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## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.02.02/04

### YARNAUWINGGA

(last edited: 9.7.2019)

#### SEE ALSO

PNS 5.02.02/01 Wirrina, 5.02.02/02 'Anacotilla', 5.02.02.03 'Congeratinga' (Second Valley).

#### 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*This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.*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, 26/5/19.*

## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.02.02/04

### YARNAUWINGGA

(last edited: 9.7.2019)

See also PNS 5.02.02/01 Wirrina, 5.02.02/02 Anacotilla, 5.02.02.03 Congeratinga (Second Valley).

#### Abstract

*Yarnauwingga* was the Kurna name for an area within and immediately surrounding the current property of Wirrina Resort (2019); or perhaps of a site within this area.

The name is a contraction of *Yarna-kauwingga*, 'bald [or naked] water-place'. This almost certainly refers to (1) the many sources of fresh water in this area, and (2) 'bald' or relatively bald hills around it, especially on areas with very shallow soil over hard rock. Early descriptions tend to confirm that this area contained significant stretches of grassland with few trees, even before settlement.

The area called *Yarnauwingga* by its Aboriginal occupants was known to 19<sup>th</sup>-century settlers as a district called 'Poole's Flat'; which seems to have included the rising ground of Section 1590 (around the hotel and tennis courts); Section 1587 and the southernmost parts of 1588 and 1589 (the higher land of the golf course and housing development); and probably the low flat of the Anacotilla River on Section 1595 (now the recreation area).<sup>1</sup>

Aboriginal *Yarnauwingga* may perhaps have included also Sections 1580 and 1579 with the small basin on the River Congeratinga (now beneath Wirrina Reservoir), and the small flat at the mouth of the River Congeratinga (known to settlers as 'Cutter Flat' and sometimes perhaps as part of the 'Poole's Flat' district).

The ambiguous provenances of 'Congeratinga' and 'Anacotilla' appear to overlap that of *Yarnauwingga* in the wider area around the resort and golf course now called Wirrina (an imported name). More research would be needed to establish (if possible) the exact area and extent where each original name applied.

Local historian Lucy Webb in 1919 recorded it as the Aboriginal name of 'Pool's Flat', "Yarnouinga", from the memories of an unnamed lady who was "living at this place in 1854" with her sister (possibly Johanna and Ann Walsh, whose father bought Section 1587 in 1853).

In this context Webb wrote that 'Yarnouinga' was "a great meeting place" for Aboriginal people, which is likely from its combination of terrain and resources. From her article and a few other late and brief records, it seems that *Yarnauwingga* was the site of at least one serious "battle" between

<sup>1</sup> For the Sections see Map 1 on p.31 of this essay. All Sections mentioned are in the Hundred of Yankalilla.

the local southern Fleurieu people and the Encounter Bay people in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (possibly the 1870s). Some writers have extrapolated that there was ‘chronic enmity’ between the two groups; but there is little other evidence for this, and much to question it (see Discussion).

Tindale gave ‘talking place’ as the etymology for the name (as reported by GH Manning). But this is based on a typographical error “Yarnoninga”, and requires the name to be a hybrid of Ngarrindjeri *yanun* and Kaurna *ngga*. But this has no linguistic or historical credibility in the light of other extant spellings of the name from Webb.

<b>Coordinates</b>	Lat. -35.50450, Long. 138.25265 [nominal centre of the ‘Poole’s Flat district’]
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### Language Information

<b>Meaning</b>	‘bald water place’
<b>Etymology</b>	<i>yarna</i> ‘bald, naked’ + <i>kauwi</i> ‘water’ + <i>ngga</i> ‘at, place of’ > <i>Yarna-kauwingga</i> > <i>Yarn’auwingga</i>
<b>Notes</b>	In Kaurna language, the elision of a syllable beginning with <i>k</i> is familiar from another place-name <i>Tarnta-kanya</i> > <i>Tarnt’anya</i> ‘place of the red-kangaroo rock’ (Old Spelling <i>Tarndanya</i> ).
<b>Language Family</b>	Thura-Yura: ‘Kaurna’
<b>KWP Former Spelling</b>	Yarnauwingga
<b>KWP New Spelling 2010</b>	Yarnauwingga
<b>Phonemic Spelling</b>	/yarnawingga/
<b>Syllabification</b>	“Yarn – auwingga”:
<b>Pronunciation tips</b>	Stress the first syllable. Secondary stress on second syllable. <i>rn</i> is a Retroflex ‘n’, with tongue curled back. Every <i>a</i> as in Maori ‘haka’.

### Main source evidence

<b>Date</b>	1836
<b>Original source text</b>	“17 September [1836]... [at “Finniss Valley” = <i>Second Valley</i> ] On joining my shipmates on the rising ground above [[i.e. above the inlet], we beheld a valley three times as extensive as the last [ <i>Rapid Bay</i> ], and equally rich in soil; there is abundance of wood all the way, yet not so thick but that agriculture might be pursued without the trouble of clearing. From this we walked to Yankalilla, over undulating ground of good quality, and wooded in the same manner as before mentioned; passing several little runs of water which are dry in summer, sometimes edging our way down to the sea – at others, bending inland, mounting and descending as the ground presented itself...”
<b>Reference</b>	William Light (David Elder ed.) 1984, <i>William Light’s Brief Journal</i> , Adelaide, Wakefield press: 64.
<b>Informants credited</b>	
<b>Informants uncredited</b>	For ‘dry in summer’, possibly KI sealer William Cooper or his Aboriginal wife

	'Doughboy'.
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<i>Date</i>	1919
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>"North of Second Valley is Third Valley, which was a great resort for picnic parties in the early days. Bullock drays were mostly used for conveyances. To the left side of the creek, facing the sea, is what was known as Cutter Flat, where the cutter Ogee was wrecked in the early fifties, and was said to be the first vessel to be built in the colony. About a quarter of a mile inland from this opening is a place known as Pool's Flat. This was formerly a great meeting place of the blacks, where many battles were fought, and it was called by them "<b>Yarnounga</b> [<i>sic</i>]." A lady told me that her sister and herself were living at this place, in 1854. One day about a hundred blacks marched down to the flat, and formed two lines. They started throwing spears at each other, and used womeras with which to protect themselves. After a time one of the men came up to the house, and, looking round, said, "Where's your men?" One of the ladies replied, "They will be back soon." The black pointed to a keg and said, "What you got along that keg." "Nothing," answered the woman. He said, "Look, we been doing our practice; we going to fight the French; plenty blackfellow come round by-an'-by. You plenty keep your door shut; don't be frightened; we'll look after you; we're the English." The women locked the door and kept a loaded gun handy."</p>
<i>Reference</i>	'A Native of Rapid Bay' [Lucy Webb], 'Rapid Bay', <i>Register</i> 1/5/1919: 9h, <a href="http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62200675">http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62200675</a> .
<i>Informants credited</i>	"a lady... living at [Pool's Flat] in 1854".
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Kurna-speaking Aboriginal people who used Pool's Flat in 1850s-70s.

<i>Date</i>	1924
<i>Original source text</i>	<p>"... Cutter Flat, where the cutter O.G. (the first vessel to be built in the colony) was wrecked in the early fifties. About quarter of a mile inland from this opening is a place known as Pool's Flat. This was formerly a great meeting place of the blacks, where many battles were fought, and was named by them, <b>Yarnowinga</b>. In 1869 the McConkey family lived at Pool's flat."</p>
<i>Reference</i>	'L.W.' [Lucy Webb], 'Rapid Recollections II', <i>The Register</i> 24/9/1924: 12i, <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/57885651.3">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/57885651.3</a> .
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	



Date	Feb 1928
Original source text	"Pool's Flat... was called by them <b>Yarnoninga</b> [sic]. To the north of Pool's Flat, along the beach, is a fair-sized cave, and between that and the Little Gorge is a hidden spring of fresh water. The McConkeys lived at Pool's Flat in 1869. Mrs Arthur Roads, of Winulta, Y.P., was a Miss McConkey."
Reference	Miss L Webb [Lucy Webb] 1928, 'Early Days of Rapid Bay', <i>Register</i> 2/2/1928: 7c, <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/55065150/5110861">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/55065150/5110861</a> .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [after 1929 when base map printed]
Original source text	"` <b>Jarno`ninga</b> [sic; on Sections 1587/1590/1595] meeting place of Kurna & Ramindjeri tribes Pool Flat" [mainly on Section 1591]
Reference	Tindale annotated map Hd of Yankalilla, SA Museum AA 338/24/101.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Lucy Webb in <i>Register</i> 2/2/1928.

Date	1934
Original source text	- [p.4, ms] "Notes from Mr Louwyck 26.3.34 [typescript] ... From Mr. George Roper. Mr. Roper remembers a great fight which took place in Second Valley and the Encounter Bay tribe. <b>The Encounter's were driven into the sea and all were killed</b> ... There is a cemetery along the beach at the Valley. - [p.5, ms] Notes from M Louwyck 26.3.34 [typescript] Mr. O'Connor. Burial ground on Leverington's ground. The natives were only in summer at Poole's flat. Some are buried in the Cave on the right hand side... The old man was not very clear about his facts. Mr. Alf Bennett says that King Sam and his wife Lizzie are buried in the Bullaparinga cemetery where more are buried. Sam was the King of the Rapid bay mob. The battle of Second Valley took place at the present bridge in the Valley. Mrs. Lovelock, Sen. Says that the name of the Second Valley king was Sam. She is quite certain of that. Many were buried in Poole's Flat, in the sand, she says."
Reference	Notes from Rev NH Louwyck, in NB Tindale, 'Journal of Excavations at Second Valley S.A. March-April 1934', SA Museum AA338/1/11: [4], 5.
Informants credited	Old southern Fleurieu residents George Draper, Mr O'Connor, Alf Bennett, & Mrs Lovelock senior.
Informants uncredited	



Date	1968
Original source text	“LETTERS TO THE EDITOR Burial Ground at Rapid Bay ... 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 Donny-brook took place on this piece of fairly level ground that is now part of the B.H.P. township. According to old King Larry, <b>a good many were killed on both sides and the Rapid Bay chaps were victorious</b> 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. BERNIE WILLISS. Second Valley.”
Reference	<i>Victor Harbour Times</i> 29/3/1968: 5b, <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/187365818/21130904">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/187365818/21130904</a> .
Informants credited	‘King Larry’
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [1980s]
Original source text	“` <b>Jarnoniŋ</b> [sic] Kaurna Tr. Camps on Pool Flat at Sections 1591 & 1592 where intertribal meetings of Kaurna and Ramindjeri took place. Tindale ms.”
Reference	Tindale Kaurna place-name card [491] in AA338/7/1/12, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1985
Original source text	“The tribal boundary only extended a few miles inland from Second Valley and fighting with the neighbouring tribes, for one reason or another, was common. One such incident occurred when a black woman from the Encounter Bay tribe ran off with a man from the local Kaurna tribe. The Ramindjeri natives gave chase and caught up with the Kaurna natives at Rapid Bay where a fight ensued. Unfortunately <b>most of the local tribe were killed</b> and were buried there with their bodies in the customary sitting position.”
Reference	Ron Blum 1985, <i>The Second Valley: a history of Second Valley, South Australia</i> [1 <sup>st</sup> Edition], Adelaide, the author: 103.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

<i>Date</i>	1990
<i>Original source text</i>	“Pool Flat - Near Second Valley, about 400 metres from ‘Cutter Flat’, where the vessel O.G. was wrecked in 1854... It was a meeting place for Aborigines and the scene of many battles and they knew it as <b>yarnuinga – ‘talking place’</b> ; the Kurna and Ramindjeri people met there to barter red ochre from Ochre Point.”
<i>Reference</i>	GH Manning 1990, <i>Manning’s Place Names of SA</i> , Adelaide, The Author: 252.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Lucy Webb; & for ‘yarnuinga – talking place’, can only be Tindale.

