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## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.04.01/07

### YARTA-KURLANGGA

(last edited: 21.8.2018)

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*This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.*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

## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.04.01/07

### YARTA-KURLANGGA

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#### Abstract

*Yarta-kurlangga* was the Kurna name of a small area centred on the well-favoured campsites at Rapid Bay, around the mouth of what we know today as the Yattagolinga River.

*Yarta* means 'earth, land, country'. Here *kurla* (a word with a range of recorded meanings) probably means 'separate' and/or 'last'. The name therefore means 'place of the separate or last land'. This may refer to the remote and rather separate position of Rapid Bay away from the bigger population centres and frequently-used travel routes, and perhaps to a tendency of the resident groups here to be more socially isolated than others.

The name was obtained onsite by Colonel Light's survey team in 1836, from people of the 'Cape Jervis tribe' (i.e. the tribe of Fleurieu Peninsula) whose members included a woman known to us only as 'Doughboy'. She was the 'wife' of Kangaroo Island sealer Cooper when Light hired both of them for his first survey voyage up the east coast of St Vincent's Gulf. While the identity of this 'tribe' was complex, having close associations with the Ramindjeri-speaking people of Encounter Bay, almost all the language records obtained from them were in Kurna language.

Protector William Wyatt gave "Patparno, Patpungga" (= *Patpangga*) as the Kurna name of "Rapid Bay";<sup>1</sup> but this seems to have been a misunderstanding. *Patpangga* was not a local site but the general name for a large geo-cultural region of Kurna speakers south of Sellicks Hill (see PNS 1/03 Patpangga).

<b>Coordinates</b>	Latitude -35.524918°, Longitude 138.194489° (approximate site of Aboriginal camp in Angas painting)
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<sup>1</sup> Wyatt [1837-9] / 1879, in JD Woods 1879, *Native Tribes of SA*: 179.



## Language Information

<i>Meaning</i>	'place of the separate or last land'
<i>Etymology</i>	<i>Yarta</i> 'earth, land, country' + <i>kurla</i> (= <i>kudla</i> = <i>kula</i> ) 'separate, last, empty, alone' + <i>ngga</i> 'at, place of'
<i>Notes</i>	The form <i>kurla</i> is in the southern dialect of Kurna (Fleurieu Peninsula). Further north it would be <i>kudla</i> .
<i>Language Family</i>	Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'
<i>KWP Former Spelling</i>	Yerta-kurlangga
<i>KWP New Spelling 2010</i>	Yarta-kurlangga
<i>Phonemic Spelling</i>	/yartakurlangka/
<i>Syllabification</i>	"Ya-rta – ku-rla-ngga":
<i>Pronunciation tips</i>	Stress the 1 <sup>st</sup> syllable. Secondary stress on 3 <sup>rd</sup> syllable. Every 'a' as in Maori 'haka'. 'u' as in 'put'.

## Main source evidence

<i>Date</i>	10 Oct 1836 / 1867
<i>Original source text</i>	"9 p.m. Monday 10 <sup>th</sup> October [1836] ... [from Holdfast Bay] We again made sail at 10 a.m. and ran back about fifteen miles along the coast to the Southward with the intention of going to <b>Yallagolanga</b> (or Rapid Bay)." [almost certainly a copyist's error for ' <b>Yattagolanga</b> ']
<i>Reference</i>	Dr John Woodforde, <i>Abstract of a Voyage to SA in the Surveying Brig 'Rapid'</i> , MS copy made in 1867 by Harriet Woodforde, PRG 502/1/2, SLSA; cp. typescript copy PRG 502/1/1 p29.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Either 'Doughboy' or men of the 'Cape Jervis tribe' at Rapid Bay.

<i>Date</i>	March 1837
<i>Original source text</i>	"The Surveyor-General, after surveying Nepean Bay, proceeded up St Vincent's Gulph. He anchored first, in a little Bay, called by the natives <b>Yatagolanga</b> and by us <i>Rapid Bay</i> , where he pitched the tents and remained on shore with the surveying party three or four days".
<i>Reference</i>	Lieutenant WG Field, report in <i>Sydney Monitor</i> 13 March 1837: 3d.
<i>Informants credited</i>	"the natives"
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	'Cape Jervis tribe' men at Rapid Bay?



<i>Date</i>	[1836] / 1883
<i>Original source text</i>	“Our first visit was to <b>Yattagolinga</b> which Colonel Light named Rapid Bay...”
<i>Reference</i>	WJS Pullen, letter to H Mildred 19 May 1883, <i>Port Adelaide News</i> 31/8/1883: 5; also found as a clipping in Pullen papers PRG 303 (SLSA,) maroon bound volume: 21-2.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	men of the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ at Rapid Bay.

<i>Date</i>	[1836] / 1887
<i>Original source text</i>	“After a short examination of the Island Colonel Light made for the mainland, casting anchor in Rapid Bay, or as it was called by the natives <b>Yatagolinga</b> ”.
<i>Reference</i>	Hiram Mildred, letter to <i>SA Register</i> 19/8/1886: 7d.
<i>Informants credited</i>	“the natives”
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	men of the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ at Rapid Bay.

<i>Date</i>	1839?
<i>Original source text</i>	“ <b>R. Rapid</b> ” [on <i>Yattagolinga River</i> ].
<i>Reference</i>	G Bryant n.d. [1839?], ‘Plan of 15 sections in the country adjoining Rapid Bay, Dist F / Mr Bryant’s survey’, Plan 6/15a, GNU.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	Aug 1840
<i>Original source text</i>	“ <b>River Yattagolinga</b> ”.
<i>Reference</i>	W Smith 1840, ‘Plan of sections in Districts F & D near Rapid Bay / Surveyed by Messrs Poole & Bryant’, Aug <sup>t</sup> 31, 1840...’, Plan 6/16A, GNU.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Surveyors Poole and Bryant.
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	Sep 1840
<i>Original source text</i>	“ <b>Yattagolunga</b> ” [marked along the river].
<i>Reference</i>	Arrowsmith map, ‘Part of South Australia to the eastward of the Gulf of St. Vincent...’, from documents in the Survey Office Adelaide’, London 1/9/1840, SLSA C 218. This map was used as the basis for later maps, e.g. Arrowsmith 1/3/1841 below.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Probably from Finniss or Light [1836], obtained from men of the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ at Rapid Bay.

<i>Date</i>	1841
<i>Original source text</i>	“ <b>Yatagolunga</b> ” [marked along the river].
<i>Reference</i>	Arrowsmith 1/3/1841, ‘Map shewing the Special Surveys in SA to the Eastward of the Gulf St Vincent from documents in the Survey Office Adelaide’, London, in <i>BPP: Aust. 2: 272</i> . Version 2 of C 218 above.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Probably from Finniss or Light [1836], obtained from men of the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ at Rapid Bay.

