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Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 8/14

MUNA

(last edited: 13/8/20)

with analysis of the 'North' and 'Wirra' tribes.

and **PART 1** of the 1839 Police expedition:

SEE ALSO: PNS 8/18 Kadlitia (**Part 2**); 9/04 Karrawadlungga (**Part 3**); 8/17 Murlayakki (**Part 4**); and 8/39 Mitiwarti; 8/20 'Para'.

PREFACE:

My analysis of this and other names north of Adelaide is incomplete, and may be clarified or modified by others later from better knowledge of this part of the land, and from sources not yet consulted. In particular, I did not cover these areas when I searched the records left by the first surveyors (i.e. Field Books and maps held in the SA Geographical Names Unit). The Southern Kurna Place Names Project was originally confined to the region from Adelaide southward.

NOTE AND DISCLAIMER:

This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.

The spellings and interpretations contained in it (linguistic, historical and geographical) are my own, and do not necessarily represent the views of KWP/KWK or its members or any other group.

I have studied history at tertiary level. Though not a linguist, for 30 years I have learned much about the Kurna, Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri and Narungga languages while working with KWP, Rob Amery, and other local culture-reclamation groups; and from primary documents I have learned much about the Aboriginal history of the Adelaide-Fleurieu region.

My explorations of 'language on the land' through the Southern Kurna Place Names Project are part of an ongoing effort to correct the record about Aboriginal place-names in this region (which has abounded in confusions and errors), and to add reliable new material into the public domain.

I hope upcoming generations will continue this work and improve it. My interpretations should be amplified, re-considered and if necessary modified by KWP or other linguists, and by others engaged in cultural mapping: i.e. Aboriginal researchers who are linking their oral traditions with other up-to-date and best available knowledge, and associated archaeologists, geographers, ecologists, anthropologists and historians.

Chester Schultz, 10/7/20.

Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 8/14

MUNA

(last edited: 20/8/2018)

**with PART 1 of the 1839 Police expedition,
and analysis of the 'North' and 'Wirra' tribes.**

SEE ALSO: PNS 8/18 Kadlitiya; 8/17 Murlayakki; 9/04 Karrawadlungga; 8/39 Mitiwarti; 8/20 'Para'.

Abstract

"Moon-na" (*Muna*) was the Kurna name for a site on or near the Little Para River, probably somewhere in the area from Salisbury to the Little Para Reservoir.

It was obtained by William Williams, the Deputy Storekeeper and interpreter, probably in April 1839 during a police expedition to the Para districts in pursuit of Aboriginal men who had just killed two shepherds. Likely candidates for the site of Muna therefore include the places where this expedition crossed or camped on the Little Para, which include certainly the squatting run owned that year by Fisher and Handcock at the junction of the river with Gould Creek (corner of Sections 4202/5620, Hd of Munno Para, and Section 1, Hd of Yatala; now underneath the Little Para Reservoir), and probably the crossing on Main North Road at Salisbury Heights (on Section 2020, Hd of Yatala). Either of these is possible for the location.

In European style, Williams took Muna to be the name of the whole river; but it is not traditional practice to give a single name to the entire length of a watercourse.

The word means 'first, before, the beginning, the front'; but we do not know what this signified to Kurna people about the place. The place-name Muna might not refer to that word at all: like 'Rome', it may have had no lexical meaning.

However, we do know that in those years of first contact the Little Para River (or its immediate vicinity on the plains "ten miles north of Adelaide") was the northern border of the 'Adelaide tribe', dividing it from the 'Koubanda', 'Muliakki' and 'Wirra' tribes in the Gawler-Para Rivers region.

'Munno Para' may conceivably have been derived partly from Muna, but this is very uncertain; see PNS 8/36 'Munno Para'.

Coordinates	Latitude -34.753707°, Longitude 138.677373° (Carisbrook Reserve, nominal centrepoint of possible locations: on Section 2020, Hd of Munno Para)
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Language Information

Meaning	'first, before, the beginning, the front'
Etymology	
Notes	
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'
KWP Former Spelling	Muna
KWP New Spelling 2010	Muna
Phonemic Spelling	/muNa/
Syllabification	Mu-na
Pronunciation tips	Stress the first syllable. 'u' as in 'put'.

Main source evidence

Date	1839
Original source text	"Cud-lie-tie-par-rey: Parra River". "Cur-ra-ud-lon-ga: Lyndoch Valley". "Moon-na: the second creek on the north of Adelaide"
Reference	William Williams 1839, <i>A Vocabulary of the Language of the Aborigines of the Adelaide District and other friendly tribes of the Province of South Australia</i> , by William Williams of the Colonial Store Department, Adelaide, A MacDougall.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Probably Kadlitpinna ('Captain Jack'), 'Bob', 'Williamy' and other "Adelaide and Onkaparinga tribe" men who were hired on 22 April 1839 to track the murderers of Duffield in company with Williams and Inspector Inman.

