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Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.02.01/01

PANGKARLA

**and Aboriginal history around Normanville and the Bungala River
with PNS 5.02.01/05 MAIKABANANGK ('Normanville') and 'Tjelbruke'**

(last edited: 5.3.2020)

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This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.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, [30/1/20].



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Abstract

Pangkalla or *Pangkarla* (New Spelling *Pangkala* or *Pangkarla*) might probably be the Kurna name for an area around the lowest reaches of the Bungala River near the mouth (Sections 1012, 1014, 1015, and 260). The creek flows through today's town of Yankalilla about 4 km from the mouth, and enters the sea at Normanville.

The name 'Bungala' was originally obtained in 1839-40 by the first surveyors of this part of District F (Kentish and Poole), no doubt from Kurna-speaking Aboriginal guides whom they brought with them from Adelaide. Phonetically the original Kurna word could very likely be the Kurna word *Pangkarla*, 'two lagoons'. Perhaps it could refer generically to any notable pair of lagoons or lakes, but came into use as a name for a *particular part* of this river. (Aboriginal naming practices do not apply a single name to the whole length of a watercourse, but give different names to many sites along it.) The name could also be a common noun something like *Pangkala* or *Pankala* (meaning unknown). Perhaps it is 'just a name', with no known dictionary meaning and only an accidental resemblance to the Dual *pangkarla*.

However, there is some historical evidence that there were two lagoons near the mouth of this river on Sections 1012, 1013 and 260 (though the research is rather inconclusive so far; see Discussion. More will be need to confirm or question the existence and size of the lagoons).

An expanded form "Buŋalapar:ingga" (= *Bungalaparringga*; New Sp. *Pungala-paringga*) was recorded by Tindale on one of his place-name cards, though he did not name his informant. "Parringga" is Kurna for 'river place', but the rest is very doubtful. (1) Tindale's questionably-phonetic spelling, if taken literally, pronounces the first word as *bungala* (rhyming with 'Noongar-la'; N.Sp. *pungala*), and (2) he glosses this word as "kangaroo". But (3) *pangali* means 'kangaroo' in *Ngarrindjeri* language, which would make the compound word a very unlikely hybrid; and (4) the vowels of Tindale's literal pronunciation /pungala/ do not match either *pangali* or the 1840s record of 'Bungala' (see Discussion). These parts of Tindale's record can only be careless errors. However, if we restore a credible interpretation of the first word as recorded historically, a genuine Kurna tradition could be *Pangkala-paringga*, meaning '*pangkala* river place'; and if it uses the Dual *pangkarla* it could refer to the Bungala River as associated with the 'two lagoons'. See Appendix 2.

The recorded gloss “Bungala (running water)” has no linguistic credibility.¹

This essay also examines

– Aboriginal connections with sites around the Bungala River in general and Yankalilla town centre in particular. Their names are unknown, and the original Kurna names *Yarnkalyilla* and *Pangkarla* do not belong there. See Appendix 1.

– Tindale’s other Normanville name, MAIKABANANGK:

Milerum (Clarence Long), in his ‘Story of Tjelbruke’ (1934), told Tindale that a place with the Ngarrindjeri name *Maikabanangk* was at (or perhaps ‘near’) ‘Normanville’. This is the only primary record of the name. But in those years ‘Normanville’ from a distance could signify anywhere on the coast of Yankalilla Bay. Tindale never clarified exactly where Milerum believed *Maikabanangk* was; but he made several unfounded speculations about its location and significance, none of them convincing linguistically or historically: “home of Tjirbruki”; “camps on Sections 1012 and 1014” at the Bungala mouth; Section 1001 at the mouth of Yankalilla River; and the unsupported gloss ‘place of stones’ (preserved only in GH Manning’s publications). In the 1934 story Milerum’s ‘Maikabanangk’ and ‘Normanville’ must be somewhere on or near the coast of Yankalilla Bay; but beyond that, Tindale’s notes of the relevant incidents do not make the geography clear enough for it to be interpreted exactly. See Appendix 3.

<i>Coordinates</i>	Lat. -35.448487°, Long. 138.318161° [between Lagoons #2 & #3]
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Language Information

<i>Meaning</i>	PROBABLY 1. ‘two lagoons’ AND 3. ‘river place of the two lagoons’ OR POSSIBLY 2. [meaning unknown] AND 4. ‘river place of [meaning unknown]’
<i>Etymology</i>	PROBABLY 1. <i>pangka</i> ‘lake, lagoon’ + <i>-rla</i> (Dual) ‘two’. AND 3. ditto + <i>pari</i> ‘river’ + <i>ngga</i> ‘at, place of’ OR POSSIBLY 2. [meaning unknown] AND 4. ‘river place of [meaning unknown]’
<i>Notes</i>	From the English surveyors’ spelling “Bung”, it is impossible to tell whether they meant one sound <i>ng</i> (as in Australian English ‘bunger’) or two sounds <i>ngk</i> (as in ‘bungle’). There is a Kurna word <i>pangka</i> , but no known word <i>panga</i> or <i>pangala</i> . It is also possible that <i>Pangala</i> was the name but had no known dictionary meaning. However, the two medium-sized identifiable water bodies next to each other tend to confirm the derivation <i>Pangkarla</i> ‘two lagoons’.

¹ Anon. [?Jean Schmaal], n.d., Yankalilla’ (annotated typescript), Archive CD #15, Yankalilla & District Historical Society.

<i>Language Family</i>	Thura-Yura: 'Kaurna'.
<i>KWP Former Spelling</i>	PROBABLY 1. Pangkarla AND 3. Pangkarlaparringga; OR POSSIBLY 2. Pangalla etc
<i>KWP New Spelling 2010</i>	PROBABLY 1. Pangkarla and 3. Pangkarlaparringga; OR POSSIBLY 2. Pangala etc
<i>Phonemic Spelling</i>	1. /pangkarla/ OR 2. /pangala/; 3. /pangkarlaparringga/
<i>Syllabification</i>	PROBABLY 1. "Pangkarla": AND 3. "Pangkarla-paringga":
<i>Pronunciation tips</i>	Stress only the first syllable. Soften every <i>p</i> (no puff of air) so that it resembles <i>b</i> . Every <i>a</i> as in Maori 'haka'. <i>Ngk</i> and <i>ngg</i> as in 'finger' (not as in 'singer'). <i>rl</i> is a Retroflex <i>l</i> (<i>l</i> with tongue curled back).
<i>Syllabification</i>	POSSIBLY 2. "Pangala": AND 4. "Pangala-paringga":
<i>Pronunciation tips</i>	Stress only the first syllable. Soften every <i>p</i> (no puff of air) so that it resembles <i>b</i> . Every <i>a</i> as in Maori 'haka'. First <i>ng</i> could be as in 'singer'. The kind of <i>l</i> could be unknown (as in English, or Interdental <i>lh</i> , or Retroflex <i>rl</i>).

Main source evidence

<i>Date</i>	1839
<i>Original source text</i>	" Bungala R ". [<i>marked along today's Bungala River</i>]
<i>Reference</i>	NL Kentish 1839, 'Map of the District comprising CURRACULLINGA, BUNGALA , YANKALILLA, & INGULLILLA', Plan 6/32, SA Geographical Names Unit (GNU).
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Kaurna guides 1839.

<i>Date</i>	n.d. [1839-40]
<i>Original source text</i>	" Bungala " [<i>marked as a District name across Sections² from boundary of 1015-1034 (at Normanville), to 1040-1174 boundary (at today's Torrens Vale Rd turnoff)</i>]
<i>Reference</i>	[Kentish & Poole 1839-40], 'Plan Of Yankalyilla', Plan 6/16B GNU.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Kaurna guides 1839.

<i>Date</i>	June 1840
<i>Original source text</i>	" BUNGALA " [<i>District name written across Sections 1034-1038-1174 & SW corner of 1173 around Bungala River</i>]
<i>Reference</i>	G Schroder 1840, 'N ^o : 55: Plan of Yankalyilla surveyed by Messrs Kentish & Poole', map C 243 State Library of SA.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Kaurna guides.

² In this essay all Sections mentioned are in the Hundred of Yankalilla.



Date	Sep 1840
Original source text	“ R. Bungala ”
Reference	Arrowsmith 1/9/1840, ‘Part of South Australia to the eastward of the Gulf of St. Vincent.., from documents in the Survey Office Adelaide’, map C 218 SLSA.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	Dec 1850
Original source text	“... Friday Dec. 27 th 1850... We parted from the blacks and went through the little gorge, a picturesque opening between the rocks [<i>the Little Gorge</i>], and walked along the beach for a mile or two, the weather was intensely hot, (for the last 3 days we have had hot winds) and we had a very refreshing bathe in the sea but we did not venture far out on account of the Tiger sharks and Sting rays with which the coast abounds. We began to get very thirsty and falling in with a creek which ran into the sea [<i>Bungala River: see Discussion</i>] we followed it up until it became fresh which was not until we had proceeded about 2 miles inland – here we had a good drink and a smoke and then got into a water hole to bathe, but were immediately set upon by some immense horse leeches... We now followed a road up until we came to the Yankalilla Post office about 6 miles inland.”
Reference	Edward Snell (Tom Griffiths ed) 1988, <i>The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell</i> , North Ryde, Angus & Robertson: 196.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	15 Feb 1934
Original source text	“Looking for Kulutuwi [Tjelbruke] went to Encounter Bay Lonkowar (Bluff) & Maikabananj (near Normanville). Went down towards Cape.”
Reference	Milerum 1934, ‘Story of Tjelbruke’, in Tindale 1934a, ‘SE of SA journal, SA Museum AA338/1/33/2: 46.
Informants credited	Milerum (Clarence Long)
Informants uncredited	

Date	March 1934
Original source text	[p.6] “28.3.34 Native Names of Places. by Clarence Long. Witawatāṅ Rapid Head (near) This is where Tjelbruke of the story came out of the rock. {?what rock? cp. Tmap ‘out of the wita forest’} `Janṅkal`jawanṅ Rapid Bay `Konṅaratāṅjanṅ Congeratinga Creek Sect 1580 Yankalilla `Kortu`gaṅ Little Gorge ` Maik:aba`nanṅ Normanville ”



	[p.33] [caption of photograph] "Pirrian camp sect 1173 Yankalilla looking S from banks of Bungala R."
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale 1934b, 'Journal of Excavations at Second Valley', AA338/1/11 SA Museum: 6, 33.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	n.d. [1930s? / 1980s]
<i>Original source text</i>	" Bunjalapar:inga Kaurna Tr. Rapid Bay S.Aust. Bungala River in north of H of Yankalilla entering the sea at Normanville. Lit. Kangaroo River. Deriv. [bungala] + [par:i] + [ngga] kangaroo river at Tindale ms."
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale Kaurna place-name card [#600], in AA 338/7/1/12 SA Museum.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	For the word alone, probably an unknown Aboriginal informant in ?1930s, possibly Albert Karlowan?

<i>Date</i>	n.d. [1980s]
<i>Original source text</i>	" bungalə Kaurna Tr. Rapid Bay S.Aust. [The inverted 'e' – 'ə' – is a schwa, the neutral vowel as in English 'gala', pronounced <i>galə</i> .] kangaroo Tindale ms."
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale Kaurna vocabulary card, in AA 338/7/1/12 SA Museum.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	n.d. [1980s]
<i>Original source text</i>	" Maikaba`nangk - Normanville : home area of the ancestral being Tjirbruki who smoke-dried the body of his nephew Kulutuwi in the story of his wanderings on the Kaurna territory (Tindale 1986). Tindale S.E. OF S.A. ms 2:46. Tindale 1986 Rec SA Mus 20:5-13."
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale Kaurna place-name card [#555/1], in SA Museum AA 338/7/1/12.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

Date	n.d. [1980s] –
Original source text	“ Mai`kabanangk – Normanville: in the story of Tjirbruki it was the clan home area where he fished with net for kurari (Australian salmon - <i>Arripis trutta esper</i>). Tindale ms SESA.J. 2:47.”
Reference	Tindale Kurna place-name card [#555/2], in SA Museum AA 338/7/1/12.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	n.d. [1980s]
Original source text	“ Maikaba`nangk - Camps on Sections 1012 and 1014 H of Yankalilla near the mouth of the Yankalilla River; a principal home of the Patpangga clanspeople of the Southern Kurna. Tindale ms, correction of Maik:abanangk.”
Reference	Tindale Kurna place-name card [#556], in SA Museum AA 338/7/1/12.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

TWO LAGOONS ON THE BUNGALA RIVER? Discussion:

OBTAINING THE NAME:

Light and his surveyors in 1836 explored Lady Bay (*Yarnkalyilla*) and its surroundings as far as Hay Flat, but did not look much further north on these plains before sailing further to look briefly at Aldinga plains (*Ngaltingga*) and the Adelaide area. Accordingly, the river ‘Bungala’ does not occur in Light’s charts or in the earliest maps based on his work.³

The name turned up during the first Country Surveys in 1839-40, when Nat Kentish and James Poole led the survey of District F in the southern Fleurieu. In 1839 the surveys of Aldinga and Yankalilla employed Aboriginal men on the same wages and rations as their white labourers, no doubt functioning as guides and interpreters, and for their knowledge of the country.⁴ ‘Bungala River’, ‘Curracullinga’, ‘Ingullilla’ and others, were incorporated into detailed local maps drawn up in Adelaide.⁵ Some of these maps show “Bungala” as the name of the district along and around the river up to about today’s Torrens Vale turnoff, rather than of the river itself.⁶ In European fashion,

³ e.g. Arrowsmith 11/5/1838, ‘A new map of South Australia’ (C929 SLA) and variants.

⁴ *SA Register* 10/8/1839: 6a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27440703/2049497>.

⁵ e.g. Plan 6/32 (Kentish 1839, ‘Map of the District comprising CURRACULLINGA, BUNGALA, YANKALILLA, & INGULLILLA’), which shows “*Bungala R*” and its big tributary from the southeast (now called Salt Creek).