<i>Date</i>	March 1844
<i>Original source text</i>	- “ <b>Yattagolinga</b> , March 1844” [title on painting]. - “ <b>Yattagolinga Valley</b> , Rapid Bay” [Angas’s pencil hand-writing on reverse side].
<i>Reference</i>	George French Angas 1844, original watercolour, J Howard Johnson Bequest 1902, 0.627, Art Gallery of SA.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Colonists

<i>Date</i>	1846-7
<i>Original source text</i>	“ <b>Yattagolinga</b> : This scene represents the high and bold hill between Rapid Bay and Cape Jervis, forming the south-east promontory that bounds the Gulf St Vincent. The spot depicted is about three miles inland from Rapid Bay, on the property of Messrs. Phillips, and is called Yattagolinga, which is the native name of this particular locality”.
<i>Reference</i>	Text with Plate XLIX, George French Angas 1846-7, <i>South Australia Illustrated</i> , London, Thomas McLean.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Colonists

## Discussion: THE FURTHEST CAMPSITE:

### LIGHT’S TEAM AT RAPID BAY, 1836:

Before Colonel Light came to SA he had probably noticed in passing the three Kurna place-names marked west of the range on Sturt’s map published in 1833.<sup>2</sup> Arriving to survey the new colony, he *may* have heard of ‘Yanky-lilly’ from the Kangaroo Island sealers by the time he made his landfall at Rapid Bay on 7 September 1836.<sup>3</sup> But when his survey team recorded “Yatagolanga” soon afterward, this was the first Aboriginal place-name’ which any SA colonist had heard directly from the Aboriginal inhabitants.

<sup>2</sup> See PNS 4-02/05 ‘Ponkepurringa’; 4-04-01/03 Wakondilla; 4-04-03/03 Kurtandilla.

<sup>3</sup> See PNS 5-02-01/02 Yarnkalyilla.



Two of his men – Field and Woodforde – left contemporary accounts of it, both using essentially the same spelling. Two more – Pullen and Mildred – remembered it in their old age, using today's standard spelling 'Yattagolinga' which had emerged a little later.<sup>4</sup> All four agreed that it was the native name of the "beautiful little valley": the "little paradise" with which Light was "enchanted", calling it after his ship, first "Rapid Valley" and then "Rapid Bay".<sup>5</sup>

Before October the name had been obtained by Woodforde, and no doubt the others knew it too. It surfaced in print from Field shortly afterward.

By March 1837 settlers had been camped in Adelaide for three months, but the land, still un-surveyed, could not be sold and worked, and so the struggling colony could not produce its own European food. The commander of the *Rapid*, Lieutenant William Field R.N., took the brig to Sydney to obtain much-needed provisions: cattle, bullocks and wagons.<sup>6</sup> Soon after his arrival there he provided a progress report to one of the local newspapers. It included the following:

*The Surveyor-General, after surveying Nepean Bay, proceeded up St Vincent's Gulph. He anchored first, in a little Bay, called by the natives Yatagolanga and by us Rapid Bay, where he pitched the tents and remained on shore with the surveying party three or four days, walking some miles over the hills in different directions; and surveying the valleys; a delightful spot, covered with fine grass, and a variety of flowers and shrubs; amongst the latter the Mimosa and Cypress were the most prevalent; of the former, the, geranium, lupin, and marsh mellow. A small river or brook runs through this valley when the season is not dry, and, on calculation, by taking the level of the ground, this brook was found capable of being dam'd up to a depth of 31 feet.*<sup>7</sup>

We need imagination and historical paintings in order to picture the mouth and valley as they were then.<sup>8</sup> In Light's time the waves washed sand only about 100 metres from today's lower Essington Lewis Drive. But the coastline at the river mouth now is 140 yards (128 metres) further out,

<sup>4</sup> WJS Pullen (marine surveyor, later Admiral), letter to H Mildred 19 May 1883, *Port Adelaide News* 31/8/1883: 5; Hiram Mildred (a young member of Light's team), letter to *SA Register* 19/8/1886: 7d.

<sup>5</sup> Light 'Brief Journal' 8 & 15 Sep 1836, in D Elder (ed) 1983, *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press: 62-3; Light to Colonial Commissioners 10 Sep 1836, in Capper 1837 'South Australia: Extracts from dispatches of Colonel Light: 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> D Elder (ed) 1983: 37-8.

<sup>7</sup> WG Field, report in *Sydney Monitor* 13 March 1837: 3d.

<sup>8</sup> The scene as Light and Field saw it can be re-imagined by looking at Light's 'Rapid Valley, SA' (see D Elder 1987, *Art of William Light*, Adelaide, Corporation of City of Adelaide: 108-9; cp. W Walton lithograph 1837 <http://www.artgallery.sa.gov.au/agasa/home/Collection/detail.jsp?ecatKey=12746> [15/7/15]); and James Henderson's watercolour from Frome's expedition in 1843 (SLSA B2434/38; online <http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+2434/38> [15/7/15]).



because tailings dumped into the sea from the limestone quarry since 1940 have drifted inshore to be trapped as an ugly grey gravel flat.<sup>9</sup> If we rate the features of the Fleurieu natural heritage which have been destroyed by the insatiable lust for 'progress' and resources, the vandalization of this beautiful and dramatic landscape must appear high on the list.

From Kangaroo Island Light had brought with him the sealer William Cooper as interpreter and two Aboriginal women as hunters to supply them with fresh meat. These 'sealer's wives' amazed the ship's doctor John Woodforde, who was keeping a detailed journal: "The activity of these women is astonishing as not one of our party was able to keep up with them for more than a mile".<sup>10</sup> One of the two, known to us only as 'Doughboy',<sup>11</sup> was a local:

*The Sealer volunteered to go to the east with the women, as far as Encounter Bay, and induce the natives there to communicate with us. They returned on the third day in company with six or seven natives, two of whom were the sons of one of the women above-mentioned, and whom she had not seen for many years.*<sup>12</sup>

These cooperative men – members of the 'Cape Jervis' tribe, i.e. the tribe of Fleurieu Peninsula<sup>13</sup> – willingly agreed to tend the Colonel's freshly-planted European garden while he and his whole team went north in the *Rapid* seeking a harbour for the capital. They sailed on 15<sup>th</sup> September, spent time examining the Port River, and returned on 11<sup>th</sup> October.

As they were preparing to leave Holdfast Bay on the 10<sup>th</sup>, Woodforde wrote that the brig

*ran back about 15 miles along the coast to the Southward with the intention of going to Yallagolanga (or Rapid Bay) when the wind shifted to the Southward and the weather assuming a threatening aspect we again bore up for the anchorage.*

There is a small technical puzzle here. Woodforde's journal is known to us only in a hand-written copy made by his daughter Harriet in 1867 when a few pages had already been lost. Harriet's ink

<sup>9</sup> Roy Williams 1986, *To Find A Way: Yankalilla and District 1836-1986*, Yankalilla & District Historical Society: 187.