Date	April 1839
Original source text	"On Sunday morning April 21, I was informed by Mr. Stuart, Assistant-superintendent of Police, of the murder by three natives on the body of Wm. Duffield, shepherd to Osmond Gilles, Esq., on the banks of the Torrens about six miles from Adelaide... I formed the determination if possible to capture the murderers, and immediately proceeded to the huts of the natives then remaining at Adelaide... On the following morning [22 nd] we started again in company with an additional number of natives, making in the whole fifteen of the Adelaide tribe ... [Fri 26 th] I told the natives what we intended doing, and immediately our brave-hearted Captain Jack, Bob, and Williamy volunteered to go with us..." [i.e. proceed to another waterhole as a smaller company of six].
Reference	W Williams, 'Apprehension of the Native Murderers', <i>SA Gazette and Colonial Register</i> 11/5/1839: 2b, 2c; http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31750582
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Discussion: A PLACE ON THE BORDER:

PLACE (1): 'THE SECOND CREEK ON THE NORTH OF ADELAIDE':

The only known record of this Kurna name comes from William Williams, the colony's Deputy Storekeeper. Since arriving in Adelaide to take up his job in late 1836, he had been learning the local Kurna language and compiling a vocabulary. When it was finally published in July or August 1839, it contained the following entry: "Moon-na: the second creek on the north of Adelaide".¹

There is no doubt about which creek he meant, as there are only two large creeks on the plains between Adelaide and the Gawler River. The earliest explorers and settlers who moved north from the Torrens River travelled through luxuriant acres of kangaroo grass interrupted occasionally by belts of mallee scrub. The Reid family (pioneers of Gawler town) came up in February 1839. On the first day "we were only to get as far as the 'Dry Creek,' where the cart stopped and waited for us to collect. The grass was very high. We had for the last three miles been going through what looked like high corn, but was really kangaroo grass, now seldom seen, and when the fire was lit to show us the way to the camp the grass took fire, burning miles of the country, fortunately to the north. Next morning we made an early start and got to the 'Little Para' quite well".² The bullock-cart track was soon mapped hopefully as the "Great North Road" (roughly today's Main North Road).

Many (like Eliza Mahony/Reid) recorded that the 'first creek' they crossed was a 'dry creek'.³ In the absence of other place-names both tags were used, 'First' and 'Dry'; but 'Dry Creek' became the norm and now (rather absurdly) is the name of the whole watercourse from the tree-lined flowing creek at Golden Grove to the wetlands of Mawson Lakes near the mouth.

The 'second creek' on their journey northward was the Little Para, marked by a line of trees. By February 1839 surveyors had given it this name to distinguish it from the much larger 'Parra or

¹ William Williams 1839, *A Vocabulary of the Language of the Aborigines of the Adelaide District and other friendly tribes of the Province of South Australia*, by William Williams of the Colonial Store Department, Adelaide, A MacDougall.

² Eliza Mahony, nee Reid, 1898 (ed. AA Lendon 1927), 'The First Settlers At Gawler', *Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, SA Branch, Proceedings* 28: 64.

³ TS O'Halloran wrote in his journal in October 1839: "About 6 miles from town we crossed a dry creek, known as First Creek" (quoted in D Whitelock 1989, *Gawler: Colonel Light's Country Town*, Corporation of Town of Gawler: 57). The earliest maps show only an unnamed portion of a watercourse around today's Grand Junction Road, and it is marked "Dry in Summer" (Arrowsmith 1841, 'Map shewing the Special Surveys in South Australia... from documents in the Survey Office Adelaide', London, in *BPP: Australia 2*: 272). Judging from this map, the 'dry' crossing which gave the watercourse its name was in the vicinity of Walkley Heights or Pooraka. No doubt 'First Creek' was dropped eventually when a Torrens tributary in the populated suburbs was given the same name.

Gawler River' a few more miles north.⁴ But this name was not yet in general circulation in mid-1839 when Williams recorded 'Moon-na'.⁵

It is a European habit to give a single name to the full length of a watercourse. Aboriginal place-names traditionally do not do this, and we can be sure that 'Moon-na' was not the entire Little Para River but a particular site or small area on or near it.

Do we know where this site was? or can we deduce it? We shall return to this question.

THE NAME (1):

Williams's 'Moon-na' clearly represents the pronunciation which linguists might spell *muna* (*u* as in 'pull').⁶

It has been tempting to speculate that the name might refer to the tree whose popular name around Australia is identical in sound, 'Moonah' – perhaps the Dryland teatree (*Melaleuca lanceolata*), perhaps the Coastal teatree (*Leptospermum laevigatum*) – and to search for evidence that this name is Kurna and that such a tree was common around the Little Para. But it is a false trail: 'moonah' as the name of a tree is an Aboriginal word from southeastern Tasmania, said to mean 'gum tree'.⁷ There is no local word resembling 'moonah' which refers to any tree.

Our *Muna* could be an independent place-name with no dictionary meaning, like 'London' or 'Rome'. This might be so even though in Kurna language it (or a word very like it) is also a common adjective, adverb and noun. *Muna* has a range of meanings focussed around 'first,

⁴ It was mapped as "Little Parra R" by Light, Finnis & Co ('Map of Districts North of Adelaide, compiled from the Sketches of W. Light, B.T. Finnis & Co., 1839', CO700 Public Record Offices, London; part of it is reproduced in David Elder (ed) 1984, *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 31). The decision to call this river the "Little Parra" on this map was probably made by Finnis or the draftsman. See also PNS 8/20 'Para / Perry / Parry'.

⁵ Confusingly for our purposes, it was sometimes referred to as "the first river". Colonel Light, on 11 December 1837 during his first expedition north, had ignored Dry Creek, and recorded camping "by the side of the first river, a distance of about 18 miles from Adelaide" (Light 1837, 'Diary of a Journey to Lynedoch Valley, Dec 1837', in D Elder 1984: 132). Despite the inaccurate distance, this must be the Little Para. Light himself continued to call it "the first river" or "Fisher's river" right up to June 1839 (Light 'Last Diary', D Elder 1984: 159, 161). Eliza Mahony used the name 'Little Para' in describing her first journey north in Feb 1839; but she wrote her account in 1898, 60 years later. This name was not used in any of the accounts of Williams's expedition in late April (see below); and when one writer referred to the "Lower Para district", he meant the Milner Survey area near Port Gawler (SA *Gazette & Colonial Register* 4/5/1839: 1d).

⁶ The *n* could also be any of several other kinds, giving *murna*, *munha* or *mudna*. There is no known vocabulary which certainly matches any of these pronunciations.

