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## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.01/02

### KAUWA-YARLUNGA (Myponga Beach)

(last edited: 20.3.2019)

See also: PNS 5.01/06 'Warabari' (Sellicks Hill);  
5.01/05 Maitpangga;  
4.03.01/01 'Coweolonga' (McLaren Vale).

#### 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*This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.*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: Aboriginal people, archaeologists, geographers, ecologists and historians.*

*Chester Schultz, [date].*

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#### Abstract

*Kauwa-yerlongga* (*Kauwa-yarlungga* in KWP New Spelling 2010), meaning 'place of cliffs and sea', is probably the correct interpretation of the Kaurna name for the vicinity of the Myponga river estuary at Myponga Beach, with its wetland and cliffs, on Sections 687, 688 and 683 (Hundred of Myponga).

It was recorded as "Coweyalunga" in 1850, "Cowiealunga" in the 1870s, and "Coweelunga" in 1887. The last of these (incorrectly suggesting a four-syllable word rather than five) was probably a mis-transcription of the lost original record by surveyors in 1840, who must have obtained it from their Kaurna-speaking guides. The other records were probably remembered by local settlers from what the surveyors had told them; or possibly from speaking with Aboriginal people onsite.

Other interpretations are conceivable, such as *Kauwi-yarlungga*, 'place of freshwater and sea'; or *Kauwa-yarlangga*, 'place of cliffs and the leg-calf', or *Kauwi-yarlangga*, 'place of the leg-calf freshwater' (since the river bends form the shape of a leg). But the first option above ('place of cliffs and sea') is most likely because this was the etymology remembered by Faith Emily Lockwood (nee Hewett) as the gloss "*Myponga (high cliffs by the sea)*". For her 'Myponga' would have meant the station of her father CT Hewett at Torr House, 'Myponga Jetty' (the 19<sup>th</sup>-century name for Myponga Beach). See Discussion for the reasoning.

Kauwayarlungga has been neglected in the literature of place-names and Aboriginal history; but it seems to have been a significant destination in its own right, a focus for travel routes from the north, south and east. It was used for sheltered camping, fishing (with a rocky shore for shellfish), for corroborees, and (it is said) had a burial site. It was one of the campsites used by Aboriginal people in their spring and summer movement up the Gulf coast following the fish runs (bream, mullet, salmon and mulloway).

Although the name is very similar to another near McLaren Vale (obtained in the 1840s by Louis Piesse as 'Cow-e-o-lon-ga' and by Faith Hewett [later Lockwood] as 'Cowie-orldunga'), there is no doubt that 'Coweyalunga' is a different name and belongs at Myponga Beach.

<b>Coordinates</b>	Lat -35.3793, Long. 138.3846 [at Sturt's probable campsite on second bend of river]
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## Language Information

<i>Meaning</i>	Probably 'place of cliffs and sea'.
<i>Etymology</i>	Probably <i>kauwa</i> 'steep place, precipice' + <i>yarlu</i> 'sea' + <i>ngga</i> 'at, by, near, place of' > <i>kauwa-yarlungga</i>
<i>Notes</i>	The recorded spellings are "Coweyalunga" and "Cowiealunga". Other interpretations of these are possible. But the above interpretation is the most probable because of the late record "Myponga (high cliffs by the sea)", by Faith Lockwood, daughter of Myponga Beach pioneer CT Hewett. This may be a third-hand record of a translation of <i>Kauwayarlungga</i> originally from Kaurna survey guides. Many of Lockwood's other remembered Aboriginal place-names are demonstrably accurate.
<i>Language Family</i>	Thura-Yura: 'Kaurna'.
<i>KWP Former Spelling</i>	probably <i>Kauwa-yerlongga</i>
<i>KWP New Spelling 2010</i>	probably <i>Kauwa-yarlungga</i>
<i>Phonemic Spelling</i>	/kawayarlungka/
<i>Syllabification</i>	"Kauwa – yarlungga":
<i>Pronunciation tips</i>	Stress the 1 <sup>st</sup> and 3 <sup>rd</sup> syllables. 'au' as in 'cow'. Every other a as in Maori 'haka'. u as in 'pull'.

## Main source evidence

<i>Date</i>	Dec 1850
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>"Friday Dec. 27<sup>th</sup> 1850... [travelling north from Yankalilla via Wattle Flat] We went over an immense range of hills... Towards evening we fell in with the Myponga river, on the banks of which were a couple of shepherds' huts - we called at one of them, had a good supper and a most comfortable bed in a watch box...</p> <p>Saturday Dec. 28<sup>th</sup> 1850. Went to look at a deep Gully through which the river Myponga runs and on returning was invited by our hostess to stay the day... took a walk down on the rocks where I left Mackay fishing in the sea... I went back to the hut... I went across the river to a Mr Martin's... had some difficulty in finding my way back to <b>Coweyalunga</b> as the place is called where we slept...</p> <p>29<sup>th</sup>. Made a sketch for myself of the scenery round <b>Coweyalunga</b>..."</p>
<i>Reference</i>	Edward Snell 1850 (ed. Tom Griffiths) 1988, <i>The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell: The Illustrated Diary of an Artist, Engineer and Adventurer in the Australian Colonies 1849 to 1859</i> , North Ryde: Angus & Robertson Publishers: 197.
<i>Informants credited</i>	James Martin and/or other shepherds at Myponga Beach
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Name probably given originally to surveyors Baker and Ide by Kaurna-speaking guides during first surveys in 1839-40.



<i>Date</i>	1870
<i>Original source text</i>	<b>“COWIEALUNGA</b> , September 13. The yearly examination of the school at <b>Cowiealunga</b> (commonly known, as Myponga Jetty) took place on Thursday, the 8th...”
<i>Reference</i>	<i>SA Chronicle and Weekly Mail</i> 17/9/1870: 7a, <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/92286903/8396964#">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/92286903/8396964#</a> .
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	First surveyors in 1840; local settlers in 1850s; possibly Kurna-speaking occupants of Myponga Beach.

<i>Date</i>	1880s
<i>Original source text</i>	<b>“Coweelunga Bay”</b> [marked at Myponga Beach]
<i>Reference</i>	Index (1887) to William Baker 1840, ‘Hundred of Myponga’, Field Book 6 (SA Geographical Names Unit, Land Services Group); cp. Survey Diagram Book Pages, Hundred Myponga, p.4 (GNU).
<i>Informants credited</i>	First surveyor Baker in 1840.
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Kurna-speaking survey guides, 1840

<i>Date</i>	1893
<i>Original source text</i>	<b>“Myponga (high cliffs by the sea),</b> Nal-dinga (open wide).”
<i>Reference</i>	“One of the earliest residents of McLaren Vale and Port Lincoln” [Faith Lockwood, nee Hewett], in ‘A Native’ [EH Hallack] 1893, ‘Aboriginal Nomenclature’, <i>SA Register</i> 11/10/1893:7e, <a href="http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/53635067">http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/53635067</a> .
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	For ‘high cliffs by the sea’, probably Lockwood’s father CT Hewett (pioneer settler at McLaren Vale from 1840, and Myponga Beach from 1854). He probably obtained this information in the 1850s from Kurna-speaking occupants and/or settlers of ‘Myponga Jetty’ which at the time was also known by variants of ‘Cowiealunga’.

## Discussion: ‘CLIFFS BY THE SEA’:

N.B.: In this essay all Section numbers are in the Hundred of Myponga unless otherwise stated.