<sup>10</sup> Woodforde journal 9 Sep 1836, PRG 502/1/2, SLSA.

<sup>11</sup> Decades later only Hiram Mildred remembered their names (as bestowed by sealers): 'Sall' and 'Doughboy' (*Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6a). Sall was a Tasmanian (see my history *Feet On the Fleurieu* [in progress]).

<sup>12</sup> Field *ibid*: 3e.

<sup>13</sup> In the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries 'Cape Jervis' very often meant the whole peninsula north and west of Encounter Bay (as on Flinders' chart); in 1836 the newcomers had no other local names by which to refer to this area. The perceived identity of Light's helpers at Rapid Bay in 1836 was complex (see also my comments below). In Woodforde's contemporary journal (16 Oct 1836) they were the 'Cape Jervis tribe'; in the later memory of Light's team they were sometimes the 'Rapid Bay natives' (BT Finnis 1892, *Some Early Recollections*: 7), sometimes the 'Encounter Bay tribe' (Hodges in *Observer* 26/4/1902: 4b).

manuscript is written in cursive, dense but neat. The place-name occurs only once, and here (unusually) we are puzzled by her spelling: the double letters after the first vowel are not crossed like her other double tt's, but neither are they looped like most of her double ll's. Did her father's original read 'Yallagolanga' or 'Yattagolanga'? From external evidence we can be fairly sure it was the latter, since every other source has a 't' or 'tt'.

Who gave this name to Light's men in 1836?

Field and Woodforde were both on board the *Rapid* on 10<sup>th</sup> October when the latter wrote the name in his journal, and both must have known it by then. With them on the brig at that time were Cooper and Doughboy, and it is almost certain that Doughboy, as a local southerner, would have known the name. Perhaps Cooper did, but we have no evidence that any of the Island men knew an Aboriginal name for Rapid Bay.

However, in September the commander and the doctor had also met – and hired – free members of the 'Cape Jervis tribe'.<sup>14</sup> Field said the Bay was called this name "by the natives"; and Mildred later used exactly the same expression.<sup>15</sup> In both cases the written context is about the place Rapid Bay rather than the voyage of the *Rapid*. This makes it less likely that they meant Doughboy and Sall when they said 'the natives', and more likely that they meant the 'Cape Jervis tribe', among whom they lived at Rapid Bay: for many days (in Field's case) or weeks (in Mildred's).<sup>16</sup>

Even if it was Doughboy who told them the name, the cultural provenance remains the same, as she was clearly identified as a member of the same 'tribe'.

From the available records the cultural identity of the 'Cape Jervis' or 'Rapid Bay' tribe in the 1830s is rather complex, a mixture of Kurna language affiliations to the north and marriage affiliations to

<sup>14</sup> Although Woodforde had much more time to obtain the name from Doughboy during the month on board ship, we cannot know for sure whether he had already obtained it while he was still at Rapid Bay with the 'Cape Jervis tribe' in September, nor whether he wrote it in his journal there. This is because some pages of the journal had been lost before Harriet copied it. We have his first detailed observations on the arrival of the Aboriginal men on 15<sup>th</sup> September. Doubtless he continued to write more then, up to and after his departure on the 16<sup>th</sup> overland with Light to Yankalilla; perhaps he had more thoughts there and then northward in the *Rapid* on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. But the pages are lost from part-way through his entry of the 15<sup>th</sup> up to the 24<sup>th</sup> inclusive.

<sup>15</sup> Hiram Mildred letter, *Register* 19/8/1886: 7d.

<sup>16</sup> It is very likely that the surveyors viewed the KI women – living with Europeans on Europeanized farms, dressed in combinations of European and Aboriginal clothing, and using dogs and tobacco pipes – as a quite different group of people from 'the natives' living a traditional lifestyle on the mainland. Doughboy and Sall had been hired to hunt for meat, not to interpret. Both Field and Woodforde had spent a week at Rapid Bay in September, including one day with the 'tribe'. After the return on 11 October, Field spent three weeks fetching men and supplies to Rapid Bay from Kangaroo Island before sailing on to Holdfast Bay; but Mildred stayed on at Rapid Bay with Finniss's surveyors for another after Light divided the team on 2<sup>nd</sup> November (see Elder 1983: 62-3, 73-5; cp. Mildred's use of "we" in 'With Colonel Light', *Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6a).



Encounter Bay to the southeast. It cannot be given a simple and unequivocal label.<sup>17</sup> But whoever this tribe was – whatever complex multiple identities they had amongst themselves and their neighbours – it was an unmistakably Kurna name that they gave for this place.

## OTHER SOURCES, OTHER SPELLINGS:

Other spellings of this name, and a different geographical referent, cropped up during the formative years of early contact as the name passed into currency with the settlers.

The first map of the Adelaide-Fleurieu area with a few more details than in 1836 was published in September 1840 and drew upon existing “documents in the Survey Office Adelaide”.<sup>18</sup> “Yattagolunga” was marked along the creek line at Rapid Bay, but without any ‘R’ for ‘river’.<sup>19</sup> The spelling here is independent of Field and Woodforde (‘u’ instead of ‘a’ for the fourth vowel), but represents a phonemically identical word in Kurna.<sup>20</sup> No doubt it was taken from earlier work done by Light and Finniss before they resigned from the Survey Department in 1839 and set up their own company. It was used again in 1841 as “Yatagolunga”, identically marked.<sup>21</sup>

But at the same time the first official Country Surveys were in progress (1839-41 on the Fleurieu). It seems that in the Yankalilla surveys of 1839-40 Poole and Bryant recorded another independent spelling “Yattagolunga”, probably from listening to their paid Kurna-speaking guides, perhaps in dialogue with local Aborigines.<sup>22</sup> The ‘i’ makes this syllable linguistically different from the other spelling. Later I will consider which of them is more likely to be correct.

On these maps, within four years of Light’s arrival, the referent feature was being marked explicitly as the local *river*, not the valley or bay. Bryant’s early map in 1839 showed the creek as “R.

<sup>17</sup> In my forthcoming history *Feet On the Fleurieu, Language On the Land* I examine at some length the identity of the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ in this era of first contact (1830s to early 1840s). There I produce evidence that they had strong connections with both the Gulf coast and Encounter Bay; but their recorded place-names and other words are all Kurna with only a few ambiguous exceptions. See also Rob Amery 1998, ‘Sally and Harry’, in Simpson & Hercus (ed) 1998, *History In Portraits*.

<sup>18</sup> Arrowsmith map, ‘Part of South Australia to the eastward of the Gulf of St. Vincent...’, from documents in the Survey Office Adelaide’, London 1/9/1840, SLSA C 218.

<sup>19</sup> This was probably due to constraints of space on this small-scale map. The name ‘Rapid Bay’ takes up the sea space opposite the valley, so that the creek is the only available clear space to enter “Yattagolunga”.