⁷ EM Curr 1886, *The Australian Race*, Vol.3: 609, 616, 634, 649; cp. HL Roth 1899, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, http://archive.org/stream/aboriginestasma00tylogoog/aboriginestasma00tylogoog_djvu.txt [17/8/15]

before'. It can refer to time, in the sense 'former, ancient, the beginning': *Munaintyarlu* is the remote time of creation; a *muna miyu* ('first man') is a Dreamtime Ancestor. But it can also be spatial: *munara padni* is 'to go foremost', and *muna* itself can mean 'the front'.

We shall consider the possible significances of this word as a place-name on the Little Para River when we have examined how and where the name was obtained, and the cultural context of the river.

WILLIAMS ON THE TRAIL WITH 'CAPTAIN JACK', 'BOB' AND 'WILLIAMY':

In his normal job Williams was Deputy Storekeeper for the government's Colonial Store in the Parklands not far from the Native Location. As we would expect, his wordlist includes eight place-names in metropolitan Adelaide, from the Sturt River to Lefevre Peninsula; but it is less obvious how he obtained three place-names from the Little Para River, Gawler and Lyndoch. At that time (mid-1839) these northern lands were unknown to most colonists and had been visited by few: explorers, settlers looking for lost livestock, and (in the last six months) surveyors, a few squatters and their shepherds.

Most genuine Aboriginal place-names were given onsite during foot journeys side-by-side on the land.⁸ It is unlikely that Williams could have obtained these Kurna names from Kurna people offsite in Adelaide without describing them from experience, e.g. merely by asking about the English names which he used as glosses, 'Parra River' and 'Lyndoch Valley'. Nor is it probable that he asked one of the early travellers for some place-names, for the spellings and forms are consistent with his other vocabulary. It is almost certain that he obtained these names from Aboriginal companions on the one occasion when he visited the north, as interpreter for a police expedition in late April 1839.⁹ As far as we know he did not travel there before then, when his book was already in the hands of the publishers. But the publication was delayed until at least the end of July, and we may deduce that he added the three northern place-names to his wordlist in early May, along with an addition to his Preface.¹⁰

It is necessary to tell some of the story of the expedition.

The usurping colonists had maintained an illusion of peace and friendship with local Aborigines until April 1839. Then, on the 21st, an old shepherd, Duffield, was murdered by three Aborigines in

⁸ See my history *Feet On the Fleurieu, Language On the Land* (forthcoming).

⁹ There are two main accounts of this expedition: Williams's, 'Apprehension of the Native Murderers', *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 11/5/1839: 2b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31750582>; and the diary of Arthur Hardy (a survey labourer who joined the expedition), 21-29 April 1839, PRG 101/1/1, SLSA, http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/archivaldocs/prg/PRG101_1_1_Hardy_diary_1838-40_transcript.pdf. Extra details emerged in the court evidence: *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 25/5/1839: 4d-5a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31750623>; *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 29/5/1839: 1e, 2a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/71685317>.

¹⁰ See below.

the vicinity of what is now Paradise and Athelstone while at work on a sheep-run called 'Malaga' owned by the Colonial Treasurer Osmond Gilles.¹¹ Both the official government interpreter James Cronk and the storeman Williams were brought in to question local Aborigines. This and other recent hostile incidents produced a near-panic among the colonists, especially those most at risk, the workers; for they all knew what had happened in Tasmania's vicious Black War only a few years earlier. Only days later their fears redoubled and rumours multiplied when news came that Aborigines had killed another shepherd, Thompson, at a sheep station on the Gawler River.

Meanwhile, Assistant Superintendent of Police James Stewart had promptly commissioned a search party to track down Duffield's killers. It was by far the largest force to have been mustered for any police or military purpose so far. Led by Superintendent of Police Henry Inman, it included Williams as interpreter, and three other settlers (Edwards, Shaw and Hardy). The three culprits had fled north but were known and described: they were part of a group from the 'Wirra' tribe to the north who had camped in Adelaide for a month.¹²

By the 22nd Williams had rustled up fifteen men "of the Adelaide tribe",¹³ including the well-known 'Captain Jack' and two others, 'Bob' and 'Williamy'. The latter three would volunteer for special duties during the search, including the final arrests on the Gawler River.¹⁴

Their four days of intensive tracking lasted from 24th to 27th April. In the first two days they pursued the three offenders north: first to a sheep station owned by Samuel Bryant somewhere in the general area east of Parafield,¹⁵ then northeast to the two stations owned jointly by Charles Fisher and Frederick Handcock in the foothills or hills near the Little Para.¹⁶ Somewhere during this part of the journey they must have crossed the Little Para, and perhaps camped at a station on its upper reach.

¹¹ SA Gazette and Colonial Register 27/4/1839: 1d-2a.

¹² SA Gazette and Colonial Register 27/4/1839: 2a. These men accused of the murder of Duffield were from the "Wirra" tribe, whose territory is debatable (see below, and my background document 'BACKGROUND5murders1839expedition'). When the search party lost their trail they were heading northeast towards the North Para, which was probably part of 'Wirra' territory. One early report suggested that one of the accused, 'George', was "of the Murray tribe" (SA Gazette and Colonial Register 27/4/1839: 1d.); but this seems to have been a mistake, probably a garbled report of him being a member of the Murray Pass (= Gawler) tribe. 'Murray Pass' was a name used briefly for the Gawler Special Survey No.2 around Gawler Town: probably a combination of Light's 'Para Pass' (the ford on the South Para) with Henry Dundas Murray, the co-applicant with John Reid for this Survey. The name appeared on the 'Map shewing the Special surveys' (see PNS 8/20 'Para').

