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Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.01/09

Names around Carrickalinga Creek (1):

KARRAWATUNGGA and Aboriginal routes around Wattle Flat

(last edited: 1.7.2021)

See also

- (2) PNS 5.01/10 'Cudlatiyunga'
- (3) PNS 5.01/07 Karrakalingga
- (4) PNS 5.01/08 Karraputangga

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This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.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: i.e. Aboriginal researchers who are linking their oral traditions with other up-to-date and best available knowledge, and associated archaeologists, geographers, ecologists, anthropologists and historians.

Chester Schultz [10/7/2020].

Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 5.01/09

Names around Carrickalinga Creek (1):

KARRAWATUNGGA

(last edited: 1.7.2021)

See also PNSs: (2) 5.01/10 'Cudlatiungga'; (3) 5.01/07 Karrakalingga; (4) 5.01/08 Karraputangga

Abstract

Karrawatungga was a 'Kaurna'-Miyurna name recorded in the 1840s with a variety of spellings by four settlers (John Clarke, the Boord brothers, George Foreman and John Heathcote senior). They all used it to refer to the locality which they were occupying between Myponga valley and the Yankalilla plain, i.e. the northern half of the valley now known as Wattle Flat, covering the vicinity of Sections 410 northeast to 495, Hundred of Myponga.¹ The exact location of the original Kaurna site is unknown.

Depending on the interpretation of the word recorded ambiguously as 'wattoo', the name could have any of several possible forms and meanings:

1. *Karra-wattongga* (KWP New Spelling 2010 *Karra-watungga*) 'place of redgum branches'; OR
2. *Karra-wadungga* (N.Sp. *Karra-waatungga*) 'place of ceremonial shouts [amid] redgums'; OR
3. *Karra-wartongga* (N.Sp. *Karra-wartungga*) 'place of redgums and wombats'; OR
4. *Karra-wardungga* (N.Sp. *Karra-wardungga*) 'warm place with redgums'.

It is impossible to decide between these etymologies, unless more clues are found by intensive reading of the land and research into the historical ecology and culture of the area (see Discussion).

Karrawatungga was strategically located as a favourable camping place on travel routes between major sites for living and fishing: e.g. between Encounter Bay and Myponga Beach (via the high range); and between the northeastern hills and the Yankalilla plains (via Myponga valley).

<i>Coordinates</i>	Lat. -35.4300°, Long. 138.3900° [nominal centre of Clarke-Boord-Heathcote sections in Wattle Flat]
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Language Information

<i>Meaning</i>	Uncertain: it could be 1. 'place of redgum branches'; OR 2. 'place of ceremonial shouts [amid] redgums'; OR 3. 'place of redgums and wombats'; OR 4. 'warm place with redgums'
<i>Etymology</i>	<i>karra</i> 'high' OR 'River Red Gum' + 1. <i>watu</i> 'tree branch'; OR 2. <i>waatu</i> 'a noise; a shout at the end of a song; together'; OR 3. <i>wartu</i> 'wombat'; OR 4. <i>wardu</i> 'warm' + <i>ngga</i> 'at, place of'

¹ All Sections in this essay are in the Hundred of Myponga.



<i>Notes</i>	It may be impossible now to decide which of the possible meanings is the original one intended. However, intensive work on the physical, ecological, archaeological and cultural context of Wattle Flat could turn up clues to it in future.
<i>Language Family</i>	Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'-Miyurna
<i>KWP Former Spelling</i>	1. Karra-wattongga 2. Karra-wadungga 3. Karra-wartongga 4. Karra-wardungga
<i>KWP New Spelling 2010</i>	1. Karra-watungga 2. Karra-waatungga 3. Karra-wartungga 4. Karra-wardungga
<i>Phonemic Spelling</i>	1. /karrawatungka/ 2. /karrawaatungka/ 3. /karrawartungka/ 4. /karrawardungka/
<i>Syllabification</i>	1. "Karra-watungga": 2. "Karra-waatungga": 3. "Karra-wartungga": 4. "Karra-wardungga":
<i>Pronunciation tips</i>	Stress the 1 st and 3 rd syllables. Every <i>a</i> as in Maori 'haka'. Every <i>u</i> as in 'full'. <i>aa</i> is a long <i>a</i> as in 'father'. <i>rt</i> is a Retroflex <i>t</i> , with tongue curled back. <i>rd</i> is a Tapped <i>r</i> , which sounds rather like a <i>d</i> or <i>t</i> .

Main source evidence

<i>Date</i>	Dec 1842 to Mar 1843
<i>Original source text</i>	"Boord, JC & S., Carawaloonga "
<i>Reference</i>	TY Cotter 1843, <i>The SA Almanack & General Directory for 1843</i> by Thomas Young Cotter, Adelaide, James Allen: 178. Identical listing in A Macdougall 1843, <i>The South Australian Almanack & Adelaide & Colonial Directory for 1843</i> , Adelaide, Archibald Macdougall: 13.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	Oct 1843
<i>Original source text</i>	- " Carrawatoonga 11 th Oct 1843 To his Excellency the Governor of South Australia ... now we cannot run our sheep in safety for Mess ^{rs} Jones Men who are constantly doging [sic] our sheep & threatening to beat our shepherds... J.C. & S. Boord'.



	- " Carrawatoonga 6 th October 1843 To the Commissioner of Runs Sir, We... request you will immediately settle the case between us the Run is called by Messrs Jones the Carracalinga Run... J.C & S. Boord"
<i>Reference</i>	MS letters by JC & S Boord: 'Dispute over the boundary of a sheep run near Carrawaloonga ', GRG 24/6, A (1843) 1259, State Records of SA: pp.2-3, to Governor Grey; p.6, to Commissioner of Crown Lands.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Surveyors; Kurna guides to first survey parties.

<i>Date</i>	1845
<i>Original source text</i>	"Septimus Boord, Carrawatoonga "
<i>Reference</i>	'Memorial by the Colonists of South Australia Against the Introduction of Convicts', <i>South Australian</i> 14/2/1845: 3c, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71600655/6249948 .
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	1847
<i>Original source text</i>	"COUNTY OF HINDMARSH: ... Clark, John, Carrowaytunga Foreman, Geo., Carrowaytunga Heathcote, John, Karrowaytonga ."
<i>Reference</i>	A. Murray 1847, <i>The South Australian Almanack and Town & Country Directory for 1847</i> , edited, printed & published by A. Murray: 84-5.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	