### CONFUSION AND INVISIBILITY:

One of the strange facts about South Australia is that its literature of place-names and Aboriginal history has tended to overlook Myponga Beach. There has been a perennial confusion between

'Myponga' and 'Myponga Jetty' (later called 'Myponga Beach'). People who have not lived in the district, or at least looked at these two places attentively, have often been content to assume that they are part of 'the same place'. Even Tindale and Berndt are guilty of this carelessness.<sup>1</sup>

The confusion began with the normal European assumption that one name would apply to the whole length of the 'Myponga River'. The mouth area was simply one part of this, and throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century city-based visitors and commentators made little distinction between the upper valley (which was well known as a stopping place with a hotel from the 1840s onward) and the estuary (which was away from normal traffic routes even after it was settled in the 1850s).

We shall see that when the colonists first ran stock around the estuary they already had access to its Aboriginal name, probably obtained by the first surveyors in 1840. But they had a jetty built in 1860,<sup>2</sup> after which they and the map-making authorities allowed the area itself to become known as 'Myponga Jetty'; and this compounded the ambiguity for future scholars, who were usually outsiders. The mental 'visibility' of the estuary decreased even more when the Myponga Reservoir was built in the 1960s, submerging the old locality 'Lovely Valley' which had marked the entrance to the gorge between the upper and lower valleys. Now car drivers who are not on a fishing trip speed past on the main road, unable to see Myponga Beach and often unaware that it exists. (The same has happened to the historically crucial 'Horse-shoe' river bend at Old Noarlunga).

The name recorded as "Mipunga" in 1837 (*Maitpangga*) applied to the upper valley (or more likely a particular part of it); but very soon it was re-used by the colonists for 'the Myponga River'. In Aboriginal terms this was already a confusion. Aboriginal traditions do not give a single name to the whole length of a watercourse, but only various names to different sites along it. For them it would have been basic ecological sense that the little wetland at the mouth was a different place from the valley 220 metres above it; to equate them with the same site name would be ludicrous. We may imagine them thinking, 'Come on now! Who ever got a sea view or a run of salmon in this high valley? Who saw a stringybark forest on the hillsides down there around that beach?'<sup>3</sup> The two places are separated by a narrow and precipitous gorge. Journeys between the two were normally very roundabout for both Aborigines and settlers.

Therefore we often have to deduce, from the context or internal evidence, which of these two very different places a source is talking about.

<sup>1</sup> See below in the section about Travel Routes.

<sup>2</sup> Neville Collins 2005, *The Jetties of South Australia Past and Present*, Woodside, SA, published by author: 177.

<sup>3</sup> For stringybarks around the high valley, see NatureMaps,

<http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps> > Flora Tools > 'Map a species' > 'Species list' > [select Messmate strb' or 'Brown strb'] > [sites show up as a red dot]. Stringybarks grow only above a certain altitude. For salmon see below.

STURT 1838:

The first person to publish an appreciation of Myponga Beach was Charles Sturt. In September 1838 he led an excursion to the Murray Mouth. In all the accounts of this trip, centre stage has of course been occupied by the Mouth rather than the details of his overland trek to Encounter Bay. But here is what he wrote nine years later in “A Notice of South Australia in 1847”:

*On the other side of Mount Terrible the country is very scrubby for some miles, until, all at once, you burst upon the narrow, but beautiful valley of Mypunga. This beautiful valley, which had scarcely been trodden by the European when I first encamped upon it, was then covered with Orchideous plants of every colour, amidst a profusion of richest vegetation. A sweet rippling stream passed within five yards of my tent-door, and found its way to the Gulf about a mile below me to the west.<sup>4</sup> It was on the occasion of my going to the sea mouth of the Murray, that I first stopped at this spot.*

It was the ‘beautiful valley of Mypunga’. But a camp ‘about a mile’ from the sea cannot possibly be in the upper valley (which begins at least 6 km from the sea). It must be in the middle of the Myponga Beach estuary; and this, where he camped, is what he was describing. They had probably chosen the site where a western tributary enters the river at its second and southward bend. Here on the outside bank of the curve, alluvial deposits have built up a small, dry, sheltered and relatively flat area, about 10 metres above the water with access to it unhindered by swamp vegetation.<sup>5</sup>

EDWARD SNELL, December 1850:

At the end of 1850 Edward Snell, surveyor and diarist, and his friend Mackay, both of them freelance artists, were on the last leg of a walking tour around the Murray mouth and Fleurieu Peninsula in search of sketchable material such as scenery and Aboriginal people. They did not know this part of the country; Snell had only been in SA for twelve months, and for much of that time he had been surveying on Yorke Peninsula.

<sup>4</sup> ‘West’ must be an error for ‘north’. In memory Sturt was probably imagining ‘downstream’ and thinking of the Gulf as in the west, as it is further north; but here in the curve of the Peninsula the sea is actually to the north.

<sup>5</sup> It is unclear why Sturt’s party did not camp in the upper valley but detoured from it, tackling dense “scrub, through which we had descended into the valley” of the camp. Here “at Mypunga” in the morning, an unfortunate lad among his boat crew escaped into the scrub while delirious, hid, and was never found even after a two-day search aided by the notorious ‘bushranger’ Foley who was with them. Perhaps they were taking the Wattle Flat route to Encounter Bay (rather than the shorter Hindmarsh Tiers route), perhaps because the upper valley – so soon after winter – was too swampy for easy transit across to the Tiers. The same thing appears to have happened with Mann and Wyatt’s party in the previous September (see PNS 5.01/05 Maitpangga).

Walking north from Second Valley towards Adelaide on 27<sup>th</sup> December, they were refreshed by a swim in a waterhole on the Bungala River, and later by tea and smoko at “the Yankalilla Post Office... about 6 miles inland” at Wattle Flat,<sup>6</sup> where they “got directions to the next sheep station”.<sup>7</sup> Unwittingly they were following the standard Aboriginal route north to Myponga Beach, a path determined by the land itself. They missed the homestead, but found one of the outlying property sections occupied by shepherds.<sup>8</sup>

*We went over an immense range of hills covered with grass tree and scrub (some of them were on fire for miles)... and towards evening we fell in with the Myponga river, on the banks of which were a couple of shepherds' huts – we called at one of them, had a good supper and a most comfortable bed in a watch box, it blew a gale of wind this evening and the smoke from the fires rendered every thing round the hut invisible.*

*Saturday Dec. 28<sup>th</sup> 1850. Went to look at a deep Gully through which the river Myponga runs and on returning was invited by our hostess to stay the day and make a sketch of their house to send home to their friends in England – did so and then took a walk down on the rocks where I left Mackay fishing in the sea, and every now and then getting a “hitch” among the rocks instead of a fish. I went back to the hut and wrote up this log. It blew a gale from the SE all day and in the afternoon I went across the river to a Mr Martin’s and made a sketch of their house to send home – the hills were all in a blaze and the smoke was so thick that the distance was invisible. Supped there and had some difficulty in finding my way back to Coweialunga as the place is called where we slept, turned in to the old watchbox again and slept very comfortably.*

*29<sup>th</sup>. Made a sketch for myself of the scenery round Coweialunga, breakfasted and at 10.30 started on our journey...<sup>9</sup>*