¹³ The Aboriginal men whom Williams rounded up for the search party were "of the Adelaide tribe" according to Williams himself (SA Gazette and Colonial Register 11/5/1839: 2b); "of the Adelaide and Onkaparinga tribes", according to one second-hand report (SA Gazette & Colonial Register 27/4/1839: 2a), or "of our friendly tribes of the immediate neighbourhoods of Adelaide" according to another (SA Gazette & Colonial Register 4/5/1839, p.1d).

¹⁴ For the Port Gawler or Mudliyakki tribe, and its notable elder Mudliakkiburka ('Tam O'Shanter', one of those accused of the murder of Thompson), see PNS 8/17 Mudliyakki.

¹⁵ A waterhole "about a quarter of a mile beyond Mr. Bryant's sheep station" was "about five miles from where the deceased [Duffield] was murdered" (SA Gazette and Colonial Register 29/5/1839: 1e). The site of Duffield's murder was "about seven miles from Adelaide in a north-east direction" (SA Gazette & Colonial Register 27/4/1839: 1d), i.e. in the vicinity of lower Athelston-Highbury.

¹⁶ For the location of Fisher and Handcock's two stations, see below.

The remainder of their journey – further northeast to Lyndoch Valley, back to Gawler and west to Port Gawler – I will keep for consideration under the head of the relevant place-names.¹⁷ They lost track of the men they were pursuing, but arrested three others on the Gawler River. On the 28th they returned to the Gawler town site and thence on the 29th to Adelaide (presumably by the main ‘road’).

It was convenient for the authorities that local ‘Adelaide tribe’ were eager to blow the whistle on the northern men and give essential help in capturing them. As it turned out, they had captured not Duffield’s accused ‘Wirra’ men but (apparently with equal enthusiasm) Thompson’s, who were members of a different northern tribe based at Port Gawler.

Williams had written: “Happily, we have not yet to record in the history of our colony, any interruption to the general harmony which has distinguished our intercourse with the native population”.¹⁸ To this sentence he now added the following footnote: “These few remarks were in type before the late melancholy occurrences. Yet in recording the murder of three¹⁹ white men by natives, and that apparently without any provocation, let it be remembered, that the parties supposed to be the criminals²⁰ are of a distinct tribe from that immediately surrounding us, and that the latter willingly lent their aid to the capture of the culprits. Had our intercourse with the natives of the Para been systematically commenced and properly established before we attempted to occupy their territory, it is possible the late atrocities might not have occurred.”

One of Duffield’s alleged killers and one of Thompson’s were hung on May 31st. Four other prisoners were acquitted for lack of evidence.

There was of course a tribal politics of these events. The diaries and reports of the German missionary linguists record many details of the conflict, its precursors and its aftermath. The locals naturally felt they had a right to benefits from the European settlers on their land, and supported the colonial authority when it provided these; but they were disinclined to share those rights and limited benefits with Aboriginal visitors from other places. The flashpoint was often government rations.²¹

¹⁷ See PNS 8/17 Mudliyakki (Port Gawler), 8/18 Kadlitiparri (Gawler), 9/04 ‘Cur-ra-ud-lon-ga’ / Karrawadlangga (Lyndoch Valley).

¹⁸ William Williams 1839, *A Vocabulary of the Language of the Aborigines of the Adelaide District and other friendly tribes of the Province of South Australia*, by William Williams of the Colonial Store Department, Adelaide, A MacDougall, Preface: vii.

¹⁹ There were only two murders. “Three” shows that he still believed at least one of the rumours circulating about other murders of white people by natives. These had all been publicly declared false by 15th May (*Southern Australian* Wednesday 15 May 1839 p3c).

²⁰ “The parties supposed to be the criminals” (my emphasis): this sounds as though it was written before the trials reached their verdicts on 22nd and 23rd May (*SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 25/5/1839: 4c).

²¹ See e.g. Teichelmann report to Dresden n.d. [mid-1839], in Teichelmann correspondence, tr. Lee Kirsten and G Noller: 80 [Archival Ref: TB 104 – 106]. Teichelmann later summed up the principle, no doubt remembering the 1839 instance: “[N]o tribe is allowed to live on the district of another one, except as occasional visitors, and they think

WILLIAMS'S INFORMANTS:

Williams seems to have had a couple of very reliable contacts among the Adelaide tribe. In the previous month he and “two friendly natives of the Adelaide tribe” had accompanied Robert Tod’s early explorations around Port Lincoln.²² It was also “two friendly natives” whom he first called upon to help him investigate the murder of Duffield onsite.²³

We can be fairly sure that on the northern journey it was his closest and most enthusiastic Aboriginal volunteers – whom he named as “our brave-hearted Captain Jack, Bob and Williamy” – who provided him with the names of three of the places they visited.

There can be little doubt that Captain Jack was foremost among these friends of Williams. His real name was Kadlitpinna. He had been a familiar to the Adelaide colonists since early 1837 – although it was said he had belonged to a ‘northern tribe’.²⁴ He was keen to help the newcomers and to establish his own alliance with them. Early in 1838 Governor Hindmarsh presented him and Mullawirraburka (‘Onkaparinga Jack’ at that stage) with “constable’s staves and marks of authority”.²⁵ In October 1838 these two ‘native constables’ were prominent among the guests at Gawler’s inaugural banquet for the natives, along with Ityamaitpinna (‘Rodney’). Kadlitpinna was already helping the German linguists Teichelmann and Schürmann to learn the Kurna language at the Native Location Piltawodli. Williams mentions him by name as a source of tracking advice during the northern expedition.²⁶

There were a number of ‘Bobs’ around Adelaide at this time. There can be little doubt that Williams’s man was also one of the two ‘Bobs’ who in February 1840 – along with Kadlitpinna and four others – told the new Protector Moorhouse that they were willing to become members of the Mounted Police.²⁷ Nine months earlier, for the final arrests on the Gawler River, Inman had “mounted two natives on horseback” and given them each a pistol and sword – an embryonic start

themselves more entitled to the support of Europeans, living, or having settled upon their district, than any other native of a distant tribe. Whenever this rule is trespassed, a fight is the consequence; thence partly so many fights take place about the town, as soon as different tribes are assembled” (Teichelmann 1841, *Aborigines of South Australia*, Adelaide, SA Wesleyan Methodist Auxiliary Missionary Society: 7).

