray as they helped establish new homes for themselves there (Barwick 1998: 302). However, copying the Victorian Aborigines Act of 1886, the New South Wales government imitated the Victorian Aborigines Act in 1909, requiring all 'half castes' to leave. This caused the Cummeragunga population to decrease dramatically. Some of the dispossessed Coranderrk families chose to camp across the Murray from the reserve. Others had headed south to the Kulin territories but were forced to camp on riverbanks and rubbish tips in Victorian Towns (Barwick 1998: 311).

The displacement of the original Coranderrk residents was apparent in the station records following the implementation of the 1886 Aborigines Act; 10 of the 41 residents there in 1894, and 22 of the 38 adults present in 1909 had been transferred from other stations. In 1916 the Board for the Protection of Aborigines established a policy whereby all Aboriginal people who were eligible for assistance under the Act should be transferred to one station. Lake Tyers was chosen as the site. In 1918, when those residents willing to move to Lake Tyers were recorded, none of those who agreed to go were members of the original Coranderrk community; all were recent arrivals (Barwick 1998: 303). In 1921 the Board announced that only 42 residents remained at Coranderrk, but that another 47 people were camping in the vicinity. These people were the descendants of the pioneer members of the Coranderrk community. The Davis, Franklin, Harris, Hunter, Manton, Patterson, Rowan, Russell, Terrick and Wandin families were camped in huts and tents to be near their "old people" (Barwick 1998: 304). Barak and his family remained at Coranderrk, where his children were sent into service. He later died in 1908. In the early 1920s, Coranderrk Station was essentially closed, though the Board allowed elderly

people to remain there. These remaining Aboriginal people were transferred to Lake Tyers (PROV&AA 1993: 67).

8.5 Traditional practices after the 1860s

It is difficult to tell from accounts of life at Coranderrk whether traditional practices and beliefs were upheld by the various clans. Generally, the process of assimilation at Coranderrk would have prevented information about clan traditions and territorial boundaries from being passed on to younger generations. Records certainly suggest this. For example, once at Coranderrk, Aboriginal ceremonies such as corroborees were frowned upon and discouraged (Critchett 1998: 132). Revered Hagenauer, who was a manager at Coranderrk between the 1880s and 1906, “forbade corroborees, and having assembled his charges, he made them put their spears, boomerangs and other native implements in a heap, and then set fire to them” (PROV & AA 1993: 113).

Traditional practices such as hunting may have been forgotten, as game became increasingly scarce by 1866 (Barwick 1998: 82). Farming became a necessary substitute, and families on the reserve quickly became industrious farmers who grew and sold their own produce. Other indications that Coranderrk people were adopting European ways are suggested in surviving photographs and reports by the Royal Commission (Barwick 1998: 83), which indicate that they dressed with extreme elegance and:

...eagerly saved to buy sofas, chiffoniers and rocking chairs, curtains and wallpaper, clocks for the mantelpiece, pretty ornaments.... In addition to spending large sums in the Healesville shops they ordered furniture and other goods from Melbourne, and the manager in 1877 complained that ‘there is no end to their propensity for good dress when they have the money’ (in Barwick 1998: 83).

Christianity appeared to have been readily accepted, and Christian marriages took place from the first year at Coranderrk. William Barak became a devout Christian, as did others, which is indicated by Green, the first administrator and preacher at the reserve. Green stated that at Coranderrk “all attend prayers twice every day, and keep the Sabbath better than many of the Europeans” (Wiencke 1984: 56). Christian burial was universally accepted from 1861 (Wiencke 1984: 56).

Barwick found no evidence to suggest that the old religion continued on at Coranderrk. Wonga and Barak had gone through basic initiation ritual at puberty, but by the end of the 1840s these *Woi wurrung* practices had been interrupted (Barwick 1998: 74). Perhaps because of this, and also because younger people at Coranderrk had not had a chance to become traditionally

initiated, many sacred traditional beliefs were not passed down. It is significant that although Howitt was keen to trace family heredity lines of the people at Coranderrk, this proved unsuccessful. Barak and the few other men interviewed by Howitt were reluctant to speak about their dead ancestors. Shaw, a manager at Coranderrk, wrote to Howitt about Barak:

This is all I can get for you from my people. I have tried Dick Richards but cannot get anything from him. He has either forgotten or does not like to mention the names of his antecedents – I have had some difficulty with old Barak also in this respect (in Wiencke 1984:78).

Despite the adoption of non-Aboriginal ways, it appears that some traditional beliefs stayed with the people at Coranderrk. Wonga and William Barak are said to have retained many traditional ways, and have been practised in the arts of the sorcerer, or *Wirrarup* (Barwick 1998: 56, Wiencke 1984: 56-57). Barak later told Howitt that “some *ngurungaeta* (clan heads) are doctors, not all – I am not” (in Barwick 1998: 56). The skills of the medicine men were used to cure illnesses at Coranderrk. Patients who had high fevers were massaged with peppermint leaves, or buried in a hole which was stoked with hot stones and eucalyptus branches, like a steam bath (Wiencke 1984: 57).

8.6 Tracing the original occupants of Maribyrnong

No records indicate whether people from the *Marin balug* or *Yallukit willam* clans were included amongst those who went to Coranderrk. The Register of Burials at the Coranderrk Cemetery shows that 247 people were recorded as dying there. The name, date of death and general clan area were recorded on the register. This information provides some indication of which clans were present at Coranderrk, although most of the latter records only show ‘Coranderrk’ as the clan location. The records show that thirteen people came from the ‘Yarra’ or ‘Yarra Yarra’ clan area, however none are recorded from the *Bun wurrung* territories (PROV&AA 1993: 95). It is possible, despite these records, that at least a few *Bun wurrung* people moved to Coranderrk. Just prior to the reservation of land at Coranderrk, a delegation of Aboriginal people who had been camped around the Coranderrk area gave a speech to Sir Henry Barkly, Governor of Victoria, in 1863 (Barwick 1998: 66). The speech, which was a plea for land, included two *Bun wurrung* men. These men could have become part of the Coranderrk community when it was established only a few years later.

It is difficult to discern whether, as new generations were born into the Coranderrk community, people were able to identify with their families’ original clan locations and identities. Perhaps the best indication is the Register of Burials at the Coranderrk Cemetery. Within the column reserved for ‘Tribe’ in the register, most people who died in the 1890s and early 1900s are typically

recorded as being of 'Coranderrk', whereas those dying prior to that date were recorded as coming from a clan locale. This suggests that during the late 1800s, traditional associations of identity which linked a person with a clan, moiety and specific clan localities were replaced with the notion of Coranderrk as home.

Difficulties in forging marriage alliances in the traditional way were another possible reason why new generations being born at Coranderrk did not identify themselves with the old clan territories. During the 1850s, mortality of the Kulin had soared, and on arriving at Coranderrk, marriages were common (Barwick 1998:75). However, it seems that although the surviving Kulin found it difficult to find suitable marriage partners according to traditional moiety associations, they reconciled with their non-Kulin neighbours to the north-west, as they too had patrilineal moieties. In 1865, the first marriage between a Kulin man, William Barak, and a woman (Annie Ra-gun) of a non-Kulin matrilineal tribe to the west took place (Barwick 1998: 76), although this innovation was rare. Most people who married seem to have maintained kin ties which permitted both partners to live at Coranderrk (Barwick 1998: 76).

William Barak provided the valuable information we do have today about the traditional *Woi wurrung*. Barak was born a member of the *Woi wurrung* at Brushy Creek. In 1863 Barak was among one of the first small groups of Aboriginal people who moved to Coranderrk to the newly established mission station there. Barak 'stood beside' Billibellary's son Wonga, who was the recognised clan head after his father died. When Wonga also died, Barak became known as the clan head.

In the 1880s it was realised that little information had been recorded about the lives, tradition and culture of the *Woi wurrung*. A.W. Howitt, an early ethnographer, contacted William Barak at Coranderrk and transcribed much of the information which is compiled in his book 'The Native Tribes of South-East Australia' (1904, 1996 publication). However, as stated above, information about private ceremonies, sacred traditions and the ancestors of the Coranderrk residents has not been recorded, as those interviewed by Barak refused to speak of deceased family members.

Much less is known about the *Bun wurrung*, as this clan was among the first to be decimated by European settlement in the Port Phillip region. The *Bun wurrung* mainly occupied the area around the Westernport and Port Phillip Bays, and had contact with Europeans since 1798 (Barwick 1998: 17). Whale boats and military vessels from New South Wales were known to fire on *Bun wurrung* and take large quantities of wood, shellfish and swans (Barwick 1998: 18). In 1803, 300 convicts arrived on Point Nepean to establish a convict settlement site, during which time to *Bun wurrung* were again threatened, shot and forced to endure deprivation of large amounts of game and waterfowl from their hunting grounds (Barwick 1998: 18). Some twenty years later sealers established

permanent camps on islands off Westernport Bay, during which similar activities occurred. *Bun wurrung* women were also abducted by sealers (Barwick 1998: 19). Rapid decimation of the *Bun wurrung* accelerated in the 1830s and 1840s, with William Thomas' burning of their mias and government reclamation of their Mordialloc camp.

Throughout these adversities, the clan head of the *Yallukit willam*, *Bun wurrung* clan during this time was Derrimut. Derrimut played a significant role in the history of Aboriginal and historical Melbourne. He was a well known figure in the community and was highly respected by early settlers. John Pascoe Fawcner arrived in present day Melbourne to commence settlement of the Port Phillip district, to discover that Aboriginal inland groups were intending to massacre Fawcner and Batman. Derrimut, who was very friendly with Fawcner's son, informed the settlers of the intended plot, thereby preventing any attempts from being made on the lives of the new settlers.

Much later a reference to Derrimut is made which was used by the Select Committee of the Guardianship in 1858 to illustrate the plight of Aboriginal people in the Port Phillip district. The Guardianship was a scheme designed to replace the Protectorate system. The Select Committee's role was to report to the new system about the worsening situation for Aboriginal people, and Derrimut was referred to in light of this by a member of the Committee, Mr Hull. Mr Hull reported that by 1858 Derrimut had become sad and disillusioned, saying:

The last time I saw him (Derrimut) was nearly opposite the Bank of Victoria. He stopped me and said "You give me shilling Mr Hull". "No", I said, "I will not give you a shilling-I will go and give you some bread". He held out his hand to me and said "Me plenty sulky you long time ago, you plenty sulky me; no sulky now, Derrimut soon die". And then he pointed with a plaintive manner which they can affect, to the Bank of Victoria, and said "You see, Mr. Hull, Bank of Victoria, all this mine, all along here Derrimut's once; no matter now, me soon tumble down". I said "Have you no children" and he flew into a passion immediately. "Why me have lubra? Why me have picaninny? You have all this place, no good have children, no good have lubra, me tumble down and die very soon now" (in Wiencke 1984: 44).

Derrimut was buried in the Old Melbourne Cemetery (presently the Victorian Market). His headstone is inscribed:

This Gravestone was erected by a few colonists to commemorate the noble act of the Chief Derrimut who by timely information given in October 1835 to the first colonists-John P. Fawcner, Lance Evans Henry Batman-saved

them from a massacre planned by some of the up-country Aborigines (in Wiencke 1984: 18).

Today, descendants of the *Woi wurrung* still live in the Melbourne area, and are chiefly represented by the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc.

8.7 Moving back to Maribyrnong (1920s to present)

8.7.1 Aboriginal community interviews

When the Aboriginal historical aspect of the project commenced, Mark Grist commenced consultation with the interested members of the Aboriginal community. Mark's main research question was to find out which places and people were important within the City of Maribyrnong within the local Aboriginal community and other interested researchers.

The people Mark contacted are listed in the Acknowledgments. After preliminary discussions, Mark requested and conducted two oral history recordings and two interviews. The results of the research by Mark are presented below.

8.7.2 Introduction

There was never (and in some places still never has been) an acceptance of the diversity and richness of the Aboriginal lifestyle and culture. There has also never been (up until recently) an acceptance of the extended family and the support and care it provided and still provides within Aboriginal communities. (Larry Walsh, Melbourne's Living Museum of the West 1996:35).

One commonly held misconception in the wider Australian community is that Aboriginal history effectively ceased after contact (Ford, Melbourne's Living Museum of the West 1996: vii). During the early years following contact, Europeans considered that Victorian Aboriginal people were a 'dying race' (Clark 1972: 89, Orton in Wiencke 1984: 33, Thomas in Wiencke 1984: 34). Ignorance about Aboriginal people is still evident today, as Larry Walsh (Koori educator in Melbourne's west) states "One question that I nearly always get asked when giving talks at schools is; where do Aboriginal people come from?" (Walsh in Melbourne's Living Museum of the West 1996: 42). Another idea evident in the community is that the Aboriginal community in Victoria, and other parts of Australia, is not truly an Aboriginal community unless its people are wearing traditional clothing or hunting and gathering with traditional tools (Jones

1992: 60). However the Aboriginal community has never been static, either prior to or after European contact. It has continued to adjust and adapt to a changing environment, like the rest of the world's people. Despite the fact that during the early post-contact period the Victorian Aboriginal community was subjected to introduced diseases, massacres and discriminatory government policies, today it comprises a valuable and thriving part of Melbourne's western region, and more specifically, within the City of Maribyrnong municipality.