<sup>6</sup> The Post Office was probably at Wattle Flat, though the distance ‘inland’ is overestimated by a mile or so. The area’s postal service began in 1843 with JC Boord as the first postmaster at his station in Wattle Flat, Section 410 (on the Main South Rd near the crossing of Carrickalinga River). Between then and 1850 the occupant of the position, and perhaps the location of the Post Office, changed several times, including Henry Kemmiss at Section 1181 [Hundred of Yankalilla] of ‘Manna Farm’ on the eastern side of what is now Yankalilla town (RF Williams 1991: 40; for his Sections see Cotter’s SA *Almanack* 1844: 175). But it seems that in 1850 it was for a while at the station of GF Heathcote, “50 miles GPO” (Murray’s SA *Almanac* 1850: 53). GF was the son of big landholder John Heathcote senior, who at some stage before 1856 bought Section 407, right next to Boord’s at Wattle Flat (RF Williams 1991: 352), though the location was often given as ‘Yankalilla’ in the almanacs. Since GW also died in 1850 (RF Williams (compiler) n.d., *Early Settlers in the Yankalilla District*, Yankalilla & District Historical Society: 34), it is likely that the father took over the business that year; and his location was often listed as ‘Myponga’ as well as ‘Yankalilla’, probably also signifying one of his Wattle Flat properties. By the mid-1850s another son, John W Heathcote, had taken over from Kemmiss, having bought his property. But the Kemmiss location is only about 3 miles ‘inland’, not far enough to be Snell’s haven.

<sup>7</sup> Probably the homestead of John Clarke on Section 495, about 2.5 km northeast of Wattle Flat, on the road bend midway between Myponga and Yankalilla towns (RF Williams 1991: 77, 241; Ide & Baker, Dec. 1840, ‘Plan of 268 sections in the Vallies of the Myponga’, Plan 6/20, with annotations up to 1860 [SA Geographical Names Unit [GNU], Land Services Group).

<sup>8</sup> Several of the sections on the flats and adjacent hills at Myponga Beach were probably owned or squatted already at this date by Fidge or others; Whitelaw and Fidge had their blocks registered by 1852 and 1853 respectively (see Plan 6/20).

<sup>9</sup> Tom Griffiths (ed.) 1988, *The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell: The Illustrated Diary of an Artist, Engineer and Adventurer in the Australian Colonies 1849 to 1859*, North Ryde: Angus & Robertson Publishers: 196-7.

The accompanying sketch '*Gully near the Myponga River*' shows a deep narrow rocky gully with the sea showing immediately below its opening.<sup>10</sup> From this fact and the timing of the events of the 28<sup>th</sup>, it is clear that the 'watchbox' was on or near the river flats at Myponga Beach, close enough to the sea that in the space of one morning Snell could explore the 'deep Gully' above, come back, sketch the house, and stroll to the rocks. The hospitable but unnamed householders 'on the banks' of the river – a man and his wife – were probably employees of one of the first landowners or squatters in the immediate area, such as Heathcote or Fidge.

It is also clear that Martin's house could not have been far away from the shepherd's hut or from the sea. This lonely household consisted of James Martin, his wife, three children and a colleague named Ladd (or perhaps Ladd was the shepherd on the flats). James Martin's third child had been born at "Myponga" the year before when he and Ladd were already shepherds for John Heathcote (senior).<sup>11</sup> Heathcote was a big landholder had secured (sometime before July 1851) Sections 690 and 608,<sup>12</sup> which are on the coastal clifftops immediately east of the bay, only two km from the likely site of Sturt's camp. This was probably the site of Martin's house 'across the river'.

The estuary valley, then, was the location of "Coweelunga". It is fairly certain that the name was first recorded by the first surveyors in 1840, Corporals William Baker and Henry Ide, at a time when Governor Gawler was still encouraging surveyors to collect Aboriginal place-names; and that they obtained it from Kurna-speaking Aboriginal guides. But they did not record it in those of their field notebooks which have survived, and it seems to have eluded official recognition in this spelling.<sup>13</sup> Baker and Ide had already surveyed the crucial road routes around the mouth, cliff-tops and steep gullies, before the first settlers began to buy and then occupy this part of the land in the subsequent years. It is very likely the first settlers would hold discussions with the surveyors about the conditions and access, and in the process learned the name from them, even though it was not in general use.<sup>14</sup> However, it is even more likely that the shepherds were in friendly contact with Aboriginal people visiting the estuary during their annual movements around the coast, and that it was the shepherds who had obtained the name. We shall see later that the second record may also have been obtained from shepherds in or near this wetland.

<sup>10</sup> Snell's sketches of his host's house and of Martin's house might have included background scenes to confirm their respective locations; but they were separate from his diary and (as far as I know) have not been discovered.

<sup>11</sup> RG Williams 1986/1991, *To Find a Way: Yankalilla & District 1836-1986*, 3<sup>rd</sup> printing, Yankalilla & District Historical Society: 341. Here the record 'Myponga' in Williams' source would have covered the place now called Myponga Beach as well, since no public name for the place is on record at that date. Martin and Ladd later bought property of their own at Carrickalinga (p.237).

<sup>12</sup> Ide & Baker, Dec. 1840, 'Plan of 268 sections in the Vallies of the Myponga', Plan 6/20, (with annotations up to 1860), GNU. The same plan shows that by August 1853 Heathcote also owned Section 674, 3 km upstream from the sea; but the distance and date make this site less likely for Martin's house in 1850.

<sup>13</sup> William Baker 1840, 'Hundred of Myponga', Field Book 6: 56-8, 154(a) (GNU); Henry Ide 1840, 'Hundreds of Encounter Bay & Myponga', FB 15: 57b, 60-61. However, see below about the later Lands Department record of "Coweelunga".

<sup>14</sup> The cove was called "*Hanrock's Beach*" in the 1850s by the Kangaroo Islander Nat Thomas (WA Cawthorne 1853, 'Journal of a Trip to Kangaroo Island', in A Chittleborough & R Hosking (ed.) 2002, *Alas For the Pelicans! Flinders, baudin & Beyond*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 163). He was probably using a name which the Islanders had given to it before official settlement.



In 1854 Charles T Hewett sold up his Oxenberry Farm at McLaren Vale and came to Myponga Beach to build 'Torr House'; let us note that this was four years after Snell had recorded the name 'Cowealunga' there. There is some reason to think that in the next few years Hewett heard information about that Aboriginal name and passed it on to his eldest daughter (see below).

In the early 1870s the locals were still identifying their place by the same name, with the spelling "Cowiealunga" – though the local correspondent felt obliged to add (at least once), "commonly known as Myponga Jetty".<sup>15</sup>

In the 1880s a Survey Department employee 'W.T.D.C.' was cataloguing and indexing the old Field Books, and updating the Diagram Books which summarized them. He added the name "Coweelunga Bay" to the record while documenting the Government Reserve (on Section 240 at the mouth). This spelling was copied much later onto the official cadastral maps and is still gazetted today.<sup>16</sup> While it is pretty certain (on linguistic grounds) that this spelling 'ee' must be a mis-transcription of what Baker originally wrote in 1840,<sup>17</sup> let us note that this evidence of the earliest record confirms that the name belongs to the 'Bay': on the coast, not inland.