<sup>20</sup> i.e. it represents the same meaningful sounds. In English a written ‘a’ and ‘u’ often represent the same sound, e.g. as in ‘haka’ and ‘hut’. Conversely, a Kurna *a* sound was often represented by ‘a’, ‘o’ or ‘u’, e.g. *Maitpangga* > ‘Mipunga’ or ‘Myponga’.

<sup>21</sup> Arrowsmith 1/3/1841, ‘Map shewing the Special Surveys in SA to the Eastward of the Gulf St Vincent from documents in the Survey Office Adelaide’, London, in *BPP: Australia 2*: 272.

<sup>22</sup> The ‘Yankalilla surveys’: at this time ‘Yankalilla’ was used as a general reference for the whole region south of about the Myponga River. For the survey of this area Aboriginal guides were hired – probably in Adelaide – on equal pay (see *Register* 10/8/1839: 6a).

Rapid”.<sup>23</sup> But the Department – or perhaps Governor Gawler, who had requested the surveyors to find and preserve Aboriginal place-names – may have decided that, because the locality already had an English name, the river could use the other. Or perhaps the draughtsmen were influenced by the placement of the name along the river on the other maps. For the next maps of ‘Rapid Bay’ from Poole and Bryant’s surveys showed a specific “River Yattagolonga”: the first to apply the name to the watercourse where it remains to this day.

Despite these office adaptations, the original referent was still known to many. In public up to at least 1845 it was the name of the ‘locality’ rather than river. Almanacs listed Joshua Phillips, the first landowner, as residing at “Yatagolonga”, a district within “Yankalillah”,<sup>24</sup> and here in the same years he and his relative George briefly worked the “Yattagolonga Copper and Lead Mine” on high land near the sea behind Rapid Head.<sup>25</sup>

When George French Angas visited SA in 1844, he painted Phillips’ high land in his watercolour “Yattagolonga Valley, Rapid Bay”.<sup>26</sup> The lithograph version published later in England was entitled simply “Yattagolonga”; the text says that he was depicting “the high and bold hill between Rapid Bay and Cape Jervis” (i.e. Mt Rapid); and he understood that the native name applied to “this particular locality”.<sup>27</sup> His application of the name is thus rather inconsistent, but still tends to confirm the unanimous record of the four from the *Rapid* team who first heard it first-hand: that ‘Yattagolonga’ was the name of the region rather than the river.<sup>28</sup>

.....

<sup>23</sup> G Bryant n.d. [1839?], ‘Plan of 15 sections in the country adjoining Rapid Bay, Dist F / Mr Bryant’s survey’, Plan 6/15a, GNU; cp. 6/16, Macpherson 1840, ‘Plan of 13 sections in the country adjoining Rapid Bay, Dists F & D / Surveyed by G Bryan [sic]’. In 1840-1 surveyor Sergeant Forrest was still marking “Rapid Bay River” in his Field Book (Forrest 1841, FB 63, GNU, p.[34]).

<sup>24</sup> *SA Almanacs* J Allen 1844: 237; cp. Bennett 1845: 93.

<sup>25</sup> The old mine appeared in almanacs and on promotional maps as (1) “Yattagolonga” and (2) “Yattagolonga”: (1) Allen almanac 1845: 164; Arrowsmith map 1846, ‘South Australia shewing the division into counties... with situation of mines of copper and lead, from the survey of Capt. Frome... 1844’, SLSA C 993; cp. frontispiece, F Dutton 1846, *South Australia and Its Mines* 1846, London: T. and W. Boone. (2) frontispiece, GB Wilkinson 1849, *The Working Man’s Handbook to South Australia*, London, John Murray. These eccentric spellings may be ignored as hasty draughtsman’s errors. According to Angas (*SA Illustrated*, Plate 39 “Rapid Bay”), the lead mine was located “in the glen to the extreme left of the view, beyond the first rise”.

<sup>26</sup> Angas pencil handwriting on reverse side of his original watercolour ‘Yattagolonga, March 1844’, AGSA Bequest of J Howard Johnson 1902, 0.627.

<sup>27</sup> Plate XLIX ‘Yattagolonga’, George French Angas 1846, *South Australia Illustrated*, London, Thomas McLean. As a short-term visitor, Angas seems to have used the name ‘Cape Jervis’ literally to refer to the Cape itself, rather than in the widespread usage originating with Flinders (cp. the Angas-Giles title ‘Encampment of Native Women Near Cape Jervis’, Plate 56).

<sup>28</sup> Fifty years after the event, Hiram Mildred referred once (and no doubt loosely) to “Yatagolonga Bay” (H Mildred letter to *SA Weekly Chronicle* 2/10/1886: 6b).

## THE PLACE:

In such a small and narrow valley the distinction between region and river might be almost academic. Seldom can we be sure exactly what feature was being referred to by an Aboriginal place-name recorded by untrained observers at first contact. On unfamiliar land in a cross-cultural situation with limited language it is very easy to misunderstand a question or a pointing finger; and this could apply to both Light's team and the Country Surveys. However, in this case the chronology and details as described above do raise a legitimate doubt about the later identification as a river. Moreover, as a general rule traditional culture does not allot one name to the whole length of a watercourse, but give different names to particular sites along it which are significant for different reasons.

Therefore we may reasonably conclude that it was the valley and flat on the lowest reach and mouth of the main creek which was the core of 'Yattagolanga / Yattagolanga'. Here was shelter from most winds except the northwest; lush and well-watered land, amply provided with grass to attract game, and bulrushes and reeds for industry,<sup>29</sup> with good fishing at both sea and river. Nor was this the 'untamed wilderness' of colonial ideology. A number of sketches and paintings show the area before it had been cleared or farmed.<sup>30</sup> They depict the nearby hilltops and slopes with almost bare grassland alternating with open woodland – country similar to that further north on the gulf which so delighted the first colonists because it resembled 'a gentleman's park'. Bill Gammage has shown us how this kind of country was a carefully-shaped product of Aboriginal 'firestick farming'.<sup>31</sup>

Archaeologists have identified at least one 'Aboriginal site' just west of the mouth.<sup>32</sup> This may or may not be the same as a large burial site discovered during preparations for the 1936 centenary of Light's landing at Rapid Bay: "It was decided to plant a small plantation of trees for shade near

<sup>29</sup> cp. Light: "Mr Pullen and I walked along the bank of the river, which, from the long grass, and various impediments, I found rather fatiguing. The stream is small, clear and good, some places quite shallow, others five or six feet deep; the breadth generally about fifteen feet. The greatest part is so covered with rushes that the water is not to be seen" (Light to Colonial Commissioners 10 Sep 1836, in Capper 1837: 7).

