



*The writing of this essay was funded as part of The Kurna Project 2015-7 (coordinator Rob Amery) by the Commonwealth of Australia Ministry for the Arts through its Indigenous Languages and Arts (Languages) program.*

*I am grateful to Gavin Malone for enthusiastically sharing with me his library research and on-the-ground investigations around McLaren Vale; and for his encouragement.*

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## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 4.03.01/01

### 'COW-E-O-LON-GA' / 'COWIE-ORLUNGA' (McLaren Vale)

(last edited: 30.8.2016)

#### 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*This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.*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, 21 July 2017.*

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#### Abstract

The name of a site a kilometre or so north of McLaren Vale town was recorded at first contact as “Cow-e-o-lon-ga” and “Cowie-orklunga”. This name is clearly Kurna, as it uses the standard Kurna Locative *ngga* ‘at’, and follows the rules for its use. But its spelling and meaning are uncertain. The compound root word could be any combination of a first morpheme *kauwi* ‘water’ OR *kauwa* ‘steep [place], cliff’, with a second morpheme *yarla* ‘calf of the leg’ OR *yurlu* ‘face, forehead’.

The place was located exactly by surveyors’ assistant Louis Piesse in 1839, at Sections 115-116 on the steep gully creek running south between today’s Warners Rd and Chalk Hill Rd west of Olivers Rd, especially at the dam now on the property of Lloyd Brothers Wine. From contact with Kurna people in the 1840s, early colonist Faith Lockwood (nee Hewett) identified “Cowie-orklunga” as a place of “*many streams*”.

Of the various possibilities for interpreting the name, there is some credibility in *Kauwi-yurlungga* ‘place of the water face’, or *Kauwa-yurlungga* ‘place of the steep face’. In both of these ‘face’ would be a metaphor for the surrounding steep hills. But these etymologies are not at all certain.

The name probably referred to the whole immediate area, which included lookout sites on the hills on either side; permanent running water in the gully creek; and flat land at the foot of the gully for inter-tribal meetings and ceremonies, as recorded also by Lockwood.

Coordinates	Latitude -35.201446°, Longitude 138.535452° [dam on Section 115]
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## Language Information

<i>Meaning</i>	'place of the [ <i>uncertain: possibly</i> 'water face' OR 'steep face']
<i>Etymology</i>	Uncertain: [possibly] <i>Kauwi</i> 'water' OR <i>kauwa</i> 'steep place, cliff' + [possibly] <i>yurlu</i> 'face, forehead' + <i>ngga</i> 'at, place of'
<i>Notes</i>	It is also conceivable (though unlikely) that the second morpheme is <i>yarla</i> 'calf of the leg'. It is impossible to decide which words are the right etymology for this name unless more cultural or historical information is found.
<i>Language Family</i>	Thura-Yura: 'Kaurna'
<i>KWP Former Spelling</i>	Uncertain: [possibly] <i>Kauwe-yurlongga</i> OR <i>Kauwa-yurlongga</i>
<i>KWP New Spelling 2010</i>	Uncertain: [possibly] <i>Kauwi-yurlungga</i> OR <i>Kauwa-yurlungga</i>
<i>phonemic Spelling</i>	/kawVyVrlVngka/
<i>Syllabification</i>	"Kauwi-yurlungga" OR "Kauwa-yurlungga":
<i>Pronunciation tips</i>	Stress the first syllable. Secondary stress on third syllable. 'au' as in 'cow'. Every <i>u</i> as in 'put'. <i>rl</i> is an <i>l</i> with the tongue curled back (Retroflex).

