



FEET ON THE FLEURIEU LANGUAGE ON THE LAND

**Aboriginal women and men, their communities,
and Kangaroo Islanders**

BOOK 1: March 1802 – January 1837

Chester Schultz

**FEET ON THE FLEURIEU,
LANGUAGE ON THE LAND:**

**Aboriginal women and men,
their communities,
and Kangaroo Islanders:**

**the story of the earliest guides, explorers and interpreters
around Fleurieu Peninsula (South Australia)**

**BOOK 1:
Fleurieu Story, March 1802 – January 1837**

**by
Chester Schultz**

FEET ON THE FLEURIEU, LANGUAGE ON THE LAND: Aboriginal women and men, their communities, and Kangaroo Islanders: the story of the earliest guides, explorers and interpreters around Fleurieu Peninsula (South Australia): BOOK 1: Fleurieu Story, March 1802 – January 1837 by Chester Schultz (1945-).

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Published by Chester Schultz 2023.

Maps by Chester Schultz, produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthismapping.com.au/>.

Cover design by Rod Boucher.

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ISBN: eBook 978-0-6458599-0-4 Paperback 978-0-6458599-1-1

WHERE TO FIND THIS BOOK:

Feet On the Fleurieu is published online as a PDF document freely downloadable at the following websites:

<https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/resources-store/p/feet-on-the-fleurieu>

<https://lot50kanyanyapilla.com/>

<http://grweb.org/cpo-pirltawardli/en/index.php?rubric=welcomes>

and possibly other websites in future.

A limited paperback edition has been printed by MediaCom Education Inc. Copies will be deposited in libraries around Adelaide, Fleurieu Peninsula and Encounter Bay. It is also available as a non-profit print-on-demand by contacting MediaCom Education Inc. at P.O. Box 610, Unley, South Australia 5061.

Front cover photographs by Rod Boucher, 9th September 2023:

The *Yarna* ‘bald, naked’ hills of the Southern Fleurieu coastline in the region *Patpangga*, ‘South Place’:

1. Viewed from Carrickalinga North.

2. Viewed from immediately north of Haycock Point, Carrickalinga North, which is shown in the middle distance: the place where Captain Barker landed in the *Isabella*, and where George Meredith was murdered.

3. The heart of *Patpangga*: Yankalilla Bay and Plains, and Kalungku’s ‘long sandy beach with three rivers’, viewed from Forktree Road above Carrickalinga township, looking southwest:

In the middle distance, behind the scrubby spur, are the white roofs of Normanville around *Pangkarla*, the mouth of the Bungala River.

Further away on the left is Yankalilla Hill, with prominent scars of land slippage on its steep seaward face, and its distinctively straight northeastern spur with steep sides (at the left behind the isolated tree). Below it is the mouth of the Big Gorge of Yankalilla River (see also the photo on the back cover). To the right of these is the well-favoured *Yarnkalyilla* area of coastal campsites around the little estuary at Lady Bay.

From the centre to the far right are the Normanville foredunes; and off the right of the picture are the third river (Carrickalinga Creek), Haycock Point, and Carrickalinga Head.

In the background of all three photographs, the *yarna* coastline leads the eye past *Yarn’auwingga* the ‘bald place with water’ (now ‘Wirrina’, behind the first point); *Kauwi-yarlungga* the ‘place of water and sea’ (Second Valley, behind the second point); the hidden ‘remote land’ *Yarta-kurlangga* (Rapid Bay, scarred by mining); and to the sheer silhouette of *Wita-wartingga* ‘in the midst of wita gums’ [probably Mallee box] (‘N.W. Bluff’ = Rapid Head).

ABOUT FEET ON THE FLEURIEU:

I have known Chester Schultz for over thirty years and have enjoyed many discussions about Aboriginal history, particularly the fact that it is always written from the perspective of the invader. It is never a true reflection of the past and certainly never takes into consideration the impact on the local Aboriginal people and their descendants. During his research and while drafting, Chester paid close attention to capturing the character of the Aboriginal inhabitants even though they are long gone. Gone but not forgotten. Their intimate knowledge of country in those early years of the Fleurieu and Kangaroo Island made it possible for the Sealers to survive in this 'hostile' environment. This was the lot of the stolen 'natives', and he doesn't baulk from the brutal reality hidden in the histories of white Islanders. The effort, time and nuances captured in this book do justice to their memory. I hope it achieves his aim of inspiring Aboriginal people to write their own true story of this wonderful part of South Australia. This is the culmination of the journey he never knew he was on. Feet on the Fleurieu, Language on the Land is a must read for all, black or white. It brings refreshing honesty and truth to a little bit of Aboriginal Australia and honours the First Australians. A must read.

[Klynton Wanganeen, Principal Aboriginal Consultant, Bookyana Connection to Culture, Community & Country]

Chester Schultz grew up in Victor Harbor and this book is a love-letter to the Fleurieu Peninsula. It's a treasury of information relating to the Aboriginal people whose traditional country it is, and their interactions with the first British invaders. It's a narrative checkered with textboxes on ideas that deserve separate consideration: dogs, whaleboats, envy, language, individuals, place-names. There are wonderful maps (historical, reconstructed, topographical). Reading it is like looking through a kaleidoscope – we see how patterns made of fragments of information about places, people, cultural practices, and language shift when they are viewed from the sea or from the hinterland, from the perspective of sealers or official colonists, or from the unrecorded perspectives of Aborigines confronted with the invaders. And threaded through the narrative are his own reflections on how he came to care about the country and its multi-layered history.

[Jane Simpson, linguistics and Aboriginal languages researcher]

Feet On the Fleurieu is a meticulously researched study of contacts between the Aboriginal people of the southern Fleurieu – Kurna, Ramindjeri and Ngarrindjeri people – and the European explorers, sealers, whalers and other visitors who landed on the peninsula's shores between 1802 and 1837. Schultz's analysis of the complex and changing relationships between the Aboriginal people and the newcomers is interwoven with discussion of tribal and clan boundaries, local languages, place-names and mythology, and the growing impact of colonization on the traditional owners of the land. The book is accompanied by detailed maps and appendices and a comprehensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources. It is an invaluable source of information for historians, linguists, anthropologists, geographers and other researchers. Residents of the southern Fleurieu and regular visitors to the region will be fascinated by the many insights this book offers into the local landscape and history.

[Tom Gara, historian of Kurna people post-contact, biographer of Iparrityi, Murlawirrapurka & Sam Stubbs]

For all people who place their feet upon my ancient Country, please understand that we are still here. Know that our human right to exist and come home to our Country, to our “Spirit of Place”, needs to be recognised. I want to live beyond surviving in my own land. What you hold in your hands is but the first seeing from the eyes of those who claimed my lands and called them their own. My family and I have known Chester for many moons. My mother Nganki Burka Mekauwe – Senior Elder Georgina Williams – began her friendship with him more than four decades ago, and over recent years his research journey has deepened through her. In her words “The Song of the Land is the Dance of the People”. Chester Schultz is a man of song and a historical storyteller in a contemporary world. Feet On the Fleurieu is his life’s work and is to be commended. His dedication to historical bicultural research is second to none. We need truth to inform change, and his writing speaks of the voices from the period of first contact that were lost to history. I want to thank Elizabeth and family for supporting Chester in this truth-telling, which has looked back to the past to inform an authentic future.

[Karl Winda Telfer, Burka ‘Senior Man’, Mullawirra Meyunna ‘Dry Forest People’; director Yellaka ‘Old Wisdom New Ways’]

Feet On the Fleurieu is a must-read for anyone seriously interested in the Fleurieu region at the time of colonisation and the decades prior. It will be of particular interest to local Nungas seeking to understand the world of their ancestors. The author has meticulously sifted through the historical record over many years, leaving no stone unturned to tell the stories of the original peoples of this land, the Kurna and the Ramindjeri. This is a history deeply embedded in geography, linguistics and ethnography that tells a rich and comprehensive narrative carefully crafted from a highly fragmentary record.

[Rob Amery, Visiting Associate Professor of Linguistics, University of Adelaide; consultant linguist for the Kurna language reclamation movement]

It is said that history is written by the victor, not the vanquished. This has been the case for the colonising narrative of South Australia. Feet On the Fleurieu is part of redressing the dominant narrative, of providing insights into that critical period of first contact, of telling human stories, of enabling ALL of us to better understand the foundations of our place. History writing is also full of furphies, often lacking nuance and multiple perspectives. Schultz, with meticulous referencing, gives voice to the overlooked, the ‘bit players’ who actually played a big part in the bi-cultural narrative of place. Feet On the Fleurieu invites readers to be part of the coming together of two cultural paradigms that have too often been kept apart.

[Dr Gavin Malone, cultural geographer & land steward]

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A BRIEF GUIDE TO THIS BOOK:

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Chester Schultz, pianist, composer and author, was born at Victor Harbor in 1945.

At the University of Adelaide he completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in History and English (1963-7), and a Bachelor of Music in composition and ethnomusicology (1969-75), as a result of which he began a long association with the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM) and its chairperson, Auntie Leila Rankine. He was active in the Pitjantjatjara Land Rights movement in 1979-80; taught at CASM in 1980-1; and in collaboration with CASM was the chief author and researcher for the pioneering survey of post-traditional First Nations music in Australia (Marcus Breen (ed.) 1989, *Our Place, Our Music*, Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press).

His compositions include musical theatre (*No Fixed Address* 1979, *Dancing Ngutinaï* 2002); song-cycles (*Six Poems of Judith Wright* 1986, *These Legends Love* 2008 [words by WH Auden], *Songs With the Nungas* 2001-2021); choral cantatas (*Land of the Grandfathers* 1984, *Songs Further Out: an exploration through Anglo-Australian, Aboriginal, & Torres Strait Islander bush songs* 1987); instrumental music (*Ngartong [At the Turning Point]: Encounter Bay Jubilee Music for 12 cellos* 1986); a collaboration with indigenous CASM staff and the Adelaide Symphony Orchestra (*Music Is Our Culture* 1998); and environmental soundscapes (*Within Our Reach: a symphony of the Port River* 1996, re-issued in 2022 by De la Catessen).

Since 1990 he has been involved with the local Kurna, Narungga and Ngarrindjeri language reclamation movements, especially as a long-standing associate member of Kurna Warra Pintyanthi (KWP). He contributed cultural research and several songs to their songbooks in 1990 (*Narrunga, Kurna and Ngarrindjeri Songs*) and 2000 (*Kurna Paltinna: a Kurna Song Book*). From 2008 onward he has produced more than 90 online essays through the Southern Kurna Place Names Project. His research contributes to cultural mapping by the late Georgina Ngangkiburka Williams and her heir Karl Winda Telfer with Gavin Malone and their colleagues.

Since 1977 he and Liz have lived in the Port Adelaide area.

HOW TO READ THIS BOOK:

You can read the book straight through, or ‘mine’ it for details. If you are reading it digitally, you can word-search the whole text and also the map annotations.

There is no Index, but there are partial substitutes for it. Notably, you can follow topics via the large number of internal cross-references in the Footnotes. For example, try this exercise with the digital edition:

On page 97 the main text mentions that Kalinga “became the permanent partner of... Walker”. The footnote for this sentence refers you to a place where you can find out more about this topic and/or related matters: “**See Chapter 2.5.2 ‘Kalinga and Walker’**”. Then word-search for EITHER the Section Number “**2.5.2**” (write it thus within double inverted commas) OR the phrase “**kalinga and walker**” (written likewise within double inverted commas).¹

The book can be read in three different ways:

1. THE STORY QUICKLY:

You can choose to read only the Main Text, which is given in larger print like this line, ignoring the Footnotes and skipping the Textboxes. This will give you the main story and analysis, and the quick or casual reader will not miss anything crucial.

2. THE STORY WITH OPTIONAL SIDE TOPICS (TEXTBOXES WITH SUBJECT TITLES):

You can read the Main Text as above, but when you arrive at a Textbox which interests you, you can pause and read it before going on. Textboxes clarify, expand or give background to important matters raised nearby in the Main Text.

The Textboxes are in smaller print like this, enclosed by a rectangle. Each Textbox has a unique searchable number (e.g. ‘Textbox03’), and a title indicating its subject.

3. REFLECTION AND SERIOUS RESEARCH:

You can take time out from the story and read some of the Footnotes, or parts of them, and the Appendices; and/or dig into the book via word-search for targeted information (see above).

I have included large numbers of Footnotes, and many are long. They serve several functions for a researcher:

- They routinely give the primary source(s) for a quotation or item of information.
- They often give extra related details and background information.
- They often explain the reasoning for something in the main text which is uncertain or contested. Sometimes the reasoning is unavoidably complex.
- They give many cross-references to related passages in the book (see above).
- Both the Footnotes and the Bibliography include as many internet links (URLs) as I could find. In the PDF edition they are active hyperlinks, which enable you to enter directly into the source material, often with only one click. If you read from a downloaded digital copy, the URL is still active and may take you straight there; or it can be copied and pasted into your browser.

4. MAPS:

Readers of the print edition may find that on the maps at size A4 some information is too small to read easily. The maps are designed for enlarging (zooming) by readers of the digital edition. If you don’t use a computer, you can ask at a library for help in viewing it on one of their computers, using the links on Page ii under ‘Where To Find This Book’.

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¹ BUT these phrases from Section Titles are often abbreviated in the footnotes and may not always exactly match the title in the Main Text; e.g. ‘&’ instead of ‘and’. In such cases, try the Section Number instead. The full title of the sample Section above is “2.5.2 – Kalinga and Walker 1832-6: a new alliance”.

INTRODUCTION:

WHERE I COME FROM:

I was born and raised on the western fringes of Victor Harbor when it was still a small country town. I am a product of ancient granite coastlines and islands which look out on the seemingly infinite Southern Ocean; and of a middle-class church and school among which our friends included many farmers and labourers, and a couple of Aboriginal families.

The decades spent with the material of this book have continued my journey with the Aboriginal people of South Australia, a convergence which became intentional in 1973 among the people who in 1975 became the Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (CASM).

Over the decades my understandings of them, the homeland, myself and my work have changed and (I hope) deepened.

WRITING PAPER HISTORY AND GIVING THINGS BACK:

I have become increasingly aware that this book is yet another long ‘paper story’ written *about* First Peoples *by* yet another white ‘paper historian’. I know that I am able to do this only because of my position of relative social privilege among those who have benefitted from stolen land. Over the last 40 years I have been alerted to this ambiguity in my work by many Aboriginal friends in various ways: some with remarkable sustained patience and grace, others with direct and articulate challenge, some while speaking personally of the difference between their lives and mine, others indirectly while being consulted about aspects of this book.

I have come to know that paper histories like this use one particular way of knowing; and that the dominance of written literature has tended to devalue, destroy and replace that other way of knowing, Aboriginal oral history.² Paper becomes ‘Gospel’, as casual phrases in colonial documents have to serve as feeble proxies for the unwritten stories which my protagonists might have told their children.³

Even granting some inevitability about all this, and admitting the converse need for a renewing wave of First Nations paper-historians in SA, it has not been possible for me to do everything that might perhaps have been done. I would have liked to work alongside ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* and Ramindjeri-*Kornar* historians, and I made some effort to find them, with no result at that time. I would have liked to spend more time on archaeology alongside the new wave of Aboriginal archaeologists. Even in 15 years there wasn’t enough time. Nevertheless, my aim has been to give back to them what I have found: a few remnants which belong to them but have been hidden from them for so long. But ‘giving back’ is not as simple as it sounds. It can easily become an exercise in control of the intellectual space.

A WORK IN PROGRESS:

For all these reasons and more, I urge that this book must be regarded not as ‘Gospel’ but simply as today’s report of a work in progress: a beginner’s report of old scattered tracks in a huge scrub, in need of more ‘reading’ by experienced hunters who know the feet which made them.

² See e.g. Christine Morris, ‘The Oral tradition under Threat’, in Anne Pattel-Gray (ed.) 1996, *Aboriginal Spirituality: past, present, future*, Blackburn, Victoria: HarperCollins Religious). The issue was also central for the late eminent historical researcher Doreen Kartinyeri (founder of SA Museum’s Family History Unit); see her autobiography (D Kartinyeri & Sue Anderson 2008, *Doreen Kartinyeri: My Ngarrindjeri Calling*, Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press: Chapter 7, ‘Putting Black History on White Paper’, <https://lawexplores.com/putting-black-history-on-white-paper/> [19/5/23]).

³ The oral links to first-contact times have been very thoroughly broken in our part of the country. Rebe Taylor interviewed all the descendants that she could find of her protagonist, Tasmanian Kangaroo Islander Betty Thomas, but was unable to discover almost anything of what Betty herself told to her children or anyone else (TaylorR 2002/2008). It is conceivable that some memory remains of what Kalungku, ‘Emma’, Kalinga, ‘Doughboy’ and Tamuruwi told their children (Magalidi left no child); but the chances of finding it are slim, and each ancestor would need a separate book and years of research.

I invite others to use these tracks – local Aboriginal historians and their allies who seek a true and equitable knowledge, in the continuing search for a spiritually mature way of understanding our shared journey back then and from now on. Serious historians will arise among the Aboriginal stakeholders of the Fleurieu. They will need the Footnotes and Appendices. I hope to draw them into the investigation process by giving them the primary material as completely, transparently and easily as possible, not simply to present my ‘results’. They will be able to read the sources for themselves; assess how far they agree with my presentation and interpretation; correct it; and re-tell the story better from their own perspectives, from new information, and from their own oral history which I have not had time to pursue.

HOW THIS BOOK HAS GROWN:

Feet On the Fleurieu is about my homeland, the general region of South Australia which centres around the Fleurieu Peninsula from Adelaide to Encounter Bay.⁴ I have walked often on most of the places in that mainland about which I write. The story would ideally be given back to the First Peoples of this area – the Raminyeri and the Southern ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* – by yarning with them around a campfire on the land where it happened.⁵ Maybe if this had happened earlier, I would have heard things from their spoken history which would have illumined or changed what I wrote.

Since the 1970s, as I have pursued my long-term interest in the Aboriginal history and footprint of my homelands, I have slowly gathered some of the matter for this later work. It became more focused in the early 1990s when I contributed historical material to the first songbook of the local language revival, *Narunga, Kurna and Ngarrindjeri Songs*,⁶ and to Sheridah Melvin’s historical and anthropological report *Kudlyo the Black Swan*,⁷ revealing the Port Adelaide connections and ‘Kurna’ ancestry of the grandmother of my CASM friends Leila Rankine and Veronica Brodie. In 1995 for the second songbook *Kurna Paltinna*,⁸ I composed several songs, and began extensive work on local Aboriginal first-contact culture (published in the songbook). This continued into the 2000s as I became a regular associate member of the newly-formed language reclamation group Kurna Warra Pintyanthi (KWP).

FOTF began as a response to my extended research into Aboriginal Named Places of the area: originally the Southern Kurna Place Names Project (SKPNP), which KWP entrusted to me in 2007. As a Fleurieu boy that suited me well. The history here draws very much upon this work. We wanted a reliable and authentic form and interpretation of any genuine first-retention ‘Kurna’ place-name. This meant looking beyond the too-easily-satisfied old literature of the field, seeking records of those moments when a place and its name were first communicated to Europeans by ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* people who were living their pre-contact culture on Country.⁹ In 2008-2012, my first years working on a connected history of these encounters, there was much debate between Native Title claimants about boundaries on and around Fleurieu Peninsula. KWP wanted to know what the SKPNP could tell us about the contested geography of languages and language groups: what languages belonged where *at first contact*, as opposed to assumptions or theories based on much later sources which reflect a post-contact society.

⁴ For full disclosure, I must also confess that my personal experience of Kangaroo Island has been confined to a self-guided holiday tour living in a van for a fortnight in the middle of winter 1979. No doubt Islanders will find mistakes in this book arising from my minimal ‘feet on the Island’. In my defence I argue that the book is not primarily about Kangaroo Island, but about the Fleurieu.

⁵ It was a pleasure in 2013 to enable Frank Wanganeen and the late Steve Gadlabarti Goldsmith to do a little of this field-experience with my work during the community-generated Cycling For Culture project; and more recently to sit at *Kanyanyapilla* (Lot 50-Kanyanyapilla, a joint ecological-cultural regeneration project of Gavin Malone with Karl Telfer) and yarn about land and culture with custodians Karl and his mother, the late Ngangkiburka Georgina Williams.

⁶ Ngarrindjeri, Narrunga and Kurna Languages Project 1990, *Narrunga, Kurna and Ngarrindjeri Songs*, Elizabeth, SA: Kurna Plains School. Songbook and CD, available from KWP.

⁷ Sheridah Melvin 1994, *Kudlyo the Black Swan: Veronica Brodie and the continuity of Kurna history at Glanville and Le Fevre Peninsula*, Research report for Lartelare Homeland Association.

⁸ Chester Schultz, Nelson Varcoe & Rob Amery 1999 (ed.), *Kurna Paltinna: a Kurna Song Book*, Elizabeth, SA: Kurna Plains School. Songbook & CD.

⁹ See Schultz 2017a.

Very quickly I found that some of the same names cropped up repeatedly. There was ‘Sally’, her sailor husband William Walker and her Aboriginal father ‘Condooy’; ‘Doughboy’ (Sarah) and her Kangaroo Island man William Cooper; ‘Encounter Bay Bob’; and the Islander George Bates. Among these the Aboriginal people especially were unknown to most readers except as uncertain nicknames mentioned in passing. Their stories cried out to be told in a connected manner with a context, not only scattered in the place-name essays piecemeal with much duplication.

Named Places, and the Story. Pursuing these two strands over the next decade, and impelled quite naturally by the material itself, my original ‘historical essay about place-names on the Fleurieu’ turned into a full-blown history of first contact in the whole Adelaide-Encounter Bay-Lakes region. Clearly this began on Kangaroo Island and the Fleurieu, before ‘South Australia’ was even a twinkle in the Company’s eye; ‘Adelaide’ was a latecomer. And my protagonists were not the famous names but the people on the margins.

In part the book is a celebration of this bit of Country, and a history of the earliest stages of its ‘discovery’ by Europeans. But in a preliminary way it tries to see this history through the eyes of the First Peoples who occupied and owned it.

It is also a kind of library which returns to these Aboriginal people a lot of information which has been lying dormant in the white archives.

JOINING THE DOTS TO MAKE A PICTURE: MAKING A STORY FROM FRAGMENTS:

There are many large gaps in the records of my protagonists. The evidence for this side of the story is more like a collection of scattered dots. In trying to ‘form a picture’, in order to make the story intelligible, I have been obliged to join these dots by making interpretations. These involve empathy, human insight and choice as well as rational judgment. Historiography is an art not a ‘science’, though it must often draw upon science.

I fully recognize the injustices and sometimes horrors inflicted by the European incursion and colonial invasion, and in no way do I defend the inherent immorality of the process. But I also try to distance my story from common generalizations which imply that the people on each ‘side’ were all the same, that there was a supposedly inevitable historical process in which everyone was only a leaf driven in the wind of collective good or evil, that the labels are all we need to know.

I make narrative choices – you can call them guesses – which show these First Peoples not as simple victims (nor heroes) but as real and imperfect individual human beings, doing what they could to pursue real values and interests in the face of overwhelming change. I try to understand what unavoidable decisions and compromises they had to make.

I allow that some of the invaders also acted not as simple villains (or heroes) but as real and imperfect humans, also pursuing real values and interests up to a point, even when compromised by the limitations of their worldview and the constraints of their situation. Thus Book 1 looks for nuances in another group which has been stereotyped, slandered and sidelined: the Kangaroo Island men.

I’m sure all this will be done better by others in future. But let’s go beyond the labels which currently bedevil most public discourse.

GROWING WITH THE LAND, THE STORY AND THE PEOPLE:

Though I have known the Fleurieu for the whole of my 78 years, my mental map of it has been profoundly changed and sharpened by the effort of finding the early Aboriginal places and names and trying to understand what can still be understood of their ancient Aboriginal reality. During this process I have spoken with many of my Aboriginal friends and colleagues, who have helped me to begin to understand something of the historical experience of the people who passed on knowledge at first contact.

I have become increasingly aware of that ancient Aboriginal ‘mental map’. It was based on centuries of intimate learning acquired on barefoot journeys; also on management of the land in minute detail by sustainable technologies which treated the land as a Being, the spiritual Parent, the Original Blessing, a complex traditional whole to be conserved, respected and worked with for the long term.

Upon this vision and practice has been imposed our modern technical map of lines and numbers. They represent Sections, roads, towns, dams, drains, quarries, European farms, and photo lookouts over a network of wrecked ecologies. This kind of cartography mostly reflects a construction of the land as a grid of interchangeable economic units, designed to be bought, sold and exploited as quickly and thoroughly as possible.¹⁰ Typically I have had to find out what was once there but which is there no more. With rare exceptions (mostly recent), I must agree with Bill Gammage: “The spoilers came not to make country but to loot it”.¹¹

The Aboriginal people of this region are still among us:¹² those whose ancestors spoke the languages ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna*, ‘Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar*, and ‘Peramangk’-*Meru*.¹³ But few of the Fleurieu residents and even the old settler families have been aware of the important contributions made by the ancestors of these people to the foundations of our political invention called ‘South Australia’; nor do many know in any detail about the way they were used and then swept aside in the first years of contact. Known or not, the real history does not go away but interacts with the mythology of the victors as it continues to shape the context, attitudes and events of today.

We are not ‘re-writing history’; we are re-introducing suppressed parts of it, and mounting a challenge to existing mythologies. I now believe that unless we see and acknowledge the full history, and ourselves in it, we may be doomed to reproduce some of its bad parts unwittingly, perhaps with a new veneer. If we continue to live by the old myth that ‘growth’ can be limitless, we will continue our problematic lifestyle which has wrecked the ecology in the past and present. We can perpetuate another old myth that our state of South Australia was ‘settled’ without violence and overwhelmingly to the benefit of its previous occupants. We can continue to erect an impenetrable wall at the imagined frontier somewhere about the 1836 Proclamation or soon after: the ‘dead past’ of ‘them’ on the far side, and on this side, ‘us’ and our ‘inevitable’ or virtuously-created present which we call ‘Progress’. But if we do, then the blindness of our inherited historical injustices and divisions will continue to cripple all our relationships and policies.¹⁴ If we

¹⁰ – and connects its current mapping with its own history only tenuously, so that the origins of particular items of information usually disappear quickly. When working with the maps and records of the Geographical Names Unit and Lands Group, I soon found that my historical approach was alien to the purpose of the system. Their information about the origin of place-names typically goes no further back than some departmental update no more than a few decades old. Their old typed ‘History Books’ give only minimal summaries of surveyor leaders, general regions and dates. To find actual origins of place-names on the land – when this proved to be possible – I had to locate the earliest unpublished maps of the area (GNU does have a vast trove of these), and couple them with large amounts of early history found by exhaustive search in other archives elsewhere.

¹¹ Bill Gammage 2012, ‘The Adelaide District in 1836’, in R Foster and P Sendziuk (eds), *Turning Points: chapters in SA history*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press: 19.

¹² However, this book makes no attempt to trace or confirm the kinship and ancestry of any of today’s Aboriginal people. That would be a subject for another several books with large components of oral history and genealogy. *Feet On the Fleurieu* is paper-history, and focuses on what can be discovered from the records of early contact times up to about 1845, though understood with the help of later information where appropriate. Nor do I try to settle the vexed questions of territorial ownership and ‘tribal’ boundaries in modern times – which may be insoluble if Native Title debates ignore historical changes, and confuse today’s modern categories with pre-contact ones. However, my findings probably have important implications for these discussions.

¹³ This list puts their *modern* names alongside their own words for ‘people’ or ‘person’.

¹⁴ HISTORICAL INEVITABILITY? THEOLOGICAL NECESSITY?

Many of our South Australian pioneers reflected on their takeover of the land and the likely extinction of its previous owners; it was a lively subject of debate in the early newspapers. Some thought of it as a process very like the famous American ‘Manifest Destiny’ (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manifest_destiny [30/8/13]). This was (and for some still is) a kind of God-given natural law, perhaps a commandment, that ‘superior’ peoples can or should take over the land of any peoples who are deemed not to be ‘cultivating’ or ‘improving’ it. This ideology was not merely American but common to all the European empires. Its old Catholic form – in several 15th-century Papal edicts now collectively known as the ‘Doctrine of Discovery’ – had been fiercely contested in the 16th century by influential Spanish theologians like Francisco de Vitoria and Bartolomé de Las Casas, and by Pope Paul III; and in 2023 the Vatican formally repudiated the Doctrine (<https://press.vatican.va/content/salastampa/en/bollettino/pubblico/2023/03/30/230330b.html> [22/5/23]). But after the ‘Reformation’, the Protestant majority in the British Empire and North America ignored all that history of moral debate. Their colonialist ideology was based on a much-too-convenient understanding of certain parts of the Bible: the stories of creation in Genesis 1-2, and of Israel’s takeover of the Promised Land from the Canaanites in the books of Numbers,

continue to believe that the stolen property which we inherit or buy is ours by Right as well as Might, we will behave accordingly. We shall continue to exclude the Aboriginal people who live here now in a social terrain created by our shared past. But if we inherit the land, then we inherit the responsibility for the shape of its future life.

The story in *Feet On the Fleurieu* is often brutal – but often also there is a messy ambiguity which reminds us of our struggling selves. In a milieu which constantly tended to the human norm of violent conflict, there were people on both sides who sometimes found they could allow room in their hearts and lives for the Other. They need not always be competitors and enemies, but could be ‘host’ in some situations and ‘guest’ in others. Some discovered that these “guests are carrying precious gifts with them, which they are eager to reveal to a receptive host”.¹⁵

Theologian Miroslav Volf, writing from his experience of the Serbo-Croatian conflicts of the 1990s, raises a celebratory glass “To the will to know ‘what was the case’! To the power to remember it! To the courage to proclaim it out loud!” Quoting another historian of colonies, he reminds us that it matters profoundly that we remember “what can happen if we do not succeed in discovering the Other”, if we fail to develop some “will to embrace”¹⁶ or at least some ‘willingness to make room’. In hope, let us also imagine what might happen in a present and future where we *do* succeed in discovering the Other.