⁶ e.g. Plan 6/16B (Kentish & Poole 1839-40, ‘Plan of Yankalyilla’), which shows “*Bungala*” as the name of the district rather than the river.

the settlers eventually applied the name to the whole length of the river, contrary to Aboriginal tradition which never does this but only names many different sites along a watercourse.

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THE WORD:

No meanings were attributed to the name in these early years.

Unfortunately there are many different combinations of sound which could be represented in amateur written English by the 'ng' in "Bunga".

To clear the deck, we note that the English word 'Bung' would be written phonetically as *Pang* in both our Old and our New Spellings.⁷ The full name could be written as *Panggala* (New Sp. *Pangkala*).

Next, the written "nga". Even staying with English sounds, "Bunga" could be *ng* (as in 'bunger' or 'singer') or *ngk* as in 'hunger' or 'finger').⁸ In Kaurna this gives us the possibilities *Panga* (as in 'bunger') and *Pangka* (as in 'bunker') for a start.

But the original Kaurna could have had one of the other separate *n* sounds, and still be written by the struggling Englishman as 'Bunga'. It could have been *Pa-n-ka* (as in 'one car'); or *Pa-m-ka* with a Retroflex *m*.⁹

In the final written syllable "-la", the 'l' could represent any of four different sounds in Kaurna. For instance, it could be as it looks in English, a Lateral *l*; or it could be a Retroflex *rl*; etc.¹⁰

Because the possible combinations of all these are too many to pursue in theory, we will confine ourselves to known vocabulary.

One guess is both meaningful and credible: *Pangka-rla*, 'two lagoons', from *pangka* 'lake, lagoon'. This fits both the old spelling and (more or less!) our standard pronunciation of 'Bungala'. Even if

⁷ (1) In Kaurna, the sounds *b* and *p* are the same in meaning; KWP's New Spelling opts to use *p*. (2) In written English the letter 'u' is ambiguous: in the word 'full' it represents the sound *u*, but in 'bung' it represents the sound *a* as in 'father' and Maori 'haka'. If these English surveyors had heard *Bu* they would have written it as 'Boo'.

⁸ From the English spelling "Bung", it is impossible to tell whether the surveyors meant one sound or two sounds. In Kaurna the sounds *g* and *k* are not distinguished in meaning; KWP's New Spelling usually opts to use *k*.

⁹ To English ears this would sound similar to *pangka*'bunker', but actually the *ng* is replaced by the Retroflex *m* (unknown in English). Or it could be *Pa-nh-ka* (with an Interdental *nh* which is also not used in English).

¹⁰ Or it could be an Interdental *lh*. Or (if the Englishman was very tin-eared) the syllable could even be *lya* (as in 'pavilion' not 'grevillea').

our pronunciation is partly astray, the word could still mean ‘two lagoons’ because there were variant forms of it.¹¹

Another possibility is “parnga”, ‘large war club’. IF its pronunciation is *pa-rn-ka* (and not *pa-r-nga*), the name might be *Parnkarla*, ‘two fighting clubs’.¹² But compared with ‘lagoon’, this alternative is much less certain linguistically, and has no known cultural or ecological context at the site.

There is no known word *panga* to give us a Dual *pangarla*, nor any plain three-syllable word to match any of the other theoretical possibilities above.

On the other hand, a place-name does not always have a known dictionary meaning, even when it resembles another known word.¹³ If this is the case, any of the phonetic possibilities above could be the original.

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THE PLACE AND ITS LAGOONS:

Our decision between the various possible Kaurna words will be governed in part by what we may discover about lagoons in the vicinity.

This will be difficult. The landscape of the Bungala River has been drastically altered after 180 years of clearing and cultivation along its banks, with the resulting increase in rain runoff. This has caused many severe floods,¹⁴ carving out the banks, altering parts of the course, carrying massive

¹¹ The variant forms of this word possibly come from different dialects. Teichelmann & Schürmann’s earlier work (1840) gave ‘lake, lagoon, Lake Alexandrina’ as *pangka* (Dual *pangka-rla* ‘two lagoons’ as above). But Teichelmann’s later MS (1857) gave, as well as *Pangka*, two other forms of the same word: (1) “*Bar,ngka*” (= “*Barngka*”, with an extra sounded *r*, New Sp. *Pa-r-ng-ka*). (2) “*Parnka*” (ambiguous spelling: did he mean (a) the same as *pangka* except that the *ng* becomes a Retroflex *rn*; New Sp. *Pa-rn-ka*? OR (b) a sounded *r* [New Sp. *Pa-r-n-ka*]?). Thus ‘two lagoons’ – in T&S *Pa-ng-ka-rla* – could also be pronounced by some as *Pa-r-ng-ka-rla* OR *Pa-rn-ka-rla* OR *Pa-r-n-ka-rla*. To write it as ‘Bungala’, the surveyors must have heard a variant with no sounded *r*, so IF it does refer to ‘lagoon’, then it was either *Pa-ng-karla* or *Pa-rn-karla*.

¹² Teichelmann MS 1857 is the only source for “*parnga*”; but this spelling is ambiguous. (1) IF he means a sounded *r* + *ng* (*pa-r-nga*), then the word does not contain a separate *k* sound, and so is phonetically distinct from all the variants of ‘lagoon’, but does not fit the surveyors’ ‘Bungala’; they would have heard the *r* and tried to represent it somehow. (2) IF he means a Retroflex *m* + *g/k* (*pa-rn-ka*), then the word is phonetically identical with one of the variants of ‘lagoon’, and becomes a possible alternative meaning for ‘Bungala’. “*Without cognates in neighbouring languages [for parnga ‘club’], it is impossible to say*” (Rob Amery p.c. email 4/2/20; thanks to him for helping me sort out these complications).

¹³ Consider the English place-name ‘Hove’. It sounds exactly like the shipboard term ‘hove [to]’; but, as used now, the two are quite unrelated as far as we know, and we do not think of the place-name as having a ‘meaning’. A ship is ‘hove to’ when its sails are set so that it does not move. ‘Hove’ can also be the Past tense of ‘heave’, as in ‘The ship hove into sight’ (<https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/hove>). Cp. ‘Skye’ and ‘Firle’ do not refer to ‘sky’ and ‘furl’.

¹⁴ See e.g. the account of the 1872 Bungala flood: “*the water was rushing down in torrents, carrying with it large stumps and logs, and had risen to the edge of the bank carrying everything in the way before it*” (SA Register 9/8/1872: 5b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/39267735/3993758>). Thanks to Des Gubbin for this reference.

amounts of silt downstream to build up the bed of the lowest reaches and the estuary in particular, utterly changing their appearance.

Can we find out what it looked like before this environmental disaster?

The travel journalist EH Hallack wrote the following in 1892, but it is not clear whether the area of which he speaks is around the Yankalilla town or Normanville town or both, since both are on the Bungala:

*Of the Bungala Creek it may be stated that when the earliest settlers arrived it was nothing but a chain of surface water holes which you could step across. The furrow of a plough is accountable in the first instance for the unsightly chasm, nearly as wide as the Torrens bank, which now exists. Beneath the banks and embedded therein are to be seen the trunks of huge gum-trees, which are being disembedded by means of recent wash-aways... Suspension and other bridges now span the creek.*¹⁵

In order to know the answers, we would need to study the progress of land development, and especially of reclamation and build-up, back to the earliest settlers of the area in 1842: much more research than I can afford here. We would need to comb the records of the Survey Department and its roadworks on the southward vehicle route, and find evidence of the effects on the river. No doubt its features were altered at today's Williss Drive (at the eastern end of the estuary): firstly with a ford in 1860, then with the 'new bridge' in 1867-9.¹⁶ According to local researcher Des Gubbin, the route had previously crossed the river half a km upstream at what is now called Hay Flat Rd;¹⁷ and subsequent bridge work has probably brought more changes to the river there as well.

Even after much archival and on-the-ground research by Des Gubbin – which he shared with me in 2012-3 and upon which I have drawn much here – this short essay cannot hope to answer the question of 'two lagoons' definitively. I content myself with outlining the state of our tentative findings, with hints of what others may follow up.

¹⁵ 'A Native' [EH Hallack], 'Our Townships, Farms and Homesteads: Southern District, no.6', *SA Register* 6/4/1892: 6f-g, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/48231165/4058980>.

¹⁶ Des Gubbin p.c. email 12/5/2012; *SA Register* 18/4/1867: 3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/39185508>. Thanks to Des Gubbin for this reference.

¹⁷ Des Gubbin p.c. emails 27/4/2012, 12/5/2012.

1. BELOW WILLISS DRIVE: LAGOONS IN THE ESTUARY?

The SA Government's property website SAPPA¹⁸ identifies two medium-sized "water bodies" at Normanville, next to each other and immediately upstream from the Jetty Caravan Park, both on today's Lot 17 (part of the old Section 1012).

#1 is larger: immediately east of the jetty carpark, south of Jetty Rd and Kemmis St and southwest of Heathcote St; roughly below the 4-metre contour line; 100m and upwards in width, and c.400m long.

#2 'water body' is smaller: immediately west of Willis Drive (part of the Main South Rd), downstream from the bridge over the Bungala; roughly between the 4- and 6-metre contour lines; up to 100m wide, and 210m long.

They are connected by a much narrower 100-metre 'neck' of the river as it bends sharply north towards the town (southwest of Heathcote St).

These are the only 'water bodies'¹⁹ currently marked by SAPPA along the 5 km of the Bungala from the mouth up to 'Manor Farm' on the eastern edge of Yankalilla town²⁰ – though this does not prove they were the only ones there before settlement.

A 450-metre reach of the river above the mouth cuts through the coastal dunes, overlooked by a walkway and the road to the caravan park. For us today, the creek here may look more like a 'lagoon' than at the two 'water bodies' where the water is often concealed by plant overgrowth on the massive build-up of silt, including introduced species.

Can these 'water bodies' qualify as 'two lagoons' sufficiently notable that the Kaurna used them as an identifier for the area? They are very small, and not very obvious today, even to Des Gubbin and me in July 2013 walking down the river from the new Bungala Park (on the eastern side of the main intersection).²¹ But even now (unlike the dune reach) they are able to expand onto a small flood plain.

In 2012 there was some doubt in our minds whether #2 was really a lagoon.

How sure can we be that they were visibly 'two lagoons' before 1842, rather than one?

¹⁸ <https://maps.sa.gov.au/SAPPA/>.

¹⁹ – apart from a very small dam and remnant watercourse leading to it, 160m SE of the Hay Flat Rd bridge, off the southern edge of a river loop on Lot 4. These would once have been part of the system of Lagoon #4 described below.

²⁰ Part of Section 1181.

²¹ Many thanks to Des Gubbin for his work in 2013 -4 pursuing the elusive 'two lagoons', and for sharing it with me.

Were they as separate then as they are now? or conversely, more separate? What geographical formation prevents (or prevented) them from becoming one? Is it the same thing which maintains #2 at its current level two metres higher than #1? Was it so before 1842?

In severe floods the dunes are a barrier forcing the waters to bank up behind them. Was the flat land of Lot 17 built up to reduce flooding on this flood plain and so provide more pasture land? If so, these lagoons might have been much larger.

The official Lands Department Diagram Book map (1985)²² shows a very short watercourse on the western side of Willis Drive, roughly coinciding with the southern perimeter of Lagoon #2. Since the northern perimeter is the current main river itself, we may deduce that this little marking represents an old course of the river, and that 'water body' #2 (or perhaps a larger version of it) may once have been a billabong, regularly flooded.

Lagoon #1 was originally very different from now.

When Robert Norman founded the town in 1849 he wrote, "Near the spot where the river disembogues into the Gulf of St Vincent there is a sort of natural wharf which, with moderate outlay, may be subservient to the wants of the surrounding agriculturalists"²³

It is likely that this 'natural wharf' was the place on Jetty Rd at which a few years later grain was loaded into lighters and carried out to ships anchored nearby at sea.²⁴ Local historian Roy Williams writes:²⁵

At one time it was possible for a vessel to enter the mouth of the Bungala River to load wheat and flour from the banks in front of the wheat stores. It was said that there were nine feet of water at this point, indicating a tidal influence through the mouth of the river. Today the river bed is much too high for this to occur.

Butterworth's Grain Stores were located near the corner of Croser St and Jetty Rd, 40 metres from the northern extremity of 'water body' #1 where there is a steep 2-metre bank:

²² Diagram Book Hundred of Yankalilla, 'map' 1 (SA Geographical Names Unit [now Land Services Group] 1985).

²³ SA Register 2/6/1849, p.2d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/50245283/4148418>.

²⁴ However, 'WGR' (William G Randall, son of the pioneer William Randall of Second Valley) believed this 'natural wharf' was "a slightly raised terrace of sand on the beach, which was brought about by the action of the incoming tide meeting the river waters. The first jetty was built a little north of this spot" (*The Register* 19/4/1923: 12g-h, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/64176620/4568051#>). WGR presumably meant the low terrace below the northwestern edge of the jetty carpark. We can't be sure which of the two Robert Norman meant.

²⁵ Roy Williams 1986, *To Find A Way: Yankalilla & District 1836-1986*, 3rd ed 1991, Yankalilla & District Historical Society: 33-4.

*At that time lighters were able to come up the Bungala River several hundred yards and tie up at a wharf opposite Butterworth's store, where the water is said to have been six feet deep. These lighters then ferried the goods to larger ships anchored offshore. When the tram track was built, the track went from Butterworth's store, through the sandhills to the jetty.*²⁶

2. ABOVE WILLISS DRIVE: LAGOONS AROUND THE HAY FLAT ROAD RIVER CROSSING?

There was at least one lagoon in the vicinity of the bridge over the Bungala on the Hay Flat Rd, and possibly two.