## Main source evidence

<i>Date</i>	Oct 1839
<i>Original source text</i>	" <b>Cow-e-o-lon-ga</b> - section 116, district C, Mr M'Leod's station."
<i>Reference</i>	Louis Piesse, letter from " <i>Camp Coortandillah</i> " 18/10/1839, <i>SA Colonist</i> Vol. 1 No.19. 1840: 296.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Kaurna survey guides

<i>Date</i>	1844
<i>Original source text</i>	"There are, however, other springs which could be turned to account. There is Turungga near Hewitt's, and <b>Coweolongga</b> on section 115. This last would supply all the settlers on the Turneeyunde Creek, if it was all located on."
<i>Reference</i>	'L.P.' [Louis Piesse], 'Descriptive Tour Through Part of District "C."' <i>Observer</i> 13/4/1844: 8d, <a href="http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/18834087?">http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/18834087?</a>
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Kaurna survey guides 1839



Date	[1840s] / 1893
Original source text	<b>“Cowie-orlunga</b> (many streams) Where we will dance and sing, And meet the Rar-mong (men) Who with them fish will bring.”
Reference	‘A Native’ [Faith Emily Lockwood, nee Hewett], <i>“one of the earliest residents of McLaren Vale”</i> , <i>Evening Journal</i> 23/9/1893: 4c. = <i>Register</i> 11/10/1893: 7e.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Kaurna people around McLaren Vale in 1840s

### DANCING BY MANY STREAMS: discussion:

#### THE SOURCES: PIESSE AND ‘A NATIVE’:

In the period when the Aborigines of the McLaren Vale area were undergoing their first contact with Europeans, two alert and inquiring onsite observers made separate records of some Kaurna place-names. One was a member of the first survey team for ‘District C’ in mid-1839. The other was a young member of one of the first colonial families who took up land there a year later.

In two cases they both recorded the same name independently. ‘Cow-e-o-lon-ga’ or ‘Cowie-orlunga’ is one; ‘Tu-run-ga’ or ‘Doo-ronga’ is the other.<sup>1</sup>

Louis Piesse was employed by the Survey Department on McLaren’s team in 1839 during the first surveys of the country from about Reynella south to Sellick’s Hill. It is known that these teams included Aboriginal people on equal wages, employed no doubt as guides to water, food, and routes.<sup>2</sup> From *“Camp, Coortandillah, near Aldinga”* he wrote a letter in October to the *Adelaide Guardian* (reprinted in *SA Colonist*), contributing a small wordlist and several place-names. These are all clearly in Kaurna language, confirming that those guides were Kaurna speakers. Among these names was *“Cow-e-o-lon-ga - section 116, district C, Mr M’Leod’s station”*.<sup>3</sup>

Scotsman James McLeod and his wife were close associates of Governor Gawler and his family. In June 1839, while the first surveys of the area were still in progress, McLeod bought 240 acres *“on the northern side of Maclaren Plains”*,<sup>4</sup> and there they set up a homestead called *“Tarranga”*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See PNS 4.03.01/04 Turranga.

<sup>2</sup> *Register* 10/8/1839: 6a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27440703/2049497>.

<sup>3</sup> Louis Piesse, letter from *“Camp Coortandillah”* 18/10/1839, *SA Colonist* Vol. 1 No.19. 1840: 296.

<sup>4</sup> – according to James Hawker 1899, *Early Experiences in South Australia*, Adelaide, Wigg & Son 1:3, 9, 52; cp. Adele Pridmore 1949, *The Rich Valley: An Account of the Early Life of McLaren Vale*, McLaren Vale Institute Committee: 33-4.



Yet it was not this poorly-localized Kaurna place-name but another which was recorded by those who were actually in contact with Kaurna people, at a specific site on his property.

Four years later Piesse wrote a newspaper essay describing the country for tourists and settlers. Now he located “*Coweolongga*” on the adjacent section 115.<sup>6</sup>

Piesse’s new spelling – using the formal *ngga* spelling for the Locative suffix – shows that in the meantime he had dipped into Teichelmann and Schürmann’s *Outline of a Grammar* (1840).