<i>Date</i>	1847
<i>Original source text</i>	- "WASTE LANDS ACT. TO THE EDITOR OF THE 'SOUTH AUSTRALIAN GAZETTE' Gentlemen — The enclosed is the official communication which I have received from the Colonial Secretary relative to the case of 'Heathcote v. Burrow,' ... John Heathcote. Karrawatonga , 11th Sept., 1847." - "(Copy No. 1.) Karrawatonga , 24th Aug., 1847. Sir — Having laid an information against Mr Burrow under the 12th section, for having depastured sheep on the waste lands of the Crown,



	he not being in the lawful occupation thereof.. I shall feel obliged by an early answer. I have the honour to be, Sir. Your obedient servant, John Heathcote. To A. M. Mundy, Esq., Colonial Secretary.”
Reference	SA Register 18 /9/1847: 4a, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/48546361/4147942 and https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/48546358/4147942 .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1848
Original source text	- “Karrawatonga 17 th July 1848 Sir In reply to the enquiry made by Mr Lambeth & Corporal Hyde [= Ide] respecting the bridge made by Clarke & Regan over the Creek on my Section – ... John Heathcote” - “Karrawatonga 3 rd August 1848 I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21 st Ultimo... John Heathcote”
Reference	MS letters from John Heathcote (senior) to the Surveyor General: ‘Relative to Bridge built by Messrs Clarke & Regan on his Section’, GRG 35/2/275/1848; and ‘Relative to Bridge recently built encroaching on Private Property’, GRG 35/2/305/1848.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1930
Original source text	“MR. J. E. HEATHCOTE. The death of Mr. John Edward Heathcote, aged 82, which took place at Yankalilla on December 1, removed an old resident from the district. Mr. Heathcote was born in England and came out to his uncle, Mr. John Heathcote, of Karrowaytonga (1847), and later on of Manor Farm, Yankalilla...”
Reference	Advertiser 4/12/1930, p11d, https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/29851828/2468592 .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Discussion: *KARRAWATUNGGA* or something very like that: AN AREA NAME FOR WATTLE FLAT?

Wattle Flat – between Myponga valley and today’s Yankalilla town – is the valley of one of the two main catchments of the River Carrickalinga.² This name was common throughout Australia wherever a flat had plenty of the familiar Golden Wattle trees, with their dazzling masses of yellow. In this valley there were enough of them that by the 1850s it was sometimes known to surveyors and locals by that name³ – though for many years it was also known locally as ‘Boord’s Flat’, after the first settler family on the main flat near the junction with the Carrickalinga.⁴

Wattles were also the natural regrowth after wheat paddocks were abandoned, and especially so on Fleurieu Peninsula. Landowners here took part in the booming wattle bark industry of the 1880s-1920s; the Butterworth Mill in nearby Yankalilla town preferred bark from this area, from which it was carted to Myponga Beach (or later Normanville) for shipping.⁵

However, the wattles which prompted the name are mostly gone; no part of the valley is now identified as prolific wattle country by the government’s NatureMaps website.⁶

² The other main catchment – a much steeper and narrower set of valleys – is that of the upper Carrickalinga River and its tributary Wild Dog Creek.

³ A Trove search for ‘Wattle Flat’ shows that there was another and earlier ‘Wattle Flat’ near the Echunga gold diggings, named in 1852 (*SA Register* Mon 4 Oct 1852: 2a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/38466149/3917287>), and still gazetted near Biggs Flat on the Mylor-Strathalbyn road. In 1855 the surveyors, road builders and Central Road Board mentioned “*the second Wattle Flat*” on their proposed road line south of Willunga. This may have been the first public record of the name applied south of Myponga: “*With regard to the road from Willunga southward, the Surveyor reported that he had carefully examined it, and recommended that the present line should be continued from the Bush Inn*” [at Willunga] “*as far as the Second Wattle Flat, and from thence diverge to the westward*”; perhaps the last clause means ‘from Wattle Flat up Forktree Rd’. The first unambiguous report came with a proposal in 1859 for a new school there: “*WATTLE FLAT, YANKALILLA. A letter was received from Mr. S. W. Horton, requesting to be furnished with forms of application for grant in aid of education*” (*SA Advertiser* 11/1/1859: 3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/787571/4356>). A school opened later that year (GH Manning 2010, *Place Names of Our Land*: 900).

⁴ e.g. In 1862 a meeting was held at “*John Shepherd’s, Boord’s Flat*” to consider how to erect a schoolhouse. Shepherd donated half an acre of section 420 (on the northeast side of Bowyer Bridge) for the purpose (*SA Weekly Chronicle* 26/7/1862: 2f, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90257399/8358146>). As late as 1888, “*Charles Symonds of Boord’s Flat*” acquired section 407 on the west side of Bowyer Bridge (CT 521/75).

⁵ RF Williams 1991: 105-6, 128.

⁶ The SA government’s NatureMaps (<http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps>) identifies Golden Wattle (*Acacia pycnantha*) in the Wattle Flat area only at a small number of widely-scattered sites: two near John Clarke’s pioneer properties ‘Wattle Hills’ and ‘Fern Hill’; four more on the Main South Rd (one near Pyne Hill Rd and three around Yacca Rd); and another half-dozen in the surrounding hills. ‘Wattle’ in general shows another 6 different sites, only one of which is on the flats. On the same website, the Main South Rd (the creek valley) is River Redgum country with an understorey of swamp vegetation; the surrounding hills are Pink Gum (*Eucalyptus fasciculosa*) Woodland over grassy and herbaceous understorey; and no acacias are mentioned.

There are at least four surviving Kaurna names associated with the area around Wattle Flat, but only 'Carrickalinga' is familiar now.⁷ Others were recorded as 'Karrapootunga'⁸ and 'Cudlatiyunga';⁹ and there is the subject of this essay: another 'Carra/Curra/Karra' name in several recorded spellings.

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HOW THE KAURNA NAME WAS RECORDED, AND WHERE:

Governor Gawler had 'requested' his surveyors and all colonists to note and preserve the 'native names' of places around the colony; and for a short few years there was a significant amount of compliance. In most cases they were first obtained by the initial surveyors from their Aboriginal guides. Of the names preserved in this way, a handful in Anglicized forms found their way onto published maps and continued permanently in the public arena: 'Willunga', 'Myponga', 'Anacotilla', etc. Many more survive to this day on unpublished maps by the first surveyors, unknown to the public until the present project. Others survived for a few years when used by the surveyors for nearby trig stations, or by new settlers for districts and properties. Some of the latter got into the Almanacs and Land Returns of the 1840s as addresses for the landowners, only to be forgotten after a few years. Such were all three of the names in Wattle Flat.

In 1838¹⁰ – as soon as the Country Surveys began, probably even before land was made available in the 'Yankalilla District' – the Irishman John Clarke moved onto Section 495 in the upper reaches of the valley.¹¹ There he built the homestead which would become the well-known 'Wattle Hills',¹² brought home his new wife in 1840, and raised a family of 7 sons and 4 daughters.¹³ He eventually acquired 21 sections in Wattle Flat,¹⁴ including by 1848 the adjacent sections 494 on the south and

⁷ See PNS 5.01/07 Karragarlangga.

⁸ See PNS 5.01/08 Karraputangga.

⁹ See PNS 5.01/10 Kadlatiyangga.

¹⁰ Roy F Williams 1985/1991, *To Find The Way: History of the Western Fleurieu Peninsula*, Third Printing, Yankalilla & District Historical Society Inc.: 241; 'History of Wattle Flat' [n.d., no author: probably Roy Williams], Yankalilla & District Historical Society (YDHS) archive CD 2857. If Williams is right about the date 1838 for Clarke's first occupation of Wattle Flat, it would be another 10 years before Section 495 was officially granted to him: see its listing as "Clarke's" on Plan 6/20, and the Survey Department's interpretation of this in the light of surrounding sections, "495 John Clarke 20/12/48" ('Corporals Ide & Baker RSM, Dec 1840, 268 sections', p.2, in 'Fleurieu Peninsula Surveys', History Books Vol.16/30, SA Geographical Names Unit). In the 1840s was Clarke squatting on Crown 'waste land', or occupying under a special provision associated with Declaration of Acreage Returns? It seems there was some legal arrangement about occupation and ownership before the paperwork was completed for an official grant of land. The same questions arise with Heathcote.