### Discussion: THE ‘BALD WATER-PLACE’:

Three genuine local place-names are known in the rather small area known since the 1970s as ‘Wirrina’ (which is not a local word).<sup>2</sup> They are ‘Yarnouwinga’, ‘Congeratinga’ and ‘Anacotilla’. Two of them have very uncertain etymologies. All three have uncertainties about their location, so that it is not entirely clear which parts of the Wirrina area they belong to, or whether they overlap.

### LUCY WEBB, ‘POOLE’S FLAT’, AND THE ABORIGINAL NAME:

Lucy Webb (1871-1953)<sup>3</sup> was a resident of Rapid Bay and a prolific chronicler and publicist of southern Fleurieu history and settler memories. Her ‘Yankalilla Yarns’ and other pieces were published in state-wide newspapers for about 20 years.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes she included pieces of information about Aboriginal places and names which are not found elsewhere; presumably she had picked these up from some of the old residents whom she had interviewed.

In 1919, under the pen-name ‘A Native of Rapid Bay’, she wrote:<sup>5</sup>

*North of Second Valley is Third Valley, which was a great resort for picnic parties in the early days. Bullock drays were mostly used for conveyances. To the left side of the creek, facing the sea, is what was known as Cutter Flat, where the cutter Ogee was wrecked in the early fifties, and was said to be the first vessel to be built in the colony.<sup>6</sup> About a quarter of a mile inland from this opening is a place known as Pool’s Flat. This was formerly a great meeting place of the blacks, where many battles were fought, and it was called by them “Yarnouinga”.*

<sup>2</sup> See PNS 5.02.02/01 Wirrina.

<sup>3</sup> Lucy Webb Summary Record, State Library of SA.

<sup>4</sup> A photograph of her is in *Observer* 12/5/1923: 52, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/164823973/19340691>

<sup>5</sup> *Register* 1/5/1919: 9h, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62200675>.

<sup>6</sup> This was the O.G. in 1854 (GH Manning 2010, *The Place Names of Our Land*, Modbury, Gould Books: 681-2).



Though we do not have the manuscripts of Webb's articles, we can see that the published versions often contain many obvious spelling errors or misprints. As a result, the spelling she intended for many of her Aboriginal words is not always clear, often making it hard to deduce a Kurna original. However, in this case we can come to a fairly sure conclusion.

In subsequent articles she re-cycled the name and her surrounding paragraph several times, so that we have four different versions of it: (1) In 1919 it was printed "Yarnouinga" as above; (2) in 1923 "Yarmouinga";<sup>7</sup> (3) in 1924 "Yarnowinga";<sup>8</sup> (4) and in 1928 "Yarnoninga".<sup>9</sup>

### LINGUISTICS:

The final two syllables clearly use the common Kurna Locative *ngga* ('at, place of'). The sounds which Webb almost certainly had in mind are (in phonetic spelling) *Yanawingga*.<sup>10</sup>

But there is a difficulty. The root word here seems to be *yanawi*, with three syllables; and in Kurna language a three-syllable root must take the less common Locative *illa*, not *ngga* as with two-syllable roots (e.g. *witu* 'reed' > *Witungga* 'reed place'; but *parndalla* 'lumbar spine' > *Parndalilla* (New Spelling *Parntalilla*) 'place of the lumbar spine'). Why was it *Yanawingga* and not *Yanawilla*?

Rob Amery<sup>11</sup> suggested the solution on which I now expand. In common speech some words may omit whole syllables for the sake of brevity (i.e. elisions or contractions: cp. in English, 'going to' > 'gonna'). Notably in Kurna, we have represented on record both the full *Tarnda-kanya* ('male-red-

<sup>7</sup> Lucy Webb 'Yankalilla Yarns' No. 9, *Register* 10/2/1923: 14g, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63831259/4557312>.

<sup>8</sup> 'L.W.', 'Rapid Recollections' No.2, *Register* 24/9/1924: 12i, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/57885651.3>.

<sup>9</sup> Miss L Webb 1928, 'Early Days of Rapid Bay', *Register* 2/2/1928: 7c, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/55065150/5110861>.

<sup>10</sup> In Version 4 we have 'n' in front of 'inga'. We must take this to be a misprint of 'u' (as in the first two versions), since a type-set 'u' and 'n' were often mistakenly substituted for each other even when the word was familiar.

In the first syllable, there is Kurna vocabulary for both 'yan-' and 'yam-'. But the 'm' in Version 2 is outnumbered by 'n' in the other three; and the only two possible words matching *m*, while conceivable, are *yama* 'stupid, disobedient' (fairly unlikely for a place-name) and *yama-yama* 'doctor, teacher, sorcerer' (less likely because the place-name does not use this reduplicative form to distinguish it from 'stupid'). The 'w' in 'Yarnowi-' (Version 3) could *perhaps* be a mis-transcription of 'u' as in Versions 1 and 2. Or it could be Webb's alternative spelling of the sequence *au* = *aw* in 'ou-i'. The sounds which she represented by 'ou' and 'ow' could be identical as in 'nous' and 'now' (most likely), or perhaps merely similar as in 'you' and 'mow'.

Kurna has no *yamu* to match a 'you' vowel *u*. The 'now' alternative gives us the phonetic sequence *awi* = *auwi*. Putting together the first two syllables to deduce the first morpheme: *yama* is unlikely; but *yama* is a recorded vocabulary item (see main text), in fact the only one where *yan-* or *yarn-* is followed by a vowel, as seems to be required here.

Note: In English spelling, the 'r' merely fixes the pronunciation of the preceding 'a' as *a* (as in 'father'), not *æ* (as in 'cat'). In phonetic spelling, the 'r' signifies that the following 'n' is a Retroflex *rn* (a sound not used in English).

<sup>11</sup> Amery p.c. email 19/8/2014.



kangaroo rock’) and its contraction *Tarnd’anya* (NSp. *Tarnta-kanya*, *Tarntanya*).<sup>12</sup> If we guess and restore an elided syllable to the Pool’s Flat name, we can obtain an original second morpheme which enables the name to fit the Kurna linguistic rules exactly. Here the most likely candidate by far is *kauwi*, ‘water’, giving *Yana-(k)auwingga* ‘yana water place’. In the wider region of Thura-Yura languages there are many place-names ending in *awi/auwi* or *awingga*, signifying the same thing.<sup>13</sup>

For the first morpheme *yana*, the recorded vocabulary has *yarna*, ‘naked’ or ‘bald’.<sup>14</sup> This could easily and naturally apply to landscape in the form of grassland with few or no trees, as we also do in English (‘bald hills’ etc).<sup>15</sup> In the light of my discussion below – where I examine the geographical credentials of ‘bald’ and ‘water’ in the light of the name’s location – this interpretation is almost certainly the correct one: *Yarna-kauwingga*, ‘bald water-place’.

This means that its pronunciation will follow the sense of the contracted word; it is *Yarn’-auwingga*, not *Yarnau-wingga*.<sup>16</sup>

## WHERE WAS ‘POOL’S FLAT’?

In locating this name at a place called “Pool’s Flat”, Lucy Webb used as her reference point the old local name “**Third Valley**”. This geographical locator refers back to Colonel Light in 1836 as he moved northward up the Gulf St Vincent on his initial reconnaissance: his ‘first valley’ was Rapid Bay, and the ‘second’ was Second Valley, named more or less accidentally by retention of a phrase in his journal instead of ‘Finniss Valley’ which he intended.<sup>17</sup> The ‘third valley’ is clearly one of those around the Rivers Congeratinga and Anacotilla, the next major creeks north of Second Valley.

<sup>12</sup> *Tarndanya* was the name of a place in the Adelaide CBD south of the River Torrens [Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840]; it is now used in the gazetted Dual Name of ‘Victoria Square / *Tarntanyangga*’ (the same word with Locative added). As well as the contracted form, Ivaritji gave its full form, spelled by the interviewer as “Dundagunya” (*Advertiser* 8/12/1927: 13a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/47437642>).

<sup>13</sup> e.g. Narungga has ‘Coobowie’, ‘Moorowie’, ‘Pondalowie’, etc; Ngadjuri ‘Canowie’, ‘Caltowie’, ‘Terowie’, etc; Nukunu ‘Telowie’, ‘Warcowie’, ‘Tarcowie’, etc; Adnyamathanha ‘Italowie’, ‘Wepowie’, etc; see L Hercus & V Potezny 1999, ‘Finch versus Finch-water’, *Records of SA Museum* 31(2): 165-180. In Kurna language *awi/kawi* endings are less frequent but there are at least *Tuttokauwingga* (see PNS 5.03/08), *Itykauwingga* (see PNS 5.04.01/12) and ‘Mercowie’ at Crystal Brook. Note: In KWP’s New Spelling 2010 the sound-sequence *awi* is spelled *auwi* when it means ‘water’, in recognition that the spelling *kauwi* has been familiar to Kurna people for 30 years (from Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840).

<sup>14</sup> There is also *yarnka* ‘beard’; but this would be much more likely to give *Yarnk’auwingga* rather than the attested word.

<sup>15</sup> We have reason to believe that *yarna* was used by Kurna speakers to refer to the ‘park-like’ sparsely-wooded grasslands and bald hills from Adelaide south to Rapid Bay (see later).

<sup>16</sup> – just as the Victoria Square name would correctly be pronounced *Tarnd’-anyangga*, not *Tarnda-nyangga*.

<sup>17</sup> Light (Ed. David Elder) 1984, *William Light’s Brief Journal*: 64.

Webb introduced Third Valley as a **popular picnic spot** (which implies shelter), and then included within its ambit both 'Cutter Flat' and 'Pool's Flat'.

'**Cutter Flat**' was certainly at the joint mouth of the Congeratinga and Anacotilla Creeks, on Section 1588, the cove after which the suburb of Wirrina Cove was named in the 1990s, but today known officially as Marina St Vincent (thus obliterating the original Kurna names from view). Largely wetland until the Wirrina Resort developments from 1972 onward,<sup>18</sup> Cutter Flat was not a likely place to be "a great resort for picnic parties" on bullock drays. Before roads were built, it was fairly hard of access from the land. Any drays carrying picnic passengers would have to negotiate the narrow and steep-sided gorge in which the Anacotilla runs its last kilometre down to join the Congeratinga on the beach flat;<sup>19</sup> and they would find it harder still on the steep approaches almost everywhere else.

