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Front cover:
Particpants at the zoom webinar panel discussion by Traditional Owners at the 2021 Colloquium. Top row: Darren Griffin, Liz Foley, Dave Wandin—Wurundjeri Woiwurrung; bottom row: Racquel Kerr—Dja Dja Wurrung, Tammy Gilson—Wadawurrung, Ben Muir— Wotjobaluk and Jardwadjali. (Screenshot by Caroline Spry)e

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Editorial note

The papers included in this 10th issue of *Excavations, Surveys and Heritage Management in Victoria* were presented at the annual Victorian Archaeology Colloquium held on-line via zoom webinar between 1 and 4 February 2021. This allowed even more than our usual number of people to register as participants, including some from interstate and overseas: their commitment and involvement testifies to the importance of this fixture within the local archaeological calendar. Many were fortunate to be able to meet in person, under appropriate protocols, for an outdoor boxed lunch at La Trobe University on 5 February.

We have taken the opportunity of celebrating our 10th anniversay by looking back over the last decade, both through a more formal analysis and through a less formal panel discussion of the history of the Colloquium and this publication. Another panel discussion transcript allows space for some Traditional Owners to reflect on particular examples that they feel have been of value in the complex process of cultural revival through a form of experimental (perhaps better experiential) archaeology.

The other papers published here deal with a variety of topics and approaches that span Victoria's Aboriginal and European past. While some papers report on the results of specific research projects others focus on aspects of method, approach, education and the social context of our work and approach. These call demonstrate how our Colloquium continues to be an important opportunity for consultants, academics, managers and Aboriginal community groups to share their common interests in the archaeology and heritage of Victoria.

In addition to the more developed papers, we have continued our practice of publishing the abstracts of other papers presented at the Colloquium, illustrated by a selection of the slides taken from the PowerPoint presentations prepared by participants. These demonstrate the range of work being carried out in Victoria, and we hope that many of these will also form the basis of more complete studies in the future. Previous volumes of *Excavations, Surveys and Heritage Management in Victoria* are freely available through La Trobe University's institutional repository, Research Online <www.arrow.latrobe.edu.au:8080/vital/access/manager/Repository/latrobe:41999> and through Open at La Trobe (OPAL) <https://doi.org/10.26181/601a321a11c0d>. We hope that this will encourage the dissemination of ideas and information in the broader community, both within Australia and internationally. We have also now set up a website for the Colloquium <https://victorianarchaeologycolloquium.com>

For the first time we have included an obituary to mark the passing of a member of our community: David Rhodes of Heritage Insight, a long-time supporter of our activities. Here we should also mention that we have also lost Ron Vanderwal who made importatnt contributions to archaeology and the curation of heritage, although he was unable to participate in the Colloquia.

Once again we have been fortunate in the support given to the Colloquium by many sponsors: ACHM, Ochre Imprints, Heritage Insight, Biosis, ArchLink, Christine Williamson Heritage Consultants and Extent, while La Trobe University continued to provide facilities and a home for our activites, even if this year it was a virtual one. We would like to thank them, and all others involved for their generous contributions towards hosting both the event and this publication. Yafit Dahary of 12 Ovens was, as always, responsible for the catering, despite the limitations on her usual spread.

All papers were refereed by the editorial team. This year Deb Kelly managed this process and the sub-editing of this volume. Layout was again undertaken by David Frankel. Preparation of this volume was, like so much else in the last year, undertaken during the severe restrictions imposed because of the COVID-19 pandemic. We hope that 2022 will be a better year for all.

The presenters, editors and authors acknowledge the Traditional Owners of the lands and heritage discussed at the Colloquium and in this volume, and pay their respects to their Elders, past, present and emerging.

The case of Dooliebeal and Wurdi Youang on Wadawurrung Country: Threats to, and spatial awareness of Aboriginal cultural heritage and landscapes within urban growth

Heather Threadgold[1,2] and Melinda Kennedy[1,2]

Abstract

Several years of negotiation and processes with local government led to the recent maiden re–naming of a significant Wadawurrung space called Dooliebeal. Dooliebeal is a vulnerable small five–hectare creek side reserve amid a fast–growing urban growth development in the Warralily Estate of Armstrong Creek just south of Geelong, Victoria. Dooliebeal is linkage to an extensive Creation Story for the Wadawurrung people. The immediate landscape has remained reasonably untouched since settlement and is now surrounded by new housing, domestic pets and constant human interaction. Dooliebeal is a complex and sensitive understanding of Wadawurrung people and place in what has now become a disconnected landscape. Disconnection occurs when cultural connection is disturbed, and landscapes become manipulated by urban development processes.