Within Melbourne's western region, 1300 Aboriginal people were listed on the 1991 census (Ford, Melbourne's Living Museum of the West 1996: vii). Part of this broader Aboriginal community lives in or has ties to the City of Maribyrnong. The municipality is gradually finding information on its links with Aboriginal people, however this is difficult, as many people in the early days did not identify themselves as being Aboriginal. For example, Molly Dyer, the grand daughter of Margaret (Marge) Tucker, who was a prominent Aboriginal community member in Seddon after the First World War, says of her mother "It was drummed into Nan that you marry into white and the whiter your children become and the better educated, the better they will be" (Molly Dyer: Oral history taping 1999). Government policy which introduced the removal of Aboriginal children into white homes from the early 1900s onwards had, and still has, a similarly strong effect on Aboriginal communities and has prevented a great deal of information about families and ancestors from being passed down. It is estimated that in Australia today "there may be 100,000 people of Aboriginal descent who do not know their families or the communities from whence they came" (Reed in Bourke and Edwards 1994: 88).

The purpose of this research is to add a small piece to the puzzle which is the Aboriginal history of the City of Maribyrnong. Previous research such as the 'Still Here' Exhibition organised and held by Melbourne's Living Museum of the West has been ground-breaking in asking questions and seeking answers in a whole range of areas, such as defining who local Aboriginal community members were and what role they played in early Aboriginal activism in Melbourne's west in the 1900s. Through this valuable research, organised by the Museum's Aboriginal Cultural Officer, Larry Walsh, we now know a great deal more information about the Aboriginal community in the City of Maribyrnong. We know about the people who belonged to the community, that they were at the forefront of the Aboriginal rights movement during the 1930s and 1940s, and that they played a significant part in the resurgence of Aboriginal cultural activity (Ford, Melbourne's Living Museum of the West 1996: vii). Larry Walsh's contributions to this research are extensive and detailed, and will not be repeated

here (see Living Museum of the West 1996; Walsh and Blow 1998). Instead, additional contributions will be outlined as they relate to three broad themes:

- Moving back to Maribyrnong
- Aboriginal activism in the City of Maribyrnong in the early-mid 1900s
- Resurgence of Aboriginal cultural activities in the City of Maribyrnong

8.7.3 Moving back to Maribyrnong

With the introduction of the Aborigines Act in 1909 in New South Wales, which required all ‘half castes’ to leave the mission stations, the stations’ populations rapidly diminished (Barwick 1998: 302). A number of people who had lived at Cummeragunga, some of whom may have been families originally from Coranderrk, moved back to Kulin territories (Barwick 1998: 311). However, most people who moved into the City of Maribyrnong did so in the 1920s and 1930s.

Many Aboriginal men and women from various parts of Victoria found greater opportunities to get work in Melbourne, particularly in the western suburbs. Conditions on stations became increasingly worse as the Depression took hold. Marg Tucker, a local resident from around the 1920s, wrote “The depression overtook us” (Tucker 1983: 153). William Cooper, resident from the 1930s, was said to have “loved ‘Cummera’. It was his country. But conditions on the station had so deteriorated that he was driven to make the break” (Clark 1972: 86). A local resident, R. Morgan, described the declining situation:

It was not long before the first sings of decadence began to show in every quarter. After about three years or so cam drought. Next came war. Cummeragunga and its people, like others, suffered. Fewer people received rations, causing more to strive for a living. The younger people were being looked upon more as aliens and a nuisance to the place, rather than as asset, and as time went on there was more and more friction between the manager and the residents.

There was unrest on Cummeragunga for many years...They (Aboriginal residents) knew that not too far away was something called democracy. Were they enjoying this on the station, with all its rules and regulations, perhaps under a manager who could not control his temper or one who would become vindictive at the least provocation to some or perhaps to all the people they were there to take care of? The climax came in the year

1939. The people rose in a body and shifted to Victoria (R. Morgan in Hibbins 1991: 96).

People moved to Melbourne as they heard that large meatworks, munitions factories, textiles and the railways were operating in Maribyrnong (Walsh 1999: pers. comm., Melbourne's Living Museum of the West 1996: 36). When asked why Aboriginal people had moved to Maribyrnong, Larry Walsh said "Because that's where the work was" (Walsh 1999: pers. comm.). Marge Tucker, a local resident from around the 1920s, wrote "Young Aboriginal girls who couldn't easily find work in the country often drifted to Melbourne" (1983: 151). William Cooper "With his wife...rented a cottage in the Melbourne suburb of Footscray and gathered around him a few other Aborigines who had left Cummeragunga to try to earn a living in the city" (Clark 1972: 87).

8.7.4 Working in Maribyrnong

From the 1930s, Aboriginal people worked at the munitions factories at Maribyrnong and Footscray, at Kinnears Ropes, Angliss and Pridhams Meatworks, the railways, and taught at local schools (Living Museum of the West 1996: 36).

After her husband left to fight in World War I, Marge Tucker got work at Kinnears in Footscray (Tucker 1977: 159). When the boss interviewed her he asked if she was Italian, and she responded "My goodness, Italians would not be faltered to hear you ask me that question! For one thing, they have straight noses, while mine is a flat Aboriginal nose" (Tucker 1977: 159). When the boss took her around the factory and asked her which machine she would like to use, she chose a huge ninety-six bobbin machine, with ninety-six strings running through it. Margaret said "I loved ...working at Kinnears rope factory. From the

bosses - the Kinnear brothers-down the workers were all my friends” (1977: 159).

Margaret’s cousin Sally Russell and her son Kevin also worked at the factory, as did Connie Roberts, Eileen Watson and Mary King (Living Museum of the West 1996: 36).

Margaret eventually left the factory due to the damp conditions. The strings on her machine had to pass through water containers, which made the cement floor slippery and damp.

Margaret then got work at the munitions factory where she manufactured bullets (either the Maribyrnong or Footscray factories).

Many of the men worked in the local meat industry, including Jim Berg, Larry Walsh and Terry Garwood (Melbourne’s Living Museum of the West 1996: 37).

8.7.5 Aboriginal activism in the City of Maribyrnong in the early-mid 1900s

Whilst at Cummeragunga Mission, people of the Yorta Yorta population had a chance to regroup (Atkinson n.d.: 2). Many other tribes also gathered there from neighbouring areas, including many families who had originally lived at Coranderrk, and Cummeragunga became known as:

...more or less the heartland of Yorta Yorta land, but we share Cummeragunga as we do most other areas in Australia. What happens is people come from different lands. They are taken from different areas of land, and ...are brought to our land...For that reason Cummeragunga has been talked about as a focus point...Cummeragunga has been recognised as an areas of all descendants of people who have come to live there, were born there and died there (Morgan 1994: 141).

The mission also became a “base for the development of what became the Aboriginal political movement of the 1930s” (Atkinson n.d.: 2). A small number of Yorta Yorta people were active in establishing the first Aboriginal political movements, firstly at a local level (Aborigines Progressive Association in Sydney in 1937 [Atkinson n.d.: 2]) and, when increasing number of people moved to Melbourne during the Depression in the 1930s and after the Cummeragunga ‘Walk Off’, at a broader level.

During the 1930s, “there was some general stirrings of interest in the Aborigines” (Clark 1972: 89). Prior to this time, many people had not realised that Aboriginal people were even living in Victoria, but increasingly stories of suffering and hardship of Aboriginal people were printed in newspapers and the general community became aware of their unequal treatment. In 1932, shortly

after his arrival in Melbourne, William Cooper and the small band of people who had moved down from Cummeragunga with him set up the Australian Aborigines' League (Clark 1972: 91). This organisation demanded that Aboriginal people be given full citizenship rights, including the right to land, self determination and retention of their own cultural identity (Atkinson n.d.: 2).

The Australian Aborigines' League was successful in raising funds and goods for Aboriginal people, organised a 2000-signature petition to King George V urging the king's intervention to prevent the extinction of Aboriginal people and promoted National Aborigines Day in 1937 to improve awareness of the plight of Aboriginal people (Clark 1972: 91-92).

8.7.6 Resurgence of Aboriginal cultural activities in the City of Maribyrnong

Within the City of Maribyrnong the Aboriginal community opened their houses to each other, offering an environment "where people could be encouraged and nurtured" (Larry Walsh 1999: pers. comm.). Especially during the 1930s, people travelled down to Melbourne's west from Cummeragunga, Shepparton and the Western District, to try and get work and join in the burgeoning political movement. People travelling from the Western District did not have to get off in the city and then make their way to Footscray, as the Footscray train station was situated on the Warrnambool side of Melbourne. This meant that an Aboriginal person could get off in Footscray and always find a place to stay, either with relatives or friends, which encouraged confidence and a feeling of community.

In the 1930s there were many cheap boarding houses which Aboriginal people moved into (Larry Walsh 1999: pers. comm.). One such house was Aunt Sally's, a boarding house in Footscray which provided an important social function (Walsh and Blow 1998: 5). Her house was open to provide a refuge from loneliness and homelessness for 40 years. Sally had lots of parties, which were very important to the local Aboriginal community, as "There were not many places that Aboriginal people could go in those days to socialise" (Walsh and Blow 1998: 7).

Marge Tucker's beautiful singing voice was another means by which local Aboriginal people got together and received help. Margaret began her work helping other Aboriginal people when she was asked to sing at a concert in Fitzroy, where a benefit had been organised to help Aboriginal people living in that part of town. She said "That was the beginning of understanding and working for my people and others" (Tucker 1977: 164). She worked with families such as Clark's, Lovett's, Taylor's and families from Purnim and

Condah. Margaret also trained under Harold Blair, the famous Aboriginal opera singer originally from Queensland.

Two of Marge's helpers were Mr Claude Smith and his wife Nora. Margaret often worked in their home where she would cut out dresses for concerts to aid Red Cross or kindergartens. Concert practice often took place in the Smith's home, where they would "have twenty Aborigines to a Sunday roast dinner" and "sing and mixture of grand old hymns, songs and Aboriginal songs, which were often learned from each other and sang in different dialects" (1977: 164). The Smiths were regarded by Margaret as "pioneers of Footscray" (Tucker 1977: 164-165). Marge was also a member of an Aboriginal choir which was established by Harold Blair.

8.8 Quotes from oral histories

8.8.1 Maxine Barr (taped)

"Nan lived in Seddon. Mum (Molly Dyer) lived with Nan (Margaret Tucker) until she was nine or twelve. Nan gave Mum to her White in-laws. Nan was one of the stolen generation. It was drummed into Nan that you marry into White and the whiter your children become and the better educated, the better they will be.

When Mum was born her father came back from the Second World War and her parents split up unfortunately. When men came back from the war they were not the same and it was hard for the women to cope with what the men were going through. This broke up their marriage and Nan gave mum to her husband's family.

Maribyrnong means to me where Nan done a lot of her work in the early days, the setting up of the Aboriginal Advancement League, singing in the choir, any monies she got from her and other's efforts, they would buy blankets and send them back to Cummeragunga and that makes me feel very proud of what my Grandmother done.

I remember Nan's Soup Kitchen in Gertrude St. More money for setting up Aboriginal organisations. All the people like Nan, Uncle Doug Nicholls, Alec Jackomos also worked hard; all the money went to the organisations we have got today.

I have heard from the Maribyrnong Council as far as the ammunitions factory is concerned, that it is being pulled down and they're going to make a housing estate. They (the Council) asked permission if they could name a street after Nan and Mum, which I was very proud of. But I asked them if

they were going to name a street after Nan could they not use the name Margaret because it is very common. I would rather they use her Aboriginal name which is Lilardia; hopefully that would happen. Other suggestions are William Cooper, Sally Russell and all the others associated.

The Awards for reconciliation week 1998, the Maribyrnong got in touch with us and presented Allan and I with a plaque for the work and recognition Nan and Mum did in the Western suburbs.

I see a lot of difference between the Aboriginal people of yesterday and today and its very sad. People back then where very close knit. Now its so split its not funny. I look at the work the old people did, they worked together and the ones coming through today I am afraid and I will be the first to say its the money that counts now and it is splitting communities apart”.

8.8.2 Allen Burns (taped)

“To get an overview of my Nan’s life (Margaret Tucker) view the film ‘Lousy Little Sixpence’.

As a result of being stolen my Grandmother found her calling in life to fight for Aboriginal rights. And in doing that I must say that the assimilation policy worked then. Even though she fought all her life for her people, she fought with a white Christian attitude, because she believed God made us all equal, and she felt God was there to reunite black and white.

I will quote her, my Grandmother “You can’t play a tune on the piano with just the white keys and you can’t play a tune on a piano with just the black keys. To get a tune in harmony you must use both the black and white keys and that’s when black and white come together and that was her philosophy. That she had to try and unite black and white in the community.

People made it quite clear the whiter you are the better you will be. Our family has been greatly effected because my Nan was taken away and she gave up my mother to her white in-laws because it was through them Mum would have a better chance in life.

The Smiths lived in Maribyrnong they were very supportive to our people. They are the first Gubariginies (white people whom understand and help with the Aboriginal cause). They helped with letters to set up our organisations. They stood up and were counted. I don’t remember their

address, but it backs up to the Maribyrnong River. I use to play there as a child.

I was born in Seddon. Mum and Dad worked at the pub as bar people. That's where I got my name Butch from. Mum said it would not last, the name Butch, but I still got it today and I will take that name to my grave".