Chester Schultz
June 2023

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Deuteronomy and Joshua. In the 18th-century, following the dominant ideological fashion of the ‘Enlightenment’, it was secularized into evolutionary myths of ‘Progress’ and ‘Foundation’, which still today hold much power almost everywhere – though Australians tend to be bashful about the religious connection. Examples from one widely-read colonial South Australian: “*The... displacement of an aboriginal race... is one of those necessary processes in the course of Providence to bring about the improvement of the human race and the promised latter days*”; he also writes of “*communities in this part of the world, which had gone forth to carry out the divine command ‘to increase and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it’*” (Bull 1878b: 65, 73). The theology governing these colonial interpretations of the Bible has been extensively criticized by Biblical scholars, among them First Peoples (see e.g. the life’s work of Yolngu theologian and activist Djiniyini Gondarra; also Auntie Anne Pattel-Gray & Australian First Nations, ed. Norman Habel, 2022, *Decolonising the Biblical Narrative, Volume 1*, Adelaide: ATF Press Publishing Group). And today the work of Gammage and many others should have buried forever the argument that ‘the Aborigines did nothing with the land’.

¹⁵ Henri Nouwen 1976, *Reaching Out: The Three Movements of the Spiritual Life*, Glasgow: William Collins Sons & Co, Ltd: 64.

¹⁶ Volf 1996: 237 & fn4, quoting Tzvetan Todorov from the Epilogue to his *Conquest of America* (Miroslav Volf 1996, *Exclusion and Embrace: a theological exploration of Identity, Otherness, and Reconciliation*, Nashville: Abingdon Press; cp. p.216, 197). When psychological ‘recognition’ of the Other is denied, it is all too easy to ride the galloping passions of fear, envy or competitive self-righteousness. The ominous beginnings of ‘what can happen if we do not succeed in discovering the Other’ have been all too evident over the last 30 years in the Australian ‘history wars’, ‘culture wars’, and the very distressing approach to the 2023 referendum on Indigenous Recognition and a proposed Voice to government entrenched in the Constitution. Bipolar ‘sides’ shout hostile views of Australian history (especially Aboriginal history), of asylum-seekers, of Muslims, and (in both directions) of perceived members of any ‘opposing camp’: there is a seductive, fear-based and politically-amplified will *not* to embrace but to block, destroy and ‘win’. We have been there before, e.g. in both World Wars, at home as well as abroad.

INTENTIONS: THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF THIS BOOK

Feet On The Fleurieu has **two AIMS**:

(A1) Aim #1 is prefigured above under ‘How This Book Has Grown’: to put back into the early history of SA the stories of some individual First Nations people who are largely unknown, especially those of the mainland next to KI, the ‘locals’.

These stories – simply by being told – carry with them an unavoidable subset of Aim#1: to move Adelaide away to the margin of our picture of first contact in SA, and place Fleurieu Peninsula at the centre, which is where they respectively belong.¹⁷

(A2) Aim #2 is at the heart of my parallel work for the Southern Kurna Place Names Project: to introduce into public knowledge some specific new information from this earliest period centring on Aboriginal place-names, languages, sites and travel routes. This will contribute to the gradually emerging picture of the remnant ‘cultural map’ (as mentioned above in ‘Growing With the Land’): fragmentary sketches of how the Aboriginal people saw the Fleurieu before 1836. It aims to return this knowledge to their descendants and those who work with them, for their interpretation, edification and use.

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Within these two broad Aims, I focus on **three recurrent THEMES**:

(T1) The local land, the ‘Country’:

The Aboriginal ‘locals’ had a detailed knowledge of this Country, a very different *kind* of knowledge from that which was sought by most of the Europeans. Moreover, the newcomers were ignorant of the physical nature of the land and its dangers. They knew little of its topography beyond the coast; their mental and physical maps were almost blank; hence they tended to get lost. For a while they had to rely on Aboriginal knowledge and skills. This Book One considers the first processes by which Europeans acquired knowledge of this land. Importantly this included Aboriginal knowledge of water sites, routes and named places, transferred to them during journeys which were mostly on foot.

¹⁷ We will see that for twenty years or more up to the last month of 1836, almost all the interactions between Aboriginals and Europeans in this area happened *not* in the Adelaide area but around the southern Fleurieu Peninsula, from Kangaroo Island to Encounter Bay and the western fringe of the River Murray estuary. The Aboriginal actors in this period all came from those mainland places and had little if anything to do with the Adelaide Plains. But most earlier accounts of first contact in SA have been Adelaide-centred, sometimes with a passing nod to Encounter Bay and Kangaroo Island. Honourable exceptions have been Philip Clarke and Rob Amery in their essays devoted to the relationship between Kangaroo Islanders and the nearby mainland (ClarkeP 1996; ClarkeP 1998; Amery 1996; Amery 1998), and to some extent Rebe Taylor, although her main interest was in the Tasmanian women on Kangaroo Island, not the locals (TaylorR 2002-8, *Unearthed*). But subsequent histories of first contact on the SA coast have continued to ignore the Fleurieu. For example, in Brock & Gara 2017 (*Colonialism and its Aftermath: a history of Aboriginal South Australia*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press), all the contributors who deal with first contact in this region assimilate the whole action to Adelaide and Encounter Bay while not even mentioning Yankalilla, Rapid Bay and the Fleurieu travel routes before settlement. As a result of this bias, the standard accounts misrepresent the real situation on the east coast of St Vincent’s Gulf in the period covered by this Book 1: from earliest contact up to the arrival of colonists in Holdfast Bay at the end of 1836. The Adelaide Plains and their occupants were involved hardly at all in the first wave of contact; it was intensely focused on the Gulf coast of the southern Fleurieu *even when Encounter Bay was also involved*. The pre-colonial roles of other sites and people on Yorke and Eyre Peninsulas have been examined even less often, but they are marginal to this book.

(T2) The local Language Groups and their Language Country: *Miyurna* and *Kornar*:¹⁸

The local Aboriginal languages were distributed on the Country in a specific geographical arrangement determined (according to their philosophy) by the Dreaming; and this linguistic geography defined its people.¹⁹ My book tries to determine – roughly and where possible – which language belonged where at the time of first contact. It also touches on communication in Pidgin English, and the acquisition of local language by Europeans. Place-names are important as a surviving repository of Aboriginal knowledge of land and language. An important sub-theme is local Aboriginal intermarriage and kinship, as related to language and place.

(T3) The relationships between First Peoples and Europeans:

The emerging relationships between First Peoples and Europeans, and the analysis of these, constitute another key theme. It pivots on the tension between the contradictory pulls of violence and power on one hand, and negotiation and exchange on the other. Relationships showed variety, ambiguity and complexity at different times. They ranged from simple conflict and white predation, to negotiated self-interest and limited cooperation.

There was an exchange of knowledge and technologies between Aboriginals and Europeans: for example, bush tucker and fire management on one side, hunting dogs and whaleboats on the other.

Within this, Aboriginal-European relationships were marked by the politics of gender interacting with the politics of race. Women were trade items, and the most frequent bearers of Aboriginal knowledge to the Europeans, and sometimes intercultural brokers and keys to communication between the races. A much smaller number of Aboriginal men also had a frontline place in these processes.

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In pursuing these two Aims and three Themes through time, the book **tells four STORIES concurrently**:

(S1) A story of the Aboriginal people:

This Book 1 takes the story of the Aboriginal people of this region at first contact up to the end of 1836. It pays particular attention to the first ones known to have given cultural information to Europeans. Some were individually identified and briefly familiar by name to the newcomers. Others were identified only as groups, perceived as ‘belonging’ to a location where they happened to be seen.

¹⁸ One of the limitations of this Book One may be that my search targets have not included the ‘Peramangk’-*Meru* (or ‘Meraldi’) people of the hills, as identified by Tindale and Berndt; the ‘Mount Barker tribe’ of writings at first contact. My excuses are that (1) no ‘hills’ people further north than the Fleurieu are overtly visible in any records before about 1839, and in particular, not in the geographical area which my story covers; and that (2) Berndt maps their closest borders further east and north than any land involved in our story (Berndt & Berndt 1993: 329). Nevertheless, much of the matter here might usefully be re-visited in future if new material turns up, to look for signs of Peramangk involvement in or around the events, e.g.

– the possible role of the high Myponga valley (said by some to be Peramangk country), which borders both *Miyurna* and *Kornar* (see Schultz PNS 5.01/05 Maitpangga (2017), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-05Maitpangga.pdf>;

– and of the nearby intertribal meeting-place *Murtaparingga* on the plateau below Spring Mount (with its core story of the Kondoli Whale Dreaming) (see Schultz PNS 7.02/04 Murtaparingga (2017), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/7-02-04Murtaparin.pdf>).

But it is not clear that any separately identifiable ‘hills’ group was involved in first contact up to 1837. The two place-names above are in each case the only one ever recorded for the place, and they are both in ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language. Versions of the same *Miyurna* word *Murtaparingga* were given by all sources recorded at first contact and in the 20th century, from Adelaide, Encounter Bay and Coorong informants (e.g. Meyer 1843 “*Mutabarringar*”).

For the purposes of this book I have taken ‘Peramangk’ to be a dialect of the ‘Meru’ Language Group, and very different from both ‘Kaurna’ and ‘Ngarrindjeri’. Moorhouse believed that the same language was spoken “*from Mount Barker as far up the Murray as the Darling*” (Moorhouse 1842: 75; cp. Moorhouse to Schürmann 16/7/1841, #12, GRG 52/7, and Moorhouse 1846, *A Vocabulary... of the Murray River language, spoken by the Natives... from Wellington... as far as the Rufus*, Adelaide: Andrew Murray). This view is contrary to that of many today who believe that the Peramangk language was similar to ‘Kaurna’, with many shared words. I have not seen first-contact evidence for this.

¹⁹ See Appendix 12 ‘Aboriginal territories’.

(S2) A story of mutual learning: the intercultural transfer of knowledge:

In those years, Aboriginal knowledge was typically transferred in situations where Aboriginal people were guides and interpreters on foot journeys. This was one of the few activities in which Europeans lived in close contact with them more than momentarily, to some extent relying on them and their knowledge of the land while they were still members of a living traditional society.

Therefore the essay also tells a closely-linked parallel story of the first European explorations of this area by land, and the emergence of the first tentative outsider knowledge of the local country.

(S3) A story of the Kangaroo Islanders:

These processes had begun more than 20 years before the official founding of the colony in November 1836, and the essay therefore tells a third parallel story about Kangaroo Island's European residents who were commonly known as 'sealers'. It tells in some detail of the complex and variable emerging relationships between these Islanders and the Aboriginal groups of the local mainland, including the women who were 'obtained' there by abduction or (as I argue) sometimes by trade and negotiation.

These early European-Aboriginal interactions were precedents which set some of the tone for later interactions in the new colony of SA.²⁰

(S4) A story of social change among local Aboriginal groups:

Sometimes this tale glimpses a fourth and less visible story, of changing relationships between the different Aboriginal groups themselves on the mainland, as they responded to the effects of the newcomers on the local power dynamics. These changes make up a story of adaptation rather than extinction, continuity as well as loss, and may help us a little to understand some of the changes which are still happening now.

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For a brief time *“the [Europeans] were few and isolated, they were profoundly ignorant of local conditions and heavily reliant on Indigenous knowledge for water and the basic navigation of the interior. A range of relationships ensued, certainly not equal, but distinguished by forms of genuine exchange”*. We glimpse *“a moment where the absolute guarantee of cultural supremacy was not fully assured for the [European], and in that shadow of a doubt something briefly flickered into existence. Just the tiniest of counter-historical possibilities comes to life, that things may have been otherwise”*.²¹

These quotations refer to cross-cultural experiences around Albany (Western Australia) between 1826 and 1834, as fictionalized in Kim Scott's novel *That Deadman Dance*. My pre-colonial story touches upon Albany at one point, but also tells in detail of similar experiences on Kangaroo Island and the Fleurieu in the same period.

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²⁰ The changing relationship of both Aboriginals and these Islanders with European newcomers will also be illustrated in Book Two, in episodes from the new colony during its foundation and through the first few years of its existence.

²¹ These quotations come from a review by Tony Hughes-d'Aeth, 2014, 'The case for Kim Scott's *That Deadman Dance*', <https://theconversation.com/the-case-for-kim-scotts-that-deadman-dance-22162>. Where the reviewer uses the term 'coloniser' I have substituted 'European'. 'Coloniser' does not describe the pre-colonial seamen. They depended on their own limited numbers, resources and relationships, but the real later colonists were supported by the numerical, economic and military power of Empire. There was a fundamental difference in their power balance with the local First Peoples.

TO BE CONTINUED? – PERHAPS A BOOK 2 OF *FEET ON THE FLEURIEU*:

The unpublished early drafts of this history project carry those two Aims, three Themes and four Stories (above) forward to the end of first-contact time in this region, i.e. the late 1840s. Thus I have a rough sketch of material for a Book 2. Continuing from November 1836, it tells an ‘Adelaide and Encounter Bay Story’ up to about 1839; with some vignettes of the protagonists to the end of their lives later in the 19th century. It presents its material mostly in less detail than is typical of Book 1, and as a series of episodes rather than a fully connected overall story.

It begins by focussing on first contact with the ‘Adelaide tribe’; then follows my old Book 1 protagonists (Aboriginal and Islander), and touches on some new Adelaide ones such as ‘King John’, ‘Captain Jack’ and ‘Rodney’.

It covers the earliest colonial explorations around Adelaide, the Fleurieu and Encounter Bay; and the continuing transfer of geographical, cultural and linguistic information during such journeys.

It examines in detail some incidents which involved my protagonists during the regime of the Interim Protectors Stevenson, Bromley and Wyatt: e.g. Nat Thomas’s encounter at the Onkaparinga in February 1837; and Mann and Wyatt’s expedition to Encounter Bay with ‘Onkaparinga Jack’ in September 1837. Captain Bromley gets more attention than usual, along with his interpreter Cooper.

From 1838 it touches upon Governor Gawler and the Country Surveys; the coming of the Dresden missionary linguists Schürmann and Teichelmann; Aboriginal and Islander involvement in the police expeditions to the Para in 1839,²² the Coorong in 1840, and Kangaroo Island in 1844; and aspects of the regime of fulltime Protector Moorhouse, e.g. the invasion of Adelaide by the Moorunde people in the 1840s, and the subsequent invisibility of the ‘Adelaide tribe’;²³

Finally it traces what little is known of the careers of my protagonists up to their deaths much later in the 19th century.

Some day I may be able to publish this Book 2 online, probably as a set of loosely-connected essays. It will contain some unfamiliar material and so may be a modest contribution to knowledge; but it will make no attempt to construct an overall narrative, nor to present a comprehensive account and analysis of Aboriginal and Islander affairs in the period.

Some pieces of its material are referred to in footnotes in this Book 1.

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²² I have already told the story of the 1839 police expedition, in some detail as a serial, in Schultz PNS 8/14 Muna, 8/18 Kadlitiya, 9/04 Karrawadlungga, and 8/17 Murlayaki (to be read in that order); see <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/southern-kaurna-placenames>.

²³ See my separate essay Schultz 2023a, ‘Adelaide as a battleground against Northern tribes’, online at <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

It has been a long journey, still unfinished, and I have many people to thank.

Above and below and around all, I owe beyond words an enormous debt of gratitude to my wife Liz Schultz for her long-term love, encouragement, understanding, support and endless patience with me in my obsession with *FOtF* and Named Places over some 15 years so far (2008-2023), including many field trips undertaken together.

Warm thanks to Associate Professor Rob Amery, KWP's consultant linguist, who for 30 years has given me indispensable help with some of the historical materials, and with linguistics both general and particular to 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* in the formulation of my analyses – though I take sole responsibility for their final form and any errors therein. I have used his comprehensively-researched linguistic resources constantly. He also did most of the work on a number of my grant applications.

Many thanks to Mary-Anne Gale, consultant linguist for the Ngarrindjeri language reclamation, for involving me a number of times with the people, and providing me with language materials.

To Rob and our colleagues in the language reclamation group Kaurna Warra Pintyanthi (KWP), Dr Lewis Yerloburka O'Brien, the late Dr Alice Wallara Rigney, Frank Wanganeen, the late Steve Gadlabarti Goldsmith, Rodney O'Brien, Suzanne Russell, and so many others: huge thanks. They motivated me to tell these stories, they read drafts, took a supportive interest, gave useful critiques, and encouraged my ongoing work on the Southern Kaurna Place Names Project, and my expansion of it, first into cultural mapping and then into this contact history.

Hearty thanks to Jane Edwards for detailed editorial advice on Chapters 1 and 2 in 2011-2014, and for much encouragement. Because of her insights the book is better than it would otherwise have been.

I am warmly grateful to Klynton Wanganeen, the late Ngangkiburka Georgina Williams, her son Karl Winda Telfer, and Gavin Malone, for many long conversations which have helped me to clarify some of the ideas in this book.

Also to anthropologist Peter Sutton for his generous sharing of his own material, clarification of some key cultural ideas, and his encouraging comments after reading and discussing a late draft of this book in 2019. Thanks to Professor Lester Irabinna Rigney, who inspired me to write the 'Prelude' by suggesting that, before introducing the Europeans, I should begin the book with an account of the established Aboriginal sovereignty on the land, and "speak eloquently of Aboriginal nations and their governance structures".²⁴

Special thanks to the friends who have encouraged me. In the early days when this book was being conceived and patchwork drafts were beginning to appear, Jean and the late Howard Groome read them, and the late Norm Bennett gave some extra editorial advice. I am immensely grateful to my friends: to Gerhard Ruediger, who for 10 years has engaged me with so much lateral thinking about the work and its social and ethical context, introduced me to vital new material from the Dresden missionaries, and read and critiqued a whole draft; likewise to Ian Edwards for all those deep and encouraging conversations which helped me to believe in the project and keep going through difficulties and doubts; and to Rod and Vivi Boucher for their unfailing encouragement of me and my work, for Rod's cover design and his field trip to take three of the

²⁴ Lester Irabinna Rigney p.c. email 15/8/2019. I have not exactly done what Irabinna asked – partly because this is pre-colonial history, and we know very little about the governance of the specific groups in the Fleurieu and Encounter Bay *at first contact* before 'Adelaide' and Taplin, or about their relationship *then* with the better-known groups around Adelaide and the Lakes; and partly because I don't have the right to speak for deep beginnings with his "fires of the Ancestors". In this book I present the scanty records which are all the documentary evidence we have, and try to show what might be deduced from it. Important questions remain largely unanswered and perhaps unanswerable – for example, "To whom were Condooy, Natalla and Kalinga responsible?" But I hope I have gone some way towards satisfying Irabinna's concerns by beginning with an imagined view from the shore.

cover photographs. Barbara Washington and Liz Schultz have sympathetically helped me to tweak the introductory pages.

For generous sharing of their own previous historical work and many essential leads, thanks to historian Tom Gara; to naturalist and Museum researcher Philip Clarke; to Des Gubbin (Normanville resident and Fleurieu investigator); to archaeologist and Tindale critic James Knight for a copy of his thesis; and to Ramindjeri researcher-activists Christine Walker and her late husband Karno Walker (an old friend from CASM days, from whose conversations I also learned much). I am grateful to Tasmanian family historian Patricia Grey and her extensive knowledge of Robinson's journals in Plomley, for alerting me to several of their small but significant errors about Kalungku, Emma and 'Abyssinia' Anderson, which I had missed.

Much of my work on the place-names, and most on the book, has been unfunded. However, KWP contributed several occasional grants towards it. Thanks to the Yitpi Foundation, its founder, the late Prof. Anthony Rathjen, and Dr. Jane Rathjen, for a grant in 2013 which funded some of the early writing of this book, and for two grants towards my related place-names research in 2015. Editorial work by Jane Edwards on *FOtF* was funded in 2013-4 by KWP and a donation from Ian and Anne Edwards, who also funded most of the print run of the final book.

Thanks to John Frith of flatEARTHmapping, for his enthusiastic and meticulous production of the maps. I am grateful to Susie Greenwood, Gavin Malone and Gerhard Ruediger for setting up space for the book on the three websites (see p.ii); and to Ken Burt of MediaCom and his team for their work on the print edition.

Thanks to Michael Bollen and Margot Lloyd of Wakefield Press, for advance access to Rick Hosking's analytical edition of WA Cawthorne's novel *The Kangaroo Islanders* in 2013 while it was still unpublished. Thanks also to Michael and Wakefield Press for allowing me to republish here my essay 'Exile' from their book (Gillian Dooley & Danielle Clode (ed.) 2019, *The First Wave: Exploring early coastal contact history in Australia*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press). I drafted the essay long before then, revised it for *First Wave*, and have edited it again for this Book 1.

Thanks to the Lutheran Archives of Adelaide, whose staff Angela Schilling and Bethany Pietsch gave me access to the Dresden missionary materials, and for permission to quote their translations of manuscripts in German by the missionary linguists Schürmann, Teichelmann and Meyer. Special thanks to their forever volunteer Lois Zweck, who has helped me to understand their German and to transcribe Aboriginal words from archaic scripts; and to her and Gerhard Ruediger for their detailed clarifications of passages in 19th-century German. Thanks to Greg Lockwood for advance access to his new translation of Schürmann's Diary, and for putting up with our discussion of it.

The staff of several institutions have repeatedly helped me with unfailing competence and courtesy: Anthony Laube and the State Library of SA; State Records of South Australia; the South Australian Museum, especially Lea Gardam and Ali Highfold; the former Geographical Names Unit of the SA government's Land Services Group, especially its wonderful chief Bill Watt (now retired), and his helpful offsidiers then, Maria Vassallo and Davina Sickerdick.

Miscellaneous permissions to reproduce material:

- State Library of SA, for the Flinders and Sturt maps, and other unpublished materials (credited in the text and Bibliography).
- John Angas of Angaston, for various extracts from the Angas Papers (PRG 174) and SA Company Papers (BRG 42), SLSA.
- Charles Appleton (solicitor) of Sydney, for John Fogg Taylor's letter.

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DISCLAIMER

This book does not necessarily reflect the views of Kaurna Warra Pintyanthi, the Yitpi Foundation, or any other group. It is my own work, and I take full responsibility for the interpretations presented in it.

I realize well that history is not the past in itself; it is *what we say about* the past. I know that all interpretations – including mine – are both fallible and inspired by an agenda. They should be refined or changed in the light of new evidence or better insights or improved agenda, especially (in this case) by future Aboriginal historians drawing upon their oral history. I have tried to present the material transparently enough that those who question my interpretations will be easily able to find the original data and think again from the ground up. This is the reason for the enormous number of my footnotes, and their nit-picking pedantry.

IN ANTICIPATION

Over the next few generations Aboriginal people will do their own ‘connecting of the dots’ in order to produce a more complete ‘picture’. Here I plead especially that we all support the rising wave of trained Aboriginal historians, some of whom will be locals who know the country. They may be able to give due attention to the oral history, archaeology and genealogy which this book does not attempt to cover.

They will have a rich field to harvest. I believe that the Adelaide-Fleurieu story is both interesting and instructive: not least because along with the tragedy, conflict and bitter disillusionment it tells of survival, adaptation, resilience and collaboration. To see people with these qualities among both Aboriginal and immigrant people, still working together today, is to see a light shining in the dark.

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ACRONYMS, ABBREVIATIONS AND SPECIAL TERMS:

ANU = Australian National University (Canberra).

BPP = British Parliamentary Papers (available in SLSA).

BSL = Barr Smith Library (University of Adelaide).

CASM = Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music (University of Adelaide).

GNU = Geographical Names Unit (former department of SA Lands Group before privatization).

‘Islander’ in this book = long-term resident of Kangaroo Island; usually refers to non-Aboriginal men.

JASSA = Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia.

KI = Kangaroo Island.

KWP = Kaurna Warra Pintyanthi (language reclamation group).

‘Locals’ = Aboriginal people of the mainland local to Kangaroo Island: i.e. people of Fleurieu Peninsula, and (less often) Encounter Bay and lower-to-middle Gulf St Vincent.

MS, MSS = manuscript, manuscripts.

NatureMaps = an online mapping initiative of the SA Department for Environment & Water.

PNS = Place-Name Summary (general title for all my essays written for the SKPNP).

SA = South Australia, South Australian.

SAPP = South Australian Parliamentary Papers (available in SLSA).

SAPPA = South Australian Property & Planning Atlas (mapping initiative of PlanSA, SA government’s platform for online planning).

SKPNP = Southern Kaurna Place Names project.

SLSA = State Library of South Australia.

SRSA = State Records of South Australia.

‘Straitsman’ = short- or long-term inhabitant of islands in Bass Strait.

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PRONUNCIATION OF ABORIGINAL WORDS IN THE TWO MAIN LOCAL LANGUAGES, MIYURNA AND KORAR.²⁵

Words contained within single quotation marks are ‘English spellings’, as in various historical records by non-linguists, or in modern spellings of doubtful validity.²⁶

Phonetically-correct spellings are usually given in *italics*, especially on first occurrence.

The majority of Aboriginal words used in this book are in the ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language of the eastern coast of St Vincent’s Gulf. For phonetic spellings I use KWP’s Revised Spelling 2010 (RS); but often I follow it with their Old Spelling in brackets (OS), for the sake of those familiar with the spellings in the writings of Teichelmann and Schürmann, as used previously to RS.

e.g. ‘Cowandilla’ (*Kawantilla* [OS *Kawandilla*]).

This book also tells stories of Encounter Bay and the Lakes, and so includes words in their ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Korarr* language. Unfortunately for readers, *Korarr* language has a different sound system from *Miyurna*. The standard modern spelling used by the ‘Ngarrindjeri’ language reclamation movement is similar to RS above, but has to include some additional basic sounds (e.g. separate *e* and *o*), and also many more recorded variants in pronunciation and spelling.²⁷

In general for both languages, note especially:

1. The first syllable is almost always stressed (especially in *Miyurna* language).
2. The pronunciations of *k*, *p* and *t* are ‘unvoiced’, i.e. they do not have the puff of air as in English, but are softened towards *g*, *b* and *d* respectively. The variant pronunciations in each pair are not differentiated in meaning in any Aboriginal language. RS opts to use *k*, *p* and *t*. So *Kalungku* may sound rather like *Galunggu*, *Wintira* like *Windira*, etc.
3. When phonetic spelling is given, *ng* is not a cluster but always a single sound as in ‘singer’.
4. The two sounds in the cluster as in ‘finger’ or ‘thinker’ are represented by either *ngg* or *ngk*. As in Point 2 above, the pronunciation of *g/k* is variable but they mean the same.
5. The English vowel in ‘cat’ does not exist in Aboriginal languages. Phonetic *a* is always pronounced as in Maori ‘haka’, or sometimes long *aa* as in ‘father’.
6. Phonetic *u* is always pronounced as in ‘put’, or sometimes long *uu* as in ‘cool’; never as in ‘but’.
7. The diphthong *au* is pronounced as in ‘Sauerkraut’, and when followed by a vowel it may also be spelled *aw* or *auw* (e.g. *kawi* / *kau* / *kauwi* all signify much the same pronunciation).

I am not a linguist. Probably many linguistic errors will be found in this book, and in my PNS essays on which some of it is based. Despite my long association with KWP and frequent advice from their consultant linguist Rob Amery, the responsibility for my mistakes is mine. But there will often be room for debate in the interpretation of old records of personal names and place-names.

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²⁵ My view of the names of the two languages, ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* and ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Korarr*, is explained in footnotes to the ‘Prelude’ of this book. See also Appendix 12.1 ‘Language Country’. In brief: the name ‘Kaurna’ is a historical mistake; and there is no evidence at all that *Korarr* peoples called themselves ‘Ngarrindjeri’ or ‘Narrinyeri’ *at first contact* (the period covered by this book), or indeed before Taplin’s mission (1859). *Miyurna* and *korarr* are the respective words meaning ‘people’, and these are the words by which they distinguished their ‘tribes’ to Wyatt in September 1837.

²⁶ By ‘English spellings’ I mean spellings used by English or European settlers when trying to write down Aboriginal words which they heard spoken. Often their spellings refer intuitively to common English words (e.g. ‘cow’ in ‘Cowandilla’). Consequently, the interpretation of their written consonants and vowels is extremely variable, often specific to the particular writer.

²⁷ ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language distinguishes only three main vowels: phonetic *a*, *i*, and *u/o*; the last of these can vary in pronunciation from *u* to *o* without changing its meaning. Likewise, there is no distinction between the consonants *ty* (as in ‘church’) and *dj* (as in ‘judge’). ‘Kaurna’ Revised Spelling 2010 (RS) opts to spell with *u* (not *o*) and *ty* (not *tj* or *dj*). ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Korarr* language distinguishes five main vowels similar to English: phonetic *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*. Also it allows for both the consonants in *ty* (but spelled *tj*) and *dj*. See also my discussion of historical variations in the pronunciation of *inyeri* / *indjeri* (Appendix 12.4 in this book).

For more on the spelling and pronunciation of ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language in RS, see <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/spelling-pronunciation>, and/or Rob Amery, Susie Greenwood and Jasmin Morley 2021, *Kaurna Warrapiipa: Kaurna Dictionary*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press: 4-7.

For the modern spelling and pronunciation of ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Korarr* language, see MaryAnne Gale 2009, *Ngarrindjeri Dictionary, First Edition*: xx-xxv; or Mary-Anne Gale with Phyllis Williams, 2019, *Ngarrindjeri Dictionary: (Concise) Second Edition*, MIPAAC (Miwi-Inyeri Pelepi-Ambi Aboriginal Corporation): 20-24. There is also a third edition.