#### THE WORD:

Our task of clarifying the place and the name is complicated uniquely by the fact that there are two other known locations where names very similar to this were recorded in the first 15 years of settlement. There was a "Cow-e-o-lon-ga" or "Cowie-orklunga" at McLaren Vale,<sup>18</sup> and a "Cowrylanka" at Second Valley.<sup>19</sup> Were they all variants of one generic name, applicable to a particular *kind* of site anywhere? Not necessarily; for there are things peculiar to the Myponga Beach evidence (see below). On the other hand, it is *possible* that Second Valley name was the same as the Myponga Beach name, which would make it generic; but we are not sure of this.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> SA Chronicle & Weekly Mail 17/9/1870: 7a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/92286903/8396964#>; cp. SA Advertiser 31/10/1870: 3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/28596239/2894594>; SA Chronicle & Weekly Mail 30/9/1871: 7a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/92269920/8392660>; SA Register 2/5/1872: 3b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/28685145/2282170>. When the school was mentioned in the newspapers – its first examinations in 1868, and other matters in 1869 – the reports were headed not 'Cowiealunga' but "Myponga Jetty" (e.g. <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90947390/8395469>, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/92278669/8395993>). Some of the locals must have discovered or renewed their enthusiasm for the 'native name' in the 12 months before the 1870 examinations.

<sup>16</sup> Index to William Baker 1840, 'Hundred of Myponga', Field Book 6 (GNU); Survey Diagram Book Pages, Hundred Myponga, p.4 (GNU); cp. Cadastral overprint SA 1:50 000 Topographic series, 1985; SA Land Services website <http://maps.sa.gov.au/plb/>.

<sup>17</sup> Probably 'ea' (see below).

<sup>18</sup> See PNS 4.03.01/01 'Coweolonga' (McLaren Vale).

<sup>19</sup> See PNS 5.04.01/01.

<sup>20</sup> See also PNS 5.04.01/01 'Cowrylanka' (Second Valley). If 'Cowrylanka' and 'Cowiealunga' are the same generic name at these two southern locations, this could hint that they were both 'outsider' names given by guides hired in



Returning to the Myponga Beach evidence, both of the early recorded spellings “Cowialunga” and “Cowealunga” are clearly in five syllables.<sup>21</sup>

They meet Kurna language criteria if we read them as a five-syllable compound word ‘**C**ow-[y]alunga’, ending with the locative suffix *-ngga* ‘at, in, near’.<sup>22</sup>

Because of this it seems fair to suppose that the late evidence for a four-syllable ‘Cowealunga’<sup>23</sup> is merely a mis-transcription or misinterpretation of an unknown earlier spelling such as ‘Cowealonga’; perhaps a linguistic layman in the Survey Department, someone who had not *heard* the word, was unsure of the handwriting and supposed that it didn’t matter because ‘ea’ and ‘ee’ would ‘mean the same thing’.<sup>24</sup>

### SECOND WORD OF THE COMPOUND:

Let us examine the second word first.

The stressed third vowel of the compound (given as ‘a’ in both records) is more likely to have been heard correctly than the unstressed fourth. Because Kurna words do not usually begin with a vowel, we must reconsider this morpheme ‘alu-’. Since the *a* follows another vowel *i*, it is very likely that it begins with a consonantal *y* which the later sources (but not Snell) mis-heard as though it belonged to (or *was*) the previous vowel. This reasoning gives a new possible English spelling ‘yalu’ for the second word (confirmed by reading Snell’s ‘y’ with new eyes).

Then there is the fourth vowel, given in both sources as ‘u’ within the syllable ‘lung’. In English the pronunciation of this vowel can only be as in ‘but’, not as in ‘put’; so in phonetic spelling it is *lang*, and the last two syllables are *langga*. Accordingly, the second word in the compound is probably something like *yalangga* or *yarlangga* (if Snell and the settlers heard the fourth vowel correctly), or *yalungga* or *yarlungga* (if they mis-heard it, perhaps remembering other local Kurna names like *Wilangga* which do have an *a*).

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Adelaide for country in which they were only visitors. In that case the locals of the south, though speaking the same language, may have had different names for these places (e.g. perhaps ‘Parananacooka’ at Second Valley). However, it is also possible that the guides hired in Adelaide included some southerners, e.g. some of Colonel Light’s eight Aboriginal ‘Marines’ appointed at Rapid Bay in 1836, hypothetically coming to the city to follow up congenial survey employment with men they had come to know well such as Finniss during his Rapid Bay-Yankalilla surveys (see Chapter 3 of my history *Feet On the Fleurieu* for more on this matter). This being so, the two names in question are just as likely to be a local ‘insider’ generic; or perhaps they were two different ‘insider’ names after all.

<sup>21</sup> We must read ‘ea’ as two syllables ‘e-a’, *not* as in ‘neat’. If the sources had meant the one-syllable sound as in ‘feet’, they would have used the double-‘ee’.

<sup>22</sup> The first hurdle to cross in evaluating the word ‘Cowealunga/Cowialunga’ is to take off our European spectacles and earphones. With them still on, we will see and mentally hear the rhythm 3+2, >^^ >^ (‘**C**owiea-lunga’), out of which we will get no linguistic sense in any Aboriginal language. But if we remember that this rhythm is only a habit of English-speakers, we begin to see alternatives such the Kurna habit >^ >^^, 2+3 (‘**C**owie-[y]alunga’), which matches the rule that the Locative *ngga* (‘at’, place of) is used only in a three-syllable compound, i.e. on a two-syllable root word. This Locative leaves the final vowel of the root intact; which means that we may be able to deduce the final vowel of the root from the third vowel of the recorded name.<sup>22</sup> However, in this case it was recorded by English-speaking laymen as ‘u’, which creates another set of ambiguities, as we will see.

<sup>23</sup> Index to Field Book 6 (GNU); Survey Diagram Book Pages, Hundred of Myponga, p.4 (GNU).

<sup>24</sup> – on the analogy of ‘real/reel’, etc.



## FIRST WORD OF THE COMPOUND:

At first sight it is tempting to assume that the first word is *kauwi* 'water'. However this may be premature. The second vowel of the first word was recorded as 'ey' and 'ie'. But we have seen that it is unstressed and followed by *ya*. This means that the *y* consonant could very easily mask its sound. It could easily have been an *a*: *kauwa-y-* could sound very like *kauwi-y-*, especially to an amateur who did not know the language. And all these early place-name collectors were familiar with the word *kauwi* ('water'), even if nothing else in Kurna vocabulary. They could very easily assume that anything sounding like 'cow' was *kauwi*. But there is also a Kurna word *kauwa* 'steep place, precipice'.

Myponga Beach has an abundance of both fresh water and cliffs. How can we decide between them?

## ETYMOLOGIES:

For our interpretation of the second word *yala* as the apparent first choice, the known Kurna vocabulary has only *yarla* 'calf of the leg': This is *possible*, even apart from hypothetical unknown Dreaming stories. The estuary does make two sharp turns which could look like a leg-calf when seen from above, perhaps from a high lookout on one of the ridges south of Sturt's putative campsite at the 'heel'.<sup>25</sup>

Looking further, perhaps the original penultimate vowel was actually *u*, but being unstressed, was mistaken for *a* (the English default perception for unstressed vowels). If so, then the second root word would be *yerlo* (*yarlu* in KWP's New Spelling), the word for 'sea'; and we could have *Kauwa-yarlungga*, 'cliffs by the sea', or *Kauwi-yarlungga*, 'freshwater by the sea'.

So Myponga Beach also has a leg-calf, as well as the sea. Are we at an impasse between multiple choices?

We shall examine some pieces of evidence which combine into a strange 'coincidence' to make 'cliffs by the sea' the most likely candidate, despite the unanimous records which seem to favour 'leg-calf', and despite the possibility of 'water'.

<sup>25</sup> A similar coincidence of landform and language appears at Delamere, where the creek lines of *Yala-walangga* (possibly 'place of leg-calf' + wallaby) make a discernible 'wallaby-leg' shape (see PNS 5.04.01/13).

## HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND 'A LADY':

Faith Emily was the eldest daughter of CT Hewett, a pioneer of McLaren Vale in 1840. She left the family farm in 1852,<sup>26</sup> to join Richard Lockwood; they travelled the Victorian goldfields and eventually moved to Warrow on Eyre Peninsula. Meanwhile, her father moved to Myponga Beach in 1854, then to Mt Barker Springs in 1868.<sup>27</sup> In 1893, EH Hallack (under the pen-name of 'A Native') contributed to the *Register* a poem by Faith Lockwood without naming her, and referring to her only as "a lady... one of the earliest residents of Maclaren Vale and Port Lincoln". It contained at least 37 Aboriginal place-names, many of which she was remembering accurately from her early days at McLaren Vale.<sup>28</sup>

For some of these she gives accurate glosses; but one is puzzled by the line "Myponga (high cliffs by the sea)". This is impossible as a meaning for the name of the town or upper valley: both linguistically<sup>29</sup> and geographically (which Faith would have known, or could have when she thought about it). But it is a close-to-literal translation of *Kauwa-yarlungga*.

These facts seem to stretch the idea of coincidence fairly severely. But they are complicated further because Faith's poem also includes the very similar name "*Cowie-orldunga*", and she explains it as "*many streams*". We should not assume that she meant this explanation as a dictionary etymology. More likely she was merely describing the place she had in mind. We know that this name referred to a place just north of McLaren Vale, among the multiple watercourses of the Pedler Creek catchment.<sup>30</sup> But this description cannot apply to Myponga Beach, where the main watercourse has only one modest tributary which (according to one ecological report) makes "no significant... input" to the water flow of the estuary.<sup>31</sup>

My solution to the puzzle of those 'Myponga cliffs' is a theory as follows – a chain of reasoning which (I believe) is much more credible than treating the facts as mere 'coincidence':

1. Faith obtained the McLaren Vale name 'Cowie-orldunga' during her early life there in 1840-52.

<sup>26</sup> Rosemary Ketteridge (ed. & transcriber) 2017, *Hewett Family Letters*, Allen Press Pty Ltd. SA: 18. Thanks to Julie McSorley for this reference.

<sup>27</sup> See PL Norman 1986, *Four Hewetts Venture North: A History of Charles Thomas Hewett and Four of His Children 1794-1986*, Adelaide, Hewett Family Reunion Committee: 14, 29, 35; Ketteridge 2017: 18.

<sup>28</sup> See e.g. PNS 4.03.02/01 'Cowie-orldunga'; 4.03.01/04 Turrangga; 4.04.02/01 Pirltangga; and my unpublished account of Lockwood as the 'lady' in 'A Native' 1893 (contributed to the original version of Amery & Schultz 2009, 'The Trail of Historical Kurna Place Names' [unpublished MS]).

<sup>29</sup> See PNS 5.01/05 Maitpangga.

<sup>30</sup> Another independent and reliable source in 1839 recorded an Aboriginal site named "*Cow-e-o-lon-ga*" at a specific section number near McLaren Vale. For an analysis of this site, see PNS 4.03.01/01 'Coweolonga'.

<sup>31</sup> McNeil, D.G., Fredberg, J. and Wilson, P.J. (2009). *Coastal Fishes and Flows in the Onkaparinga and Myponga Rivers*: Report to the Adelaide and Mount Lofty Ranges Natural Resource Management Board. South Australian Research and Development Institute, Aquatic Sciences. SARDI Publication No. F2009/000410-1: 13. Available online by Google search of keywords.



2. In 1852 she went interstate with Richard Lockwood.
3. Her father moved to Myponga Beach in 1854.
4. There the place was still recognized as part of the region it served, where the only generally-known place-name near it on any route was 'Myponga', the valley inland on the river of the same name.
5. The jetty was built in 1860 while Hewett was still living there, and opened by one of his daughters.<sup>32</sup>
6. The name 'Coweyalunga' was known to some of the locals at Myponga Beach in 1850 and up to the early 1870s, though never adopted by a wider public.
7. But at the same time, references to "the Myponga jetty" had fossilized it into a standard place-name, and the abbreviation "Myponga Jetty" for the area itself (not just the jetty) was already close to being the public norm when the newspaper reports from 'Cowiewalunga' were appearing.<sup>33</sup>
8. Hewett moved to Mt Barker Springs in 1868 but his four sons remained at Myponga Jetty until 1875.<sup>34</sup>
9. The family may have been told the *name* of their new location at 'Coweyalunga'; and let us suppose that they *were* also given its *meaning* as 'high cliffs by the sea'.
10. Faith never lived at Myponga Valley, but did stay with her father and brothers at Myponga Beach for several months in 1861.<sup>35</sup> Being a keen collector of Aboriginal place-names, she probably asked about 'the native name of Myponga Jetty'; and somebody probably told her a version of 'Cowiewalunga' and quoted the meaning. Quite likely it was one of the same shepherds who had told Snell the name in 1850; for Faith had to live in a shepherd's hut for some of her time at Torr House.<sup>36</sup>
9. Thirty years later, when writing the poem at the age of almost 70 – "hurriedly" according to Hallack – she included in her 5<sup>th</sup> stanza the McLaren Vale "Cowie-ortalunga (many streams)". Then in the next stanza she thought southwards past Willunga and Aldinga to country where she had never lived and visited only rarely. As an outsider writing of 'Myponga', she may well have been thinking of Torr House at Myponga Jetty (where she *had* visited) rather than the upper valley (which had no connection with her life, even though it shared the name). And like most people, she would not have known that 'Mipunga' was obtained originally as a name

<sup>32</sup> Collins 2005: 177.

<sup>33</sup> This can be seen by a Trove search for the phrase 'myponga jetty'.

<sup>34</sup> Norman 1986: 35.

<sup>35</sup> Ketteridge 2017: 43-4. Julie McSorley thinks it likely that Faith lived there for "*at least a year*" (p.c. email 18/6/18).

<sup>36</sup> In accepting the present chain of reasoning about 'Myponga (high cliffs by the sea)', Julie McSorley drew my attention to the following passage from Faith's letters describing part of her first visit to Torr House in 1861, together with her sister and two young children. When the absent father Hewett came home, his second wife (Faith's step-mother) "*said there is a workman's hut down in the gully Auburns family live in one not far off and another of our shepherds a little higher up there's plenty of wood laying about on the side of the hill Huldah is going away so you and Rhoda with Jem and your two had better go and live there*" (Ketteridge 2017: 46-7). A watchbox had been good enough for Snell, but this was sour grapes for poor Faith and her children!

belonging specifically to the upper valley. And in her times in the district there had been no official town of Myponga, only “one public house and several log and mud buildings”.<sup>37</sup> For her as for Sturt, ‘Myponga’ still included the estuary.

10. Then a second confusion arose. The 50-year-old memory ‘Cowie-orldunga’ jostled the 30-year-old memory ‘Cowiealunga’, an almost-identical set of sounds. She had just written the former, which was part of the seminal period of her life. In haste, she lost her confidence in the latter and less imprinted item; rejected it – ‘probably my memory slipping’ – but retained its given meaning at the place which for her was ‘Myponga’.<sup>38</sup>

Although the same etymology *kauwa-yarlungga* could apply also to “Cowyrilanka” at Second Valley – another place of cliffs and steep places by the sea – yet it is even more appropriate to Myponga Beach where the 50-metre cliffs dominate and crowd the little cove still more closely, and the little wetland is fully enclosed by much steeper hills.

