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## Australian Heritage Database

### Agenda Item 2.1.3 Assessment report - preliminary decision

Class : Indigenous

The Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape, which includes the Tyrendarra IPA property, was included on the National Heritage List against the criteria listed below:

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural identity.

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the places' possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance as part of indigenous tradition

#### Description:

Peters Property is a 200ha property located approximately 20 km north east of the coastal city of Portland, and 4km north-west of the Tyrendarra township in south western Victoria. It forms the south western border of the Mt Eccles lava flow; the Fitzroy River is the southern boundary and Homerton Swamp is the northern boundary. Peters Property has indigenous stony rise vegetation, a limited number of walking tracks, wetlands and an in-situ surface scattered tip site of European origin. There is no all-weather access (Tyrendarra IPA Management Action Plan 2008-2013). The Property is extensively cleared, particularly in the north (Crouch, 2014) and adjoins the western boundary of the Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape - Tyrendarra Area, approximately 6 km south east of the Kurtonitj Property (Kurtonitj).

Peters Property is a parcel of land within close proximity to the two non-contiguous areas that constitute the Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape (Budj Bim); the nominated place of Kurtonitj Property; and several privately owned parcels of land. The two non-contiguous areas of Budj Bim are approximately 12 km apart, and are referred to as the Mt Eccles Lake Condah Area (Lake Condah) and the Tyrendarra Area (Tyrendarra). Lake Condah (Tae Rak in Dhauwurd Wurrung language) is the northern of the two properties, and Tyrendarra is the southern.

Peters Property adjoins Tyrendarra at its western boundary, and Kurtonitj (also nominated at the same time for the same national heritage values) is situated approximately half way between the Mt Eccles/Lake Condah and Tyrendarra nationally listed areas.

#### Analysis:

The nominator states that Peters Property has the same national heritage values as the two listed parts of the Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape. These summarised for the purposes of the analysis below.

#### **Criterion (a) The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history.**

##### Ancient aquaculture

The National heritage value of the ancient aquaculture system represented at Mt Eccles and Lake Condah and Tyrendarra includes 'eel traps along the Tyrendarra lava flow are of outstanding heritage value' and 'remains of the channels, weirs and fish traps ... hundreds and probably thousands of years old' comprising evidence of 'a complex system of natural and artificially created wetlands, channels, the stone bases of weirs and stone fish traps that were used by Gunditj Mara people to grow and harvest eels and fish'.

There is evidence of similar ancient aquaculture practices in Western Victoria. The National Heritage value of the Mt Eccles and Lake Condah and Tyrendarra areas is due to their being better representatives of these systems than other areas, which had a more 'limited range of the features associated with eel aquaculture, mainly channels and fish traps'.

## Australian Heritage Database

### Agenda Item 2.1.3 Assessment report - preliminary decision

Class : Indigenous

In addition the 'remains of the system of eel aquaculture in the Tyrendarra area demonstrate a transition from a forager society to a society that practiced husbandry of fresh water fish [resulting] ... in high population densities represented by the remains of stone huts clustered into villages of between two and sixteen huts, [providing] ... the economic base for a stratified society ruled by chiefs with a form of hereditary succession to this office.'

No specific information was provided by the nominator to support this claim.

#### The aquaculture system of Lake Condah and surrounds

There is evidence to support the distinctiveness of the systems of aquaculture that existed in this area of south-west Victoria compared with 'contemporary, historical and archaeological records of freshwater fish traps recorded in other parts of Australia which provided a system for channelling fish in streams or rivers into traps rather than creating conditions for fish husbandry' (Sutton 2004). These distinctive features are recognised in the National Heritage Values of the two listed places of the Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape.

As noted above, Ingram observed the functioning Budj Bim Aboriginal fishery as 'one of the largest and most remarkable aboriginal fisheries in the western district of Victoria ... the position is very well chosen' (Ingram quoted in Richards, 2011: 74). The system Ingram mapped at Lake Condah is known as the Muldoons Trap Complex. It is a complex of at least 350 meters of constructed channels running along the lava flow corridor on the former Muldoons property at Lake Condah. Dated to 6570-6620 before present, the Muldoons Trap Complex is a highly significant site for Aboriginal prehistory. Its evidence of sophisticated environmental manipulation at an early date reveals a more complex pattern than the standard picture of Australian Aboriginal hunting and gathering.