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**Feet On the Fleurieu,
Language On the Land**

**Book 1:
Fleurieu Story, March 1802 – January 1837**

PRELUDE:

VIEWS FROM THE SHORE

PRELUDE:

VIEWES FROM THE SHORE

The summer journeys with the salmon and mulloway are ending. Some families have already turned back to their homelands, mostly along the coast southward, a few southeast across the range. The weather is unsettled: fierce gales a few days ago, today calm but hazy. It is Waadla-warnkati, Log-Front:²⁸ the season to leave summer camps, go inland and build sturdy winter-homes against fallen trees. But campfires of the Miyurna, the People,²⁹ still burn along the coast, even south in Patpangga.³⁰ At Yartakurlangga the Remote Country, hidden by high steep hills;³¹ at the big camp Yarnkalyilla the Overhanger, with its dangerous rock ledges and rich flats;³² and in the dunes around Pangkarla The Two Lagoons³³ – the smokes rise by day and the lights shine through the night.

At daybreak the Western Sea Wangkayarl³⁴ brings a new thing. A lookout calls down, women look up from babies and cooking, men pause before the daily hunt. Dim in the morning haze near the horizon is a strange watercraft – much bigger than those of the Pangka-Miyurna on the eastern Lakes.³⁵ Motionless. Later it can be seen more clearly but begins to move northward, eventually disappearing towards the North Country Kawantilla.³⁶ There is talk that night. What is this thing, and what are its intentions?

Several days later they learn that it has been seen clearly from campfires up the coast, still moving north: visitors report from a big camp in the dunes near the Ngangkipari hub;³⁷ and

²⁸ This is Revised Spelling (RS); Old Spelling (OS) *Wadla-wornkatti*. Cp. T&S 1840: “*wādlawornkatti: the beginning of April or autumnal season when the natives commence building their huts before fallen trees (wadlawornka)*” (CG Teichelmann and CW Schürmann 1840, *Outlines of a Grammar, Vocabulary and Phraseology, of the Aboriginal Language of South Australia*, Adelaide: The Authors).

²⁹ *Miyurna* (OS *Meyunna*) means ‘people’, and is thus the most generally useful word to use as a cultural identity label. In modern times this wider Language Group (the people) and Language Country (the territory where they and their language belonged) have been called ‘Kurna’; but this is a historical mistake by anthropologists of the early 20th century (see Amery 2013, ‘Naming of the People of the Adelaide Plains’, unpublished paper prepared for KWP; and ‘Kurna Miyurna: the History of a Name’, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/Naming-Kaurnamiyurna_2013.pdf). In the last few years some cultural activists have begun to use the transitional hybrid ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna*. *Miyurna* Language Country extended north to at least the Clare Valley. But as this book will show, these wider general labels are anthropological constructs, not significant social or political realities in early times. There was no such larger unity seen by themselves as ‘the Miyurna tribe’.

For more detail on Language Countries, their local applications, and the spelling of their labels, see Appendix 12, ‘Aboriginal territories, borders and identity labels’; the brief summary in Chapter 3.7.2.2 ‘The cultural geography of the Fleurieu in 1836’. For ambiguities about relationships around the Southern Fleurieu, see Textbox27 ‘Identities and relationships north and south of Rapid Bay’.

³⁰ See Schultz PNS 1/03 Patpangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/1-03Patpangga.pdf>.

³¹ OS *Yertakurlangga*. See Schultz PNS 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-07Yartaku.pdf>.

³² See Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-02-01-02Yarnkal.pdf>.

³³ See Schultz PNS 5.02.01/01 Pangkarla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-02-01-01Pangkar.pdf>.

³⁴ St Vincents Gulf; OS *Wongayerlo*.

³⁵ *Pangka-Miyurna* was the *Miyurna* term for the *Kornar* people around Lakes Alexandrina and Albert.

³⁶ See Schultz PNS 1/02 Kawantilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/1-02Kawandilla.pdf>.

³⁷ See Schultz PNS 4.02/04 Ngangkiparingga, ‘the Women’s River place’, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-04Ngangkipa.pdf>. The ford at the mouth of the Onkaparinga Gorge was the only crossing for north-south travellers, and this whole rich flood plain and estuary was a travel hub and meeting place.

from Witawartingga, the arriving place for Kawantilla,³⁸ where it was much closer to shore. Along the whole coast the senior men and women continue to debate it.

Within less than a half-moon, some of this news has reached the ears of a small group moving across the rugged south coast, following the steps of Ngurunduri.³⁹ The men are mostly Kornar,⁴⁰ southeastward neighbours from the Ramong granites and towards the Lake; many of them are kin, their wives being Patpa-Miyurna, Southern People.⁴¹ The conversations move easily between both of these completely different languages. They are on their way to visit Miyurna relatives at Yartakurlangga while the weather holds. At Tangkalilla beach⁴² the thing briefly comes close to shore and they see it for themselves; the description tallies.

Westward their journey crosses high unfrequented scrubland, the southern sea narrows, and Ngurungauwi comes into view, the island of Ngurunduri's journey to the spirit world.⁴³ For meat they must get fish from tiny sea-coves far down below steep gullies. Four days later a few of their young men are down there at night with bark torches: slow cold work at this season, hoping for salmon. In the hours before dawn they see a cluster of small lights out at sea, gradually approaching. Daylight reveals the strange craft again – no, a second one, like yet unlike. They can just make out figures upon it – like men, yet unlike. These beings must be watching them.

It is doubly unsettling; what do these creatures have in mind? Perhaps the seniors at Ramong or Yarnkalyilla will know what to think and do. These events will also be of intense interest to the Tendi Council of the Lakes and Estuary people. From high ground over the next few days, the family observe this second visitation moving around in the narrow sea between Patpangga and Ngurungauwi.

By the time these reports reach the Tendi it has another report of its own. Men have seen both apparitions a few days earlier from the dunes at the entrance to the Neck River Kurrangk.⁴⁴ Approaching from opposite directions in full view near the horizon, the two things stopped and met for an evening and a night before continuing on their respective courses in the morning. Unprecedented. Are they pursuing secret business between themselves alone? or is this a reconnaissance with unfriendly designs upon both Miyurna

³⁸ See Schultz PNS 2/21 Witawartingga, 'the place amid Peppermint-gums', located around what is now Seacliff Park (https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/2-21_WitawartinggaSeacliffPk.pdf).

³⁹ Ngurunduri, the ancestral being of the Kornar people, who created the Murray River and places along the south coast to Blowhole Beach.

⁴⁰ Kornar means 'people' in the language which was used from the South Coast through Encounter Bay to the Lakes, Coorong and Lower Murray near Wellington; thus it is the most generally useful word to use as a label for this Language Group. What we might call 'the territory of the Kornar people' describes a Language Country roughly equivalent to what scholars now call 'Yaraldic' or 'Ngarrindjeri-Ramindjeri'; but in precolonial times the People did not identify themselves by any such larger unity. See also Appendix 12. The foundational record of Kornar language by linguist Meyer (Meyer 1843) was based especially on the dialect spoken by Encounter Bay people, whom he called *Raminyeri* (today spelled and pronounced 'Ramindjeri': see Appendix 12).

⁴¹ The *Patpa-Miyurna* were the 'Southern People' of the wider 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* Language Group. Their territory was the western Fleurieu, south of Sellicks Hill. Kornar language is mutually unintelligible with *Miyurna*; i.e. the two have different sound systems and structures, and very little shared vocabulary – a relationship similar to (say) English and Arabic, i.e. mother-tongue speakers of one could not understand the other unless they either used an interpreter or learned the language. This book will argue that in fact the latter alternative prevailed around the Southern Fleurieu until at least the 1840s: most people on each side of the range were close relatives of people on the other side, and grew up bi-lingual. Each of the two languages had several *dialects*; i.e. systems which were mutually intelligible (perhaps with some effort) among speakers of the umbrella *language* – as with (say) Scottish, Cockney and Standard English.

⁴² See Schultz PNS 7.01/08 'Tunkalilla' (unpublished). The original Miyurna spelling is uncertain, possibly *Tungkuililla*.

⁴³ See Schultz PNS 7.01/04 Names of Kangaroo Island' (unpublished).

⁴⁴ The Coorong,

*and Kornar? Are these fellas willing to perform parnpa-parnpalya: introduce themselves, identify, clarify a relationship, prevent war?*⁴⁵

.....

In another kind of time and another way of seeing the world, it is 24th March 1802 and Matthew Flinders on board the Investigator has noted “smokes rising” on that part of the ‘unknown coast’ which he will later name “Cape Jervis”. On the evening of the 27th he notes “several fires upon it”, and deduces that it must be a peninsula of the mainland. On the morning of the 28th while becalmed nine miles off a nameless rugged Point,⁴⁶ he sees a “lofty mountain” to the north. At midnight on the 31st, returning from the head of this “Inlet No.14” but much further offshore, he notes another “large fire upon the eastern shore” around the latitude of “Mount Lofty”.

On 11th April in the Geographé, Nicolas Baudin writes in his journal of a mystery in the strait “Déroit de Colbert”⁴⁷ about 4 km off “Cap D’Etoile”,⁴⁸ in the dark hours early that morning: “We suddenly saw, on the nearby shore, a very brilliant light, similar to that usually carried by those who go fishing along a coast at night. At sunrise we observed it more clearly and someone even believed he could clearly distinguish the person who carried it. This could be so for we saw it moving in different directions... sometimes ahead and sometimes behind where it was first reported”.⁴⁹ Seven months later in New South Wales, Baudin will be puzzling over it still while writing a preliminary report to his faraway masters: “The natives of the country it could not be, they not having enough intelligence to know it is possible to fish successfully with torches... but I remain convinced that it was used for fishing”.⁵⁰

.....

The unknown beings – or at least their masters half a world away – do in fact have designs upon the country and its people. Flinders, Baudin and their scientists are indeed scrutinizing the country, though they leave it untouched now because being only ‘clever-men’, they are interested mainly in new knowledge. But they too will report to the Big Men of their respective tribes, who have been at war intermittently for years and are competing for new

⁴⁵ *Parnpa-parnpalya* (OS *banba-banbalya*) is a noun deduced from the recorded verb *parnpalyaninthe* (OS *banbalyanendi*), which “was called the introducing of one tribe to another & the following conference, when they pointed out to each other their respective relationship. I should render it, to hold a conference, or a meeting’ or ‘introduce’ (see *parnbandi*), or ‘make the fear subside, persuade’” (Teichelmann MS 1857 [CG Teichelmann 1857, Dictionary of the Adelaide dialect. manuscript 4 vo. pp. 99 (with double columns). No. 59, Bleek’s Catalogue of Sir George Grey’s Library dealing with Australian languages, South African Public Library; as keyboarded by Jane Simpson 2001]).

⁴⁶ Today we call it Carrickalinga Head,

⁴⁷ ‘Colbert’s Strait’ = Backstairs Passage.

⁴⁸ ‘Cape of the Star’ = Porpoise Head.

⁴⁹ Baudin’s journal, translated by Cooper, in HM Cooper 1952: 86. Baudin’s observations on this occasion may repay further study, as it is (as far as I know) the only available account of *Kornar* or *Miyurna* sea-beach fishing with torches at night. Taplin and Berndt do not mention it. Perhaps it was practised only by the Raminyeri, the only *Kornar* group whose country included rocky beaches. On this exposed coast it is extremely unlikely that they used canoes.

⁵⁰ ‘Preliminary Report to his Government from Port Jackson, Nov. 1802’, translated by Cooper (Cooper 1952: 75).

territory to control and plunder. The two captains are the first scouts of the British and French empires; and they begin by supplanting the ancient mental map, redefining the Yarta⁵¹ with names which they have brought with them, often the names of their Big Men. Though these places on the Yarta have been studied and understood by the People in millennia of intimate contact, within a couple of generations most of the names imprinted with stories by the Dreaming⁵² will disappear from memory. And most of the stories with them.

The Miyurna and the Kornar have a few more years before other kinds of scout will begin to visit, hunters focused on plunder and women. Then within another generation plunderers more sophisticated will arrive, governed by another kind of Clever-Men and another kind of Law. Thus in a new arena begins another long and murky struggle between power, blindness, recognition, insight, and sometimes even love.

.....

⁵¹ Yarta (OS *yerta*), 'land, earth, dirt, Country' (in 'Kurna'-Miyurna).

⁵² 'The Dreaming' and 'the Dreamtime' are over-familiar English expressions based on slim foundations in Aboriginal cultures. These terms entered common usage with Spencer and Gillen's work on the 'Arunta' between 1896 and 1928; they were said to be a translation of a word which *may* have had something to do with 'dreaming' as commonly understood in Western culture, also with 'the far past ancestors and the mythic times in which they lived'. But in the same era this was contested by the missionary linguist Carl Strehlow and later his son TGH Strehlow, who said the words had much more to do and the 'eternal, uncreated, everlasting' nature of those Ancestors. For the long controversy between those ethnologists over the meaning of the key Arrernte word 'alchera' (Spencer & Gillen) or *altjira* (Strehlow), there is a readably brief exposition in Barry Hill 2002, *Broken Song: TGH Strehlow and Aboriginal Possession*, Milsons Point, Random House: 140-1, 174-5, 629. My paraphrase of the concept might be 'ancient times when the Ancestor-Creators travelled the everlasting Country: times and Beings which, being eternal, still live on today in the land'. This is a less 'Romantic' interpretation, more explanatory and *grounded* (a serious pun). As I understand it, there are few if any other Aboriginal languages in which this concept uses a word relating to 'dream'; certainly not 'Kurna'-Miyurna or 'Ngarrindjeri'-Kornar. But I will use 'the Dreaming' as a convenient shorthand in order to avoid too many tiresome circumlocutions.

The European side of the account above is based on a close examination of the published and unpublished journals, logs and charts from Flinders' and Baudin's expeditions.⁵³

The Aboriginal side is a 'possible scenario' – a piece of 'historical fiction'. It is based partly on recorded cultural information, most of which will emerge gradually in this book; and partly on the imagination and empathy which are also indispensable when writing 'real history'.

So too in the rest of this book I assemble and analyse the various intermittent records, but I can form a coherent sketch only by joining these dots and reading between the lines of their biases. Of course every such attempt is debatable; all history writing is interpretation. But it should and can do better than civic myths, hostile stereotypes and ideological clichés.

It was in about 2009 that I first realized I must draw some better life-portraits of those neglected women and men who passed on the remnant place-names which I was pursuing. But over the following years, a wider scene formed itself around the picture-dots, demanding to be sketched in: how the *Patpa-Miyurna* and the *Raminyeri*⁵⁴ – and also to some extent the other *Kornar* communities of the Lakes – dealt with the first stages of this invasion; and (as I will argue) the efforts they made to form relationships with the newcomers through *parnpa-parnpalya*, mostly trying to engage in diplomacy rather than war.

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⁵³ For this 'Prelude' I consulted:

- *The Journal of Post Captain Nicolas Baudin...*; Translated from the French by Christine Cornell: Adelaide: Libraries Board of SA, 1974; extracts online at <https://encounter.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/baudin/published.htm>.
- Baudin's Preliminary Report (Nov. 1802), and Extracts from his unpublished Journals (both translated by Cooper), in HM Cooper 1952, *French Exploration in South Australia... 1802-1803*, Adelaide: Macdougall.
- Freycinet's unpublished track chart 1802-3, in Cooper 1952: 25; and his published chart from the second part of his *Atlas* (1811), online at https://maps.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/map/1685/1685954/map839_1685954rbr.pdf.
- Matthew Flinders - Journal On HMS 'Investigator', vol. 1, 1801-1802, by Philip Gidley King, 1758-1808, <https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/collection-items/matthew-flinders-journal-hms-investigator-vol-1-1801-1802>
- Matthew Flinders 1814, *A Voyage To Terra Australis...* Vol 1, facsimile edition 1966, Adelaide: Libraries Board of SA; text online at <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00049.html>.
- HM Cooper 1953, *The Unknown Coast: Being the explorations of Captain Matthew Flinders, R.N. along the shores of South Australia*, Adelaide: Advertiser Printing Office. This book includes many geographically clarifying extracts from the *Investigator's* Fair Log Book.
- Flinders' unpublished rough manuscript chart (Cooper 1953: 77), and his 'Chart of Terra Australis: South Coast Sheet III 1802' (published with his 1814 book), https://maps.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/map890/i1700169a/map890_i1700169a_zmp.pdf.

Both of Cooper's books include useful commentary on the geography of the places.

⁵⁴ For the spelling and usage of 'Raminyeri' (Ramindjeri) and 'Narrinyeri' (Ngarrindjeri), see Appendix 12, 'Aboriginal territories, borders and identity labels'.

**Feet On the Fleurieu,
Language On the Land:
Book 1**

Chapter 1:

1802 - 1827: KANGAROO ISLAND BASE

1.1 – CHRONOLOGY TO 1827

For many thousands of years Aboriginal people had known this region from within, through intimate care of country, through story and song, and bare feet on the land.

As inheritors of a European colonial past, our received wisdom has been that knowledge of this land was bequeathed to us by European explorers who ‘discovered’ it from without, and by colonial pioneers of ‘South Australia’ who imposed their European knowledge and will, ‘conquering’ it.

In between these two very different kinds of knowledge lies a human history dimly glimpsed today, where at first contact Aborigines and European dropouts shared the one space and their two knowledges. I want to bring these people to light, tell their story, and illuminate the events during which some of that ancient knowledge was recorded by the invaders. This will not be simple, because most of what we seek is only hinted at, in disconnected fragments on the margins of records which were usually concerned with other things.

Textbox01: ‘UNDERSIDE’ OR ‘ALTERNATIVE’ HISTORY.

The ‘underside history’ of pre-colonial South Australia which I pursue here is much less visible in the records than the familiar narrative of Empire and Colony. There is very little of it that we know directly from the actors, and even that was nearly all *recorded* by others: by the white invaders, not the Aborigines; by the captains and explorers, not the Kangaroo Islanders themselves. Therefore we often have to proceed by deduction and imagination, resolutely trying to understand through empathy. Though this path has many perils, we must take it – especially if we are to avoid repeating the old impression that Aborigines never planned or acted for themselves but only had things done *to* them (which on reflection is quite unreasonable).

The current jargon word for making your own decisions and doing things for your own reasons is ‘agency’. One of the good things about many ‘revisionist’ histories is that they find so many previously unknown or passive people who were (or probably were) acting with their own ‘agency’.

Standard accounts of the Fleurieu begin with the explorers Matthew Flinders and Nicolas Baudin documenting the coastline, mention the Kangaroo Islanders briefly, then skip to the colonists of 1836. By omission these accounts imply that the ‘interior’ of the mainland was unexplored until after 1836. But the first Europeans who gained knowledge of this hinterland and its occupants were not the colonists; they were the dropouts of Kangaroo Island. And they did not do it alone: they were accompanied and guided by local First Australians who knew this country best; and some of these guides were women.

Accordingly the first part of our story spends much time on the other side of Backstairs Passage.

1.1.1 – VIEWS FROM THE SEA, 1802: FIRST KNOWN PERCEPTIONS BY EUROPEANS OF LOCAL MAINLANDERS AROUND KANGAROO ISLAND AND THE FLEURIEU.⁵⁵

This region of gulfs⁵⁶ first entered European awareness in 1802-3 as part of a race for empire between the great powers England and France. Their scientific scout expeditions charted the coastline under Flinders and Baudin respectively, and imprinted these two foreign languages on the land as place-names.⁵⁷

Flinders' chart was much the more accurate. With fresh and scientific eyes he defined and named the three main geographical regions of our target area: "*Kangaroo Island*", "*Cape Jervis*" and "*Encounter Bay*". But when we read early records we must interpret the last two names with great care; they do not necessarily refer to the same thing as today. Flinders originally gave the name 'Cape Jervis' to the "low point" of the mainland opposite his "Kangaroo Head" (actually Hog Point). But as HM Cooper has noted, he sometimes used the term 'cape' "broadly", i.e. ambiguously; it could also refer to the surrounding area.⁵⁸ More importantly, his published chart marks "Cape Jervis" *only along the whole peninsula*. This was what landlubbers remembered in practice. It became the standard usage for a century; when people used the name, they were more often referring to what we call 'the Southern Fleurieu' than to the cape itself.⁵⁹

The French expedition eventually charted the name "*Presque'île de Fleurieu*" ('Peninsula of Fleurieu'). The current name 'Fleurieu Peninsula' was officially adopted by the SA government only in 1913 as a result of French lobbying. It soon came into common usage, but was not gazetted until 1988.⁶⁰

"*Encounter Bay*" commemorated the place where Flinders briefly met and dined and swapped information with his rival captain. He mapped it as extending all the way from Newland Head, along the "low land" east of Rosetta Head (The Bluff), to a non-existent

⁵⁵ See Map01 Flinders' Chart and Map02 'The Gulf Region'.

⁵⁶ Kangaroo Island shelters the entrance to St Vincent's Gulf, and extends slightly further west than Yorke Peninsula, west of which are Spencer Gulf and then Eyre Peninsula.

⁵⁷ Louis Freycinet 1811, 'Carte generale de la Terre Napoleon', in *Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes*, Plate 2, SLSA; Flinders 'Chart of Terra Australis: South Coast Sheet III 1802', in Flinders 1814, Plate IV, SLSA Facsimile.

⁵⁸ HM Cooper 1953: 118, citing 'Cape Willoughby' and 'Cape Spencer' as well as Cape Jervis'. Flinders' Fair and Rough Log Books show that at first he called the cape "*Cape [Lambda]*", using the Greek letter (Cooper 1953: 58, 61, 79). Later he "*took a set of angles from a small projection near the ship, named Kangaroo Head*" – (actually Hog Point) – "*... The nearest part of that land was a low point... but the land immediately at the back was high, and its northern and southern extremes were cliffy. I named it CAPE JERVIS*" (Flinders 1814: 170).

⁵⁹ Cp. the similar dual usage of 'Cape York' in north Queensland. Even after 1913 many people continued to use 'Cape Jervis' in the old sense; e.g. Tindale's Aboriginal informant Milerum in the 1930s: "*To Milerum 'Cape Jervis' seems to be synonymous with our 'Fleurieu Peninsula'*" (Tindale SESA2: 253 [NB Tindale, 'South-East of SA Journal Vol.2', AA 338/1/33/2]). Milerum said that a certain woman came "*from 'Cape Jervis near Yankalilla'*" (Tindale 1941: 242, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/129818#page/282/mode/1up> [NB Tindale 1941, 'Native Songs of the SE of SA, Part 2', *Transactions of the Royal Society of SA* 65(2)]). The cape itself (as defined today) is at the little township also called 'Cape Jervis'. Today's gazetted geographical definition of 'Fleurieu Peninsula' takes it north to Sellicks Hill and east to Middleton (Gavin Malone p.c. 8/4/21, unpublished research note 2017, 'Extent and Naming of the Fleurieu Peninsula'). But Flinders' chart, by the position of the lettering and the peculiarities of his coastal mapping, clearly confines it west of a line from Yankalilla Bay to about Newland Head, i.e. roughly today's 'Southern Fleurieu'.

⁶⁰ Malone *ibid*. Charles Claret, Comte de Fleurieu, was the French Minister for Marine who had drawn up Baudin's instructions. The Peninsula was named "*Presqu'île de Fleurieu*" not by Baudin on the voyage but in Paris after his death, by his colleagues and rivals in the voyage, Peron and Freycinet. In their publications they suppressed many of his names and charted others of their own. See also Mary Grose and Margaret Sando (ed.) n.d., *Discovering the Fleurieu Peninsula with the National Trust*, Adelaide: National Trust of South Australia: 1-2. Both names were derived from the navigators' naval superiors. Jervis was the family name of the Earl of St Vincent, one of the Commissioners of the British Admiralty.

cape or point somewhere past the Murray Mouth. The ‘encounter’ is charted about 7 km off this imaginary ‘point’, and is the nearest he got to shore anywhere in ‘Encounter Bay’.⁶¹

Flinders’ chart distinguished the “high barren land” of ‘Cape Jervis’ from the “low land” of ‘Encounter Bay’. He saw these accurately as two separate geographical regions, defined and divided by topography as well as location. This distinction will often become important when interpreting our sources.⁶²

But these scientific mariners of 1802 mostly skimmed the coast, adding very few details of the mainland beyond it. Flinders mapped “*M^t Lofty*” and a generalized perimeter of the hills which we now call the South Mt Lofty Ranges. Further west were “*Yorke’s Peninsula*” and “*Investigator’s Strait*”, named after his ship. Locally he charted “*N.W. high Bluff*” (Rapid Head), and – following a whimsical domestic metaphor around KI – he marked the narrower strait “*Back Stairs Passage*”, at whose entrance was an “*Antechamber*”,⁶³ attended by “*The Pages*” nearby (a set of tiny low islets or rocks). On northeastern KI he named the large sheltered “*Nepean Bay*” – guarded by “*Kangaroo H^d*” on the east⁶⁴ and “*P^t Marsden*” on the west – and its southern extension “*Pelican Lagoon*” which almost cuts the Island in two (incorporating what we now call American River).

Flinders and Baudin played no significant part in recording the Aboriginal culture of this region. Within the almost featureless area of his chart south of Mt Lofty, Flinders wrote “*Fire seen*” at what might be the vicinity of Port Noarlunga.⁶⁵ Baudin was convinced he saw a night-fishing light near Porpoise Head in Deep Creek Conservation Park. But neither of them saw anything of the people who lit the fires during that autumn.

In fact the Europeans who first put their feet on the Fleurieu, gained first-hand knowledge of its Aboriginal occupants, and forged a relationship with them, were not representatives of Empire but sealers and seamen who lived on Kangaroo Island well before 1836.⁶⁶

⁶¹ For more details of Flinders’ and Baudin’s mapping and naming, see Appendix 1 ‘Geographical Referents’.

⁶² ‘CAPE JERVIS’, ‘THE FLEURIEU’ AND ‘ENCOUNTER BAY’: Today Encounter Bay is promoted as part of the Fleurieu tourist region; so are the McLaren Vale wine region and even Wellington on the Murray! ‘Cape Jervis’ now means *only* the Cape itself and its immediate locality. When reading early records we must consciously eliminate these modern ideas from our interpretation. Flinders’ usage of ‘Cape Jervis’ as the name of the whole peninsula, and his topographical distinction between this region and the ‘Encounter Bay’ region, remained the norm with both Islanders and colonists throughout the 19th century. For example, when ex-Islander William Thompson spoke to Bull he referred to ‘Cape Jervis’ and ‘Encounter Bay’ as two distinct “*districts*” (Thompson 1878, in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 7).

⁶³ Others would later add ‘Bay’ to this name. It lies near the eastern end of Kangaroo Island (Cape Willoughby).

⁶⁴ The “*Kangaroo H^d*” of Flinders was not today’s Kangaroo Head. As HM Cooper suspected when studying the charts, it was a distorted representation of today’s Hog Point, where there is much better offshore anchorage than a few km further east (HM Cooper 1953: 131-3). This identification is supported by details of John Morphet’s boat and foot journey in September 1836 from Kingscote to Hog Bay (see Chapter 3.4.9 ‘Second Gulf voyage’).

⁶⁵ 30 km south of Adelaide. He did not mark the inlet of the Onkaparinga Estuary here, since it was invisible from the sea, hidden by dunes.

⁶⁶ The earliest known directly-recorded sets of information about the Aboriginal cultures of this area arose from previous Islander activity. The first, obtained 1800 km away in 1826, was Harry’s ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* wordlist obtained by Gaimard at King George Sound, Western Australia, where ‘Sally’ was also found (see Chapter 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally)’, and Amery 1998). The second set was obtained on the local south coast in 1831 by Kent and Davis from George Bates, Nat Thomas, ‘Sally’ and ‘Condo’ in the search for Captain Barker (see Chapter 2.3.4 and 2.3.6). In both cases the informants were members of the same Aboriginal family who grew up on the Fleurieu but were now in the company of Kangaroo Island sealers.

They shared campfires with Aboriginal women and men. They were the same men who, while pursuing their own agendas outside the system, unwittingly made Kangaroo Island the base for the colonial invasion of South Australia, and contributed significantly to its first foundation on the land. They have also been unjustly stereotyped, “maligned, even de-humanized”.⁶⁷ The old cliché of ‘savages’ has been applied to the Islanders in a manner remarkably similar to the clichés about the Aboriginal women and men with whom they co-existed. This extended application of the label was attractive for similar reasons: it confirmed the colony’s prevailing image of benign settlement, and thus helped to consolidate its interests.

Our first two chapters will try to answer some of the questions about the people and their stories: Who were these Aborigines? Who were these Kangaroo Islanders, and how did they learn what they knew? How did the relationship between these two peoples arise, and what kind was it? What did they learn from each other? What relationships did they have with the Empire?

.....

⁶⁷ Old colonial histories and official mythologies have made the Kangaroo Islanders ‘scapegoats of the bloody Empire’ (as Breaker Morant might put it), all criminal brutes and ‘savages’ like the escaped convicts of Bass Strait. For a passionate rehabilitation of them see Hallet Shueard 2013, *The Forgotten Men: the Pioneer Settlers of Southern Australia*, Norwood, SA, Peacock Publications; I thank Christine Walker for directing me to this book. Reading it for the first time – long after I had drafted the first two chapters of *Feet On the Fleurieu* – I felt that while he may have overstated the case, his four basic “contentious points” are essentially right with regard to most of the resident Islanders from about 1824 onward: i.e. (1) They were mostly “free-men sailors who created the state’s first industries”. (2) They had “extensive knowledge of the South Australian coast... that was passed on to the colonial government in Sydney, leading to Sturt’s expedition of discovery down the River Murray to Lake Alexandrina”. (3) They gave “valuable assistance... to the officials of the South Australian Colonization Commission, to the officials of the South Australian Company, and also to the new British emigrants on their arrival”. (4) They have been “unjustly maligned, even de-humanized, due to the erroneous reports that emanated out of Sydney and Hobart” (Shueard 2013, Introduction: x).