#### ECOLOGY AND ABORIGINAL USES:

From an Aboriginal point of view the natural riches of Kauwayarlungga include high headlands for lookout, close to sheltered flats for camping; a beach; a two-km estuary and wetland; lignum and reed swamps with their multiple uses; a very short alluvial floodplain; and a gorge further up.<sup>39</sup>

The ecological base has now been depleted by major interference with the river catchment in the form of the Myponga Reservoir. The weir about four km upstream from the mouth captures and regulates almost the whole volume of the catchment. Massively decreased water flows alternate with water releases from the Reservoir which often bring large amounts of sediment down the river. Yet the habitat of Kauwayarlungga has survived better than we might expect, thanks to water input from springs and a few tributaries below the weir.<sup>40</sup> It is still a breeding place and nursery for black bream, yellow-eyed mullet and the salmon which migrate annually from Western Australia along this coast.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Advertiser 17/5/1866: 2g, quoted by GH Manning’s website,

<http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/manning/pn/m/m14.htm#myponga> [14/6/18].

<sup>38</sup> One of my correspondents, the retired academic Julie McSorley, a direct descendant of Faith Emily Lockwood, has examined my evidence for Lockwood’s authorship of the poem, and finds it convincing when added to her own knowledge of the family history; for example, that Faith wrote other poems and a book (Julie McSorley p.c., email 1 April 2018).

<sup>39</sup> SA Department for Environment and Heritage 2007, *Adelaide and Mount Lofty Ranges Natural Resources Management Region: Estuaries Information Package*: 21 (This PDF booklet can be found online by a Google search of the keywords). The lignum and reed swamps, and the very ancient limestone shore platform and headlands, are registered with the National Estate.

<sup>40</sup> McNeil *et al.* 2009: 7.

<sup>41</sup> SA Department for Environment and Heritage 2007, *Adelaide and Mount Lofty Ranges Natural Resources Management Region: Estuaries Information Package*: 16. This document is available online via a Google search of keywords.

Many of the Aboriginal campsites on the Gulf coast south of Adelaide were examined during a spate of archaeological activity in the 1970s and 80s. Myponga Beach was one of them, but any specific observations made there seem to have missed out on publication. In the scholarly literature I have found only small-scale maps with a black dot at an unmarked coastal place which appears to be Myponga Beach. The dot signifies 'Aboriginal site', unspecified except that it is one of the 'modern' campsites, dated within the last 6000 years.<sup>42</sup> Though it is beyond the scope of my present essays to fill this gap, a long-term frequent visitor to Myponga Beach hints that history is there: "It is the place where I first gained a childhood awareness of the aboriginal culture – artefacts having been found in the sandhills which were once a burial ground".<sup>43</sup>

Archaeologists interpret all those 'modern' coastal sites as places where people camped in spring and summer while following the fish runs: bream, mullet, mulloway and salmon.<sup>44</sup> Karlowan's story of Tjirbuki speaks explicitly of net-fishing for salmon at Sellicks Beach, "a fine bay, suitable for catching sea salmon at night-time".<sup>45</sup> Tindale's re-telling of the tale applies the same at Brighton,<sup>46</sup> and one of his cards applies it also to Normanville.<sup>47</sup>

There is an Aboriginal history at Kauwayarlungga still waiting to be celebrated, and old Fleurieu residents have confirmed its existence. Mrs G Welden, remembering her childhood in the 1850s, wrote, "My parents settled in the Districts of Myponga and Yankalilla... The natives lived along the coast of Myponga, Normanville, Milang and Victor Harbour".<sup>48</sup> Around 1860, Mary Jane Whitelaw was a child with her parents Robert and Janet who in 1854 had occupied Sections 460-461, steep hilly country on the western side of Myponga Beach Rd, about 2 km southwest of the beach. In later years she "remembered... going down to the beach to play, seeing Aboriginal corroborees, and the natives coming to the farm for food".<sup>49</sup> One source (probably Roy Williams) cites other anonymous old Fleurieu settler memories: "Natives frequented the district for many years after the

<sup>42</sup> Val Campbell 1979, 'Archaeological Reconstruction of Coastal Sites South of Adelaide', *Journal of Anthropological Society of South Australia* 17(1): 3, 10; map 'Location of Aboriginal Sites on the Fleurieu Peninsula', Betty Ross (ed.) 1984, *Aboriginal and Historic Places around Metropolitan Adelaide and the South Coast*, Adelaide: Anthropological Society of South Australia Inc.: 20. Myponga Beach may have been good for bream, mullet and salmon; but perhaps not for mulloway, a much larger fish for which prime sites included Port Willunga (see Thomas Martin) and Moana where Milerum identified a "watching place on cliffs for shoals of Mulloway" (Tindale annotated map AA 338/16/6).

<sup>43</sup> 'Meg' 2016, 'An Ode To Myponga Beach', Wakefield Press blog site 15 Sep 2016, <http://www.wakefieldpress.com.au/blog/2016/09/odetomypongabeach/> [accessed 5/6/18].

<sup>44</sup> Campbell 1979: 5-8.

<sup>45</sup> Tindale & Mountford 1936, 'Results of the excavation of Kongarati Cave', *Records of SA Museum* 5(4): 501; cp. Tindale 1987, 'The Wanderings of Tjirbuki', *Records of SA Museum* 20: 8b.

<sup>46</sup> Tindale 1987: 7a.

<sup>47</sup> Tindale Kaurna place-name card [555/2] `Mai` kabanangk.

<sup>48</sup> G Welden 1936, 'A Glimpse of Yankalilla Eighty Years Ago', Louise Brown et al (ed.) 1936, *A Book of South Australia: Women in the First Hundred Years*, Adelaide: Rigby Ltd: 50.

<sup>49</sup> RF Williams 1991: 315. The corroborees were probably performed either on Sturt's putative campsite (on the second river bend) or on the low flat land southeast of the bridge.

first white settlement. They often passed through Wattle Flat on their way to Myponga Beach from Encounter Bay via Inman Valley. This was when the salmon were running”.<sup>50</sup>

The Thomas Martin family of Port Willunga remembered part of the same seasonal movement in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and that it included Myponga Beach:

*They came from Port Elliot when... the fishing was better at Port Willunga. He particularly mentions that they were after the mulloway (Sciaena Antarctica). It was January and February and maybe for a little longer that the Aborigines came to Port Willunga. He says they used to come from Port Elliot every year, camping on the coast at the creeks along the way. According to Mr. Martin's daughter, they also camped on the beach near Myponga, her mother had told her this.*<sup>51</sup>

According to Hemming, “It may even have been possible that the people Martin observed were following seasonal patterns in existence before the arrival of the Europeans”;<sup>52</sup> which would mean that they involved both Ramindjeri-speaking people from east of the range and their Kurna-speaking relatives on the southern Gulf coast.

#### TRAVEL ROUTES AROUND KAUWAYARLUNGA:<sup>53</sup>

The standard Aboriginal routes to and from Myponga Beach may have been the same which Tjirbuki followed (see later in this essay). The traveller turned inland far enough to cross the gorge of Mt Terrible Creek. Then he could head south by one of two routes:

(1) He could go back to the low coastal plateau and past the point which Milerum called “Warabari”.<sup>54</sup> This, the shortest route, would arrive at Kauwayarlunga-Myponga Beach along the sea cliffs east of it. For a short time the government was considering this route for the main road south from Mt Terrible; and it was for this reason that Hewett had chosen the location of Torr House at Myponga Beach,<sup>55</sup> hoping originally that it would be a hotel serving a well-used thoroughfare.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Jean Schmaal n.d. [?1970s], ‘The Originals part 4’, digital archive #9 in ‘Aboriginal Peoples of SA’, Yankalilla & District Historical Society; cp. #15-19 ‘Yankalilla’. Over many years Roy F Williams was the main collector of old memories for the Society, but his archival material is often preserved without his name attached.