We can say, then, that for Webb **the 'Third Valley' of the picnics** was almost certainly a little further inland: the real 'flat' immediately above the gorge and centred around the lowest land of the Anacotilla River. This is a small self-contained creek basin, sheltered on all sides, "almost an amphitheatre",<sup>20</sup> about 0.8 km long and 0.4 km wide at the widest. Almost all of it is on the western third of Section **1595**, with small adjacent slivers of **1589** and **1596** at the northern end. It is now occupied by the Wirrina Recreation area and caravan park, and includes the old Walsh homestead, presumably built after 1885.<sup>21</sup> Southward the ground rises towards another old homestead 'Anacotilla', and the Main South Road.

### Where then was the 'Pool's Flat' which according to Webb was *Yarnauwingga*?

She says it was 'about a quarter of a mile' (c.400 metres) from Cutter Flat. Taken literally, this can only mean the higher ground immediately above Seaview Avenue and the gorge, on the southern part of Section **1588**. Perhaps by extension it might include the whole area of similar sloping high ground occupied now by the Wirrina Golf Course (adding **1587** and part of **1589**). But it is impossible to call this area a 'flat'; and in fact there is no other area within the quarter-mile which answers to the label.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>18</sup> "An unspoilt land: The beach area on the property whilst limited in size was found to be entirely private and secluded. It was what could perhaps be termed as scenically interesting and attractive but lacking in sand. The Directors felt that the value and effectiveness of their beach frontage could be substantially improved by creating additional sand, swimming facilities and a boat haven" (LJ Reinschmidt, (compiler) and Holiday Village Co-operative Ltd., n.d. [1979], *The Wirrina Story*, Adelaide, Holiday Village Co-operative: 9. The original extent of the sand, and the river mouth, can be seen in a photograph on the same page).

<sup>19</sup> Paradise Drive now uses this gorge as the final approach to the Marina.

<sup>20</sup> Reinschmidt 1979: 9.

<sup>21</sup> For Walsh and his homestead see Appendix 3 'Some Settlers' at the end of this essay.

<sup>22</sup> One spot a quarter-mile inland from Cutter Flat might *conceivably* be called a 'flat': the very small basin between two gorges of the Congeratinga, located mainly on Section 1579 and now underneath Wirrina Reservoir (a manmade lake constructed by the developers of the resort). This location is one of the guesses made by local resident Sophie Green (see Appendix 5). But even if this basin is sufficiently flat, it is very small (300 metres long). Could it count as the Poole's Flat by which the location of surrounding properties was identified in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century? Conceivably, in theory; but it is too small to be the picnickers 'Third Valley', and is therefore not the Pool's Flat of Webb.



We might easily guess that the original ‘Pool’s Flat’ was the nearby picnic place, the low flat of ‘Third Valley’ above the gorge. But is this usage confirmed or questioned by 19<sup>th</sup>-century settler records? Who was said to live at ‘Poole’s Flat’, and where exactly was their property?

Strangely, my research so far<sup>23</sup> does not show *any* local name attached unequivocally to the core Section **1595** until very late (1921). Instead, until the 1880s the name ‘Poole’s Flat’ is attached exclusively to higher ground half a km and more west of 1595: Sections **1587**, **1588** and **1589** (containing the golf course, Cutter Flat and coastal cliffs), and **1579** (containing the bulk of Wirrina Reservoir and the western edge of Cutter Flat).<sup>24</sup>

Moreover, in at least two records Section **1587** was referred to by a different name, **Bishop’s Flat**.<sup>25</sup> We are therefore also obliged to ask “what was this ‘Bishop’s Flat’”?

South and southwest of Third Valley is a 2.5-km stretch of gently rolling hills, higher than that basin but lower than the ranges south and east, and distinct enough to attract a local name: **‘Bishop’s Flat’**. Being right on the main road south, it functioned better than Poole’s as a landmark and locator for travelling outsiders, and so could sometimes take in other nearby blocks by association, such as Walsh’s 1587 which would more accurately be associated with Poole’s Flat.

Even a considerable excursion into old Directories and Certificates of Title<sup>26</sup> fails to establish conclusively that ‘Poole’s Flat’ originally referred to the actual flat in Section **1595**. Yet this still seems a fair guess in view of the hilly topography surrounding it.<sup>27</sup>

Analysis of the landscape in relation to the Kaurna name (see next sections below) may help to confirm at least that the place-name *Yarnauwingga* makes good sense with *both* usages of the name ‘Poole’s Flat’: the flat and the small ‘district’.

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<sup>23</sup> See Appendix 3 ‘Some Settlers’ at the end of this essay.

<sup>24</sup> Should we add Tindale’s ruminations here? The notes about “*Jarno`ninga / Pool Flat*” on his annotated map AA 338/24/101 are written across Sections **1590**, **1591**, and **1595**. On a place-name card he wrote, “*camps on Pool Flat at Sections 1591 & 1592*” (Tindale Kaurna place-name card [491] ‘Jarnonin’). But I do not consider these to be real evidence. Tindale was merely jotting down what he found in Webb’s newspaper article, and guessing loosely at its location; e.g. 1592 is 1 km away from the flat, on foothills of the range around the Main South Rd just south of ‘Anacotilla’ homestead; there is no likelihood or known evidence that this location was connected with the names or any camps.

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix 3 ‘Some Settlers’.

<sup>26</sup> See Appendix 3 ‘Some Settlers’.

<sup>27</sup> In Webb’s record, either her given distance of a quarter-mile is simply inaccurate (about 1/3 of the actual distance to the flat), or else she was referring to the wider ‘*district*’ of ‘Poole’s Flat’, which could be said to begin at the higher land of Section 1588 within that distance above Cutter Flat.

## WATER AROUND POOLE'S FLAT:

The name *Yarnauwingga* tells us that it was (or contained) a 'water place'.

The Resort developers in the 1970s – who bought all the Sections with which we are concerned, plus others adjacent – noted that their property contained “many” freshwater springs.<sup>28</sup>

Tindale noted in 1934 that there was good water available at what he called 'Pool Flat' on the mouth Section 1588 (I am calling this Cutter Flat for clarity), “slightly sweet but OK”.<sup>29</sup> According to Shirley Mulcahy in her 1992 walkers' guide, there are three “small springs which flow the year round” in the Anacotilla gorge beneath the bridges of Paradise Drive in last 360 metres before the road turns right onto the marina flat.<sup>30</sup> About 1 km away is the Tjirbuki spring on the foreshore below the cliffs on Section 1589. Any or all of these springs would have served a campsite located on Cutter Flat, which is the location remembered by Karlowan when telling his version of the Tjirbuki story.<sup>31</sup>

The main Anacotilla River flat on Section 1595 no doubt contained significant waterholes, including whichever of them prompted Walsh to build his homestead near the river bank 150 metres south of the Recreation area. There were almost certainly others where the three or four tiny tributaries joined the main stream at intervals along this reach,<sup>32</sup> and another at the larger confluence near the old ford at the boundary of 1594. More homework on the geology and hydrology of the area could probably pinpoint these.

The area seems to have been well endowed also with important resources such as reeds. There is still a place of reeds north of the caravan park, and Mulcahy marks another two of them in the hills to the northeast.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> LJ Reinschmidt (compiler) and Holiday Village Co-operative Ltd., n.d. [?1979], *The Wirrina Story*, Adelaide, Holiday Village Co-operative: 9.

<sup>29</sup> Tindale 1934, 'Journal of Excavations at Second Valley S.A March-April 1934', AA 338/1/11: 7.

<sup>30</sup> Shirley Mulcahy 1992, *Southern Fleurieu Historic Walks: Tjirbruke Country*, Somerton Park, the author: 48; cp. map p.46.

<sup>31</sup> See PNS 5.02.02/03 Kunggaratingga (Second Valley).

<sup>32</sup> These watercourses are now all dammed.

<sup>33</sup> Mulcahy 1992, maps p.46, 50.

## BALDNESS AROUND POOLE'S FLAT:

The name *Yarnauwingga* also tells us that it was (or contained) a 'bald place'. The bald hills today are one of the majestic glories of this coastal country. Was it always so?

There have been many enthusiasts for revegetation of this district, including Garnet Kelly of 'Anacotilla' farm who in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century left a bequest for the purpose.<sup>34</sup> Even more boldly enthusiastic have been the developers of Wirrina Resort. In 1972 the precursor Holiday Village Co-operative found that their newly-acquired land "was lacking somewhat in trees on certain areas" but other areas had "some very mature gums"; the creek was already "lined with large gums". Their process of "transformation" began in 1973 with the planting of an initial 43,000 trees – "gums, wattles, native pines and myrtles" – on "the slopes"; this was "to re-landscape the denuded hills which in previous years had been cleared for grazing".<sup>35</sup> The result today is a curious and unsubtle patchwork. A mere glance at a GoogleEarth image shows that the trees at Wirrina form an isolated pattern of very obviously man-made stripes on the golf course, and neat rows on the slopes north of the caravan park, surrounded by kilometres of bald grassy hills in every direction.<sup>36</sup>

Naturally there are, were then, and probably had been for centuries, denser patches of trees along the creek gullies, notably at the southern end of the flat, where two tributaries of the Anacotilla meet as they emerge from the foothills.<sup>37</sup> But how correct were the developers in claiming that the *hills* here – by implication all of them – had been denuded by clearing and/or overgrazing?

Of course the settlers here did clear for farming at times. But the earliest records do not encourage us to believe that what they cleared in this area was predominantly thick forest or even moderate woodland. The first Europeans who observed the country from Rapid Bay to Adelaide remarked with wonder that it had the appearance a gentleman's park: that is, isolated large trees separated by stretches of grassland without underbrush or scrub.

On 1<sup>st</sup> April 1802, returning to Kangaroo Island from his survey of the Gulf, Matthew Flinders came within half a mile of the coast from Rapid Bay southward, and wrote that it was utterly different from the opposite lowland of Yorke Peninsula:<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Roy F Williams 1986/1991, *To Find the Way: Yankalilla and District 1836-1986* (3<sup>rd</sup> printing with update 1991), Yankalilla & District Historical Society Inc: 131, 133; and more in <https://yarnauwi.com/anacotilla-history-hearsay/>.

<sup>35</sup> Reinschmidt 1979: 9, 15.

<sup>36</sup> See Map 2 on p.32 of this essay. I am not suggesting that the grass on today's bald hills is the *same kind* of grass as in 1836, which of course was entirely native. Species such as kangaroo grass were largely wiped out by European crops and pastures (see Gammage and Pascoe, below).

<sup>37</sup> There is a photograph of this spot taken about 1900: 'Bridge over a river surrounded by gum trees', B 74686 SLSA, <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+74686>. The view was probably taken at the creek junction near the bottom of the slope of what is now Paradise Drive.

<sup>38</sup> Matthew Flinders journal on HMS 'Investigator', vol. 1, 1801-1802: 419, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, <http://acms.sl.nsw.gov.au/transcript/2014/D16613/a055.html>.