8.8.3 Steve Johnston (not taped)

Steve presently works at Mirimbiak Nations Aboriginal Corporation, North Melbourne.

Steve was taken from his family at an early age. Steve remembers his family were living in the Kinglake - Whittlesea District prior to his removal.

At the age of 5 years Steve was placed in the Turana Boys Home. In 1956 he was at the Menzies Boys home in Mornington, then back to Turana, and later to Bayswater Boys Home at Dandenong.

Steve spent time in Maribyrnong when he would escape from the institutions. He talked of some of the activities he got up to as a young man.

Steve met his mother again at the age of twelve years, and his father at the age of 35, though both for only a brief time. Steve talked to me freely about parts of his life and for that I am truly grateful as I feel his story adds another dimension to Aboriginal life in the western suburbs.

Steve talked of the following times that related specifically to Maribyrnong:

"I would escape from the boy's home and go to various places. In as far as Maribyrnong is concerned I remember I would go to the Pipeworks and spend time with others in the area. The people that I meet there were travellers, other Aboriginal people and under-privileged people. I use to sleep in the pipes with others to escape the rain or the cold. Many others would take refuge there as well; men women and children.

I would hang around the Pipeworks to keep off the main streets of Fitzroy, the reason being that if the police would catch me I would cop a thrashing.

How I survived - I may not be proud of what I have done. But I am definitely not ashamed of it either. Here goes, some of my activities as a youth. You know the Army Stores Depot on Maribyrnong Rd? A few mates, who I will not name, and I would break in to the depot and steal army issued food, blankets and boots, the food was good just to fill you up, we could sell the blankets for a small profit, however the boots was a very

lucrative item and there was never any problem getting rid of them for a good price.

I remember people whom took refuge at the Pipeworks would go down to the William Angliss Meatworks in the mornings and stand around hoping to gain employment for a day or two.

My mates and I would go to various public events such as the Tracy Speedway (Stock Cars) and pick pockets to survive. We would then sometimes return to the Pipeworks with some beer or that and share it around. I remember sometime getting a feed at the Pipeworks if a fire was going and some food was available.

I remember riding around on bikes with my mates and one of our favourite swimming holes was on the dog leg in the Maribyrnong River just below the Pipeworks. I would not swim there now. My mates that I mucked around with were Greeks, Whites and other Aboriginal boys.

I remember if we would miss the ferry from Newport, we would sleep under the pedestrian overpass the one near the station, back towards the city about 1 mile from the Newport Station”.

Steve and his mates would catch pigeons and sell them to the Chinese for a shilling, and according to Steve that was a lot of money back then. With a shilling Steve could get a feed of fish and chips, a big feed unlike like today, and entry into the pictures, plus have ample change left over to buy other things.

8.8.4 Melissa Brickell (taped)

Melissa was the first director of Melbourne’s Living Museum of the West.

“The Living Museum of the West began about 1985. At this time it was in a little house in a little street, rather inconspicuous; they were the early days. The house was at 4 David St, Footscray, since demolished.

At the time I lived at 6 Clive Street, Maribyrnong. I was involved with the Living Museum of the West and my dear friend Robert Mate Mate, who would come wandering along the Maribyrnong after finishing late researching or what ever. Robert would come to the back door and let himself in, have a feed and sleep. I made him leave a set of clothes at my house and I would wash his clothes he came with and he would always have

the second set of clothing to start afresh the next day. That was our little arrangement, no prior notice needed.

8.8.5 Summary: Empathy and reality

How small our thinking becomes when we let colour, nationality or human position divide us (Tucker 1983: 186).

Locally, nationally and internationally empathy for the Aboriginal community of Australia is at an all-time high, with non-Aboriginal people increasingly understanding the Aboriginal community and its diversity. However, empathy does not necessarily mean a great deal to the Aboriginal community of Victoria, especially when the Aboriginal people are still viewed in many instances as being inferior to the rest of society and when the special spiritual and religious association of Aboriginal people with the land is not acknowledged or accepted by the wider community. The Aboriginal people of Victoria are constantly struggling for a greater acceptance into today's world, so that despite community empathy, many Aboriginal people feel that there is still a lack of understanding.

Ongoing research into the local Aboriginal community of the City of Maribyrnong is a significant contribution to bridging the gap which exists between empathy and reality. Aboriginal people and places in the municipality have contributed to raising the consciousness of the general community and have been forerunners in gaining major achievements in Aboriginal affairs.

The Aboriginal community is constantly changing with the times. Today there are more opportunities to mix with other nationalities such as Greek, Italian and Maltese people. Prior to the 1930s the Aboriginal people were mainly housed on missions and/or government reserves. After this time many Victorian Aboriginal women and men found greater work opportunities, and there has been an increasing trend in Aboriginal marriages, as opposed to marrying white people. The Maribyrnong community of today is totally different from the 1930s-1950s. During this period of time people came to the Maribyrnong district in waves. Both the ethnic and Aboriginal people were mainly concentrated into pockets and through this concentration they had a shared history relating to housing, work and entertainment, creating a sense of economic and social security. There has been a greater sense of activism that stemmed from events such as the Cummeragunga Walk Off in the 1930s and the Aboriginal Advancement league.

8.9 Specific people of the Maribyrnong District who were researched

Name: William Cooper

Information: Resident of Footscray, prominent activist for Aboriginal citizenship rights and secretary of the Australian Aborigines' League. Two residences of William Cooper were early headquarters of the Aboriginal Advancement League.

Place: William Cooper's first house is located at 73 Southampton Street, Footscray. His second house was located at 120 Ballarat Road, Footscray.

Name: Margaret (Marge) Tucker (Lilardia)

Information: Resident of Seddon from around the 1920s, Marge worked in local industry. Marge was the first Aboriginal woman to serve on the Aboriginal Welfare Board. She also wrote her biography 'If Everyone Cared'. Marge loved entertaining and was known as a great advocate for Aboriginal rights.

Place: Marge lived at 38 Pentland Pde, Seddon

Name: Molly Dyer

Information: (daughter of Marge Tucker) Molly provided many Aboriginal people with foster care. Molly was one of the founding members of the Victorian Aboriginal Child Care Agency. After moving from Seddon, Molly continued to provide foster care to many underprivileged children.

Place: Molly lived at 38 Pentland Ave, Seddon.

Name: Sally Russell Cooper

Information: Aunt Sally and her husband Mick Russell moved from Federal Street, Footscray to rent the house at 111 Ballarat Rd, in the 1930s. The house was large, with three bedrooms and a spare room out the back. This house became an unofficial boarding house for Aboriginal people, a place of social contact. Aunt Sally is the daughter of William Cooper.

Place: 111 Ballarat Rd, Footscray

Name: Lynch Cooper

Information: Lynch Cooper was an early resident of Yarraville. Lynch is famous for his running ability. Lynch immortalised himself by winning the 1928 Stawell

Gift and the 1929 World Title held at the old Melbourne Motordrome now Olympic Park.

Place: 92 Tarrengower St, Yarraville.

Name: Connie Hart

Information: Connie lived in Footscray. Connie retained great knowledge in the manufacturing of weaved baskets, but her place of residence could not be identified in this study.

Name: Rene Onus nee King

Information: Lived in Footscray, place of residence not known.

Name: Mary Phillip nee King

Information: First cousin to Rene Onus nee King, place of residence not known.

Name: Ebenezer Lovett

Information: Ebenezer was an activist in the 1920s for Aboriginal rights but more so for the rights of the working class. He may have been one of the first member of the Communist Party. Jack Patten, Bill Onus and Wally Cooper followed on from him. Place of residence not known.

Name: Harold Blair

Information: First Aboriginal opera singer (played with Marge Tucker) and went on to become a teacher at the Sunshine Technical College. Place of residence not known.

Name: Bill Bargo

Information: Bill came from Queensland, musician and rodeo rider. Daughter is Wanda Braybrook. Wanda informed Mark Grist that her father did not sew his

ribbons together for a blanket to keep warm. According to Wanda her father sewed them together to keep them all in the one place as a record.

Buried in New Zealand.

Place: 111 Ballarat Rd, Footscray

8.10 Places Identified by Aboriginal People as Being Significant

There are five places, still containing buildings, which have been identified as significant to Aboriginal people (Table 7). Some of these places are shown in Plates 11-15.

Place	Address
Aunt Sally Russell Cooper's House	111 Ballarat Road, Footscray
Lynch Cooper's House	92 Tarrengower Street, Yarraville
William Cooper's Houses	73 Southampton Street, Footscray 120 Ballarat Road, Footscray
Margaret Tucker's House	38 Pentland Parade, Seddon
William Barak Pictorial Memorial	Maribyrnong River north of Duke Street, Braybrook

Table 7: Places containing buildings significant to Aboriginal people in the City of Maribyrnong

All of these buildings are still extant, and most have been restored and modified from their original condition. The exterior of Aunty Sally Russell Coopers House is still largely in its original condition. The actual condition of the buildings is less relevant than their associations with people and as places which are associated with the formation of the contemporary Aboriginal community in Footscray and Melbourne.

8.11 Places Associated with Aboriginal People within the City of Maribyrnong having Economic and/or Social Significance

Table 8 shows places with economic or social significance to Aboriginal people in the City of Maribyrnong.

Place	Address	Additional comments
Kinnears Ropes	Ballarat Road, Footscray	Employer of Aboriginal people during 1930s and 1940s
Pridhams Meatworks	Evans Street, Braybrook	Employer of Aboriginal people during 1930s and 1940s
William Angliss Meatworks	Lynch Street, Footscray	Employer of Aboriginal people during 1930s and 1940s
ADI Ammunitions Factory	Gordon Street, Footscray	Employer of Aboriginal people during 1930s and 1940s
Footscray Park	Maribyrnong River, Footscray	Margaret Tucker sang here during the Australia Day celebrations on the banks of the river
Bomb shelters	Ballarat Road	Now non-existent bomb shelters which use to provide privacy for courting couples
Army Stores Depot	Maribyrnong Road, Footscray	Buildings provided shelter for people at night
Sunshine Technical College	Sunshine	Harold Blair became a teacher there
Masonic Hall	Possibly either Yarraville or now destroyed Footscray centre	Sally and Mick Russell celebrated their 25 th wedding anniversary there
Original Melbourne Living Museum of the West	4 David Street, Footscray (now a car park)	
Current Melbourne Living Museum of the West	Pipemakers Park, Van Ness Avenue, Maribyrnong	

Table 8: Places of economic or social significance to Aboriginal people within the City of Maribyrnong

8.12 Individuals who could be Researched or Further Consulted

- Mick Russell worked for 50 years at Pridhams Meatworks
- Kevin Russell, worked at Pridhams Meatworks for a short period
- Marge Tucker, worked at Kinnears Ropes and ammunitions factory
- Sally Russell Cooper, worked at Kinnears Ropes

- Karen Jackson, Victorian Institute of Technology
- Melissa Brickell, first director of Melbourne's Living Museum of the West
- Larry Walsh, meat industry, project officer Melbourne's Living Museum of the West
- Jim Berg, meat industry, now with Koori Heritage Trust
- Terry Garwood, meat industry
- Kylie Freeman, secretary Melbourne's Living Museum of the West
- The original Sadie the Cleaning Lady (mother of Grant Hanson of Songlines Aboriginal Music Group)
- Margaret Burke (Aboriginal Community Elders Services)
- Kim Jowitt, Heatherdale Community Centre
- Wilma Xiberras
- Jones family who lived in west during 1940s or 1950s
- Ian Hunter's mother, who lived in Sunshine
- Robert Mate Mate, formerly at Melbourne's Living Museum of the West
- Harold Blair, singer
- Ella ?, a blues and jazz singer who lived out in the western suburbs somewhere

9.0 PLANNING AND HERITAGE LEGISLATION

This section of the report discusses issues which deal with planning and Aboriginal archaeological sites, and presents recommendations for future management of these sites. A number of local government planning studies have been completed within the Melbourne area during the 1990s and it is possible to build on the results of these to produce policies for site management and interpretation at a local government level within Maribyrnong. The discussion below will provide some information derived from previous local Aboriginal Heritage Studies and then proceed for discussing mechanisms for producing a zoning plan and policy within the City of Maribyrnong. Specific recommendations for Aboriginal pre and post-contact sites and places will be included as part of the policy statements.

9.1 Background to Heritage Planning Policy in Victoria

During the 1990s, there have been a number of Aboriginal heritage studies conducted for local government within the Melbourne metropolitan area. All of these studies have attempted to produce - in different forms - a zoning plan and policy for local government planning. Incorporation of Aboriginal heritage values into a planning scheme can become confused between State and local government responsibilities, largely because it is difficult to incorporate Aboriginal sites within Heritage Overlays (Lee, Eichler and Marshall 1999: 54).

Early planning studies focussed on producing overlays for planning schemes and local planning policies for Aboriginal archaeological sites (for example Rhodes 1990; Ellender 1994). These studies generally did not consider Aboriginal historic places and were not necessarily integrated into planning schemes after mergers of local government boundaries occurred.

In 1996 the Victorian Government passed the *Planning Schemes Act (1996)* which amended the *Victorian Planning and Environment Act (1987)*. Part 2 of the 1996 Act amends the 1987 Act to introduce the Victoria Planning Provisions (VPP), a new planning scheme format and a combined permit and amendment process (Department of Infrastructure 1999: 33). The VPP, new planning scheme formats and permit/amendment process only apply to new planning schemes and not to planning schemes established under the 1987 Act.