¹¹ On today's Main South Road, at the big southwesterly bend 7 km west of Myponga town.

¹² Now 'Brentwood Park'.

¹³ Williams: 241.

¹⁴ Williams: 241.

491 on the southwest; later 497, 499 and 500 a little further up towards Myponga; and others more distant, such as 411 in the hills at the junction of Wild Dog Creek with the upper Carrickalinga.¹⁵ In an 1847 almanac Clarke's address – presumably that of his homestead on Section 495 – was listed as "Carrowaytung".¹⁶

In 1841 James Elkington Boord "and others" bought Section 410¹⁷ in the middle of the Flat, around today's Main South Road on the south side of Carrickalinga River, immediately southwest of Bowyer Bridge. Here he settled with his brothers John Charles, Septimus and Samuel. In 1842 one of them was registered as Postmaster for 'Yankalilla'.¹⁸ At the beginning of 1843, "Boord, JC & S" appeared in two almanacs with the address "Carawaloonga"¹⁹ – although in other publications "Mr Boord's station" could be described as being "at Curry-kalinga".²⁰ However, 'Carawaloonga' was a clerical mistranscription. What 'JC & S Boord' actually wrote in 1843 was "Carrawatoonga", but they (or he, whichever of them actually wrote the letters) frequently failed to cross the letter 't'.²¹ Other versions of the Boord address – mostly mis-transcriptions or perhaps mis-hearings – followed in subsequent almanacs.²² It seems likely that by 1846 the Boord brothers were losing interest in Wattle Flat – perhaps selling off section 410 – and beginning their known businesses in Adelaide and the copper mining near Burra.²³

Meanwhile another settler was busy acquiring land in Wattle Flat as well as sections around Myponga Beach. This was John Heathcote (senior).²⁴ He had arrived in the colony in October 1845 with his wife and two sons, John Wordsworth and George Frederick (henceforth 'JW' and

¹⁵ See Henry Ide & William Baker 1840, 'Plan of 268 sections in the Vallies of the Myponga', Plan 6/20 (GNU). Map 1 of this essay shows Clarke's sections.

¹⁶ Murray 1847, *South Australian Almanack & Town & Country Directory for 1847*, A. Murray: 84.

¹⁷ SA Register 27/2/1841: 3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27442279/2050026>; CT 62/187.

¹⁸ GRG 24/6/1842/706.

¹⁹ Cotter's Almanac 1843: 178; Macdougall's Almanac 1843: 13.

²⁰ Register 27/5/1843 quoted in GH Manning 2010: 165, 1342.

²¹ We know this because we have the manuscript of two letters written by 'JC & S Boord' on 6th and 11th October 1843 concerning a "Dispute over the boundary of a sheep run near Carrawaloonga" (the government archivist's heading; he too had misread this 't', but there are plenty of others in the letters). As another example of the fluid usage of place-names in this era, the offending 'Messrs Jones' next door were calling their block "the Carracalinga Run". See GRG 24/6_1843-1259, State Records.

²² "Corrawaloonga" (1844 Cotter); "Carrawatoonga" (1844 Allen); "Carrawootunga" (1845 Bennett); and "Conaralunga" (1846 Murray).

²³ No Boord is mentioned in connection with the south after the 1846 Almanac. Perhaps they had sold Section 410 by the end of 1845, or were planning to sell it in 1846. Certificates of Title searches have so far turned up no information about ownership of Section 410 between 1842 and 1865. The almanacs trace the progress of the Boord family's movements: 1847 Stephens: 109 "Boord, JC., stockholder, Cowandillah"; 1847 Murray: 106 "Boord, John Charles, Reed Beds" (in Adelaide); 1848 Stephens: xvii "Boord, FA., Torrens; Boord, S., Burra Mines; Boord, JC., Reed Beds"; 1849 Stephens: ii "Boord, S. storekeeper, Kooringa" (near Burra); *ibid.*: iv "Boord, Fredk A. farmer, Torrens near Adelaide"; 1850 Murray: xxxviii "Boord, Frederick Alexander, Torrens"; 1851 Murray: 186 "Boord, Alexander F, Batcombe; Boord, Frederick, Para Plains; Boord, S, storekeeper, Kooringa"; 1851 Platts: 111 "Boord brothers, storekeepers, Hindley-street & at Kooringa; Boord, Septimus, Kooringa".

²⁴ John Heathcote senior (1801-1887) must be distinguished from his son John Wordsworth Heathcote (JW, 1825?-1886). Both of them became big names in the southern districts. It seems that John Senior had no middle name.

'GF' for clarity).²⁵ Heathcote senior and JW went on to become huge landowners in the 1850s and later, with sections throughout the whole region from Myponga Beach to the Yankalilla River.²⁶ These included two near the main road (Wattle Flat 492 and 493 immediately south of Clarke's 491 and 494), and two right on it (417 immediately north of Bowyer Bridge, and 418 next north of that). When the 1847 almanac was prepared – at the end of 1846 or beginning of 1847 – it listed Heathcote's address as "Karrowaytonga",²⁷ which is pretty clearly a variant spelling of Boord's 'Carrawatoonga'. In September of the same year the newspapers published letters by Heathcote written from "Karrawatonga" (or perhaps "Karrawatoonga") to support his case against a neighbour called Burrow who had illegally "depastured sheep on the waste lands of the Crown, he not being in lawful occupation thereof".²⁸ All the spellings in these are subject to clerical error, but once again we have manuscript evidence for the landowner's version. In July 1848 Heathcote – in very neat and legible script – wrote again from "Karrawatonga", this time to complain about "the bridge made by Clarke & Regan over the Creek on my Section". The offenders had used contract labour to build a new bridge which (in Heathcote's view) should have been "placed in the middle of the road" (i.e. public land) "or its former position" (perhaps on Clarke's land or Crown waste land).²⁹ It is likely that this matter erupted because Clarke and Heathcote occupied neighbouring sections. If so, these 1848 sections may have been Heathcote's 492 and Clarke's 491, which share a small creek across their boundary.³⁰ If we could be sure of this, it might be supporting evidence for the location of Heathcote's 'Karrawatonga'; but we would still need confirmation that 492 was where he had a *homestead* in 1848.³¹ It has proved remarkably difficult to pin down this crucial item in the

²⁵ SA Register 15/10/1845: 2b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27451126/2285939>.

²⁶ However, most of the estate was broken up or sold off after the death of John senior in 1887 (SA Register 28/11/1887: 4f, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/46831562/4050241>). JW had predeceased him in 1886 (Evening Journal 5/7/1886, p2b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/197819310/22399693>).

²⁷ Murray 1847, *South Australian Almanack & Town & Country Directory for 1847*, A. Murray: 85. The name – in the identical spelling, attached to the same year – also occurs in an obituary for John senior's nephew: let's call him 'JE', 1848-1930: "The death of Mr. John Edward Heathcote, aged 82, which took place at Yankalilla on December 1, removed an old resident from the district. Mr. Heathcote was born in England and came out to his uncle, Mr. John Heathcote, of Karrowaytonga (1847) and later on of Manor Farm, Yankalilla" (Adelaide Chronicle 11/12/1930: 36b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90469268/8657871>; identical text and spelling in Advertiser 4/12/1930: 11d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/29851828/2468592>). From the figures given, JE could not have come out in 1847. He was "born about 1850. He had arrived by 1872" (Margaret Morgan p.c. comments on a draft of this essay, email 21/5/21; sources include Register 21/2/1881). This obituary cannot count as an independent record of the place-name; nor could it have been dredged up from the family letter archives, where they would have found John senior spelling it 'Karrawatonga' (see below). The anonymous reporter who cobbled the article so hastily probably took 'Karrowaytonga 1847' from Murray's 1847 Almanack without connecting the dots of his own information.