*The land which we approached so near to, this afternoon, has a pleasant appearance, being grassy hills of a gentle ascent with clumps of trees interspersed, but from analogy, I judge it to be rather barren than fertile. The shore is somewhat cliffy and not so low as usual.*

On 17 September 1836 Colonel Light walked from Second Valley to Lady Bay, then wrote this in his journal:<sup>39</sup>

*On joining my shipmates on the rising ground above,<sup>40</sup> we beheld a valley three times as extensive as the last,<sup>41</sup> and equally rich in soil; there is abundance of wood all the way, yet not so thick but that agriculture might be pursued without the trouble of clearing. From this we walked to Yankalilla, over undulating ground of good quality, and wooded in the same manner as before mentioned,<sup>42</sup> passing several little runs of water which are dry in summer, sometimes edging our way down to the sea – at others, bending inland, mounting and descending as the ground presented itself.*

Light was saying that on the land around the intermittent creeks Congeratinga and Anacotilla and Little Gorge, the trees were abundant enough for the needs of settlers, but so few that they would not require clearing even for *agriculture*.<sup>43</sup> This landscape was the result of many centuries of scientific fire management by the Aboriginal owners, maximizing its potential as the foundation for human living, but in careful collaboration with the pre-existing nature of the soil and terrain of each locality. With this in mind, Bill Gammage has examined the ‘park-like’ landscapes shown in early paintings from Adelaide southward to Rapid Bay, as part of his wider research across the whole continent.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, SA Government studies show that much of the country around Wirrina has thin soil over hard rock; notably for our purposes, this includes the entire golf course and hotel upland.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>39</sup> David Elder (ed.) 1984, *William Light's Brief Journal*: 64. Cp. Light's chart 3/11/1836, and its inset sketch 'The Coast as seen from [anchorage] at Yanky-lilly': both of which show light tree-cover on top of cliffs around Wirrina Cove down to Second Valley, and light shrub patches on cliffs.

<sup>40</sup> i.e. above the inlet at Second Valley.

<sup>41</sup> i.e. Rapid Bay.

<sup>42</sup> i.e. in the same way as he had just described at Second Valley.

<sup>43</sup> He does not say 'for stock'. Crops require more clearing than animal pastures.

<sup>44</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; cp. Gammage 2011, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: how Aborigines made Australia*, Allen & Unwin; also Bruce Pascoe 2014, *Dark Emu*, Broome, Magabala Books.

<sup>45</sup> The SA government soil map shows three patches with less than 10 cm of soil over 'hard rock'. One of them coincides with most of the golf course and much of Section 1591 west of Paradise Drive, with a strip extending to the coast on 1579; another extends east from 'Anacotilla' homestead across 1593 and 1598; and the other is on 1592 and 1584 south of the homestead (see map 'Depth to Hard Rock' [showing Wirrina region] and document p.34 'Map Legend Categories for Land and Soil Attributes', in Soil and Land Program, Adelaide & Mt Lofty Ranges natural Resource Management Board, Department of Water, Land and Environment, [c.2015] (supplied to me by Joel Catchlove and Sophie Green). More generally, it seems certain that many hills on the whole Fleurieu Gulf coast were always bald partly because of their thin soil overlying ironstone; e.g. around the Willunga slate quarries (Darrell Kraehenbuehl p.c. 1/4/2010). Governor Gawler made similar observations when surveying on the Fleurieu in December 1838: "The surface above the slate is *always grassy*; extensive sheep pastures are upon it" (his emphasis; *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 18/1/1839: 2a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31750366/2052597>).

There is more work to be done before we can be sure in detail which were the *yarna* parts of the *Yarnauwingga* area, and how extensive. In 1836 there were probably rather more trees behind the cliffs than now, and there was certainly plenty of forest on the high ranges. But it is very doubtful how much real forest there was near these coastal cliffs. The name itself is evidence that significant parts of the area were 'bald or naked'; and we also know that *Yarnauwingga* was part of a much larger landscape of managed 'baldness'; it was called *Yarna*. One of the cultural nuggets which Ivaritji of the 'Adelaide tribe' gave to Tindale was "a general place name" *Yarna* which (she said) referred to the "Adelaide Plain".<sup>46</sup> Around 1839 the well-known leader Mulla Wirraburka ('King John') composed a song which applied the same name "*watte-yernaurlu ngaityo*" (NSp. *wartiyarnaurlu ngaityu*) "throughout my bald [thing, place], his own bald country,"<sup>47</sup> which was south of Adelaide as far as the Sellicks foothills and the Myponga valley.<sup>48</sup> There can be little doubt that any 'bald' country further south would also have been called *Yarna* in general terms.

Thus it seems very likely that there was more baldness on the higher ground, perhaps especially around the northern reaches of the Valley towards the cliffs. Is there any evidence for original trees of any great size on those amphitheatre slopes? In the whole wider Wirrina area on the inland slopes of the coastal cliffs (as opposed to the valley slopes further inland near the main road), the SA Department of Environment's website – apparently doubtful even of the valley trees within Wirrina – shows only four small patches of remnant native vegetation. Three are low shrubs of Sheoak and Coastal Daisy Bush, and there is one small patch of low Pink Gum woodland behind the cliffs around a creek halfway to Little Gorge.<sup>49</sup> Others may be able to discover how typical widespread these were in the area – remembering that what *can* grow there is not the same as what was *actually* there in 1836 under Aboriginal management.

*Yarnauwingga* is the only known case where the general term *yarna* was incorporated into a local site name. What made the baldness around Third Valley so noteworthy?

Perhaps it was an unusually rich conjunction of virtues at this place: many springs in a number of locations useful for different kinds of campsites; a large number of lookout sites nearby; wetland resources and fishing; and higher country adjacent, some of it not steep but gently rolling, almost level – very suitable for approaches, meetings and the associated warrior challenges and ceremonies.<sup>50</sup> But in particular it must refer to the combination of much water in a sheltered valley

<sup>46</sup> For much more about all this, see PNS 1/01 Yarna. We do not have Tindale's original notes for this item, but only his late note about it on three place-name cards. However, it is consonant with early evidence from Wyatt and from Teichelmann & Schürmann.

<sup>47</sup> Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840, 2:73. Here "yerna" = *yarna*.

<sup>48</sup> See PNS 5.01/05 Maitpangga.

<sup>49</sup> SA Dept of Environment, Planning & Transport, NatureMaps, <http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps>. To find this information, use the menu 'Layers'; choose Vegetation / SA Vegetation; some coloured areas will appear on the map; click on one of these; a new window 'Selected Feature Attributes' appears; click 'View Additional Details', and a sidebar shows a description of the plant community.

<sup>50</sup> In this regard, *Yarnauwingga* could be compared with the similar elevated ground at *Pirrangga*, a name which could mean 'place of challenge or anger', located very close to sheltered wells and campsites at Port Noarlunga (see PNS 4.02/01 Pirrangga and 4.02/02 Tayinparingga).

which was almost surrounded by at least three medium-sized areas of *notably* 'bald' land – on shallow soil over hard rock, as shown on the government soil map.<sup>51</sup>

.....

### ABORIGINAL OCCUPATION: MEETINGS? AND BATTLE(S):

For Aboriginal occupation and use of the *Yarnauwingga* area, I do not know any *archaeological* evidence apart from the famous cave in the cliffs nearby (called by Tindale 'Kongarati'), which was used for a burial and probably as a camp for fishing parties.<sup>52</sup>

There is very little *historical* evidence. All of it is late, and Lucy Webb's 'Yarnouinga' article of 1919 provides a substantial part of it:<sup>53</sup>

*Pool's Flat... was formerly a great meeting place of the blacks, where many battles were fought, and it was called by them "Yarnouinga." A lady told me that her sister and herself were living at this place, in \_\_54 [1854].<sup>54</sup> One day about a hundred blacks marched \_\_\_n [down] to the flat, and formed two lines. They \_\_a\_\_ed [started] throwing spears at each other, and used womeras with which to protect themselves. After a time one of the men came up to the house, and, looking round, said, "Where's your men?" One of the ladies replied, "They will be back soon." The black pointed to a keg and said, "What you got along that keg." "Nothing," answered the woman. He said, "Look, we been doing our practice; we going to fight the French; plenty blackfellow come round by-an'-by. You plenty keep your door shut; don't be frightened; we'll look after you; we're the English." The women locked the door and kept a loaded gun handy.*

It was clearly a local Gulf 'tribe' who told the lady's family about the place-name, since it is in Kurna language, not Ramindjeri. It seems clear that the warriors of the story, presumably members of the same tribe, were on good terms with her people – 'we'll look after you' – even if their knowledge of material culture such as shields or spear-throwers was shaky.<sup>55</sup>

Some of these 'blacks' were intelligent citizens of the colony. This whimsical warrior knew his colonists and their international politics well enough to make a cross-cultural 'translation' of the

<sup>51</sup> See the areas marked in red (= soil less than 10 cm over hard rock) on the map 'Depth to Hard Rock'; cp. 'Legend' on p.34.

<sup>52</sup> Tindale & Mountford 1936, 'Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave', *Records of SA Museum* 5(4): 496, 502. I touch on 'Kongarati' Cave a little in PNS 5.02.02/03 Kunggaratingga.

<sup>53</sup> *Register* 1/5/1919: 9h, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62200675>.

<sup>54</sup> The date is only partly legible, because all available copies have a faint patch around it. But a careful examination of it, and comparison with digits in other parts of the same issue, make it almost certain that the true reading is "1854" (see data files in the password-protected 'Complete' version of this essay).

<sup>55</sup> 'Womera' was a word imported from the eastern states by settlers. It correctly referred to spear-throwers (Kurna *midla*), not shields (Kurna *wakaldi* or *murlabaka*).



conflict for their benefit, referring to the long wars of the English against Napoleonic France which had happened at least 30 years earlier but were still vivid in colonial memory.

The given date 1854 is unlikely to be the date of the incident itself. The only two sisters I can find so far who 'were living in this place in 1854' are Mary and Ellen Walsh (the first two daughters of Richard Welsh or Walsh), who would then have been 5 and 3 years old respectively.<sup>56</sup> It is much more likely that this is the date when they came there to live, though Webb may have misunderstood this. Walsh was probably living in Adelaide until he bought Section 1587 in 1853,<sup>57</sup> and it is very likely that he would not have brought his wife and two little daughters to live on this remote block until a year later. If so, when did the lady's tale happen? If she was from the Walsh family, we know that there were four daughters, and two of them (Johanna and Ann) were still unmarried and living at home on the same Section from 1875-1880.<sup>58</sup>

We are not told here who 'the French' were, nor whether the predicted battle actually happened. Perhaps not: if there was a major battle there that day, it would be remarkable that either the old lady did not mention it in her reminiscence, or if she did, that Webb failed to include it. So what, where and when was this seriously-intended fight? It could not have been in Adelaide. Even the early date 1854 is ten years too late for the last of the recorded battles in Adelaide, in which southern groups travelled north to join the Adelaide tribe in fighting invaders from Moorunde on the Murray.<sup>59</sup>

Webb introduces her story with two generalizations about frequent Aboriginal use of the site: "This was a great meeting place... where many battles were fought". Were these claims founded on actual statements from the 'lady' or other old residents, or was she merely using artistic license to amplify her material? In three subsequent newspaper articles Webb reproduced these generalizations without the accompanying story.<sup>60</sup> Versions of these have in turn been reproduced in GH Manning's well-known place-names work.<sup>61</sup> But I have found no other direct evidence for meetings, and evidence for only one battle or possibly two.