The VPP provide a framework of planning provisions to direct local government planning in Victoria. They include the State Planning Policy Framework (SPPF) the State standard zones, overlays, particular provisions, general provisions and definitions (Brown & Lane 1997: 59). The VPP's provide a document from which to construct new format planning schemes. The SPPF sets out State policy

for planning and development in Victoria and replaces policies in State and regional planning schemes (Department of Infrastructure 1999: 3).

The SPPF contains a State Heritage Policy whose objective is:

To assist the conservation of places that have natural, environmental, aesthetic, historic, cultural, scientific or social significance or other special value important for scientific and research purposes, as a means of understanding our past, as well as maintaining and enhancing Victoria's image and making a contribution to the economic and cultural growth of the State (VPP: Section 15.11)

To implement this policy, the SPPF states that:

Planning and responsible authorities should identify, conserve and protect places of natural or cultural value from inappropriate development. These include;

- Places of Aboriginal cultural heritage significance, including historical and archaeological sites.
- Planning and responsible authorities must take into account the requirements of the Victorian Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act (1972), the Commonwealth Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act (1984) and the views of local Aboriginal communities in providing for the conservation and enhancement of places,

sites and objects of Aboriginal cultural heritage value. (VPP: Section 15.11.1)

The mechanism for implementing the policies in the SPPF is provided by a series of overlays. The general purpose of overlays is:

To implement the State Planning Policy Framework and the Local Planning Policy Framework, including the Municipal Strategic Statement and local planning policies.

One of the overlays included in the SPPF is a Heritage Overlay. The purpose of the Heritage Overlay is:

To conserve and enhance heritage places of natural or cultural significance.

To conserve and enhance those elements which contribute to the significance of heritage places.

To ensure that development does not adversely affect the significance of heritage places.

To conserve specifically identified heritage places by allowing a use that would otherwise be prohibited if this will demonstrably assist with the conservation of the significance of the heritage place.

The requirements of this overlay area apply to heritage places specified in the schedule to this overlay. A heritage place includes both the listed heritage item and its associated land. Heritage places may also be shown on the planning scheme map. (VPP: Section 43.01)

The schedule of the Heritage Overlay is a listing of places to which the Heritage Overlay is applicable.

There have been some difficulties encountered in applying the Heritage Overlay to the protection of Aboriginal archaeological sites. One is that Aboriginal sites are protected by different sets of legislation to non-Aboriginal historic sites - the Victorian State *Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act (1972)* and the Commonwealth *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act (1984)* (see Section 9.2.). These Acts require a different statutory process and permit application system to that required under the Victorian State *Heritage Act (1995)*, including the active involvement of local Aboriginal communities.

Brown and Lane (1997: 60) have argued that the permit requirements and exemptions in the VPP and the Schedule to the Heritage Overlay are geared more to the mechanisms of protection offered by the *Heritage Act (1995)*, which

directly protects historic places/buildings/archaeological sites of state significance, with an assumption that places of local value will be protected through planning schemes. (Brown and Lane 1997: 60; Marshall 1998: 3). Aboriginal heritage legislation does not, however, apply the same significance assessment methodology as that defined by the *Heritage Act (1995)*, nor does it assign the same statutory value to 'State' significance. In addition, State Aboriginal heritage policy as defined in the *AAV Guidelines for Conducting and Reporting Upon Archaeological Surveys in Victoria* is different in many respects to that applied to non-Aboriginal historic places and sites and is more closely geared to the statutory requirements relating to Aboriginal archaeological sites. Although the SPPF acknowledge these Acts, there is no mechanism by which they can be effectively implemented within the State Heritage Overlay.

Another difficulty lies in the fact that it is not always possible to accurately map the 'boundary' of an Aboriginal archaeological site or area/landform of potential archaeological sensitivity, except by sub-surface testing or excavation, which is not desirable if the site is to remain undisturbed. Brown and Lane (1996: 60) state that the Decision Guidelines in the VPP (Section 43.01-5) which set out what must be considered by a responsible authority before determining an application are generally applicable to Aboriginal places. However, the Decision Guidelines are inappropriate for dealing with landforms or landscapes of known or potential archaeological or cultural sensitivity (Marshall 1998: 38). This is because both Aboriginal archaeological sites and their landscape context can form part of the significance - and cultural values - of the site. Actions governing the operation of other heritage layers - for example, the Significant Landscape Overlay, may also impact on Aboriginal archaeological sites or areas of potential archaeological sensitivity.

For these reasons, several local government bodies have made submissions to the Department of Infrastructure and the Minister for Planning, calling for the development of a separate Aboriginal Heritage Overlay within the SPPF. This was most recently done by the City of Frankston, which attempted to write a Schedule for an Aboriginal Heritage Overlay (Marshall 1998). Attempts to include a separate Aboriginal Heritage Overlay in the SPPF have, to date, been rejected by the Department of Infrastructure and by the advisory committee on the Victoria Planning Provisions, following a submission by Brimbank City Council.

Negotiations between Aboriginal Affairs Victoria and the Department of Infrastructure have been on-going about the latter issue. Aboriginal Affairs Victoria have pointed out that the sheer numbers of Aboriginal archaeological sites recorded in Victoria prevent most of these from being listed in the existing State Heritage Overlay. At this stage, AAV are proposing to list Aboriginal archaeological sites identified in the Aboriginal Affairs Victoria Key Sites

Programme, on an Aboriginal heritage layer within the SPPF (Jane Kierce, Planning and Development Officer, AAV: pers. comm). Aboriginal sites and places identified in the Key Sites Programme are those which are determined to be of special significance by or to an Aboriginal community).

It has been considered inappropriate in other Aboriginal heritage studies (eg. Marshall 1998, Brown and Lane 1996) to apply other overlay controls to the protection of Aboriginal archaeological sites, such as the Significant Landscape Overlay. This is primarily because these overlays do not provide specific mechanisms for protection and management of Aboriginal archaeological sites.

At present, AAV advise that most Aboriginal sites will need to be incorporated into Local Planning Policy Framework (LPPF) which is the second strategic base incorporated in the VPP. The local planning policy framework comprises the Municipal Strategic Statement (MSS) and specific local planning policies (Department of Infrastructure 1999: 7). The MSS is a vision statement for the future development of a local government area and is a clear, concise statement of the key strategic land use and development issues within the area (Department of Infrastructure 1999: 8). An MSS must also be consistent with the SPPF. The City of Maribyrnong has only recently developed an MSS.

At a meeting held with Council planning staff on 1 July 1999, it was apparent that there is a need within the City of Maribyrnong, not only to identify Aboriginal sites and places, but to develop a culture of awareness and understanding of Aboriginal heritage issues. The recommendations contained in this report are therefore also Statements of Local Policy in relation to Aboriginal heritage issues. There are several aspects to the development of local policy;

- Ensuring that Council and developers comply with statutory requirements in relation to Aboriginal heritage sites.
- Ensuring that Aboriginal archaeological sites, Aboriginal places (prehistoric and historic) are clearly identified in the planning scheme and that clear processes for dealing with activities which may impact on Aboriginal sites and places are adopted.
- Ensuring that the local Aboriginal community is actively consulted and involved in the management of Aboriginal heritage places.
- Ensuring that appropriate government Aboriginal heritage agencies (AAV in Victoria and the Australian Heritage Commission in relation to

Commonwealth land) are consulted about actions which impinge on Aboriginal heritage sites and places.

- Ensuring that Council officers are educated about the Aboriginal history of the City of Maribyrnong and there are special relationships which Aboriginal people share with the landscape.

The ensuing sections of this report therefore set out Statutory Requirements in relation to Aboriginal heritage places and policy which can be incorporated into the LPPF.

9.2 Statutory Requirements

9.2.1 Victorian Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Legislation

With the exception of human remains interred after the year 1834, the State Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act 1972 provides blanket protection for all material relating to the past Aboriginal occupation of Australia, both before and after European occupation. This includes individual artefacts, scatters of stone artefacts, rock art sites, ancient camp sites, human burials, scarred trees and ruins and archaeological deposits associated with Aboriginal missions or reserves. The Act also establishes administrative procedures for archaeological investigations and the mandatory reporting of the discovery of Aboriginal sites. Aboriginal Affairs Victoria (AAV) administers the Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act 1972.

The Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics Preservation Act 1972 requires that:

- (i) Notification of an intent to conduct an archaeological survey (Form D) be lodged with the Heritage Services Branch of Aboriginal Affairs Victoria prior to conducting an archaeological survey which does not involve disturbance to Aboriginal archaeological sites.
- (ii) Consent from the Heritage Services Branch of Aboriginal Affairs Victoria be obtained before archaeological fieldwork involving disturbance to an Aboriginal site is carried out. Aboriginal Affairs Victoria will not usually issue consents for archaeological fieldwork involving disturbance to an Aboriginal site without prior permission from the relevant Aboriginal community.

9.2.2 Commonwealth Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Legislation

In 1987, Part IIA of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984 was introduced by the Commonwealth Government to provide protection for Aboriginal cultural property in Victoria. Immediately after

enactment, the Commonwealth delegated the powers and responsibilities set out in Part IIA to the Victorian Minister Responsible for Aboriginal Affairs. Currently, this delegation is held by the Hon. Ann Henderson MP, and the legislation is administered on a day to day basis by Aboriginal Affairs Victoria.

Whereas the State Act provides legal protection for all the physical evidence of past Aboriginal occupation, the Commonwealth Act deals with Aboriginal cultural property in a wider sense. Such cultural property includes any places, objects and folklore that "are of particular significance to Aboriginals in accordance with Aboriginal tradition". Again, there is no cut-off date and the Act may apply to contemporary Aboriginal cultural property as well as ancient sites. The Commonwealth Act takes precedence over State cultural heritage legislation where there is conflict. In most cases, Aboriginal archaeological sites registered under the State Act will also be Aboriginal places subject to the provisions of the Commonwealth Act.

Section 21U(3-4) of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984, requires written consent from the relevant Victorian Aboriginal community to disturb, destroy, interfere with or endanger an Aboriginal place, object or archaeological site. If no reply from an Aboriginal community is received to any such permit application within 30 days, then an application for such a permit may be made to the State Minister Responsible for Aboriginal Affairs. This is provided for under Section 21U(5-6) of the 1987 Act.

The schedule to the Commonwealth Act lists local Victorian Aboriginal communities and each community's area is defined in the Regulations. The relevant Aboriginal community for the City of Maribyrnong is the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. An application

must be made to the Wurundjeri for permission to disturb or destroy an Aboriginal site. Any such applications should be made in writing to:

Mr James Wandin
Chairperson
Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council
P.O. Box 1438
Moorabbin Vic. 3189.

Applications to excavate or disturb an Aboriginal archaeological site for purposes of archaeological fieldwork, should be addressed in writing to:

The Director
Aboriginal Affairs Victoria
7th Floor
589 Collins Street
MELBOURNE 3000

General enquiries relating to Aboriginal archaeological sites should be forwarded to:

The Site Registrar
Heritage Services Branch
Aboriginal Affairs Victoria
7/589 Collins Street
Melbourne. 3000.
Ph. 9616 2923.

9.2.3 New Regional Cultural Heritage Bodies

Aboriginal Affairs Victoria has recently funded new regional cultural heritage management bodies. These are staffed by an Aboriginal regional co-ordinator and site officers, who are governed by a Board made up of representatives from the different community groups in the region. At present an Act to amend the existing Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act (1984) is before the Senate. This Act, if passed by the Senate, will essentially delegate the powers under the Commonwealth Act to the States, apart from Aboriginal sites/places deemed to be of National Significance. The Government of Victoria intends to enact new State Legislation when or if the Commonwealth Legislation passes the Senate. The new State Legislation will vest Statutory responsibility for site management in the regional cultural heritage bodies, with the Regional Co-ordinator being given the authority to issue consents in relation to Aboriginal

sites after appropriate consultation with and approval from the Aboriginal communities.

The Melbourne area is included in AAV's Metropolitan Region and the regional body is named the Kulin Nation Cultural Heritage Organisation. Because the new regional bodies will play an increasingly greater role in heritage management, it is important that the Kulin Nation Cultural Heritage Organisation be included in any Aboriginal heritage consultation as well as representatives of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. At this stage, only the Chairperson of the Wurundjeri has the authority to issue statutory permits relating to Aboriginal archaeological sites and places.

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10.0 MANAGEMENT ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1 Introduction

Cultural heritage places provide us with evidence of past human activity. Heritage places may be confined to a small area, or represented by a complex of features, including a cultural landscape. The nature of human activity is that the places used in the past are affected by the actions of the present, particularly urban expansion and agricultural processes. This means cultural heritage places are a diminishing resource.

Cultural heritage places are valuable, not only for the scientific records of the past they provide, but also for their social significance. Many Aboriginal places, for example, have a special significance to Aboriginal communities as places where traditional life has continued and places that may have sacred or symbolic significance.

Many heritage places may also be outstanding examples of artistic and creative achievement. Heritage places are valuable to Australians – and the rest of the world – as they not only provide a link with a culturally rich past, but they can contribute to recreational and community life.

Heritage places may also have economic potential (Pearson & Sullivan 1995: 15). These values should, where possible, be protected and handed on to future generations. We all have some degree of social, spiritual, ethical – and legal – obligation to see that this happens.