²⁸ 'Waste Lands Act', SA Register, 18/9/1847: 4a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/48546361/4147942> and <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/48546358/4147942>. The last two syllables are spelled "onga" in that this Register version (which is probably his original spelling), but "oonga" in another newspaper which published the same letters (SA Gazette & Colonial Register 18/9/1847: 3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/195935320/22339402>).

²⁹ GRG 35/2/1848/275 and 305 (State Records).

³⁰ See a good online map, e.g. the SA government's SAPP, <https://sappa.plan.sa.gov.au/>, which shows part of this Clarke-Heathcote boundary as a short 'Private Access' road about midway between Wattle Hills HS and the Bowyer Bridge, and the rest of it as the boundary between Lot 3 and Lot 22. It is crossed by a small creek, now managed by several dams.

³¹ Margaret Morgan considers the likelihood of Section 492 as follows: "I have my doubts that Heathcote [senior] had a homestead at Wattle Flat – he lived in Adelaide. But his sons lived somewhere in the district, and so I guess where they lived could be classed as the Heathcote homestead. One possibility is section 492. That was granted to JW Heathcote in

formative 1840s, or even which sections he was actively farming then out of the 999 acres in the Hundred of Myponga which he declared on 6th April 1847.³²

WHERE WAS KARRAWATUNGGA?

The original Kaurna name probably referred to a specific site or relatively small and defined area. Neither the homesteads of Clarke, Boord and Heathcote nor the modern suburb Wattle Flat can lay any exclusive claim to a location for it. The valley might do so; or perhaps a particular part of it.

The names 'Myponga', 'Yankalilla' and 'Curracalinga' had long been appropriated for districts much larger and differently defined than anything referred to by their Kaurna originals. By contrast, 'Carrawatoonga' and its variants were used only for a short time by a few people probably within a fairly small area. Clearly they saw this not as the name of an individual property but as some kind of shared 'district' name. If we know where their homesteads were – where exactly they sat to write while perceiving themselves to be in or at this place – this will be our first available clue to where the original Kaurna place was.

Some of the evidence for its location – as perceived by these early settlers – is pretty clear. The same almanac, Murray 1847, listed John Clarke as 'Carrowaytunga', and the identical spelling also for George Foreman,³³ who had been a labourer for the Boord brothers and was probably still living on their section 410 at the time when Murray was compiling his information.³⁴ This fixes the name in the northern half of today's Wattle Flat, around the mid-to-upper reaches of the valley – if Heathcote was living in the same area at that time. The same almanac listed Heathcote with a closely similar variant, "Karrowaytonga",³⁵ but no other place referent.

1852. *Perhaps he was leasing this section before deciding to buy it? I checked the 1856 rate assessment book; it does seem to indicate that there was a house or cottage on section 492 by 1856. G & C Sharpe owned sections 410, 492, & 493 and had 3 cottages, presumably one on each section. The one on 492 could possibly have been built by Heathcote (sen or jun)*" (Margaret Morgan p.c., annotations on a draft of this essay, email 21/5/2021). Morgan shows that Heathcote senior was living in Adelaide in 1852-6 (Tavistock Buildings, Rundle St) before moving permanently to Yankalilla town in 1856; while his sons JW and GF moved into the area "probably before 1850" (Margaret Morgan draft 'John Heathcote senior', p.c. email 19/5/21). But if Heathcote senior had never resided in Wattle Flat before the 1850s, it would be a mystery why he gave 'Karrowatonga' for his address as a correspondent in 1847-8.

³² SA *Government Gazette* 15/3/1847: 123, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/sa_gazette/1847/15/123.pdf. Wattle Flat is wholly located in the Hundred of Myponga. The figure of 999 acres approximates to about 12 or 13 Sections of around 80 acres each (the standard size given in the surveyors' instructions). Many of Heathcote's were at or near Myponga Beach northwest of Wattle Flat. At the same time he had 490 acres (about 6 sections) in the Hundred of Yankalilla, south of Wattle Flat ('Abstract of Acreage Returns up to 31st December 1847', J Stephens *Almanack* 1848: 68).

³³ Murray 1847: 84.

³⁴ George Foreman had worked for Robert Thomas's printing business "about 4 years", i.e. c.1839-1843 (*Register* 8 /1/1902: 6e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/56233473/4409722>); then on Boord's farm "for about 3½ years", i.e. c.1843-7 (*Evening Journal* 9/9/1901: 2, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/207955987/22417778>). The Murray almanac would have been compiled sometime between December 1846 and March 1847.

³⁵ Murray 1847: 85.

Everything we know so far about the location of 'Heathcote's station' in the Wattle Flat area can be summarized as follows:

- It was probably used as a Post office in late 1849 and 1850, under the name of GF Heathcote.³⁶
- For the two years 1849-50 Heathcote gave his address as 'Cudlatiyunga'.³⁷
- In a published travel diary of 19 November 1850 "Mr Heathcote's station, called Cudlatyunga or some similar name" appears to be "at" the River Carrickalinga and on its north side. This – though not under the name *Karrawatungga* – is the nearest we currently come to a location for Heathcote's Wattle Flat station. It seems to put it just across the river from Boord's old 410; i.e. near Bowyer Bridge on one of the sections 407, 417, 420 or perhaps 250.³⁸
- But the "Yankallilla Post Office" was also described five weeks later as being on "a road" and "six miles inland", according to the diary of traveller Edward Snell.³⁹ This approximates to the stretch of main road in the vicinity of Sections 492, 418, or perhaps 417,⁴⁰ less than a kilometre northeast of those listed above.

THE NAME: EVALUATING THE HISTORICAL RECORDS IN THE LIGHT OF KAURNA LINGUISTICS:

Which of these rather late records of the *name* are most reliable?

Clarke was allegedly present at the 'Wattle Hills' site as early as 1838, before the surveys began. If so, it is possible that he may have obtained the name directly from Kaurna occupants of the area. But the area must have had preliminary explorations by others, however brief, as a prelude to being made available to him; and we have no record that any of these three settlers had direct contact or conversation with local First People. By the time of the earliest records of 'Carawatoonga' etc – the mid-to-late 1840s – they had no need for Aboriginal guides, unlike the first surveyors in 1839-40. By then there were lines for proposed roads laid down by the surveyors

³⁶ SA Government Gazette 23 Aug 1849: 394, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/sa_gazette/1849/36/394.pdf; 28/3/1850: 204, http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/sa_gazette/1850/13/204.pdf; Murray Almanac 1850: 53.

³⁷ Almanacs: Allen 1849: 188; Murray 1850: xlvi.