The archaeological evidence identifies that Muldoons Trap Complex continued west, south and north of Ingram's map (Richards 2001:78). In addition to the northern Lake Condah area that Ingram mapped, the section of the system within the boundary of the Lake Condah National Heritage place, Ingram described the extent and elements of smaller fisheries along the Darlot Creek valley, south of Lake Condah:

There are numerous smaller fisheries constructed in suitable places in small bays and outlets where the water sinks into the trap scoriae down along the margin of the Valley of Darlots' Creek. Across this valley at suitable places were erected large barricades, constructed with strong forked stakes, horizontal spars, and vertical stakes strengthened with piles of stones, openings were also left in these. (Ingram quoted in Richards 2011:74)

The installation of the European channel constructed by Ingram at the main Aboriginal weir in 1887 emptied the Condah Swamp, which was the main source of water for Lake Condah. The full impact on the whole system is unclear but the newly installed channel may have 'improved outflow' of water from Lake Condah, potentially redirecting it down Darlot Creek (Richards 2011:78). Richards states:

It is possible that the drainage programs required modifications to be made to the system in the stony rises south of the outlet by the Gunditjmara for the system to continue in use. On the other hand, it is clear that barrier dams or weirs across the overflow stream from the point of the outlet and down the course of Darlots' Creek would have remained effective means of trapping large numbers of migrating eels and other fish, even from a diminished catchment following drainage of the Swamp. (Richards 2011:79).

Unfortunately Ingram did not map any of the barricade sites along Darlot Creek that he describes as operating after the installation of the European channel. It is not possible to conclude from his records or from existing archaeological evidence that these lay within the Peters Property.

#### Darlots Creek

Darlots Creek is recognised by historic and contemporary researchers as playing an important role in the aquaculture system with reference to the location for additional barricades after the installation of the European barrier; as a major source of winter-fed water from the overflow of Lake Condah; and as the migration route for eels that extended from Lake Condah to the sea (Ingram 1893 quoted in Richards, 2011: 74; Context, 2013: 30; Crouch, 2013: 12). From an Indigenous perspective, Darlots Creek (or Killara, meaning 'permanent' in the Dhauwurd wurrung language) is a 'quintessential element of the Budj Bim landscape and operation of the Gunditjmara eel fishery: Killara was an artery, traversing the Budj Bim landscape, delivering life and succour from Tae Rak in the north to Tyrendarra near the coast' (Crouch, 2014a: 7).

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**Australian Heritage Database****Agenda Item 2.1.3 Assessment report - preliminary decision**Class : Indigenous

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There is evidence that Aboriginal people continued to farm fish after the installation of the European channel in 1893 (Ingram quoted in Richards, 2011: 74), 1895 (Stahle quoted in Richards, 2011:77) and in 1908 (Context, 2013:21). The documentary evidence, which includes Ingram's map and the recorded observations of ongoing aquaculture practices in the landscape, does not locate this activity beyond the Muldoons Fish Trap Complex within the Mt Eccles Lake Condah Area.

Peters Property surveys

In 2014 the Department commissioned additional archaeological research for evidence of the aquaculture system on Peters Property in consultation with Gunditj Mirring Traditional Owners Aboriginal Corporation. Archaeologist Joe Crouch reviewed previous research and site listings on the Victorian Aboriginal Heritage Register before conducting a rapid archaeological survey to identify any physical evidence of the aquaculture system and evaluate the integrity, condition and significance of any sites in a regional and functional context (Crouch 2014b). Crouch states his findings may be limited because of the brevity of the survey, poor ground visibility due to the season, the absence of flood waters that might reveal the pattern of ancient flows, the likely obscuring of features by sediment infill, and decay and lack of evidence of organic materials used (Crouch 2014b:10).

Prior to the site assessment the Gunditj Mirring representatives were not aware of any aquaculture sites on Peters Property (Crouch 2014a: 9). Lane's previous survey of Peters Property did not identify any aquaculture sites. It did identify site types including flint artefact scatters, stone house sites and stone structures of uncertain origin. Crouch's survey identified a potential weir fish trap structure in the centre of the property between two areas of inundation which Gunditj Mirring 'representatives agree is potentially but not definitely a weir structure' (Crouch 2014:13).