Fifty years later still, an elderly pioneer lady contributed to the *Register* 20 quatrains of verse containing 44 Aboriginal words, under the heading “*Aboriginal Nomenclature*”... *extracts from a poem hurriedly written*”.<sup>7</sup> She signed herself ‘A Native’. According to the editor she was “*one of the earliest residents of McLaren Vale and Port Lincoln*”. She was in fact Mrs Faith Emily Lockwood, eldest daughter of Charles T Hewett, and was 16 years old when her father established Oxenberry Farm at McLaren Vale in 1840.<sup>8</sup>

The Hewett homestead was at the eastern end of McLaren Vale. Mrs Lockwood remembered one of the sites not far away:

*Cowie-orklunga (many streams)*

*Where we will dance and sing,*

*And meet the Rar-mong (men)*

*Who with them fish will bring.*

In the context, the phrase ‘*we will dance*’ obviously refers to Aboriginal people, not the Hewetts. ‘Cowi-orklunga’ as she knew it was therefore not only a well-watered campsite but a place for intertribal ceremonies of meeting and exchange. The ‘Rar-mong’ were the Ramindjeri of the land around Ramong at Encounter Bay. They were speakers of Ngarrindjeri language, and their periodic journeys to Adelaide for government provisions were a well-known feature of life in early McLaren Vale. Many of the men came to Oxenberry Farm for seasonal work on the harvest.<sup>9</sup> They

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But the first map shows seven sections purchased by McLeod, i.e. 560 acres (McLaren 1840, ‘Country South of Adelaide’, London, Arrowsmith).

<sup>5</sup> See PNS 4.03.01/02 Tarrangga.

<sup>6</sup> ‘L.P.’ [Louis Piesse], ‘Descriptive Tour Through Part of District “C.”’, *Observer* 13/4/1844: 8b.

<sup>7</sup> ‘A Native’ [Faith Lockwood nee Hewett] 1893, *Evening Journal* 23/9/1893: 4c = *Register* 11/10/1893: 7e.

<sup>8</sup> For more on Faith Lockwood, nee Hewett (1824-1908), see PNS 4.03.01/04 Turangga; also Rob Amery & Chester Schultz 2009, ‘The Trail of Discovery of Historical Kaurna Language Materials’, (unpublished MS: forthcoming *J. Anthropol. Soc. SA*).

<sup>9</sup> “A large party of natives came up from Encounter Bay on Friday evening to Oxenbury Farm... and offered their services to cut corn” (*Southern Australian* 16/12/1842: 2b).

probably camped at the place called 'Cowie-orklunga', on land which in Faith's time (1840 to about 1846) was on McLeod's land.<sup>10</sup>

While Piesse's informants were almost certainly hired in Adelaide, with equal certainty Lockwood's contacts in those next few years must have been some of these seasonal workers. And from her record of local Kaurna words and place-names, most of those she spoke to must have been Kaurna: 'Rar-mong' is her only word in Ngarrindjeri language.

### THREE PLACES?

At two other locations names which appear very similar to this one were recorded in the first 15 years of settlement: 'Coweyalunga' at Myponga Beach,<sup>11</sup> and 'Cowyrllanka' at Second Valley.<sup>12</sup> Are they all versions of the same generic name?

Since the Hewett family moved to Myponga Beach in 1854, one might wonder whether they transferred the name there from McLaren Vale's 'Cowie-orklunga'. But this is not so: 'Coweyalunga' was already known as the name of Myponga Beach by 1850.

On the contrary, the Piesse evidence from the McLeod-Hewett era makes it almost certain that Faith's 'Cowie-orklunga' was a reminiscence of her young days at the Vale. She never lived at Myponga Beach. Though she may have visited her father while he lived there from 1854 to 1868,<sup>13</sup> Myponga Beach does not have 'many streams' but only one. While it was certainly one of the sites visited regularly by Aboriginal travellers between the Gulf plains and Encounter Bay, it was well away from the route between Encounter Bay and the capital which was used much more after Adelaide had become a permanent magnet with government provisions. McLaren Vale was a much more likely place for colonists to observe intertribal meetings, and Faith was there in her impressionable years.

<sup>10</sup> Faith Hewett lived at McLaren Vale for about six years, from 1840 when she was 16 until about 1846 when she was 22. She looked after her siblings after their mother's death in 1846, until her father's second marriage later that year (Norman 1986: 29, 93).