³⁸ Heathcote senior was the original grantee of Section 417 in 1853 (CT 170/29). He still owned it in 1856 when he was listed there in the Rate Assessments book (Morgan p.c., email 10/5/21). In the same year (according to Williams) Thomas Kenny owned 417 and there was a house on it (Williams: 352, no source cited). Of the other three of these sections, there is not yet any direct evidence that the Heathcotes ever owned or leased any; but Margaret Morgan says that a check of the Application Packets would probably show whether this was the case (Morgan p.c., comments on draft of this essay, email 21/5/21). Williams says that Kenny leased 407 from Heathcote at some time after 1856 (Williams: 352); but cites no source. The original grantee of 407 was Christopher Rawson in 1841 (CT 193/50); and of 420, Samuel Smith in 1841 (CT 252/6). The sections around Bowyer Bridge were prime choice land on a main road, and no doubt were snapped up early in one way or another. For more about Heathcote's mysterious Wattle Flat station, see PNS 5.01/10 "Cudlatiyunga".

³⁹ Edward Snell (Tom Griffiths ed) 1988, *The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell*, North Ryde, Angus & Robertson: 197.

⁴⁰ Margaret Morgan reports that she cannot find Section 418 among those listed in the 1856 Rate Assessment book. But it did list 492, which by then apparently had a house or cottage on it (p.c. comment on this essay in email 21/5/21).

(at least on maps), some visible vehicle tracks, and even a few primitive roads leading between homesteads.⁴¹

Firstly, the hard manuscript evidence:

We know that our earliest record, Boord in 1843, spelled it 'Carrawatoonga'. Heathcote in 1848 spelled it 'Karrawatonga'. In phonetic terms these agree about everything except the fourth written vowel. Heathcote's English written 'o' could represent either *u* (as in 'full')⁴² or phonetic *a* (as in 'father').⁴³ But Boord's 'oo' decides the issue, because it must certainly represent phonetic *u*, and indicates more careful listening.⁴⁴

Following Kaurna language habits, we can be sure that its rhythm was $-^{\wedge}-^{\wedge}$ (like English 'Cara Wattering'), *not* $-^{\wedge}-^{\wedge}$ (like 'faraway Tonga'). It is almost certainly a compound of two Kaurna words.

Secondly, the indirect published evidence. All of this is subject to clerical error in the transcription of handwriting, or to mis-hearing if the information was collected from the landowners orally. Since it does not change the analysis below, I relegate this section to a footnote.⁴⁵

⁴¹ But two examples from late 1850 show that even then a traveller could get lost in the Fleurieu hills:

– those above Wattle Flat: e.g. 'Old Colonist' on the way to Bald Hills (see 'Sketches of the Present State of SA, No. V', *SA Register* 26/3/1851: 3d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/38449176/3933547> = EM Yelland [ed.] 1970, *Colonists, Copper and Corn in the Colony of South Australia 1850-51*, Revised edition, Adelaide 1983: 29-30).

– or those southeast of Willunga: e.g. an experienced bush traveller inadvertently arrived at Currency Creek instead of Encounter Bay (see Edward Snell, ed. Tom Griffiths 1988, *The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell*, North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson: 179).

⁴² – as it does sometimes in Wyatt's wordlist, e.g. his 'Tongke' = *tungki*. There is a continuity between the sounds *u* > *o* > *a*, and the interaction between a writer's aural perceptions and his choice of how to write it down will depend partly on his own English accent. Also, in Kaurna language the sounds *o* and *u* are treated as variant pronunciations of 'the same' phoneme.

⁴³ – as it does in 'Myponga' = *Maitpangga*.

⁴⁴ – unlike 'a' which is the default letter for any unstressed or unclear vowel, or 'o' which is ambiguous.

⁴⁵ PUBLISHED RECORDS OF THE NAME:

For George Foreman there is only the one published record, the 1847 Murray almanac. Here Foreman and Clarke (the latter using the name for the first time) were listed as "*Carrowaytung*a", and Heathcote as "*Karrowaytung*a". These two spellings differ *from each other* only in the first written consonant ('c' and 'k'), which is not an audible difference at all. But three of their vowels differ in potentially significant ways *from the MS spellings*:

1. The second vowel is printed as 'o' instead of MS 'a'; but we may ignore this in favour of the clear MSS, especially because this syllable is unstressed. An unstressed vowel can easily be mistaken by an untrained listener. Also, a handwritten 'a' is easily mis-transcribed as 'o'. And we know anyway that it was 'a' in MS before and after this record.

2. In particular, the stressed third vowel, written as 'ay', would make the third syllable phonetically *wai* rather than the MSS *wa*. It is unlikely that 'way' would have been given in all three listings unless somebody was actually pronouncing the syllable as in the English word 'way'. If so, then that person was probably a newcomer who thought he heard something like an English model, such as 'caraway seed'. Or perhaps he adapted 'caraway' as a joke. We may ignore *wai*.

3. The almanac's fourth vowel 'u' must represent a phonetic *a* (as in English 'but', *not* as in 'put'). This would make the two syllables *tangga* (rhyming with English 'hunger'). But the case is similar to the second vowel above: the syllable is

From these records we can be fairly certain that the original Kurna word was something very like *Karra-watungga*.⁴⁶

THE NAME: POSSIBLE ETYMOLOGIES OF *KARRA-WATUNGGA*:

The Compound Noun is clearly Kurna, since it ends with the standard Kurna Locative *ngga* ('at, place of') and fits the associated language rules about the number of syllables.⁴⁷

The first word of the Compound, *karra*:

Karra means 'high', and was also used to name the River Red Gum (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*). Intriguingly, there are three *karra* names in the general vicinity of Wattle Flat: this one, and those first recorded as 'Karrapootunga'⁴⁸ and 'Curracalinga'.⁴⁹ Do they all refer to 'height', or all to redgums, or some of each?

The second word, *watungga* or the like:

The root of *watungga* is a noun something like *watu*. Remembering that Kurna distinguishes between the sounds *t* and *d* only as variant pronunciations of the same phonemic meaning, this has several candidates in Kurna language:

- *watto* (New Spelling *watu*) 'branch of a tree'.
- *wadu* (New Spelling *waatu*) 'a noise; a moment or pause in the song of the *Marri Meyu*,⁵⁰ where they give a low, deep shout at the end of the song'; or (as an Adverb) 'in partnership; together'.
- *warto* (New Spelling *wartu*; the *rt* is a Retroflex *t*) 'wombat'.
- *wardu* (New Spelling *wardu*; the *rd* is a Tapped *r*) 'warm'.

unstressed (like '-sen-' in 'passenger') and easily mistaken; a carelessly written 'o' can be mis-transcribed as 'a'. And again it is contradicted by Heathcote's MS 'o' and Boord's MS 'oo'. We may likewise dismiss this as a mistake. The 1930 reference to "*Karrowaytunga* (1847)" was almost certainly quoted from the Murray Almanac. Thus we can retain our phonemic analysis as above: the Kurna original was *Karra-watungga*.

⁴⁶ There remains a teasing historical tangent: How did the same three 'coincidental' mistakes arise three times in the one almanac, but with one *inaudible* difference ('c' versus 'k')? In 1846-7, did these three local settlers agree about their common district name, but orally rather than in writing? Foreman would almost certainly have obtained it from either Clarke or Boord, or perhaps from the newcomer Heathcote. Was it Foreman who reported to the almanac for him and Clarke (quoting Boord inaccurately)? Did Heathcote report independently, going along with most of the new spelling but retaining his own preferred 'K'? Or did some clerk or reporter write it down three times from oral information, forgetting how he spelled it the first time?