Crouch speculates that piles of stone on the north east boundary of Peters Property, close to Darlots Creek could be the destroyed remains of aquaculture features (Crouch, 2014:13). It is known that early settlers recycled Aboriginal stone structures into European structures such as stone fences as an indicator of entitlement and improvements to leases, cleared Aboriginal huts and property to discourage Aboriginal use and cleared land for crops and grazing (Lane 2009:31-2).

Crouch's Peters Property literature review and survey did not positively identify any new sites or reveal any evidence of an ancient system of aquaculture system on Peters Property. The two archaeological surveys of the property have not provided evidence for the remains of aquaculture features that reach national threshold for the property (Lane 2006 and Crouch 2014a).

Peters Property is not considered to meet the threshold under Criterion (a) for its capacity to demonstrate a system of natural and artificially created wetlands, including channels to link wetlands, stone bases of weirs to pond water and stone fish traps along the Tyrendarra lava flow.

Transition from a forager society to a society that practiced husbandry of fresh water fish

No specific information was provided to support this claim.

Since the late nineteenth century, from archaeological and anthropological perspectives, 'south-west Victoria must be the single most contentious part of the Australian continent, as there is little agreement on basic facts, interpretations, theories or models relating to complexity in the Aboriginal societies of this region' (Richards, 2011: 64). The claims the ancient aquaculture systems in western Victoria signify a transition from a foraging society to one practicing husbandry of freshwater fish are unproven. This includes claims that sites within the Budj Bim landscape are remains of stone houses that could have comprised villages of sedentary populations.

Clarke has questioned the 'cultural construction of an archaeological landscape' referring to the Budj Bim landscape in particular. Clarke questions the scale of stone circles identified and interpreted as domestic houses in the 1970s Lake Condah research by the Victorian Archaeological Survey and others (Clarke, 1994: 9-12) suggesting the cultural origins of all of these places is not established, and suggesting other explanations including natural processes like lava flow surface features and uprooted trees, possible non-Aboriginal structures, such as circular wind breaks for European shepherds, and other types of Aboriginal structures, for example ovens, hearths and hunting hides (Lane, 2009: 15-32).

Aside from these general issues of interpretation there are no confirmed sites on Peters Property to show that it has significance as part of an ancient system of aquaculture that could have been the basis for a major social



## Australian Heritage Database

### Agenda Item 2.1.3 Assessment report - preliminary decision

Class : Indigenous

transition. The best evidence of this kind is within the listed Budj Bim area, identified as Muldoons Trap Complex, with its mid Holocene dating of a complex structure.

Peters Property is not considered to meet Criterion (a) as providing evidence for a transition in pre-European Aboriginal ways of life.

#### A base for launching attacks and escaping reprisals during frontier conflict

No specific information was provided to support this claim.

In resisting European settlement, Aboriginal people throughout Australia used their knowledge of their country. In southern Australia conflict associated with European colonisation was spread across the majority of what is now western Victoria (Critchett, 1990; Clark, 1995; Reynolds, 1997). The Gunditj-mara were involved in the Eumeralla Wars, spanning 20 years following the European settlement in the area during the 1830's. The main period of conflict occurred during the early 1840s, in particular 1842, after successive years of drought (Clarke 1995, Critchett 1990) with the Dunmore property (to the east of the nominated and listed areas) recording attacks from March 1845 and continued to April 1847 (Critchette 1990).

Incidents of conflict, mapped on a historic pastoral lease map, indicate that the Eumeralla wars were clustered around the Mount Eccles region, including the properties West and East Eumeralla (within the boundary of the Mt Eccles Lake Condah National Heritage place), Weerangourt, Dunmore, Sqattlesmere, Yumbuck and St Kitts to the north east of Peters Property (Chritchett, 1990: 110). The Ettrick property, settled in 1844, that encompasses Peters and the neighbouring Tyrendarra properties, is also identified. Initial relations appear friendly but appear to have deteriorated a year later when Learmonth requests the Native Police presence (Buith 2002:39).

A key aspect of this nominated value is the extent to which Peters Property can display the environmental characteristics of the lava flow that made Aboriginal defence of the region distinctive. The terrain of Peters Property appears to be dominated by a subtlety undulating landscape with less areas of inundation associated with the stony rises than Tyrendarra (Crouch 2014a:8-9), listed for this value.