<sup>30</sup> e.g. Light 1836 (see D Elder 1987, *Art of William Light*, Adelaide, Corporation of City of Adelaide: 102-3, 106-9); Angas 1844/1847, 'Rapid Bay' and 'Yattagolanga' (Plates 39 and 49 in *SA Illustrated*); J Henderson 1843, 'Rapid Bay', (SLSA B2434/38, online <http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+2434/38> [15/7/15]).

<sup>31</sup> Bill Gammage 2012, 'The Adelaide District in 1836', in R Foster and P Sendziuk, *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press. On p18 a later Giles lithograph of Angas's 'Yattagolanga' is reproduced.

<sup>32</sup> See the map in Betty Ross 1984, *Aboriginal and Historic Places Around Metropolitan Adelaide*: 20; Chapter 3 online via <http://www.anthropologysocietysa.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/> (15/7/15). Cp. "fragmentary material", V Campbell 1985, 'Is the Legend of Tjilbruke a Kurna Legend?', *J. Anthropol. Soc. SA* 23(7): 7 (online [http://www.anthropologysocietysa.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/JASSA-Volume23\\_-7-Campbell.pdf](http://www.anthropologysocietysa.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/JASSA-Volume23_-7-Campbell.pdf) (14/7/15)). Presumably there are records of the Rapid Bay site somewhere in the archives of the SA Museum's archaeology department. But these are no longer accessible, since the department has effectively been closed down by the abolition of the position of Curator of Aboriginal Archaeology in early 2018.

the foreshore and it was while holes were being dug to fence in the trees that human bones were located and brought to the surface and then later replaced in the holes with the posts and trees”.<sup>33</sup>

A tale was told about these bones:

*A legend that was handed down by the last surviving aborigine of this district, known as King Larry, who, by the way, is buried with his lubra, Lizzie, in the Bullaparinga Cemetery, was to the effect that during his boyhood trouble occurred between the Encounter Bay tribe and the Rapid Bay tribe over the stealing of two young gins by the Rapid Bay fellows from the Encounter Bay chaps. As the latter did not appreciate having their girls taken from them, they marched in force over to Rapid Bay and a real Donnybrook took place on this piece of fairly level ground that is now part of the B.H.P. township. According to old King Larry, a good many were killed on both sides and the Rapid Bay chaps were victorious over their Encounter Bay counterparts and retained their ill-gotten brides. The legend would seem to lend colour for the necessity of a fairly extensive burial ground handy to the scene of the conflict.*<sup>34</sup>

These quotations come from the earliest record of all this which I have been able to find: a letter to the *Victor Harbour Times* in 1968 by Second Valley resident Bernie Williss. But his entire account is very late, second- or third-hand, and does not identify his sources. Thus it is not clear on which side of the river the burial site lies, since there are rows of pine trees on both sides.<sup>35</sup> Whatever the exact location, it is (as we would expect) some distance west of the Aboriginal camp described below, and on lower and originally swampier ground.

Local folklore has since enlarged the battle – one of the perennial but limited skirmishes between any neighbouring groups – into an all-out massacre in which “most of the local tribe were killed”.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Bernie Williss letter, ‘Burial Ground at Rapid Bay’, *Victor Harbour Times* 29/3/1968: 5b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/187365818/21130904>. I owe this reference to Liz Schultz.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.* The battle occurred during Larry’s boyhood: probably around first contact time. Its origin in the stealing of Encounter Bay wives by Rapid Bay men is similar to the story of Finniss’s Rapid Bay friend ‘Jim’ and his very willingly abducted Encounter Bay wife ‘Allauri’ around 1836 (BT Finniss 1892, MS ‘Some Early Recollections’, transcribed by Gillian Dooley: 6, KT Borrow Collection, Flinders University Library, [https://dspace.flinders.edu.au/xmlui/bitstream/handle/2328/25020/Some\\_Early\\_Recollections.pdf?sequence=4](https://dspace.flinders.edu.au/xmlui/bitstream/handle/2328/25020/Some_Early_Recollections.pdf?sequence=4)). “King Larry” is only one of several Aboriginal men (or perhaps several names for him) to be dubbed ‘last of the Rapid Bay tribe’ by various old residents. A newspaper article about the 1928 ‘Back to Rapid Bay’ celebrations named a “King Sam” and “his lubra Lizzie” who were said to be “the last natives to reside in the Rapid Bay district” (*Chronicle* 11/2/1928: 13a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/8664481>).

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the most likely place for Williss’s ‘small plantation’ is the little grove around the Light cairn and nearby plaque, where the pines are not Norfolks.

<sup>36</sup> Shirley Mulcahy 1992, *Southern Fleurieu Historic Walks: Tjirbruke Country*, Somerton Park, the author: 19; Ron Blum 2002, *The Second Valley* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed), Oaklands Park, the author: 52.

But I have not seen any historical evidence for this, and it is unlikely because these two groups were allies throughout the records of first contact.<sup>37</sup>

We have at least two detailed eyewitness paintings of Aboriginal life at Rapid Bay at a moment in the early stages of colonial contact. In March 1844 the whirlwind visitor George French Angas depicted Aboriginal people camped east of the river mouth.<sup>38</sup>

In his 'Rapid Bay, March 1844',<sup>39</sup> a family group rests on the elevated foreshore edge of the alluvial flat near the mouth: seven adults, a child and two dogs.<sup>40</sup> Some are wearing European blankets. Angas's commentary – published later but no doubt based on what he had been told by local settlers – tells us that these are "Yankallillah [sic] blacks", i.e. locals of the southern region of Kurna-speaking peoples (*Patpangga*);<sup>41</sup> and that this is "a favorite camping place with the tribe". The valley, he says, is "covered with luxuriant kangaroo grass", and the creek too is "abounding in fish".

Around the wurlies on the left can be seen "a number of mats and baskets of the type used by the Lower Murray tribes", as Tindale noted.<sup>42</sup> One of these were the Ramindjeri of Encounter Bay, with whom these 'Yankallilla' people were in frequent and friendly contact which probably became even more common after 1836 with Adelaide as a newly attractive destination.<sup>43</sup> The people of these places often intermarried, even though the languages were Kurna on the northwestern side of the range and Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri on the southeastern.<sup>44</sup> Perhaps some of their Encounter Bay

<sup>37</sup> If the number of bodies here is as great as reputed, pre-colonial smallpox was probably the cause, travelling down the Murray River from the east; Rapid Bay and Yankallilla would have been the first points of transmission from the Lakes and Encounter Bay to the Gulf plains.

<sup>38</sup> i.e. around the eastern end of today's Cygnet Place, near the hill-slope. I have identified the artist's vantage point by studying the position from which one can see in silhouette the unique vertical 'bump' in the cliff face (about 0.9 km east of Rapid Head), as shown in the background of both of these Angas paintings. This distinctive profile is visible from the alluvial foreshore flat only in a limited area at its eastern end: from about 23 Cygnet Place eastward (see my photographs from site visit 26/7/2015).