There would have been plenty of 'unimproved' space on McLeod's property in that period, for it seems only about 20 acres of his seven 80-acre sections were developed until after 1846, after he had fallen into debt and sold them on to other owners. For James McLeod's insolvency see SA Government Gazette 1 Jan 1846 [http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~deadsearch/insolvency\\_1846.htm](http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~deadsearch/insolvency_1846.htm) [24/5/16]. For the fate of his 'Tarranga / Taranga' see SA almanacs 1840-7. He had 20 acres enclosed in 1840; by 1843 a 'G Webb' was managing the property with only the same acreage; and by 1846 'Taranga' had three separate proprietors listed including Webb ('Statement of the Extent and Cultivation of Land ... from the Official Returns for 1840, *BPP: Colonies: Australia*, Vol. 7: 88-9; SA *Almanacs* Allen 1844: 240 and Murray 1846: 135-6).

<sup>11</sup> See PNS 5.01/02.

<sup>12</sup> See PNS 5.04.01/01. Despite its odd spelling, I assess that this name has five syllables, 'Cow-y-r-lan-ka', like the other two names.

<sup>13</sup> For the Hewetts see Audrey Peters n.d. [1983], *History of Charles Thomas Hewett*, Plympton Park, SA: 21, & 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: 19-28.



Are 'Cowie-orldunga', 'Coweyalunga' and 'Cowyrlanka' all variants of the same generic name? Not necessarily.

### THE WORD:

At McLaren Vale the recorded spellings are 'Cow-e-o-lon-ga' and 'Cowie-orldunga'. These meet Kurna language criteria if we read them as a five-syllable compound word.

The final morpheme is the common Locative suffix *ngga*, which is used after root words which have two syllables. Lockwood's single hyphen – 'Cowie-orldunga' – separates "orldunga", correctly identifying this part of the form, and confirms that there is a stress on 'o / or'.

The second morpheme must therefore be the two syllables spelt as 'o-lo-' or 'orlu-'.

But Kurna words rarely begin with a vowel, and never with *o/u*. As this syllable *follows* a vowel, it is almost certain that it began with a consonantal *y*, which Piesse and Lockwood mis-heard as though it was part of (or was itself) the previous vowel (see below). Thus the second morpheme could have been 'yo-lo' or 'yorlu' in their spellings.

This stressed third vowel is more likely to have been heard correctly; it seems most likely to have been an *o/u*.<sup>14</sup>

Piesse's 'lon-ga' is ambiguous and could represent either *langga* (*a* as in 'haka') or *lungga* (*u* as in 'put'); but Lockwood's 'lunga' probably means *langga*.<sup>15</sup> So *yurla* appears to be common to both collectors. But *yurlu* is not impossible. An unstressed vowel can easily be mis-heard; so Lockwood could have mistaken the fourth vowel. In the early 1840s pioneers such as them had no other place-names ending with 'oonga' to lead their perceptions towards the sound *u*, but they did have 'Myponga' and 'Willunga' (in their English spellings and pronunciations) as familiar models to lead away from it.

The first morpheme, 'Cow-e' or 'Cowie', seems likely to represent the common word *kauwi* ('water').

But not necessarily. If the following sound was a stressed syllable beginning with a consonantal *y*, the first morpheme might have been *kauwa*. This could easily trick European listeners into

<sup>14</sup> Lockwood's 'orl' probably signifies a long *u*, probably followed by a retroflex *rl*. Her other uses of the spelling "or" leave the matter ambiguous but tipping towards *u*: 'worlie' = *warli*; 'No-orldunga' = *Nurlungga*; 'korde' = *kurti*; 'Ortunga' [unknown].

<sup>15</sup> An English reader would pronounce 'lung-' to rhyme with 'rung'. Phonemically this vowel is written *a*.

imagining they had heard the one word they knew, *kauwi*.<sup>16</sup> *Kauwa* means 'steep place, cliff, precipice'.