⁴⁷ A two-syllable root must use the Locative *ngga*; a three-syllable root must use the other Locative *illa*; e.g. *witu* > *Witungga*, but *yarnkalya* > *Yarnkalyilla*.

⁴⁸ 'Karrapootunga' probably belonged somewhere in the hilly area west of Wattle Flat (see PNS 5.01/08 Karraputangga).

⁴⁹ Probably somewhere between 'Karrapootunga' and the river mouth (see PNS 5.01/07 Karrakalingga).

⁵⁰ 'East People', i.e. the Peramangk people of the ranges.



Can historical records, or the topography or ecology or even the general location of the Wattle Flat area, support any of these meanings, or suggest a more particular site?

While 'Karrapootunga' to the west is certainly 'high' on the ridge around Forktree Rd, the valley of Wattle Flat is certainly not, especially in comparison with the main range rising up on the east.

The entire river system here is Redgum country. Perhaps within the surrounding region Wattle Flat was notable as 'the place of redgum branches', *Karra-wattongga* (N.Sp. *Karra-watungga*). But how would this distinguish it from 'Karrapootunga' and especially from *Karra-kalanga* which was also on the river, and possibly meaning 'place of redgum [or 'high'] campfire or firewood'?)

Was Wattle Flat noted for its wombats? Was it a 'redgum and wombat place', *Karra-wartongga* (N.Sp. *Karra-wartungga*)?

Was it 'warm' in winter compared with the surrounding heights and coastal campsites, so that it was known as 'the warm place with redgums', *Karra-wardungga*? – perhaps implying a redgum place where you didn't need as many campfires as you did at valleys higher up (Myponga?) or nearer the coast. Other geographers will have to assess whether this etymology could be credible.

Was it *Karra-waatungga*, 'place of ceremonial shouts [amid] redgums'? Was it one of the notable places for ceremonies or large gatherings, where the *palti waatu* ('song shout') – the *yaki waatu* ('deep roaring noise') – was heard frequently, or on important occasions such as formal visits of the East People?⁵¹

ABORIGINAL ROUTES AROUND WATTLE FLAT:

The 'redgum song shout' theory might find support in the geography of the area and the travel routes it determined.

From the memories of old residents of the area in the 19th and early 20th centuries, we know that the sheltered valley of Wattle Flat was a significant stage in the annual travels of families who were identified as 'from Encounter Bay'. It is pretty certain that these groups would usually have included Kaurna relatives, though after about 1850 these would have been in a minority and much less

⁵¹ It is not necessary to suppose that the East People were the only ones who used this dramatic communal *waatu* vocalization at the end of a ceremony; it may be that they were the only ones whom Teichelmann and Schürmann had seen doing it. On the other hand, Wattle Flat was 'just down the road' from the border territory of the Myponga valley, which was often swampy and very cold in winter (see PNS 5.01/05 Maitpangga). Did the East People come to *Karra-wadungga* (N.Sp. *Karra-waatungga*) for intertribal ceremonies?

visible to outsiders. We may reconstruct some of their routes, with the aid of some historical accounts of travellers at first contact who were guided by Aboriginal bushmen.⁵²

*Natives from Encounter Bay were reported journeying up the valley of the Inman River, following the Yankalilla River to the Gorge and going through Wattle Flat to Myponga Beach. This most likely occurred when there was a plentiful supply of yabbies in the fresh waters of the rivers and when fish and shellfish were available at the Gorge and Myponga beaches.*⁵³

Myponga Beach to the northwest was a favoured destination.⁵⁴ To get there from Wattle Flat you could go northwest over the high ridge, probably via either Wattle Hills Rd or Forktree Rd, to Myponga Beach Rd.

To the east, the shortest route to Encounter Bay went up the Carrickalinga River roughly along Wild Dog Creek Rd, then steeply up the high range, possibly via Newbold Rd and Kemmis Hill Rd, or perhaps one of the ridges in Myponga Conservation Park; probably along part of Bald Hills Rd and the James Track; then down to the valley of the Inman.⁵⁵

A few km north, Maitpangga – the high valley of the Myponga River (from today's reservoir through the town and to Pages Flat) – was well-travelled, and no doubt well-frequented when the high plateau of Murtaparingga near Spring Mount saw intertribal ceremonies such as the one enshrined in the story of Kondoli the Whale Man. Or you could go from Maitpangga northwest over Sellicks Hill onto the plains.⁵⁶

To the south you could head by various routes for the coast at Carrickalinga, the *Pangkarla* (River Bungala at Normanville) or *Yarnkalyilla* (Lady Bay).

⁵² See Maps 2 and 3 in this essay.

⁵³ Williams 1991: 19. To the same item of local memory another chronicle adds "*This was when the salmon were running*" (typescript, no author [Roy F Williams?], n.d., 'Yankalilla', Yankalilla & District Historical Society digital archive #18-19). On the 'salmon run' see also Steve Hemming 1985, 'Aborigines at Port Willunga: Reminiscences of Thomas Martin', *Journal of Anthropological Society of SA* 23(9), online via <http://www.anthropologysocietysa.com/home/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/>; also my essays on all the named places of the Gulf coast from Rapid Bay to Brighton. Williams again: "*According to reports handed down over the years, it is likely that Aboriginals left their camping grounds at Encounter Bay and made an annual walkabout up the valley of the Inman River, over the Bald Hills and down the Yankalilla River valley to the beaches near the Gorge. This is most likely to have happened at the time of the year when yabbies were most plentiful in these rivers and fish were plentiful off the beaches near the Gorge. The salt content of the rivers has increased with the clearing of the land and yabbies are not so plentiful these days... Natives used to meet at a large burnt out tree, which would provide some shelter, on Section 411, Myponga Wild Dog Creek*" (Roy Williams 1982, 'The History of Parawa', Yankalilla & District Historical Society #1782). There is more about Section 411 in PNS 5.01/10 'Cudlatiyunga'.

⁵⁴ See PNS 5.01/02 Kauwayarlungga.

⁵⁵ See Maps 2 and 3. In September 1837 Mullawirraburka – then called 'Onkaparinga Jack', later 'King John' – guided an official expedition on foot from Adelaide to Encounter Bay; he came south from Myponga valley and used this part of the route (Charles Mann 1837, 'General Description of The Country from Adelaide to Encounter Bay', BRG 42/52, SLSA: 3; William Wyatt 1838, letter to J.C. Mathews, *SA Record* 1(8) [8 Aug 1838]: 83b-c). In November 1850 'Old Colonist' used it as far as Bald Hills (*SA Register* 26/3/1851: 3d = Yelland 1983: 29-30).

⁵⁶ See PNS 5.01/05 Maitpangga.



CONCLUSIONS: A NAMED KAURNA PLACE?

In reconstructing what we can of the ancient cultural map, we should not ignore the various uncertainties of location, meaning and significance, but recognize them and hold them as questions pending further investigation by others in future. Perhaps none of them can now be answered, and we will never know the true meaning of *Karrawatungga*.⁵⁷ Or perhaps future work by Aboriginal researchers and their collaborators – with feet on the ground and archaeology under it – may turn up more clues.