²² SA Gazette & Colonial Register 13/4/1839: 1a-c.

²³ Williams ‘Apprehension’, SA Gazette and Colonial Register 11/5/1839: 2b.

²⁴ Moorhouse Protector’s Report 27 July 1840, ‘Papers Relative to SA... 1843’, BPP Australia 7: 355.

²⁵ Wyatt, Quarterly Protector’s Report 1 April 1838; SA Gazette & Colonial Register 8/9/1838: 5; Tom Gara 1998, ‘Life and Times of Mullawirraburka’, in Simpson & Hercus 1998, *History In Portraits*: 100-101.

²⁶ Williams ‘Apprehension’: 2c.

²⁷ Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary 11 Feb 1840, GRG 24/1/1840/381. One of Moorhouse’s ‘Bobs’ was “Wor-rite-ya” (*Waritya*), about whom we know nothing (this is a common birth-order name, ‘fourth-born male’). The other was “Watta-Wattite-pinna” (*Wattewattitpinna*), who also built a house on the Native Location next to that of missionary Schürmann, and accompanied him on a foot journey to Encounter Bay later in 1839 (Schürmann Diary 17 June, 17 Sep 1839, 23 Jan 1840). Wattewattitpinna was not ‘Encounter Bay Bob’, despite a speculation by Steve Hemming to that effect, based on a mistranscription of the name in Schürmann’s Diary.

to the unofficial policy of mounted terror which would be consolidated 16 months later by O'Halloran on the Coorong – and by all indications they were far from reluctant.²⁸ It is very likely that these two men were Williams's Bob and Kadlitpinna; and that they both relished this new-style warrior experience as semi-official Mounted Policemen, and wanted more. It is also likely that the same 'Bob' was the man who with 'Henry' (both Adelaide men) accompanied Lieutenant Hugonin's first notorious mounted punitive expedition from Port Lincoln in June 1842 as trackers. These two were still working for the police in Adelaide later that year.²⁹ Beyond those probabilities we know nothing of Williams's Bob.

'Williamy' was a nickname commonly given by the settlers to Aboriginal men: there were three different Williamys connected with these events of April 1839 alone, and several others on record at other times.³⁰

PLACE (2): A SITE ON THE RIVER:

(a) Obtaining the place-name onsite:

At some place on the Little Para River one of Williams's guides presumably said something like "This is *Muna*". Being a European, Williams applied the name automatically (and wrongly) to the whole river. With the documents of the chase and associated background information available to us, can we deduce exactly where this place was?

The expedition's route from Adelaide across the Little Para to Fisher and Handcock's station is unclear.³¹ On the first day (24th), they "passed the dry creek" and reached Bryant's station and hut.

²⁸ Williams 'Apprehension': 2c-d. Inman and Williams told them "to assist us in taking the other natives, to which they answered—"Yes, we will, and if they won't come, we will shoot them". Earlier in the expedition "the natives accompanying us... frequently stated that they were determined to find the murderers and take them back to Adelaide for the white men to hang them".

²⁹ James McLean 1903, 'Police Experiences with the Natives', *Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society (SA)* 6: 77-80, 90.

³⁰ In April-May 1839 one 'Williamy' was the tracker; another was a co-accused in the murder of Duffield; the third was a very old blind local man (*SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 25/5/1839: 4a, 4b; 12/6/1839: 3d). The tracker may perhaps have been the same "William" who was among the Adelaide men interviewed by David McLaren in 1837 ('Journal kept by David McLaren', PRG 790/2, 1st Oct 1837); or he may have been the "Williamy" who was arrested (but acquitted) for lighting a grass fire in March 1839 (*SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 9/3/1839: 7d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/31750454>); or quite possibly Wyatt's "William of *Tamdanyungga*" (Wyatt 1879, in Woods 1879: 180): we cannot tell.

³¹ THE EXPEDITION'S VISIT TO FISHER AND HANDCOCK'S STATION(S):

According to Light, one of these stations was "in the mountains, a very pretty little valley", and he painted it (*W Light* 1839, 'Diary of a Journey to Lynedoch Valley, Dec 1839', in D Elder 1984: 130, 136). This is said to have been the "upper station" at the junction of Gould Creek and the upper reaches of the Little Para (D Elder 1984: 45, 177). Gould Creek is marked but not named on the early maps ('Map shewing the Special Surveys'), but this was not part of a Special Survey and no station or owner is shown here.

Fisher's valley and the original lower reaches of Gould Creek are no longer visible under the waters of the northern reach of Little Para Reservoir. But they are marked on an old military survey map in my possession ('Gawler' 1 inch to 1 mile, Series R741 Ed.1, n.d., surveyed in 1935); and the later 'Cumberland Farm', allegedly on the Fisher site, was still

Since a waterhole “a quarter of a mile” beyond this hut was still only “about five miles” from the site of Duffield’s death near lower Highbury,³² Bryant’s must have been south of the Little Para and on the eastern side of the plain. It could have been anywhere in an arc from Para Hills West to Fairview Park – but more likely on the eastern side of this arc, since they arrived “soon” at their next identifiable site: one of Fisher and Handcock’s two stations, the place called “No.1”.³³

Almost certainly they must have crossed the Little Para that day on the way to Fisher’s. But it is not clear where No. 1 station was, and therefore also unclear which way they came and where they crossed the river – presumably at Muna.