There is no evidence to specifically link Peters Property under this criterion with the launching of attacks against white settlers.

*Peters Property is unlikely to meet threshold against Criterion (a)*

#### **(b) The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history.**

Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape (Budj Bim) is listed in part under criterion b), for the rarity of the legal process to return the Lake Condah mission to the Aboriginal community. The nomination of the Peters Property encompassed this value of the Lake Condah area. The gazetted value is under criterion (b) for the following:

The Lake Condah mission is of outstanding heritage value because of the legal process under which it was returned to the community. It is a rare example of the Commonwealth using its constitutional powers to provide benefits for a specific Aboriginal community. Following the proposal by Alcoa to develop an aluminium smelter at Portland, the Victorian Government decided to return the Lake Condah mission to the Aboriginal community. However, the Victorian Government was unable to pass the enabling legislation through its Upper House and turned to the Commonwealth for assistance (Context 2000). Under the constitutional power to make laws for Aboriginal people granted to the Commonwealth under the 1967 referendum, the Commonwealth passed the Aboriginal Land (Lake Condah and Framlingham Forest) Act 1987. The only other examples is the return of Framlingham Forest under the same Act.

Peters Property does not to meet Criterion (b) for the rarity of the legal process to return Lake Condah mission to the Aboriginal community as Peters Property was not included in the return of lands to the Aboriginal community.

*Peters Property is unlikely to meet threshold against Criterion (b)*

#### **(c) The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Australia's natural or cultural history.**

## Australian Heritage Database

### Agenda Item 2.1.3 Assessment report - preliminary decision

Class : Indigenous

As indicated above, there is substantial research that may be undertaken to fully understand the extent and functionality of the aquaculture system in the broader landscape. In particular, how this system impacted the social and economic structure of Aboriginal society and population density over time. This research is not limited to Peters Property, and includes the two listed properties that constitute the Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape and the nominated Kurtonitj Property. The few potential sites on Peters Property do not suggest an outstanding potential to yield additional significant information.

Peters Property was not nominated under criterion (c) and is not considered to have potential to yield additional information regarding the aquaculture system or other matters that will contribute to an understanding of this aspect of Australia's cultural history at the national level.

*Peters Property is unlikely to meet threshold against Criterion (c)*

**(d) The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of:  
a class of Australia's natural or cultural places; or  
a class of Australia's natural or cultural environments.**

There is insufficient information about Peters Property to enable it to demonstrate the principal characteristic of the ancient system of aquaculture in western Victoria. The Muldoons Trap Complex is more likely to reveal evidence of the principal characteristics of the ancient system.

Peters Property was not nominated under criterion (d) and is not considered to demonstrate the principle characteristics of a class of Australia's cultural place or environment.

*Peters Property is unlikely to meet threshold against Criterion (d)*

**(e) The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group.**

Peters Property was not nominated under criterion (e) and is not considered to exhibit particular aesthetic characteristics values by a community or cultural group.

*Peters Property is unlikely to meet threshold against Criterion (e)*

**(f) The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period.**

The nominator proposed (by inference) Peters Property would have the following value:

The system of ponds, wetlands, channels, weirs and fish traps in the Mt Eccles/Lake Condah area are of outstanding heritage value. Gunditjmarra people constructed the channels to manipulate water flows and the weirs to modify and create wetlands that provided ideal growing conditions for the shortfinned eel and other fish (Coutts et al 1978; Lourandos 1980; Williams 1988; Clark 1990a; Aboriginal Affairs Victoria and Kerrup Jmara Elders Aboriginal Corporation 1993; Built 2002, 2003). This system is confined to Western Victoria and shows a high degree of creativity not found in freshwater fish traps in other parts of Australia. Unlike other places in Western Victoria like Toolondo (Lourandos 1980) and Mt William (Williams 1988), the Mt Eccles/Lake Condah area and Tyrendarra contains all the elements that demonstrate the functioning of this system.

The possible sites on Peters Property do not amount to evidence of a system of ponds, wetlands, channels, weirs and fish traps comparable to the listed Budj Bim places, Lake Condah and Tyrendarra.

The archaeological evidence at Peters Property is not considered to demonstrate a high degree of technical or creative achievement under criterion (f) with regard to the aquaculture system in comparison with the two properties listed as part of the Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape.