1.1.2 – STRAITSMEN AND ISLANDERS.⁶⁸

The Kangaroo Islanders originated as a remote westward migration of ‘Straitsmen’ from Bass Strait – who in turn were a product of the milieu of the sealing industry which spread out from the colonies north and south of the Strait (New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land) in the first decades of the 19th century.⁶⁹

Across the whole south coast of Australia, sealing increased as whale stocks decreased. The sealing too was unregulated, greedy and unsustainable. The lifestyle of a sealing gang demanded a high degree of independence. Often a captain would simply drop these specialized crew at several bays or islands along with provisions and boats; they would hunt and prepare hundreds or thousands of skins, and the ship would return later to pick them up. This might be a few months later if all went well, but sometimes it was much later, occasionally years, or never.

Sometimes members of a gang stayed on by choice in these remote places; others jumped ship. Their reasons probably included the fair anticipation that with all its hardship this independent life would be better than the life of a seaman or contracted labourer on a merchant whaling or sealing ship. Such voyages were often prolonged unpredictably; there were long periods of confined and regimented daily life under masters from whom there was no redress; short rations, floggings, and worse.⁷⁰

Together such dropouts formed tiny societies which were often mobile, sometimes semi-permanent, always semi-independent and largely lawless. From many backgrounds – Europeans from various countries, African-Americans, Pacific Islanders, ‘lascars’ from the East Indies, Maoris, and even a few Aboriginal men from the eastern colonies⁷¹ – they were called ‘Straitsmen’. Some might be hardened runaway convicts with an interest in getting far away from authority; if they could not get onto a vessel bound for America then permanent life on a remote island was an option. Some set up individual lives away from other Europeans altogether.⁷²

Those who stayed on began as visiting hunters but often ended up as farmers.

⁶⁸ See Map02 ‘The Region’ and Map05 ‘Bass Strait & Van Diemen’s Land’.

⁶⁹ For a brief but very well-researched summary of the Bass Straitsmen and their Aboriginal slaves, see Clements 2014: 191-6 (Nicholas Clements 2014, *The Black War: Fear, Sex and Resistance in Tasmania*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press). General short accounts of the sealers and their expansion onto Kangaroo Island have been written in PlomleyN 1966: 1006-9 (NJB Plomley (ed.) 1966, *Friendly Mission: the Tasmanian Journals and Papers of George Augustus Robinson 1829-1834*, Hobart: Tasmanian Historical Research Association); ClarkeP 1996: 51-9; ClarkeP 1998: 14-22; Amery 1996: 36-7, <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p72561/pdf/article0214.pdf>; and TaylorR 2002-8: 6-31 (RebeTaylor 2002, *Unearthed: the Aboriginal Tasmanians of Kangaroo Island*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press. In this book page numbers are cited from the First Edition. In the Second Edition 2008 a number of pseudonyms in the First Edition are replaced with real names). Cumpston 1986 (*passim*) assembles a mass of data, especially for Kangaroo Island.

⁷⁰ This assessment of the contrast was correct in the opinion of Captain Hart: “*an easy, independent life, as compared with that on board ship*”, and he had observed both (Hart 1854: 52 [John Hart letter 24/4/1854, in TF Bride [1898], ed. CE Sayers 1969, *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*]). If any should doubt that this is a true judgment, even an understated one, I refer the reader to the classic memoir of seamen’s life in the 1830s: RH Dana 1840, *Two Years before the Mast*, London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd; especially Chapter 14 where a tyrannical captain administers two unmerited floggings himself with complete impunity and follows them by gloating from the quarterdeck, “*Now you know what I am!... You’ve got... a slave-driver, a negro-driver*”. This was not in a warship under martial law, but merely the merchant navy.

⁷¹ See ClarkeP 1998: 15.

⁷² Captain Hart suspected these loners of being runaway convicts (Hart 1854: 52).

With the passing captains the Straitsmen traded seal products (skins and sometimes meat) in return for supplies such as ammunition, shirts, tobacco and rum.⁷³ But food stocks from the ships came only at irregular intervals, and for much of the time they had to live by their own resourcefulness from the sea (mostly) and the land. Some long-term residents eventually acquired European vegetables, cereal crops and livestock such as pigs or goats, and stabilized their economy by farming them to provide food for the off-season. Thus they eventually mutated into ‘settlers’ with a mixed economy of gardening, hunting (fish, seals, and in favoured places kangaroos and wallabies) and gathering of bush tucker by the Aboriginal women who lived with them.⁷⁴

Sealers and Straitsmen who came to stay on Kangaroo Island were called ‘Islanders’ in later local parlance, and this will be a convenient shorthand for us to distinguish them from the eastern Straitsmen.⁷⁵

Kangaroo Island had come to the attention of Europeans even before Flinders landed there in 1802. Soon many sealing captains were visiting it en route between Bass Strait and the Indian Ocean, attracted especially to the shelter of Nepean Bay. Here some nearby lagoons – especially one at the Bay of Shoals a short distance from the anchorage – were the biggest source on the whole southern coast for salt, which was essential in curing the skins.⁷⁶ During the next 20 years, as seal populations declined in the east, captains looked for them further west: in the region of the two Gulfs and Kangaroo Island in what is now South Australia; and at promising islands right across the Bight to the southwest coast of what is now Western Australia, in the Recherche Archipelago (near Esperance) and King George Sound (now Albany).

As early as 1806 some were visiting Kangaroo Island and establishing residence there, intentionally or not.⁷⁷ For those who were intentional it was a refuge particularly congenial.

It was well out of the way, the remotest of the remote: far from the nearest settlements and colonial government centres in the east (Sydney, Launceston and Hobart Town), and far also from regular shipping routes. It is very much larger than all the other islands,⁷⁸ making it easier to disappear if a man did not want to be found when ships called in.

⁷³ “The islanders did some trade in wallaby and kangaroo skins with Captain Hart, of Launceston, receiving 30s. per 100 for them. As orders on the owner of the vessel were of no use to them they took their payment in goods sold at fabulous prices—tobacco at 10s. per lb., shirts of the commonest description 10s. each, and rum at £3 10s. per gallon” (Bates 1886b: 6d).

⁷⁴ Cultivators included a George Robinson (not the Protector) on King Island in the west of Bass Strait for many years up to 1825; at Western Port, Victoria, in 1826; and on an island (probably Thistle Island near Port Lincoln) in 1831 (Cumpston 1986: 81, 98, 117). A Portuguese named Thompson was growing potatoes on Kangaroo Island before 1815 (Cumpston 1986: 40), but little or no cultivation was happening in 1819 (Sutherland 1831, in Wakefield 1834: 50, 54, <https://books.google.com.au/books/reader?id=kjRfAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PP1>). By 1826 a substantial community was already using the inland valley of the Cygnet River in this way (Cumpston 1986: 85-6). Such also were the households of Wallan (“the first farmer in South Australia”, as his tombstone puts it), Bates, Thomas, Walker and Cooper when the colonists arrived on Kangaroo Island in 1836. As farmers, the immediate descendants of Betty and Nat Thomas were more successful than most others on the island for two generations (see TaylorR 2002-8: 194-213, ‘The Years of Success’).

⁷⁵ The terms ‘Straitsman’ and ‘Islander’ are fluid. Many Straitsmen spent time on Kangaroo Island during their itinerant careers, some Islanders ended up in the Straits, and some Straitsmen ended up on Kangaroo Island.

⁷⁶ See Salt Lagoon on Map03; also Cumpston 1986: Plates 18-22 and Index; Bauer 1959, Vol.1: 301.

⁷⁷ Joseph Murrell’s gang was left on KI by his ship, marooned for several years from 1806 (Cumpston 1986: 31).

⁷⁸ Kangaroo Island is about 150 km long, and the third-largest island in Australia by area after Tasmania and Melville Island (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kangaroo_Island (5/7/13)).

It had no resident Aboriginal people to 'cause trouble'. None had been living there since an earlier culture had died out perhaps 4000 years ago. For maybe 6000 years the sea at Backstairs Passage and Investigator Strait had been a largely impassable barrier for Aboriginal people on both sides of it.

Textbox02: ISOLATION OF KANGAROO ISLAND FROM THE MAINLAND (1): GEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL.

The archaeology of Fleurieu Peninsula shows continuous Aboriginal occupation for the last 8000 years. At the beginning of this period KI was part of the mainland. But the rising sea level at the end of the last Ice Age separated KI 6000 years ago by creating Backstairs Passage.⁷⁹ I say the sea was 'largely' impassable (not 'totally') because Backstairs Passage, with dangerous currents and rapidly changing conditions, was not the only potential route from the mainland to KI. Some think that the people of Yorke Peninsula may have been able to negotiate the shallower and much safer waters at the western end of Investigator Strait in favourable conditions by a combination of rafts and island-hopping.⁸⁰

In the 1930s NB Tindale, HM Cooper and BG Maegraith conducted an archaeological study of abundant traces left by Aboriginal occupants of KI. They formed a theory of a "Kartan culture" (after *Karta*, a 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* name for KI),⁸¹ occupying a period of time separated by a large gap from later cultures who survive down to the present day. This theory is now questioned and need not detain us. But, apart from the style of stone tools which archaeology turns up, the culture probably differed in some other respects; for example, dingoes have never been native to KI, but they were certainly part of Aboriginal culture on the mainland (though perhaps only after the Island had become isolated).⁸²

A later study by Rhys Jones in 1977 argued that KI was completely depopulated by about 4000 years ago.⁸³

It is hard to be sure how many men and women were living on Kangaroo Island at any one time. The numbers certainly varied considerably between the seasons and the years, and sometimes the recorded hearsay may have been exaggerated. Estimates varied from a small handful to hundreds.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ Betty Ross (ed.) 1981: 12, 19, 37, 39.

⁸⁰ Klynton Wanganeen p.c. 24/1/14.

⁸¹ For more about the Aboriginal names of KI, see Chapter 1.1.6.4 'Geography (1): exploration and discoveries'.

⁸² Recent research has the first dingoes arriving between 5,000 and 10,000 years ago (National Museum of Australia c.2014, 'Arrival of the dingo', <https://www.nma.gov.au/defining-moments/resources/arrival-of-the-dingo> [16/7/19]).

⁸³ For a very brief summary of Kangaroo Island archaeology and anthropology see TaylorR 2002-8: 18-20.

⁸⁴ NUMBERS OF ISLANDERS:

One report asserted that in 1820 there were 50 sealers on Kangaroo Island with about a hundred women (ClarkeP 1994 cited in Amery 1996: 37). Captain Skelton's letter in *Australian* 9 March 1826 claimed there were "30 men and 40 black women", and in total "upwards of 200 souls"; but this probably included visiting crews, and he had probably never visited the place (Cumpston 1986: 78-9). Likewise, the estimate of 28 men in 1832 by seaman Thomas Coote undoubtedly included visitors like himself ('Report of Kangaroo Island, by Thomas Coote', SA Company papers 1834-1847, Angus Papers PRG 174/11: 165-6).

In most of the first-hand reports the numbers are much smaller than the above:

– About 12 men in 1819 (Sutherland 1831, in Wakefield 1834: 56,

<https://books.google.com.au/books/reader?id=kjRfAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PP1>).

– 8 or 9 men in 1820 (Kelly 1820 in Cumpston 1986: 57).

– 16-18 men in 1831 (Hart 1854: 52); in the same year 14 Tasmanian women (Robinson journal 4 April 1831, in PlomleyN 1966: 335-6).

– 7 men and 5 women in 1833-4 (Captain Jones 1835, in Napier 1835 *Colonization*: 252).

– 8 men and 16 women at the beginning of 1836 (John Hart 1836, 'Report of Captain Hart', manuscript, in South Australian Company Papers 1834-1847, Angus Papers PRG 174/11, microfilm Reel 14: 159-164, State Library of

Inevitably on this hard male frontier the Straitsmen sought sexual companionship from Aboriginal women of the neighbouring islands or mainland. They abducted them by force in raiding teams and sometimes took children as well. This “African slave trade in miniature”⁸⁵ gave sealers from deprived and brutalized backgrounds (including ex-convicts) “an opportunity to be masters instead of slaves themselves”.⁸⁶

On the islands the Straitsmen were secure from reprisals, since no Aboriginal society here in southern Australia had sea-going vessels.⁸⁷ Straitsmen brought Aboriginal women from Van Diemen’s Land to KI as virtual slaves; and then, as Islanders, they raided the local mainland for more women.

Of the Islanders who would remain on KI in colonial times, quite a few had seen many of its dark deeds and doubtless took part in some of them. Such were Henry Wallan, William Day and James Allen; but they maintained a prudent and permanent silence.⁸⁸ Not even the loquacious George Bates, nor the more retiring Nat Thomas who would speak on occasion to a congenial reporter such as Cawthorne,⁸⁹ could be induced to say much ‘on the record’ concerning these wild early years, although both had been there before 1827.

1.1.2.1 – WHAT WERE THEY LIKE?

Who were these Kangaroo Islanders, that with their cohabiting women became so important in the records of Aboriginal first contact? To achieve some understanding of them and their relationship with local Aborigines, we must go behind the mere chronicle of their presence and examine them as human beings.

The pre-colonial men of Kangaroo Island have usually been described as a uniform collection of brutal and illiterate ‘white savages’. It has been said that KI was the most vicious and lawless of all the sealer haunts. But this could be an injustice, an error of

South Australia. This list was prepared for the first colonists to use in seeking help when they arrived, and mentions only half the number of men he had seen in 1831).

– 11 men and 8 women later in 1836 (CB Powell in *Observer*, 15/1/1898: 12d).

Probably most of these are underestimates, since no visiting captain could scour this large island for men other than those who chose to meet him. Hart made many visits in the 1830s, but did not list Walker even though he had been there since 1832, probably at Hog Bay which Hart also did not mention.

The Powell item could perhaps be a more accurate total for 1836-7 because its author Powell arrived on the ‘Duke of York’ in July 1836 and remained on Kangaroo Island for nearly two years as a gardener for the South Australian Company. However, if some Islanders were lying very low with the connivance of the others on an island of this size covered in scrub, it would still have been quite possible for a Company employee never to hear about them. In the colony for decades the Islanders were well known for their sympathy with deserters, smugglers and escapees whom they often and harboured and hid (see e.g. Tolmer’s pursuit of convicts hiding on Kangaroo Island in 1844, which I examine in Book 2 of this history [in progress], since it involved Magalidi, other Aboriginal women, Cooper, Wallan and Bates).

⁸⁵ Robinson, quoted in Clements 2014: 194.

⁸⁶ Clements 2014: 196.

⁸⁷ See the discussion of reed rafts in Chapter 2.3.6 ‘Tribes and Barker’.

⁸⁸ However, by the 1830s Wallan seems to have distanced himself from acts of violence in which he had participated, such as the selling of Kalungku to Dutton (see later in this chapter).

⁸⁹ See WA Cawthorne 1853, ‘Journal of a Trip to Kangaroo Island’, in Chittleborough *et al* 2002: 160-172; original <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/38463955/3919463>.

perspective based on a few opinions and examples which have been recycled endlessly in the literature.⁹⁰

Their reputation was carried back to England by captains and newspaper reports. The colonists came expecting to find ‘savages’ like those described by Sutherland from his 1819 visit. Scarcely distinguishable from the ‘native savages’, they were

*little better than pirates... complete savages, living in bark huts like the natives, not cultivating anything.... They smell like foxes... venturing on the mainland in their boats, and seizing on the natives, particularly the women, and keeping them in a state of slavery... [they were] chiefly Englishmen, convicts and runaway sealers.*⁹¹

This has been the ongoing stereotype, supported by a few sensational KI horrors which happen to have been recorded. But the reality was more complex and more varied; and we need a more nuanced understanding in order to explain certain milder features of their recorded dealings with both Aborigines and colonists. Let us interrogate some of the clichés.⁹²

1.1.2.1.1 – ‘CONVICTS’.

Contrary to one persistent colonial myth, very few of the ‘sealers’ on KI were escaped convicts or even ex-convicts. Most of them that we know about were free seamen.⁹³

⁹⁰ “There is some suggestion that the sealing fraternity inhabiting Kangaroo Island was a more ruthless set than those of the other settlements, and exhibited the greatest inhumanity towards the unfortunate native women who lived with them” (PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 6 [Brian Plomley and Kristen Anne Henley, 1987, *The Sealers of Bass Strait and the Cape Barren Island Community*, Hobart: Blubber Head Press]). Apart from the Kangaroo Island items which I cite in this book, Clements cites equal or worse horrors in the Straits: tying women to a tree for up to 36 hours and flogging them at intervals; murdering them for trivial offences such as being ‘stubborn’; right up to burning them alive (Clements 2014: 193-5). If Clements’ assessment is balanced, then KI’s reputation as the worst of the island haunts may be undeserved.

⁹¹ Cumpston 1986: 49, 51; Amery 1996: 37; Sutherland 1831 in Wakefield 1834: 50-51. Sutherland’s memory was already 12 years out of date when he was sought out and gave this opinion in 1831. His rosy report of Kangaroo Island country was instantly promoted as propaganda for the proposed colony of ‘South Australia’.* As collateral damage, this passage became a familiar stereotype of all the Islanders. In 1836 Wallan and Day would fulfil these expectations for Captain Morgan on first sight, clad in skins and worried that they might be shot before being recognized as human beings (see Chapter 3.4.2.1 ‘Wallan and Stephens’). But a few weeks later Dr Woodforde’s diary, after quoting Sutherland, would note a quite different impression: “We were given to understand that they were little better than pirates, but were agreeably surprised to find them a civil set of men and they will be of much use in forming a colony here. For their honesty I cannot answer as we do not put temptation in their way” (Woodforde diary 6 Sep 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-6-september-1836-7/> [John Woodforde, ‘Abstracts of a Voyage to South Australia’, PRG 502/1/2, SLSA]).

* Sutherland’s ‘Report of a Voyage from Sydney to Kangaroo Island and of observations made during a stay of seven months on and near the island’ was first published in 1831 (EG Wakefield 1831, *Plan of a Company to be established for the purpose of founding a Colony in Southern Australia*, London: Ridgway & Sons: 67-74).

‘Further Evidence of Captain Sutherland’ was first published as a pamphlet in 1832 (SA Land Company 1832, *Evidence respecting the Soil, Climate and Productions of the South Coast of Australia*, London: William Nicol: 26-40). The two were published together in Wakefield 1834 (SA Association [Edward Gibbon Wakefield] 1834, *South Australia: Outline of the Plan of a Proposed Colony to be Founded...*, London: Ridgway & Sons: 45-58, <https://books.google.com.au/books/reader?id=kjRfAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PP1>).

⁹² For a new look at the Islander men see Taylor’s chapter on ‘Judging’ (TaylorR 2002-8: 44-58). Cp. p.30: “These men would not look upon themselves as cruel or manipulative exploiters; their captains and merchants filled that role. These men had been the toilers and survivors, the poor bastards who had felt the cat on their backs”.

⁹³ Colonel Light made this point in 1836 (Capper 1837: 8). JW Bull had to “correct [this] erroneous impression” again in 1878 after obtaining “reliable information from such of the actual primitive settlers [on KI] as he could meet with”, notably William Thompson. After speaking with Thompson, Bull wrote that “the majority of the early inhabitants were men who had left whaling and sealing vessels or surveying ships” (Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, my emphasis; = Bull 1878b: 7. This reference to

KI was too far west to offer hope of easy escape to America as one might hope in Bass Strait, and convicts were not welcome either on the trading vessels that might have brought them there or on the Island itself.⁹⁴ Islander Bates insisted that “There never was a prisoner (convict) on Kangaroo Island; we would not have them there; we used to ship them off the first chance. One or two tried to stay, but we would not let them”.⁹⁵

1.1.2.1.2 – ‘LAWLESS’.

Despite their reputation for ‘lawlessness’, they had their own social practices, rules and values, and some of these were inherited from their European background.

Though in later days some Islanders benefitted from their mystique as unsocialized ‘savages in animal skins’, they had never been completely independent of ‘society’. They brought with them the thought patterns, habits and artefacts with which they had lived their previous lives, and retained European usages such as money, tobacco, rum, boats and hunting dogs. Their survival depended on periodic trading with ships who represented ‘society’ and sold them some of its goods.

The Islanders had their own in-group loyalties and obligations. According to Cawthorne’s novel about them, they lived by a system of ‘mates’ which was more than a necessity. “It was found advisable to bind themselves together in twos and threes, mates, as they termed themselves”. Within their group, “sharing and faring in all things equally”, they “exhibited traits of heroism, and even of disinterested action... their mutual fidelity was not easily shaken”.⁹⁶

Many acted upon the seaman’s positive ethic of hospitality. Peron in 1802 recorded that when visiting ships sought refuge from storms on islands in the western part of Bass Strait, the captains and crews were “most warmly welcomed by the English sealers” resident there. “Why is it”, he wondered,

‘surveying ships’ can only mean that some crew of the *Rapid* and/or the *Cygnets* stayed behind on KI in 1836. But mere facts never beat a good story, and the myth that most of the pre-colonial Islanders were convicts is still recycled today.

⁹⁴ See Cumpston 1986: vi, and TaylorR 2002-8: 51-3.

⁹⁵ Bates 1887b, *Register* 6/10/1887: 7b. Bates was almost correct, but perhaps not quite. Bill Johnson was a ‘ticket-of-leave’ man (PlomleyN 1987: 68 [NJB Plomley, *Weep In Silence: a history of the Flinders Island Aboriginal Settlement, with the Flinders Island Journal of George Augustus Robinson 1835-1839*, Hobart: Blubber Head Press, 1987]). William Day may have been a convict, but his sentence would have expired before he became a sealer in 1824 (see PlomleyN 1966: 1012; PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 42). And as we shall see, William Cooper was probably a freed convict (see Chapter 2.5.1.1 ‘Cooper’). The convict tag was attached to particular individuals for whom it had probably never been true, such as Wallan and Allen. Perhaps some men with a convict past, whether freed or runaway, were tolerated by the old seamen Islanders according to their individual merits, and the secret (if known) was kept. Growing up on Kangaroo Island, Wynniss Ruediger “went to school with the children of an ex-convict... These boys helped me during my first efforts at needlework, by always doing some of the crocheting for me! Their father was a quiet, hardworking fellow, respected by the little community in which he lived” (Ruediger 1980: 30 [Wynniss J Ruediger, *Border’s Land: Kangaroo Island 1802-1836*, Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House]; but this convict may not have been pre-1836).

⁹⁶ William A Cawthorne [1854] (edited & introduced by Rick Hosking) 2020, *The Kangaroo Islanders: A story of South Australia before colonisation 1823*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 5, 59 [hereafter referred to as ‘Cawthorne 1854/2020’]. Cawthorne’s novel was based on many conversations with Islanders, notably Nat Thomas, and some of their women. The KI ethos of ‘mates’ is directly comparable with the Australian ‘digger’ mateship, centring on mutual obligation for the sake of survival, rather than friendship. This has been portrayed unforgettably in Richard Flanagan’s novel *The Narrow Road To the Deep North*. For more analysis of Cawthorne’s presentation of the Islanders, see Appendix 7 ‘Islanders and mainlanders in Cawthorne’s novel’.

*that this touching hospitality of which the voyages provide so many examples, should be always almost exclusively provided by men upon whom the coarseness of their character and their miserable condition seem to impose the least obligation?*⁹⁷

Even the *Sydney Gazette* in 1826, though otherwise scathing about the ‘savages’ on KI, had to admit that they “are nevertheless hospitable and friendly”.⁹⁸ This grudging tribute deserves to be underlined and amplified: men like Wallan and Bates were remembered after their deaths for their generous hospitality to strangers as well as friends.⁹⁹

Another part of this ethic was a commitment, along with their Aboriginal wives, to search-and-rescue, notably of shipwrecked people. This lasted well into their colonial years.¹⁰⁰

The Islanders insisted that they were sailors and not convict escapees, and revealed a quite conventional regard for respectability, status and class. They particularly resented the charge that they were ‘wreckers’, luring ships to be wrecked as a source of salvage for them.¹⁰¹

Their own view of themselves may even have included a certain sense of proprietorship in the land. A few passages in Cawthorne’s novel have them joking, half in earnest, that they are the “Hemprors of Kangaroo Island” [Emperors], and referring to it jealously as “our country” in opposition to colonial settlers, an “independent empire”.¹⁰²

1.1.2.1.3 – ‘DRUNKEN’.

Some were frequently drunk, but not all. A habitual drunk – if he could make or obtain the booze – would not survive long in this environment. Reports of drunken orgies at Nepean Bay made colourful yarns for colonists to tell. These rum-fests did happen, actively encouraged by visiting captains who got them blind drunk in order to drive exorbitant

⁹⁷ Peron 1802 in PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 5.

⁹⁸ Cumpston 1986: 85; original newspaper article at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article2186083>.

⁹⁹ See e.g. the visit to Wallan and Day by ‘A Private Settler’ in December 1836 (see Chapter 3.6.1 ‘Goodbye to Kangaroo Island’); the tribute to Wallan’s “*kind and jovial disposition*” in *Register* 30/4/1856: 3d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/49746165/4143344>; and the posthumous tribute to Bates by his friend Tom Coward: “*his hospitality was extended to any one who required it*” (*SA Register* 4/12/1895: 6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/53678377/4095988>). See also Shueard 2013: 26ff.

¹⁰⁰ e.g. the search for Osborne and Slater in 1836 (see Chapter 3.5.4 ‘Women and sealers on the track’); and for the survivors of the *Maria* wreck in 1840 (the involvement of Islanders and Aboriginal people in these events will be covered in Book 2); and for Pennington from the wreck of the *Osmanli* in 1853 (*Observer* 10/12/1853).

¹⁰¹ WA Cawthorne’s novel includes a passage in which a resident of another island, ‘Long Bill’, is suspected of intention to wreck the brig which had recued him (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 11-12; cp. p.121-2 n49-54). It first appeared in early 1865 as a serial *The Islanders* in *The Illustrated Melbourne Post* (Hosking 2002: 143). It may have been this passage in particular which caused a prompt reaction from some of the KI sailors who read it, no doubt feeling they had been smeared unjustly. By May 1865 “*some of our old Islanders*” considered the novel “*not very complimentary to them*”, and the reporter thought it likely that “*when Mr. Cawthorne revisits the island he may find hospitality at a premium*” (*SA Register* 29/5/1865: 3g, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/39124643>). There is “*little evidence*” that Kangaroo Islanders were guilty of the practice (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 122 n54). And there is no record of Cawthorne crossing Backstairs Passage after 1865 to test his welcome with those on whose conversation he had based his novel.

¹⁰² Cawthorne 1854/2020: 56, 66, 87. The tone of this is epitomized forever by the famous and “*truly ludicrous*” face-off in 1836 between the SA government’s very short representative Samuel Stephens and Henry Wallan (a big man physically): “*Who are you?*”... “*I am the Governor*”... “*You are no such thing... I am the governor*” – “*I tell you I am... you a governor!... you don’t stand four feet in your stockings*” (Leigh 1839: 123-4 [WH Leigh 1839, *Reconnoitering Voyages and Travels, with Adventures in the New Colonies of South Australia... during the years 1836, 1837, 1838*, London: Smith, Elder & Co]).

deals for the skins.¹⁰³ But not all Islanders went that way, or not all the time; there were even teetotal Islanders. Wallan and Day lived closest to the action at Nepean Bay; but when a 'Private Settler' sat down to lunch with them in 1836, they found that "tea, made from the native tree... forms their only beverage".¹⁰⁴

1.1.2.1.4 – 'IGNORANT AND ILLITERATE'.

In fact none were totally ignorant, and not all were illiterate. Islanders were seamen who had at least the basic skills of a seafarer. Some had more than this. Nat Thomas, for instance, appears to have been a trained pilot.¹⁰⁵ Walker and Wilkins could build a cutter for coastal trading to Adelaide.¹⁰⁶ There are surviving letters written by Bates,¹⁰⁷ Wallan,¹⁰⁸ and perhaps Walker,¹⁰⁹ which on the whole are quite coherent and literate.¹¹⁰

1.1.2.1.5 – 'GODLESS'.

Though reputedly they all lived "fearing neither man nor God",¹¹¹ some retained a form or two of Christian religion, or even a serious and confirmed reputation for personal piety.¹¹² Some Kangaroo Islanders were said to read their Bibles regularly; Wallan knew and memorized the contents extensively.¹¹³ Cawthorne's character 'Georgy' (probably

¹⁰³ Bates in *Advertiser* 20/3/1880, Supplement: 1b; 'A.M.' 1886, 'Reminiscences of Kangaroo Island Settlement', *Observer* 31/7/1886: 7a; Bates 1886b: 6d.

¹⁰⁴ "They... had no wish to brew [barley], believing drink to be the cause of wretchedness to man, and that no people could have better health and strength than themselves, who never tasted anything but tea" ('A Private Settler' 10/12/1836 [Cumpston 1986: 141]). Cawthorne's character 'Old Sam' was probably based partly on Wallan. Sam says: "No, I never drinks. I wish all the drink was in the sea. Once – a long time gone – I drank like —". The author comments, "Leading a life freed from all moral and social control, and surrounded by every form of unbridled license, old Sam exhibited the wonderful virtue of an absolutely sober man" (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 31-2). Tragically, he seems to have returned to the bottle (at least temporarily) after he was dispossessed by the SA Company (see Chapter 3.4.8.5 'The dispossession of Wallan').

Survivor Bates seems to have come late to teetotalism. In his poverty-stricken old age he signed the Pledge while at the same time making a sly confession to Temperance campaigner Matthew Burnett: "Why, Mr. Bates, with all the golden opportunities you have had you should have been a millionaire." "Ah, you see," shaking his head, "if I had always taken care of my money; but, as you said last Saturday night, drink has been the ruin of multitudes" (Bates 1883a: 6f).