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix 4 'Who were the lady and her sister?'

<sup>57</sup> Or perhaps Walsh worked for a couple of years on someone else's property in the district "Second Valley", where Ellen is said to have been born (<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/158440263/ellen-clarke>).

<sup>58</sup> See Appendix 4.

<sup>59</sup> In the early 1840s, organized troops of warriors came from Encounter Bay and even the Lower Murray and Lakes, prepared in the southern Fleurieu, and walked north to fight alongside the Adelaide tribe against invaders from the Blanchetown area. For earlier summaries of the conflict between the 'Moorunde' and Adelaide tribes in the 1840s, see Robert Foster 1990, 'The Aborigines Location in Adelaide', *J.Anthrop.Soc.SA* 28(1): 26-7; and Tom Gara 1998, 'Life and Times of Mullawirraburka', in J Simpson & L Hercus (ed), *History In Portraits*, Canberra: Aboriginal History Monograph 6: 116-8. See also my essay 'Captain Peter and the alleged battle at the Torrens' (in progress; to appear online soon).

<sup>60</sup> Lucy Webb 10/2/1923, 24/9/1924, 2/2/1928 (see above).

<sup>61</sup> GH Manning 1990, *Manning's Place Names of SA*, Adelaide, The Author: 252; Manning 2006, *Manning's Place Names of SA: From Aaron Creek to Zion Hill*: 348; Manning 2010, *The Place Names of Our Land*, Modbury, Gould Books: 682.



The country at *Yarnauwingga* certainly did lend itself to large meetings of diverse groups. It had abundant water; two or three sizable sheltered flat areas for separate camping; a combination of forested gullies, open space and a small wetland for hunting; a cove for fishing; plenty of lookouts; and higher ground almost level for fights or corroborees. More archaeological evidence is unlikely since the big Resort development; but there are a few small bits of historical evidence more specific than Webb, and perhaps more will appear. A few other late settler memories very briefly touch on Aboriginal conflicts in post-contact times in the region from Rapid Bay to Wirrina. *If* these brief outsider accounts are trustworthy and not exaggerated, the confrontation seems to have been unusually bloody, with many fatalities.

While Tindale and Rev. NH Louwyck were preparing for the archaeological investigation of 'Kongarati' cave in 1934, they collected snippets of assorted information about the area from old residents of southern Fleurieu. Louwyck typed up some of his finds and they are pasted into Tindale's journal.<sup>62</sup>

*From Mr. George Roper.*<sup>63</sup>

*Mr. Roper remembers a great fight which took place in Second Valley<sup>64</sup> and the Encounter Bay tribe.<sup>65</sup> The Encounter's were driven into the sea and all were killed. King Tom was a very big man, well over six feet, and died suddenly in Second Valley. There is a cemetery along the beach at the Valley.<sup>66</sup>*

*Mr. O'Connor.*

*Burial ground on Leverington's ground.<sup>67</sup> The natives were only in summer at Poole's flat. Some are buried in the Cave on the right hand side.<sup>68</sup> ... The old man was not very clear about his facts.*

*Mr. Alf Bennett says that King Sam and his wife Lizzie are buried in the Bullaparinga cemetery where more are buried. Sam was the King of the Rapid bay mob.*

<sup>62</sup> Tindale 1934, 'Journal of Excavations at Second Valley S.A March-April 1934': [4], SA Museum AA 338/1/11. At that time Louwyck was curator of Christ Church, Yankalilla.

<sup>63</sup> George Roper seems to have been Harbor-master of Second Valley, and father of "Mr. F. Roper of Second Valley", one of Louwyck's parishioners (Louwyck to Tindale 13/3/1934, in AA 338/1/11: 3).

<sup>64</sup> Here 'Second Valley' could refer to either the official valley of that name, or to nearby areas such as Poole's Flat.

<sup>65</sup> Grammar sic: the adversaries of 'the Encounters' are omitted. Presumably they were the locals: the 'Rapid Bay' or 'Second Valley' tribe.

<sup>66</sup> A burial ground 'along the beach' seems very unlikely at Second Valley proper, since the beach there is rocky and tidal. Cutter Flat is much more likely.

<sup>67</sup> Probably Section 1582 in the foothills around 'Yaringa homestead.

<sup>68</sup> This is probably not a garbled reference to the Kongarati Cave burial, which was not discovered until several days after this note was written on 26 April 1934.



*The battle of Second Valley took place at the present bridge in the Valley.*<sup>69</sup>

*Mrs. Lovelock, Sen. Says that the name of the Second Valley king was Sam. She is quite certain of that. Many were buried in Poole's Flat, in the sand, she says.*

Other local memory or folklore seems to assert that the one famous battle was at Rapid Bay; but opinions vary about who won it. An old resident of Second Valley, Bernie Williss, volunteered information in a letter to the *Victor Harbor Times* in 1968:<sup>70</sup>

*Burial Ground at Rapid Bay...*

*A legend that was handed down by the last surviving aborigine of this district, known as King Larry,... 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 Donny-brook took place... 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.*<sup>71</sup>

But Williss's account is very late, second- or third-hand, and does not identify his sources. Was 'Larry' an inaccurate memory of 'Sam'?

In successive re-writings by local historians – paraphrasing each other with Williss presumably as the original source – a victory of Gulf locals at Rapid Bay or 'Second Valley' has been transformed into a loss. 'All the *Encounters* were killed' (Draper); 'most of the *local* tribe were killed' (Blum).<sup>72</sup> Or

<sup>69</sup> Again 'Second Valley' here might mean the officially-named valley or the general area. Both in Second valley proper ('Finniss Vale') and in 'Third Valley'/Wirrina, there is an old 'bridge in the valley' located in an open flat suitable for battles. But in this note the distinction between 'Second Valley' and 'Poole's Flat' favours the former.

<sup>70</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>71</sup> For more commentary on this record see PNS 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga. 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 "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>72</sup> Local historians Mulcahy and Blum both write of a battle at Rapid Bay in which it seems to be the locals who *lost* and are buried there. Mulcahy writes: "The area near the foreshore where the pine trees are planted was the scene of a fierce battle between the Kurnas and the Ramindjeris of Encounter Bay over a woman. Many Kurnas died and are buried here in the customary sitting position" (Shirley Mulcahy 1992, *Southern Fleurieu Historic Walks: Tjirbruke Country*, Somerton Park, the author: 19). According to Blum, "Fighting with the neighbouring tribes, for one reason or another, was common. One such incident occurred when a woman from the Encounter Bay tribe ran off with a man from the local

perhaps there were two different battles, one at ‘Second Valley’ and another at Rapid Bay. As for who ‘won’ any of them, the spin might vary according to the viewpoint.

These records from Webb to Blum, with their generalizing paraphrases, have contributed to a recurrent claim that there was ‘chronic enmity’ between the southern Fleurieu clans and the ‘Encounter Bay tribe’. Local historian Jean Schmaal, preparing her account of ‘Aboriginal Peoples of South Australia’, annotated a draft thus: “Chronic enemies of Raminyeris / Mr Berine [*sic*] Willis / \* Also burials at Rapid Bay”.<sup>73</sup> Her phrase ‘chronic enmity’ seems to have descended *verbatim* from Tindale’s contemporary, the Adelaide ethnologist Walter Howchin, author of a widely-circulated essay on the ‘Adelaide tribe’. His original claim about Encounter Bay and Adelaide has often been merged into a second general claim about Encounter Bay and the southern Fleurieu, based apparently on a dubious interpretation of Willis. Both claims have a very limited historical basis, but Tindale perpetuated them in his most well-known publication.<sup>74</sup>

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*Kurna tribe. The Ramindjeri natives gave chase and caught up with the Kurna natives at Rapid Bay where a fight ensued. Unfortunately most of the local tribe were killed and were buried there with their bodies in the customary sitting position”* (Ron Blum 2002, *The Second Valley: a History of Second Valley, South Australia, Second Edition*, Adelaide, Ron Blum: 118).

<sup>73</sup> Jean Schmaal n.d. [?1980s], annotated typescript ‘Yankalilla’, archive CD #16 (part of series #15-19), Yankalilla & District Historical Association. Her later versions of this item are found in #7 and #9 (in series #1-23 ‘Aboriginal Peoples of SA’).

<sup>74</sup> Howchin wrote of “*the chronic enmity that existed between the Narrinyeri and the Adelaide Tribes*”, while “*a fraternal relationship existed between the Adelaide section and similar small groups that were located along the coast, possessing centres at the mouth of the Onkaparinga, at Willunga, and Aldinga, and along the mallee coastal plains to the north of Adelaide. These respective groups may be considered as practically included within the so-called Adelaide Tribe*” (Walter Howchin 1934, *The stone implements of the Adelaide tribe of Aborigines now extinct*, Adelaide, Gillingham: 4). But here he ignores the Fleurieu, and gives no historical evidence for either the ‘chronic enmity’ with the Narrinyeri (which I doubt) or the ‘fraternity’ reaching north of Adelaide (which *may* have been so, depending on how far north; but see my contact history *Feet On the Fleurieu* [in progress 2019], Chapter 3, on limited and wary pre-colonial contact between the southern Fleurieu and Adelaide).

But there is little evidence for Howchin’s original claim, and much to question its relevance to the Fleurieu peoples, who intermarried with the Encounter Bay clans (see e.g. S Newland 1926, *Memoirs of Simpson Newland CMG*, Adelaide, Preece & Sons: 32).

Tindale wrote that the Encounter Bay people were long-standing enemies of the ‘Kurna tribe’, who were “*their feared and hated northern neighbours*” (Tindale 1974, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*: 133). He cites no source for the claim of enmity, and it is hard to know where he got the idea; perhaps he imbibed it from Howchin. It does not match what he published elsewhere about the peaceful marriage relationships between the southern Gulf coast (which Tindale described as ‘Kurna’) and the Encounter Bay-Coorong area, as described by Milerum in commenting on two songs (see below); and a decade after *Tribes* Tindale described many peaceful links between all three groups in his work on place-names and the Tjilbruki story. In the 1974 passage above he adds that the Ramindjeri disparaged the Kurna language with a play on words as “*Kunawar:a*” (‘shit speech’); but this phrase is a hybrid of Kurna and Ramindjeri, and in the absence of a source I suspect this too of being either his own armchair speculation or possibly a response of one of his Ngarrindjeri informants to him asking about the word ‘Kurna’.