10.1.1 Recommendations

This section contains recommendations for adoption of Aboriginal heritage values into Strategic and Schematic Planning and also for on-going management of areas of archaeological sensitivity and specific Aboriginal sites.

10.1.1.1 Planning Recommendations

Recommendation 1

Incorporation of Aboriginal Heritage into the Municipal Strategic Statement

The Municipal Strategic Statement should acknowledge the contemporary Wurundjeri Aboriginal community as the custodians of pre-contact Aboriginal archaeological sites and also the role which the Aboriginal people have played in the history of the City of Maribyrnong since 1839. It should also

acknowledge the special spiritual relationship which Aboriginal people held with the land and the right of their descendants to continue this relationship. The MSS should make it clear that protection and interpretation of Aboriginal heritage is a core business of planning within the City of Maribyrnong on an equal footing with the protection of non-Aboriginal historic sites and places. The City of Maribyrnong has already initiated a formal programme of Reconciliation, of which this heritage study forms one component.

Recommendation 2

Incorporation of Aboriginal Heritage Sites into the New Format City of Maribyrnong Planning Scheme.

Although relatively few Aboriginal archaeological sites remain in the City of Maribyrnong, the sites which have been recorded, the surviving remnant landforms and associated vegetation provide the only remaining physical evidence of precontact Aboriginal occupation. Their significance is increased when it is considered that the sites occur along the south bank of the Maribyrnong River valley between Burke Street and Braybrook Park in the west to the former Commonwealth Explosives Factory site (see Figure 3). Because of their continuous distribution along the river valley, they could be said to constitute a cultural landscape and should consequently be managed as such in the future. At all of the archaeological sites, the same yellow-brown silcrete which outcrops at the EFM site and the on the former CSIRO land is present and has been used for producing tools. This suggests a relationship between the presence of the archaeological sites and locally available silcrete.

The City also contains a number of Aboriginal places documented in ethnographic records and Aboriginal historic places. These should also be identified within the planning scheme and protected or interpreted.

A mechanism for incorporating Aboriginal heritage places within the local planning scheme is set out below. It incorporates both a mapping overlay and a series of management policies which can be applied to different areas of the City.

(a) Mapping and Zoning

The Council should attach the archaeological zoning plan and associated policies in this report to the Local Policy Statement which will inform planning decisions. Aboriginal heritage values include Aboriginal archaeological sites, areas of potential sensitivity for archaeological sites, areas known to have been significant to Aboriginal people at the time of contact with Europeans and Aboriginal historic places. Aboriginal heritage values may be identified by showing specific zones and assigning a different colour and key within them, to distinguish them from other non-Aboriginal heritage places and buildings. The

zoning key could read HO A1, A2 etc. The Aboriginal heritage zones and associated MS Access Database should be incorporated into the new GIS being developed by Council. The zoning plan should show the following zones (also shown in Figure 4):

(A1) Zones of sensitivity for pre-contact Aboriginal archaeological sites. This includes both the area containing known Aboriginal archaeological sites and areas which have no visible evidence of archaeological sites but contain landforms and features on which Aboriginal archaeological sites are known to occur.

(A2) Zones which contain places which were known to be significant to Woi wurrung and Bun wurrung people at the time of contact with Europeans, but which do not contain material remains of occupation. Documented places are Solomon's Ford and the area near Grimes Reserve and Bunbury Streets. This zone also contains archaeological sites which have been previously recorded and destroyed.

(A3) Places or buildings of historical significance to Aboriginal people.

Some of these zones will overlap - for example, the former Commonwealth Explosives Factory and operational EFM Factory is a place of pre-contact significance to Aboriginal people and yet is also a place which has more recent historical associations with some Aboriginal people. Areas may also have interpretation potential and either contain or not contain Aboriginal heritage places.

Zone boundaries are required to align with title boundaries or other defined features (Department of Infrastructure 1999: 24). This would be difficult in some areas where it is not possible to use fixed geographical or cadastral markers as reference points for the zones, but in a built up area such as the City of Maribyrnong, it may be possible to include road or title boundaries.

A review of the zone boundaries should be carried out at least every 5 years, in consultation with the Aboriginal community and AAV or relevant government heritage agency. This review should incorporate any new information which has emerged from further archaeological studies in the area.

It is also particularly important to incorporate any new information which emerges from archaeological survey work into the zoning plan.

According to comments by Geoff Austin (2/9/1999) the Commonwealth Land at the EFM and former explosives factories cannot be incorporated into a zoning plan at this stage; in which case, a zoning plan should still be prepared for the

factory sites, which would come into operation upon their being surrendered by the Commonwealth.

(b) Policy in Zone A1

- i. No development which will involve ground disturbance should be permitted in this zone without a full and complete archaeological survey or detailed sub-surface investigation of the proposed development area, including, if necessary, sub-surface testing or systematic archaeological excavation.
- ii. Consult regularly with the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. and the Kulin Nation Cultural Heritage Organisation about the on-going management and development of this zone.
- iii. All remaining Aboriginal archaeological sites should be conserved within this zone. Conservation plans for all Aboriginal archaeological sites which are situated on land within Council's control, should be prepared.
- iv. Preparations should be made for applying A1 zoning to the Commonwealth land containing the operational EFM factory and the former Maribyrnong explosives factory, upon their surrender by the Commonwealth. These zoning plans can be based upon the areas of potential archaeological sensitivity defined in the current survey and any future studies which are done in connection with the proposed Commonwealth EES.
- v. The land within Zone A1 should be managed and interpreted as a cultural landscape, rather than as individual archaeological sites. The archaeological survey has indicated that the sites were primarily stone tool manufacture sites with stone derived from local silcrete quarries.
- vi. The Council should develop a Plan of Management in Zone A1 which protects Aboriginal archaeological sites and enhances the cultural values of the area. The plan of management should be developed in close consultation with the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. and

the Kulin Nation Cultural Heritage Organisation. The management plan should address issues such as:

- a) Conservation of the material remains of Aboriginal sites.
- b) The most appropriate methods of interpretation of Aboriginal cultural heritage including;
 - controls on visitor access and policing as appropriate to attempt to prevent vandalism,
 - cultural heritage interpretation trails,
 - enhancing the cultural values of the zone through improving or reinstating some of the natural values, through re-vegetation of indigenous plant species with a focus on Aboriginal plant foods,
 - signs and interpretation boards,
 - employment of Aboriginal landscaping organisations,
 - employment of Aboriginal artists to provide interpretation of traditional and contemporary Aboriginal culture through different art media,
 - enhancement of and repairs to the William Barak memorial,
 - incorporation of the area in a local cultural heritage interpretation programme, particularly involving schools and possibly the Victoria University of Technology.
- vii. Any future survey, management and development of the Commonwealth operational EFM factory and the former Maribyrnong explosives factory north of Raleigh Road and Cordite Avenue, must be linked with the management of the adjacent section of Zone A1 to the west. The Commonwealth land is a crucial part of this cultural landscape and any future development must conserve Aboriginal sites, respect the cultural values of the area and the wishes of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. Any Aboriginal sites on this land should be included in public open space

which should also contain and be linked to an area of land on the river frontage of the former explosives factory.

- viii. Where possible, Aboriginal community groups and organisations and Aboriginal people should be employed to carry out any of the landscaping and sign construction works within this zone.

(c) Policy in Zone A2

- i. Consult regularly with the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. and the Kulin Nation Cultural Heritage Organisation about the on-going management and development of this zone.
- ii. Develop Aboriginal interpretation signs and, where appropriate, reinstate some elements of the natural landscape which would have been of significance to Aboriginal people.
- iii. Interpretation signs could describe or contain:
 - the names of any traditional people or clans known to have been affiliated with this area.
 - any visual material which enhances the interpretation of the area.
 - descriptions of sites which may have been contained within the area.
- iv. As an example of what could be achieved in this zone, Grimes Reserve, which is situated within a heritage precinct comprising the site of the first Township of Footscray, could also contain some interpretation of its Aboriginal history. Robinson noted oven mounds in this area when he first crossed the Maribyrnong River and a small area of the reserve could be landscaped and signposted to reflect this usage, possibly near the track crossing part of the reserve which was also part of the first European road to Geelong. It is possible that Robinson was following this track when he described the oven mounds near the escarpment of the river valley.
- v. Where possible, Aboriginal community groups and organisations and Aboriginal people should be employed to carry out any of the landscaping and sign construction works within this zone.

(d) Policy in Zone A3

- i. Consult regularly with the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. and the Kulin Nation Cultural Heritage Organisation and

the people with whom the places are associated and their descendants about the on-going management of this zone.

- ii. Consult with the current owners of the properties which have been identified in this study and included in this zone about the inclusion of their buildings in a programme of Aboriginal historical interpretation. This is a sensitive form of consultation which should be carried out by an Aboriginal person experienced in community consultation.
- iii. Consider listing the extant properties associated with Aboriginal people on the State Heritage Overlay. Some of these buildings have been modified beyond their original form, however, and such a listing may not be appropriate. The buildings for which consideration for listing should be given are:
- Aunt Sally Russell Cooper's House 111 Ballarat Road, Footscray
 - Lynch Cooper's House 92 Tarrengower Street, Yarraville
 - William Cooper's Houses 73 Southampton Street, Footscray
120 Ballarat Road, Footscray
 - Margaret Tucker's House 38 Pentland Parade, Seddon
 - William Barak Pictorial Memorial Maribyrnong River north of Duke Street, Braybrook

Geoff Austin (2/9/1999) has pointed out that the Victoria Planning Provision Practice Note *Applying the Heritage Overlay* (February 1999) should be considered in this process. The practice note requires that;

All places that are proposed for planning scheme protection, including places identified in a heritage study, should be documented in a manner that clearly substantiates their

scientific, aesthetic, architectural or historical interest or other special cultural or natural values....

The heritage process leading to the identification of the place should be undertaken with rigour. The documentation for each place should include a statement of significance that clearly establishes the importance of the place....

Recognised heritage criteria should be used for the assessment of the heritage values of the heritage place. Heritage criteria which could be adopted for the assessment of heritage places include those adopted by the Australian Heritage Commission....

Recommendation 3

Amendments to Council Planning Scheme

Council should introduce a planning scheme amendment to:

- Recognise the Aboriginal heritage zones delineated within the City of Maribyrnong and introduce the local policies discussed in Recommendation 2 which applies to each of these zones.
- Recognise the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. and any descendants of Bun wurrung people as the legitimate custodians of *Woi wurrung* and *Bun wurrung* Aboriginal heritage places within the City of Maribyrnong.
- Establish formal channels of communication with the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. and the Kulin Nation Cultural Heritage Organisation. Formal channels of communication should be established by negotiations with the different groups. It may also be relevant to involve Larry Walsh from the Melbourne's Living Museum of the West in these negotiations.
- Recognise that the limited areas of sensitivity for Aboriginal archaeological sites in the City of Maribyrnong are probably the only remaining evidence of pre-contact Aboriginal occupation in the City and that any proposals for development in those areas should actively conserve and retain Aboriginal archaeological sites.
- Ensure that all development within the Aboriginal heritage zones complies with the provisions of the *State Archaeological and Aboriginal Relics*

Preservation Act (1972) and the Commonwealth Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act (1984).

- Promote knowledge, interpretation, further investigation and education of Aboriginal cultural heritage within the City of Maribyrnong.
- Review the local Aboriginal heritage policy on an annual basis to take into consideration changes which may occur in legislation, the state of knowledge about Aboriginal heritage, development or Aboriginal community consultation.

10.1.1.2 Recommendations for Promotion of Aboriginal Heritage Values in the City of Maribyrnong

Recommendation 4

Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Interpretation Trail

The Council should consider developing an Aboriginal cultural heritage interpretation trail, in consultation with the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc., the Kulin Nation Cultural Heritage Organisation and Aboriginal residents of the City of Maribyrnong. The Aboriginal cultural heritage interpretation trail could link the significant sites and areas of land within the City that are contained in Zones A1 - A3 and could also be tied in with interpretation leaflets. This would assist in establishing a presence for Aboriginal people within the City of Maribyrnong and link small areas of remnant landscapes which help to contextualise the history of Aboriginal people in the City. This could be tied in to an existing Council project to establish a Koorie Garden.

Recommendation 5

Education Programmes for Council Officers

The Council should introduce a training programme for Council Officers in association with the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage

Council Inc. and the Kulin Nation Cultural Heritage Organisation. The education programme could focus on:

- Developing an understanding of the nature of Aboriginal heritage sites in the City of Maribyrnong.
- Developing an understanding of contemporary Aboriginal culture in Melbourne/Victoria.
- The role of the planning scheme in protecting Aboriginal heritage sites and the mechanisms within the planning scheme for doing so.
- Approvals processes with relation to the Aboriginal Heritage Zones.

Recommendation 6

Production of a Planning Brochure to Inform Applicants of the City's Policy on Aboriginal Heritage Places.

Production of an informative brochure for planning permit applicants, outlining:

- How the Planning Scheme serves to protect Aboriginal archaeological and historical sites and areas sensitive to these sites.
- The roles of AAV, Council and the community, in issues of Aboriginal heritage protection.
- The means by which sites are physically protected by human and natural agents.

Recommendation 7

Other Options for Promoting Awareness of Aboriginal Cultural Heritage in the Community.