¹⁰⁵ Nat Thomas was listed by Captain Hart as a "pilot" (Hart 1836: 159, 163); and possibly it was Nat (or more likely William Thompson) who had a copy of Brewster's recent *Treatise on Optics* and could "discuss its merits" at length (see Chapter 3.4.8.4 'Water and food').

¹⁰⁶ *Register* 17/1/1844: 3b and 14/8/1847: 3c; Australian Marine Conservation Society, Kangaroo Island Branch, <http://www.echidna.edu.au/marine/hogbay.htm> [2/7/13]; see also <http://oceans1.customer.netspace.net.au/kangaroo-wrecks.html> [7/10/23]

¹⁰⁷ Bates 1887a, *Advertiser* 19/1/1887: 6.

¹⁰⁸ Wallan 1851, in Bauer 1959, Vol. 2: 670. Bauer adds: "This letter, which I believe was actually written by Wallan, indicates that he was far from illiterate. While the grammar is not perfect, the hand is firm and very legible". He signed his name "Henry Wallan"; but this does not necessarily settle the ambiguity around the original pronunciation and spelling of his name (Wallen, Walland, Wallend, Wallan, Warland, Waller, Wallens, Whalley, Wally, Worley, Wylie, etc. 'Warland' and 'Worley' tell us that all the other first syllables were normally pronounced as in the word 'wall'). In this book I follow his own spelling; but it is very likely that the name was a local variant or unofficial adaptation of 'Warland'.

¹⁰⁹ Walker 1860, quoted by Hosking 2002: 154.

¹¹⁰ These letters compare favourably for spelling and grammar with the journals of quite respectable sea-captains such as Morgan (Captain Robert Morgan, 'Duke of York' journal 1836-8, transcribed by Dorothy Heinrich, Bob Sexton and Mandy Paul, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/captain-robert-morgan>). Nat Thomas signed his will in "wonderful handwriting" (TaylorR 2002-8: 124-5).

¹¹¹ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 5.

¹¹² See also my paragraph on Straitsmen who taught religion and Bible-reading to their children (below in section 1.1.3.7 'A new generation').

¹¹³ Meredith (*Southern Australian*, 24 September 1844: 2f); and Wallan (*Register* 30/4/1856: 3d) were said to be Bible readers; Wallan "never went out upon his hunting expeditions without one, and was accustomed to study it closely while his women were engaged with the wallaby snares. His memory was so good, that it was scarcely possible to refer

modelled on George Bates) “was perpetually arguing, moralising, and speechifying on religious questions”, so that he was known to his mates as “the Parson”.¹¹⁴

One might sometimes find a settled alternative belief system among these ‘savages’. Nat Thomas not only had professional training as a pilot,¹¹⁵ but had apparently come to his own conclusions about religion: he firmly believed in ‘metempsychosis’ – ‘reincarnation’ or ‘transmigration of souls’ between humans and also between humans and animals or birds.¹¹⁶ This had common threads with the totemism of Thomas’s Aboriginal women and trading partners. Cawthorne recognized that it signified some shared understanding of life; for his Nat Thomas character ‘Sam’ illustrates this by saying, “When I slips my cable, I believe I shall go sky-larking o’er this ’ere scrub a boomer” (i.e. as a kangaroo).¹¹⁷

1.1.2.1.6 – ‘LAZY’.

This was another stereotype made famous from a published interview with Bates in his old age.¹¹⁸ Was it typical? How lazy can a man be in a subsistence economy, even with help by one or two Aboriginal women slaves? When the first colonists arrived on Kangaroo Island in 1836, those in daily contact with the Islanders noted that they – especially Wallan and Day, who were first and famously met when clad in animal skins – were typically a much more sober, reliable and ‘respectable’ workforce than the sailors and working immigrants on the South Australian Company’s ships, who were often drunk, disorderly and on strike.¹¹⁹

1.1.2.1.7 – BOTH / AND.

to any chapter or verse which he could not at once repeat” (Register 30 April 1856: 3d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/49746165/4143344>). Bates’s Bible – given to him by Colonial Manager Samuel Stephens in 1836 – has survived, though the claim that it was Bates who wrote the pious prayer on the flyleaf, in language straight out of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer, would need to be tested against the possibility that it is in Stephens’ handwriting (Kingscote CWA 1951: 36 [Kingscote Country Women’s Association (compiled & published), n.d. [1951], *Kangaroo Island Past and Present*, Adelaide: The Advertiser]; Ruediger 1980: 37).

¹¹⁴ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 58.

¹¹⁵ See Point 4 in Chapter 1.1.2.1 ‘What were they like?’

¹¹⁶ In Cawthorne’s novel *The Kangaroo Islanders*, the character ‘Old Sam’ was based partly on Nat Thomas, with whom the author had spent many hours in conversation. Sam “*was a most dreadful scoffer at all religion, or at least at the little he knew and recognised as religion. He had his superstitions strongly and irrevocably fixed, and one was the belief in the doctrine of the metempsychosis*” (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 20, 135 n134). The Rigby book version of 1926 had “*metamorphosis*”, but the original version had “*metempsychosis*”. For Sam’s posthumous identity as a ‘boomer’, metempsychosis (reincarnation after death) is a more appropriate word than metamorphosis (transformation usually before death). No doubt the Rigby editor thought he knew better, or perhaps that the readers would want a simpler word. The idea of metempsychosis seems to have come into European currency from Hindu and Ancient Greek thought (see e.g. <https://www.encyclopedia.com/philosophy-and-religion/philosophy/philosophy-terms-and-concepts/metempsychosis> [31/8/22]; <https://www.tarrdaniel.com/documents/Filozofia/metempsychosis.html> [7/10/23]).

¹¹⁷ The passage continues: “*Though this was said in a half-joking style, yet it could be distinctly seen that the idea was no new one just started, or suggested by the accidental subject of conversation*”. Cawthorne hints that for Sam this ‘superstition’ was actually derived from Aboriginal contacts, “*associated as he had been from his youth, with aboriginal thoughts and opinions, enshrined as they are in the fullest degree in this belief*”.

¹¹⁸ “*With so many ‘servants’ to wait upon them, the white dwellers on Kangaroo Island grew luxurious and lazy, and would remain at their ease in camp for weeks, while their dusky companions hunted and brought them food*” (Bates 1886b: 6d).

¹¹⁹ See quotations from the ‘Commission of Inquiry into the Lawless State of Society on Kangaroo Island’, Jan 1837 (GRG 24/90/342) in Shueard 2013: 70, 81. Cp. Samuel Stephens’s appointment of Wallan as an ‘officer’ (see Chapter 2 of the present book. Unfortunately Wallan’s name was forever undone after his dispossession by the SA Company, which appears to have caused him to abandon his teetotalism and embark on some despairing drunken sprees in Kingscote (Shueard 2013: 86-7). See also Chapter 3.4.2.1 ‘Wallan & Stephens, and 3.4.8.5 ‘The dispossession of Wallan’.

But even after allowing for all of these nuances and variations, there is no reason to doubt that many of the durable horror stories about the Straitsmen – those which made such a good shuddering yarn around colonial tables – had a firm basis in fact.

Straitsmen and Islanders had to be tough in order to survive. A too-mild gang could be raided, ruined or killed by those who were more ruthless.¹²⁰ Competition over resources and women could be vicious.¹²¹ The system of ‘mates’ included a non-negotiable ban on blabbing; a loose mouth about shady business could see the offender murdered by his companions.¹²² Of their treatment of women we shall say more later.

Some Straitsmen and Islanders were brutes, some of the time at least; and in colonial memory the rest were inevitably tarred with the same brush. Sometimes old Islanders helped with the tarring. In his yarns Bates would throw out gleeful hints about dark deeds ‘beyond the pale’; it was part of the mystique. But this fitted into a broader pattern. In colonial times it was well-known that old Islanders enjoyed using their unique authority about KI’s pre-colonial years to ‘pull the legs’ of the latecomers. A fascinated but sceptical visitor in 1880 quipped: “A considerable talent for fictitious statement has been developed in some of the islanders”.¹²³

These were the ambivalent men who entered the lives of the local First Peoples, seeking their women and (as we shall see) their trade. Thus began the first Fleurieu experience of European culture, and the first European ethnography of the Aboriginal Fleurieu.

.....

¹²⁰ PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 6.

¹²¹ Cawthorne’s novel has one of the Islanders tell in some detail the story of ‘Grip Hard’, betrayed and left to die on an islet in the Althorpes in revenge after a fight over an Aboriginal woman who was a “*capital hand*” (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 88-91).

¹²² e.g. the story (familiar on KI) of the premeditated murder of Antonio by John Williams and his mates, who cut the rope by which they were hauling him up a cliff. This tale originated from one or both of Bryant’s women Sally and Charlotte (John Moore Davis 1878, ‘Notes Relating to the Aborigines of Australia’, in R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria* 1:322, quoted by Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 208; cp. GB Barton in *Australasian* 8/11/1902, quoted in Cumpston 1986: 181-2).

¹²³ Official Trip 1880: 1c (Anon., ‘An Official Trip to Kangaroo Island’, *SA Advertiser* 20/3/1880, Supplement: 1, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/30799723/2288773>). The author – ‘One of the Party’ led by the Commissioner of Crown Lands and the Surveyor-General – gave an example: “*One or two of them at one of the locations endeavored to impress the excursionists party with the belief that all the grass on Kangaroo Island had been sown by the energetic settlers [i.e. the old Islanders], but this is absurd, for the earliest colonists found native pasture in spots*”.

1.1.3 – ABORIGINAL WOMEN ON ISLANDS.

The Aboriginal women of the Straits and Kangaroo Island have had a reputation scarcely less clichéd than that of the Islander men: they were the uniformly abused and helpless victims of racial oppression. But once again the real picture is more subtle and varied. We will need a nuanced understanding in order to make sense of all the known facts. Once again we shall question the clichés and the implied absolute contrast with European and colonial society.

1.1.3.1 – A SLAVE TRADE.

Nevertheless, the basic situation remains appalling. For thirty years or more across the whole southern coast of Australia the sealers, both shipboard and resident, were running a human traffic in Aboriginal women and children, effectively a slave trade.

Straitsmen wanted women, and had no interest in white women “because they would be of no use to them, they would not work and [the Straitsmen] would have to work for them and... keep them”.¹²⁴ But for any Straitsman a couple of Aboriginal women imprisoned with him on an island soon became almost essential. They were sexual objects at first, but when supplies ran out and everybody had to live off the land, the Aboriginal women were much better at this than their masters, and routinely did most of the work.¹²⁵ If we may believe Bates as reported in his old age, life on KI eventually became very easy for the men, “luxurious and lazy”.¹²⁶

Along the whole south coast, many of the commercial ships ran a regular trade: capturing, transporting and selling the women for cash to sealers on the islands along their route. Big money was involved.¹²⁷ Aboriginal women were taken very long distances and might find themselves anywhere from Mauritius¹²⁸ to New Zealand.¹²⁹

On the local level, resident sealers could supplement this trade by using their whaleboats to raid local Aboriginal communities. In the east these raids along the whole northern

¹²⁴ Cited from an anonymous sealer in Robinson’s journal 28 March 1831 (PlomleyN 1966: 331).

¹²⁵ See Robinson’s interview with the old sealer Munro, 17 March 1831 (PlomleyN 1966: 324).

¹²⁶ “With so many ‘servants’ to wait upon them, the white dwellers on Kangaroo Island grew luxurious and lazy, and would remain at their ease in camp for weeks, while their dusky companions hunted and brought them food” (Bates 1886b: 6d).

¹²⁷ £7 was the going price for a woman in 1836 (Robinson 12 Jan 1836, PlomleyN 1987: 336). A woman known to be very useful could attract an offer of £25 in 1831: a huge amount for a Straitsman (Robinson 28 Mar 1831, PlomleyN 1966: 331). On Kangaroo Island “the traders, who visited the island occasionally, brought them a Tasmanian lubra for a consideration”, as Bates told *The Advertiser* in 1880 (Official Trip 1880: 1b).

¹²⁸ See the story of Magalidi later in this chapter. Mauritius (then called ‘Isle of France’) is in the Indian Ocean, 5600 km west of Australia towards Madagascar.

¹²⁹ At least two women went to New Zealand from Kangaroo Island, and both of them may well have been South Australian. See Cumpston 1986: 63, 66; Amery 1996: 36n, 37n: In 1822 a man called Stuart was found living with Maoris. From KI where he could only have been a sealer, he had come with “a wife of the country and two children” to settle on the South Island. He was taken prisoner and employed by the chiefs as a pilot and “for finding all the different hiding places of the Americans” (sealing gangs with whom the Maoris were at war). The woman was mentioned only in the past tense and had probably not survived. In 1823 an American ship ‘General Gates’ sailed from KI and dropped a sealing gang on the “South Cape of New Zealand” (Southwest Cape on Stewart Island?) together with a “black native woman”. Maoris massacred the whole gang, but the woman hid and survived for eight months alone with her two-year-old child and no fire, before being rescued by another sealing ship.

coastline of Van Diemen's Land, and most of the eastern, "were a factor of great importance in the decline and extinction of the Tasmanians".¹³⁰

By the late 1820s the Straitsmen were looking for women on the mainland of what we now call Victoria, at Port Phillip and Portland Bay; then further west at Kangaroo Island and the South Australian gulf country. Some brought Tasmanian women with them to KI. Here the Islanders, safe from reprisals in their haven fortified by Backstairs Passage, were conducting local raids well before 1819.¹³¹

1.1.3.2 – SUBHUMAN CHATTELS.

The position of these women was most unenviable. Many Straitsmen and Islanders regarded Aboriginal people in general and Aboriginal women in particular as sub-human. In this they were products of their time, for many respectable colonists thought the same.

In 1836 two newly-arrived colonists met Wallan and Day and politely invited them to bring their absent wives to a 'religious service'. One of them knocked back the suggestion with this apology: "but says the man to introduce our wives would be like introducing a dog to your presence".¹³²

Such an attitude was not unique to Islanders. Common talk among settlers in Van Diemen's Land in those years was much more violent than this,¹³³ as the Islanders would be well aware. Throughout the century many published statements in SA spoke of "a race of human beings just one step removed above the beasts that perish":¹³⁴ relatively mild language, but only the tip of an iceberg of hearts frozen against the Other.

1.1.3.3 – NAMES.

Their real names were deemed irrelevant, and hardly ever recorded except by the Van Diemen's Land 'Conciliator' Robinson in his rescue mission. They were nicknamed and re-named at whim. Again, this was the same in the colonies.

Aboriginal women and men were given common English names like 'Sal'¹³⁵ and 'Poll', or 'Jack' and 'Bob', almost generic in nature; or demeaning nicknames based on European

¹³⁰ PlomleyN 1966: 1009, cp. Appendix 4; cp. PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 18-9, 20-1, 24-5. The casualty rate among the captured women was high, and "eventually hardly any women remained" among Aboriginal families in Tasmania's northeast and east. "By November 1830, the Tasmanian [Aboriginal] population in the greater north-east had been reduced to just 74, of whom only three were women" (Clements 2014: 203).

¹³¹ Captain Sutherland reported to colonial planners in England that during his visit in 1819 on the *Governor Macquarie* there were about twelve Europeans at what is now called South West River on the south coast of KI, "venturing on the mainland in their boats, and seizing on the natives, particularly the women, and keeping them in a state of slavery" (Cumpston 1986: 49, 51; Amery 1996: 51; Sutherland 1831 in Wakefield 1834: 51, <https://books.google.com.au/books/reader?id=kjRfAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PP1>).

¹³² Morgan Journal 2 Aug 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/captain-robert-morgan>. The newly-arrived colonists were Colonial Manager Samuel Stephens and Captain Robert Morgan (of the *Duke of York*), whose idiosyncratic spelling I retain.

¹³³ Right up into the late 1830s in Van Diemen's Land even publicly expressed views about Aborigines often descended to a repeated use of epithets such as "wild beasts" and "black animals" (e.g. Turnbull 1948: 76, 109, 211 [Clive Turnbull 1948, *Black War: the Extermination of the Tasmanian Aborigines*; reprinted South Melbourne: Sun Books 1974]). Table talk was doubtless far more rabid.

¹³⁴ SA settler John W Bull 1878b: 70.

¹³⁵ In this study alone we are dealing with at least two different 'Salls' (possibly up to four), and three different 'Sarahs'. Moreover, 'Sally' was a short form of 'Sarah' (<https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/sarah> [28/6/22]) (Thanks to researcher Paul Foord for alerting me to this). These two names, and especially the diminutive 'Sal', were being used almost generically, like the Celtic-Australian slang 'sheila' = '[young?] woman'.

in-jokes, such as ‘Doughboy’, ‘Puss’, ‘Sooky’ and ‘Wab’, or ‘Monkey’, ‘Cockeye’ and ‘Jumbo’.¹³⁶ As the Straitsmen swapped or sold women from one man to another, they often changed their names at whim. So did Conciliator Robinson at the official Flinders Island Native Settlement, hoping this would help them to make a new start. As a result it is often hard to be sure which records refer to the same person.¹³⁷

1.1.3.4 – VIOLENCE.

Away from wider social controls, combining boredom or famine with rum, Straitsmen and Islanders often subjected the women to brutal violence. But again it is worth remembering that some of these horrors were also a familiar part of European and English practice at that time.

Robinson heard in 1831 of “the cruelties at Kangaroo Island... that when they sent the women after kangaroo, if they should happen to return with a small quantity they would tie them up to a tree and flog them”.¹³⁸ Thus did the Islanders apply what they had learned in the penal settlements or on shipboard. Public floggings and hangings were still a legal and normal part of British and colonial life, and would continue to be so in SA. Sometimes this culture degenerated into horrific sadism. James Allen had two Tasmanian women, and when one of them tried to run away after a quarrel with the other, he tied her to a tree, cut deep wounds in her buttocks and mutilated an ear.¹³⁹ Emma’s seven-year-old son had his ear cut off.¹⁴⁰ “Give ‘em a tarnation hiding all around... or slit their ears”, says an Islander in Cawthorne’s novel; but the narrator adds: “cropping the ears was considered a proper legal punishment a few years back in Christian England”.¹⁴¹

1.1.3.5 – VARIATION.

But we must be cautious about generalizing from these sensational incidents. There were variations. Not all Islanders had ‘wives’ at all.¹⁴² And not all Island relationships were the same. There were brutes, and (as we shall see in the stories of some of our protagonists)

¹³⁶ The last three of these names were recorded in GB Wilkinson 1848: 336. At the Encounter Bay whale fishery in 1837, “many of the natives have names assigned to them by the sailors... One fellow... had the magnificent appellation of ‘O rare and glorious Apollo!’ and was continually shouting it forth” (Leigh 1839: 171). The author of this nickname obviously remembered some upper-middle-class education, illustrating that such denigrating attitudes existed among all levels of European society.

¹³⁷ Aboriginal people are angry still about this “obliteration of their identities” – a phrase used with passionate indignation by my late *Miyurna* colleague Dr Alitya Wallara Rigney when she read an early draft of this chapter. When I use here the only names by which most of these women are now known, this does not imply the slightest excuse for the actions or attitudes of their abductors.

¹³⁸ PlomleyN 1966: 357.

¹³⁹ Plomley’s summary, PlomleyN 1966: 1010. Robinson’s original journal entry is even more dire: “Anderson told [Munro] that the sealers tied up a black woman to a tree and then cut the flesh off her thigh and cut off her ears and made her eat it (this was because she had run away; the cause of their going away from the sealers was on account of the wanton cruelty which had been inflicted upon them); that when they sent the women after kangaroo, if they should happen to return with a small quantity they would tie them up to a tree and flog them. The woman that had been so barbarously treated was a hard-working woman” (28 May 1831, PlomleyN 1966: 357, cp. 360). From this account it would appear that Allen was not alone when he did it. Plomley presumably got his modified summary (p.1010) from Anderson’s signed statement. Robinson heard about this atrocity from Anderson, first indirectly via Munro and then directly in a signed statement.

¹⁴⁰ See the story of Emma later in this Chapter 1.3.2 ‘Locals exiled: Kalungku and ‘Emma’.

¹⁴¹ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 71.

¹⁴² Arriving in 1835, Islander Thompson found that only “several” of the Islanders had women (Thompson 1878, in Bull 1878a: 4d; = Bull 1878b: 7).

there were also Islanders who forged long-term, appreciative, responsible and even loving relationships with individual women and the families they produced – as the following two points will amplify.

1.1.3.6 – COMPLIANCE?

It has usually been assumed that all the women were unwilling captives under absolute and continuous control.¹⁴³ But in fact not all of them seemed anxious to escape.

In the Straits some women refused rescue when offered it. Some even chose to return to their Straitsmen after they had experienced Robinson's protection at Flinders Island or even in Hobart.¹⁴⁴ If they were being treated tolerably on an island with a Straitsman, perhaps life there was in some ways freer and more like a traditional existence. Girls who were abducted young missed much or most of the important ceremonial and spiritual side of their education; the loss was probably irretrievable. For Tasmanians it became thus very quickly; by the late 1820s their homeland was no longer a safe or even legal haven.¹⁴⁵

Such 'compliant' exceptions appear to be particularly evident on KI. Here several women who had ample opportunity to escape did not do so.¹⁴⁶ Allegedly one local woman tried to escape back home by swimming the 13 km across Backstairs Passage to the nearest point on the Peninsula (probably Blowhole Beach). This dramatic exploit became the subject of story and legend in several versions. In some the woman carried a baby on her back as well; in one she survived well, in some she died.¹⁴⁷ But Kalinga ('Sally') seems to have moved repeatedly and to all appearances freely between the Island and the mainland;¹⁴⁸ and the Tasmanian Magalidi ('Big Sal') returned to KI from Encounter Bay after 1840, alone and voluntarily as far as we know.¹⁴⁹

Being so large, Kangaroo Island was a context rather different from the small islands of the Straits. Within its 150-km length it offered the women a considerable amount of autonomy when their 'masters' did not need them. The few detailed accounts suggest that they lived a fairly traditional lifestyle, as far as could be with small numbers and on foreign soil: partly solo, partly in cultural cliques. They might go away hunting for long

¹⁴³ Some who tried to join the Native Settlement on Flinders Island were intimidated or actively prevented by sealers (Robinson journal 12 Jan, 17 June, 23 July 1836, 3 and 9 Jan, 21 May 1837, in PlomleyN 1987: 335-6, 360, 367, 412-3, 414-5, 443).

¹⁴⁴ PlomleyN 1966: 83, 1008; PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 20; cp. 'Emma' (see later in this chapter).

¹⁴⁵ Robinson journal 3 Jan 1836 (PlomleyN 1987: 412). Removal to Flinders Island settlement was government policy for all Tasmanian Aborigines after the end of the 'black wars'.

¹⁴⁶ See e.g. the story of 'Sall' and 'Doughboy' with Colonel Light (through Chapter 3.4).

¹⁴⁷ See ClarkeP 1998: 24-8; TaylorR 2002-8: 41-2. In an interview in 1886 Bates added a nuance: "*The romantic story of one of the captives swimming Backstairs Passage and rejoining her tribe is declared by Bates to be only partly true. She was a recent capture, and had been given the name of 'Bett'. On reaching the island she fled from the camp with another girl, who had been caught in the same raid [at Rapid Bay: see Bates 1887b]. They were absent a fortnight before they were found, almost starving, some ten miles along the beach. On the first opportunity the unfortunate girl rushed into the sea with the intention of swimming across to Cape Jervis, but was either drowned or eaten by sharks*" (Bates 1886b: 6d). If 'the camp' was at Antechamber Bay, the site of the girl's recapture 'ten miles along the beach' may have been near Cuttlefish Bay, the nearest point to the mainland at Blowhole Beach. Bates – in what tone of voice, we wonder? – finished his yarn thus: "*I think she did not like stopping*".

¹⁴⁸ See Chapters 3c, 4a, 6b, 9a-b.

¹⁴⁹ 'Sally Cooper' was at Encounter Bay in 1840 (Penney 1840: 4b [Richard Penney, 'The Natives', *SA Register* 21/11/1840, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27442038>]), and back on Kangaroo Island in 1844 during Tolmer's expedition. These episodes will be examined in Book 2.

periods. Back at the Islanders' settlements they slept mostly in their own separate wurley or wurleys rather than in the men's huts.¹⁵⁰ The independent survivors of KI – 'Big Sal', 'Little Sal', and 'Suke' – kept up this bush life alone or in groups of two or three for decades until their deaths in old age.¹⁵¹

The reasons why these women stayed on are impossible to know with certainty, and we shall examine them more closely in the section on 'Themes'. No doubt they varied according to age and circumstance.¹⁵²

1.1.3.7 – A NEW GENERATION OF MIXED-RACE CHILDREN.

It would be misleading to speak of the women without considering the children of these island unions. The treatment of these children could vary considerably, and must have been a powerful motivating factor for the women in deciding either to stay or to escape. Did the Straitsmen and Islanders care about their own children? How did the little ones fare?

Many of the babies were killed at birth or soon after, sometimes at the insistence of the father, to save the loss of the woman's time and work, sometimes at the insistence of the mother and against the father's objections.¹⁵³ Very harsh conditions create economic imperatives for survival. The pre-existing practice of infanticide under some circumstances in traditional societies made it easier for the women to bow to the necessity.¹⁵⁴

Other Straitsmen kept their children and valued them: not only to be the next generation of the family workforce (as in any poor farming community), but sometimes too out of an admirable sense of responsible care and forethought. Some of them valued education,

¹⁵⁰ One author calls these outhouses "wurley villages" (Maria Hansen Fels 2011: 346, footnote 75, <https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/series/aboriginal-history/i-succeeded-once>); but this may be her premature assumption that it was normal to have more than one such wurley per settlement. Fels was referring to a passage in Cawthorne's novel which mentions only one: "On shore and huddled together in a wurley or native hut, sat some half-dozen black women, with their half-caste children, talking to each other in a low plaintive voice in their native tongue", and later singing: "What the deuce are yer kicking up this row for?" said Porky, as he walked off to the wurley, 'come, just hold yer tongues'" (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 70-71). Cp. Hosking 2002: 145, and the comments on one separate women's wurley in Wallan's settlement (see Chapter 3.4.2.1 'Wallan and Stephens'). The women did not like the Islander men's huts: "They could not endure the close atmosphere. They asserted that the huts made them ill" (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 72; cp. p.181 n271 where Hosking quotes Wilkinson's confirmation that for Aboriginal people in the 1840s on the Fleurieu, huts provided by the settlers were "no good... too much plenty fleas").

¹⁵¹ For a consideration of this autonomy, sustained to the end by Magalidi (Big Sal), Suke, Little Sal and probably Betty, see TaylorR 2002-8: 68-70, 132-3, 138, 145-8.

¹⁵² Keryn James' binary question about these women – "wife or slave?" – is too simple (Keryn James 2002, 'Wife or Slave? Australian Sealing Slavery', in Chittleborough *et al* 2002: 175). Seeming to treat these roles as mutually exclusive, her essay does not allow for complexity, for the recorded variations and shifts in the relationships between Islanders and Aboriginal women; we shall continue to see evidence for these in this book. Hosking points out that it was "sometimes more intricate than master-slave, representing instead associations that bound together the lives of Indigenous women and the sealers based on complicated processes of give and take", and that this was depicted in Cawthorne's novel *The Kangaroo Islanders*, based partly on interviews and observations with Nat Thomas, other Islanders and some of the women (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 229).

¹⁵³ See e.g. Robinson quoted in PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 24-5.

¹⁵⁴ e.g. PlomleyN 1966: 1018, 1019, 1020; PlomleyN 1987: 820; PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 24. Cp. for the Raminyeri, HAE Meyer 1846, *Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe*: 1-2, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-911957603/view?partId=nla.obj-911962390#page/n2/mode/1up>; and for the 'Kaurna'-Miyurna, Schürmann Diary 17 July 1839, 7 March 1840, and Teichelmann 1841: 13 (HT Tiechelmänn [sic] 1841, *Aborigines of South Australia*, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.37626654&view=1up&seq=7&skin=2021>). Several colonists reported the last-minute rescue of one of Captain Jack's newly-born babies (e.g. Finlayson 1878: 13-14. This episode will be examined in Book 2).

including religious education; such was James Munro on Preservation Island in Bass Strait.¹⁵⁵ On KI, Wallan saved up to send his son to school in Hobart.¹⁵⁶

In Bass Strait the many descendants famously became a unique mixed-race community, described as early as 1816 by James Kelly:

*a fine, active, hardy race. The males were good boatmen, kangaroo hunters and sealers; the women very clever assistants to them.*¹⁵⁷

The Straits model – raising the children as a resident labour force – was certainly carried to Kangaroo Island with some of the Islanders. But it was achieved there in the long run only by the descendants of Betty and Nat Thomas, and only for a couple of generations.¹⁵⁸ These KI children did not become a viable group. Probably there were too few of them; and after 1836 the new colony put a stop to their independence, turning them into competitors handicapped by race and class within the new farming hierarchy. Prejudice forced them out of the community and off the Island within a few more decades.¹⁵⁹

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¹⁵⁵ Munro made attempts to give his children some elementary schooling and teach them religion, even having Testaments and spelling books sent to him. On his island in 1842 it was reported that the Straitsmen “give [their children] all the instruction in their power; many can read the Bible, and a few write” (PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 20, 24, 57).

¹⁵⁶ Leigh 1839: 124-5.

¹⁵⁷ PlomleyN 1966: 1008-9.

¹⁵⁸ See TaylorR 2002-8: 194-213.

¹⁵⁹ PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 16; cp. TaylorR 2002-8, chapters ‘The Years of Decline’ and ‘Staying White’, pp.214-248.