<sup>39</sup> Angas original watercolour 'Rapid Bay March 1844': Art Gallery of SA, on permanent loan from National Trust of SA, L78N2. It is in [http://www.artgallery.sa.gov.au/agsa/home/Learning/docs/Online\\_Resources/SouthAustraliaIllustrated\\_EducationResource\\_online.pdf](http://www.artgallery.sa.gov.au/agsa/home/Learning/docs/Online_Resources/SouthAustraliaIllustrated_EducationResource_online.pdf) (27/11/14) = education kit of AGSA's exhibition 'SA Illustrated: Colonial painting in the Land of Promise' (2012).

A Giles lithograph version was published as 'Rapid Bay. With an encampment of Yankallillah [sic] blacks', Plate 39 of George French Angas 1846, *South Australia Illustrated*, London, Thomas McLean. See also John Tregenza 1980, *George French Angas: Artist, Traveller & Naturalist 1822-1886*, Adelaide, Art Gallery Board of SA 1980: 37.

<sup>40</sup> Cp. Henderson's 1843 painting (cited above) gives the same site looking east instead of west. In it the figures on the flat, perhaps a little further west than Angas's group, might be Aborigines and a wurlie (surveyors' bell tents were light in colour and geometrically shaped).

<sup>41</sup> See PNS 1/3 Patpangga. Angas's reference to 'Yankallillah' in this painting does not mean that the family depicted were strangers to Rapid Bay, merely that they were local residents of the Fleurieu, though of course mobile.

<sup>42</sup> Tindale 1936, "Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave", *Records of SA Museum* Vol. 5(4): 502.

<sup>43</sup> See Meyer 1846: 5. Cp. the case of Doughboy: she spoke Kurna language but had two sons who came (possibly) from Encounter Bay.

<sup>44</sup> See the evidence for visiting and intermarriage across the range in my history *Feet On the Fleurieu* (in progress).

wives had brought the skills to Rapid Bay and used the bulrushes there; or visiting relatives may have carried the artefacts with them.

The other Angas artwork is 'Encounter Bay Women (Lubras) roasting Trochus, Yankalilla, 19 March 1844', an intriguing unfinished close-up sketch.<sup>45</sup> This camp cannot have been more than a few hundred yards away from the other, sketched in the same week and possibly on the same day as 'Rapid Bay'. It shows a group of four adults and two children. According to his original note these were Encounter Bay people; his published text says they are "women and children of the Yankallillah tribe"; but as noted above, this apparent discrepancy is true to history. They are "encamped beneath their summer shelter of a few boughs", and he notes the signs of European contact: "the younger one... is engaged in roasting some shell-fish at the fire; by her side are a can and bottle containing water".<sup>46</sup> He might have mentioned the blanket and shirts too.

Two adults, behind the others, are clad in white and painted more faintly. According to Angas expert Dr Philip Jones, one of these, "the central 'woman', is a red-haired man (i.e. Fireball Bates, in my view) and one of the children is probably his. In other words, the image is of Bates's Aboriginal entourage".<sup>47</sup> George Bates was the well-known Kangaroo Islander of pre-colonial times. His presence here reminds us that Rapid Bay had been the Islanders' nearest safe landfall on the mainland, and probably the site of some of their raids for women; but also that his dealings with the mainland people had been much more complex than simple predation.<sup>48</sup> This group may in fact be mixed. Perhaps the two front figures were visitors from Encounter Bay and the main subjects of the original title. The fully-clothed figure on the back left faces Bates rather than the two women in front: is she one of Bates's wives, possibly a Tasmanian? The fact that these people sat together probably means that all three women were relatives. And they were peacefully camped there only a few yards from the local group, perhaps simultaneously: probably because these too were part of their extended family.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>45</sup> In the National Library of Australia; online at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an2856782> (27/11/14).

1. This original is much more confronting than the published lithograph version by Giles, 'Encampment of Native Women Near Cape Jervis', Plate 56 of *SA Illustrated* (online at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.pic-an7350676> [14/7/15]); this is falsified by a romantic 'orientalism', and should not be used as a source of information. See John Tregenza 1980, *George French Angas: Artist, Traveller & Naturalist 1822-1886*, Adelaide, Art Gallery Board of SA 1980: 14-15.

2. Despite Angas's location note 'Yankalilla' and his identification of the group as 'Yankallillah tribe', this picture is actually located at Rapid Bay (see the distinctive cliff outline at top left). In Angas's time 'Yankalilla' was a general term used by settlers for everywhere south of Myponga.

<sup>46</sup> Giles has interpreted their roughly-sketched shelter as an awning of canvas or blanket, possibly a sail; but we cannot be sure whether that was what Angas saw.

<sup>47</sup> Philip Jones p.c., email 11/12/2014. In the Giles lithograph Bates has been transformed unambiguously into a woman.

<sup>48</sup> See *Feet On the Fleurieu*.

<sup>49</sup> SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF ANGAS'S RAPID BAY ABORIGINAL FIGURES:

Between the original sketch in 1844 and the Giles lithograph published in 1847, the figures in 'Encounter Bay Women' were doctored; Jones wonders whether this was intentional by Angas in order to produce a more saleable item. Angas also changed his identification of the group to 'women and children of the Yankallillah tribe'; was this in order to match the revised figures, or for some other reason? He would have distinguished sharply between the Aboriginal women of Kangaroo Island and those of the traditional camps on the mainland, who suited his aims as a 'true' portrayer of the vanishing 'painted savages' of the colony (see his Preface and General Remarks in *SA Illustrated*).

The mainlanders could get there only by steep climbing. A short section of one of the Aboriginal tracks here was mapped by the first surveyors.<sup>50</sup> From the small Government Reserve around the creek mouth, a “Native track” is marked heading east; it climbs Colonel Light’s ‘Constitution Hill’ due east of today’s Cygnet Place, and continues across the ridgetop and down a small gully to the mouth of the Parananacooka River at Second Valley. This route, or something very close to it, was used for generations by settlers at Rapid Bay for walking to school or dances at Second Valley.<sup>51</sup>

Rapid Bay was as isolated in traditional society as it is now. Aboriginal travellers from the main population centres – Encounter Bay and the plains north of Sellicks Hill – had to make a significant detour if they wished to visit it. Relatives from southern regions might do this regularly, but the main trade routes were focussed on Ochre Cove near Maslins Beach (on the plains to the north), and the southeastern route from Encounter Bay passed no closer to Rapid Bay than Yankalilla (20 kilometres away over hilly territory). Parties from Rapid Bay would meet them there.<sup>52</sup> But there is a hint – admittedly long after traditional times had largely passed away – that they did not come very often. Tindale noted that “Rapid Bay people only lived there never went elsewhere; visited north”.<sup>53</sup> This isolation is confirmed perhaps by Doughboy, relative of the Rapid Bay gardeners, who in 1836 had never seen the “large river up the gulf”, but had only “heard of it from the men belonging to her tribe”.<sup>54</sup>

As we shall see shortly, Rapid Bay’s isolation is relevant when we try to derive the meaning of its name.