Wurdi Youang stone arrangement and culturally significant property near Little River, Victoria is similar to Dooliebeal in that both sites are regarded as highly threatened in terms of Aboriginal cultural heritage sensitivities, values and connections. The impending threats to Dooliebeal and Wurdi Youang not only highlights the need for recognition of name in language, they provide crucial spatial awareness of Aboriginal sites of significance, as landscape connections of memory, meaning, and living and connection to natural environment. This must be extended to educate contemporary urban population in cultural heritage sensitivities whilst incorporating the notion of 'space and place' (Tuan 1977) and Connection to Country (Rose 1992). This paper outlines how the process of re–naming Aboriginal spaces within urban development is just a start in shaping the future of acknowledgement, and protection of Aboriginal cultural sites of significance in development zones that may otherwise lead such sites to become misinterpreted, neglected or removed.

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Introduction

Dooliebeal is a fragile five–hectare reserve endangered by recent (2012 onwards) urban growth expansion of the City of Greater Geelong (COGG 2021b). Geelong is located 75km southwest of Melbourne in Victoria (**Figure 1**). The site location of the reserve is 'approximately 9km south of Geelong CBD on Warralily Boulevard' (COGG 2021a). Dooliebeal reserve is a section of the Armstrong Creek development and is subject to seasonal overflow, as a tributary of the Lake Connewarre system incorporating Waurn Ponds, Hospital Lake and Reedy Creek. The entire water system is part of Wadawurrung Black Swan Dreaming creation story connected to Lake Connewarre and also to the Newer Volcanic–Province with nearby eruption points at Mt Dunned and Mt Moriac.

Figure 1. Location map of Wurdi Youang and Dooliebeal (Derived from Near Map 2021 by Threadgold and Kennedy)

Wurdi Youang is a recorded stone arrangement and culturally significant site located nearby in Little River, approximately 50 kms southwest of Melbourne, Victoria. The site was re–discovered by archaeologist and anthropologist Louis Lane in the 1960s and sits on the banks of the Little River. It has natural grasslands and seasonal waterways adjacent to it, within stone barrier country, along the Werribee Plains on the Victorian Volcanic Plains (VVP). The site is under threat with the expansion of the Western Melbourne Growth Corridors (WMGC). Where Dooliebeal is already surrounded by urban development, Wurdi Youang is yet to be enveloped by urban development. Though the threat is real with the western fringes of Melbourne 7.8 kms to the west of the site inching closer each year.

In this paper we draw upon the link between recorded and traditionally known culturally significant sites and recent changes which endanger their current state of protection, and further connection to Country for Traditional Owners. The paper focuses upon Dooliebeal as the main example with a recent re–naming process. That leads to a broader debate, in determining a strict process for developers and a holistic approach in cultural education, including the realm of developed ethnoscapes, the notion of migration of people to place (Appadurai 1997, Taylor 2000). Without such context to an Aboriginal place, development may alter such sites forever.

The process of re–naming Dooliebeal

Dooliebeal is a special Aboriginal place as described from the perspective of Wadawurrung Traditional Owner Melinda Kennedy (and co–author):

> *Doolibeal holds all that is needed to live a rich Wadawurrung cultural life that Bundjil created for all to live. The sweet tasting of native honey, with the marks on a tree, a ladder made by the ancestors to extract the natural medicine. We all probably devalue the cultural significance of place. The historical ant mound, a home for tens of thousands of generational ants who had a part in Wadawurrung culture. A 450–year–old Smoking Biyal tree used to cook and preserve the food of the first peoples of these lands. Holding remnants of charcoal oil and fats of the foods produced by this cooking method. The scars etched into the surrounding trees, tools bowls and marks left by the cut of a greenstone axe by the master of that very craft. Conserving the Trees life for many generations after.*
>
> *Dooliebeal [is a] significant place for [the] Wadawurrung, holding [an] abundance of Wadawurrung [culture] showcasing [a] smoking oven used to preserve foods.*
>
> *Tool construction, [the] extraction from trees, climbing the trees, all [actions] carrying the sophisticated life of living with conservation. [Which have] been handcrafted this way for tens of thousands of years.*
>
> *Now referred to as scarred trees. When really they need consideration of being the first construction of tools and cooking practice in the world.*
>
> *Connecting Wadawurrung to the very significant place Connewarre, leading to Kunawarrra the black swan Songline trail, connecting the Waurn (homes) Chain of Ponds (fresh water) to Connewarre and spilling into the Bass Strait at Barwon Heads Bluff.*

Understanding these complexities is a small part about learning and naming. The Aboriginal naming of place is meaningful on many levels and the name of Dooliebeal was made known to John Stewart in the 1850s by Wadawurrung living in the area at the time. The word 'beal' and similarly pronounced words (beeyal, biel, piel) appear in several texts / traditional language dictionaries (Lane 2001, Pascoe 2007) as reference to mean flooded gums, large gums, river red gums. The Wadawurrung Language App (Wadawurrung / VACCL 2020) states that 'biyal' means red gum and 'Doolie' means sweet. Being a low–lying overflow of Armstrong Creek, the meaning of name is related to the immediate holistic landscape and use of place.