A remnant lagoon which we shall call #3 is still present on the west side of the Hay Flat Rd crossing, opposite Norman Av; and a view from above suggests that its true extent continues west within the 12m contour almost to Williss Drive, where it is currently blocked by a narrow neck of the river. A field sketch by an early surveyor (though not the first) shows part of it.²⁷ Gubbin's investigations suggest that this lagoon was "about 500 metres long with deep holes at the bends shown in sketch" and has "an existing remnant Water hole 2 metres deep".²⁸

Another lagoon on the eastern side of the Hay Flat Rd crossing– call it #4 – is clearly shown on a map which was constructed by a surveyor in 1933 from the memories of Oscar Herbert.²⁹ It is long and narrower than the others, both on this map and today as contained roughly within the 16m contour line. Gubbin considers that it "was about 500 metres long x 5 metres wide and not as not as deep as FB 265".³⁰ However, the river here has many deep loops, and there are signs³¹ that this whole stretch could often have been a single lagoon.

3. WHERE AND WHAT KIND OF LAGOONS?

The nature of an estuary is to be tidal and subject to variable river flows, so that it will have salt water sometimes, and sometimes fresh, at varying distances upstream.

²⁶ i.e. following today's Jetty Rd: Yankalilla & District Historical Society pamphlet, 'Historical Walk of Normanville': 2. Butterworth's Grain Store was located St on the western side of his house. The pamphlet continues: "*The Butterworth grain store and goods shed were standing as late as 1992, but have since been demolished*".

²⁷ GW Goyder n.d. [1855-6], 'Hundred of Yankalilla', Field Book 265, SA Geographical Names Unit (now Land Services Group): 111. This shows the state of the land in a northern part of Section 1013, abutting the Bungala River and the "Road to Hay Flat", 12 or 13 years after the first settlers arrived.

²⁸ Des Gubbin p.c., email 12/5/2012.

²⁹ Map "Yankalilla in 1860 as seen by O.J. Herbert. (son of S Herbert 'Wissanger' 1842 to 1886); Drawn by A.J. Blakeway, Lic^d Surveyor 1933" (in Roy Williams 1986/1991: 234). Septimane Herbert's 'Wissanger' farm was located near today's Yankalilla Area School.

³⁰ Des Gubbin p.c., email 12/5/2012.

³¹ e.g. the small dam and remnant watercourse mentioned in a footnote earlier.



At the site of my lagoon #2, Gubbin hopes to create a “new lagoon” with fresh water. It might or might not be ‘new’, and the original could have been either intermittently.

In favour of a ‘normally fresh’ hypothesis for #1 and #2 is the fact that a major tributary, Salt Creek, joins the Bungala immediately above #2, near the road intersection. It brings water from several sources in the range.³²

He also believes of #3 that “this area behind Gordon Baldock’s property is a swamp land and before siltation would have possibly held a permanent fresh water body”.³³ He also thinks #4 would have been fresh.³⁴ At its upstream end a much smaller tributary feeds it from the south, big enough to have a small wetland marked as another ‘water body’ on the eastern side of Bethel Rd.³⁵

It is possible, as Gubbin suggests, that “the two fresh water rivers are just above the estuary and would have been a significant area” to Aboriginal people.³⁶

But it also seems likely that the lower reaches of the river, including all four of these lagoons, were often salty.

In the summer of December 1850, the thirsty holidaying surveyor Edward Snell and his mate Mackay found no waterhole in the Bungala closer to the mouth than “about two miles inland”.³⁷ The Bungala River had been named 11 years earlier, but Snell did not know this and had no map to tell him the name of this creek which he came across at the beach. I deduce that it was the Bungala by examining the distances he mentions in the previous several miles of his journey. Here is what he wrote in his diary:³⁸

Friday Dec. 27th 1850... We parted from the blacks and went through the little gorge, a picturesque opening between the rocks,³⁹ and walked along the beach for a mile or two, the weather was intensely hot, (for the last 3 days we have had hot winds) and we had a very

³² Most of them now have multiple dams.

³³ Gubbin p.c. email 20/3/2012.

³⁴ Gubbin p.c. email 27/2/2012.

³⁵ For all these markings see the SAPPA website.

³⁶ Gubbin p.c. email 12/7/2013.

³⁷ The first surveyors found the same thing on the Onkaparinga floodplain: it was normally salty for almost 10 km of its windings, right up to the ‘Horseshoe’ loop at today’s Old Noarlunga (see the footnote on p.10 of PNS 4.02/04 Ngangkipari). There too the transition from intermittent saltwater to reliable freshwater was marked by a major campsite.

³⁸ Edward Snell (Tom Griffiths ed) 1988, *The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell*, North Ryde, Angus & Robertson: 196.

³⁹ The same place as today’s Little Gorge.



refreshing bathe in the sea,⁴⁰ but we did not venture far out on account of the Tiger sharks and Sting rays with which the coast abounds. We began to get very thirsty,⁴¹ and falling in with a creek which ran into the sea,⁴² we followed it up until it became fresh which was not until we had proceeded about 2 miles inland⁴³ – here we had a good drink and a smoke and then got into a water hole to bathe, but were immediately set upon by some immense horse leeches... We now followed a road up,⁴⁴ until we came to the Yankalilla Post office about 6 miles inland.⁴⁵

Of course this was in midsummer, and the water might vary with seasons and conditions. But if there was fresh water available further down the river in that December, it is not likely that Snell would have missed it. He was thirsty and looking for it: an experienced surveyor, well accustomed to foot travel, who had recently lived off the land for several months on Yorke Peninsula, some of the time with a Narungga woman.⁴⁶

PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER:

It remains for others to discover or deduce

- whether there was a distinct pair of lagoons anywhere on the lower Bungala;
- and if so, whether they were both below Williss Drive,
- or both above it,
- or one below and one above;
- and whether ‘the two’ were notable because both were normally salt,
- or both normally fresh,
- or one of each;
- and whether they were associated with significant campsites or burial sites.

Until then, the interpretation of ‘Bungala’ as *Pangkarla*, ‘two lagoons’, must be assessed as very likely but unproven.

⁴⁰ In order to have direct access to clear sandy-bottomed water for swimming, they would have had to pass the reef which extends northeast from Little Gorge: either where it breaks at the mouth of Yankalilla River (2.6 km = 1.6 miles from Little Gorge) or at the end of the reef (about 3 km = 1.86 miles).

⁴¹ After the swim they probably walked some way further before reaching the creek.

⁴² The Bungala River.

⁴³ Section 1173 is “about 2 miles inland” (see text and footnote below).

⁴⁴ Section 1173 is south of the river, behind Club Fleurieu (134 Main South Rd). About half a km north of this, the settlers’ road from Myponga through Wattle Flat to the south arrived at the Bungala.

⁴⁵ In 1850 the Post Office for the whole of southern Fleurieu was at GF Heathcote’s homestead on Section 407 in Wattle Flat (see PNS 5.01/02 Kauwayarlungga Myponga Beach).

⁴⁶ See Snell (ed. Griffiths) 1988, Chapter 3 ‘Yorke Peninsula, 9 June – 23 September 1850’.

ABORIGINAL HISTORY ON THE BUNGALA (1): NEAR THE COAST:

The *Register*'s Normanville correspondent wrote in 1914,⁴⁷ "When the natives occupied this part of the country they were usually encamped close to the mouth of the Gorge River,⁴⁸ and also in the vicinity of the mouth of Davey's River,⁴⁹ some distance farther up the coast". The visitor George French Angas noted in 1844 that *Yarnkalyilla* was a "favorite camping place with the natives",⁵⁰ and the fact is made abundantly clear in other records as well. At Carrickalinga, there was Tindale's 'large camp near Haycock Point jetty'.⁵¹ Betty Ross marked another campsite at the Davey's River junction, and another on Carrickalinga Creek 3 km upstream in the hills.⁵² The small reed swamp somewhere at Carrickalinga was one of Tjilbruki's camps,⁵³ which confirms the significance and *relatively* recent use of the area.

While there is much archaeological evidence in these main areas of coastal camping at Carrickalinga and *Yarnkalyilla* (the Big Gorge mouth area), there is none to suggest general family camping around the lagoon areas near the Bungala mouth. The food remains, such as those in the 'deflation hollows' in the Normanville dune system,⁵⁴ suggest only brief and specialized fishing camps: possibly for seasonal mulloway.⁵⁵ To this we must add bream fishing in the estuary. William Randall Junior wrote of the mid-19th-century:⁵⁶

⁴⁷ *The Register* 26/9/1914: 8f, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/59267830/4563414>. Thanks to Des Gubbin for bringing this item to my attention.

⁴⁸ Yankalilla River.

⁴⁹ i.e. Carrickalinga. 'Davey's River' must be the tributary which joins the River Carrickalinga a few hundred metres upstream from Carrickalinga Rd. Probably the 'mouth' mentioned is that of the Carrickalinga. Today's Davey St. presumably marks the vicinity of Edwin Davey's 'Devonshire Farm' (see 'A Native' [EH Hallack] in *SA Register* 6/4/1892: 6f, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/48231165/4058980>; Roy Williams 1986/1991: 112).

⁵⁰ Angas's painting is of the "*Entrance to the Gorge of the Yankalilla*" (handwritten title on reverse of the original watercolour, 'Yankalilla Gorge' [sic] 0.626, Art Gallery of SA, Bequest of J Angas Johnson 1902. The inscription adds the date "March 14"). See also PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla.

⁵¹ "*Near the present shore line at Haycock Point there is a campsite of Murundian facies, with abundant debris of recent occupation, where pirri implements do not occur*" (Tindale, N. B., 1937, 'Relationship Of The Extinct Kangaroo Island Culture With Cultures Of Australia Tasmania And Malaya', *Records of S. Aust. Museum*, Adelaide, 6 (1): 57). The Haycock Point site was much more recent than the one on Section 1173. Tindale's journal also contains photographs of it: p31 "*Looking N from camp site at Haycock Pt*" and "*Campsite at Haycock Point... Louwyck photo*"; p.33 "*Normanville from N. at campsite near beach at New Jetty*" (AA 338/1/11. There may be other photographs of these sites among the separate collection of prints in this file). This 'new jetty' was Haycock Point jetty, which was completed and briefly used in 1923, 11 years before Tindale's visit, then eventually demolished (Neville Collins 2005, *Jetties of SA*, Adelaide, Gillingham Printers: 178-180). See also PNS 5.01/07 Karrakurlangga.

⁵² Betty Ross 1984, *Aboriginal and Historic Places around metropolitan Adelaide and the South Coast*, Adelaide, Anthropological Society of SA: 20, 21.

⁵³ Tindale & Mountford 1936, 'Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave', *Records of SA Museum* 5(4): 501.

⁵⁴ Ross 1984: 25.

⁵⁵ "*In her summary of this area,*" – i.e. the coast of Yankalilla Bay – "[archaeologist Val] Campbell... states that food remains are scarce on all sites between Carrickalinga and the Yankalilla River and the light scatter of shells on the blowouts contrasts strongly with the sheets of pipi" – Goolwa cockles – "*that are present along the Coorong coast. She interpreted this as possibly indicating that shellfish were only a very minor aspect of the diet here. Mulloway, however, was well represented at a number of sites... As mulloway enter the Gulf waters from April onwards, it is likely that the*



I have seen natives bream fishing with small net just inside the entrance [of the Bungala], who, when taking the fish out, would nip the head with their strong white teeth and throw the subdued bream on the bank.

The burial sites are also confined to the same two areas: “Near [Gorge River and Davey’s River] are parts of the sandhills which appeared to have been reserved for use as cemeteries... Old colonists could never re-collect a burial having taken place on the coast, so that the grounds are very old”.⁵⁷

But Des Gubbin has found signs of “a very significant tool making industry” on the flats near the mouth of the Bungala.⁵⁸

.....

In the absence of any other known Kaurna place-names on the Bungala, I use this document to put on record some other Aboriginal information about the river.

Snell’s waterhole “about 2 miles inland” was almost certainly at the spot recorded by Tindale as a ‘Pirrian’ Aboriginal campsite,⁵⁹ on Section 1173, on the south side of the river opposite Glebe Avenue at the junction of a tiny creek in the Yankalilla Golf Course.⁶⁰ Perhaps it was strategically located at a place of reliable permanent fresh water at a major travel junction. The settlers thought so too. About seven years after Snell drank, a town was laid out nearby.⁶¹ We don’t know the Kaurna name for this place, but I will devote Appendix 1 to it.

Appendix 2 examines an expanded form of the name ‘Bungala’ obtained by Tindale.

Appendix 3 deals with Tindale’s Aboriginal name for ‘Normanville’, *Maikabanangk*, and its connection with Milerum’s ‘Tjelbruke’.⁶²

.....

sites containing these food remains were occupied in autumn or early winter” (Tom Gara, Vivienne Woods & Craig Westell, 1999, *Archaeological Investigations in the South Mount Lofty Ranges, South Australia*, Anthropological Society of SA Inc: 25).

⁵⁶ ‘W.G.R.’ [William Randall jnr], *The Register* 19/4/1923: 12g, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/64176620/4568051#>.

⁵⁷ *The Register* 26/9/1914: 8f. See also Gara, Wood & Westell 1999: 25.

⁵⁸ “I would say Bungala Flat had a very significant tool making industry as there is thousand of flakes still there today. The stones were deposited when sea levels were higher along the hill line and are of the right type and density for flaking... Along the banks of salt creek Normanville in the sand quarry near the treatment works on Hay Flat Road and close by the Lady Bay Links Northern fence” (Des Gubbin p.c. emails 3/3/20, 4/3/20).

⁵⁹ Tindale 1934b, ‘Journal of Excavations at Second Valley’, SA Museum AA338/1/11: [30]. Section 1173 – now Lots 300, 301 and 429 – is 3.6km or 2.25 miles inland.

⁶⁰ From the road today (2020) it is hidden behind Club Fleurieu at 134 Main South Rd.

⁶¹ “[Yankalilla] town [was] laid out on sections 1180-81 by Thomas Willson circa 1857” (GH Manning 2010, *Place Names of Our Land*, Modbury, Gould Books: 954) – i.e. about a km east of the waterhole, near Kemmis’s ‘Manna Farm’.