On the homeward journey they would almost certainly have crossed the Little Para on the ‘Great North Road’ (roughly the current main road crossing at the Old Spot Hotel,³⁴ Salisbury Heights).

(b) Option: a high Muna:

If No. 1 Station was the Gould Creek site, they *may* have come to it from the south, perhaps via the Para Valley Road. In this case they would have crossed the river at the last moment when they arrived, and *Muna* could be at or near the station site itself: it is on the north side of the original junction of Gould Creek and the Little Para, in a little valley which now lies under the northern reach of the Little Para Reservoir.

In this region of spring-fed creeks there were other well-used Aboriginal campsites, such as one at Snake Gully three or four km upstream.³⁵

occupied within living memory (see <http://tghistoricalsociety.org.au/projects/wells-and-waterways/> [30/12/15]: thanks to Doug and Mavis Schultz for this reference; and cp. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gould_Creek,_South_Australia [16/12/15]). The owner, Reuben Richardson, is commemorated by a street in Greenwith which could be near a southern approach to the old farm.

Where was the other Fisher-Handcock station, and how far away? Which was No. 1, and which No. 2?

According to both accounts the expedition visited No.1 first (and according to Williams, *only* No.1, and camped there for the night). If this was on the plain or in the foothills, they almost certainly approached it via the track which became Main North Road, and therefore crossed the Little Para in the vicinity of the Old Spot Hotel.

Hardy differs about their bivouac, saying they pushed on to No. 2 and spent the night there “*in an Ampitheatre [sic] of hills & rocks*” (Hardy diary 24 April) – which probably makes it the Gould Creek site. Light’s painting shows a steep hillside of rock in the left background (D Elder 1984: 130).

It is also possible that either Williams or Hardy had mistaken the numbering of the stations.

They probably did not re-cross the Little Para until their homeward journey on the 28th. After camping overnight at one of these stations, next day they went northeast: probably through the hills towards the South Para: Hardy records that they were looking for Anstey’s station (which was on Tenafeate Creek, a southern tributary of the South Para), but could not find it (Hardy diary 25 April; for the location of Anstey’s run see No. 30 on ‘Map shewing the Special Surveys in South Australia’).

I have tentatively mapped the alternative routes in my background document ‘BACKGROUND5murders1839expedition’. One possible site for Williams’s crossing at *Muna* on the way to the station is Lat. -34.7426°, Long. 138.72591 (the original junction of Gould’s Creek and the Little Para; now under the reservoir).

³² See my footnote above on the site of Duffield’s murder.

³³ Williams ‘Apprehension’: 2c.

³⁴ Not to be confused with the other Old Spot Hotel at Gawler.

³⁵ See Marilyn Daniels (ed.) 2010, *James Cronk Family Tree*, [Adelaide]: published by the author: 19.

(c) Option: a low Muna:

If No. 1 was a lower station in the foothills, it could have been either south or north of the river, and they would cross it after or before their night's stay, respectively. In either case they would have used a more westerly route via the Great North Road and the river crossing at Salisbury Heights.³⁶ Then *Muna* would probably be in this vicinity. More archaeological and historical evidence will probably be able to clarify exactly where some of the campsites were in this area.³⁷

(d) Discussion:

In favour of the hills location is the fact that no accounts mention *any* river or creek on the expedition until they approached the Gawler River from the east; before then there are only 'waterholes'.³⁸ *If* they crossed the Little Para at Fisher's in the hills, the well-known station would have overshadowed the river as a landmark to mention in their accounts of the journey. It is also more likely that Williams would obtain a place-name for a spot while they were around a campfire.

On the other hand, under those circumstances the station (not the 'creek') would have been Williams's most convenient identifier to use for 'Moon-na' in his wordlist. Also in favour of a plains location, we may intuit that his actual gloss – "the second creek on the north of Adelaide" – sounds more like a landmark on the plains than a valley in the hills. Moreover, on the return journey he would almost certainly have had a second opportunity to obtain the name at the Salisbury Heights crossing, not Fisher's. And perhaps the western-northern route to Fisher's (crossing the river on the plain near the hills) may have been the best approach to *both* stations, depending on the position of the lower one.

We have no definite conclusion to our search for a more precise location for Muna, but we have a more defined range of options. I leave it to those with better knowledge of the local topography, more historical data about the position of the two Fisher stations, and more archaeological data, to decide which of the possible crossing places is more likely to be Williams's, and whether the place of Muna can be pinpointed more exactly.

³⁶ Conceivably they might have veered further west to cross 3.5 km downstream at today's Salisbury town; but no road is marked here on the earliest maps.

³⁷ As a beginning to this quest: "*The tribe of aboriginals afterwards known as the Adelaide tribe, because their haunts embraced the plains between the neighborhood of Brighton and that of Gawler, used to make the Little Para, which runs through Salisbury, a rendezvous. Early settlers have often told stories of their meetings with companies of natives in the district, on their way north, and for many years after the proclamation of the State the natives made the Little Para famous by their tribal ceremonies*" (Advertiser 5/11/1908: 8e, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/5136597> [11/12/15]). This article mentions canoe trees on the banks, and manmade "small hillocks", "ovens", and "burial grounds", most of them either unlocated or on Douglas Park Farm (near the Burton Rd crossing 2.5 km west of Salisbury centre). For the mound sites see C Westell & V Wood 2014, 'An Introduction to Earthen Mound Sites in SA', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of SA* 38: 30-65 (thanks to Sue Coldbeck for this reference).

³⁸ By contrast, most other early written accounts of expeditions to the north do mention it, even if not by name, and call it a 'river'. Light called it "*the first river*" or "*Fisher's river*" right up to May 1839 (Light 'Diary of a Journey to Lynedoch Valley, Dec 1837' and 'Last Diary', D Elder 1984: 132, 159, 161).