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In the original reality the presence of Bates brings complications. Jones considers it likely that some or all of these women might be Kangaroo Islanders and wives of Bates; some might be Tasmanian, some from Encounter Bay. Bates has his arm on the shoulder of the boy at the centre, who might be his child. The woman on the right is painted for mourning, and the one on the left has cropped hair, possible for mourning. Local or Islander, they may have come to be with their Encounter Bay and ‘Yankalillah’ relatives for death ceremonies. Cf. my correspondence with Jones (emails 12 Jan to 22 July 2015).

It is very likely that Angus was confused, not only in memory but on the day itself, by the complexity of any explanation he might have been given about who these people were. The reality was probably that by origin or intermarriage some or all of these women were *both* ‘Encounter Bay’ and ‘Yankalillah’ (southern Fleurieu) people, united that day by their various relationships to Bates and his ‘wives’. It is also very likely that Bates himself had been incorporated into their kinship system by about 1829 (see my *Feet On the Fleurieu*).

<sup>50</sup> Poole and Bryant’s Plans 6/16 and 6/16A, GNU.

<sup>51</sup> See Mulcahy 1992: 17, 19. Light at Rapid Bay is said to have taken a daily walk up the nearby hill for the sake of his ‘constitution’.

<sup>52</sup> Berndt & Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*: 20. The main trade routes were not mapped by the surveyors, but Tindale and Berndt noted them from their Ngarrindjeri-speaking informants in the 1930s: e.g. the ‘native tracks’ to Adelaide shown on Tindale annotated maps AA 338/15/2, 338/16/2 and 338/16/8.

<sup>53</sup> Tindale annotated map ‘Tindale S Map / Summary of Kurna area’, AA 338/16/8.

<sup>54</sup> William Hodges (one of Light’s team), *Observer* 26/4/1902: 4b.

## THE SPELLINGS 'YATAGOLANGA' and 'YATTAGOLINGA', AND THE KAURNA NAME:

1. The first morpheme is almost certainly *yarta*, 'land, earth, country, dirt'.<sup>55</sup>
2. It is clear that the last syllable 'nga' is the normal Kurna Locative suffix *-ngga*, 'at, place of'.
3. This being so, we can immediately deduce two things from the rules of Kurna grammar:
  - (a) The preceding vowel is the end of the root word, and (from the records) it might be either *a* or *i*.
  - (b) The root word must have two syllables.<sup>56</sup>

We must therefore read the rhythm of the whole name as 2+3, '**Yatta-gol**inga', not as in our habitual English pattern 3+2, '**Yattago-l**inga'.<sup>57</sup> The 'o' is stressed, and therefore more likely to have been heard correctly; while the next vowel 'a' or 'i' is unstressed, and easily mis-heard.

4. The second morpheme's root is therefore either *kula* / *kudla* / *kurla*, or *kuli* / *kudli* / *kurli*; and these options can probably be reduced to two words, *kurla* and *kurli* (in the southern dialect).<sup>58</sup>

The option of *kudli* / *kurli* is unlikely. It would require a contraction (unrecorded) of one of the recorded 'wet' words: *kudlendi* / *kurlendi* 'to wash', or *kudlilla* 'rainy season, winter'. And 'winter country' seems unlikely for a well-known place where people regularly camped in summer while retreating to the sheltered hills in winter.<sup>59</sup>

This leaves us with *kudla* / *kurla*.<sup>60</sup> The missionary linguists classified this as a pronoun, adverb and adjective, noting that it was a word "of a very general and vague meaning". But we may discern a pattern here. Their glosses include 'alone', separate, one's self'; 'by itself, on \_ own accord, by \_ impulse, etc.'; 'afterwards'; 'expressing the idea of alone, separate, empty, last'.

<sup>55</sup> There was a phrase *yarnta kudlangga* (*yarnta* not to be confused with *yarta*) which was the 'antonym' or opposite of *kumangka* 'together' (Teichelmann MS Dictionary 1857, under 'kumangka'): i.e. it presumably meant something like 'over there, separated from the crowd'. But *yarnta-kurlangga* is unlikely as a name, since it uses an adverb 'there', and requires an extra assumption that those who heard it as 'yarta' must have missed the retroflex *rn* sound completely. The latter criticism would also apply to any derivation using the adjective *yernda* / *yarnta* 'wide': e.g. *yarnta-kurlangga* 'wide lonely place'.

<sup>56</sup> These are standard Kurna language rules, which still apply when the word is a compound (as it is here) of two two-syllable morphemes. Three-syllable roots use the other Locative suffix *-illa*, in which the *i* replaces the last vowel of the root: e.g. *Yarnkalya* > *Yarnkalyilla*.

<sup>57</sup> This standard Anglicized pronunciation no doubt crept in unnoticed as soon as the name was read aloud *from writing* by someone who had not *heard* it pronounced by a Kurna person.

<sup>58</sup> 1. In most Aboriginal languages the sounds *k* and *g* do not have separate significance. In Kurna the same applies to *o* and *u*.

2. *Di* (pre-stopped *l*) and *ri* (retroflex *l*) are unfamiliar sounds to most Europeans, and were hard to pick up accurately even for the German linguists.

3. On southern dialect, see also the footnote below.

<sup>59</sup> Cp. Tjilbruki's summer and winter camps.

<sup>60</sup> We can ignore Tindale's Kurna vocabulary cards (in AA 338/7/1/12) in which he interprets Williams's "*cur-lah, fire*" and Wyatt's "*kerla, firewood*" as "*kurla*". These old records are versions of *gadla* / *garla* in which the first vowel is not *u* but *a*.



*Kudlayurlo* means 'quiet, peaceable'. *Kurlanna* is 'the last-born child'. With the Locative added, *kurlangga* can mean 'in the absence of'.

In the light of our discussion of Rapid Bay and its people, *Yarta-kurlangga* – 'place of the *kurla* country' – makes good geographical and cultural sense. It could be

- the country which is 'separate, alone by itself', a valley tucked away and hidden by high ridges, and whose people 'never went elsewhere' and to some extent were separate in habits and association from the other Kurna-speaking peoples to the north.<sup>61</sup> They also had an identifiable separate dialect.<sup>62</sup>
- the country which is 'alone by itself', rarely visited.
- the country which is 'last' in space: the furthest camp southward before the peninsula ends at Cape Jervis; or 'last' in time: the end of our journey as Kurna speakers travelling south, just before we come in sight of Kangaroo Island where the spirits of the dead go.<sup>63</sup>
- the country which is 'empty or quiet', having only a few score of people who rarely gathered all together in one place.<sup>64</sup>
- the country which is the opposite of a hypothetical *Yarta-kumangka*, a well-known, well-populated, much-visited land such as *Yarnkalyilla* or Encounter Bay.
- or a combination of all these things.