⁶² Some years ago I catalogued Maikabanangk as a separate PNS, but it seems economical to include it here.

APPENDIX 1:

ABORIGINAL HISTORY ON THE BUNGALA (2): INLAND:

SNELL'S WATERHOLE, TINDALE'S 'PIRRIAN' CAMPSITE ON SECTION 1173, AND THE 'VALLEY OF MANNA GUMS':

Elsewhere on these plains of Yankalilla Bay, the archaeological remains suggest “prolonged, repeated and intensive usage of this area”. Archaeologist Val Campbell noted that the three rivers in close proximity – Carrickalinga, Bungala and Yankalilla – provided “a rich and concentrated resource zone... Not only would these watercourses have provided a near-permanent water source but the trees growing along their banks would have ensured an adequate supply of fire wood. Some gums in the area also support a sugar lerp whose secretions attracted Aboriginal people from Encounter Bay and Cape Jervis... Other plant foods would have been plentiful given the rich alluvial soils and the creeks and rivers would have attracted many game animals and wildfowl”.

She also noted “several inland sites located on both the Bungala River, toward Yankalilla [the town], and along the Yankalilla River. She suggested that it was possible that these sites may have been used as base camps while the coastal dune sites may have been reserved for specialised activities, such as mulloway fishing”.⁶³ Ross describes “Another group of camps... located in sandy blow-outs on the side of hills south of the Carrickalinga Creek, about one and a half kilometres inland”.⁶⁴

One of the inland sites was Snell's waterhole “about two miles” up the Bungala River.

In 1934 NB Tindale and CP Mountford undertook a major archaeological project at Kongarati Cave and the surroundings of what is today called Wirrina Cove. Tindale kept a journal of the expedition,⁶⁵ including prior research, preparations, side excursions, and information picked up from local residents, notably the Rev. NH Louwyck of Christchurch, Yankalilla, a keen amateur archaeologist. In some of their excursions the three of them examined and photographed Aboriginal sites at Poole's Flat (Wirrina Cove);⁶⁶ Carrickalinga (a “large camp near Haycock Point jetty”) – and on the Bungala River. There on April 11 they visited an ancient “Pirrian”⁶⁷ camp site located on section 1173 by Mr Louwyck... It is a foot of sand at junction of the Bungala and the little

⁶³ Gara, Wood & Westell 1999: 26.

⁶⁴ Ross 1984: 19. She does not say how far south of the Creek. They might be near Dzintari immediately south of it, or perhaps in the recent housing development east of Norman Av.

⁶⁵ Tindale 1934b, black exercise book ‘Journal of Excavations at Second Valley S.A March-April 1934’, in AA 338/1/11, SA Museum.

⁶⁶ See PNS 5.02.02/03 Kangkarartingga.

⁶⁷ A ‘Pirrian camp’ is a relatively ancient one containing *pirris*, small simple stone spear-points. These are also found all over Australia at old campsites, including Devon Downs on the Murray and Fulham in Adelaide. For Tindale this was associated with his theories about waves of migration, in which his theory included a ‘Pirrian’ phase. See Tindale 1957, ‘Culture Succession In South Eastern Australia From Late Pleistocene To The Present’, *Records of SA Museum* 13(1): 17, 34 (online via <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/61893#/summary>).

creek which comes in from the south”. The journal contains a photograph of it.⁶⁸ Tindale mentioned it again in a published essay of 1937, along with the much more recent Haycock Point campsite.⁶⁹

For most of us today, this camp is ‘at Yankalilla’. But it is important to remember that in fact we do not know its name. If we want to approach the Kurna mental map, we must firmly dissociate this place from the *settler* names now attached to it: ‘Yankalilla’ (*Yarnkalyilla* is 4.5 km away to the southwest), and ‘Bungala River’ (*Pangkarla* is 3 km downstream, unless it can be shown that the ‘two lagoons’ were here rather than there).

What was the place of this campsite in Aboriginal life?

The ‘Pirrian’ remains which Louwyck and Tindale found here were relatively ancient.⁷⁰ I don’t know whether there are any specific records of this exact spot being used also in recent pre- or post-contact times; but its strategic location makes this likely, and historical evidence shows substantial Aboriginal activity nearby in post-contact times. There was a burial ground 600 metres east of the 1173 camp, at another creek junction on the river bank behind the Yankalilla Post Office, where at least one funeral ceremony was witnessed by a boy in the mid-19th century.⁷¹ A lifelong resident of Yankalilla town, Doris Parkes, remembered a corroboree ground about half a km north of the campsite: “Corroborees were sometimes held under the big gumtree near the Church of England Cemetary [sic]”.⁷² In the same interview she also said, “I was quite young when my father carried me all the way to Normanville to see a corroboree”; but we may well ask what she meant here by ‘Normanville’; in her younger days it could often mean anywhere on the coast of Yankalilla Bay.

⁶⁸ Tindale photograph, “*Pirrian camp sect 1173 Yankalilla looking S from banks of Bungala R.*”, AA 338/1/11, exercise book p.33.

⁶⁹ “*At Section 1173 Hundred of Yankalilla the Rev. N.H. Louwyck has found an untouched Pirrian site on the southern bank of Bungala River where the ratio of pirri to other implements is in the neighbourhood of 100. Three kilometres away, near the present shore line at Haycock Point there is a campsite of Murundian facies, with abundant debris of recent occupation, where pirri implements do not occur*” (Tindale, N. B., 1937, ‘Relationship Of The Extinct Kangaroo Island Culture With Cultures Of Australia Tasmania And Malaya’, *Records of S. Aust. Museum*, Adelaide, 6 (1): 57).

⁷⁰ Tindale’s ‘Pirrian’ sites all have dates around 4-5000 years ago (Tindale 1957, ‘Culture Succession’: 3, 17).

⁷¹ “*A native burial ground exists in proximity to the Yankalilla Post Office, on the bank of the Bungala. A resident when a boy was fortunate, or unfortunate, in witnessing part of the ceremony in connection with a funeral here*” (*The Register* 26/9/1914: 8f).

⁷² Doris continued: “*After the performance a hat was passed around for contributions, and a mischievous girl, Dorothy Roads, wrapped a trousers button in silver foil and put it in the hat. The prank misfired, the natives were upset and very vocal about the matter, jabbering in their own language. Dorothy fled home and was too afraid to ever come to a corroboree again.*” (Doris Parkes as told to Roy Williams, n.d., ‘Doris Recalls’, typescript CD archive 3884, Yankailla & District Historical Society). The Anglican Cemetery is located on Glebe Av about 440 metres north of Louwyck’s campsite on Section 1173, not far from Septimane Herbert’s ‘Wisanger’ (see <https://austcemindex.com/cemetery.php?id=475> [24/2/20]).

Attractions of the surrounding area would have included the yabbies and the sugar lerp on the trees. Doris Parkes, remembered other things about Aboriginal presence in the town area at a period between about 1905 and 1915:⁷³

The aboriginies [sic] from Encounter Bay came through this district on their walkabout shortly before Christmas each year. The attraction was the abundance of yabbies in the waterways, the secretion exuded from the Manna Gums (a substance that tasted like Turkish Delight) in the Yankalilla Valley, and the water cress in the creeks near Manna Farm.⁷⁴ Also along the beaches, particularly near the Gorge, was a plentiful supply of shellfish, which was one of their favoured foods.

Manna Gum (*Euc. viminalis*) is one of several eucalypt species which host Sugar lerp, a favourite delicacy in season for Aboriginal travellers.⁷⁵ Where were they around the Bungala? Were they found abundantly near the 1173 campsite? Doris's 'Yankalilla Valley' is ambiguous: does she mean Yankalilla River or Yankalilla Town?⁷⁶ The case is not clear. Today there are very few 'manna trees' of any kind to be seen in the entire Bungala district.⁷⁷ For vegetation in the entire Bungala catchment today, the website NatureMaps⁷⁸ shows only one specific *viminalis*,⁷⁹ and five 'Manna gums'.⁸⁰ Presumably this means that other species can also be described as 'manna gums' in the general sense that they too are hosting the manna lerp. Probably the three near the town are River Red gums (*Euc. camaldulensis*),⁸¹ and there were once River Red gums in all the

⁷³ Doris Parkes, archive 3884.

⁷⁴ For Manna Farm see below. Presumably Doris meant the little creek system which runs due west on the north side of Manna Farm (below the descent of Main South Rd into the town from the northeast), and which joins the Bungala at the burial site behind the Post Office.

⁷⁵ According to Clarke, "*Leaf bugs, commonly called 'lerps', secrete a white protective shell that is sweet and gum-like*" (Philip A. Clarke 2013, 'The Aboriginal Ethnobotany Of The Adelaide Region, South Australia', *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* 137(1): 99). According to Mulcahy, "*Manna Gum trees (Eucalyptus huberana)... exude a sugary crystal... Insects (lerps) puncturing leaves and twigs whilst feeding on the tree cause this sweet exudation to fall to the ground. The sweet substance, rose-pink and sticky, appears under the bark at certain times of the year*" (Mulcahy 1992: 81. *Euc. huberana* is the old name for a hybrid or subspecies *Euc. viminalis cygnetensis*: https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Eucalyptus_viminalis [27/2/20]; HB Naithani, 'Botany of Genus *Eucalyptus*', <http://www.frienvic.nic.in/WriteReadData/UserFiles/file/Content-Page/Books/Eucalypts/Botany-of-Genus-Eucalypts.pdf> [27/2/20]).

⁷⁶ Oscar Herbert's evidence favours the latter.

⁷⁷ The natural vegetation in the area around the Bungala on the foothills east of Yankalilla town is listed as "*Eucalyptus fasciculosa* Woodland over grassy and herbaceous understorey". *Fasciculosa* is known variously as Pink gum, Hill gum, or Scrub gum. The Pink Gum apparently does not host the lerp (Clarke 2013 does not list it).

⁷⁸ SA government, <http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps>.

⁷⁹ Behind Yankalilla Area School.

⁸⁰ None of these isolated 'Manna gums' are in the location of the *viminalis*. Two are on the Inman Valley Rd east of the town, on the flats of the main river; one on Main South Rd immediately north of and above Manna Farm; and two in a remote gully high in the hills.

⁸¹ Both *viminalis* and *camaldulensis* are documented elsewhere as being used by Aboriginal people for harvesting lerp (Clarke 2013: 109, 110).

main creek valleys, including the tributary immediately north of Manna Farm, even though today they are found only out of town.⁸² So we are not sure exactly where the manna was found before settlement; but historical accounts suggest that it was not far away from Section 1173, and may even have graced its onsite Redgums.

‘Manna Farm’ – 0.8 km east of the Post Office – was the homestead of Henry Kemmis, one of the first settlers to buy land in the district in 1842. Oscar Herbert claimed that it was so named because of “*the marvellous supply of manna*” in “*this place*”.⁸³ This direct link is likely if for some reason the lerps were particularly plentiful in trees on the property. Kemmis named the farm in the 1840s, but his own notes do not record a connection with the tree-manna.⁸⁴ It still stands, in a later form. On Main South Rd about 400 metres north of it, NatureMaps shows one of the few remnant ‘Manna Gum’ sites (probably Redgum in this case).⁸⁵

In his earliest years on the property, Kemmis befriended “Rapid Bay Jack... a sort of chief among the Rapid Bay tribe”.⁸⁶

About four years since [i.e. about 1842-4]⁸⁷ he was seized with inflammation of the lungs, and remained in a bad state of health for a length of time, until he was too weak to move about of his own accord, and was carried from one place to another on a kind of hand-barrow made by the natives. The tribe removed to the neighbourhood of Yankalilla Bay, close to Mr Kemmis’s station, and here he was treated with the greatest kindness by that gentleman and family. They regularly supplied him with food proper for him, lent him bedding, and frequently went to his worlie to inquire after him, and, as his end approached, spare no pains to render him as comfortable as possible.

⁸² The NatureMaps report on the pre-European plant communities of the region shows a single community for the lower-to-middle catchment of the Bungala from the mouth to 6 km southeast of Yankalilla town, including the little tributary system north of Manna Farm: “*Eucalyptus camaldulensis* var. *camaldulensis* Woodland over an open understorey of sedges, rushes, grasses and herbs”.

⁸³ Advertiser 11/12/1933: 16g-h, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/36463392/2676469>.

⁸⁴ Local historians make the link: “*It is not known who chose the name ‘Manna Farm’ but the name ‘manna’ described an edible substance which was obtained from certain trees growing on the property, and enjoyed by the aborigines and new settlers alike*” (‘Manna Farm’, typescript n.d., no author attributed [?Roy Williams], CD #1290, Yankalilla & District Historical Society).

⁸⁵ This spot on the hillside cannot strictly be ‘Yankalilla Valley’. Were both Doris and Oscar referring to manna in the ‘watercress’ tributary on Kemmis’s farm (see above)?

⁸⁶ GB Wilkinson 1848, *South Australia: Its Advantages and Its Resources*, London, John Murray: 336-7.

⁸⁷ ‘Rapid Bay Jack’ died sometime between 1842 and 1844, since Wilkinson was back in Adelaide by March 1846, and his book was published in 1848 (see p.7 of John Tregenza’s Introduction to the special edition of Wilkinson 1848 with illustrations by Skipper, Barr Smith Library 994.2302 / W686s). After introducing this man as ‘Jack’, Wilkinson’s account refers to him three times as ‘Bob’. Clarke speculates that this ‘Jack’ was Encounter Bay Bob (Clarke unpublished biography of Bob, 2019). But this is impossible, since EBB was still visiting missionary Meyer at Encounter Bay in 1845 (Meyer letter to Dresden Missionary Society 27 Oct 1845). More likely he was EBB’s father “*Youngerrow*” (Yangarawi) or “*Old Bob*”, whose brass ‘king plate’ was unearthed near Manna Farm in about 1912 and donated to the SA Museum by ‘C. Pearce’ (item A37524; see also Charles Mann to Hindmarsh 20 Sep 1837, GRG 24/1/1837/365, State Records: 3; and CW Schürmann Diary MS 9 Nov 1839).