<sup>51</sup> Steve Hemming 1985, ‘Aborigines at Port Willunga’, *J.Anthrop.Soc.SA* 23(9): 24-5.

[http://www.anthropologysocietysa.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/JASSA-Volume23\\_-9-Hemming.pdf](http://www.anthropologysocietysa.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/JASSA-Volume23_-9-Hemming.pdf).

<sup>52</sup> Hemming 1985: 25, 27.

<sup>53</sup> There is more on these travel routes in PNS 5.01/06 Warabari (Sellicks Hill).

<sup>54</sup> See PNS 5.01/06 Warabari (Sellicks Hill).

<sup>55</sup> On Section 465 near the bottom of Myponga Beach Rd, immediately below Whitelaw’s 460.

<sup>56</sup> Norman 1986: 29. Part of the route of this proposed road can be seen along the clifftops in Baker’s Field Book 6: 56-8, 154a and Ide’s FB 15: 58, 61 (GNU).



(2) Or he could go up higher, bypass the summit of Mt Jeffcott, and descend to Kauwayarlungga via one of several ridges; or detour south (Reservoir Rd) and return to Kauwayarlungga via Sampson Rd.

Southward from Kauwayarlungga, the normal route was probably much the same as today's Myponga Beach Rd: up the western ridge of the lowest tributary of the Myponga River, to the top at Forktree Rd, then down, either south to Wattle Flat or (like Tjirbuki) west to Carrickalinga.

There can be little doubt that parts of these routes were turned into roads as a matter of topographical necessity for vehicles; but they may also have been pointed out by the first surveyors by Aboriginal guides who knew the tracks.

Karlowan and Tindale seem to have spent some energy on speculating about the tracks used by Tjirbuki in his travels south of Adelaide as told by Karlowan. Tindale's maps include several versions of a southern "track of Tjilbruke to Brighton t. Karlowan".<sup>57</sup>

He also made several versions of an eastern route over the range from Ngarrindjeri country on the south coast, which was probably described by both Karlowan and Milerum. Early in his career he mapped a "Native track from Pt Elliott towards Adelaide"; it comes north from Wattle Flat without crossing the Myponga River, and approaches 'Myponga Jetty' from the south (as described above).<sup>58</sup> This track is *relatively* exact, in spite of the small map scale. Part of it may have been based in part on a coastal route which he marked very precisely on his map of the Hundred of Myponga, noting that "From Carrickalinga Head to the point marked J the coast line is impassable at high tide" (hence the need for a detour inland on Myponga Beach Rd).<sup>59</sup>

Unfortunately, when Tindale transferred this information to other maps later, he blurred and compromised the eastern approaches to Myponga Jetty. Firstly he brought that path further north, to pass through Myponga town and cross the river before proceeding due west to 'Myponga Jetty'.<sup>60</sup> Finally, on the late map entitled "Summary of Kaurna area",<sup>61</sup> he eliminated altogether the section which comes down from the high ranges to Wattle Flat before climbing over the ridge to Myponga Beach Rd. This latest easterly approach is marked "native track (short)", and matches the standard settler route recorded in early literature, i.e. via Hindmarsh Tiers Rd and past Mt Terrible to Sellicks Beach. On this map the southerly 'Tjilbruke track' (mentioned above) comes north from Yankalilla via an unconvincing straight line to Myponga Jetty, then continues along the coast to meet the easterly track at "Witawali" on Sellicks Beach.

<sup>57</sup> "Tindale S Map: Summary of Kaurna area", AA 338/16/8. For more details of the other versions of this track, see PNS 5.01/06 Warabari.

<sup>58</sup> "N.B. Tindale's early inquiries 1920-1930", AA 338/15/2; informant unknown.

<sup>59</sup> Tindale annotated map Hundred of Myponga, AA 338/24/64. 'Point J' is marked on the coast northeast of 'Myponga Jetty'.

<sup>60</sup> Tindale annotated map 'Central SA', AA 338/16/2.

<sup>61</sup> AA 338/16/8.



Were these alterations based on new information obtained since the original two versions? or were they merely inaccurate copies, showing that Tindale became careless about distinguishing Myponga town from Myponga Jetty? Was he gradually forgetting part of his original data? Importantly for this essay, the 1920s map tended to confirm that Myponga Jetty was not merely a stepping-stone to the salmon-fishing of Sellicks Beach, but a destination in its own right – from the north, east and south – and that travellers might meet here rather than at Sellicks Beach (as on the ‘Summary’ map).

Karlowan told Berndt about part of the southern route: people coming from “Yankalilla, meeting other parties from Rapid Bay (Patapungga) and continuing to Myponga (Meipongga), to Aldinga”.<sup>62</sup> Here we must take account of the context in the Berndts’ book. They make no distinction between Myponga and Myponga Beach; indeed, they do not seem to know that the latter name exists. Yet it seems clear that all of their references to ‘Myponga’ – and their spelling of Karlowan’s pronunciation, “Meipongga” – are actually about the place Myponga Beach, whether or not they knew what this is. Karlowan had nothing to say about Myponga *valley* to either Berndt or Tindale, as far as I know.

### THE ABORIGINAL PLACE, AND TJIRBUKI:

According to Berndt’s understanding of Karlowan, his ‘Meipongga’ was the centre of ‘Clan 75’, the “Meiperinyera; place name from Meipongga (Myponga)”, part of his post-contact version of the Ramindjeri ‘dialectical unit’. But Berndt admits that his informants did not know this Fleurieu region well and their information was sketchy.<sup>63</sup> I do not know *any* historical records of Myponga valley as a destination or medium-term camping spot, only as a place of transit.<sup>64</sup> Berndt maps “5” (for “Meipongga”) in the vicinity of Myponga Beach; but the scale of the map is so small, and the map texts are so approximate in position, that it is hard to see whether the adjacent notes “important fishing ground” and “camp” refer to ‘5’, or to the adjacent ‘Aldinga Bay’ with a “big spring”, “13 cave” and “12 swamp”.<sup>65</sup> Karlowan’s evidence to Tindale confirms the latter: “the beach at Sellick’s Hill” was a fine bay for salmon, and “[Tjirbuki’s] tears brought a spring into being there”.

<sup>62</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993: 20. On the map (p.330) the southern route of the “*traditional Aboriginal track*” also approaches Myponga Beach from the usual southern ridge road, as in Tindale’s early maps (tending to confirm that they too were sourced from Karlowan).

<sup>63</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993: 312; cp. 23, 320. These words are Ngarrindjeri adaptations of the original Kurna name *Maitpangga*.

<sup>64</sup> See PNS 5.01/05 Maitpangga.

<sup>65</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993: 330-1.