- i. An annual award might be issued by Council to encourage continuing research into the Aboriginal history of the municipality. The award would also create

an opportunity to hold an annual reconciliation event and enable further exhibitions of findings.

- ii. Council could take steps to inform its local residents of the history of Aboriginal associations with the area and the significance of the municipality's sites and places, by:
 - Incorporating an Aboriginal cultural awareness components into an existing festival day or week (NAIDOC Week) involving participation of local Aboriginal community members
 - Producing a plain English brochure on Aboriginal history.
 - Nominating a week such as Aboriginal Heritage Week during which time significant events, people and places in Aboriginal history within the municipality are recognised and celebrated.
- iii. Conducting and encouraging more detailed research, in consultation with the Wurundjeri and any interested local Aboriginal community members, into producing a fuller account of the history of the Aboriginal community within the municipality such as:
 - An investigation into the family history of any Aboriginal people who reside in the municipality, particularly why they chose Maribyrnong to move to, what their connections to the area are etc.
 - An investigation of the oral traditions of the Wurundjeri and other Aboriginal descendants who have resided in the municipality.

10.1.1.3 Specific recommendations for Aboriginal archaeological sites

The recommendations outlined below relate to the protection and conservation of specific Aboriginal archaeological sites. It should be recognised that for any of the recommendations which require works on specific archaeological sites,

permits must be obtained from the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc.

Recommendation 8

AAV7822/523 ADI 1-Footscray isolated artefact

This site is likely to have been destroyed, hence there are no site preservation recommendations.

Recommendation 9

AAV7822/524 ADI 2-Maribyrnong isolated artefact

This site is likely to have been destroyed, hence there are no site preservation recommendations.

Recommendation 10

AAV7822/525 ADI 3-Maribyrnong isolated artefact

This site is likely to have been destroyed, hence there are no site preservation recommendations.

Recommendation 11

AAV7822/1091 Maribyrnong River SAS 1

This site is severely eroded due to the steepness of the hill on which it is located. The following measures should be taken to conserve and protect the site:

- Further documentation of this site could be carried out above the level of that provided in the survey. This documentation could involve detailed mapping and recording of all of the stone artefacts at the site, which would provide further information about the type of activities which were taking place there.
- The site should be revegetated with native species. Suggested species are Poa grass species and spiky shrubs which deter access such as *Acacia paradoxa* (Hedge wattle).
- After initial revegetation, plantings should be frequently watered to ensure that plant species grow rapidly.
- Signs should be erected at the base of the slope below the site and above the site which discourage access. No references to the presence of an Aboriginal

archaeological site being present are necessary. Signs could refer to prevention of erosion and revegetation program.

- The dirt track which branches off to the east of the bituminised track running north (down slope) from the Buddhist Community Centre should be packed with fine gravel which clearly defines the track edges. This is to prevent people straying off the path and facilitating further erosion and site disturbance. The path is not located within the boundaries of the site, and defining it more clearly would discourage people from creating further tracks, or short-cuts, which could potentially damage the site.
- The Council's Cultural and Open Spaces Division should be made responsible for ensuring that all present and future gardens and landscaping contractors do not disturb the site after revegetation.
- This work should be conducted in the presence of a qualified archaeologist and member of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc.

Recommendation 12

AAV7822/1092 Maribyrnong River SAS 2

Further documentation of this site could be carried out above the level of that provided in the survey. This documentation could involve detailed mapping and recording of all of the stone artefacts at the site, which would provide further information about the type of activities which were taking place there.

- The site should be revegetated with native species. Suggested species are Poa grass species and spiky shrubs.
- After initial revegetation, plantings should be frequently watered to ensure that plant species grow rapidly.
- Signs should be erected at the base of the slope below the site and above the site which discourage access. No references to the presence of an Aboriginal

archaeological site being present are necessary. Signs could refer to prevention of erosion and revegetation program.

- The Council's Cultural and Open Spaces Division should be made responsible for ensuring that all present and future gardens and landscaping contractors do not landscape or mow within the site boundaries.
- To prevent disturbance of the site, its southern (uphill) boundary should be fenced off with a low rail fence.
- This work should be conducted in the presence of a qualified archaeologist and member of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc.

Recommendation 13

AAV7822/1093 Maribyrnong River SAS 3

Further documentation of this site could be carried out above the level of that provided in the survey. This documentation could involve detailed mapping and recording of all of the stone artefacts at the site, which would provide further information about the type of activities which were taking place there.

- The site should be revegetated. Revegetation has been instigated during the last few years, however most of the plants have died now, possibly due to insufficient watering. To prevent erosion, the site should be planted with Poa grass species and spiky plants to deter people scrambling over the hillside.
- After initial revegetation, plantings should be frequently watered to ensure that plant species grow rapidly.
- Signs should be erected at the base of the slope below the site and above the site which discourage access. No references to the presence of an Aboriginal archaeological site being present are necessary. Signs could refer to prevention of erosion and revegetation program.
- At the base of the hillside where it intersects with an alluvial terrace, the track should be defined in much greater detail. At present people walk all over the alluvial terrace to access the bituminised path which runs adjacent to the Maribyrnong River, which could disturb artefacts.
- The track which has been incised into the hillside above the site should be defined and packed with fine gravel. This gravel should not be excavated

into the ground surface, as this might disturb in situ artefacts, but should be deposited above the original ground surface.

- This work should be conducted in the presence of a qualified archaeologist and member of the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc.

Recommendation 14

AAV7822/1094 Maribyrnong River SAS 4

Further documentation of this site could be carried out above the level of that provided in the survey. This documentation could involve detailed mapping and recording of all of the stone artefacts at the site, which would provide further information about the type of activities which were taking place there.

- The site should be covered with clean dirt to an estimated thickness of 30-50 centimetres.
- The site should be revegetated. To prevent erosion, the site should be planted with Poa grass species and spiky plants to deter people scrambling over the hillside.
- After initial revegetation, plantings should be frequently watered to ensure that plant species grow rapidly.
- The pathway discussed above under site AAV7822/1091 (MRSAS-1) should be constructed to avoid this site AAV7822/1092 (MRSAS-4)
- If necessary, a small wooden railing/barrier should be erected around the site to prevent people disturbing it.

Recommendation 15

AAV7822/1095 Maribyrnong River SAS 5

Further documentation of this site could be carried out above the level of that provided in the survey. This documentation could involve detailed mapping and recording of all of the stone artefacts at the site, which would provide further information about the type of activities which were taking place there.

- The site should be revegetated. To prevent erosion, the site should be planted with Poa grass species and spiky plants to deter people scrambling over the hillside.
- Signs should be erected around the boundaries of the site which discourage access. No references to the presence of an Aboriginal archaeological site

being present are necessary. Signs could refer to prevention of erosion and revegetation program.

Recommendation 16

AAV7822/1096 Maribyrnong River SAS 6

Further documentation of this site could be carried out above the level of that provided in the survey. This documentation could involve detailed mapping and recording of all of the stone artefacts at the site, which would provide further information about the type of activities which were taking place there.

- The site should be revegetated. To prevent erosion, the site should be planted with low Poa grass species to deter people from walking along the track in which the site is located. Plant species should be low grasses or shrubs which should reach no higher than 1 metre so that the view of the Medway Golf Club members over the Maribyrnong River is not obscured.
- Signs should be erected around the boundaries of the site which discourage access. No references to the presence of an Aboriginal archaeological site being present are necessary. Signs could refer to prevention of erosion and revegetation program.

Recommendation 17

AAV7822/1119 - Maribyrnong Explosives Factory Isolated Artefact

This site is on land currently outside State jurisdiction and is the statutory responsibility of the Australian Heritage Commission and the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. The AHC requires Commonwealth government authorities to comply with State regulations in relation to Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal heritage sites.

No further action is required at present to protect the artefact. If in future the land is to be developed, reservation of the area of land 100 x 120 metres in which the artefact was located should be considered, or alternatively, sub-surface

testing to determine the extent of distribution of any artefacts which may be located nearby.

10.2 Report Lodgement

This report will be distributed to:

- Heritage Services Branch, Aboriginal Affairs Victoria (two copies)
- Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council (one copy)
- Kulin Nations Cultural Heritage Organisation (one copy)

10.3 Independent Review of Reports

Archaeological reports and the management recommendations contained therein will be independently reviewed by the Heritage Services Branch of Aboriginal Affairs Victoria and the relevant Aboriginal community.

Although the findings of a consultant's report will be taken into consideration, recommendations in relation to managing a heritage place should not be taken to imply automatic approval of those actions by Aboriginal Affairs Victoria or the Aboriginal community.

FIGURES

Figure 1: The study area.

Figure 2: Survey Areas in the City of Maribyrnong.

Figure 3: Location of archaeological sites and areas of potential archaeological sensitivity.

Figure 4. Zone overlay. Proposed Aboriginal heritage zones for inclusion in the City of Maribyrnong planning scheme.

PLATES

Plate 1. General view of the Maribyrnong River valley within the study area, looking west towards Cranwell Park. The general form of the valley can be seen in cross-section from the escarpment to the valley slopes, terraces, flood plain and riverbank.

Plate 2. Site AAV7822/1091, general view facing west. One of the graded terraces on which artefacts were located can be seen in the foreground.

Plate 3. AAV7822/1091. Sample of worked silcrete stone flakes from the site.

Plate 4. AAV7822/1092. General view of the site, facing east. Stone artefacts appear to have been displaced from the escarpment above the break of slope and moved downwards onto the hill slope in landfill.

Plate 5. AAV7822/1092. Sample of worked silcrete and quartz stone flakes from the site.

Plate 6. AAV7822/1093. General view of site location, facing SW.

Plate 7. AAV7822/1093. Sample of worked stone silcrete and quartz artefacts from the site.

Plate 8. AAV7822/1094. General view of site location, facing west. This is probably the most intact site located during the survey.

Plate 9. AAV7822/1095. General view of site location, facing east.

Plate 10. AAV7822/1096. General view of site location, facing east.

Plate 11. Aunty Sally Russell Coopers former house, 111 Ballarat Road, Footscray.

Plate 12. William Cooper's House, 73 Southhampton Street, Footscray.

Plate 13. William Cooper's House, 120 Ballarat Road, Footscray.

Plate 14. Margaret Tucker's House, 38 Pentland Pde. Seddon.

Plate 15. The William Barak memorial. The memorial has been defaced by vandals. Education and greater emphasis for Koori Heritage could encourage proper respect for the history of Aboriginal people in the City.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

A1. PROJECT BRIEF

APPENDIX 2

A2. NOTIFICATIONS & PERMITS

APPENDIX 3

A3. ASSESSMENT OF HERITAGE SIGNIFICANCE

A3.1 Introduction

Assessing the significance of a cultural heritage place is undertaken to make decisions about the best way to protect and manage that particular heritage place. The category and significance of a heritage place will also determine if it is to be given statutory protection..

Places that are assessed as having National heritage significance can be added to the Commonwealth Register of the National Estate, those of State significance to the Victorian Heritage Register. Aboriginal Affairs Victoria maintains a register of known Aboriginal sites, and Heritage Victoria lists all known historical archaeological sites on the Victorian Heritage Inventory. A heritage place can also be protected under a planning scheme administered by local government. The National Trust maintains a list of significant heritage places, and local historical societies and Aboriginal communities will often have substantial knowledge about local heritage places.

Assessment of the significance of a heritage place can be complex and include a range of heritage values. The cultural heritage values of a site or place are broadly defined in the Burra Charter – the set of guidelines on cultural heritage management and practice prepared by Australia ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) – as the ‘aesthetic, historic, scientific or social values for past, present or future generations’ (Marquis-Kyle & Walker 1992: 21). Various government agencies, including the Australian Heritage Commission and Heritage Victoria, have developed formal criteria for assessing heritage significance. These have been included at the end of this appendix and used in this report as applicable. Many Aboriginal sites also have significance to a specific Aboriginal community – this is discussed in a separate section below.

The primary criterion used to assess archaeological sites is *scientific* significance. This is based on the capacity of archaeological relics and sites to provide us with historical, cultural or social information. The following evaluation will assess the scientific significance of the archaeological sites recorded during this project. The **scientific significance assessment** methodology outlined below is based on scores for research potential (divided into site contents and site condition) and for representativeness. This system is refined and derived from Bowdler (1981) and Sullivan and Bowdler (1984).

A3.2 Criteria for significance assessment – archaeological sites

i) Scientific significance assessment: historical archaeological sites and Aboriginal artefact scatters and isolated artefacts

Scientific significance is assessed by examining the *research potential* and *representativeness* of archaeological sites.

Research potential is assessed by examining *site contents* and *site condition*. Site contents refers to all cultural materials and organic remains associated with human activity at a site. Site contents also refers to the site structure – the size of the site, the patterning of cultural materials within the site, the presence of any stratified deposits and the rarity of particular artefact types. As the site contents criterion is not applicable to scarred trees, the assessment of scarred trees is outlined separately below. Site

condition refers to the degree of disturbance to the contents of a site at the time it was recorded.

The *site contents* ratings used for archaeological sites are:

- 0 No cultural material remaining.
- 1 Site contains a small number (eg. 0–10 artefacts) or limited range of cultural materials with no evident stratification.
- 2 Site contains:
 - (a) a larger number, but limited range of cultural materials; and/or
 - (b) some intact stratified deposit remains; and/or
 - (c) rare or unusual example(s) of a particular artefact type.
- 3 Site contains:
 - (a) a large number and diverse range of cultural materials; and/or
 - (b) largely intact stratified deposit; and/or
 - (c) surface spatial patterning of cultural materials that still reflect the way in which the cultural materials were deposited.