Kemmis lived on Manna Farm until the mid-1860s,⁸⁸ and left the following account of the Aboriginal people he knew. It is worth quoting in full for its vivid picture of Aboriginal life, moving between the coast and inland, maintaining traditional practices on country while accommodating work with the settlers:⁸⁹

At this period of my life I had constant intercourse with the local aborigines - the Encounter Bay Blacks, and it is with the greatest pleasure I record my satisfactory dealings with them from the beginning, when they were numerous, to the end, when they were but few and feeble – dear friends they were to me – brave Encounter Bay Bob – (there was a rascally squatter named after him whose name I will not defile this page by writing, yet who became a wealthy man). Peter the fisherman,⁹⁰ I positively assert these people were honest and trustworthy to the backbone and I believe many black tribes would have remained so had not our white men introduced their evil ways – they had no idea of stealing and were always willing to work for me and much they surprised me in, so soon and cleverly learning to handle the various tools used in husbandry, gardening, rough carpentry, then management of stock – bullock dray driving. I used to entrust a dray and team of bullocks to one of these young blackfellows to go a distance of 50 miles and bring provisions, sugar and all kinds of tempting things to the station – an undertaking most faithfully performed – they had at that time, no taste for alcohol [sic] nor salt or any stimulant, their weakness was sugar – smoking they learnt first – one young fellow lived on the premises for a long time and when he was called away by the elders of his tribe for some religious exercise and a something I did not understand, he went with the greatest reluctance and shed tears copiously – a case of genuine feeling and affection. The camp was frequently held in my valley⁹¹ and joyous corrobories very frequent. It was always a pretty sight to see – the various members assembling at sundown each having followed his own calling during the day - here comes the kangaroo hunter with his dogs and lance – from the sea side comes my old friend lean Peter with his nets and fish – there the opossum hunter and again the lizard

⁸⁸ The date of Kemmis's departure from Manna Farm (for Adelaide, then Warrnambool and Bathurst) is given as 1851 (the year when his son Henry Junior left). But John Heathcote, to whom he sold the farm, lodged his title only in 1867, so we may guess that Kemmis Senior was there until then (see archive CDs #1285, 1290, 1291 and 1312, Yankalilla & District Historical Society).

⁸⁹ From typescript 'Copy Of Notes Made By Henry Kemmis. Sydney 14th Oct. 1889', Archive CDs #1309-1310, Yankalilla & District Historical Society. Details from this account are examined in some of my other essays and in my contact history *Feet On the Fleurieu, Language On the Land* (in progress 2020).

⁹⁰ For more on 'Encounter Bay Bob' and 'Peter the fisherman', see *Feet On the Fleurieu*; also a biography of 'Encounter Bay Bob' by me (in progress) and another by Philip Clarke (both unpublished as at Feb 2020).

⁹¹ What did Kemmis mean here by "my valley"? Were these corroborees held on his property near his homestead? Did they camp in the eastern 'watercress' tributary? or did he mean the Bungala River, 0.8 km west or southwest of his homestead? Kemmis's property was Section 1181. This covered a large area north and east of the Post Office, but the only part of the main river within it was a stretch of about 200 metres at the western end, from the Post Office to about 112 Main South Rd. The 1173 campsite was about 470m beyond his western boundary. John Heathcote later renamed the Manna Farm property 'Manor Farm' and extended it southeastward by acquiring Sections 1182 and 1183 as well, up to the track which is now called Kemmis Hill Rd; but this is irrelevant to the connections claimed between Aboriginal people, manna trees and Kemmis's Manna Farm on 1181.



hunter and the gins with their capacious nets filled with fresh waterfish⁹² and abundance of vegetables and nuts and I assure you the cooking was admirable baked with hot ashes and hot stones and then when the dancers had done their work and the abundant feast was ready to lay before the lords of creation, with what care and respect it was done, and as the finger carving proceeded choice bits were flung to and adroitly caught by the ladies squatting in a circle. Yes it was most interesting and done too with a gentleness that might be imitated elsewhere. All long since vanished like a dream and yet how formidable, I recollect [sic] this tribe when war was declared between them and some Murray Blacks when the Inman Valley presented a singular appearance – almost every large eucalyptus [sic] shewing the peculiar figure where a large shield of very thick bark had been cut out and these shields were dried very tough and hand painted in white and red then with onkaparinga ocre [sic] as were the persons of the soldiers in most hideous designs of skeletons – devils I suppose. I met them after the battle carrying their wounded indeed they carried their dead about with them for a long time and burried [sic], if it can be called such, in trees or supported off the ground on a sort of trestle and thatched over.

Like other settlers, Kemmis saw these people as ‘Encounter Bay Blacks’ – naturally, since those he knew best were Ramindjeri men who had joined the winter whaling force there – but the identity is over-simple. Their extended families would have included many people belonging to Kaurna country on the southern Gulf coast.⁹³

Some of the other town residents also had peaceful but limited and paternalistic dealings with these travellers:

My Grandma, Sarah Dunstall, regularly gave to elderly natives, Elsie and Wally [actually ‘Wongie’], a meal near christmas. They were most respectful and pleased to have a good feed. I was often at Grandma’s place and was so afraid of the black people that I hid under Grandma’s bed. I did pluck up enough courage to come out and ask them if they could find me, they replied that it did not matter where I hid they would find me - and that did nothing to relieve my fears at all.⁹⁴

⁹² ?‘freshwater fish’.

⁹³ For evidence that the Gulf coast was Kaurna country, and that intermarriage across the range was common in the southern Fleurieu despite the language difference, see *Feet On the Fleurieu*.

⁹⁴ Sarah Dunstall’s home was on Kemmiss Hill Rd in the east of the town, as Doris said in another account of this memory to another author: “*Elsie & Wongie always called in for a meal at her grandmother’s home on Kemmis Road on the return journey*” (Mulcahy 1992: 81). ‘Wongie’ is on record in other memoirs, and is presumably the same person as Doris’s ‘Wally’. Thanks to Margaret Morgan (of Yankalilla & District Historical Society) for confirming that the Dunstall cottage was on either Section 1183 or 245 nearby (p.c. emails 5/3/20).

A Mrs G Welden was another who left her memories of Aboriginal people around Yankalilla town in the 1850s or 60s, and gives a flavour of attitudes among settler families who were 'charitable' but less insightful than Kemmis.⁹⁵

My parents settled in the Districts of Myponga and Yankalilla over 85 years ago [i.e. c.1850]. I was born there and have very vivid memories of my childhood days... There were a good many natives in those districts, and they built their wurlies and lived in the scrub, and usually had nine or ten lean dogs at their camps.

When the natives came to the township for their blankets, they usually called at all the houses begging for tobacco, sugar, tea, flour and bread. Gifts were generally forthcoming, as their insolent looks used to alarm most people. We children, of course, had no fear of them when our parents were nigh, and thought them funny. The piccanninies were pretty and plump, and were carried in a blanket-sling on the mother's back. If we patted the babies and gave them sweets or fruit, the gins would show their pleasure in broad grins. They would enquire our names and on being informed, would adopt them for their children, much to our annoyance. The natives lived along the coast of Myponga, Normanville,⁹⁶ Milang and Victor Harbour. They buried their dead in the sand-hills, and skulls and bones were often exposed to view by the wind. I remember well a certain house with a row of human skulls on their front window-sill.

The natives on the whole were fairly civilised and used to speak pigeon English. They did not interfere with people if unmolested. The native men were expert at climbing trees for birds and opossums. They cut notches in the trees for their toes with an axe, and could climb the tallest gum trees this way.

Their wurlies were made of branches and twigs. On special occasions they held corroborees, and these were very entertaining.

This child, it seems, was one of the spectators at corroborees somewhere not far from Campsite 1173. But few settlers ever got to know the Aboriginal travellers as people except some of those who employed them: such as the Kemmis family at Yankalilla, the Hewetts at McLaren Vale,⁹⁷ and the Newlands at Encounter Bay.

⁹⁵ Mrs. G. Welden, 'A Glimpse Of Yankalilla Eighty Years Ago', in Louise Brown et al (ed.) 1936, *A Book of South Australia: Women in the First Hundred Years*, Adelaide: Rigby Ltd. If taken literally her title would mean that her memories were of the years around 1856.

⁹⁶ By '[coast of] Normanville' she almost certainly means Lady Bay and Carrickalinga.

⁹⁷ See PNS 4.03.01/02 Tarangga.

APPENDIX 2:

ANOTHER VERSION OF THE NAME: “Buŋalapar:ingga” – ?‘BUNGALA RIVER PLACE’:

A century and a half after first contact, Tindale recorded an expanded form of the name on one of his index cards: “Buŋalapar:ingga”,⁹⁸ in ordinary alphabet script this is “Bungalaparringga”. This adds to the name a whole Kurna word, *paringga* ‘river place’. It is a late secondary record and the only known source for the compound name. As so often in his later work, he refers to his primary record only as “Tindale ms”, which is useless; I have not been able to find his original note.

The spelling presents itself as phonetic, presumably according to the rules of something like the International Phonetic Association system. If we take this literally, it would be spelled *Pungala-parringga* in KWP’s Old Spelling (*Pungala-paringga* in New Spelling). The first vowel is *u* not *a*. The second consonant is *ng* alone, omitting the second sound *k* which occurs in my analysis *pangka* above. In English we could write it as ‘Boongala’, noting that his first two syllables as given rhyme with ‘Noongar’ (*Nyungaa*, the Aboriginal language of southwestern Australia).⁹⁹

It is completely credible that the Kurna might have added *paringga* (‘river place’) to make a Compound name, referring to some part of the river near the place ‘Bungala’: ‘the river at Bungala’. In his typical way, Tindale re-spells the common word which Teichelmann and Schürmann spelled *parringga*, merely replacing their ‘ng’ with ‘ŋ’ and their ‘rr’ with ‘r’.¹⁰⁰ Here the anonymous informant shows an exact grasp of this bit of Kurna language, much better than most of Milerum’s and Karlowan’s.¹⁰¹

But doubts arise when we note that his record also uses the standard English spelling ‘Bungala’, merely replacing the written ‘ng’ with the phonetic symbol ‘ŋ’. Our doubts increase when he

⁹⁸ Tindale n.d. [1980s], Kurna place-name card [#600] “Buŋalapar:ingga”, in AA 338/7/1/12. Tindale compiled these cards in the 1980s in preparation for his enormous ‘Gazetteer of Place Names of the SE of SA’, which he left unfinished.

⁹⁹ The English written ‘oo’ can be pronounced long as in ‘moon’ (/mu:n/) or short as in ‘foot’ (/fʊt/). The former sound (actually a diphthong) is not used in Aboriginal languages, where the vowel *u* is always as in ‘put’ and ‘full’ (like the vowel in ‘foot’) – though (unlike English) this sound can also be lengthened to *uu* (which to English ears might sound rather like the ‘or’ in ‘port’).

Ironically, there was once a place-name in SA recorded as “*Boongala – Shade*”. This was an imported Lake Eyre word listed in Samuel Gason 1874, *The Dieyerie Tribe*: 41 (reprinted in Woods *Native Tribes of SA* 1879, and EM Curr 1886, *The Australian Race* Vol.2). In 1917 the SA Nomenclature Committee (or Committee on Enemy Place Names) suggested it as a replacement for ‘Schoenthal’ in the Adelaide Hills; but the latter name was later restored (see Schoenthal and their misprinted “*Bongala*” in the Committee’s report, reprinted in Rodney Cockburn 1984, *What’s in a Name?*: 287). The word is obviously related to Kurna *punga* ‘shade, shadow’.

¹⁰⁰ Tindale’s ‘r’ is one of his strange phonetic blunders. He seems to mean ‘a long r’. But IPA does not use any such colon for consonants. Tindale uses this colon when his written sources use a double ‘rr’ or double ‘tt’ – probably on the false analogy of long vowels (*aa* written as ‘a:’, etc). Thus he gives an appearance of phonetic accuracy which is often quite unwarranted. T&S did not mean any hypothetical ‘long r’. In *parri* (New Sp. *pari*) the sound is an ordinary English-style Glide *r*.

¹⁰¹ See below.

translates “Buṅala” or “bungalə” as ‘kangaroo’, on both this card and another Kurna vocabulary card;¹⁰² for there is no Kurna word remotely resembling ‘Bungala’ which refers to any kind of kangaroo. *Pungala* (first and third vowels *u* and *a*) cannot be credibly derived from *pangali* (corresponding vowels *a* and *i* respectively); and *pangali* is a Ngarrindjeri word for ‘male kangaroo’. Was this Tindale’s own idea (if so, an astonishingly careless one)?

Did he actually hear an Aboriginal informant pronounce the word as *Pungala*, contradicting the standard English pronunciation *Pangkala*? The addition of *paringga* does make it probable. Even Tindale – despite my criticisms below – would not have added a whole extra word to the name without some authority; so we must allow that he probably did hear this expansion from an Aboriginal source. And this means that he could also have heard the pronunciation *pungala* – if his transcription of it is correct. But there is some doubt about this (see below).

We must also wonder whether he had prompted his source by showing or reading to him the printed names on a map – as he did (by his own admission) in a number of other cases. We know that he asked Milerum (Clarence Long) to interpret or correct the names found on published maps of Peramangk country.¹⁰³ Within Milerum’s own culture and language country this might be fruitful; but not so in other country and in a completely different language. Milerum was not literate and would have needed Tindale to read the words to him. Albert Karlowan was, and would have been able to read the names for himself; though he may have interpreted the written ‘u’ incorrectly as the sound *u* instead of *a*.¹⁰⁴

Is it his informant whom Tindale is quoting when he alleges that Ngarrindjeri *pangali* and its meaning could explain the pre-existing name ‘Bungala’? Such linguistic confusions arose with Milerum (Clarence Long) or Albert Karlowan quite often when Tindale asked them for their interpretations of other Kurna place-names from published maps.