The Dooliebeal reserve holds flora and fauna of high significance as one of few natural remnant sites in the area:

> It is located in the bioregion Victorian Volcanic Plain containing remnant vegetation of the Ecological Vegetation Class (EVC) 175, Grassy Woodland. This Grassy Woodland is dominated by Red Gum with scattered Swamp Gum, Manna Gum, Black Wattle and Sweet Bursaria. It has an intact understory with good grass cover including Kangaroo Grass, Wallaby–Grasses and Weeping Grass. Over 50 species of birds have been reported at the Reserve, as well as several species of bats, frogs and butterflies. The Reserve contains important habitat elements including large old trees with hollows, leaf litter and fallen timber (COGG 2021a).

The reserve is listed as an Aboriginal Place on the Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Register and Information System (ACHRIS) with cultural heritage present such as scarred trees. Both tangible and intangible heritage are known to Wadawurrung people.

The early colonial history of the Dooliebeal region began with the establishment of pastoral runs when 'Governor Bourke declared the Port Phillip District

open for settlement on 6 September 1836' (Scurfield 1995 p.41). The Port Phillip Association (John Batman and co) were the first to settle. An early surveyor map of Duneed 1855 (Jones and Byerley 1855) notes that in the immediate area of Dooliebeal as rich with 'grazing land well grassed, good agricultural lands, grazing lands wet in winter and timbered wet in winter with an area of sandy soil'. John Stewart purchased a portion of the River Station No.3 Pastoral Run from landowner John Armstrong in 1856. Stewart built and ran a three–storey flour mill west of the reserve site and a substantial grazing property. It was during the early period of settlement that Stewart witnessed Wadawurrung people utilising this area and at this point in the 1850s—1860s the Wadawurrung were almost entirely systematically displaced from their Country and cultural traditions. During the 1850s waterways were leased to landowners and therefore the Creekside reserve was considered to belong to Stewart. Technically, the land is Crown Land and today managed by COGG. The property remained in the Stewart family until 2012 and urban development in the immediate area began soon after when the Stewart property was demolished to make way for residential development known as the 'Warralily Estate' of Armstrong Creek.

Recently (2019), Dooliebeal was re–named in a process that took over a decade. This process was a first for Geelong and public naming of language will be further developed to educate the public of cultural connection of space and place (Tuan 1977). For many decades prior the reserve was known a 'Stewarts Reserve'. Prior to an influx in settlement in the 1850s, most colonial towns and places in Victoria were Aboriginal named. When parish names were established by early surveyors, they replicated Aboriginal place names for waterways and landforms including multi–use sites and naming (Clark et al. 2014). Places were re–named by, and after colonial men, yet many Aboriginal names remain, and some are connected by duel–naming (Clark et al. 2014).

There are thirteen rules for naming roads, features and localities according to 'Naming Rules for Places in Victoria' (DEWLP 2021) in relation to the Geographic Place Names Act 1998 and part of this process advises that:

> Naming authorities are strongly encouraged to consult with the relevant Traditional Owner group(s) prior to any public consultation on the proposed name(s). In instances of more than one relevant Traditional Owner group, naming authorities must consult all parties (DEWLP 2021).

However, this is not always the case and is mostly ignored by developers and this can lead to problematic issues arising in a re–naming process. For example, the developers of Armstrong Creek / Warralily had named an avenue 'Dooliebeal' not adjacent to the reserve site and without Traditional Owner consultation and as such, when the newly named Dooliebeal was formulated during process (COGG 2021), Ambulance Victoria stated during the re–naming process that in the case of an emergency, the two separate sites could cause potential confusion and hence set the process back by almost a year. If initial Aboriginal consultation had have taken place by the developer, the re–naming process may have proceeded earlier, and this inaction almost halted its rightful name. A dual naming option was considered with the Stewart family name and the name Dooliebeal with final settlement upon the reserve