No account of Tjirbuki mentions Myponga Beach. But did Tjirbuki really bypass 'Meipongga'-*Kauwayarlungga*?<sup>66</sup>

Tjirbuki's route from Sellicks Beach was told in part by Albert Karlowan to Tindale: "From Sellick's Hill he went along the coast, passing [Maitpaṅa] (Myponga) on his left".<sup>67</sup> But when Karlowan told the story to Berndt, he left out the Sellicks Beach item and included another which he did not tell Tindale: at Port Willunga, Tjirbuki "picked up his sister's son again and went on walking to a cave (*peki*) near Sellicks Beach. Then he walked with his burden to... Karikalingga (Carrickalinga Hill)".<sup>68</sup> If so, he turned inland far enough to visit the cave at Sellicks Hill and then cross the gorge of Mt Terrible Creek. His next destination was Carrickalinga. He was 'keeping Myponga on his left'. Perhaps, in view of his business with the body of his nephew, he was trying to avoid delay.

Milerum's version (not Karlowan's) recounts the adventure on the plateau coast near "Warabari", where "Tjelbruke" took violent revenge on clans who had not helped him. Milerum gives no details about his route from here to the high ranges much further south; but from the plateau location it would be easier and quicker to continue down to *Kauwayarlungga* and then up the normal southwestern ridge route (Myponga Beach Rd).

So what did Karlowan mean by 'Myponga on his left' – (1) Myponga the town and valley? or (2) Karlowan's 'Meipongga' as told to Berndt (i.e. *Kauwayarlungga*)?

(1) If the former, then Tjirbuki was heading roughly west, straight for Carrickalinga by the shortest route. (2) If the latter, then he soon had Myponga Valley *behind* him as he veered northwest and headed for *Kauwayarlungga* via the plateau (consistent with Milerum's extra episode) or via one of the several ridges, eventually with *Kauwayarlungga-Meipongga* on his left. (3) Or perhaps Karlowan did mean the Valley after all – *but* his and Tjirbuki's mental map saw through the hills, travelling along the plateau and clifftops with Myponga Valley 'on his left' though miles away and completely invisible, and *Kauwayarlungga* the next destination. Perhaps the slightly redundant directive merely means 'He didn't go down into Myponga Valley', and leaves the route otherwise open.

(1) If he took the first option straight towards Carrickalinga over the top near Mt Jeffcott, either he would have to cross the very challenging Myponga gorge, or he could descend via steep hills into the lower end of what used to be called 'Lovely Valley' (now beneath the reservoir), but only as far as would avoid the swamps (depending on the season). *Perhaps* this would be less tiring and less of a delay than a detour to *Kauwayarlungga*. But it would add yet another discrepancy between Milerum's account and Karlowan's.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>66</sup> For this part of the discussion it is essential *not* to rely on Tindale's 1987 version, which confuses and misrepresents several items given by Milerum in 1934 and Karlowan in 1935.

<sup>67</sup> Tindale & Mountford 1936, 'Results of the excavation of Kongarati Cave', *Records of SA Museum* 5(4): 501.

<sup>68</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993: 234. This cave at Sellicks Hill has been very little noticed, and deserves some study.

<sup>69</sup> There are a number of actual differences between Milerum's and Karlowan's accounts of the story, beginning with their consistently discrepant pronunciations of the name (*Tjilbruki* and *Tjirbuki* respectively). See PNS 7.01/06 'Kongaratingga (Blowhole Beach)' and 7.01/07 Tjirbuk.

(2+3) All things considered, at this stage of my researches the counterintuitive second or third options seem more likely. If so, then Tjirbuki probably did visit Kauwayarlungga after all.

If neither Milerum nor Karlowan mentioned this, it was not because the place was of no importance. Perhaps it was simply because this snug little wetland campsite has no beach spring. Neither has *Yarnkalyilla* (the campsite area at the mouth of Yankalilla River), which also gets no mention in the known accounts of Tjelbruke-Tjirbuki, though he must have passed through it on his final journey south. The low profile of Kauwayarlungga has more likely arisen from European ignorance of it than from lack of historical Aboriginal interest. It has been too far off the beaten track for most of us.

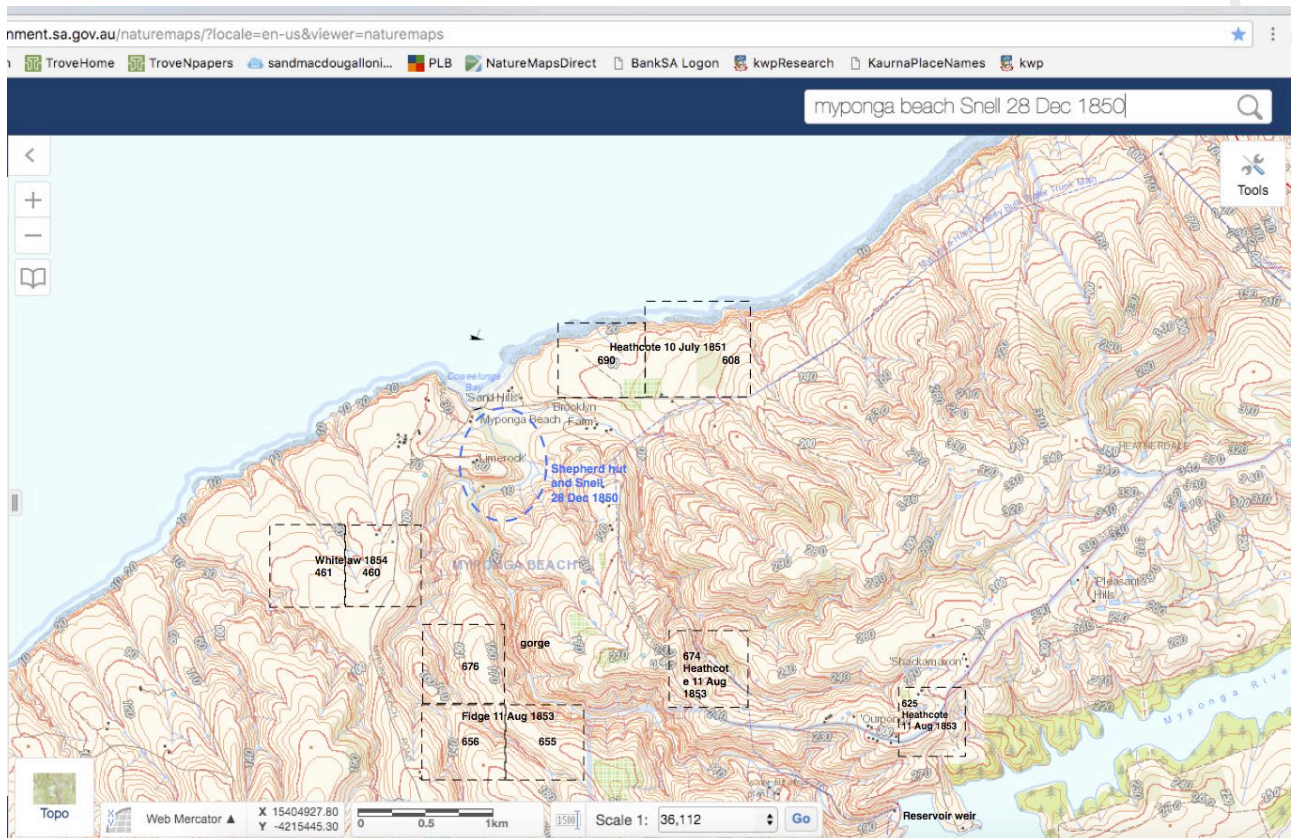
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*See next page for map.*

DRAFT 20 March 2018

Annotated map of Myponga Beach area, showing Snell's surroundings on 28 Dec 1850.

Source: NatureMaps, SA Government, Dept of Environment, Water & Natural Resources [15/6/18].



End of Summary