Much doubt arises about the alleged pronunciation *Pungala* (‘Boongala’ with no *k* sound) which Tindale seems to be giving us here. If the informant was consciously or unconsciously using the word for ‘kangaroo’, we would expect the spoken version to be *Pangali*, not *Pungala*, and that Tindale would have recorded it as such. There is no Ngarrindjeri word *pungala* or *pungkala*.¹⁰⁵ In Kurna there is *punga* ‘shade, shadow’, and *pungarla* would be ‘two shadows’; but neither Tindale nor his informant seem to have considered this. We may tentatively suspect that he or she actually said *Pangala* or *Panggala* (New Sp. *Pangkala*); and that Tindale, perhaps in haste, merely adjusted the standard written English ‘Bungala’ which has a very similar pronunciation, instead of

¹⁰² Tindale vocabulary card “bungalə”, in AA 338/7/1/12. The ə is a schwa (neutral vowel) as in ‘singer’ (/sɪŋə/). He means *pungala*, with the final vowel unstressed. However, here he has neglected to replace the *ng* with *ŋ*.

¹⁰³ Tindale ‘Place Names: Drafts For Text’, AA338/10/2: 114.

¹⁰⁴ – as he probably did in the case of written “Turneeyundinga”: see PNS 4.03.03/01 Tarniyandingga.

¹⁰⁵ The nearest similarities are *pungari* ‘seal’, *pungkari* ‘widgeon duck’ and *pungkalaipari* ‘fishing spear’, none of which seem relevant here (unless *Pungalaparingga* could be a distant pun on *pungkalaipari*, which is stretching credibility).

transcribing into IPA spelling what he heard. Then 50 years later in the 1980s did he forget this and mistake it for a true phonetic spelling?¹⁰⁶

Whether it was Tindale or his informant who came up with this alleged spelling and/or pronunciation *Pungala*, and the gloss ‘kangaroo, those items identify this part of the record as another Ngarrindjeri-Kurna hybrid construction ‘after the fact’, not a valid Kurna derivation for ‘Bungala’.

Which informant could have come up with *paringga*? It is quite doubtful that Milerum or Karlowan knew this Kurna word well enough to pronounce it accurately or know what it meant. We know that Milerum thought his version of it (“beringgi”) meant ‘at’, i.e. was a Locative suffix; clearly he did not know this common Kurna word except as a sound.¹⁰⁷ Nor have I seen any record which shows that Karlowan knew any form of *pari* or *paringga*; and we know he committed a number of howlers when giving Tindale his versions of other Kurna place-names printed on a map.¹⁰⁸

Did Tindale get the name from the Kurna survivor Ivaritji? Though there is no known direct evidence that she knew this one, he did interview her in 1928-9,¹⁰⁹ and later claimed that “Ivaritji the last woman of the Kurna helped in checking data about Adelaide and the country south towards Cape Jervis”.¹¹⁰ But I know of only two southern place-names from Ivaritji via Tindale, and neither of them are ‘Bungalaparringga’.¹¹¹ And it is not credible that she would give a Ngarrindjeri gloss for ‘Bungala’.

It is a pity that Tindale did not make the source and process transparent in his records. Overall, we are left with a *likelihood* that some anonymous informant, probably in the 1930s, gave Tindale an expanded form which ended with *paringga* and probably began with *Pangala* or perhaps *Pangkala*. This would mean ‘place of the *Pangala/Pangkala* River’. We can disregard the Ngarrindjeri adaptation and gloss.

But we cannot be sure whether this form had any currency among Kurna people when their culture was still intact.

¹⁰⁶ If readers doubt that the eminent Tindale could sometimes be as careless as this, I refer them to my discussion of his place-name cards on Maikabanangk, in Appendix 3 of this essay.

¹⁰⁷ See the discussion of ‘beringgi’ in PNS 5.03/04 Watara-parringga.

¹⁰⁸ See e.g. Karlowan’s “Turtojlangga” in PNS 4.03.02/04 Tartatyilla.

¹⁰⁹ Isolated notes which derive from Ivaritji crop up in some of Tindale’s larger journals, e.g. in Milerum’s ‘Story of Tjelbruke’ 1934 (AA338/1/33/2: 44). It is unclear whether there is a coherent set of original notes from Tindale’s interviews with her; if so, they have not been located as far as I know. In one of his folders there are some small, undated, uncredited sheets which contain Kurna information and *may* be some of them, or transcripts of them (Tindale ‘Notes on the Kurna: Supplementary Papers’, AA338/2/68). No place-names are mentioned there except ‘Tarnda kanya’, ‘Lainkawirra’ (sic), and ‘Anpu’bulti’ (sic), the same ones recorded by Black (see PNS 2/06 Tarndanya, 2/07 Kainkawirra, 8/05 Yartapuulti).

¹¹⁰ Tindale typescript, ‘Acknowledgments For Preface’, in ‘Place Names: Drafts For Text’, AA338/10/2: 40-1.

¹¹¹ They are *Yarna* (see PNS 1/01) and *Ngangkiparingga* (see PNS 4.02/04).

APPENDIX 3:

TINDALE'S 'MAIKABANANGK' AND 'NORMANVILLE', AND THE JOURNEY OF 'TJELBRUKE':¹¹²

If we have cautiously billed *Pangkarla* as the probable Kurna name for the vicinity of Normanville town, we need also to deal with Tindale's records of a Ngarrindjeri name for Normanville, *Maikabanangk*.¹¹³

Tindale obtained this from Milerum (Clarence Long) in the "Story of Tjelbruke", told on the evening of 14 February 1934 as they camped near the Coorong coast opposite Tilley Swamp, south of Salt Creek.¹¹⁴ In this seminal account Milerum mentions Normanville twice.

In the first incident, Tjelbruke was still unaware that his nephew Kulutuwi¹¹⁵ had been killed. He wondered where the youth was, and so,

*Looking for Kulutuwi went to Encounter Bay Lonkowar (Bluff) & Maikabanangk (near Normanville).
Went down towards Cape.*¹¹⁶

Let's call this 'Tjelbruke's Normanville #1'. It is Tindale's only primary record of the name.

We note for a start that Tindale at first thought Milerum said it was 'near Normanville', then later (when?) corrected this to imply that he said it was (or was at) Normanville. Which was correct?

Moreover, which 'Normanville' did Milerum mean? We have already noted, in earlier sections of this 'Bungala' essay, that 'Normanville' could be a slippery concept in earlier years.¹¹⁷ For city-based writers in the 1930s including Tindale, and also for Milerum, sitting with him on the Coorong near a 'Salt Creek' different from the one on the Bungala, 'Normanville' was a generally-known

¹¹² Note that I now use the familiar spelling 'Tjilbruki' to refer to this culture hero in general, but otherwise I use the variant spellings recorded from the different primary informants: notably 'Tjelbruke' for Milerum, 'Tjirbuki' for Karlowan, and 'Tjirbruki' for Tindale-1987.

¹¹³ The ending *angk* is the standard Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri Locative suffix ('at, place of').

¹¹⁴ Milerum in Tindale 1934a, 'Story of Tjelbruke Encounter Bay to Cape Jervis', in *Southeast of SA Journal* Vol.2, SA Museum AA 338/1/33/2: 44-52.

¹¹⁵ Tindale later revised this spelling to 'Kulultuwi'.

¹¹⁶ i.e. Cape Jervis; Tindale 1934a, 'Story of Tjelbruke': 46. His phonetic symbol *ŋ* means the nasal sound *ng* as in '*sing*'. He means *Maikabanangk*. The original word 'near' has been crossed out.

¹¹⁷ e.g. Haycock Point gives a view of 'Normanville' (Tindale AA 338/1/11: 31); every place from the Big Gorge to Davey's River at Carrickalinga is part of 'the Normanville coast' (*Register* 26/9/1914: 8f); Mrs Welde's campsites 'along the coast of Normanville' were almost certainly at Lady Bay and Carrickalinga; and even today archaeologists refer to hollows 50m from Carrickalinga Creek as part of the 'Normanville dunes'.

rough locator for a distant place on someone else's country.¹¹⁸ In the 1930s there were no other officially-named towns or villages on the coast of Yankalilla Bay; no Carrickalinga suburb, no Lady Bay Resort, only Carrickalinga Head, Haycock Point, Carrickalinga Creek, and Yankalilla River with the Big Gorge near its mouth, some farms, and few or no shacks. 'Normanville' on the Bungala could and often did stand for them all collectively, or for any place on the coastline of the three rivers.¹¹⁹

We need a clearly-distinguished shorthand for this usage. I will call it 'the Normanville coast'. For landlubbers this is roughly synonymous with 'Yankalilla Bay'.

In the second incident later in Milerum's 1934 account, Tjelbruke had discovered and killed the murderers of Kulutuwi, then carried the smoke-dried body southward along the Gulf coast. After inflicting revenge on a camp of men at a place called "Warabari" on the cliff-tops just south of Sellicks Hill, he turned back and

*went down towards Adelaide along cliffs carrying body. Stopped places looked around. Made a way in caves. Went right in No not far enough in.*¹²⁰

Then, turning southward again, he

*Came down almost to Normanville near Second Valley, big cliff there carried his nephew way inland, a big hill there called ~~Warabari~~^{[inserted]Witawali} (highest part of hill towards Cape Jervis) & got good place there & put in cave...*¹²¹

Let's call this 'Tjelbruke's Normanville #2'. Its geography is unfamiliar to most followers of the Tjilbruki story, and also rather obscure; we shall examine it shortly.

More than 50 years later, the notes of Milerum's long account became the main basis of Tindale's formative essay 'The Wanderings of Tjirbruki',¹²² which in turn became the basis for most of the

¹¹⁸ – much as we in Adelaide might say "Where Captain Cook landed: that's in or near Sydney", or "The Opera House: that's in Sydney". But 'Sydney' is an ambiguous referent; in fact Botany Bay and Bennelong Point are two different places 11 km apart.

¹¹⁹ In the same way, 'Yankalilla' had been a very flexible idea in the first decades of settlement, standing at times for almost anywhere in the southern Fleurieu; occasionally its 'District' might even include Encounter Bay.

¹²⁰ This backward detour of the final journey does not occur in any other version of the story, and Tindale does not acknowledge it in any document I have seen.

¹²¹ Tindale 1934a, 'Story of Tjelbruke': 48-50. At the end of the story Tindale adds a footnote: "*Change ^{name} Warabari to Witawali within story*" (p.52).

¹²² Tindale 1987, 'The Wanderings of Tji:rbruki: a tale of the Kaurna people of Adelaide', *Records of SA Museum* 20: 5-13 (online via <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/61893#/summary>). The spelling "Tji:rbruki" is a theoretical construction by Tindale, never used by any primary informant (see the password-protected data file of PNS 7.01/07 Tjirbuk).



accounts of the story in the public domain and oral circulation ever since. This appendix will illustrate how Tindale-1987, despite its great value in introducing many details of the story to the public for the first time, is also a hybrid of Milerum, Karlowan and constructions by *Tindale*. It includes items and interpretations which are not derived from any of the source versions, while omitting other relevant sources and items from his own informants which do not fit his line.

In Tindale-1987, 'Tjelbruke's Normanville #1' becomes 'Tjirbruki's Normanville #1' as follows:

*Searching for Kulultuwi, Tjirbruki went first to [Lor̥kowar] (Rosetta Head), the great bluff on Encounter Bay, then up [Mu:l̥apari] the Inman River to [Towara:ŋk], near Moon Hill, and on to [Maikaba`nan̥k] near the coast at Normanville.*¹²³

Was 'near the coast' an attempt to include his original crossed-out note, "~~near~~ Normanville"? Or was he thinking of those other archaeological sites he had looked at in 1934, none of which were at Normanville *town*? I do not know any other Tindale information which would justify the added phrase 'near the coast'.

Tindale here makes the assumption (*probably* correct) that the hero used the valley of the Inman to get from Encounter Bay to Normanville; and (with no authorization from Milerum) interpolates two place-names from his other research unrelated to 'Tjelbruke'. This is a fairly harmless liberty.

But not so what he does with 'Tjelbruke's Normanville #2'. He *omits* this whole episode completely, along with all the associated geographical material which I quoted above, and substitutes Karlowan's different account of this part of the journey¹²⁴ – all without any indication of what he is doing. Presumably this is because he could not make sense of his own notes here about the two 'Warabari's' ('Witawali's?'), nor of the cave in the 'highest part of hill'. Probably, unwilling to admit that there could be discrepant but equally authoritative versions of a Dreaming story, he was intent on producing 'the one correct version' himself.¹²⁵

Back now to 'Normanville' and *Maikabanangk*:

Six weeks after he first heard of the name, Tindale copied it into his preliminary notes for the excursion to Kongarati Cave: "Maik:aba`nan̥k Normanville", in a list of local "Native names of

¹²³ Tindale 1987, 'The Wanderings of Tjirbruki': 7b-8a.

¹²⁴ In Karlowan, Tjirbuki keeps mainly to the coast all the way to the Kongarati Cave, and never goes inland to the high range.

¹²⁵ In 1936, in his previous essay on 'Tjirbuki' as told by Albert Karlowan, Tindale had already decided that another cave was the true place where the hero deposited his nephew's body. Karlowan had said it was on a coastal cliff just north of Cape Jervis; and Tindale decided that this was "*probably the same one*" as a special fishing cave which Milerum had recently told him about, allegedly called "*Ja`narwing*" (Tindale 'Notes On The Kurna', AA 338/1/35: 85). In the 1936 publication the word 'probably' disappeared (Tindale 1936, 'Story Of [Tj]irbuki: A Legend Of The People Of Rapid Bay', in Tindale & Mountford 1936, 'Results Of The Excavation Of Kongarati Cave', *Records of SA Museum* 5(4): 501; online via <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/bibliography/61893#/summary>).

places by Clarence Long”.¹²⁶ Geographically, this entry tells us only that Tindale had opted for ‘at’ rather than ‘near’, but still not exactly where it was supposed to be. Around the same year he entered the name on his large-scale map of the Hundred of Yankalilla as “Maikaba`nanġk”. Significantly, he put the word just out from the printed name ‘Normanville’ which labels the town and jetty on the base map; but he did not add a connecting arrow, as he usually did in order to make a precise location clearer. This probably indicates uncertainty; it is very doubtful that Milerum ever gave him any precise location for Maikabanangk.