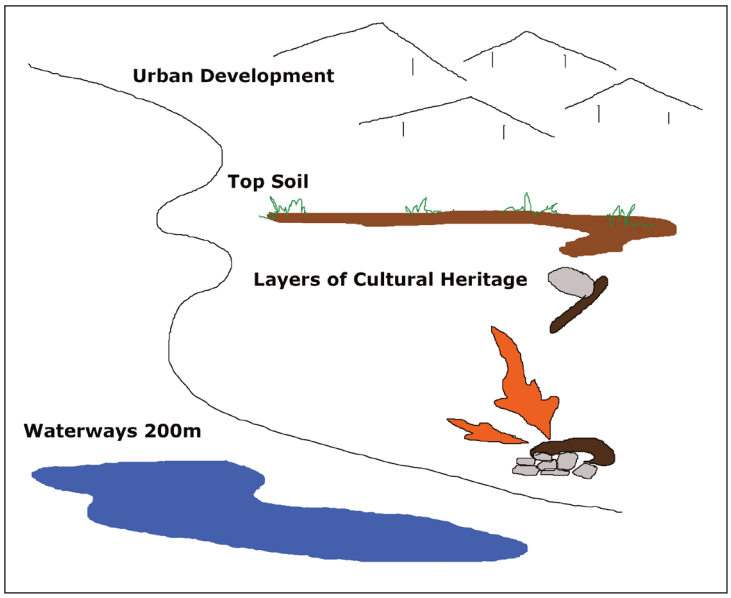

Figure 2. Authors' depiction of urban development process and cultural heritage (Drawing by Threadgold and Kennedy 2021)

named as 'Dooliebeal' and 'it was decided the family name will be retained through a naming of a walkway next to the reserve' (Kerr 2019).

Cultural heritage undermined by urban growth and the notion of 'natural space'

In 2018 the population of COGG was 252, 217 (COGG 2021b) with predictions of 500,000 by 2050 (GRA 2013). The immediate growth area of Armstrong Creek development will provide for 22,000 lots and a population of around 55,000–65,000 people (Collie 2008). Therefore, the pressure of expanding housing will be in danger of sustaining a healthy waterway and a healthy habitat for native flora and fauna. Development in the Geelong region has boomed since 2012 along with the rate at which planning approval to develop is accelerating. The COGG long–term outlook for future development of the Geelong region, particularly the Armstrong Creek Urban Growth Plan (Collie 2008) incorporates a total of 2,600 hectares of mostly generational farmland is portrayed as being converted to support a sustainable community that sets new benchmarks in best practice urban development. The masterplan for the development boasts that 'natural and cultural features will be protected and enhanced to create a distinct urban character' (Collie 2008:8).

To accelerate development, and appease Cultural Heritage Management Plans (CHMPs), removal of the top layer of landscape and re–structuring of natural waterways and wetlands with 'environmental' options are a way of re–creating space within the parameters of planning requirements (**Figure 2**). However, as water diversions include extensive pipe works which is the case for the Armstrong Creek development, this often means that the surrounding sites such as Dooliebeal are constantly manipulated. Rapid progress in turn does not allow for natural habitats to adapt to the new 'environment'. The 'Armstrong Creek East Precinct Urban Structure' (Warralily 2021) presents a stark contrast between nature and crammed residential housing directly adjacent to the Dooliebeal reserve. Development on both the north and south side, with a proposed school, community facilities and mixed–use space, including 'green spaces' (or 'open spaces') to the southeast. There is no barrier separating residents, domestic animals, and accessibility to the site apart from pathways and landscaping.

Dooliebeal lies within a planning overlay of Aboriginal cultural sensitivity, meaning that these areas are highly likely to contain cultural heritage. In fact, if all Aboriginal sites of significance were highlighted, the scale would be vast. There is a cultural sensitivity planning zone buffer of 200 metres from waterways that is required for protection of waterways and culturally significant sites by undertaking CHMPs. However, in the case of Dooliebeal, developers have not taken into consideration the localities of areas of cultural sensitivity (**Figure 3**) and further to that, Wadawurrung understandings of connection to Country and creation stories of the Lake Connewarre system is not considered

Figure 3. Areas of Aboriginal Cultural Heritage Sensitivity with Wadawurrung perspectives and intrusion of the Lake Connewarre System. Source: (Derived from Planning Maps Online 2021 and Near Map 2021 by Threadgold and Kennedy).

as a culturally sensitivity planning overlay (**Figure 3**).

For Traditional Owners, the neglect and lack of allocation of natural landscapes and space on Country from urban growth is concerning and is described by author Melinda Kennedy (Wadawurrung) that it 'feels like dispossession all over again, with the past forcing my ancestors to small pockets and forcing my creators into small boundaries and introduction of domestic pets, threatens what is important to us, our creator birds'.