1.1.4 – A MILITARY CLEANUP IN 1826?

The fierce and ‘lawless’ independence of the Islanders was tempered not only by their need for supplies from commercial ships but also by their fraught relationship with distant colonial authorities. Events in Bass Strait in 1826 brought this matter sharply to their attention: the government sent in troops to find escaped convicts and arrest them.

In the east there had sometimes been open warfare between different groups of sealers or resident Straitsmen. In the early days (it was said) they were “the terror of ships going to the Island for salt, etc, being little better than pirates”.¹⁶⁰ Parasitic groups of independent men (mostly runaway convicts, it was said) were harboured and when necessary hidden by uninquisitive Straitsmen. From the legitimate commercial gangs they learned sealing techniques – up to a point – but also preyed upon them.

Eventually in 1826 at the height of the uncontrolled sealing and human trafficking, alarm was raised in the newspapers of the eastern colonies. The reports were a mixture of first-hand and hearsay.¹⁶¹ The issue was business, not just morality; the brutal treatment of Aborigines by these desperadoes of the Straits and KI put all future trading voyages at risk of involvement or reprisal. Commercial interests in Launceston, Hobart and Sydney demanded stability and safety.

The authorities eventually tried to silence their critics by appearing to do something about it. In the first half of 1826 the Hobart government sent its ship ‘Duke of York’,¹⁶² with Captain Thomas Whyte, Corporal Clarke and troops, on several voyages to clean up the Straits and adjacent Victorian coast, by examining the crews of every vessel and arresting those who were escaped convicts.¹⁶³

This was no real solution. Whyte and Clarke had some success in the eastern Straits, but their orders were limited in scope, tackling only the convicts and mainly those on ships. Almost certainly they never got as far west as Kangaroo Island.

Resident escapees were nearly impossible to find. Straitsmen who were free men were left in possession of their appropriated turf and women. The *Sydney Gazette* in 1826 called vainly for “a well regulated excise or guard boat”.¹⁶⁴ But it would be another five years before George Augustus Robinson began a monitoring presence even in Bass Strait. Little was known about islanders around the southern coast further west,¹⁶⁵ and they would suffer no regulation just yet.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ Sutherland’s hearsay evidence (Sutherland 1831, in Wakefield 1834: 50).

¹⁶¹ Cumpston 1986: 77-9.

¹⁶² Not the same ship as SA Company’s ‘Duke of York’ which brought colonists to Kangaroo Island in July 1836.

¹⁶³ Cumpston 1986: 77-81, 85.

¹⁶⁴ *Sydney Gazette* 10/6/1826, quoted in Cumpston 1986: 84.

¹⁶⁵ Puzzlingly, passenger Homburg (or Hamborg) gave evidence in 1834 to the SA Commissioners that in May 1832 there were *no* white people settled on Kangaroo Island, although there had been until the Government “*sent down a brig about two years ago [i.e. c.1830] and took them away. There are none there now, nor on the neighbouring islands*” (Cumpston 1986: 118-9). This record is surely confused. There is ample evidence that many Islanders were there in 1832; and 1830 is a very unlikely date for arrests on KI, though some who had visited KI were arrested in the east (such as Black Baker in 1829: see Chapter 1.3.3 ‘Truganini’s sister: Magalidi (Big Sal)’). The examinations of Hamborg and others in the period 1831-6 were usually propaganda exercise for the proposed colony of SA (cp. Shueard 2013: 78-9), and his testimony on Kangaroo Island is particularly suspect.

¹⁶⁶ DID THE OFFICIAL CLEAN-UP OF CONVICTS EXTEND TO KANGAROO ISLAND? Almost certainly not; Shueard’s analysis of the evidence is persuasive (Shueard 2013: 45-6). There are only two sources which claim that

But from indirect evidence it is fairly certain that the Kangaroo Islanders did begin to worry whether their activities might soon be brought under control.¹⁶⁷ The brief surge of minimal political will in 1826 was the beginning of the end of old lawless autonomy for the Islanders. Did these men see it coming like Fate, and beat a cautious retreat from the extremes of their behaviour? We don't know. But it may have been partly this anxiety, and a desire to encourage future leniency, which in the next few years drove some of them to seek out visiting representatives of authority and make themselves 'useful'.¹⁶⁸

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any government cleanup ever extended to pre-colonial KI. Neither of them gives a date for it. Accordingly there is some doubt whether it happened there at all; or, if it did happen in some form, whether it had much local effect.

According to sealing captain Sutherland, Whyte and Clarke came to KI, "*some of the marauders were taken off*", and the local women belonging to these men "*were landed on the main with their children and dogs*" and left "*to procure a subsistence not knowing how their own people would treat them after a long absence*" (Sutherland 1831, in Wakefield 1834: 51). Durrant's view is that "*There is no record of any official action against the islanders. It is not clear when Sutherland imagined that it had taken place, but his remarks may be a confused recollection of the proceedings against a group of islanders that took place in Western Australia in 1827*", i.e. Major Lockyer's intervention at King George Sound (Durrant 2014b: 8 [Chris Durrant c.2014, *Kangaroo Island and the pre-colonial history of South Australia*, typescript, Adelaide: Kangaroo Island Pioneers Association, <https://www.kipioneers.org/history/precolonial>]. For Lockyer see my section 1.3.4 'Kalinga-Sally').

¹⁶⁷ Cawthorne's novel drawn from Island sources in 1854 suggests that the Islanders still remembered being seriously worried that the "*Government of Sydney*" would stop their wife-stealing (see the fictional conversations in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 65-8; cp. Hosking's note p.138-9 n144). This historical novel drew upon the memories of Nat Thomas among others.

¹⁶⁸ See the saga of Forbes, Bates and Barker through Chapter 2.3 'Investigation'.

1.1.5 – KANGAROO ISLAND IN 1827.¹⁶⁹

The year 1827 is a convenient point at which to divide our history of pre-colonial Kangaroo Island, for two reasons.

Firstly, the attempted cleanup in the east in 1826 had created a new dimension of anxiety in the life of Islanders, which from then on would resurface whenever government ships entered local waters.

Secondly, it is only after 1827 that the known details about our protagonists begin to appear onsite in the KI region. Their records in earlier years are presented later in this Chapter 1. Apart from the capture of Kalungku and the arrival of George Bates, they tell mainly of adventures far away: the far-flung sealing voyages of Magalidi ('Big Sal') and Kalinga ('Sally') from Launceston to Albany and the Indian Ocean.¹⁷⁰ These two women returned to Sydney in the middle of 1827; then follows a gap in their records; and only after that do we know about specific events on KI and the Fleurieu.

By 1827 the milieu of KI was already well established. Islanders had set up permanent settlements. It is a big island, physically divided into two unequal 'provinces' by Nepean Bay with its auxiliary bays and inlets. Small groups of Islanders set up independent dominions scattered right across it, separated by many miles.

Most of the settlements which will concern us were clustered around Nepean Bay in the northeastern part of the Island, away from the maritime terrors of the exposed southern coast. This area is also close to 'Cape Jervis'.

The busiest area of all was the northwest end of Nepean Bay, where for more than twenty years ships had often anchored to obtain salt by a short overland journey to huge deposits at the Salt Lagoon on the Bay of Shoals. By 1827 Henry Wallan and others were well established a few miles west of here at an inland haunt at 'The Three Wells' on what is now called Cygnet River.¹⁷¹ It was a fertile river flat with permanent water, about eight miles southwest of today's Kingscote.¹⁷²

Although Wallan's domain was closest to the commercial action at Salt Lagoon, the locations further east are more important for our story with local First Peoples. On Dudley Peninsula – the smaller of the 'provinces', almost a separate island east of Nepean Bay – George Bates and his formidable mate Nat Thomas¹⁷³ eventually took to the coast and settled in the far east at 'Creek Bay' (Flinders' 'Antechamber', known today as

¹⁶⁹ See Map03 'Kangaroo Island'.

¹⁷⁰ See sections 1.3.3 'Magalidi' and 1.3.4 'Kalinga', below.

¹⁷¹ HENRY WALLAN (Warley, Whalley, Walland, Warland, c.1794-1856). See <http://boundforsouthaustralia.net.au/journey-content/henry-wallan.html> (Adelaide: History Trust of SA 2011).

He arrived on the island with two dogs (Leigh 1839: 81), probably in about 1818 ("eighteen years", MorphettJ to Angus 14 Sep 1836 [in SACo First Supp: 29]; Cumpston 1986: 140 [quoting 'A Private Settler' 1836]). The cultivated hideaway at Three Wells Creek was well established and known to visitors by 1826 (see e.g. *Sydney Gazette* 10/6/1826, quoted in Cumpston 1986: 85). Wallan stayed on there, except for occasional voyages on sealing or whaling ships, until evicted by the South Australian Company in 1836.

¹⁷² Kingscote CWA 1951: 37. The location is now part of the Cygnet River Locality Bounded, on the Playford Highway.

¹⁷³ NATHANIEL THOMAS (1802-1879) was an Englishman from a large middle-class family, who sought adventure at sea (TaylorR 2002-8: 21), where he received training as a pilot. When 23 years old in early 1825, he jumped ship at Kangaroo Island (TaylorR 2002-8: 21, 32; Cumpston 1986: 72, 74). The Antechamber establishment at the eastern end of Kangaroo Island eventually became Nat Thomas's farm and household. Rebe Taylor's book examines very thoroughly the history of Nat, his Tasmanian wife 'Betty', and their descendants.

Antechamber Bay).¹⁷⁴ This was 70 km by land from the Salt Lagoon, and may reflect a choice to distance themselves from the established scene at Three Wells and the Bay of Shoals. From Antechamber the mainland Cape is only about 15 km away across Backstairs Passage. These men would come to be involved frequently in mainland events.

After 1826, though still independent, the Islanders began to live more and more with another premonition of authority: the British proposals for a colony of 'South Australia'. Because of those proposals, we know much more about individual people and events after 1826-7, and can tell stories which are even more particularized, and trace their connections with broader colonial processes such as the exploration of the River Murray by Sturt in 1829-30. These proto-colonial stories will be the subject of Chapter 2.

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¹⁷⁴ Antechamber Bay was known to the Islanders as 'Creek Bay' (TaylorR 2002-8: 27, 93-4).

1.1.6 – A PRE-COLONIAL PROCESS: EXCHANGE AND EXPLORATION.

During this pre-colonial story of Islanders, women and local mainlanders, two processes were constantly at work which deserve some attention.

The first was exchange: the mutual learning and adaptation which unavoidably took place when very different people lived together in a situation close to the margins of survival.

The second – really a subset of the first – was exploration: getting to know the unfamiliar territory and, in the process, something of the cultural identities of the Aboriginal people who occupied it.

1.1.6.1 – LIVING TOGETHER ON THE COUNTRY: THE NECESSITY OF EXCHANGE.

Islanders and their Aboriginal companions had to find longterm ways of living together. Coming together under these lonely and intimate circumstances – a ‘wilderness’ place away from the securities of either culture – they related in ways which were crude by modern standards, but over time some real cultural exchange was inevitable.

In the earliest meetings they shared a space and a life centred on subsistence, work and sex. Journeys by foot or small boat were intimate and cooperative, and often took long hours or days, interspersed with long nightly campfires.¹⁷⁵ Between the Islanders and their cohabiting women some degree of negotiated mutual self-interest must have been unavoidable at times. Whatever either of them could contribute to survival would be learned quickly by the other.

Some recorded cultural changes appear more marginal: a few words of language, a few stories, games, tea from teatree leaves. They must have arisen from curiosity or professional interest (so to speak), or a homesick desire to communicate about old times, or a need for conversation to drown the solitude and the monotony when there was no work and no rum.

Islanders did learn some of what was available from their Aboriginal teachers: that is, their wives, and also Aboriginal men, as we shall see.

Any of these traditionally-trained people, whether local or Tasmanian, could contribute a general knowledge of the land: how to live from its resources and manage it by techniques such as fire. As the seal population declined, such women became more and more crucial to the survival of the Islanders, who as well as exploiting them came to value and admire them as highly skilled workers.¹⁷⁶ These women could also contribute less tangible cultural knowledge such as language. Those who were locals could contribute the local contents of the knowledge banks, notably the Fleurieu terrain and its mental mapping by place-names. Some of the records even suggest a deeper exchange

¹⁷⁵ Whatever his other flaws, the Tasmanian ‘conciliator’ George Robinson was at his best on prolonged bush journeys in Aboriginal company, and knew that “*knowledge is gained of their mode of subsistence which is only acquirable by making them your companion in your travels*” (Robinson in PlomleyN 1966: 66, quoted in Henry Reynolds 1995, *Fate of a Free People*: 33). In Adelaide the dour Lutheran missionary Teichelmann could see “*how completely differently they conduct themselves under the open sky. There everyone tells how and what he thinks*” (Teichelmann Diary 1 July 1844 [Teichelmann Diary 1839-1846, [TA 38], tr. Marcus Krieg, in Adelaide Lutheran Archives]).

¹⁷⁶ Cawthorne’s novel makes considerable play with this fact in his depiction of Old Sam and Bet, who are obviously based partly on Nat and Betty Thomas whom he had met at some length (see Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 229-234). “*Sam was proud of his wife, and she had so appropriately proved her high talent, in the Kangaroo Island sense, for to row, to fish, to swim, to fight, to endure, to devise, these were Kangaroo Island abilities, the proofs of genius, the steps of rank, the very LL.D.’s and M.A.’s of their social status... Black Bet pulling the bow oar, was the talented, educated, and, in relation to her sisters, the refined lady of the peculiar society of her adopted home*” (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 77).

about story, magic and ceremony. As Taylor puts it, “the Aboriginal women spoke of their country and beliefs, and the white men listened”.¹⁷⁷

The Aboriginal companions also learned from the Islanders, both women and men discovering many aspects of European culture and technology. New and fascinating resources included whaleboats, hunting dogs and guns. Common elements of European culture became part of their joint life: cooking implements, metal knives, glass bottles, European vegetables, rum, tobacco, and Pidgin English language.

Islanders and Aborigines had to combine in learning Country on KI, which in many respects was new to them both. They travelled into new coastal sealing grounds which had been quite unknown to locals. Kangaroo Island itself had been accessible mainly to the mythical imagination; now they learned it as ‘Country’, with much that is implied by that term.

We will touch briefly on a few aspects where exchanges are observable in the records.

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1.1.6.2 – SUBSISTENCE.

Survival began with shelter and food, which in turn required tools and (under the Islander regime) transport by boat.

1.1.6.2.1 – SHELTER: WURLIES, HUTS.

On KI when Islanders first arrived with Tasmanian women, a two-way exchange may have been involved in basic shelter: one early observer in 1819 remarked that the men were “living in bark huts *like the natives*”.¹⁷⁸ Whenever Islanders went on long hunting trips, they probably learned from the women how to build traditional wurlies quickly and efficiently from materials in the surrounding scrub.¹⁷⁹

But *permanent* artificial shelter was a purely European innovation in which Aborigines were not interested. On KI it remained very primitive. In 1837, after about twenty years on the Island, Wallan was still living in a A-frame bark “wigwam”.¹⁸⁰ Aboriginal women on KI rejected huts like these in favour of a traditional wurley, for very good reasons such as fleas. Aboriginal men who joined sealing voyages had to tolerate shipboard shelter at

¹⁷⁷ TaylorR 2002-8: 65. See her whole chapter ‘Knowing’ (TaylorR 2002-8: 59-71).

¹⁷⁸ Sutherland reporting on his visit in 1819 (Sutherland 1831, in Wakefield 1834: 50; my emphasis). Sutherland’s ‘Further Evidence’ added that they lived in these bark huts despite the availability of wood which in his opinion was good and sufficient enough for building and “*all purposes*” (Wakefield 1834: 57).

¹⁷⁹ Such exchange may have continued on the local mainland for a few decades of colonial SA, when surveyors would often refer to their own temporary shelters as ‘wurlies’. This is an adapted ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* word, and so aligns their shelters in principle with local Aboriginal technology (‘Kaurna’ *wardli* [OS *wodli* or *worli*], ‘shelter, house, home’). Early spellings of the adapted word included ‘werlie’ and ‘worley’: e.g. surveyor Snell in 1850 on Yorke Peninsula (Edward Snell, edited & Introduced by Tom Griffiths, 1988, *The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell*, North Ryde, New South Wales: Angus & Robertson Publishers: 124. 126-9).

¹⁸⁰ Leigh’s term. It could keep out heavy July rain, but he could not light a fire in such weather because it had to be outside (Leigh 1839: 123, 130).

sea, but on land very few of them ever acquired a taste for any European form of housing.¹⁸¹

1.1.6.2.2 – TOOLS AND WEAPONS: SPEARS, HARPOONS.

Since European supplies were intermittent and costly, bush technology was a necessary condition of life. In matters of secondary tools and techniques, the exchange was more equal than we might have predicted. More often than not it used Aboriginal expertise. Aboriginal men and women knew a thing or two of their own about decoying birds, about netting and clubbing small creatures such as wallabies, about poisoning fish with herbs, and a host of other relevant matters.

But also they welcomed the knowledge and artefacts which these European seamen brought with them, if they improved upon wood and stone. We know from later records and archaeology that mainland Aboriginal people used iron and glass in their artefacts as soon as these materials became available to them. For catching fish, seals and shellfish, they took to metal harpoons, fishhooks, knives and hatchets as natural extensions of their existing high skills.¹⁸² This must have happened on the sealing ships and we would expect the same process on KI.

1.1.6.2.3 – TRANSPORT: WHALEBOATS.

Although Kangaroo Island was a larger and more varied base than the small islands of the Straits, it was not England, and posed many challenges for the men and their women both Tasmanian and local. Finding food required mobility, and movement across the KI landscape was very difficult. Its pervasive thick scrub impeded overland travel, and its cliffy shoreline made sea access to other desirable spots often a matter of coasting for many miles by boat. Committed to the trade in sealskins, the Islanders also had to visit cliff coasts and offshore islands; for them the boats were essential.

Here the exchange between Islanders and Aborigines went mainly one way. There is no record of bark canoes on the Island, though some of the Aboriginal men who visited KI must have known how to build them, and they would have been usable in Nepean Bay and American River.

But with whaleboats available, canoes were redundant. Whaleboats were the pervasive and essential shaping tool of the economy in both the Straits and KI. They were ocean-going open craft, a triumph of design which combined strength, speed, manoeuvrability and versatility.¹⁸³ Substantially built though small and light compared with modern shipboard craft, they weighed around half a tonne unloaded,¹⁸⁴ so that when necessary their crew could carry them,¹⁸⁵ presumably for short distances on level ground.

¹⁸¹ The only exceptions in our whole story to 1845 or so would appear to be the few who lived for a while in the specially-built huts at the Native Location in Adelaide.

¹⁸² Cp. the comment of Aboriginal whaler John 'Sustie' Wilson that "*they had been throwing spears all their lives, and took to harpooning naturally*" ('Account of Sustie Wilson', newspaper clipping in Tindale Murray1: 48, annotated by hand "Mail Aug. 19, 1932" [Tindale 'Murray River Notes' [Vol.1], AA 338/1/31/1, SA Museum]. In fact there was no issue of *The Mail* on that date, nor can I find the text in Trove so far at any date in any Australian newspaper).

¹⁸³ They were pointed at both ends for speedy rowing in either direction without having to turn around, and often had a dismountable mast and sails (<http://whaleboats.blogspot.com.au/2011/05/whaleboat.html>; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Whaleboat>; <https://sites.google.com/site/caitlinfalk/whaleboats>, accessed on 28/9/12).

¹⁸⁴ Mike Gemmell (SA Museum Information Centre) p.c., phone 10/1/14 and email 13/1/14.

¹⁸⁵ 'Tasmanian whaleboats' described by JR Carroll, quoted by Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 112 n9.

Whaling operations – or any other activity which depended on a quick getaway, such as raiding – required a small disciplined crew of five or seven oarsmen directed by a tillerman.¹⁸⁶ They could and often did undertake very long voyages. And, significantly, they were sometimes used in ways which resembled the Lower Murray technology of bark canoes and reed rafts: the sail-sprit to pole the vessel, or a fire-pot on board to cook with.¹⁸⁷

Whaleboats were the Islanders' lifeline, their most irreplaceable hunting tool, the chief symbol of their power and their most potent advantage over the Aboriginal people.¹⁸⁸ Their security at the top of the pecking order depended primarily on the boats and only secondarily on their slow muzzle-loading guns.¹⁸⁹ "Nearly all" of them had one.¹⁹⁰ No man white or black could stay long in this society without using one, and any woman who went on a sealing trip would also have had to pull on an oar. On the mainland an Islander without a boat would be at the mercy of the local group unless he could negotiate. Raiders were sometimes outclassed by the guerilla tactics of Aboriginal warriors; but on a hilly coast with beaches the whaleboats gave them an unmatched ability to make surprise attacks and retreat quickly to safety.

Textbox03: WHERE DID THE ISLANDERS GET THEIR WHALEBOATS?

There are no records which tell us where they got these boats. Did they steal them, either when they deserted or from visiting ships? Whaling historian Max Colwell thought so,¹⁹¹ though he cites no evidence. In Cawthorne's novel the Islanders and the women display great skill in stealing the whaleboats of visiting ships and hiding them in the dense thickets of a creek, whenever they chose. According to 'Old Sam', "'we is Custom-house hofficers hereaway, and seizes everything that comes ashore, and takes care on it for the Hemprors of Kangaroo Island.' A loud laugh followed this remark, as the idea tickled their fancy and some who had no boats wished to confiscate a boat that very night".¹⁹²

Did they build some of them on the Island? Colwell says that whalers at Encounter Bay built their own, and that these were heavier and therefore slower than the standard-setting Tasmanian and French craft.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁶ Colwell 1969: 25, 79.

¹⁸⁷ H O'May quoted by Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 112-3 n9. For reed rafts see also my Chapter 2.3.6 'Tribes and Barker'.

¹⁸⁸ In his novel *The Kangaroo Islanders*, based on long conversations with Islanders such as Nat Thomas, Cawthorne waxed lyrical about the KI whaleboats: "*As they lead [sic] the life of a sealer one-half of the year, and that of a hunter the other, the boat became elevated to the highest dignity in the appreciation of the Islanders – 'Love me, love my boat.' Any harm done to it was equivalent to a personal injury... It was his 'all in all,' the very type of his life, a sharer in all his dangers, a companion in all his exploits, noble or ignoble... his boat became regarded by the Islander with even human affection. With his boat he was a king, a master of all things; without it, a prisoner and a lost being*" (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 55-6).

¹⁸⁹ Guns and ammunition were obtained by barter from the trading ships, but supplies of them could easily run low between visits. In this period they were muzzle-loading rifles, very slow to load and unable to fire more than one shot at a loading. These problems were not solved technically until the 1840s. Meanwhile, Europeans on frontiers such as the American West were discovering to their cost that traditional weapons were quicker and often more effective. See <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rifle> [16/10/15]; Jim Supica, 'A Brief History of Firearms', NRA National Firearms Museum, <http://www.nramuseum.org/gun-info-research/a-brief-history-of-firearms.aspx> [16/10/15]. Even without bows and arrows, Aborigines with spears, boomerangs and clubs could have the advantage in surprise attacks at close range.

¹⁹⁰ CB Powell in *Observer* 15/1/1898: 12d.

¹⁹¹ Colwell 1964: 84.

¹⁹² Cawthorne 1854/2020: 17, 31, 41-2, 47-8, 55.

¹⁹³ Colwell 1964: 92-4; Colwell 1969: 62-3.

The crew of the American sealer *General Gates* visited Kangaroo Island in late 1822¹⁹⁴ and may have built a whaleboat there. George Bates gave his reporter the impression that he remembered “when the Americans built the *General Gates* in American River in 1824”;¹⁹⁵ but it could only have been a boat, and must have happened before he arrived on KI (May 1824).

Whether by necessity or design, whaleboat operation was shared with Aborigines, and this fact is very important in our assessment of events around KI. There can be little doubt that Aboriginal men such as ‘Harry’ learned how to use a whaleboat when they were members of a commercial sealing gang; and Aboriginal women in these gangs – such as ‘Sally’, ‘Dinah’ and ‘Mooney’ – must have learned a little of boat-handling and may have become fully active members.¹⁹⁶ At KI in the early 1830s Captain Hart observed that the women predominated: they “made up the boat’s crew when on a sealing excursion to the neighbouring rocks”.¹⁹⁷

1.1.6.2.4 – FOOD: GARDENING, GATHERING AND HUNTING.

When ship-borne supplies failed, Islanders had to learn how to subsist from the hinterland as well as the rocky sealing coasts. They began as seamen not farmers, with little knowledge of the land; but if they were there for the long haul they could not completely avoid the issue of sustainability.

Their intuitive recourse was the tradition of European mixed farming and gardening, but these had to be backed by other existing sources of food from the land itself. Here again KI was quite different from lush Van Diemen’s Land, and harder to use than ‘Cape Jervis’ even though much of the geology is similar. Its soils were often poor and covered with thick scrub and underbrush: a real ‘state of nature’ resulting from 4000 years without Aboriginal fire management.

Textbox04: ISOLATION OF KANGAROO ISLAND FROM THE MAINLAND (2): VEGETATION.

For historian Bill Gammage, the dense scrub and undergrowth found on in the 1830s was a classic case of “how southern eucalypts grow without regular fire”: see his exposition and early paintings of the difference between KI and Adelaide.¹⁹⁸ On the nearby mainland, centuries of shaping by Aboriginal owners had separated the scrub areas by park-like grasslands managed with trees and little underbrush, and had even reduced the underbrush in the Adelaide Hills so much that big fires in the 1830s and 40s “barely scorched canopies, and were mostly out by the next day”.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Cumpston 1986: 60-1, 66.

¹⁹⁵ Bates 1887b.

¹⁹⁶ See the story of Sally and Harry later in this chapter (section 1.3.4).

¹⁹⁷ Hart 1854: 52. Perhaps we still have an echo of these women’s voices as they coasted the islands. Betty Thomas taught her grandson a few phrases of “*Hobart Town Language*”, two of which were translated as “*Go straight ahead*” and “*Go around*” (Tindale 1937a: 36, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/127561#page/40/mode/1up> [Tindale 1937, ‘Tasmanian Aborigines on Kangaroo Island, SA’, *Records of SA Museum* 6). It is possible, even likely, that these were whaleboat commands which she had heard as an oarsman or even shouted herself as tillerman. In Cawthorne’s novel, the ‘Vandemonian’ character ‘Black Bet’ (who is partly based on the real Betty Thomas) is “*in the bow and pulling on an oar*” alongside the men on the way to Rapid Bay for a raid. “*As a fisherwoman or sailoress her abilities were unrivalled*” (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 76).

¹⁹⁸ Bill Gammage 2012, ‘The Adelaide District in 1836’, in Robert Foster and Paul Sendziuk (ed.) 2012, *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press: 7-9.

¹⁹⁹ Gammage 2012: 20-1.

Thus the limits of imported knowledge became evident, and Aboriginal knowledge came into its own. While this kind of country was totally unfamiliar to Europeans, Aborigines knew similar scrub on parts of their home territories. Insofar as the Islanders learned how to use KI sustainably, it was with the essential help of the women.

Once the Islanders began to spend most or all of their winters ashore, their seasonal round became not unlike that of their Aboriginal neighbours on the mainland. In summer they lived on the coast and out hunting seals; in the winter they moved inland for shelter from the gales and subsisted on vegetable food and trapped wallabies.²⁰⁰ Food production became an exchange in both directions: bush tucker alternated with gardening, fishing and hunting with livestock farming. The mix varied with seasons and circumstances. The methods were often hybrids of European and Aboriginal tradition.

The women's traditional training in bush tucker became more relevant than ever. They could use their knowledge of forest and river as well as of sea-coast. Teatree leaves made their common beverage.²⁰¹ As well as fish and shellfish, there were berries, small game, edible grubs called "*waikeries*", even ants, and herbs for medicine.²⁰²

But the Islanders, hungry for familiar tastes, bartered with the captains for seeds and breeding livestock. They cleared small patches from the scrub and grew European vegetables, cereals for bread, even some fruit, and eventually kept small yards of fowls and domestic pigs.²⁰³ Though there is no explicit record of it, they probably taught the women to tend these farmlets, and probably soon expected them to do it by themselves.²⁰⁴

While plant food was probably the staple diet, there was also meat to be hunted. Seal meat and fish had been the mainstays on the old sealing excursions, when the women could club the prey as effectively as the men. But now seals were becoming scarcer and the surviving colonies remoter. Alternatives were needed for both meat and skins.²⁰⁵ The women knew how to dive for shellfish; and Islanders learned from them how to make nooses and mount them in fences of brushwood to snare wallabies for meat and for the trade in skins.²⁰⁶ This kind of hunting became a well-developed and durable hybrid of Aboriginal and European methods.

The Europeans brought guns and dogs.

²⁰⁰ ClarkeP 1996: 64; Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 147 n209.

²⁰¹ Pullen MSS Journal: 31/13, 22nd Aug 1836,

<https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/william-pullen>; cp. 'A Private Settler' 10/12/1836 [in Cumpston 1986: 141].

²⁰² Cawthorne 1853: 160; Leigh 1839: 162-3; Bates 1895a. For a more detailed account of hunting and gathering on Kangaroo Island see ClarkeP 1996: 59-65 and TaylorR 2002-8: 66-71.

²⁰³ Thompson 1878, in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525> (= Bull 1878b: 8); Cumpston 1986: 85; Hart 1854: 303; Hart 1836: 159, 163; Morgan Journal 2 Aug 1836.

²⁰⁴ The men remained "*at their ease in camp for weeks*" while the women "*hunted and brought them food*" (Bates 1886b: 6d).

²⁰⁵ PlomleyN 1966: 1008.

²⁰⁶ ClarkeP 1996: 60.