In the 1980s when he was preparing his huge proposed ‘Gazetteer of the Place Names of the Southeast of SA’, he produced three index cards for this name. Two of them assert that “Maikabanangk-Normanville” was the “home area” of Tjirbruki and his clan;¹²⁷ one of these adds that this is where he “fished with net for kurari (Australian salmon)”. This may perhaps have been so, but there is nothing about it at this location in any version of the Tjilbruki story; nor have I seen any account of salmon-fishing at Normanville town.¹²⁸

The third card,¹²⁹ while correcting two other errors in his previous secondary records of the name, asserts that Maikabanangk was the name of “camps on Sections 1012 and 1014... near the mouth of the Yankalilla River; a principal home of the Patpangga clanspeople of the Southern Kurna”. *Yankalilla* River? – surely this is nothing but an astonishingly careless slip. Sections 1012 and 1014 are respectively south and north of the mouth of the *Bungala* River, as Tindale knew every time he looked at his annotated maps of the area.¹³⁰ As for ‘camps’: the information compiled in this essay includes no known archaeological campsites on these Sections. This, and the claim that these particular Sections were “a principal home” of the Patpangga (southern) clan, are his own unsupported ruminations on the story of “Tjirbruki”, which he was simultaneously writing for publication.¹³¹

Perhaps he did eventually have second thoughts about ‘Normanville’. GH Manning not only had access to Tindale’s place-name cards, but seems to have had personal communications from him

¹²⁶ The diacritic “ ` ” is a stress marker, and shows that Milerum had pronounced the word with a stress on the first and last syllables, “Maikaba-nanġk”. Note that Tindale’s pseudo-scientific notation “k:” is incomprehensible. A colon after a letter is standard phonetic orthography for a long vowel such as a: = aa. But there is no such phoneme as a ‘long k’. Does he mean a *double* ‘kk’, in the same way that he wrote the double ‘tt’ from old *written* literature as “t:”? This is mere careless confusion. Cp. his “r:” for ‘rr’ in “*Buŋalapar:inga*” (see Appendix 2).

¹²⁷ Tindale Kurna place-name cards “Maikaba`nanġk” [#555/1] and “Mai`kabanangġk” [#555/2], in AA 338/7/1/12. The haste with which Tindale wrote these cards can be seen in the second one, which has the second stress mark misplaced to the second syllable instead of the fourth.

¹²⁸ Tindale-1987 has *kurari* fishing at Brighton and Sellicks Beach (p.7a, 8b), but not at Normanville. Many mulloway remains have been found in the Normanville dunes near Carrickalinga Creek (Ross 1984: 25), but not salmon. It is unclear whether Yankalilla Bay would have been a good salmon beach.

¹²⁹ Tindale Kurna place-name card “Maikaba`nanġk” [#556], in AA 338/7/1/12.

¹³⁰ He marked “Maikaba`nanġk” at Section 1012 on one of his secondary maps (Tindale annotated map, ‘County Hindmarsh Working copy’, AA 338/24/121); but at the printed ‘Normanville’ on another (Adelaide Area ‘Map R’, AA 338/16/7).

¹³¹ By contrast, in Tindale-1987 (p.11a) he claims that the local clan of the Kurna “was called the Patpangga and their summer living area was around Rapid Bay”. It seems that in working notes such as the index cards, Tindale sometimes lapsed into exaggeration about the site he was listing.

as well; his work includes items attributed to Tindale which I have not found in Tindale's archives, sometimes introduced with "Professor Tindale says..." Manning often uses Tindale without crediting him at all, even in his source notes, on the policy that "The origins of these names were taken from the following sources and when at variance with Professor N.B. Tindale his nomenclature was preferred". One such is the following:

Normanville... The Aboriginal name for the place was maikabanangk – 'place of stones'; probably, the term applied more particularly to the vicinity of section 1001.

No source is cited, so it must have come from Tindale.

We have here two new items, neither of which I have found anywhere else:

(1) Section 1001 is at the mouth of the Yankalilla River and south of it, including the billabong and lagoon area: close to many of the camp and burial sites which in times gone by were loosely described as 'around Normanville'. This is in fact the prime campsite area *Yarnkalyilla*, painted by Colonel Light and recorded as a 'favourite' by Angas¹³² – but apparently Tindale never came to realize this. All of his relevant annotated maps, and all of his cards relating to the name 'Yankalilla', have it located at Yankalilla *township*, for no reason that he ever gave. One can only conclude that it was a completely unexamined assumption. Or was it merely an unthinking reprise of what he had written on his earlier card, claiming 'Yankalilla River' for Maikabanangk?¹³³

(2) 'Place of stones' is unlikely for the swampy ground of Section 1001 – though perhaps one could argue that this is the northern end of the reef which extends here from Wirrina Cove; or that the Section also includes the northern end of Yankalilla Hill, with its jagged and overhanging rock strata a little further southwest which are probably the reference in the name *Yarnkalyilla* ('place where it keeps hanging down'). But there is no vocabulary to back up these speculations; nothing remotely like this can be teased out of the word *Maikabanangk* in either Ngarrindjeri or Kurna language.¹³⁴ Tindale was guessing, and we have no idea what was the basis of his guess.

Yet Section 1001 is a tantalizing possibility for *Maikabanangk*, the place described from afar in 1934 as being at or perhaps near 'Normanville'. In all the known accounts of Tjilbruki, the only record of the hero passing through the coastal plains of Yankalilla Bay are the two Maikabanangk-Normanville incidents (from Milerum), and (from Karlowan) the camp at the little *nguri* reed swamp 'just south of Carrickalinga Head'.¹³⁵ Yet Tjilbruki must have come through here on his way south. In the unrecorded space between Carrickalinga and 'Kongaratingga', he must have passed over or around *Pangkarla*. He probably visited and even camped at the important and much-used site

¹³² See PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla.

¹³³ Tindale had an unfortunate work habit of quoting his own earlier *secondary* records rather than re-examining the original sources. This could easily lead him to perpetuate any old errors he might have made, or even introduce new ones by misreading his own handwriting (see Appendix 1 in PNS 5.02.02/04 Yarnauwingga).

¹³⁴ *Maki* ('flint' in both Ngarrindjeri and Kurna) might come close, but this still leaves the syllable *ban* unexplained.

¹³⁵ Tindale 1936: 501; Tindale 1987: 9a.

Yarnkalyilla. We have no direct evidence that Milerum knew this site on 1001 or ever mentioned it to Tindale. It is conceivable that *Maikabanangk* was *Yarnkalyilla* and that Milerum did not know this. He knew the English name 'Yankalilla', used it on occasion, and knew its Ngarrindjeri version *Yangkalyawangk*. When he first gave this to Tindale (on 28 March 1934, while Tindale was preparing for his Kongarati excursion), he said – or Tindale thought he said – that it was the name of "Rapid Bay" (another distant loose locator?)¹³⁶ Later he glossed it unhelpfully as 'Yankalilla'.¹³⁷ He also said that he originally heard the story of Tjelbruke "at *Yankalilla*" in his youth;¹³⁸ but in that statement too we don't know exactly what place he meant.

Or was *Maikabanangk* one of the campsites between Carrickalinga and Lady Bay? Could it have been the 1173 campsite? This seems less likely if Milerum was using the name 'Yankalilla' or *Yangkalyawangk* for the town area.

So now, back to Milerum's original information in his 1934 geography of Tjelbruke's journey. Where did Milerum really think *Maikabanangk* was located?

From Warabari-Witawali on the cliffs just south of Sellicks Hill, Tjelbruke returns (probably still near the cliffs) to a cave. This might be the "cave near Sellicks Beach" which Karlowan mentioned – to Berndt, not Tindale – as a landmark on the final journey of his 'Tjirbuki'.¹³⁹ From there he goes south again to a place which has a "big cliff" and is "almost to Normanville" (which is presumably *Maikabanangk*). His next destination is to be "way inland", the "highest part of hill towards Cape Jervis" – which sounds like the top of the range, somewhere along the Range Road from Mount Robinson westward.¹⁴⁰ Strangely, this high place where he finds the right cave for Kulutuwi is called 'Warabari', the same name as the coastal revenge site near Sellicks Hill.¹⁴¹

There are big cliffs north of Normanville town in the 6 km from Carrickalinga Head to Myponga Beach. If we are travelling south, their southern end at Carrickalinga Head could fit Tindale's

¹³⁶ Tindale 1934b, 'Journal of Excavations at Second Valley', AA 338/1/11: [6], "*Janjal'jawanjk – Rapid Bay*". Tindale's 'j' means a consonantal y. Note also the stress on the third syllable, which is unusual and not replicated in Milerum's other record of the name, i.e. Tindale 1941.

¹³⁷ Tindale 1941, 'Native Songs of the SE of SA, Part 2', *Transactions of Royal Society of SA* 65: 242, "*Janjalja'wa:ŋk (Yankalilla)*".

¹³⁸ Tindale 1934a: 44; Tindale 1987: 5b.

¹³⁹ Berndt & Berndt 1993, *A World That Was*, Melbourne University Press: 234. This is probably "a cave in Sellicks Hill near the limestone quarry. This cave is no longer able to be accessed because it was blown up by the owners of the lease of the quarry at Sellicks Hill, on the flimsy pretext that it was too dangerous to enter. Members of the CEGSA (Cave Exploration Group of SA) were responsible for the collection of the bones in 2003, before the cave was demolished" (p.c. email 5/3/2012 from Graham Medlin, at the time Honorary Research Associate, Subfossils, Mammal Section, SA Museum; we were discussing possum skins at the time). There are some references to this cave in PNS 4.04.01/03 Wakunthilla; 5.01/06 Warabari (Sellicks); and 7.01/06 Konggaratingga (Blowhole Beach).

¹⁴⁰ This would include the high campsite called *Witawalang*, mentioned by Milerum (see PNS 7.01/01 *Witawalang*), and might include Tjirbuki's birthplace near Mt Hayfield (according to Karlowan).

¹⁴¹ Later, after Tjelbruke has gone on inside the cave, he emerges from this cave he is still "right up on top of range at *Warabari*^{Witawali} He came out onto main ^{^range} there" (Tindale 1934a: 50). All three *Warabar*s are corrected later to 'Witawali' (a name which Tindale got from Milerum, Ephraim Tripp and Reuben Walker in different contexts and forms). But that is another tangent (see PNS 4.04.01/04 *Witawali* [Sellicks Beach] and 7.01/01 *Witawalang*).

description: it is “almost to” the flats of ‘the Normanville coast’, and 4 km from the town itself.¹⁴² If Tjelbruke turned inland from the ‘big cliffs’ of Carrickalinga, there were several possible travel routes into the high southern ranges “towards Cape Jervis”: (1) south through the Carrickalinga flats to the Bungala valley, up the Bungala to Torrens Vale Rd and so through the headwaters of the Yankalilla River to Mt Robinson; (2) along the coast to the Bungala, then up Hay Flat Rd to Mt Hayfield; or (3) if we keep strictly to the implication that he turned inland more or less at the big cliff, he could go up Carrickalinga Creek to Wattle Flat, or even further up to Bald Hills Rd,¹⁴³ before turning south along the high ridges.

This line of argument implies that Maikabanangk may have been somewhere in or near the area which we call ‘Carrickalinga’: north of Normanville town but south of Carrickalinga Head.

Then why is Second Valley mentioned here at all? Perhaps – from the long distance of the Coorong where he was telling the story – ‘Normanville’ counted as being ‘near Second Valley’; and perhaps for Milerum Second Valley was another general locator, familiar to both himself and Tindale, and useful as confirmation.¹⁴⁴ Or was there some basic failure in the communication of the journey stages? Did Milerum have in mind a *two-stage* progress between the ‘big cliff’ and the ‘highest part of hill’? – first to a camp ‘almost to Normanville’ (which would fit Karlowan’s little reed swamp just south of Carrickalinga Head), and then a second separate stage to a ‘big cliff there’, i.e. ‘near Second Valley’ (which is surrounded by big and strikingly-shaped cliffs)? From Second Valley Tjelbruke could go south or southwest into any of the high hills around today’s Second Valley Forest reserves.¹⁴⁵

If it is possible to untangle this web at all, it will take more work than I can allow it here. I leave it to later researchers – in the Tindale archives and on the ground – to find some convincing answers if they can. For now, it is sufficient to point out that in this part of the story Tindale’s interpretation in 1987 is grossly misleading; that in geography here Milerum’s account differs markedly from Karlowan’s; and that despite Tindale, we can be sure only of a very approximate location for Maikabanangk: ‘somewhere on or near the coast of Yankalilla Bay’.

.....

See also MAPS on pp.36-42 (map index on p.35)

¹⁴² There are also big cliffs north of Myponga Beach, though these are less likely to be relevant here.

¹⁴³ To this point it was part of the route taken by an official expedition in September 1837 guided by ‘King John’ and his family (see PNS 5.01/05 Maitpangga).

¹⁴⁴ Second Valley is about 11 km from Normanville town as the crow flies.

¹⁴⁵ Another conceivable possibility is that Milerum somehow meant that the big cliff was ‘almost to Second Valley’. This might be the Wirrina cliffs. They contain the Kongarati cave, but this cave is not mentioned or implied in any version of the story. From Wirrina the route would probably be similar to that from Second Valley.