So how do we as heritage advisors, shape a better argument for governing bodies such as Aboriginal Victoria under the Aboriginal Protection Regulations 2018 to understand the impact that urban growth is having upon cultural heritage along waterways, and outside of the planning zone? Where cultural heritage sits in a private domain under the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register (AV 2021), recognition of places of significance are not public knowledge and where naming presents some form of recognition, it is crucial that the development process is governed during and after consultation process, from planning to final to ensure some form of connectivity. So much manipulation of the cultural landscape is re–shaped and when elements such as waterways are manipulated, long–term destruction is inevitable and irreversible.

The urban expansion of Dooliebeal is a pre–warning for other culturally significant places such as Wurdi Youang. Wurdi Youang is a poignant place for Wadawurrung people:

> Creator Lowan lies near,
> He created when flew over Country
> Shedding feathers
> Feathers fell from the lakora
> Where a feather landed on Country
> It turned to Granite
> Which makes the whole place significant
> (Melinda Kennedy (Wadawurrung) 2021 oral history)

Wurdi Young is a privately owned and managed property (by Wathaurong Co–Operative) and has several sites of significance on the property with only one or two sites recorded on ACHRIS. More work is to be done in terms of recognising the whole site as a cultural place. Until then with the real possibility of future compulsory acquisition for further expansion of Western Melbourne which will guide the delivery of key housing, employment and transport infrastructure in Melbourne's new suburbs and provide a clear strategy for the development of the growth corridors over the next 30 to 40 years (VPA 2021).

The western expansion of Melbourne is moving fast, and large tracts of land are stripped and modified with privately acquired land not properly assessed. As discovered in her PhD thesis, 'What the Stones Tell Us: Gulidjan Country Stones Sites and Living Spaces', Threadgold (2021) highlights that although recording cultural heritage is the responsibility of heritage advisors, Traditional Owners and archaeologists, 90% of cultural heritage exists on private property (McNiven 1998) and is mostly unrecorded. When private farmland is acquired and large CHMP processes are undertaken, sites are often missed, and consideration of cultural heritage is only focused upon waterways. Therefore, this places responsibility upon governing bodies and recorders of cultural heritage to ensure that systems are transparent throughout rapid movement of urban development and fast eradication of private land hold in order to protect Aboriginal culture. Further to this, with the rapid rise of changing ethnoscapes, where people are migrating to newly developed suburbs, people and place retain a disconnection to natural spaces there is a need for re–connection to Aboriginal landscapes.

These highlight developers' notion of 'green spaces' and 'open space' which is somewhat misleading. For example, the Warralily estate promises that:

> Warralily is a haven for nature–lovers with 82 hectares of open space, parkland and conservation gardens with more than one million trees planted. Almost a quarter of Warralily is dedicated to recreation and relaxation including three sports precincts with football, soccer and cricket ovals (Warralily 2021).

The description of the above passage of 'nature', and 'recreation' and planting of vegetation on existing natural landscapes is in fact, re–created spaces. The concept of the definitions 'green spaces' and open space' does not equate with 'remnant' or 'natural spaces' and 'habitats'. We witnessed that during COVID lockdowns, at a time when the need for outdoor space was crucial, Dooliebeal was utilised more often and at the same time desecrated by residents as it was treated as an extension of 'home' with discarded rubbish, homemade bridges and pathways throughout the reserve and tree hollows stuffed with toys, and 'fairy gardens' created throughout the reserve with plastic bits and pieces. Culturally significant sites are not always holistically protected. Disconnection to natural and cultural connection to Country is also removed when waterways are deterred, and landscapes removed.

Conclusion

This paper introduces indicators for urgent recognition of natural and cultural places under threat by urban development, and further impacts that lie in the near future considering rapid movement and change of place and space. As remnant natural landscapes and cultural landscapes are becoming more and more endangered, rapid development means rapid decision making, and true meaning of 'place' is distorted. Ensuring developers are indeed presenting 'green spaces', rather natural spaces, and understanding that cultural spaces such as Dooliebeal are in grave danger of decline. The irreversible

impacts on birdlife, marine life, flora and fauna habitats will be impacted in the process. Educating people moving to the urban suburbs of connection to Country and what that means will develop healthier ethnoscapes. Better processes in urban growth development and planning overlays which expand further than waterways to ensure cultural heritage safety is crucial and time is of the essence for these regulations to be tightened.

Acknowledgments

We would like to acknowledge Wadawurrung Traditional Owners on the Country that this paper is presenting. We also acknowledge all Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders.

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