And so we have a number of possibilities, especially when we remember that a place-name need not have a dictionary meaning and so need not be matched by other recorded vocabulary:

- for the first morpheme: *kauwi* 'water' and *kauwa* 'steep place'.
- for the second morpheme: *yurla*, *yurlu*, perhaps *yarla* and *yarlu*.<sup>17</sup> In the known Kaurna vocabulary there is no word *yurla*. But *yarla* is 'calf of the leg'; and we have *yurlu* (= *yurlo*) 'face, forehead',<sup>18</sup> which is a possibility to consider even though it would give *yurl-ungga* against Lockwood's *-angga*. There is also *yarlu* (= *yerlo*), 'the sea', which clearly cannot apply to McLaren Vale, though in the name of those rugged cliff coasts of Myponga Beach and Second Valley it certainly could be the referent, and in my analysis, probably was: *Kauwa-yarlungga*, 'cliffs by the sea'.<sup>19</sup>

Can 'olo / orlu' be explained in other ways which do not involve the *y*?

One form of the Kaurna Dual suffix 'two' is *-urla*. This could be relevant only if the previous morpheme was *kauwi* (not *kauwa*) in order to retain the 'e / ie' sound. But we know that the Dual of *kauwi* (and all other words ending in *i*) is not the standard suffix *-rla*, but *-dla*: 'two waters' would be *kauwidla* (only two syllables instead of the three needed, and containing no 'o / or'), not *kauwiurla* or *kauwirla*.<sup>20</sup>

*Urlo* can be a suffix deriving from *ngurlo* 'over there, yonder'; in which case *Kauwi-urlo* would mean 'at the water over there'.<sup>21</sup> But this adverb is most unlikely to be part of a place-name; it would probably mean that the word was merely a misunderstood piece of a direct conversation about where the water was.

There is also the possibility that the name has no dictionary meaning but is 'just a name' (like 'London' or 'Rome'). But this seems unlikely for a name whose root is pretty clearly a compound noun, with possible vocabulary available for all three morphemes.

<sup>16</sup> i.e. the difference between *kauwi-y-* and *kauwa-y-* (with stresses on the first and third syllables) is slight, and quite hard for a foreign listener to distinguish. All the early collectors would have been familiar with the word for 'water', and could very easily assume that anything sounding like 'cow' was *kauwi*. The same happened with 'Cowandilla' (see PNS 1/02 Kawandilla).

<sup>17</sup> It is unlikely that the 4<sup>th</sup> vowel was *i*, a more distinctive sound which would have been identified (though this could give *yarli* 'male, father').

<sup>18</sup> Teichelmann 1857 MS "yurrelo, forehead, face, countenance. Variant: yurlo".

<sup>19</sup> See PNS 5.01/02 'Cowealunga' (Myponga Beach) and 5.04.01/01 'Cowyrilanka' (Second Valley).

<sup>20</sup> Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 1:5-6.

<sup>21</sup> Cp. *Yernaurlu* 'Yarna over there' (Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 2:73).



Do any of these possible meanings suggest a generic name which could apply equally to Second Valley, Myponga Beach and McLeod's?<sup>22</sup> Or does 'Cowie-orklunga' have a meaning specific to its McLaren Vale site?

Perhaps the place itself may offer solutions.

### THE PLACE: MCLEOD'S SECTIONS 115-116:

This place – about 1.2 km due north of Tintara Winery at McLaren Vale – has both water in abundance (see below) and steeply rising ground all around it: on the west Stump Hill, and on the east what was once called 'Lumb's Hill'.<sup>23</sup>

How can we decide whether *kauwi* or *kauwa* was more likely to be the correct reference in this case? Linguistics alone do not enable us to choose between them.

Lockwood's gloss "*many streams*" cannot be a direct *translation* of the name,<sup>24</sup> but it may tell us that her Kaurna informants defined the *place* by abundance of water rather than steepness.

James McLeod's 'Tarranga' property had "*an abundant supply of water at the surface*". The source did not state where this was on his seven Sections,<sup>25</sup> but it certainly did apply to both the northwestern part on 116 and 126, to the southern part on 158 (today's Serafino Estate where magnificent old redgums still grow), and to 137 and 138 on Pedler Creek below Chalk Hill. As a privileged early comer, he had a pick of the land here to rival that of the South Australian Company, which had snapped up all the prime sites along today's Main Road.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Was the word not a place-name at all but a 'generic' misunderstanding in conversations about water or the like? This is unlikely. It would have to happen identically on at least four separate occasions with four different Europeans (Piesse, Lockwood, Hack, and others unknown) in three separate places (Second Valley, Myponga Beach and McLaren Vale). And we have reason to believe that in the Myponga Beach case the listener was *given* the meaning 'high cliffs by the sea', i.e. the implied derivation *Kauwa-yarlungga* (see PNS 5.01/02), which could not apply to McLaren Vale.