References to background documents

For full texts and background of primary documents in the four essays 'Around Carrickalinga Creek', with compiled information about relevant sections, named places, early roads, and early settler properties, see the compilation document '**BACKGROUND7CarrickaCk.pdf**' – available online by arrangement with KWP.

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SEE ALSO MAPS ON THE NEXT 4 PAGES:

⁵⁷ Many place-names do not have a contemporary dictionary meaning (e.g. 'Rome', 'London'). But this is unlikely to be the case with a name which can easily be interpreted as a Compound with known vocabulary.

MAPS ON THE NEXT 3 PAGES:

p.18 – MAP 1: Some Sections in Wattle Flat 1840s-50s (annotated by Schultz 2021).

Base map: SA Government, SAPPA website <https://sappa.plan.sa.gov.au/> [20/4/21].

p.19 – MAP 2: Possible Aboriginal routes around Wattle Flat (annotated by Schultz 2021).

Base map: SA Government, NatureMaps website <http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps> [21/4/21].

p.20 – MAP 3: Possible Aboriginal routes between Section 411 & Inman Valley (annotated by Schultz 2021).

Base map: SA Government, NatureMaps website <http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps> [21/4/21].

CAUTION:

On Maps 2 and 3, of course the Aboriginal routes which I have marked are all approximate and in varying degrees conjectural. They are given here as pointers toward more precise work in future, reading the country on the ground in much more detail, with the aid of any other relevant old records or memories of Aboriginal travel tracks which may come to light.

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End of Summary

new place names (0)

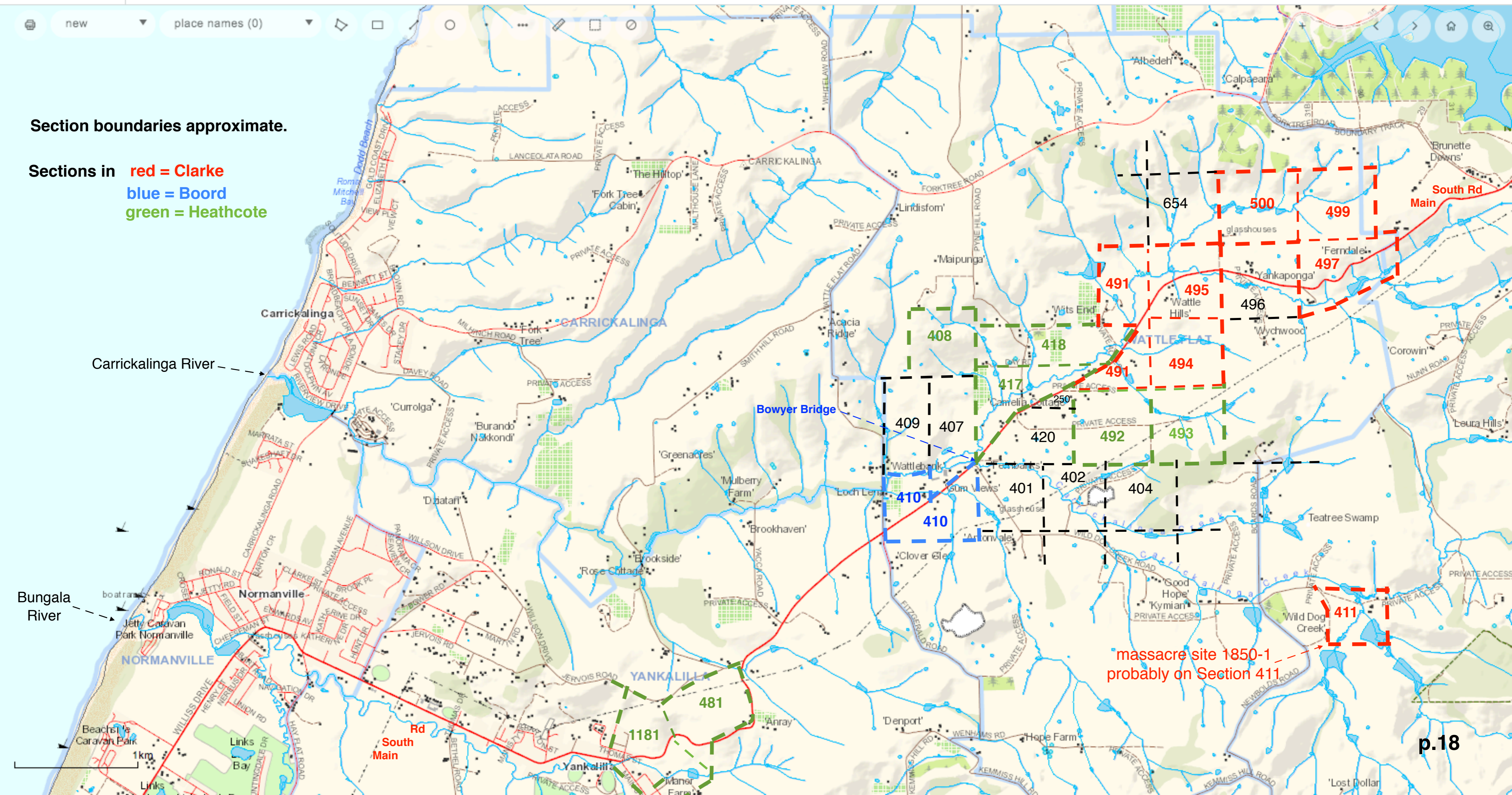
Section boundaries approximate.