Tindale’s very influential 1974 book refers to this ‘enmity’ several times. For example: “*The Kurna were the southernmost of the circumcising peoples and were considered as dangerous strangers in the country further east*”, so that communication with eastern groups happened only when the Kurna ran out of fire, because the easterners had superior technology for making fire. He then adds: “*but the loss of fire was so frequent an event that necessity made for appearances of friendship. Thus there was a spasmodic pattern of intertribal exchange between the Kurna and the noncircumcising tribes of the Murray valley whose languages were also different. So far as memory goes it never led to any exchange of women or other close links except in one instance. A man of the Tanganekald named [Kaltanaruru] married a woman from Cape Jervis, the southernmost horde of the Kurna...*” (Tindale 1974: 73-4). Yet Tindale himself had reported another example of such intermarriage, Keinindjeri of Goolwa and his brother’s Rapid Bay wife (cp. ‘Keinindjeri’ and ‘Swallow’, both in Tindale 1941, ‘Native Songs of the SE of SA, Part 2’, *Transactions of the Royal Society of SA* 65(2): 241-3). Tindale’s *Tribes* often speaks at a high level of theory to prove an ecological model. In these

How serious was the remembered conflict between Encounter Bay and ‘Second Valley’, and how frequent? To answer this will require more work in archives, oral history and archaeology.

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## WHERE EXACTLY WAS YARNAUWINGGA?

In the light of all these clues, *Yarnauwingga* may have been the name of a particular site in the vicinity; or of Third Valley; or of the whole Poole’s Flat district; or perhaps it referred to more even than that, incorporating all the local *yarna* and *kauwi* sites as a package, including the many ‘lookout’ heights nearby, desirable for a place of meeting and potential conflict, the north part of Bishop’s Flat around ‘Anacotilla’ homestead, and also Cutter Flat and the campsite there – for Karlowan told Tindale that “About half a mile south” of Kongarati Cave “there is a small creek, which is also a camp”.<sup>75</sup>

The status of *Yarnauwingga* in a hierarchy of good sites around the Fleurieu is unclear for lack of information. In the 1840s it was said that Yankalilla and Rapid Bay were “favorite” campsites of the local and Encounter Bay peoples.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps those two places were used more for family living, and this one for more formal or bigger occasions, less likely to be observed by settlers. Or perhaps the difference was merely apparent, an accident arising from intermittent observation and variable desire to record.

In the current state of our data, we cannot be totally sure about many of these things, nor about this name’s relationship with ‘Congeratinga’ and ‘Anacotilla’ whose location may abut or even overlap *Yarnauwingga*.

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passages of it he *may* be referring to bad relations in the post-contact era between the Adelaide people and those of the Hills and the Murray River around Blanchetown, as were also recorded in the 1840s. But he generalizes this to include among the enemies of Adelaide the whole ‘Murray Valley’ bloc (including the ‘Ngarrindjeri’ speakers from Encounter Bay to the Coorong); and for this there is no reliable historical evidence, and much to contradict it. As Knight concluded at the end of his thesis, “I usually prefer Tindale unpublished to Tindale published” (James Knight 2003, *Testing Tindale Tribes*, Ph.D. archaeology thesis, University of New England: 505).

<sup>75</sup> See PNS 5.02.02/03 Kunggaratingga (Second Valley).

<sup>76</sup> George French Angas 1847, *South Australia Illustrated*, Plate 29 ‘The Gorge at Yankalillah’; Plate 39 ‘Rapid Bay, with an encampment of Yankalillah Blacks’. See also Angas original watercolour ‘Encounter Bay Women (Lubras) roasting Trochus, Yankalilla, 19 March 1844’, National Library of Australia R6414; this scene is actually at Rapid Bay (and my commentary in PNS 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga).

## APPENDIX 1:

### TINDALE, MANNING, AND 'YARNONING' THE 'TALKING PLACE':

In 1934 Tindale used the name 'Pool's Flat' for the cove at the mouth of the Congeratinga River.<sup>77</sup> But other records of his seem to follow Webb and then extend the term to anywhere within a couple of miles inland.

At an unknown time after his base map 'Hundred of Yankalilla' was printed in 1929, Tindale entered on it a note which is clearly derived from Webb's last published Pool's Flat paragraph (1928):

"Jarno`ningga / meeting place of Kaurna & Ramindjeri tribes / Pool Flat".<sup>78</sup>

The name is crowded against printed information around and below it, so that the last three letters 'nga' are rather obscure. In the 1980s – which could have been 50 years later, or more – when Tindale was compiling index cards for his massive and unfinished Gazetteer of place-names, he mis-read his own note:<sup>79</sup>

`Jarnonij [sic]                                      Kaurna Tr.

Camps on Pool Flat at Sections 1591 & 1592 where intertribal meetings of Kaurna and Ramindjeri took place.

Tindale ms.

As I noted above in passing,<sup>80</sup> we can ignore the location of Pool's Flat as indicated in these two records.

When GH Manning wrote up 'Pool Flat' for his 1990 place-names publication, Tindale was his default source, to be understood as such when no source was cited.<sup>81</sup> Yet though Manning had access to Tindale's cards, he did not reproduce the 'Yarnoning' error. It seems he had access to Tindale in person; for he gives a new version and etymology which could only have come from the great 'authority': "Pool Flat... It was a great meeting place for Aborigines and the scene of many battles. They knew it as *yarnuinga* – 'talking place'. The Kaurna and Ramindjeri people met there to barter red ochre from Ochre Point".<sup>82</sup>

There are three new items here:

1. The spelling "yarnuinga":

Where did it come from? Presumably Tindale by 1989-90 had reconsidered his "Jarno`ningga" and "Jarnonij". Had he discovered Webb 1919 and interpreted her spelling 'ou' as the sound *u*?

<sup>77</sup> See above.

<sup>78</sup> Tindale annotated map Hd Yankalilla AA 338/24/101. "Jarno`ningga" in Tindale's spelling = *Yarnoningga*. A majority of annotations on this map come from Milerum and Karlowan, as credited at the bottom; but this one clearly does not, as it simply re-spells Webb's 1928 version "Yarnoninga" and paraphrases her information. This is confirmed by the presence in his papers of a clipping of her 1928 article, annotated "Register 2.2.1928" (in Tindale 'Notes on the Kaurna... Supplementary Papers' AA338/2/68).

<sup>79</sup> Tindale Kaurna place-name card [#491] in AA338/7/1/12.

<sup>80</sup> See section 'Where was Pool's Flat?.'

<sup>81</sup> "*When at variance with Professor N.B. Tindale his nomenclature was preferred*" (Manning 1990, *Manning's Place Names of SA*, Adelaide, The Author: 371).

<sup>82</sup> GH Manning 1990: 252.

2. The gloss “talking place”:

It also seems that Tindale now considered that this is what the word means. This etymology would make ‘yarnuinga’ (or ‘Yarnoninga’) an extremely unlikely hybrid of Kaurna and Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri languages, incorporating Ramindjeri *yarnin* = *yanun* ‘to talk’, and the Kaurna Locative *ngga*, leaving the sound *i* unexplained.<sup>83</sup> Unfortunately this casual and dubious etymology, un-argued, is all too typical of Tindale’s approach to the languages around Fleurieu Peninsula; he frequently writes as if they were the same language.

3. The bartering of ochre at this place:

Having adopted Webb’s generalization about a ‘great meeting place’, Tindale introduces an item from his other researches: they not only met here, but (he says) they met in order “to barter red ochre from Ochre Point”. While this may be plausible, it remains a guess; I do not know any piece of hard evidence of it actually happening at *Yarnauwingga*.

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**APPENDIX 2:**

**YARNAUWINGGA AND THE ‘YANAWING CAVE’:**

Des Gubbin and Rob Amery have both pointed out to me that the word *Yarnauwingga* is very similar to Tindale’s “Janawing” (= *Yanawing*,<sup>84</sup> a word from Milerum, which Tindale thought was the name of a cave in the cliffs near Cape Jervis where Tjilbruke left his nephew’s body).

This comparison now becomes even more powerful when we consider that the correct pronunciations of both have a stress on the second syllable: *Yarn-auwingga* (as analysed in this essay), and *Yan-awing* (as pronounced by Milerum in the audio recordings of his ‘Song of Nyengari’, in both sung and spoken versions of the words).<sup>85</sup>

Ngarrindjeri speakers would quite naturally drop the Kaurna final *a* to conform with the usages of their own language, where Locatives end with *ngk*, not with a vowel. Despite Tindale’s translations, there is in Ngarrindjeri language no known word ‘yanawing’, and no verb of similar sound that means ‘turn back’. It is far more likely that Tindale misunderstood what Milerum was saying. Moreover, Tindale’s unpublished papers reveal that Milerum did not actually say that this cave was the one where his ‘Tjelbruke’ deposited the

<sup>83</sup> The Kaurna verb ‘to talk’ is *wanggandi* (NSp. *wangkanthi*). In Kaurna language the new version would have to be *Yarnuilla* in order to follow the 3-syllable rule as described above.

<sup>84</sup> Tindale’s ‘j’ represents a consonantal *y* as in ‘you’: e.g. his “Njengari” = *Nyengari* (below).

<sup>85</sup> For more about all these matters, see PNS 5.04.02/01 Yanawing.

body; that was Tindale's guess, based not on Milerum's narrative but Karlowan's.<sup>86</sup> Milerum had spoken of this cave *only* in connection with the song which 'Nyengari' sang at nearby 'Watbardok'.<sup>87</sup>

Milerum's country was the Coorong, and the Gulf coast was for him foreign territory. These considerations cannot help but make us wonder whether he had confused the names of two notable places: on one hand *Yarnauwingga*, a well-known meeting place near a well-known cave sometimes used for fishing; on the other, a cave near "Watbardok", a well-known spot for net-fishing at the foot of the coastal cliffs.<sup>88</sup>

I do not suggest at all that the 'Kongarati' cave might have been the resting place of Tjirbuki's nephew; this is probably ruled out by the cave location details in Karlowan's narratives.<sup>89</sup> The search for Milerum's 'Warabari' cave and Karlowan's 'Nangarang' cave will continue.

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### APPENDIX 3:

#### SOME EARLY SETTLERS WHO LIVED AT 'POOLE'S FLAT' AND 'BISHOP'S FLAT' – a guide to locations:

'Pool's Flat' was given as the location of the family of **Richard Welsh or Walsh** in 1868,<sup>90</sup> after they had bought **Section 1587 in 1853**.<sup>91</sup> Richard's son James Joseph Walsh, and James' wife Mary, were described in **1921** as being 'of Pool's Flat';<sup>92</sup> and by then the Walsh property included the adjacent Sections **1589** and **1590** which Richard Welsh acquired in **1883**,<sup>93</sup> and **1595** in **1885**.<sup>94</sup> Portions of the lowland Section **1595** (presumably including the homestead) remained in Walsh hands until 1964.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Milerum's original narrative in 1934 has 'Tjelbruke' going to a cave 'Warabari' in the high hills. Only Karlowan's has 'Tjirbuki' returning along the coastal cliffs north from Cape Jervis (see PNS 5.01/06 Warabari-Sellicks and 5.04.02/04 Nangarang). In Tindale's draft of the Karlowan 1936 version, a footnote says, "According to Milerum there was a special cave called *Ja'narwing*, somewhere near Sec 59 which is *probably* the same one referred to in this legend. Karlowan had never been there himself so the description is necessarily vague" (Tindale 'Notes on the Kaurna, Yorke Peninsula and the Middle North', AA 338/1/35: 85; my emphasis).