Some at least of *Yarta-kurlangga*'s historic records were obtained directly from southern people, and all of them lacked the pre-stop in 'gol'. In this light, probably we may now add *kudla* / *kurla* to the list of similar words with variants recorded in the northern and southern dialects.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Unlike the Adelaide people, the southerners had special relationships of intermarriage with the Ramindjeri of Encounter Bay in particular. Their burial practices were more like those of the Lower Murray than those of Adelaide. It seems that in pre-colonial times they had little contact with the people of the Adelaide Plains, whom Doughboy at least regarded as "rather a fierce set" (Pullen journal 4 Oct 1836, 'MSS Journal by Mr Pullen', PRG 303, SLISA: 31/22).

<sup>62</sup> Teichelmann, Schürmann and Wyatt recorded several words in an identifiable southern ('Yankalilla' or 'Rapid Bay') dialect of the Kurna language. The Germans also asserted (using a derivative of *kurla* as an example) that "R is changed with l or d; as *kurlana*, *kullana*" (T&S 1840 1:3). This was their way of saying that, as far as they could tell, pre-stopped l (dl) was interchangeable with retroflex l (rl) and with alveolar l (as in English l). In Amery's modern analysis, the pre-stop was common in the north, and uncommon in the south: e.g. *kadla* / *karla* 'fire' *wardli* / *warli* 'house'. His analysis is based on wordlists obtained from Sally Walker and Kalunggu, both southerners. See Rob Amery 1996, 'Kurna in Tasmania', *Aboriginal History* 20: 47; Amery 1998, 'Sally and Harry', *History in Portraits*, Aboriginal History Monograph 6: 83-4; Amery 2000, *Warrabarna Kurna!*: 97-8, 133-4.

<sup>63</sup> This assumes that we are referring to major stopping places for family residence, not temporary stopovers for short-term purposes such as the Cape itself, fishing beaches such as 'Watpardung', or burial sites such as Yoho Beach.

<sup>64</sup> Of the people whom Light's team met at Rapid Bay, Woodforde wrote: "This tribe is a very small one" (Woodforde journal 15 Sep 1836); and in 1840 the whole Aboriginal population from Sellick's Hill to Rapid Bay was only 90 (Moorhouse Report 14/1/1840, 'Papers Relative to SA... 1843', *BPP Australia* 7: 354).

<sup>65</sup> Because Poole and Bryant may have obtained 'Yattagolinga' from Adelaide-based guides, it is also possible that their 'i' represents a northern variant of a name which was unfamiliar to these northerners. No version of it was recorded by the Dresden missionaries in Adelaide.

For Kurna-speaking peoples *Yarta-kurlangga* was their 'back-blocks', one of the remotest reaches of their south land, *Patpangga*.<sup>66</sup>

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**POSTSCRIPT: TINDALE ON PLACE-NAMES AROUND RAPID BAY:**

Tindale described "Jatakolinga" as a specific site, a "Camp in vicinity of Section 1508... now linked with Rapid Bay township", and credited the card's information to Milerum.<sup>67</sup> Section 1508 is in Phillips' part of the valley, one kilometre inland from the original coastline. It is possible that people camped there sometimes, near the junction of Nowhere Else Creek; but the foreshore would probably have been the preferred site. Was it Milerum who said that Yattagolinga referred to a specific 'camp' away from the 'shore', while *Ngutarangk* (below) was the foreshore site? Or was this just Tindale's guess? If so, on what basis?

There are three other known place-names at and near Rapid Bay.

In 1843 Meyer recorded *Ngutarangk* as a Ramindjeri name for "Rapid Bay"; clearly it was a familiar destination for these people. There is no way of knowing whether this was their equivalent of *Yarta-kurlangga*, or a more specific site name. Almost a hundred years later Milerum allegedly said (or more likely it was Tindale's guess) that *Ngutarangk* was a campsite in the "beach area" or "coastal dunes" on Section 1509 (which includes the creek mouth and foreshore Reserve).<sup>68</sup> But no visible dunes east or west of the creek mouth are painted in either Henderson 1843 or Angas 1844, nor are any to be seen there now; there were and are only foothills and an alluvial flat, sharply cut off at the beach. It seems that the coastal dynamics of this tiny bay (like Second Valley) did not allow any significant build-up of dunes.<sup>69</sup>

Ngarrindjeri-speaking informants told Tindale of two more place-names around Rapid Bay, together with a few details which illuminate the place from the perspective of Aboriginal users.

<sup>66</sup> See PNS 1/3 Patpangga.

<sup>67</sup> Tindale Kurna place-name card 492/1 'Jatakolinga'. Tindale uses 'j' for 'y', and the phonetic symbol ŋ for the sound *ng*.

<sup>68</sup> Tindale Kurna place-name cards 587/1 'Ngutarangk', 587/2 'Dutarangk'; cp. 492/1; see also PNS 5.04.01/10 Ngutarangk.

<sup>69</sup> "Coastal dunes" appears to be another armchair guess by Tindale. His note "Tindale ms from Milerum" (cards 492/2 and 587/1) may *perhaps* mean that Milerum had mentioned the old campsite near the beach; or alternatively, that Tindale got the name from Meyer, put it on his old annotated Yankalilla map AA 338/24/101 (which had a general credit to Milerum among others) and transferred it from that to his later cards; the rest being his own speculation.

In Milerum's 'story of Tjelbruke' (1934), Tindale noted that the hero had "his place at Rapid Bay by Point. Big camp".<sup>70</sup> Tjelbruke, he says, used this camp in summer because nearby "at the point" (possibly Rapid Head) was "Tankulrawun" (another Ngarrindjeri name), a good place to "watch for beaked salmon swimming in the rise of the surf".<sup>71</sup>

According to Milerum and Karlowan, there was another place in the general vicinity of 'Rapid Head', probably a few kilometres inland, where Tjirbuki 'came out' from a forest. Karlowan called it "Witawatang" in Ngarrindjeri form; but this was almost certainly adapted from Kurna *Wita-wattingga*, 'in the midst of peppermint gum trees', and probably refers to an inland area, four kilometres or so southwest near the Salt Cliffs Station.<sup>72</sup>

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*End of Summary*

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<sup>70</sup> Milerum 1934, 'Story of Tjelbruke', in Tindale SE of SA journal 2: 44.

<sup>71</sup> Tindale Kurna place-name card 615/2 'Tankul' rawun. Tindale originally glossed 'Tankulrawun' simply as 'Rapid Bay' (SE of SA2: 49). See also PNS 5.04.01/09 'Tankulrawun'.

<sup>72</sup> See PNS 5.04.01/08 Wita-wattingga (Rapid Head).