<sup>23</sup> Cp. Pridmore: 19, 36, and see below. The disused old names can be confusing. 'Lumb's Hill' was the one on Sections 126-7 around Olivers Rd immediately north of the gully at Chalk Hill Rd. On the southern side of this gully, the hill on Sections 136-7 (really a spur of Chalk Hill) was called 'Brewery Hill' because James Pavy's brewery was located at its foot on the eastern margin of 146 (see map in Adele Pridmore typescript, n.d. [1948?], 'The Naming of McLaren Vale', D3208(T), SLA: 5); but the name is commemorated now in Brewery Hill Winery, which is just north of the gully on Section 127, strictly speaking on Lumb's Hill. Chalk Hill is on 138, overlooking the oval, while today's Chalk Hill Winery (on 137) is actually on Brewery Hill!

<sup>24</sup> 'Many creeks' would be *parri plus partanna* or *tauwata* or *ngarraitya*; 'many water sources' would be *kauwi* plus the same adjectives.

<sup>25</sup> McLeod's Sections in 1840 were 116, 117, 126, 127, 137, 138 and 158 (the last given erroneously as 148 in 'Statement of the Extent & Cultivation of land ... for the year 1840', *BPP: Colonies: Australia 7*: 88-9; cp. J McLaren map 1/9/1840, 'Country South of Adelaide', London, Arrowsmith).

<sup>26</sup> As a McLaren Vale pioneer, James McLeod is not remembered as well as his property name 'Taranga', probably because of his financial ruin and early death.



Piesse, listing the waters available for farmers on the McLaren Plains, identified 'Coweolonga' as a major water source: this one site "would supply all the settlers on the Turneeyunde Creek [Pedler Creek],<sup>27</sup> if it was all located on", i.e. if the entire valley was filled with farms. In his 1844 essay he says it is on Section 115, right next to McLeod's 116 which he cited in 1839. The contradiction is only seeming: the site is on the border between the two.

Here, a couple of kilometres north of McLaren Vale town, a small creek runs south in a gully from Seaview Road, already carrying water from a catchment four km wide on the southern side of Onkaparinga Gorge. It collects more tributaries on its way. A short distance north of Warners Road, a tiny second creek joins it from the west on section 105. Then it crosses Warners Road into 115, and descends southward rather steeply, with a tiny third creek entering it near the southern edge of 115, and down into the main valley of Pedler Creek on 125.

When John McLaren directed the first survey of this area in June 1839, surveyor Richard Counsel drew detailed diagrams in his Field Books, which can still be seen in the archives of the SA Land Services Group. On the creek first mentioned above he marked "good water" on section 105 at the junction with the second creek. About half a km south, where it runs down the eastern edge of 115, he marked a wide 400-metre-long loop lined with "Tea tree scrub", and lengthwise "good water" again.<sup>28</sup> Today (2016) this is the site of a dam on the property of Lloyd Brothers Wine and Olive Company.

Further south as it reaches Section 125 immediately northwest of the town, the amplified first creek emerges from the steep hills rising 60 metres above it on west and east, onto the flats of the flood plain. Two hundred metres further south, Counsel's survey "camp" is marked beside the stream before it turns west to join what we now call Pedler Creek, which is a fourth stream coming from the southeast. In turn this has been fed by a fifth joining it from the east about 300 metres south of here, near the intersection of Chalk Hill Road and Old Mill Crescent where the road is still marked 'Subject to Flooding'.<sup>29</sup> Pedler Creek is also fed also by several other major creeks upstream which

<sup>27</sup> See PNS 4.03.03/01 Tarniyandingga.

<sup>28</sup> These annotations were omitted in the published maps.