The *site condition* ratings used for archaeological sites are:

- 0 Site destroyed.
- 1 Site in a deteriorated condition with a high degree of disturbance; some cultural materials remaining.
- 2 Site in a fair to good condition, but with some disturbance.
- 3 Site in an excellent condition with little or no disturbance. For surface artefact scatters this may mean that the spatial patterning of cultural materials still reflects the way in which the cultural materials were laid down.

Representativeness refers to the regional distribution of a particular site type.

Representativeness is assessed by whether the site is *common*, *occasional*, or *rare* in a given region. Assessments of representativeness are subjectively biased by current knowledge of the distribution and number of archaeological sites in a region. This varies from place to place depending on the extent of archaeological research. Consequently, a site that is assigned low significance values for contents and condition, but a high significance value for representativeness, can only be regarded as significant in terms of knowledge of the regional archaeology. Any such site should be subject to re-assessment as more archaeological research is undertaken.

Assessment of representativeness also takes into account the contents and condition of a site. For example, in any region there may only be a limited number of sites of any type that have suffered minimal disturbance. Such sites would therefore be given a high

significance rating for representativeness, although they may occur commonly within the region.

The *representativeness* ratings used for archaeological sites are:

- 1 common occurrence
- 2 occasional occurrence
- 3 rare occurrence

Overall scientific significance ratings for sites, based on a cumulative score for site contents, site integrity and representativeness are:

- 1-3 low scientific significance
- 4-6 moderate scientific significance
- 7-9 high scientific significance

ii) Scientific significance assessment: scarred trees

The scientific significance assessment for scarred trees varies from the significance assessment outlined above because a scarred tree has no site contents rating (a tree either is, or is not, a scarred tree). Although scarred trees are a site type usually associated with traditional Aboriginal cultural activity, there are examples of scarred trees associated with non-Aboriginal activity (survey blazes for example).

The *site condition* ratings used for scarred trees are:

- 1 poorly preserved tree scar
- 2 partly preserved tree scar
- 3 well preserved example of a scarred tree

Representativeness refers to the regional distribution of scarred trees.

Representativeness is assessed on whether the site is common, occasional or rare in a given region. Representativeness should take into account the type and condition of the scar(s)/tree (the tree will be in: good health, poor health, dying, dead-standing, dead-on ground or destroyed) and the tree species involved.

The *representativeness* ratings used for scarred trees are:

- 1 common occurrence
- 2 occasional occurrence
- 3 rare occurrence

Overall scientific significance ratings for scarred tree sites based on a cumulative score for site condition and representativeness are:

- 1-2 low scientific significance
- 3-4 moderate scientific significance
- 4-6 high scientific significance

A3.3 Aboriginal Cultural Significance

Aboriginal sites and areas of land for which a local Aboriginal community has custodianship usually have a special significance for Australian Aboriginal people.

Australian Aborigines have a very ancient and distinct traditional culture, which is very much alive. At the same time, in Australian society today they constitute a visibly oppressed and disadvantaged minority. These two elements give their heritage and history a special significance, ... Aboriginal places may be important to Aboriginal people in a number of ways.

In southern Australia the vast majority of sites are prehistoric [rather than 'sacred' or historic]. They relate to evidence of Aboriginal occupation of the continent over 60,000 years, but they have no specific traditional significance to

any particular group. They are usually as unknown to Aborigines as to others until located and identified by archaeological survey or other research.

(Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 159, 162)

All pre-contact (pre-European settlement) sites that are located in the study area are considered to be of cultural significance to the Wurundjeri. The sites are evidence of past Aboriginal occupation and use of the area, and are the main source of information about the Aboriginal past. The consultants cannot comment directly on such cultural significance – comment can only be made by the Aboriginal community. In addition, any recorded (and unrecorded) pre-contact sites are of cultural significance because they are rare or, at least, uncommon site-types. In particular, many sites in the greater Melbourne region have been destroyed as a result of land clearance and land-use practices in the historic period.

APPENDIX 4

A4. MARIBYRNONG EXPLOSIVES FACTORY SURVEY

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY - MARIBYRNONG EXPLOSIVES FACTORY

Subsequent to the field survey of the City of Maribyrnong, a survey was carried out of the former Maribyrnong Explosives Factory on Cordite Avenue, Maribyrnong. This survey was requested from the Department of Defence by the City of Maribyrnong for the purpose of completing the Maribyrnong Aboriginal Heritage Study. The survey was conducted on Thursday 30th November 1999. During the survey, the consultant was accompanied by Olia Kotlarewski from the Department of Defence and Doreen Garvey, representing the Wurundjeri Tribe Land Compensation and Cultural Heritage Council Inc. Graham Butler and Francine Guilfedder who were conducting the historic heritage component of the project were also involved in the site inspection.

There were some constraints imposed on the survey by the Department of Defence for safety and security reasons. The consultants were unable to access the operating EFM Factory near Cordite Avenue, which meant that it was not possible to inspect one area of potential archaeological sensitivity on the southern slope of the east-west oriented ridge crossing the site. The survey was therefore confined to the old explosives factory, which nevertheless covers the majority of the site and extends northward to the river. Because the site had not been cleared of unexploded ordinance, the consultants were required to remain on property access roads at all times and could only move off the roads if accompanied by the Defence representative. All of the consultants involved in the site inspection were also required to remain together as a group for safety reasons, which limited the amount of time available for inspection of specific areas.

Nevertheless, within these necessary constraints, it was possible for the consultants to conduct an effective assessment of the Aboriginal archaeological values of the area encompassed by the old explosives factory. Further detailed assessment of the site will be possible once decontamination works and removal of unexploded ordinance are completed, but the inspection has been sufficient to define areas of potential archaeological sensitivity for Aboriginal sites within the former explosives factory.

Study Area Description

The study area is the land encompassed by the former Maribyrnong Explosives Factory and currently operating EFM site, bounded on the south by Cordite Avenue, Maribyrnong, to the north and west by the Maribyrnong River and to the east by the former CSIRO Division of Animal Health (currently being developed for housing). Two major landforms occur within the study area; the edge of the undulating basalt newer volcanics plain and alluvial floodplain along

the banks of the Maribyrnong River. Landform elements which occur within the study area are:

A ridge of volcanic basalt which runs in an east-west direction across the centre of the study area.

Hillslopes extending north and south of the ridge. The operational EFM Factory is located along the southern slope of the ridge while the site of the former explosives factory extends north from the ridge, but most of the factory is located on the floodplain.

The floodplain north and west of the hillslopes. The original landform elements of the floodplain have been almost entirely obliterated by construction of the former explosives factory. However, an extensive network of drainage crossing the floodplain suggests that the area was very flood prone and possibly contained large swamps. Since the factory ceased operations, flooding appears to have occurred again in some areas and colonies of *phragmites* have colonised settling ponds on the plain. Remnant alluvial terraces were noted along the banks of the Maribyrnong River on the western side of the study area and the east bank of the

river. In many cases these have been disturbed by the construction of settling ponds and levees, but there are some areas which have been revegetated.

Land Disturbance

Most of the study area is very heavily disturbed and the natural land surface has been altered so that it is difficult to distinguish its original form. Severe forms of disturbance include;

Construction of magazines and bunkers, which have involved substantial earthworks.

Construction of large factory buildings which probably have very deep reinforced concrete footings.

Construction of earth ramparts around tramways, roads and buildings.

Excavation of areas for settling ponds, extensive networks of pipes and other underground services.

Excavation of numerous surface drains.

Levelling and raising of the ground surface in many places.

This has occurred over most of the study area, but there are small remnant sections where the land surface does not appear to have been as radically altered. These are;

The north-facing hillslope which is situated north-east of the stables and extends around 100 metres north to a cyclone fence, east to a cyclone fence demarcating the boundary with the former CSIRO land and west to a row of *pinus radiata* trees extending northwards from the stable. There do not appear to have been underground services constructed in this area and although the land has been cleared of basalt rocks, the main form of disturbance appears to be grazing. The location of this area is shown in Figure ?.

Remains of alluvial terraces on the banks of the Maribyrnong River along the western boundary of the site. In some cases, these terraces have been disturbed by the construction of settling ponds or underground services, but in places they appear to be relatively intact.

Survey Results

The survey team inspected archaeologically sensitive areas near the stables and the north facing slope and the land where alluvial terraces were located along the Maribyrnong River. Along the Maribyrnong River, most of the land on the

terraces lay between two perimeter fences and could only be inspected from the inner fence.

The land on the eastern side of the stables and on the crest of the ridge has been heavily disturbed by the construction of buildings, now demolished, and a gravel road (possibly the same age as the stables). The land surface immediately to the south-east of this area appears to be far less disturbed and does not appear to have been built over, unless it formed part of the grounds of the nineteenth century homestead. The south slope of the hill was inside the operational EFM factory and could not be inspected. The area to the rear and sides of the stables has also been heavily disturbed.

The land on the north slope of the ridge and east of a row of *pinus radiata* has been cleared of rocks and used for grazing, but the ground does not appear to have been dug over for the construction of services. The slope is covered with pasture grasses. This (comparatively) undisturbed area extends about 100 metres north of the ridge and is around 100 - 120 metres across east-west from the boundary with the former CSIRO property. Surface visibility on the slope is around 10% but is higher under the row of pine trees (c. 50%).

One isolated artefact, a red, coarse-grained silcrete flaked piece with two negative flake scars, was located under the pine trees. There were no other artefacts noted, and the flaked piece was obviously not in its original context, nevertheless, it could suggest that there may be sub-surface occurrences of stone artefacts which are the remains of materials dislodged from its original context. Details of the artefact are given in the table below.

AAV Site No.	Site Type	1:25,000 GR	Artefact Type	Dimensions (cm)
7822/1119	Isolated Artefact	31342/581804	Silcrete Flaked Piece	35 x 17 x 11

Table A3.1: Summary details of AAV Site 7822/1119.

It is possible that there could be other stone artefacts surviving in buried contexts on the north-facing slope, but these are unlikely to be intact deposits of cultural materials. The ridge would almost certainly have been used by Aboriginal people as a campsite, but any remains of their camps on the ridgeline have been completely destroyed by later construction. There does not appear to be any silcrete outcrops on the crest of the ridge or the upper slope; inspections of a section in a road cutting nearby showed that the basalt on the ridge was in a layer at least four metres thick. Silcrete was noted in outcrops near the base of the

southern slope by one of the consultants (Rhodes) in an earlier survey of the EFM site during 1997.

Stone artefacts on the north-facing hillslope are likely to be derived either from Aboriginal campsites along the crest of the ridge or upper slopes. Material may have eroded down the slope and been redistributed by rock clearance and ploughing in the past.

Along the banks of the river between the two chain mesh fences separating the boundary of the factory, there are a number of remnant alluvial terraces. Some have been artificially modified and some have had what appear to be settling tanks constructed in them. However, other areas have been planted with peppercorns, red gums and willows among others and are fairly stable. There is no ground surface visibility on these remnant terraces because of heavy grass cover, but they appear to be natural terraces which are higher than the river bank and the former swampland to the south, which has been developed as part of the factory.

The alluvial terraces may have some archaeological potential, but it would be necessary to do sub-surface testing to fully assess whether there is any likelihood of Aboriginal cultural materials remaining *in situ*.

Summary and Discussion

The site survey carried out of the former explosives factory showed that most of the study area had been extensively disturbed by the later construction of buildings at the Maribyrnong Explosives factory. Earlier disturbance to the area caused by farming and grazing would not have been as extensive, but the construction and on-going expansion of the factory since 1910, has had a significant and deleterious impact on any remaining Aboriginal sites in the area.

The main areas of archaeological potential identified in the survey are:

The slope to the north-east of the stables

The sloping ridge to the south-east of the stables, which is situated in the EFM factory and which also contains the homestead site.

The remnant terraces above the south bank of the Maribyrnong River, where they have not been extensively modified.

The location of these areas is shown in Figure 3.

It is likely that there were formerly several sites along the base of the northern slope, on and above alluvial terraces and to the south of what would have been a large swamp. This is where silcrete would have been outcropping beneath the

basalt newer volcanics. The campsites would also have also been situated above an important source of plant and animal foods and resources in the swampland and on high ground above higher flood levels. These former alluvial terraces have, however, all but been obliterated by the construction of the factory.

Significance of Recorded Site

Site AAV 7822/1119 has been assessed as being of low scientific significance using the criteria contained in Appendix 3 of this report. The site is likely to be of cultural significance to the Wurundjeri in demonstrating occupation and use of this area and its resources prior to the arrival of Europeans. A connection with this area as a resource base has been maintained since contact with Europeans by the Aboriginal people who raided the factory for supplies in the time after it was established.

APPENDIX 5

A5. ADVICE ABOUT THE DISCOVERY OF HUMAN REMAINS

If suspected human remains are discovered during any excavation or development work, the steps outlined below should be followed.

1. Legal requirements

The *Coroner's Act 1985* requires anyone who discovers the remains of a 'person whose identity is unknown' to report the discovery directly to the State Coroner's Office or to the Victoria Police. A person who fails to report the discovery of such remains is liable to a \$10,000 fine. The Coroner's Act does not differentiate between treatment of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal remains. The majority of burials found during development work are, therefore, likely to be subject to this reporting requirement.