Their slow-loading guns could sometimes be an advantage in the balance of power on the mainland, at least while they had ammunition. But for subsistence they were not as crucial as we might suppose, and seem to have been used mainly to shoot birds.²⁰⁷

In the hunt it was trained hunting dogs that made the difference. The whaling and sealing captains commonly took dogs ashore during their voyages to hunt for meat,²⁰⁸ and the Islanders either stole them when they jumped ship or bartered for them later.²⁰⁹ They were among the most visible and pervasive features of life in the Straits.

Interestingly, the records make it clear that both in the Straits and on KI it was the *women* who kept the dogs and did much of the hunting with them. In Aboriginal tradition the violent and bloody activity of hunting large game had been an exclusively male arena,²¹⁰ but the new situation had produced a change in gender roles.

These dogs were important for other reasons too. They often became a crucial item in communication with Aboriginal men. To an Aboriginal man a trained hunting dog – who could not only track and kill but also fetch on command – was an item of great interest, an impressively efficient extension of his own relationship with dingoes on the mainland.

Textbox05: DINGOES, DOGS, AND ABORIGINAL SOCIETIES.

Dingoes never inhabited Kangaroo Island. In Van Diemen's Land, which also had no dingoes, the use of dogs had nevertheless been carried over on a large scale from settler life into Aboriginal culture before the Black Wars. Protector Robinson mentioned several women in the Straits who brought kangaroo dogs with them when they came in to the official Settlement.²¹¹ One observer said that the Straitsmen's women were very fond of their dogs and "have a stronger affection for them than for their masters".²¹² European dogs had become very popular and numerous among the Tasmanian peoples by the 1820s,²¹³ and it is likely that many of the Straits women brought with them dogs and dog experience which they had acquired at home. Colonel Light hired Doughboy and Sall in 1836 specifically to hunt for meat. For him they hunted not only possums but kangaroos with Cooper's dogs.²¹⁴

Archaeologist McAllister summarizes the history of Aboriginal relationship first to dingoes as characters in the mythic landscape, kept mainly as camp pets who were "useless for hunting", and then to introduced dogs who were "better hunting helpers" and "could also obey the

²⁰⁷ See also the footnote on guns, above in Section 1.1.6.2.3 'Transport: whaleboats'.

²⁰⁸ e.g. Baudin (Cumpston 1986: 21-2). Sutherland's men hunted with a dog on northwestern Yorke Peninsula in 1819 (Sutherland 1831, in Wakefield 1834: 51).

²⁰⁹ Wallan and a fellow deserter "took to the woods, with the powder and ball which they had stolen" along with "two dogs, which they had enticed to follow them"; these "assisted them in hunting when their ammunition failed" (Leigh 1839: 81). Bates and Randall also brought "three dogs belonging to the captain" (Bates 1886b: 6c).

²¹⁰ Female hunters occasionally featured in myth. A man of the Ngadjuri – northeastern neighbours of the 'Kaurna'-Miyurna – in the 1930s remembered a Dreaming myth about an old cannibal woman who hunted humans with her two dingoes. We do not know whether in this story the fact that a woman is hunting reflects a traditional practice in history, or is only one of the monstrous mythical details (Tindale 1937c: 149-150, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/129822#page/178/mode/1up> ['The Old Woman and Her Two Dingoes', in Tindale 1937, 'Two Legends of the Ngadjuri Tribe', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of SA* 61]; also Tindale 1974: 135).

²¹¹ e.g. PlomleyN 1987: 443, 446.

²¹² John Boulton 1824, quoted in PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 19.

²¹³ See Windschuttle 2002: 92-3 [Keith Windschuttle 2002, *The Fabrication of Aboriginal History, Vol. One: Van Diemen's Land 1803-1847*, Sydney: Macleay Press.

²¹⁴ See Chapter 3.4.7.1 'Kangaroo hunting'.

essential command – stay!” “This instant infatuation” continued the ancient partnership and served them well until recent times. Introduced dogs bred faster. Camp dogs had to feed themselves by scavenging and hunting. As the mobile hunting lifestyle declined in permanent settlements, increasing numbers of half-starved dogs have caused serious threats to public safety.²¹⁵

The use of hunting dogs, or at least their potential, was well understood by the mainlanders near KI, as we can see in an encounter on the Adelaide Plains in 1837. Dr Leigh’s friend ‘the captain’ was hunting with “seven or eight rough-looking dogs between the greyhound and lurcher breeds... all tall stately animals”. Two ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* men appeared carrying a kangaroo which they gave to Leigh and his comrade, recognizing it as their prize in accordance with Law because it had just been followed and killed by the captain’s dogs. The Aboriginal hunters were extremely interested to meet these animals, and “repeatedly directed our attention to the two dogs, which they patted a score of times”.²¹⁶ As we shall see later, these dogs were so valuable in the eyes of Aboriginal men that they sometimes traded women for them.

1.1.6.3 – UNSUSTAINABILITY: DOGS AND FIRE.

On scrubby Kangaroo Island it was not guns but dogs that caught the big kangaroos and emus in the early years of the sealer regime. But the Islanders did not learn their Aboriginal lessons well enough. Their hunting with the dogs was unrelenting, greedy and brutal – though probably no more so than many a colonial hunt later.²¹⁷ Between Flinders and Baudin in 1802-3 and the arrival of colonists 34 years later, KI suffered an ecological disaster.²¹⁸ The large KI Kangaroo and the KI emu, in ‘abundance’ at the time of Flinders

²¹⁵ Peter McAllister, ‘How Aborigines’ Dingo Dreaming turned into a nightmare’, *The Australian* 10/4/2015: 12, <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/opinion/how-aborigines-dingo-dreaming-turned-into-a-nightmare/story-e6frg6zo-1227297652944> [10/4/15].

²¹⁶ Leigh 1839: 84-6.

²¹⁷ DOGS AND UNSUSTAINABILITY:

Many Straitsmen and Islanders used dogs and snares ruthlessly with no regard to sustainability. Wallan “in one month... slew 800 kangaroos, so that we cannot wonder at their present scarcity” (Leigh 1839: 81). For Bates overhunting was something to boast about: “There was any amount of kangaroo and emu, and fine kangaroo at that time — regular boomers. We used to get plenty skins in those days. I have known Captain Hart to take away 7,000 skins in one trip” (Bates 1887b = Register 6/10/1887: 7b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/46828947/4050314>). Hart himself upped Bates, buying 12,000 wallaby skins on his first visit to Nepean Bay (from 20 November 1831; see Hart 1854: 51-2; cp. Bates 1883a: 6f).

The slaughter would continue later in Adelaide After seven months of settlement in Adelaide, Interim Protector Bromley wrote that the ‘natives’ should be taught the arts of cultivation as he had done with Indians in North America, because in the woods now they “could barely procure food to subsist upon in consequence of the white people having nearly destroyed nearly all their game, and this will I fear be the case here very soon, for I find that persons who have suitable dogs are destroying the Kangaroos without mercy, even at this their breeding season when the females are with young”. The Islander Cooper was one of the culprits: “Indeed I saw a short time ago one brought to Cooper’s tent, that had been killed by his dogs, with a primitive young one in its pouch” (Bromley to Hindmarsh 17 July 1837, GRG 24/1/1837/241: 2). No doubt Cooper and his dogs had done the same on Kangaroo Island in the seven years he had lived there before coming to the mainland.

There is another perspective. The damage on KI was minor compared with the impact of agriculture and grazing on the colonized mainland. There settlers replaced huge areas of perennial native grass and trees with intensive mono-crops of annual wheat, barley and pasture, and penned large numbers of voracious cloven-hoofed animals on pieces of land which had previously dealt only with visiting kangaroos and emus. Entire landscapes were changed beyond recognition, and their fauna wiped out. See e.g. Gammage 2011 and 2012, and Rob Linn 1991, *Cradle of Adversity: a history of the Willunga district*: 78-80, 100, 108, 168n1-2.

²¹⁸ Baudin left behind a boar and sow in 1803 (ClarkeP 1996: 61-2; TaylorR 2002-8: 67). Islander Thompson believed that “Hog Bay was... so-called from pigs found there by the sealers, supposed to have been left by the French navigators” (Bull 1878b: 10-11; this passage is not in Bull 1878a). There can be no doubt that these foraging pigs

in 1802 and Sutherland in 1819, could scarcely be found at all when the colonists arrived in 1836.²¹⁹

Ironically, the removal of these targets of male expertise and vanity probably increased the Islanders' dependence on the gathering skills of the women,²²⁰ though wallabies continued as prime sources of meat. It also seems likely that it was this depletion of meat sources on KI which led the Islanders in Bates's time to "cross over in a boat" and hunt on the mainland as well.²²¹

Overhunting is part of the wider question of sustainable land management. This brings us to a final and (it seems) unsuccessful exchange: the use of fire. Bates identified two major causes of the near-extinction of the boomers, fire and over-hunting: "Bush fires and we with dogs soon cleared them off", he said.²²² It seems he was right.

The Islanders no doubt observed how Aborigines managed the land with fire-stick farming. Those few of them who travelled further up the Gulf may have noted – as colonists such as Light did in 1836 – the contrast between the thick scrub on KI and the open 'park-like' country on the east coast,²²³ though they did not know that the latter was named by its own descriptive metaphor: *Yarna*, 'bald, naked'.²²⁴ Maybe they even guessed at the cause of the contrast. They may also have tried to imitate this method of land management. We know that at least one Straitsman attempted this in southern Victoria, with dire results.²²⁵ Colonists arriving in 1836 saw evidence of a catastrophic

would have created ecological havoc very quickly, but this history has not yet been traced. Some big changes may have occurred already by 1819 when Sutherland reported grasslands. There is an unresolved debate about this and its possible causes such as bushfires and the ecological effects of over-hunting by sealers.

²¹⁹ e.g. Leigh 1839: 64; cp. Sutherland 1831 in Wakefield 1834: 48, 51. In the 1830s there was still "a profusion of wallaby" (Finniss 1892: 3; cp. Thomas Coote 1836, 'Report of Kangaroo Island', SA Company papers 1834-1847, PRG 174/11: 166). But by 1880, after another 40 years of trapping and trading, even these were scarce: "In the western portion there are wallabies, but the few persons who live by selling wallaby skins have to work hard and travel over a great deal of country in order to earn a livelihood" (Official Trip 1880: 1b).

²²⁰ ClarkeP 1996: 64.

²²¹ Bates 1887b; 1894c: 25e; 1895a.

²²² Bates 1887b, *Register* 6/10/1887: 7b; cp. 'Mr George Bates', *Evening Journal* 26/1/1895: 5f, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/198442076/22407992> (Bates 1895a); 'Reverberations' by 'Hugh Kalyptus', *Evening Journal* 14/9/1895: 5, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/198457707/22408917> (Bates 1895d).

²²³ See Gammage 2012: 7-19.

²²⁴ See Schultz PNS 1/01 'Yarna' (forthcoming), cp. 5.02.02/04 'Yarnauwingga', <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-02-02-04Yarnauw.pdf>. According to Tindale, Iparityi (OS *Ivaritji*) applied this name to the whole country from Adelaide to Rapid Bay. *Yarna* country was not always strictly 'bare'; typically it was grassland with scattered large trees and no undergrowth, a condition modified from its 'wild' or 'natural' state. In landscape its complementary opposite would be *karta*, unmanaged 'scrub'.

Murlawirrapurka (OS *Mullawirraburka*, 'King John') composed a song in about 1839, whose text has survived (T&S 1840: 73). He sings how something unspecified – probably the ruinous vehicle traffic and 'development' along the traditional road south – "now tires" him because it is "tracking throughout Yarna" and has "climbed his country". In 2023 his lament is more relevant than ever, as these precious tracts of *yarna* face endless threats to their Aboriginal integrity from both development and over-enthusiastic re-vegetation.

It was this poignant song which in 1995 launched me into the place-names work which I have been doing ever since. My setting of Murlawirrapurka's text is one of the songs in my cycle *Songs With the Nungas*, in English, Kaurna and Narungga, which uses four of the songs I composed for the songbooks *Narungga*, *Kaurna* and *Ngarrindjeri Songs* and *Kaurna Paltinna*, along with others also using negotiated Kaurna texts. Designed for bi-cultural performance, *Songs With the Nungas* has comprehensive protocols but remains unperformed so far (2023).

²²⁵ In 1826 the French explorer Dumont-d'Urville engaged a sealer Hambilton at King George Sound. Later at Western Port (in what is now Victoria) he recorded that a series of big fires were "those which Hambilton had lit in the native way while walking along with me, and which, spreading rapidly in all directions, had ended by becoming a vast conflagration" (Cumpston 1986: 97).

bushfire over much of KI at some earlier date.²²⁶ It remains unclear whether this was the result of lightning strikes or Islander activity.²²⁷ On KI fire was particularly dangerous because of its very large areas of unmanaged thick low scrub with volatile underbrush. But the Islanders seem to have experimented with fire anyway: how much by design and how much by accident is hard to say. In the same breath as the dogs and the bushfires, Bates quite candidly bragged about the conflagrations he had helped to start.²²⁸

.....

²²⁶ Comparing their own observations with Flinders and Sutherland, early colonists surmised that there must have been an “*overwhelming conflagration*” on the whole Island to account for the altered condition of the land, with a few enormous dead trunks among preponderant ‘saplings’ of regrowth (Leigh 1839: 127-8; Bull 1878b: 5-6; see also Penelope Hope 1968, *The Voyage of the Africaine*, Adelaide: River House (Heinemann Educational Australia): 108-9, citing AA Lendon 1924). It may have happened more than once, before and after Bates’ arrival.

²²⁷ Even today with much of the land cleared, lightning can still start huge fires on KI from strikes, as they did in 2007 – see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kangaroo_Island_Bushfires (14/8/13). So can careless or ill-timed burning-off.

²²⁸ ISLANDERS AND FIRE:

In June 1837 Dr Leigh recorded that the Islanders tried to burn out the new colonists at Kingscote by setting fire to the surrounding scrub (Leigh 1839: 106-7, 210). Cumpston has suggested that this ‘attack’ may actually have been either “*an attempt to stop a bushfire by burning back*”, or else a regular winter burnoff, perhaps clumsily handled (Cumpston 1986: 154). In old age Bates remembered “*one bush fire that swept the island*”. In the same breath he also boasted – no doubt aiming for effect in his usual way – that “*me and a person named Walker set fire to American River, and the fire went right across to Cape Willoughby*”: the whole 33 km of Dudley Peninsula (Bates 1887b, *Register* 6/10/1887: 7b). He did not say how the other fires started.

1.1.6.4 – GEOGRAPHY (1): EXPLORATION AND ‘DISCOVERIES’.²²⁹

Two final and crucial aspects of the Kangaroo Island exchange are concerned with geography. The Islanders were the second European wave to ‘discover’ the physical geography of the Fleurieu region, and the first to ‘discover’ something of the human geography of its occupants.

These important aspects have received little close attention from scholarly histories of exploration around the Fleurieu. Very few have taken geographical detail seriously enough – and therefore minutely enough – to discover the light which local geography throws on the history both of first contact and of cultural politics in the area.²³⁰

Flinders and Baudin had mapped the coast, but the sealers who became Islanders were the first Europeans who set foot on the Fleurieu hinterland. The evidence shows that they often did so in company with local Aborigines as guides, interpreters and negotiators. But it was another process of exchange. While hunting for seals, salt and women, the sealing gangs and Islanders introduced local Aboriginal men and women to Kangaroo Island itself: a place which had hitherto been accessible to them only or mainly through mythic imagination, probably not as ‘Country’.²³¹ Sealing gangs and Islanders also routinely introduced a few of the locals to other parts of the coast which had been very distant or hard of access for land travellers, places such as remote offshore islands.

It is quite likely that at the beginning of the 19th century no local Aborigines then living had visited KI. To the mainlanders of the nineteenth century it had been inaccessible for 4000 years and was unknown except in myth. It is not clear whether any cultural memories remained about or from the Island’s earlier Aboriginal inhabitants. The general nature of its northeast coast – cliffs, bays and a hinterland covered with dense low scrub – is plainly visible from the vicinity of the Cape on a clear day. One of the names by which it was known by the Miyurna language groups on the Gulf was *Pintingga*, ‘pit or grave place’, with a strong religious connotation of ‘west’.²³² In the Kornar language groups southeast of the range it was *Ngurungawi* – the land where the spirits of the dead followed Ngurunduri from the mainland on their way to the remote West²³³, and

²²⁹ See Map04 ‘The Area’.

²³⁰ A notable exception is the work of Rob Linn: e.g. Linn 1986, ‘The Discovery and Settlement of the Fleurieu Peninsula and the Angas / Bremer Region 1802–1861’, <http://www.sahistorians.org.au/175/documents/the-discovery-and-settlement-of-the-fleurieu-peninsula.shtml>; also several local histories of parts of the region by the same author.

²³¹ Certainly in 1836 Kangaroo Island was not being managed like Country. In recent decades various Aboriginal groups have contested whether or not KI was somebody’s Country, or ‘shared Country’, and whose. The early cultural geography in this book might contribute to these ongoing discussions.

²³² “*Peendéka, peendingga – island, Kangaroo Island, to the west*” (Wyatt 1879: 174) (= *Pintingga* [OS *Pindingga*]). Another ‘Kurna’-Miyurna name for KI was said to be *Karta*. This has usually been taken to be the word for ‘lap’, with all its possibilities for myth and metaphor (e.g. Amery 2002: 175; cp. his sources in T&S 1840 2:10, 75). But in my view (contested), it is more likely to be a similar-sounding word (homophone) meaning ‘scrub’ or ‘underbrush’ (i.e. untended scrubland), which could also be used for uninhabited islands. See “*kerta, a forest*” (Wyatt 1879: 170); “*Cur-tah: scrub, brush, underwood*” (Piesse 1839: 296a) (= *karta* [OS *karta*]). Cp. Raminyeri *karti* ‘low thick scrub; everything useless; island’ (“*karte*” in Meyer 1843: 70 [HAE Meyer 1843, *Vocabulary of the Language spoken by the Aborigines of the Southern and Eastern Portions of the Settled Districts of South Australia*, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-240887698/view?partId=nla.obj-240896275#page/n77/mode/1up>]; and “*Island*” in Taplin Folklore 1879: 132, [George Taplin (ed.) 1879, *The Folklore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines...*, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b3279506&view=1up&seq=174&skin=2021>]). See Schultz PNS 7.01/04 ‘Names of Kangaroo Island’ (unpublished).

²³³ Berndt 1940: 181; Berndt and Berndt 1993: 16, 226; ClarkeP 1998: 24 and note 87. The crossover point from the mainland was Blowhole Beach: an important mythical site which was also the end-point for the travels of Tjirbuki across

Kukakunggarr.²³⁴ But there can be little doubt that for the mainlanders of historical times KI did not become ‘Country’ to walk on, use and manage until the sealing ships and Islanders arrived and introduced them to it.²³⁵

It must have been a strange and exciting experience for an Aboriginal person, perhaps terrifying, when for the first time she or he crossed the sea to Karta and explored it in company with these dangerous outsiders who did not know the Law. Yet it is clear that by the end of the 1820s this experience was no longer uncommon, and there were a significant number who returned to tell the tale to their people. By 1836 many local men and women had done it.²³⁶

On the other side of the exchange, I argue that many of the places and especially routes which the Islanders ‘found’ on the mainland over the period 1828-36 were probably first shown to them by local Aboriginal men and women.²³⁷ The preconditions for this had been set up before that by their joint involvement in commercial sealing gangs.

Few records have survived to tell us more than the bare fact that the overland explorations happened. The little we do know suggests that they often travelled on foot with Aboriginal people: a collaborative experience more intimate, sustained, and closer to the Aboriginal way than anything most colonists would do except during the brief necessities of the first few surveys in 1836-9.

The Islanders’ knowledge at first would have been restricted to the coast, then to favourable parts around the boat landings. Perhaps they sometimes made these exploratory visits independently, relying for safety on a show of arms. But by the mid-1820s at the latest they had established contact,²³⁸ and self-interest would have led them – sometimes at least – to minimize trouble by seeking the tolerance or cooperation of the

‘Kaurna’-Miyurna country, the place where he turned into a wading bird (Berndt 1940: 181; Berndt & Berndt 1993: 226, 234; Schultz PNS 7.01/06 Konggaratingga Blowhole Creek, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/7-01-06_KonggaratinggaBlowhole.pdf; and 7.01/07 Tjirbuki, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/7-01-07Tjirbuki.pdf>.

²³⁴ Meyer 1843: 50. The name *Kukakunggarr* has not been analysed, but may have a connection with the term “*Kukabrak*”, of unknown origin, used by the Berndts to identify the ‘federation’ which others called ‘Ngarrindjeri’ (see Berndt & Berndt 1993 *passim*). ‘*Kukabrak*’ in turn might be related to the Streaky Bay word recorded as “*Dead – kukabuk*”. This westward connection of vocabulary would be unusual for Encounter Bay, but could arise from its use in the myth of Ngurunduri and his departure into the west (see EM Curr 1886, *The Australian Race*, Melbourne, Vol.2: 7, <https://ia902706.us.archive.org/34/items/cu31924026093827/cu31924026093827.pdf>).

²³⁵ The inaccessibility of Kangaroo Island has been challenged e.g. by Narungga man Klynton Wanganeen (p.c. 2014): see also examples in ClarkeP 1998: 24-7. Near the Bluff reed rafts were used to cross the sea 0.75 km from King’s Beach to West Island for seals (Tindale 1941: 241, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/129818#page/281/mode/1up>), but this is a very different matter from the 14 km across Backstairs Passage. A ‘Ramindjeri’ version of the Ngurunderi tale has his wives attempting to cross over to KI by “*pushing ‘kundi’ or ‘reed rafts of three cornered shape’*” which were transformed into two reefs near The Pages (‘Data from Reuben Walker’ [June 1935], Tindale Murray1: 103-5 = Tindale SESA2: 294). This reference also observes that “*the Murray mouth burial platform is made in the form of a ‘kundi or raft’*”, probably referring to Ngurunderi’s final journey across to KI and the spirit world. One can only speculate whether the story is a memory of rafts actually being used to make the crossing to KI, or only a mythical use of technology which in everyday life was employed only on the Lake and coast. At best, such rafts could only have visited KI on rare occasions with very small numbers. See also my footnote on Backstairs Passage as an ‘impassable barrier’ (Textbox02 ‘Isolation of Kangaroo Island (1)’), and the doubtful claims of individual women swimming the Passage in historical times (section 1.1.3.6 ‘Compliance?’).

²³⁶ See their stories in Chapter 2. As Clarke says, it is therefore likely that by late 1830s when colonists began collecting fragments of local language and mythology, new first-hand information about Kangaroo Island was already being incorporated into culture and myth by the larger group (‘The making of myth: Kangaroo Island in Lower Murray Mythology’, in ClarkeP 1994: 142-5, <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/21559?mode=full>).

²³⁷ It is also likely that many of the places and routes on KI were discovered for the Islanders by their Aboriginal women companions, e.g. as an extension of their hunting.

²³⁸ See the stories of Kalungku and ‘Sally’ below in this chapter, and Chapter2.

Aboriginal inhabitants. We can surmise that such efforts began when they met Aboriginal men in company with some of the ships' gangs under the captain's supervision. When left behind to work onsite, the captain's agenda had them looking for new deposits of salt or new hunting grounds for skins. But they might also have time to follow their own agenda, whether curiosity or the quest for women. On trips into the hinterland they might be guided by their Aboriginal contacts, or their presence might be legitimized by good relationships already set up under the captain. In a very few cases this actually led to extended time living on the mainland and moving around with Aboriginal groups.²³⁹ Or their unofficial agenda might include raids, with or without Aboriginal help.

In this way the Islanders got to know the land behind the coast and almost certainly some of its Aboriginal travelling routes: notably those over the range from the Gulf landings to Encounter Bay and the Murray estuary.²⁴⁰ They would have been unlikely to find these on their own, or to survive the attempt. They were small in numbers and strictly limited in resources. They could hunt and raid on the coast with some impunity, but during these long overland excursions the whaleboats were far away. The balance of power still usually favoured the Europeans who held the guns, but only just. In order to repeat such trips over an extended period of time they had to take account of the Aboriginal presence and to some extent learn its nature, even form some kind of relationship with it.²⁴¹

After scrutinizing the bare words of the records, and remembering the meaning of certain place-names at the moment of record (not always the same as now), and the local constraints of distance, topography, Islander economics and Aboriginal demographics, we can summarize the places which the Islanders actually visited or 'discovered' before 1836.²⁴²

By sea they knew the whole southern coast and its rocky shores and islands, from Encounter Bay to southern Yorke Peninsula and the vicinity of Port Lincoln. On Fleurieu Peninsula – which they called 'Cape Jervis' – they knew Rapid Bay, Yankalilla and the Cape itself (no doubt including nearby Fishery Beach), and visited them in whaleboats, especially Yankalilla. But evidence that they were familiar with places further north is very scanty and ambiguous. If they visited places like Aldinga, Onkaparinga and Adelaide at all, mostly they did it as members of summer gangs employed by the sealing captains.²⁴³

They always distinguished this 'Cape Jervis' area (today's Fleurieu Peninsula)²⁴⁴ from Encounter Bay, which by 1836 they knew well as far east as Port Elliot or so. The evidence suggests that they rarely travelled straight there by boat, but normally landed at

²³⁹ See the story of Bates in Chapter 2.

²⁴⁰ In Chapter 2 we shall look at some examples of this around 1828-30.

²⁴¹ See the section below, 1.2.1 'Men's business'. There I describe the evidence for trading as well as raiding for resources which Islanders wanted: skins, salt, water, women. All these activities were not just whims but economically important to Islanders; and some of them could not be achieved by mere subjugation or fear in a situation where Aborigines outnumbered Europeans. Here the balance of power was much more equal under the Islander regime than it would become later under overwhelming numbers of colonists, who could easily impose their will and had much less need to change themselves and learn.

²⁴² See my account of these in Appendix 3 'Islander Explorations'; also the summary of this in Chapter 2.4.2.1 'Places'. The main findings here are that (1) topographically, Yankalilla and Rapid Bay are far the most likely sites for landings; and (2) recorded mentions of Islander activity favour Yankalilla; which is significant because the Yankalilla plain is far less sheltered than Rapid Bay for secretive approach. This implies that many visits were not furtive.

²⁴³ There was at least one exception to this 'rule': Bates had hunted with Aborigines as far north as the Onkaparinga while living with them.

²⁴⁴ The rugged south coast of the Fleurieu from Fishery Beach to The Bluff does not become part of this scenario, for they never mention it.

Yankalilla and walked.²⁴⁵ Their overland excursions to Encounter Bay had extended northeast to the edge of Lake Alexandrina, but probably not along Sir Richard Peninsula to the Mouth until the Barker search party took two of them there in 1831.²⁴⁶

The evidence for these assertions will appear piece by piece in the course of my story, and is also summarized in Appendix 3 ‘Islander explorations’.

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1.1.6.5 – GEOGRAPHY (2): CULTURE AND IDENTITY: BELIEFS, LANGUAGE IDENTITIES, PLACE-NAMES.

In one direction of exchange, the women must have learned many cultural customs of Europe beyond the economic necessities.

For instance they would have learned the use of European forms of clothing, billycans, tobacco (both chewing and smoking), and rum. Archaeologists at Antechamber Bay unearthed a flint piece belonging to a set of dominoes.²⁴⁷ At times such as the search for Barker they could even observe the men receiving money as a currency of exchange, and using it later with other visitors.²⁴⁸

In the other direction, a few of the Islanders learned at least a little about local Aboriginal beliefs and cultural practices, and later reported a few snippets of them.

“The Aboriginal women spoke of their country and beliefs, and the white men listened”, writes Taylor.²⁴⁹ Wallan had attended part of a burial rite on the mainland, and had observed one of his wives practising healing magic.²⁵⁰ Bates described his participation in some kind of initiation or kinship ceremony, and the fragment he told about the otherwise unknown “terrible animal” of the Onkaparinga River was probably told to him on hunting journeys around a campfire with Aboriginal companions.²⁵¹

However, when it came to ‘Country’, the exchange was one-way.

The women could learn of the Islanders’ home country only by the poor medium of words. But of the women’s country, in both its physical and human senses, the Islanders learned a certain amount by direct experience; for they walked there and saw – even met and traded with – the women’s people.

The issue of language and the need for an interpreter would arise quickly. Long-distance walking and trade involve communication, not mere force. Islanders here had important questions: ‘Where can we find water? What will you accept in exchange for a woman?’

Any Islander who acquired some local language from an Aboriginal partner would have a valuable advantage in any contacts with that language group. But his interest in language would be pragmatic, immediate and limited.

²⁴⁵ There were good reasons for this. ‘Cape Jervis’ – by which they meant the Gulf coast of the peninsula, usually Yankalilla – was *much* closer to KI than Encounter Bay (unless they were being landed from a ship), and also a much safer trip and landing than any cove in Encounter Bay (see Appendix 3 ‘Islander explorations’).

²⁴⁶ For the story of Barker’s party with Bates and Thomas, see Chapter 2.3.4 to 2.3.6.

²⁴⁷ Tindale 1937a: 33, 38.

²⁴⁸ See the end of Chapter 2.3.4.1 ‘The search for Barker, officially’.

²⁴⁹ TaylorR 2002-8: 65. See her whole chapter ‘Knowing’ (TaylorR 2002-8: 59-71).

²⁵⁰ Leigh 1839: 160; cp. TaylorR 2002-8: 64-5.

²⁵¹ See Chapter 2.3.3 ‘The tribes and Bates’.