<sup>87</sup> Tindale 1941, 'Native Songs of the SE of SA, Part 2', *Transactions of the Royal Society of SA* 65(2): 235, online via <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/16197#/summary>.

<sup>88</sup> See also PNS 5.04.02/02 Warpardung.

<sup>89</sup> Tindale & Mountford 1936: 500-1; Berndt & Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*: 234-5. The issue has been muddled by Berndt's record that Karlowan identified Tjirbuki's exit cave as "Konggaratingga" at Blowhole Creek on the south coast. There the name must be a confusion, probably arising from Tindale's introduction of 'Kongarati Cave' into discussions with Karlowan about his narrative a few years earlier (see PNS 7.01/06 Konggaratingga-Blowhole).

<sup>90</sup> *SA Register* 24/8/1868: 3d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/41400949.3#>).

<sup>91</sup> See Certificate of Title [CT] 424/47.

<sup>92</sup> *Express and Telegraph* 6/4/1921: 2a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/210645735/23143127>. In this report, "the late Mr Walsh" must be James Joseph Walsh who died in 1906; his wife "Mrs. M" was Mary Teresa nee Baker (RF Williams 1986/1991: 300).

<sup>93</sup> CT 424/47.





*Summary: Beginning from Section 1587 (the bulk of the golf course), the Walshes came to own the land of the entire golf course; the Wirrina development on 1590 between this and Paradise Drive; a stretch of coast on 1589 east of Cutter Flat; and (32 years after arriving in the district) also the core Third Valley flat around the Walsh homestead, which survives next to the river.*

'Pool's Flat' was given as the location of the **Newbold** family in the late **1860s**: "John Newbold, Jun." lived at Pool's Flat near Walsh.<sup>96</sup> So did William Newbold.<sup>97</sup> Between **1858 and 1863\*** William had bought section **1579**.<sup>98</sup> John Newbold bought **1588** between **1863-8**<sup>99\*</sup> and between **1868-73** acquired **1579**.<sup>100\*</sup> Richard Walsh bought **1579**<sup>101\*</sup> and **1588**<sup>102\*</sup> between **1881-4**.<sup>103</sup>

*Summary: 1579 and 1588 are the very steep coastal sections immediately north and northwest of Walsh's 1587; they contain Cutter Flat, the mouth of the Congeratinga, Wirrina Reservoir and most of the housing development on the NW corner of Wirrina Resort.*

'Pool's Flat' was given as the location of several families whose Sections I have not been able to find: William McConkey,<sup>104</sup> Robert Harrison and John Proctor.<sup>105</sup> No doubt there are others.

### POOLE FLAT AND THE POOLSES:

According to one late and unverified source, the brothers **Thomas and James Poole** owned Sections **1579, 1580 and 1587**,<sup>106</sup> on the higher adjacent land of the Congeratinga. But Blum does not specify *when* they owned the blocks, and I have found no other evidence for it. All other records which I have seen agree that these Poole brothers lived in the 1860s and 1870s not near Poole Flat but "towards Bullaparinga",<sup>107</sup> on

<sup>94</sup> CT 473/134.

<sup>95</sup> CT 3239/66.

<sup>96</sup> SA Register 14/9/1867: 4b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/39188832.3>; Southern Argus 14/9/1867: 3, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/96869510/9480722>.

<sup>97</sup> Boothby, SA Almanac & Directory 1868: 105, <http://images.slsa.sa.gov.au/almanacsanddirectories/1868boothby/>.

<sup>98</sup> CT 35/48.

<sup>99</sup> CT 105/130.

<sup>100</sup> CT 67/63.

<sup>101</sup> CT 67/63.

<sup>102</sup> CT 105/130.

<sup>103</sup> SAILIS Historical Names search 1881-4.

<sup>104</sup> SA Almanac & Directory 1868: 105; cp. SA Register 24/8/1868: 3d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/41400949.3#>. Webb says that "In 1869 the McConkey family lived at Pool's flat", Register 24/9/1924 *ibid*, cp. Register 7/2/1928: 7b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/55068434.3>.

<sup>105</sup> Murray Almanac 1847: 85-6; Proctor also in Murray 1851: 198.

<sup>106</sup> Blum 2002, *The Second Valley: a History of Second Valley, South Australia, Second Edition*, Adelaide, Ron Blum: 18-19.

<sup>107</sup> Miss L. Webb, 'Some Old Families of Rapid Bay', Register 7/2/1928: 7a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/55068434.3>.

Section 1538 and adjacent, 5 km away on the other side of Second Valley.<sup>108</sup> Unless Blum's claim can be verified by Section numbers, it is unlikely that Poole's Flat was named after them.

In the 1840s there was a **surveyor James Poole** in the team which made the first survey of much of 'District D', including our core lowland Section **1595**, and also **1579**, **1588** and **1590**, i.e. most of the wider 'Poole's Flat district' Sections.<sup>109</sup> Was he the one whose name was given to this part of his surveys, for some unknown reason? This man could not be Thomas' brother, who probably did not arrive in SA until 1855.<sup>110</sup>

**By the 20<sup>th</sup> century** some outsiders (including Tindale) were referring to Webb's 'Cutter Flat' (the small flat at the mouth on Sections **1579** and **1588**) as Poole's Flat<sup>111</sup> – presumably because 'Cutter Flat' and 'Congeratinga' were names unfamiliar to them, while the Poole's Flat district was a better-known name close by. Or perhaps the Newbold property on these Sections had extended the name here.

*Overall summary: Thus for Poole's Flat as a generalized 'district' name in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we have an area which includes the entire Wirrina development on the higher ground, the Reservoir, and the area on both sides of the river mouth; but (strangely) not the Third Valley basin on 1595, except in a very late record as the abode of the Walsh family.*

As a further complication, at least one place in the middle of this 'Poole's Flat district' was sometimes referred to by another local name. Walsh's Section **1587** was described as '**Bishop's Flat**' at least twice, in the 1860s before he acquired the low-lying 1595.<sup>112</sup>

WHERE WAS 'BISHOP'S FLAT'? –

'**Bishop's Flat**' was given as the location of **John and Martha Shrives** from 1857;<sup>113</sup> likewise of John's brother **Thomas Shrives** in 1865.<sup>114</sup> A Mr Shrives was working land at Bishop's Flat **1863-5**.<sup>115</sup> John Shrives owned Section **1597** until 1863-4;<sup>116</sup> and Thomas Shrives acquired Section **1586** in 1867.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>108</sup> CTs 19/241, 19/242, 23/132, 142/109. Their home location was sometimes listed vaguely as 'Finniss Vale' or 'Second Valley' (Boothby *SA Almanac* 1865: 95,

<http://images.slsa.sa.gov.au/almanacsanddirectories/1865boothby/246/>).

<sup>109</sup> James Poole was appointed on 1 July 1840 ('Surveyors during the Year ending September 30, 1842', Enclosure 4 in No.86, 'Papers Relative to SA 1843', *BPP Aust7*: 295; also on p.361 "J. Poole" surveyed in Districts D & F). Cp. SA Geographical Names Unit History Books Vol. 16, folio 30: Fleurieu Peninsula Surveys: [1].

<sup>110</sup> A James Poole and his married sister Catherine Way arrived on the *Agincourt* in Dec 1855 (<http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/australia/agincourt1855.shtml> [10/5/19]; *SA Register* 5/12/1855: 2a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/49300418/4143870>).

<sup>111</sup> *Kapunda Herald* 8/1/1904: 5b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/108327988.3#>; also Tindale during his 1934 archaeological excursion to Kongarati Cave nearby (AA338/1/11 *passim*; explicitly "Pool Flat (Section 1588)" in Mountford & Tindale 1936: 493).

<sup>112</sup> Richard Walsh's daughter 'Ann Welsh' was born in 1860 at 'Bishop's Flat' (Australian Birth index via the genealogySA website). Richard was said to be at 'Bishop's Flat' in 1865 (Boothby *SA Almanac* 1865: 95, <http://images.slsa.sa.gov.au/almanacsanddirectories/1865boothby/246/>). As far as I know, in the 1860s Richard Welsh/Walsh owned only Section 1587 (see above).

**'Bishop's Flat'** was given as the location of **Angus Clarke and his brother Robert.**<sup>118</sup> Angus acquired Section **1597** from John Shrives in **1863-4.**<sup>119</sup>

*Summary: Section 1597 is on both sides of the main road immediately NE of 1594 (which includes the 'Anacotilla' homestead), on slightly higher and steeper land around the Anacotilla River's next reach upstream.*

*Section 1586 is on low rolling hills south of the Wirrina golf course (which is on Walsh's Section 1587).*

**'Bishop's Flat'** was given as the location of **Joseph Leverington** and his wife in the 1860s.<sup>120</sup> They had acquired Section **1582** in **1853.**<sup>121</sup>

*Summary: Section 1582 is in rolling hills on both sides of Main S Rd, around 'Yaringa' homestead about 1.5 km SW of the Wirrina/Anacotilla turnoff.*

**'Bishop's Flat'** was also given as the location of several families whose Sections I have not been able to find: William Comley jun., David Day, James Judge, and William Wiseman.<sup>122</sup>

*Overall summary: 'Bishop's Flat' seems to have been the local name for a loosely identifiable district covering the rather widely separated Sections 1597 in the north, 1586 in the west and 1582 in the south: an area considerably larger than the core Poole's Flat on 1595. While hardly any of the land on or between these Sections can strictly be described as 'flat', it is relatively flatter than its surroundings. Contour maps show it stretching about 2.5 km from 'Anacotilla' homestead to 'Yaringa' homestead, west of the main road where the land is lower and not as steep.*

*Being right on the main road south, it functioned better than Poole's as a landmark and locator for travelling outsiders, and so could sometimes take in other nearby blocks by association, such as Walsh's 1587 which would more accurately be associated with Poole's Flat.*

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<sup>113</sup> RF Williams 1986/1991: 378-9; RF Williams (compiler) n.d., [c.2010], *Early Settlers in the Yankalilla District*, Yankalilla & District Historical Society Inc: 71.

<sup>114</sup> Boothby Almanac 1865: 95.

<sup>115</sup> SA Weekly Chronicle 10/10/1863: 7f, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90260664/8358734>; Southern Argus 14/9/1867: 3, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/96869510/9480722>.

<sup>116</sup> CT 51/149.

<sup>117</sup> CTs 22/184, 102/184.

<sup>118</sup> Boothby Almanac 1865: 94, <http://images.slsa.sa.gov.au/almanacsanddirectories/1865boothby/246/>; RF Williams 2010: 14.

<sup>119</sup> CT 51/149.

<sup>120</sup> Boothby Almanac 1865: 95; SA Almanac and Directory 1868: 105.

<sup>121</sup> See CT 92/99.

<sup>122</sup> Boothby Almanac 1865: 94-5.

#### APPENDIX 4:

#### WHO WERE THE 'LADY' AND HER SISTER LIVING AT POOLE'S FLAT IN THE 1850S? – an approach to dates:

Webb's introduction to the lady's story reads as though the event happened in 1854. Was there a lady who lived at Pool's Flat with a sister in 1854, and who was still alive in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to speak to the chronicler Lucy Webb?