*Peters Property is unlikely to meet threshold against Criterion (f)*

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**Australian Heritage Database****Agenda Item 2.1.3 Assessment report - preliminary decision**Class : Indigenous

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**(g) The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons.**

Peters Property was not nominated under this criterion (g).

Peters Property forms part of a broader landscape of importance to and associated with the Gunditj Mirring people for social, cultural and spiritual reasons. It is not possible to conclude that these associations are outstanding in comparison with those of many other Aboriginal people and their traditional country. Within the Budj Bim landscape, the Gunditj Mirring people may be more closely identified with Lake Condah than with other areas.

Peters Property does not meet criterion (g) because of its association with the Gunditj Mirring people.

*Peters Property is unlikely to meet threshold against Criterion (g)*

**(h) The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history.**

Peters Property was not nominated under criterion (h) and is not considered to have a special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history.

*Peters Property is unlikely to meet threshold against Criterion (h)*

**(i) The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance as part of Indigenous tradition.**

Peters Property was nominated (by inference) under criterion (i) for the following value of Budj Bim (Mount Eccles):

The link between the eruption of the volcano and Budj Bim is of outstanding heritage value as a demonstration of the process through which ancestral beings reveal themselves in the landscape. Mt Eccles is an ancestral creation being Budj Bim and the scoria cones are described as tung att teeth belong it (Clark 1990a; 1990b; Builth 2003). It therefore demonstrates the process through which Aboriginal creation beings reveal themselves in the landscape.

There is no evidence that the Peters Property is significant in the Budj Bim creation story or other traditions.

Peters Property is not considered to meet Criterion (i) as the area that does not appear to be significant in the Budj Bim creation story or other traditions

*Peters Property is unlikely to meet threshold against Criterion (i)*

**History:**

Several thousand years ago (Context 2013:1) the Gunditjmara traditional owners, including the Kerrup Jmara clan, engineered an ingenious system of channels, fish traps and weirs for growing and harvesting short finned eels (*Anguilla australis*) and other fish along the Tyrendarra lava flow, which was formed when the Mt Eccles volcano erupted 30,000 years before present. This aquaculture system not only facilitated seasonal migrations of marine life to and from the Southern Ocean, it also provided ideal growing conditions to farm short finned eels (Coutts et al 1978; Lourandos 1980; Williams 1988; Clark 1990a; Aboriginal Affairs Victoria and Kerrup Jmara Elders Aboriginal Corporation 1993; Builth 2002, 2003, Richards 2011, Context 2013).

The Gunditjmara peoples' understanding of the underlying natural, ecological and hydrological systems allowed them to adapt the environment to exploit the life cycle of eels to enhance their harvest. They developed a system of ponds, wetlands, channels, weirs and fish traps from locally available materials including stone, wood and grasses to structurally enhance natural features and manipulate water flows, the remains of which is found in parts of the landscape today and recognised in the properties included in the National Heritage List as part of the Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape.

The traps were designed to align seasonal rainfall with the eel's life cycle and positioned to be effective at different water levels, capitalising on the migration of the eels upstream in spring and downstream in autumn each year (Coutts et al, 1978). For

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## Australian Heritage Database

### Agenda Item 2.1.3 Assessment report - preliminary decision

Class : Indigenous

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example, it is considered that the Gunditj Mirring channelled water to assist the seasonally migrating elvings (baby eels) to swim up Darlots Creek from the sea to Lake Condah in the autumn. They constructed channels to link ponds and wetlands to trap and support the growing eels throughout the year. The increased winter rainfall and late winter and spring floods connected Lake Condah to Darlots Creek, allowing eels and fish to move between the two water bodies and activating additional traps (McNiven 2010:273). To harvest the mature eels, Aboriginal people placed baskets designed to fit into the gaps of the stone based weirs they constructed.

The fertile land associated with the aquaculture system was valued by European settlers, who took an early interest in adapting the Indigenous draining system for pastoral purposes. From the 1830's many Gunditj Mirring people were moved to Aboriginal reserves nearby and, from the late 1860's, to the newly established Lake Condah Mission (Context 2008:5).