In addition, Part IIA of the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984* requires anyone who discovers suspected Aboriginal remains in Victoria to report the discovery to the responsible Minister. The Director, Aboriginal Affairs Victoria, holds delegated authority to receive and investigate such reports.

It should be noted that the *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Heritage Protection Act 1984* is subordinate to the *Coroner's Act 1985* regarding the discovery of human remains. Therefore, the location at which the remains are found should be first treated as a possible crime scene, and the developer and/or contractor should not make any assumptions about the age or ethnicity of the burial.

Victoria Police Standing Orders require that an archaeologist from the Heritage Services

Branch, Aboriginal Affairs Victoria, should be in attendance when suspected Aboriginal remains have been reported (Police Headquarters and the State Coroner's Office hold after-hours contact numbers for Heritage Services Branch staff). Where it is believed the remains are Aboriginal, the Police will usually invite representatives of the local Aboriginal community to be present when the remains are assessed. This is because Aboriginal people usually have particular concerns about the treatment of Aboriginal burials and associated materials.

2. Aboriginal Affairs Victoria - suggested procedure to be followed if suspected human remains are discovered

1. If suspected human remains are discovered during development, work in the area must cease and the Police or State Coroner's Office must be informed of the discovery without delay. The State Coroner's Office can be contacted at any time on ph: (03) 9684 4444.
2. If there are reasonable grounds to suspect the remains are Aboriginal, the discovery should also be reported to Aboriginal Affairs Victoria on ph: (03) 9616 7777. Aboriginal Affairs Victoria will ensure that the local Aboriginal community is informed about the circumstances of the discovery.
3. Do not touch or otherwise interfere with the remains, other than to safeguard them from further disturbance.
4. Do not contact the media.

GLOSSARY & REFERENCES

GLOSSARY

Introduction & terminology

The following list provides definitions of various terms used in this report. Many of the terms have been referenced and the sources included in the reference list at the end of this report.

There is often a degree of confusion about the use of terms such as *heritage place*, *historical site*, *archaeological site* and so on. The definitions of these terms, as used in this report, have been included in the glossary and their relationship outlined in **Figure 1** below. The term used most consistently is *heritage place* and this is defined as follows:

Heritage place: A place that has aesthetic, historic, scientific or social values for past, present or future generations – ‘... this definition encompasses all cultural places with any *potential* present or future value as defined above’ (Pearson & Sullivan 1995:7).

For the purpose of discussion in this document ‘heritage place’ can be sub-divided into **Aboriginal place** and **historic place** (ie. a historic place refers more particularly to non-Aboriginal sites).

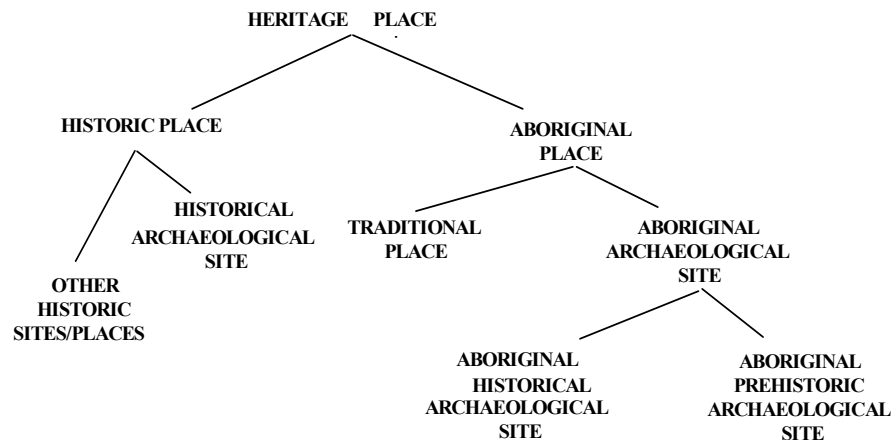


Figure G1: Terminology used for categories of heritage places.

Archaeological site types

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

Historical archaeological site: an archaeological site formed since non-Aboriginal settlement that contains physical evidence of past human activity (for example a structure, landscape or artefact scatter).

Aboriginal historical archaeological site (or contact site): a site with a historical context such as an Aboriginal mission station or provisioning point; or a site that shows evidence of Aboriginal use of non-Aboriginal materials and ideas (for example: artefact scatter sites that have artefacts made from glass, metal or ceramics).

Aboriginal prehistoric archaeological site: a site that contains physical evidence of past Aboriginal activity, formed or used by Aboriginal people either before, or not long after, European settlement. These sites are commonly grouped as follows (further definition of each is contained in the glossary list):

- artefact scatter
- burial
- hearth
- isolated artefact
- mound
- quarry
- scarred tree
- shell midden
- structures
- rock art
- rock shelter
- rock well

One of the most common artefact types that provides evidence of Aboriginal people are those made from stone. Types and categories are outlined below in **Figure 2**, with further definition of each in the glossary list.

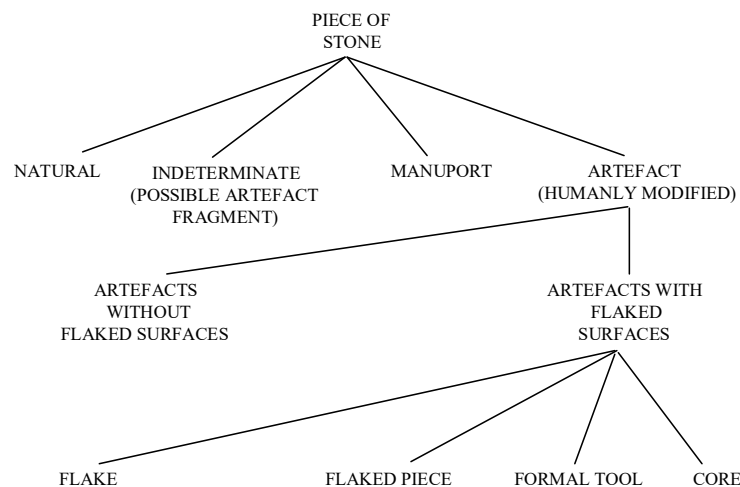


Figure G2: Stone artefact types/categories.

List of definitions

Aboriginal historical archaeological site (or contact site): either a site with an historic context such as an Aboriginal mission station or provisioning point; or a site that shows evidence of Aboriginal use of European/non-Aboriginal materials and ideas (eg. artefact scatter sites that contain artefacts made from glass, metal or ceramics).

Aboriginal prehistoric archaeological site: a site that contains physical evidence of past Aboriginal use, formed or used by

Aboriginal people either before, or not long after, European settlement.

Alluvial terrace: a platform created from deposits of alluvial material along river banks.

Anvil: a portable flat stone, usually a river pebble, used as a base for working stone. Anvils used frequently have a small circular depression in the centre where cores were held while being struck. An anvil is often a multi-functional

tool also used as a grindstone and hammerstone.

Archaeology: the study of the remains of past human activity.

Artefact scatter: a surface scatter of cultural material. Aboriginal artefact scatters are defined as being the occurrence of five (5) or more items of cultural material within an area of about 100 square metres (AAV 1993:1j). Artefact scatters are often the only physical remains of places where people have lived camped, prepared and eaten meals and worked.

Backed piece: a flake or blade that has been abruptly retouched along one or more margins opposite an acute (sharp) edge. Backed pieces include backed blades and geometric microliths. They are thought to have been hafted onto wooden handles to produce composite cutting tools. Backed pieces are a feature of the 'Australian small tool tradition', dating from between 5000 and 1000 years ago in southern Australia (Mulvaney 1975).

Bipolar working: technique used for the reduction of stone, in particular quartz, by placing a core on an anvil and 'smashing' with a hammerstone.

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

Burial site: usually a sub-surface pit containing human remains and sometimes associated artefacts.

Burin: a stone implement roughly rectangular-shaped with a corner flaked to act as point for piercing holes in animal skins. The distinguishing feature is a narrow spall, usually struck from the distal end down the lateral margin of a blade, but sometimes across the end of a flake (McCarthy 1976:38).

Contact site: see 'Aboriginal historical archaeological site'.

Core: an artefact from which flakes have been detached using a hammerstone.

Core types include single platform, multi-platform and bipolar forms.

Cortex: original or natural (unflaked) surface of a stone.

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

Edge modification: irregular small flake scarring along one or more margins of a flake, flaked piece or core, which is the result of utilisation/retouch or natural edge damage.

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

Flaked piece: a piece of stone with definite flake surfaces, which cannot be classified as a flake or core.

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

Gilgai soils: soils with an undulating surface, presenting as a pattern of mounds and depressions. A possible cause is the alternation of swelling and cracking of clay during periods of wet and dry conditions.

Grindstones: upper (handstone) and lower (basal) stones used to grind plants for food and medicine and/or ochre for painting. A handstone sometimes doubles as a hammerstone and/or anvil.

Hammerstone: a piece of stone, often a creek/river pebble/cobble, which has been used to detach flakes from a core by percussion. During flaking, the edges of the hammerstone become 'bruised' or crushed by impact with the core.

Hearth: usually a sub-surface feature found eroding from a river or creek bank or a sand dune - it indicates a place where Aboriginal people cooked food. The remains of a hearth are usually

identifiable by the presence of charcoal and sometimes clay balls (like brick fragments) and hearth stones. Remains of burnt bone or shell are sometimes preserved within a hearth.

Heat treatment: the thermal alteration of stone (including silcrete) by stone workers to improve its flaking qualities (see Flenniken and White 1983).

Heritage Place: A place with aesthetic, historic, scientific or social values for past, present or future generations – ‘...this definition encompasses all cultural places with any *potential* present or future value as defined above’ (Pearson & Sullivan 1995:7).

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

Historical archaeological site: an archaeological site formed since non-Aboriginal settlement that contains physical evidence of past human activity (for example a structure, landscape or artefact scatter).

Isolated artefact: the occurrence of less than five items of cultural material within an area of about 100 square metres (AAV 1993:1j). It/they can be evidence of a short-lived (or one-off) activity location, the result of an artefact being lost or discarded during travel, or evidence of an artefact scatter that is otherwise obscured by poor ground visibility.

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

Moiety(ies): A totemic descent group usually symbolised by an animalistic totem.

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

has also been suggested some were deliberately constructed as hut foundations (Bird and Frankel 1991: 7–8).

Noxious weeds: plants that have been proclaimed under the Victorian *Catchment and Land Protection Act 1994*. They include four types: state prohibited, regionally prohibited, regionally controlled and restricted. Noxious weeds are species that seriously threaten or potentially threaten agricultural production.

Obtrusiveness: how visible a site is within a particular landscape. Some site types are more conspicuous than others. A surface stone artefact scatter is generally not obtrusive, but a scarred tree will be (Bird 1992).

Pebble/cobble: natural stone fragments of any shape. Pebbles are 2–60 mm in size and cobbles are 60–200 mm in size (McDonald et al. 1984: 78).

Percussion: the act of hitting a core with a hammerstone to strike off flakes.

Platform preparation: removal of small flake scars on the dorsal edge of a flake, opposite the bulb of percussion. These overhang removal scars are produced to prevent a platform from shattering (Hiscock 1986: 49).

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

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

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

Regionally controlled weed: legally defined by the Victorian Catchment and Land Protection Act, and determined by each Victorian Regional Catchment authority in conjunction with DNRE for each particular Region. Listed species are those that are widespread, but are still considered important for control. Landholders must take all

reasonable steps to control and prevent the spread of these weeds on their property and adjacent roadsides.

Retouch: a flake, flaked piece or core with intentional secondary flaking along one or more edges.

Rock art: ‘paintings, engravings and shallow relief work on natural rock surfaces’ (Rosenfeld 1988: 1). Paintings were often produced by mineral pigments, such as ochre, combined with clay and usually mixed with water to form a paste or liquid that was applied to an unprepared rock surface. Rock engravings were made by incising, pounding, pecking or chiselling a design into a rock surface. Rare examples of carved trees occasionally survive.

Rock shelter: may contain the physical remains of camping places where people prepared meals, flaked stone, etc. They are often classed as a different type of site due to their fixed boundaries and greater likelihood of containing sub-surface deposits. Rockshelters may also contain rock art.

Rock-well: a natural or modified depression within a stone outcrop, which collects water. The most identifiable of these sites have been modified by Aboriginal people, either by deepening or enlarging.

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

Scraper: a flake, flaked piece or core with systematic retouch on one or more margins. Scraper types follow Jones (1971).

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

shellfish resources were accessed and exploited.

Significance: the importance of a heritage place or site for aesthetic, historic, scientific or social values for past, present or future generations.

Striking platform: the surface of a core, which is struck by a hammerstone to remove flakes.

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

Stratified deposit: material that has been laid down, over time, in distinguishable layers.

Utilised artefact: a flake, flaked piece or core that has irregular small flake scarring along one or more margins that does not represent platform preparation.

Visibility: the degree to which the surface of the ground can be seen. This may be influenced by natural processes such as wind erosion or the character of the native vegetation, and by land-use practices, such as ploughing or grading. Visibility is generally expressed in terms of the percentage of the ground surface visible for an observer on foot (Bird 1992).

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