MAPS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES 36-42:

p.36 MAP 1: Watercourses, Water Bodies, and Lot Numbers around the Bungala River.

p.37 MAP 2: Lagoon on the Bungala River near Hay Flat Rd (Oscar Herbert 1933).

Source: Roy Williams 1981/1991, *To Find The Way*, p.234.

p.38 MAP 3: Settler memories of Aboriginal activities on the Bungala: locations and distances.

p.39 MAP 4: Bungala Lagoons #1 & 2.

p.40 MAP 5: Bungala Lagoons #3 & 4.

p.41 MAP 6: Tributaries into Lagoons #1-4 of Bungala River.

p.42 MAP 7: Tributary into Lagoon #4 of Bungala River.

Source: NatureMaps, SA Government, Dept of Environment & Water [accessed Jan-Feb 2020], unless otherwise stated.

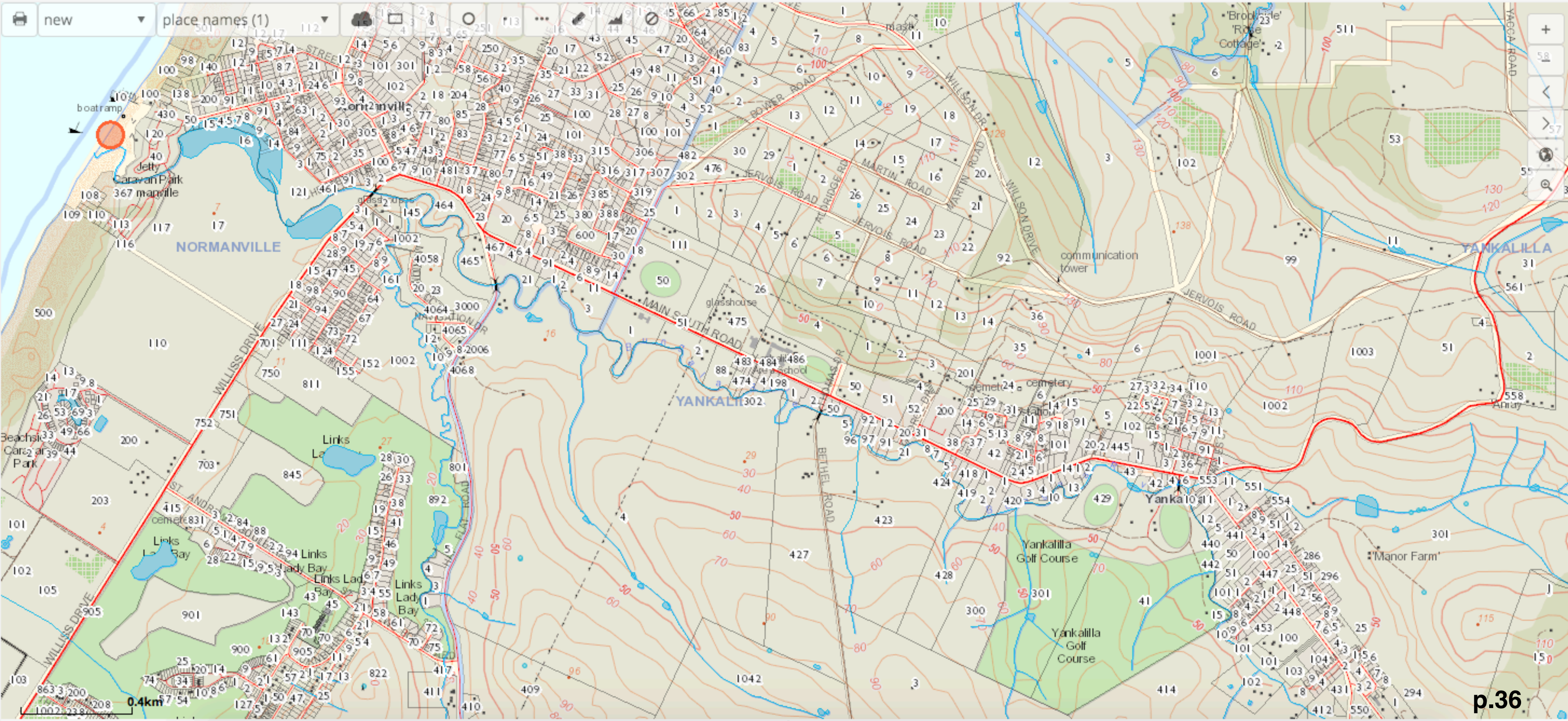
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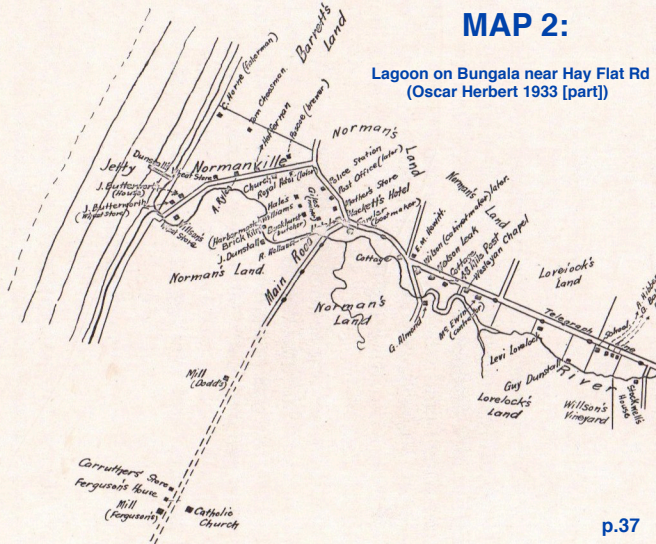
MAP 1: Bungala River Watercourses, Water Bodies, Lot Numbers

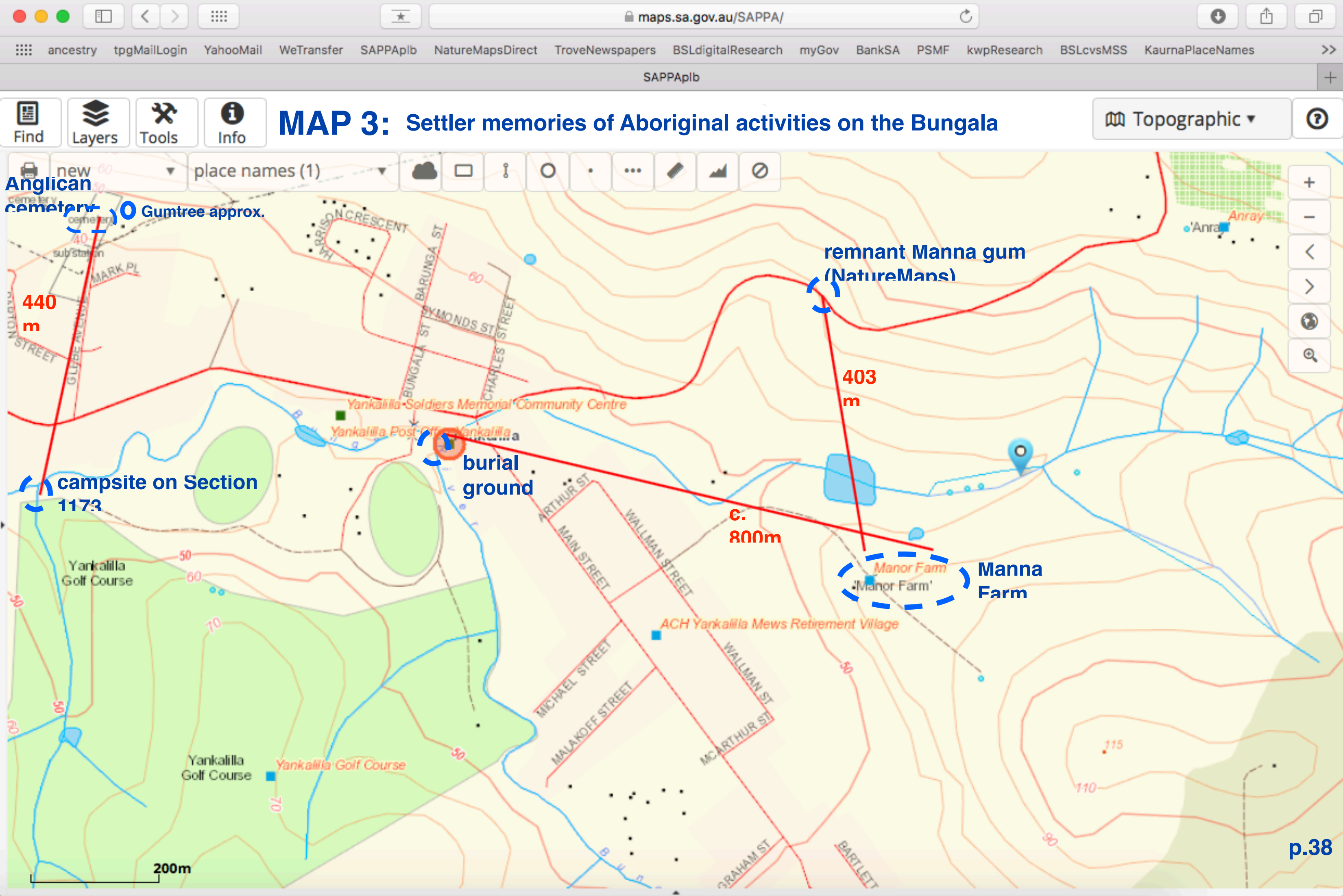
Topographic



MAP 2:

Lagoon on Bungala near Hay Flat Rd
(Oscar Herbert 1933 [part])





MAP 3: Settler memories of Aboriginal activities on the Bungala

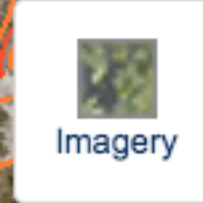
Topographic



new place names (1)

Find Layers Tools Info

Map navigation controls: zoom in (+), zoom out (-), home, search, and other navigation icons.



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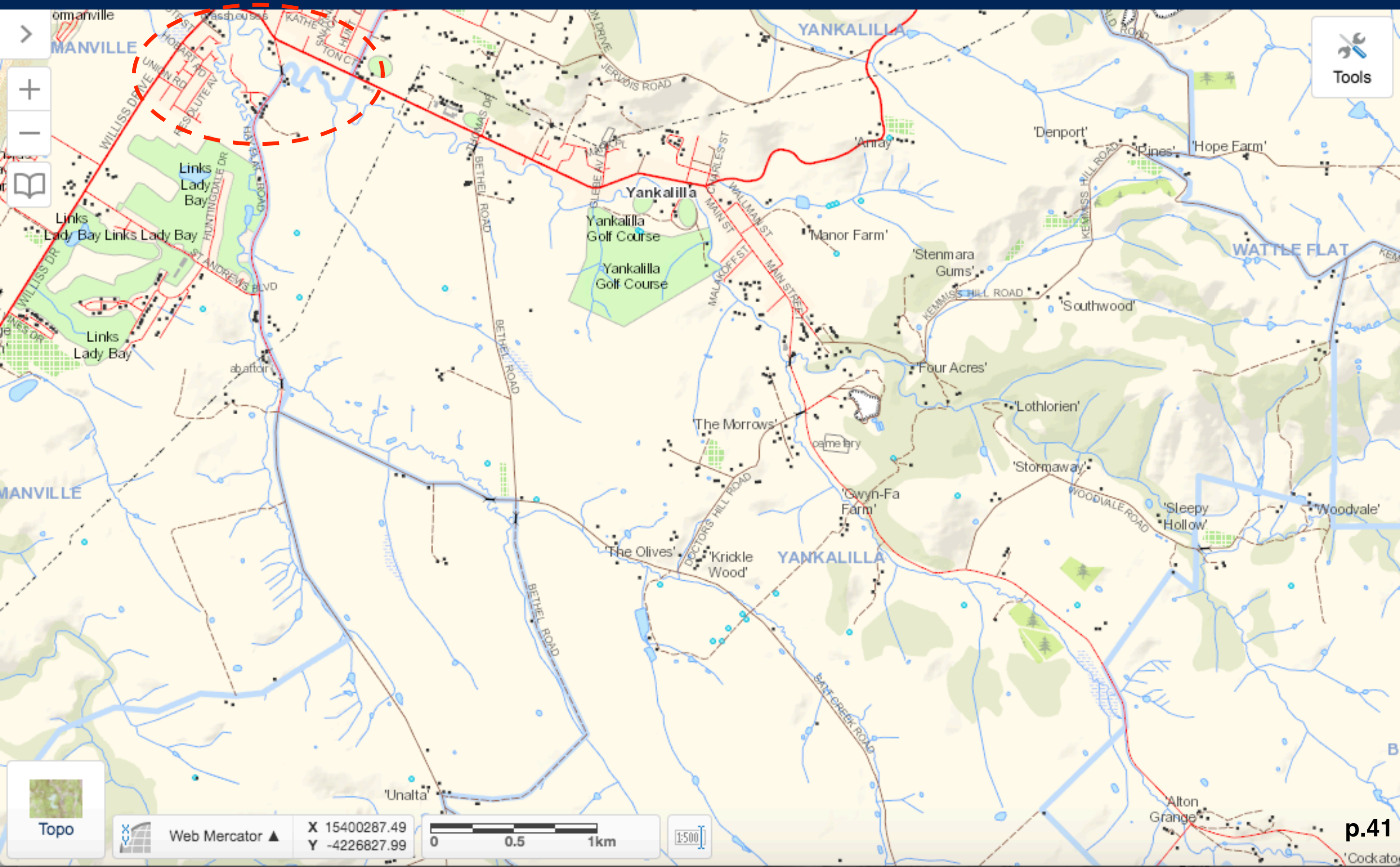
NatureMaps

MAP 5: Bungala Lagoons #3 & 4



NatureMaps

MAP 6: Tributaries into Lagoons #1-4



Topo
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X 15400287.49
Y -4226827.99
0 0.5 1km
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