<sup>29</sup> It is probably this creek-line which was once called 'Long Gully' (it rises in Blewitt Springs 8 km to the northeast), but it now goes nameless. For Long Gully and the flood levels in the main valley in the 1840s, see CT Hewett letter 1851, 'Drainage of the Valleys of the South', *Register* 27/9/1851: 3b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/38444194/3932989>). The entire hydrology of the catchments around McLaren Vale has been altered drastically since then by the construction of drains, and in many places it is now hard to know where the streams originally ran. See also City of Onkaparinga 2013, Pedler Creek Flood Mapping Project Information Sheet. Thanks to Gavin Malone for these references.

every winter used to form the large Daringa Billabong flowing into Section 125.<sup>30</sup> in fact, the entire catchment of what used to be called the 'McLaren Plains'.<sup>31</sup>

Strangely, the main course of Pedler Creek along the north side of McLaren Vale town was not marked at all on these earliest maps – doubtless because details of this frequently flooded lowland were of no 'value' to a first survey which was urgently oriented towards quick land sales.<sup>32</sup>

'Many streams' indeed. Most of them now serve lines of wineries. From the Old Mill Ct intersection a line of big gumtrees can be seen about a half-kilometre away on the flats at the bottom of the hill, marking the stream junction on 125. To the right of these trees is the site of Counsel's camp, in which Louis Piesse probably sat in 1839 when he recorded from a Kurna guide the name of the camp's water supply, "*Cow-e-o-lon-ga*", uphill a little at the tea-tree on section 115.

If we can allow Stump or Lumb's Hills to be 'low',<sup>33</sup> it was possibly close by here and further up that an archaeological site (type unspecified in my source but classed as one of the "*small inland plain sites*") was "*described by Cooper [1937] as being 1.5 km from McLaren Vale 'on a low hill sloping towards a small creek... [providing] permanent running waters'*".<sup>34</sup> However, Cooper's site could also be on Lumb's Hill, Chalk Hill or (most likely) at Turrangga, and the matter can only be clarified by more homework in the SA Museum.

Here was a well-favoured and abundant camping area.

It had elevated lookout sites on west and east which commanded a good view of Ramindjeri friends approaching from the south, or of enemies from anywhere in a 180° view to the south and west.

Apart from the dense tea-tree around the water sites, the neighbourhood included open woodland, denser woodland and grassland with kangaroo grass ("*Many colonists used to call it native*

<sup>30</sup> See R Counsel, Field Book 94, [:50, 54, 58], GNU; cp. McLaren / Burslem map 1840, 'Plan of the country south of Adelaide', C 236, SLSA; plan 6/13, GNU; McLaren / Arrowsmith map 1840, 'Country South of Adelaide', C 274, SLSA.

<sup>31</sup> This catchment includes McLaren Flat, Douglas Gully, Blewitt Springs and all the creeks west of the range from near Kangarilla to Montarra: see e.g. <https://data.environment.sa.gov.au/NatureMaps/Pages/default.aspx>.

<sup>32</sup> Counsel's meticulous details were not innocent but aimed at sales. The 1839 Country Surveys were long overdue, and colonists were applying severe pressure to the government and its chaotic Survey Department to finish the surveys so that they could choose their Sections and get on with 'settling' and developing. So in June Sturt (as temporary Surveyor-General) instructed the surveyors to record not mere boundary lines but "*features... of the country, as hills, valleys, flats, rivers, or chains of ponds*" within the 80-acre sections, "*to enable applicants for land to form the best estimate of its value, and to afford them all the guidance we can, in the selection of it*", because "*many individuals*" were complaining about the lack of information. He had already told them that this urgency only applied to "*sections intended for sale*" (Hawker 1899: 44, cp. 39b).

<sup>33</sup> They rise only about 60 metres above Counsel's campsite at their highest points further away from it.

<sup>34</sup> Betty Ross 1984, *Aboriginal and Historic Places Around Metropolitan Adelaide*, Anthropological Society of SA Inc: 21. She adds "*This site appears to be under vine cultivation at the present time*" (1984). Available online via <http://www.anthropologysocietysa.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/> [15/7/15].