So far the only ones I have found are **the Walsh sisters: Mary (1849-1921), Ellen (1851-1927), Johanna (1857-1933) and Ann (1860-1919).**<sup>123</sup> All four were still alive when Webb was writing her story for the February 1919 newspaper.

Richard and Johanna Welsh or Walsh arrived in SA in 1850 with their baby daughter Mary,<sup>124</sup> and bought Section **1587 in 1853.**<sup>125</sup> Probably Richard moved his family onto the block within a year of purchase.<sup>126</sup>

**DATE:** The 'hundred blacks' event happened at a time when (as Webb says) only "her sister [singular] and herself were living" [residing] there – implying only two of them, unmarried and still living with their parents.

The date 1854 cannot apply if the 'lady' was one of the Walshes, since only Mary and Ellen had been born by then, and they were only 5 and 3 years old. Perhaps she was citing when her family had first moved onto the property, and perhaps the event happened years later.

The story describes the sisters as 'women', who apparently knew how to handle a gun. But by the time Mary and Ellen were old enough for this (the 1860s), two other sisters had joined them.<sup>127</sup>

The sisters were probably the only two not married at the time of the event. They could have been Johanna and Ann, the only two still at home between 1875 and 1880.<sup>128</sup>

The most likely date therefore becomes **the late 1870s** – IF the sisters were Walshes.

**PLACE:** When Johanna married in 1880, only Ann was left at home unmarried. Walsh did not acquire other nearby sections until 1883.<sup>129</sup>

<sup>123</sup> Mary was 1 year old in 1850 when she arrived in SA (<http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/australia/fatima1850.shtml> [30/4/19]); Mary Honner *nee* Walsh Death Index from genealogysa; <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/158440263/ellen-clarke>; <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/159245269/johanna-hefferon>; <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/148214580/annie-feehan>.

<sup>124</sup> <http://www.theshipslist.com/ships/australia/fatima1850.shtml> [30/4/19].

<sup>125</sup> See CT 424/47.

<sup>126</sup> The date 1854 from the move onto the property seems to contradict a record of their second child Ellen, who was born in 1851, certainly in the colony, and according to her memorial, "in Second Valley" (Ellen Walsh Clarke memorial *ibid*). But gravestones are not always reliable about details.

<sup>127</sup> It is conceivable (though not very likely) that in the 1860s Mary and Ellen, in their early teens, could have been left alone habitually while the younger Johanna and Ann were with their absent mother; so that one of them later remembered the time as a twosome.

<sup>128</sup> Mary married in **1870** (RF Williams 1986/1991: 300); Ellen in **1875** (Marriage Index in genealogysa); Johanna in **1880** (RF Williams: 300); Ann in **1884** (RF Williams 1986/1991: 300).

Therefore the even must have happened while the family was living on **Section 1587**, on the higher ground.

But we cannot be sure about the Walsh identification. Other settler sisters fitting the time and place may yet turn up.<sup>130</sup>

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#### **APPENDIX 5:**

##### **‘WANGGANGGA’:**

In 2008, on the basis of my very early research and ‘results’, KWP followed Lucy Webb’s “Yarnoninga” (1928), as interpreted by Tindale and Manning, and decided that

“*Yarnoninga* appears to be a combination of Ngarrindjeri *yarnun* + enpenthetic *i* + Kurna *-ngga*. The legitimacy of the site, as identified by Tindale, as a ‘talking place’ was not challenged. *Wangangga* ‘talking place’ in Kurna was accepted as the rightful Kurna name in recognition of this history.”<sup>131</sup>

It will be clear from the essay above that these linguistic and historical conclusions about ‘Yarnoninga’ were premature, and consequently the Kurna translation ‘Wangangga’ was invalid. KWP now accepts *Yarnauwingga*, ‘bald water place’, as the best available interpretation of the ancient Kurna name.<sup>132</sup>

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#### **APPENDIX 6:**

##### **‘YARNAUWI FARM’:**

In 2014 KWP responded to a request by Joel Catchlove and Sophie Green for an appropriate Kurna name for their new property on Lot A2 (on the ridge between the Congeratinga and Anacotilla rivers, immediately southeast of the Wirrina golf course, and part of the old Section 1591). Here they had already since 2012 been undertaking “restoration of the landscape... [a] regenerative focus”. It was their

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<sup>129</sup> CT 424/47.

<sup>130</sup> Were they from the **Kelly** family of ‘Anacotilla’ farm, nearby on Sections **1594** and surroundings? Possible but unlikely. The Kelly sisters Esther (1855-1889) and Phebe (1856-**1917 or 1923**) fit the required dates, but not simultaneously the place. Their father Robert Kelly bought ‘Anacotilla’ farm on Section **1594** in **1861** (CT 25/86), not 1854. The Kelly family home was at Bald Hills but Robert also bought other property near 1594. ‘Anacotilla’ became their home only after Robert died in **1893** and in **1898** they sold the Bald Hills property, where the sisters had probably spent their youth until both were **married there in 1876**. See RF Williams 1986/1991: 251; <http://www.familytreecircles.com/cornish-john-married-esther-kelly-1876-24093.html> [26/4/19]; <http://www.familytreecircles.com/u/tonkin/?format=&sort=alpha&cat=955&next=31> [26/4/19]; [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John\\_Robert\\_Kelly](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Robert_Kelly) [26/4/19].

<sup>131</sup> KWP Minutes 15/10/2008.

<sup>132</sup> KWP Minutes 26/6/2019.

correspondence which first alerted me to Webb's third article with the spelling 'Yarnowinga', and became the occasion for Rob Amery's insight about the etymology of the name. They wanted a name which referred to the landscape of their property. On the basis of our shared research, the meaning of the traditional Kurna name of the area immediately adjacent was serendipitous, and "Yarnauwi 'bald (hills) water' [was] approved" by KWP for their property name.<sup>133</sup> The research and restoration work done by Joel and Sophie is documented in detail on their website <https://yarnauwi.com/>, accompanied by many photographs both historical and up-to-date, including 'The bald hills surrounding Yarnauwi'.<sup>134</sup>

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*End of Summary*

**MAPS ON NEXT INTERPOLATED PAGES 31 and 32:**

**p.31: MAP 1: Original Sections around Wirrina.**

Red lines and grey lettering on base map = today's Lots.

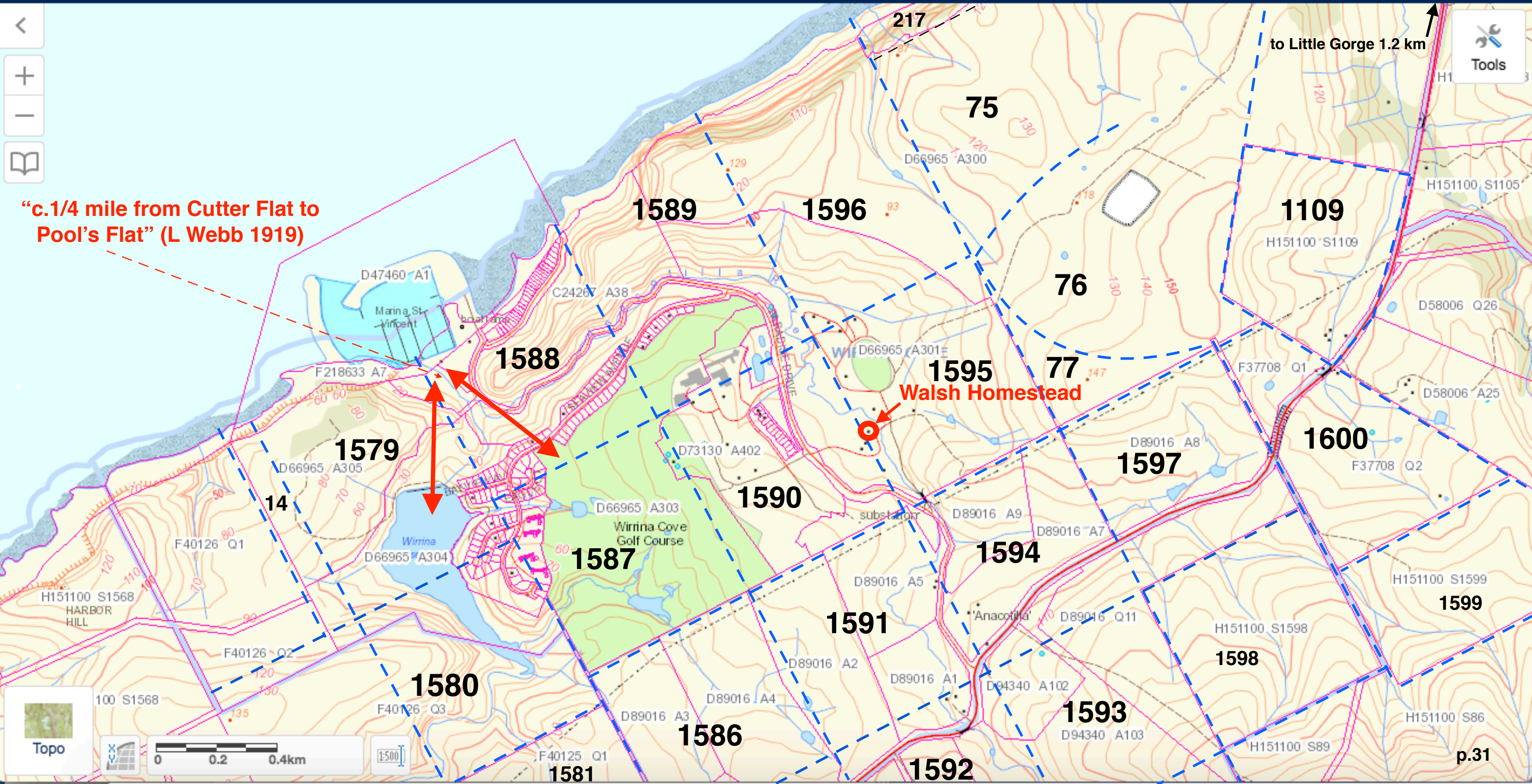
Blue broken lines = old Section boundaries (approximate).

**p.32: MAP 2: Bald hills and re-vegetation around Wirrina, 2019.**

All base maps from Department of Environment, Water and Natural Resources (Enviro Data SA on NatureMaps <http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps>).

<sup>133</sup> KWP Minutes 21/8/2014.

<sup>134</sup> <https://yarnauwi.com/local-stories-from-yarnauwingga-to-wirrina-cove/>; cp. <https://yarnauwi.com/about/> [27/5/19].



"c.1/4 mile from Cutter Flat to Pool's Flat" (L Webb 1919)

Walsh Homestead

to Little Gorge 1.2 km

Tools

Topo

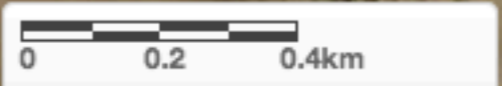
0 0.2 0.4km

1:500

p.31



Web Mercator ▲ X 15391014.06 Y -4231778.23



Scale 1: 18,056