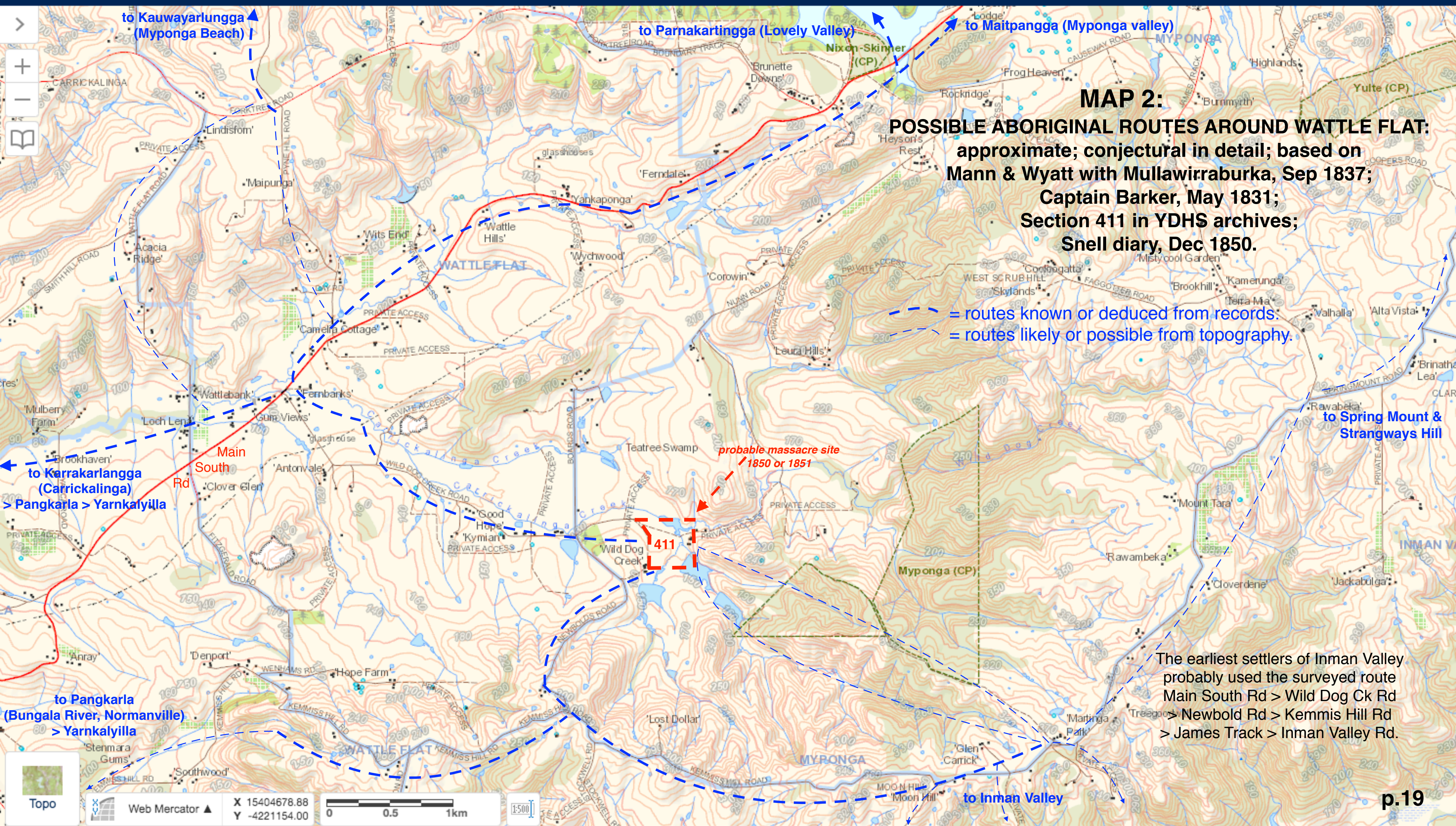
Sections in **red = Clarke**
blue = Boord
green = Heathcote

Carrickalinga River

Bungala River

massacre site 1850-1
 probably on Section 411





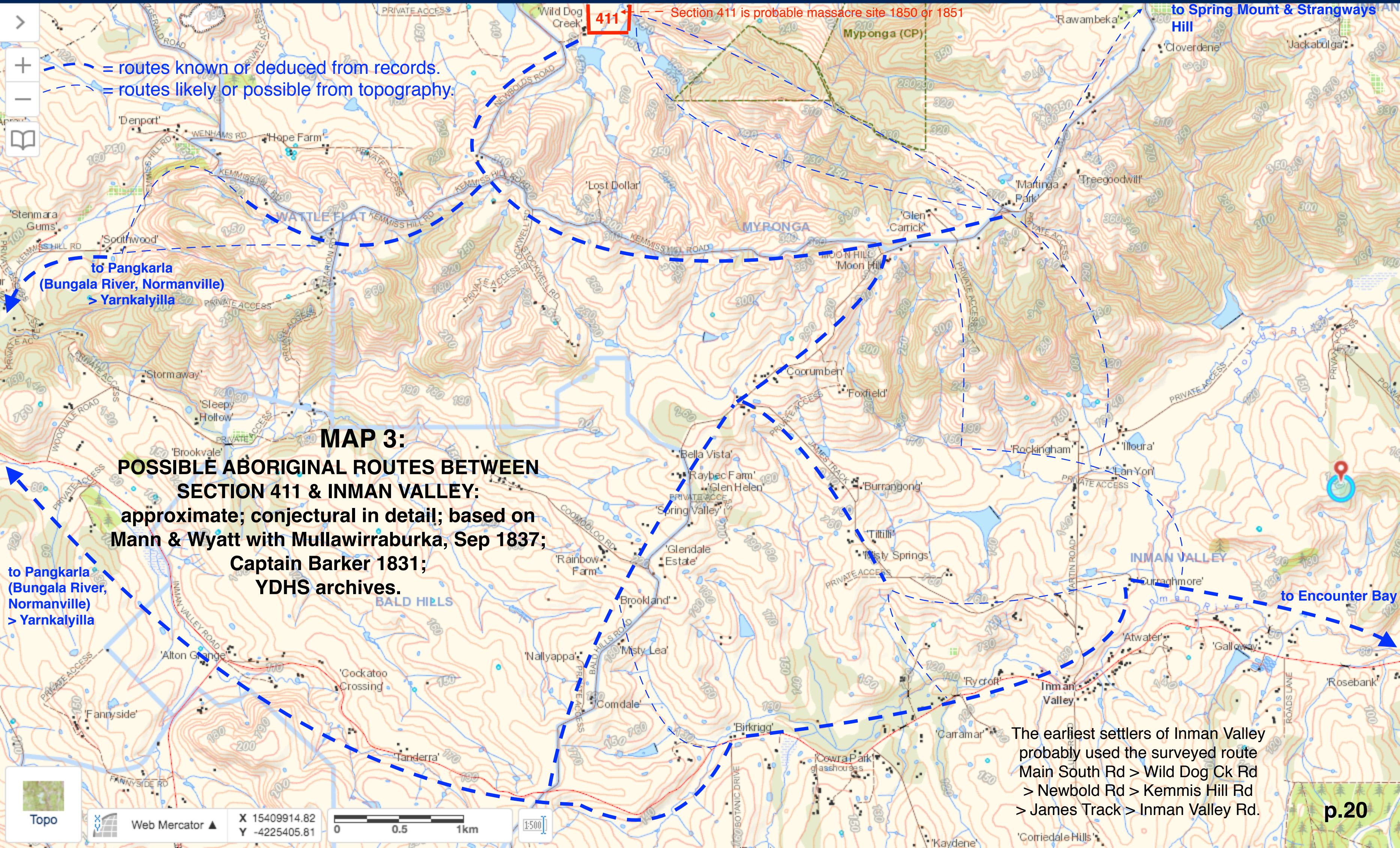
MAP 2:
POSSIBLE ABORIGINAL ROUTES AROUND WATTLE FLAT:
 approximate; conjectural in detail; based on
 Mann & Wyatt with Mullawirraburka, Sep 1837;
 Captain Barker, May 1831;
 Section 411 in YDHS archives;
 Snell diary, Dec 1850.

= routes known or deduced from records.
 = routes likely or possible from topography.



probable massacre site
 1850 or 1851

The earliest settlers of Inman Valley probably used the surveyed route
 Main South Rd > Wild Dog Ck Rd > Newbold Rd > Kemmis Hill Rd
 > James Track > Inman Valley Rd.

Topo
 Web Mercator ▲ X 15404678.88 Y -4221154.00
 0 0.5 1km
 1:500



Section 411 is probable massacre site 1850 or 1851

 = routes known or deduced from records.
 = routes likely or possible from topography.

MAP 3:
POSSIBLE ABORIGINAL ROUTES BETWEEN SECTION 411 & INMAN VALLEY:
 approximate; conjectural in detail; based on Mann & Wyatt with Mullawirraburka, Sep 1837; Captain Barker 1831; YDHS archives.

The earliest settlers of Inman Valley probably used the surveyed route
 Main South Rd > Wild Dog Ck Rd
 > Newbold Rd > Kemmis Hill Rd
 > James Track > Inman Valley Rd.