A TRIBAL OR CLAN BOUNDARY?

It is likely that the Little Para River was the northern boundary of the group which at first contact was known as the 'Adelaide tribe'.

In January 1840 Protector Moorhouse assessed "the five tribes with which Europeans are in contact". They included "the Adelaide... inhabiting a district of 10 miles north of Adelaide to the foot of Mount Terrible".³⁹

On the plains the Little Para (before it turns southwest to reach its mouth) is about 10 miles north of North Adelaide.⁴⁰ A river is a natural candidate for a boundary marker.

Who was on the other side of the Adelaide tribe's boundary? Surely this was still 'Kurna country'? The explanation depends on what is meant by a 'tribe'.

North of the 10-mile borderline (and distant from it 25 km or less) were two or three other known 'tribes': the 'Muliakki' and 'Wirra' of Moorhouse, and a third group (so far neglected by scholars), the 'North men'.

The colonists identified the first as inhabiting the 'Gawler or Para' river – unsurprisingly, since the plains in this area had very little other surface water – and we know that they were a small group who lived on the plains near the mouth.⁴¹

The name of the second tribe means 'forest'. Presumably their living base was in an area which included distinctive major forest cover, and this must have been further inland than Gawler, not in its immediate vicinity.⁴² To this group the three men accused of killing Duffield apparently belonged – not to the Port Gawler tribe (as many assumed then, perhaps even Williams).

The public heard of these 'Para' and 'Wiera'⁴³ natives only in the context of the 1839 murders, but the missionary linguists, especially Schürmann, knew more, dealing with some of them frequently at the Native Location that year.⁴⁴

³⁹ Moorhouse Second Quarterly Report, 14 Jan 1840, 'Papers Relative to SA... 1843', *BPP Australia* 7: 354. Wyatt, giving evidence 20 years later, agreed with Moorhouse's assessment: he remembered that the Aborigines who had been familiar to him at first contact inhabited territory southward from "ten miles north of Adelaide" (Wyatt evidence 1860, in 'Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, upon The Aborigines...', *SA Parliamentary Papers* 165/1860, Adelaide: WC Cox: 32).

⁴⁰ The Little Para is 12 miles north of the CBD; but it is very likely that Moorhouse here was using 'Adelaide' as a very general base area which included North Adelaide: 'ten miles north of where we have built by the end of 1839'.

⁴¹ "Muliakki (Milner Estate)... containing only 20" (Moorhouse Report 14 Jan 1840).

⁴² According to Gawler heritage historian Adrian Shackley, the scrubs on the plains lacked available water and could only be used seasonally, while inhabitable land featuring dense forests could only be found to the east, northeast and southeast of Gawler, such as Sandy Creek, Altona, Cockatoo Valley, Para Wirra, Mt Gawler, Kersbrook, etc (Shackley p.c. email 13/6/2011).

⁴³ "We-re", "Wiera", "Weree" and "Wiierie" in the newspaper records (Williams 'Apprehension': 2c; *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 25/5/1839: 3b, 4b; *Southern Australian* 29/5/1839: 1e).

⁴⁴ See Schürmann's Diary.

The “North men” – “Kawanda meyunna” according to Klose⁴⁵ – were probably the same as Kadlitpinna’s people – “Koubanda” according to Moorhouse.⁴⁶ Probably they lived around Gawler, between the western Muliakki and the eastern Wirra.

Kadlitpinna occupied an ambiguous position, apparently changing his identification from “Koubanda (northerly)” to become an adoptee or bonded ally of the Adelaide tribe.⁴⁷ Perhaps this was related to his strong desire to ally himself with the colonists. Such social changes may explain why other reliable informants – including Ivaritji in her old age – placed the northern boundary of the Adelaide people’s territory 15 miles further north, at ‘Gawler’, ‘the Gawler River’ or ‘river Parra’.⁴⁸ It would seem that by 1839 Kadlitpinna’s ‘northern’ people were so closely allied with the Adelaide people that they were often regarded as part of the same ‘tribe’ by colonists who had only intermittent contact with them. The German missionaries (and even Moorhouse) left us ambiguous details which suggest a more complex reality.

Judging from the small amount of evidence available, all of the three or four ‘tribes’ from Adelaide to the Para used versions of the Kurna language – even the Wirra, who might otherwise be suspected of belonging to a quite different language group, the northern Peramangk,⁴⁹

⁴⁵ “The names of the various tribes are names from the areas, for example Kawanda Meyunna = the North-men” (Klose letter 3 Sep 1844, in Klose 2002 (tr. L Zweck et al.), *Missionary to the Kurna: the Klose letters*, Occasional Publication No. 2, Adelaide: Friends of Lutheran Archives: 35).

⁴⁶ “Captain Jack, a few years back, belonged to the Koubanda (northern) tribe” (Moorhouse, half-yearly Protector’s Report 27 July 1840, ‘Papers Relative to SA... 1843’, *BPP Australia* 7: 354). ‘Koubanda’ probably represents either the common Kurna word *Kawanda* (if the ‘b’ is a misprint), or *Kaupanda* (a dialect variation of it): in either case, the word means ‘north’. Cp. Wyatt’s “*Kobandilla*” and “*Kouandilla*”, two of the “*Districts of the Adelaide tribe*” (Wyatt in Woods 1879: 179).

⁴⁷ Moorhouse’s text continues: “*Captain Jack, a few years back, belonged to the Koubanda (northern) tribe, and possessed no land; King John received him into his family and made him co-partner with the whole in the district just mentioned*”. Already in November 1838 at Gawler’s feast Kadlitpinna had been identified as “*Little Captain Jack of the Adelaide tribe*” (annotation on Martha Berkeley’s painting of the feast, quoted in Gara 1998: 103).