In 1887 Alexander Ingram, a Government surveyor, oversaw a 'European channel' which was constructed at the main 'Aboriginal barrier' of the 'Aboriginal fishery'. This was the first stage of adapting the Aboriginal drainage system to increase the availability of government land for pastoralists (Ingram 1893 quoted in Richards, 2011). Ingram worked and resided in the Lake Condah area for ten years while undertaking the planning and drainage works. Thomas White, an Aboriginal eel fisherman born at 'Allumyung' in Gunditjmarra territory, was named by Ingram as a source of information about Guntijmarra culture and local place names (Richards, 2011:72). Ingram studied the Aboriginal fishery, observed Aboriginal people constructing barricade weirs, recorded Aboriginal place names, collected Aboriginal artefacts and recorded Aboriginal burials. He also guided a group to inspect the Aboriginal fishery at the 'first sod turning ceremony' for the new drainage works in 1887 (Richards, 2011:70-76).

Ingram recorded the fish traps in a sketch plan titled 'Aboriginal Fishery, Lake Condah' and published it in 1893 (Richards 2011:64). This is the only known recording of the aquaculture system. After studying and surveying the system, Ingram sited the European channel at the same location of the main Aboriginal weir in 1887. The 'European channel' compromised the hydrology of the existing Aboriginal fishery and emptied Condah Swamp, the main source for the lake. The redirection of the water flow impacted the way Aboriginal people could use the aquaculture system; however there is evidence that Aboriginal people continued to farm fish after the installation of the European channel, with an increase in construction and use of weirs along Darlot Creek (Richards 2011:77). In 1893, Ingram observed that many Aboriginal people living on Lake Condah mission, 'still construct similar barriers for trapping purposes, and large quantities of fish are secured during winter, more particularly since an outlet drain has been made in connection with the drainage of Condah Swamp' (Ingram quoted in Richards, 2011:74). This is further supported by mission staff recording Aboriginal people supplementing their diet with fishing in 1895 (Stahle quoted in Richards, 2011:77). The last record of people undertaking traditional Aboriginal fishing is prior to major floods in 1908 (Context, 2013:21).

After floods in 1954, additional government drainage works completely drained Lake Condah, further altering the hydrology of the catchment that supported the aquaculture system. After developing the Lake Condah Sustainable Development Project Plan (Bell and Johnston 2008:7) and years of advocacy, the Gunditj Mara succeeded in having a replacement weir installed in the original position of the 'Aboriginal barrier' in 2010, to facilitate the refilling of Lake Condah in 2012.

A number of recent reports have concluded that it is unlikely that all the elements of the aquaculture system operated at the one time (McNiven and Bell, 2010; Clarke, 1994; Lane, 2009). Continuing research by the Gunditj Mirring may shed light on additional traditional aquaculture and on the social and economic organisation of the Aboriginal people who used this system. To date, archaeological surveys and historic documentary information constitute the primary research material. The area in and around the Budj Bim National Heritage Landscape has been the subject of hypothesis regarding how the aquaculture system was used historically, what impact it had on the social and economic organisation of the Gunditj Mirring and how this translated to archaeological features in the landscape. The archaeologist Anne Clarke sounded a note of caution in her re-assessment of research on the aquaculture system at Lake Condah. She questioned early findings of the Victorian Archaeological Survey conducted between 1977-81 and findings in Coutts et al 1978. Clarke claims that the archaeological evidence did not always distinguish natural from cultural features and that data has been over-interpreted (Clarke 2009:9-12).

A recent consultancy report commissioned by the Gunditj Mirring notes that additional multidisciplinary research would assist to identify the cultural, social and environmental connections of the broader landscape associated with the Tyrendarra lava flow. Further research may include mapping the entire aquaculture system to identify how all the elements functioned at different



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**Australian Heritage Database****Agenda Item 2.1.3 Assessment report - preliminary decision**

Class : Indigenous

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water levels (Context 2013: 20), detailing the chronology and changes in the system, including the associated habitation structures (stone houses, campsites, oven mounds and coastal shell middens), further testing of the eel smoking trees and storage structure hypothesis, understanding the spiritual dimensions of the Guntijmara landscape and the associated ritual sites, and determining the extent to which long term cultural changes reflect the interplay of environmental and social factors (McNiven and Bell 2010: 90).

**Condition:**

Extensive areas of Peters (particularly in the northern part of the property) have been cleared in relation to grazing practices.

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**Australian Heritage Database**

**Agenda Item 2.1.3 Assessment report - preliminary decision**

Class : Indigenous

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