*wheat*"): ideal country for game, and fire-managed to increase its virtues. On the 'McLaren Plains' (from McLaren Vale eastward to the range) "*Emus were just as plentiful as kangaroos*", and surveyor James Hawker went on many kangaroo hunts with his dogs here as he had earlier around Morphett Vale and Onkaparinga, for their meat supply and also (when he had visitors) for fun.<sup>35</sup>

The immediate surroundings included a flat area below, suitable for big meetings and ceremonies: not far from the "*Dooronga*" wetland, "*place of birds and eggs*",<sup>36</sup> but above the flood level.

It was close to the crossing place *Tarniyandingga* for southward travel (on Pedler Creek just west of the Victor Harbor Road), and to the essential ford at Old Noarlunga for access northward across the Onkaparinga River.<sup>37</sup>

And even after colonization 'Coweorlunga' had at least one friendly farmer, Charles Hewett, who welcomed Aboriginal men to work on nearby Oxenberry Farm at harvest time, no doubt with his eldest daughter Faith helping to distribute the provisions. But Faith and her family may have been among the last to see these Kurna people "*dance and sing*" here and "*meet the Rar-mong*" who came with their fish to trade, negotiate and celebrate. By 1842 or soon after, it seems, the Ramindjeri from Encounter Bay were the only large identified group coming to offer their services.<sup>38</sup> Except for Ityamaitpinna ('Rodney') and his family,<sup>39</sup> the Kurna-speakers were largely 'invisible' as such to the colonists; but it is very likely that others of them were also visiting the district right up to about 1860.<sup>40</sup>

### THE NAME: CONCLUSION:

The mystery of that second morpheme remains:

We have a compound word which could be *Kauwi-yurlungga*, 'place of the water face/forehead' – perhaps, if Lockwood mistook the fourth vowel. Could this be a metaphor for the steep hills around the water?<sup>41</sup>

*Kauwa-yurlungga* ('steep face/forehead') is also possible, though it neglects the 'water' identity recorded by Lockwood.

<sup>35</sup> Hawker 1899: 36b, 37b, 39, 46, 49-50. For 'fire-stick farming' see Bill Gammage 2012, 'The Adelaide District in 1836', in R Foster and P Sendziuk, *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

<sup>36</sup> See PNS 4.03.01/04 Turrangga.

<sup>37</sup> See PNS 4.03.03/01 Tarniyandingga; 4.02/06 Nurlungga; 4.02/04 Ngangkiparringga.

<sup>38</sup> *Southern Australian* 16/12/1842: 2b.

<sup>39</sup> 'Rodney' and his daughter 'Princess Amelia' (Ivaritji) were known as occasional visitors to McLaren Vale (Pridmore n.d. typescript: 47; cp. 1949: 67).

<sup>40</sup> Unpublished research notes by Gavin Malone.

<sup>41</sup> Some Aboriginal languages, e.g. Yolngu-Matha in Arnhem Land, extend the meaning of 'forehead' to apply to a 'cliff' (Rob Amery, KWP meeting 9/12/2009, Minutes).

It is hard to see how *yarla* 'leg calf' could apply: 'steep leg-calf'? 'steep place and leg-calf'? 'water and leg-calf'? But subtle features of the landscape or unrecorded Dreamings could conceivably bring even these within Mrs Lockwood's defence of Aboriginal place-names:

*What they called things had meaning  
When rightly understood.*<sup>42</sup>

On analytical grounds we don't know the answer. More investigation of Aboriginal connections here might one day suggest a likely choice.

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### References to background documents

For a composite collection of background data relating to McLaren Vale's Aboriginal place-names and history, researchers can consult KWP for access to the password-protected document 'BACKGROUND6\_McLarenVale.pdf'.

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*End of Summary*

<sup>42</sup> *Yarla* could perhaps be possible if the leg belonged to a being in a Dreaming story, or to a hopping marsupial – cp. *Yala-walanga* at Delamere: this might mean 'wallaby leg-calf', which might refer to the sharp-angled shape of the watercourses there as seen from a hilltop (PNS 5.04.01/13 Yalawalangga).