⁴⁸ The Kurna survivor Ivaritji remembered in 1927 that the “*Dudagunya*” (*Tarnda-kanya*) tribe of her father “*extended from Gawler*” southward (*Advertiser* 8/12/1927: 13a). However, in 1839 Ivaritji had probably not yet been born or at most was a toddler. Her late memories must have been of a tribal milieu which was already changed under the influence of the colony; or they might include what her father had told her of ‘old times’.

WA Cawthorne, who had much contact with Aborigines at the Native Location in the early 1840s, remembered in 1864 that “*The Adelaide tribe... had a tract of country bounded by... the Gawler River in the North*” (Cawthorne 1864, ‘Aborigines and their Customs’, in R Foster (ed) 1991, *Sketch of the Aborigines of South Australia: References in the Cawthorne Papers*, Aboriginal Heritage Branch, SA Dept of Environment & Planning: 90).

Old settler Thomas Day remembered the “*Cowandilla*” (*Kawandilla*) tribe of Adelaide in the 1840s: “*The boundaries of their state or Kingdom – North the river Parra...*” (Thomas Day 1902, ‘Memories of the Extinct Tribe of Cowandilla Natives’, Tindale collection, SA Museum AA 338/2/68: 1).

⁴⁹ e.g. the personal names of the Wirra men accused of Duffield’s murder all included common Kurna words: *barti* (Schürmann Diary), “*Monichi*” (*Munaitya*) and “*booka*” (*burka*) (*SA Register* reports). There has been much confusion about the Peramangk language, with some recent writers adopting Kurna language and place-names wholesale. Moorhouse believed that the Mount Barker people (now thought of as Peramangk) spoke the same language as the River Murray people’s (Moorhouse Protector’s Report 24 Nov 1842), which we know was quite different from Kurna.

Clearly these several ‘tribes’, noted at first contact from the viewpoint of European outsiders, were something different from what is meant today by ‘the Kurna nation from Cape Jervis to Crystal Brook’.⁵⁰ As Clarke wrote, these old ‘tribes’ seem to have been much smaller entities, best thought of as loose collections of extended families or ‘descent groups’.⁵¹ Clearly too, a common language did not always prevent them from being on hostile terms with each other.

THE NAME (2):

At any of the possible sites *Muna* might refer to something ‘first’ or ‘ancient’ in the Dreaming, some kind of primal creative site.

It might refer to the ‘front’ of something, perhaps a topographical feature, or an object or Being of a Dreaming embodied in a feature of the land (which might be not at all obvious to us).

Or it might refer to practical travelling. Perhaps it was a name used for the ‘first’ or ‘front’ camping place from either direction, as one moved along a main route into the territory of the next tribe, north to ‘Koubanda’ land, or south to ‘Adelaide’ land. Such might have been any of the well-favoured places on the river from the Carisbrook Reserve (opposite the Old Spot Hotel on the Main North Road) to the riverside parklands at Salisbury town.

Or it might refer to something else altogether, of which nothing was recorded; or it might be a pure name with no referent outside itself, not even to the lexical word *muna*.

POSTSCRIPT: ‘MUNA-PARRI’ AND ‘MUNNO PARA’:

It is possible and even likely that Kurna speakers might also have used a compound extension *Muna-parri* (‘first river’): either because they wanted to highlight the fact that the site itself (or this part of it) was on the river and had water available; or because *Muna* itself was a short distance away and they were also naming a separate river site after it. A few other such paired place-names are known where versions were recorded with and without *parri*.⁵² But *Muna-parri* was never recorded.⁵³

⁵⁰ The same can be said of most of the modern ‘nations’ in Native Title debates based on recent mapping of large monolithic areas of each ‘tribe’. Tindale’s concept of ‘the tribe’ has been much criticized.

⁵¹ Philip Clarke 1991, ‘Richard Penney as ethnographer’, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of SA* 29: 100.

⁵² *Karrawirra / Karrawirra-parri* (PNS 2/05); *Parngka / Parngka-parri* (PNS 7/03/10); *Muliakki / Muliakki-parri* (PNS 8/17); *Kadliti / Kadliti-parri* (PNS 8/18).

⁵³ Tindale once asserted this conjecture about *Muna-parri* as a fact. One of his place-name cards lists “*Mu:na > ‘Mu:napari’*” as though it is a primary record, and adds, “*The name has been adopted as Munno Para for the Hundred centering in Smithfield*” (Tindale Kurna place-name card 574, in AA 338/7/1/12). But all this is merely his own unsupported theory. Perhaps he was following a similar speculation by Noel Webb, who incorporated a careless cross-cultural assumption that “*Muna-para was the first river north of the Torrens*” (*The Mail* 14/5/1921, p.3e, my emphasis). In fact the first river as seen by *settlers* was Dry Creek, except in Light’s diaries which do refer to it as “*the first river*”. But it would require some data and reasoning to establish whether *Kurna* people regarded ‘Adelaide’ as a point of reference and the Little Para as the ‘first river north’ of it.



Nevertheless it is *conceivable* that this extended form might be connected with the nearby suburb name 'Munno Para'. This spelling first appeared in 1846 as the name of the newly-created Hundred of Munno Para, with no known previous history. But there is no self-evident reason for the sound-change from *muna* to *manu*, nor for the spelling change from 'Moon-na' to 'Munno'. The possibilities are explored in PNS 8/36 'Munno Para'. However, they would probably all be whitefella business, and could not be used as evidence that the original *Muna* was on the plains.

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References to background documents

See also my document

'BACKGROUND5police1839.doc',

accessible to researchers through Management of this website (contact KWP).

End of Summary

draft 13 Aug 2020