On the other hand, we know that many Aboriginal people, both on KI and on the mainland, learned English. Of course it was Pidgin.²⁵² But sealing ships (however multinational the crews), like KI, were societies where those in power were mainly Anglo. Some form of English must have been the norm, the tongue of public communication.²⁵³ For Aborigines it was a matter of survival; a relatively good grasp of English language would be their first and essential doorway to hope in a changing world. And for the majority on the Fleurieu who through intermarriage²⁵⁴ were already bilingual or multi-lingual from birth – a norm for traditional peoples living near other language groups – the linguistic aptitude was there and the difficulty not huge.²⁵⁵

What of the reverse exchange? Did Islanders learn some language from the women with whom they lived? There is strong evidence that a certain few of them did. But it is hard to find evidence that others did so at all, apart from the place-name ‘Yanky-lilly’.²⁵⁶ Surprisingly, this negative result includes the famous self-promoting expert George Bates.

The linguistic aptitude of Aborigines made it easier for the newcomers to avoid a reciprocal effort. Even on the mainland it would usually be unnecessary for an Islander to learn much language himself. If he had a local wife or a working contact on the mainland who knew some English, this person could be his travel guide and political negotiator, interpreting both ways wherever he went and whoever he met.

The only identifiable languages which crop up occasionally in the known records of the Islanders are ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* and an unspecified dialect of Tasmanian Palawa. Since Encounter Bay comes into the story very often, we would expect to find ‘Ngarrindjeri’-

²⁵² PIDGIN ENGLISH:

The Pidgin English used on Kangaroo Island was largely unrecorded, but would probably have resembled closely that which was recorded in Adelaide by WA Cawthorne in the 1840s, since this originated not only from the colonists also but from previous experience with sealers (Cawthorne’s diary in Cawthorne-Foster 1991: *passim*). The Pidgin of Cawthorne’s fictitious Island women in his novel could be partly based on actual conversations with Island women such as Betty Thomas (see Cawthorne 1854/2020: *passim*).

²⁵³ However, we cannot assume that this was so on a daily basis within every KI camp. Did some Islanders use one of the Aboriginal languages for communication, within their own household at least? This is Taylor’s speculation as she interprets the first meeting of Wallan with a colonist in 1836: the newcomer thought Wallan had become so “*nativefied*” that “*his voice appeared to have lost his mother tongue*” (Morgan Journal 2 August 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/captain-robert-morgan>). But this interpretation seems improbable, for within days of this meeting Wallan was speaking forcefully in public as an honorary “*officer*” for the SA Company in dealings with their labourers. Other writers have thought that the ‘nativefied’ companion found later on the farm was Day, but a closer look at Morgan’s text and the corresponding entry in Samuel Stephens’ journal shows that Day was the man who met them first. See also Chapter 3.4.2.1 ‘Wallan and Stephens’. For Wallan’s public activities as an honorary ‘officer’ supporting Stephens, see StephensS 1836, 8 & 31 Aug (PRG 174/1, transcribed by Jude Elton & Bob Sexton, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/samuel-stephens>).

²⁵⁴ For more on this intermarriage – a fundamentally important fact about the ‘tribes’ around the Fleurieu – see Appendix 13 ‘Intermarriage across language boundaries’.

²⁵⁵ It is certain that many of the Fleurieu locals were already bilingual because they lived on the border between two language groups who intermarried and were in frequent contact. Well-travelled individuals might be multi-lingual, acquainted with several dialects during their journeys to relatives and trading partners from north of Adelaide to the Coorong and up the Murray River, or further.

²⁵⁶ Among the mother-tongues of the KI women there may have been a dozen different Aboriginal languages represented, most of them foreign to each other: several from Tasmania, ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* and ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* locally, Banggarla and Nawo from the Port Lincoln area. English seamen on KI would normally leave this nut uncracked. Their working lives had been spent on British or American ships where there had rarely been a necessity to learn another language.

Kornar language as well, in its Raminyeri dialect at least;²⁵⁷ but there is not even one clear example on record.

Nat and Betty Thomas's grandson preserved a few words of "Hobart Town Speak" into the 20th century;²⁵⁸ but we do not know whether Nat himself spoke these words. An Islander word which is probably local is "waikeries", for '[edible] grubs', recorded from Thomas two decades after colonization.²⁵⁹ Its origin is not directly known from KI records, and it does not match any previously-known *Miyurna* or *Kornar* vocabulary, but I have concluded that it is *Miyurna*.²⁶⁰ Despite the frequent references to Encounter Bay people, not one unequivocally *Kornar* word was recorded on KI. The recorded local vocabulary of Kangaroo Islanders is almost all clearly 'Kurna'-*Miyurna*.²⁶¹ This surprising fact challenges – probably refutes – the old perception that most of the local women on KI came from Encounter Bay.

William Cooper is the only Islander with fair evidence to show that he had advanced beyond a few isolated words in an Aboriginal language to communicate coherent meaning. For a year or so from 1837 the Adelaide colony employed him as interpreter, translating the *Miyurna* language for the Protector, in court and elsewhere.²⁶² But even he – who claimed to have had "frequent intercourse with the natives at Encounter Bay" – did not realize that the language there – the Raminyeri dialect of *Kornar* – was completely different from the one he knew.²⁶³

²⁵⁷ For my use in this book of the terms Raminyeri, Ramindjeri, Narrinyeri and Ngarrindjeri, see Appendix 12, 'Aboriginal territories, borders and identity labels'.

²⁵⁸ Tindale papers quoted in TaylorR 2002-8: 36, 149, 298. See Taylor's discussion of Tasmanian languages on Kangaroo Island, pp.35-7.

²⁵⁹ Cawthorne 1853: 160; ClarkeP 1998: 28. Cp. Cawthorne 1854/2020: 63-4.

²⁶⁰ THE WORD 'WAIKERIES':

Tindale claimed that *weikari* was an Aboriginal name for edible Ghost Moths and also the origin of the town name 'Waikerie' on the River Murray; the word meant 'the rising', referring to adult moths emerging from the ground (ClarkeP 2009: 181-2;

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/276848836_Aboriginal_culture_and_the_Riverine_environment). The grub is also edible (Tindale 1966, 'Insects as food for the Australian Aborigines', *Australian Natural History* 15: 181-2, https://media.australianmuseum.net.au/media/dd/Uploads/Documents/35442/ams370_vXV_06_lowres.9ab4fd7.pdf).

This word *weikari* might conceivably be related to the 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* verb *wakun* 'rising', recorded by Taplin in the 1860s-70s. But there is no explanation in *Kornar* linguistics for a form which adds *-ari* to the root *wak-*. Moreover, I do not trust Tindale's linguistic records without identification of his informants and what they specifically said, or other confirmation – especially when he deals with place-names across the territory of different Language Groups. It is much more likely that the Kangaroo Island word 'waikeries' was 'Kurna'-*Miyurna* in origin. There is a *Miyurna* place-name near Willunga which uses it (see Schultz PNS 4.04.02/04 Waikari-winturrilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-02-04Wyecare.pdf>. And every other Aboriginal word known to have been used by Islanders was *Miyurna*.

²⁶¹ Apart from 'waikeries', 12 other non-Tasmanian Aboriginal words were recorded directly from the pronunciation of KI men. Of these, almost all are clearly *Miyurna* and the other two could be: "*kuma, parlaichi*" (*kuma, purlaityi*) from Bates see Chapter 2.3.3 'Condoy, Kalinga & Bates); "*conyou*" from Walker (= *kuinyu* [OS *kuinyo*]); seven bird names from Cooper, one being a mistaken adjective "*te-coo-cha*" = *tukutya* 'small' (Bromley to Hindmarsh 17/7/1837, GRG 24/1/1837/241: 3-4; more about this in Book 2); the personal name "*Condoy*" or "*Conday*", which might be *kondoli* 'whale' (unusually, a word shared by *Miyurna* and *Kornar*); and the personal name "*Kalinga*" from Walker (which could be either).

²⁶² This period in Cooper's life will be examined in Book 2. After a few months his only linguistic co-worker, the Interim Protector Bromley, was scathing about Cooper's inaccuracy: "*he has invariably led me wrong in nine words out of ten*" (Bromley to Hindmarsh 17/7/1837, GRG 24/1/1837/241: 3-4). This was perhaps a biased opinion; Bromley was suffering from Cooper's frequent absences and uncooperative behaviour. He quotes a single example, the misuse of the adjective *tukutya* ('small') as the name for every species of small bird, when in fact "*the Natives... have a distinct name for every bird*".

²⁶³ Cooper evidence in Mann 1837a: 20 (Charles Mann 1837, 'Advocate-General, enclosing his opinion on the murder of John Driscoll', GRG 24/1/1837/259, SRSA); Mann to Hindmarsh 20 Sep 1837, GRG 24/1/1837/365: 2.

George Bates had lived with a ‘tribe’ on the mainland, but left on record only two ordinary Aboriginal words – “kuma, parlaichi’ (one, two)”²⁶⁴ – and he *probably* mentioned ‘Yanky-lilly’.²⁶⁵ All of these are ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna*. But as we shall see, most of his adventures with Aboriginal tribespeople were in the company of Kalinga (‘Sally’), who spoke good English. In old age he liked to brag about the large and mysterious fund of old knowledge which he held. In May 1831 Barker’s grateful regiment went on record to compliment him on “his knowledge of *the* language”.²⁶⁶ Although the communications then must have involved the two different local languages as well as English, there is no hint that Bates was aware of this any more than Cooper was in September 1837. He probably had some limited knowledge of the culture, but his language credentials remain doubtful.

William Walker had known individual Encounter Bay men for five years when in 1837 he claimed to understand “a little of their language” [singular] and to speak “a good many words but not fluently”. Yet the only Aboriginal word on record from him is the *Miyurna* term “conyou” = *kuinyu*, ‘death spirit’. He too believed that the languages of “Cape Jervis and Encounter Bay” were “the same”.²⁶⁷

Nat Thomas knew at least “some words” of *Miyurna*, including *kauwi* (‘water’).²⁶⁸ According to Morphett and Light, “the sealers” knew the *Miyurna* place-name “Yanky-lilly” (*Yarnkalyilla* = ‘Yankalilla’).²⁶⁹ Morphett probably got it from Walker or Bates, and Light probably from Cooper.

And there the hard evidence for language ends. But even so, we should not assume that lack of evidence is the same as evidence of a lack. We just don’t know how much vocabulary and grammar men like Bates and Thomas knew.

Whatever their limitations in language, the more long-sighted Islanders would quickly discover that they could maximize benefits and minimize trouble if they knew some local families and could distinguish some of the group identities. Thus their explorations are interesting not only for their own sake but for Aboriginal history. To the extent that their dealings were nuanced and attentive rather than crudely forcible, they were discovering something which is still valuable today.

Neither the Islanders nor those who left records of them were ethnographic analysts. From them we get only vague and pragmatic distinctions which may reflect very little of how Aboriginal people identified themselves. But even these prove to be instructive.²⁷⁰ They identified local groups mainly by place, as we would expect; natives ‘came from’, or

²⁶⁴ Bates 1894b: 6b.

²⁶⁵ It is also *conceivable* that he was a source of the three ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* place-names on Sturt’s map (Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 229). But Kalinga-‘Sally’ is a more likely source for these (see Chapter 2.4.1.1 ‘1831 and the Kurna place-names’; and Appendix 5 Part 2 ‘The first three recorded Aboriginal place-names in SA’).

²⁶⁶ Davis 1831: 25 (my emphasis). For this story see Chapter 2.3.4 ‘Condo, Kalinga, Natalla, Bates and Barker’.

²⁶⁷ Walker implied that the Encounter Bay language was a dialect of the Adelaide (Walker evidence in Mann 1837a: 11-12). This is the kind of mistake he might make if he were observing family interactions on the Fleurieu while understanding very little of the languages being used, unaware of bi-lingual conversations and expecting to see ‘interpreters’ if the languages were different. His wife Kalinga (‘Sally’) spoke English well and doubtless also *Miyurna* and *Kornar* (see Chapter 2.4.1.2.2 ‘Kalinga-Sally-Sarah Walker’).

²⁶⁸ [Stuart 1875] ‘Noarlunga’ [CW Stuart] 1875, ‘An Adventure With the Natives’, *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail* 25/12/1875: 12b-c, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/93954922/8382693>; cp. Bull 1878b: 15.

²⁶⁹ MorphettJ 1837: 8; Light map 3 Nov 1836; cp. Leigh 1839: 155.

²⁷⁰ These pre-colonial observations will be supplemented later in this book by observations from the earliest colonists, often in company with Islanders. These are usually much better recorded.

women ‘were obtained at’, a place which was also deemed to be the home of ‘the tribe of that place’.²⁷¹

Locally the Islanders recognized only two or three: ‘Cape Jervis’ (sometimes with sub-groups at Yankalilla and Rapid Bay);²⁷² ‘Encounter Bay’;²⁷³ and ‘Lake Alexandrina’ (an identifier which is secondhand and probably refers to the whole southwestern part of the Murray estuary).²⁷⁴

To these we might add that some Islanders under rare circumstances had contact with other groups: at the Onkaparinga River,²⁷⁵ Murray Mouth,²⁷⁶ and perhaps the Adelaide Plains.²⁷⁷

Overlaid on these geographical referents are a few glimpses of family relationships. Sometimes these can allow valuable insights even when the information is minimal. The family about which we know most is that of the English speaker ‘Sally’ (Kalinga), her father Condoy and father’s brother Natalla; much of what we know comes from Bates. Then there are ‘Doughboy’ and her sons, in relationship with Cooper; Kalungku, her husband’s sister and the latter’s son ‘Prare’; ‘Encounter Bay Bob’ (Tamuruwi), his brother ‘Charley’ and his father Yangarawi; and ‘Peter’ (‘Lame Raikongga’) and his son Warritya. This book will trace some of the history of all these individuals.

Also overlaid are the records of language awareness, rare until 1837. Occasionally we hear of the physiological differences between the Gulf and Encounter Bay peoples: the

²⁷¹ The records of the women’s origins are usually very brief and general, and often given from memory in old age. We have to assess in each case to what extent they are geographically vague, confused, or sometimes simply wrong. The places where women were captured are not necessarily the places of their origin or primary affiliation; e.g. women who ‘came from’ Encounter Bay may often have been captured while visiting at Yankalilla. In this respect Thompson is ambiguous when he notes that women were “obtained... from the tribes occupying the Cape Jervis and Encounter Bay districts” (Thompson 1878, in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878: 7-8). He may be implying that raids were carried out at both Encounter Bay and Cape Jervis; or maybe only that the captured women belonged to those groups. Conversely, the fact that a ‘Bett’ was captured at Rapid Bay (Bates 1886b, Bates 1887b) does not necessarily mean that she was a Rapid Bay local.

²⁷² Main references for Islanders identifying the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’: Bates 1886b; ‘Dart’ log 1830; Walker evidence in Mann 1837a; Thompson 1878 in JW Bull 1878a; Woodforde 6 Sep 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-6-september-1836-7/>. According to local resident Roland Snelling, who had known ‘Little Sal’, she was “caught by the whites near Cape Jervis” (Snelling 1932: 62 [newspaper clipping “*Australian Aborigine: Kangaroo Island*”, annotated by Tindale as “*News 19 March 1932*”], in Tindale KI: 62 [Tindale, ‘Journal of Anthropological Researches on Kangaroo Island’, AA 338/1/32]. This article includes an interview with Snelling; but I cannot find it in Trove in any Australian newspaper at any date).

²⁷³ Main references for Islanders identifying the ‘Encounter Bay tribe’: Davis 1831; Thompson 1878 in Bull 1878a; Tolmer 1844b, ‘Extraordinary Case’, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71630137/6253292>; Woodforde 21 Nov 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/monday-21-november-1836-4/>; Finniss to Sir Willoughby Gordon 1837 (Finniss Diary & Letters: 9); Hodges 1902; Finniss 1892: 6; Bull 1878b: 15 (= Stuart 1875: 12b); Walker evidence in Mann 1837a. Thompson mentions women from Encounter Bay as well as ‘Cape Jervis’. No early source that I know of mentions *only* Encounter Bay as a source of women. No source refers explicitly to Islander raids at Encounter Bay.

²⁷⁴ The identifier ‘Lake Alexandrina’ occurs in Bates only, in a newspaper report of a long interview (Bates 1886b, *Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6d). Its meaning in the context is not self-evident, and is analysed in Chapter 2.3.5 ‘Bates & raids on ‘Lake Alexandrina’’. Being well-known, this passage has dominated discussion out of all proportion to its limited reference, reliability and ambivalent meaning.

²⁷⁵ Bates while visited the Onkaparinga living on the mainland with a ‘tribe’, Thomas probably with a sealer gang visiting from a ship. One late memory even asserts that the *majority* of the Kangaroo Island women came from the Onkaparinga area (CW Stuart 1886: 6b. Amery 1998: 65-6 incorrectly attributes this memoir to Bates). Stuart’s reminiscence was possibly based at this point on his memory of conversations with Nat Thomas. The story of Stuart and Thomas at the Onkaparinga in February 1837 will be thoroughly examined in Book 2. Stuart’s complete text, comparisons with JW Bull’s adaptation of it, and preliminary analysis, can be found online in Schultz PNS 4.02/01 Pirrangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-01Pirrangga.pdf>.

²⁷⁶ Bates and Thomas hired by Barker’s regiment.

²⁷⁷ Bates, probably with a sealing gang.

Gulf men typically lean with ‘spindleshanks’,²⁷⁸ the Encounter Bay men often big and solidly-built.²⁷⁹ Here the appearances were often complicated (for outsiders) by mixed parentage, and by related families mingling during visits across the range. Nevertheless the differences were sufficiently noticeable, common and geographically based to be in currency.²⁸⁰ Such observations can help our efforts to pin down group and individual identities.

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Later in this chapter we shall begin to take account of the underlying realities onto which these superficial labels were imposed by European observers.²⁸¹ The scenario of Aboriginal identities and families around the Fleurieu is fascinating for its paradoxes. The interplay between these families, their places of affiliation, and their languages, are often complex and far from obvious. This is what we might expect when we recollect that kinship is usually multiple and may cross language barriers and cover large areas.

I will often be highlighting examples of these matters as they crop up in the course of my story. But there will be few simple answers.

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²⁷⁸ Bull 1878b: 45; or ‘emaciated’ (Woodforde diary 31 Aug, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-31-august-1836-4/>; 15 Sep 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-15-september-1836-4/>).

²⁷⁹ The people of Encounter Bay and the estuary lived on richer land and consequently were more sedentary than those of the drier land on the Gulf. As a result they had a bigger, solider physique: “*With regard to physical build, these are the children of Enack compared to those of the Adelaide area. The reason may lie in the beautiful healthy air as well as particularly abundant food consisting of fish and kangaroo which are present in the local area*” Meyer to Dresden, 11 Dec 1840 (Meyer Correspondence: 34 [HA Eduard Meyer Correspondence with the Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Mission Society in Dresden 1839-1850, translated by Cynthia Rathjen, Heidi Kneebone, Sandy Martin and Lois Zweck, Lutheran Archives Adelaide]). The ‘Sons of Anak’ or ‘Enack’ were a race of giants in the Old Testament (e.g. Numbers 13:28, 33; Deuteronomy 9:2 “*Who can stand before the children of Anak?*”). This difference of physique is still noticeable today to a certain extent, despite many decades of intermarriage with other groups. Birdsell and Tindale had a racial and genetic theory to explain the physical differences – they called these westerners ‘Carpentarians’ and these easterners ‘Murrayian’ (and a third group were the ‘pygmy’ peoples, labelled ‘Barrineans’). But this “trihybrid view” of migration is now discredited as not being evidence-based, noting the variation in physical types within contemporaneous populations (e.g. R Blench 2008 in *Australian Archaeology* 67, University of Queensland: 13-18, <http://www.rogerblench.info/Language/Tasmanian/blench%202008%20offprint.pdf>).

²⁸⁰ When newcomer Woodforde saw an unknown group of visiting men at Yoho Beach, Cooper – who was at Rapid Bay and had not seen them – could tell from a verbal description that they “*belong to Encounter Bay*” (Woodforde diary 21 Nov 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/monday-21-november-1836-4/>).

²⁸¹ See e.g. Section 1.3.2 ‘Kalungku and Emma’ on their identities.

1.2 – THEMES

INTRODUCTION TO THEMES:

Two familiar but false dichotomies, and a third.

So far the narrative has been fairly familiar: 'Island men stole local Aboriginal women, who were treated abysmally, although some men were better than others'.

It is timely now to reflect on this situation more analytically, for it set up the local conditions for the establishment of the colony called 'South Australia'.

Popular mythmaking and some previous historiography – history written by the victors – has assumed two dichotomies. It is one purpose of this book to modify them.²⁸²

1. 'THEN' vs 'NOW':

a dichotomy which makes an absolute contrast between the pre-colonial regime and everything after 1836.²⁸³

The former regime of 'white savages' was 'lawless', unremittingly brutal and racist (so it goes). It was absolutely different from the colonial regime, which from 1836 on was driven and characterized by 'law and order', by enlightened British institutions using benign power, by heroic hardworking pioneers, and by a treatment of Aborigines controlled by law and based on Christian values of justice and kindness. It has been as though the colonial and post-colonial worlds of 'our' South Australia are unrelated to the human processes which first established them.²⁸⁴

But it is no longer possible to maintain such old simplicities, or to escape from the patterns which were formed by the underside of the story.

A history is an artefact created after the events. It becomes false when it is written by the victors about themselves and omits the victims. Some people and actions are forgotten; some are re-interpreted, even re-invented to fit the 'Foundation' picture. A few of the 'revisionist' histories are not much better when they force complex events into line with absolute anti-colonialism and Aboriginal victimhood. But the early realities were more various, more ambiguous: more like some of the very durable and unresolved dilemmas

²⁸² The points made in this book are not the whole story, of course, but I emphasize them in order to restore a balance to our perception of our history, by adding some of its 'underside' and analysing some of the relationships between this and the 'topside' in terms of continuities rather than dichotomies.

²⁸³ The possibility of any substantial link between colonial SA and pre-colonial Kangaroo Island was ignored in public perception for many decades. In the first half of my lifetime many South Australians had never heard of the first official colonial settlement at Kingscote. This, with its accompanying tales of Wallan and other pre-colonial 'wild men', was barely acknowledged in memorials such as Proclamation Day; these were dominated completely by Hindmarsh's Proclamation of the colony at Glenelg five months later, and the arrival of pioneers at Glenelg and Adelaide. It has been convenient to mythologize the pre-colonial and Aboriginal aspects of our shared history: to see the Islanders and their wives as part of that 'other-world' which has disappeared without trace and has nothing to do with the 'real' history of colonization.

²⁸⁴ In Australia since the 1990s there has been a substantial and sustained backlash against any 'revisionist' historiography which questions this idyllic nationalist picture of Australia's past even slightly. Such writing has been labelled 'black-armband history', an affront to our national pride. These ideological 'history wars' continue in the media to this day. It is part of my thesis that SA's actual history was being 'revised' (re-interpreted) as soon as it began, and that it is our job to 'un-revise' (restore) it to the best of our ability.

in Aboriginal affairs now.²⁸⁵ We cannot now be quite so sure which people or events were good and which were bad.

I have already argued that some features of the ‘underside’ milieu were in a *continuity* with those of the colonial ‘topside’ both past and future, rather than a contradiction. Both Islanders and colonists had European artefacts and habits; both cultures viewed Aboriginal women as sub-human; both had derisive nicknames for Aborigines; both were often violent towards women in general. Colonial interactions established previously in the eastern colonies (especially Van Diemen’s Land) set patterns for interaction on KI, and were continued (though rather less aggressively) in the colony of SA, despite its avowed intention to avoid repeating that recent tragedy.

Notably, we may judge that gender relationships did not change appreciably. Much of the fundamental control and abuse of women by men was universal, common to Islanders, European society and colonists of the time. This was an era when human rights were scarcely recognized for child workers in England, let alone Aboriginal women and children in Australia.

Moreover, under the colonial regime in SA the general power relationship between Aborigines and Europeans quickly became far *less* equal than it had been with the Islanders.

Pre-colonial relationships were very unequal when well-supplied sealing ships and fast whaleboats turned to raiding from the sea with large gangs and guns, as Meredith did in southern Victoria in 1833 and Black Anderson near Port Lincoln in 1834.²⁸⁶ But when small resident gangs ventured onto the mainland, or ashore for months or years on small neighbouring islands, the balance might easily tip far in favour of the local Aborigines. If provisions and ammunition ran out, food would depend on Aboriginal knowledge of the terrain and its resources. If hostilities arose the Aboriginal warriors could mount expertly-planned ambushes, as Islanders would discover on more than one occasion.²⁸⁷ But colonial invasion was of a qualitatively different order. From December 1836 onward thousands of migrants overwhelmed the land of SA, and by ‘Euro-forming’ it²⁸⁸ deprived its First Peoples of their economic base. From April 1839 onward they adopted an unofficial practice to achieve this routinely with the help of official armed forces.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁵ e.g. our destructive alien treatment of the land; also the failure of good intentions, armed force and Western law to achieve a just relationship between a modern nation-state and peoples whose identity cannot be defined in this way.

²⁸⁶ See Chapter 2.5.3.1 ‘Magalidi and George Meredith Junior’, and 2.5.3.2 ‘Breakdown & payback’.

²⁸⁷ See the spearing of Bates and the threats of Encounter Bay Bob in Chapter 2.5.3.2 ‘Breakdown & payback’.

²⁸⁸ I have adapted the term ‘Euro-forming’ from ‘terra-forming’: the science-fiction concept of ‘earth-shaping’ or planetary engineering; i.e. transforming another planet or moon so as to be habitable by Earth life (see <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terraforming> [15/1/15]). This idea has been adopted seriously by NASA, in close relationship with dreams of ‘colonizing’ the planets. There are clear parallels between what we might call ‘Euro-forming’ – the destruction of the Australian landscape by colonial farming and grazing on European models – and the idea of terraforming. Though he does not use this parallel, the fact is fundamental in Bill Gammage’s work on the transformation of Australian landscapes (Gammage 2011, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: how Aborigines made Australia*, Allen & Unwin; and Gammage 2012, ‘The Adelaide District in 1836’, in Foster and Sendziuk, *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press: 7-23).

²⁸⁹ Armed enforcement was first adopted in April 1839 in response to the murders of two shepherds. Mounted Police – the colony’s first police force – were appointed for an expedition to the Para region north of Adelaide; it resulted in two hangings (these events are serialized in Schultz PNS 8/14 Muna, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/8-14Muna.pdf>; 8/18 Kadlitiya, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/8-18Kadlitiya.pdf>; 9/04 Karrawadlungga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/9-04Karrawadlungga.pdf>; and 8/17 Murlayaki, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/8-17Murlayaki.pdf>: in that order).

On a bigger scale, it was not the Islanders who finally subjugated the people of the Coorong beyond hope of resistance or negotiation, but O’Halloran’s mounted police in 1840 (Aboriginal involvement in these events will be examined in Book 2). The significance of this event to all the Aboriginal peoples of South Australia is examined in Foster &

A thorough awareness of this basic difference in power may help us to look at the pre-colonial regime with fresh eyes. Islanders had often preyed on Aboriginal societies, but – whether intentionally or not – it was the colony of SA which destroyed them.

2. EUROPEAN PREDATORS vs ABORIGINAL VICTIMS:

a second popular dichotomy which makes an absolute distinction *within* the pre-colonial regime.

It has often been assumed, even by ‘revisionist’ historians, that relationships between Islanders and Aborigines were one-sided, characterized and driven wholly by race. But it was not like that always or completely. Aboriginal women were not always worse off with the Islanders than with their mainland husbands. Not only did the relationships vary with individual characters and circumstances, but an important factor has been ignored or much underrated by previous authors: the role of Aboriginal men.

I shall argue that in this milieu relationships were driven as much by gender as by race, and sometimes more; that in the treatment of women there were continuities of culture between Aboriginal men and Islander men; that these men often controlled the lives of women by collaborating across the racial barrier; and (as I mentioned above) that the balance of hard power between Islanders and Aboriginal men was much more equal *before* 1836 than after.

The specific local evidence for this will emerge most clearly in Chapter 2, but this section of Themes will set the framework. It highlights the key role of gender on this frontier, in the context of the global subordination of women in the 19th century.

3. These continuities between the two alleged opposites might in turn cause us to propose a third and more subversive dichotomy:

THE BRITISH ESTABLISHMENT vs ABORIGINES AND ISLANDERS.

Focussing on convenient stereotypes of the unpredictable violence of outsiders, the establishment agreed that the ‘white and black savages’ were akin, both defined by their ‘barbarism’. Most of the later ‘legitimate’ colonial immigrants agreed about this, with a few honourable exceptions such as Finniss and Light.²⁹⁰

Ironically, many Islander men probably *did* see and feel more in common with their Aboriginal contacts than with the British-based establishment whether officers or landowners – but with better knowledge and for other reasons. Confronting and sometimes living among these despised people, they found a society with some social and moral imperatives which they could understand: a trading community which recognized and respected codes of mutual justice operating at an interpersonal level; a system of values and practices which overlapped with own on the Island, recognizable though imperfect and bent by human passions. The Islanders had ‘underside’ experience of the proud British ‘civilization’ as practised on board its ships and in its convict colonies – a literate, moral, and moneyed hierarchy in symbiosis with vast structures of financial and technological power, often enforced upon the ‘lower classes’ by systematic and

Nettelbeck 2012: 21-32 (Robert Foster and Amanda Nettelbeck 2012, *Out of the Silence: the History and Memory of South Australia's Frontier Wars*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press).

The method continued thereafter at a similar stage on every new frontier after similar demands by settlers. The idea was to obliterate resistance by a ‘reign of terror’ over a whole region (Foster & Nettelbeck 2012: 38-9, 54). The Straitsmen and Islanders could not and did not do this – though a few of them such as Bathurst and the black John Anderson were murderous on a small scale (see e.g. Chapter 2.5.3.2 ‘Breakdown & payback’).

²⁹⁰ For the collegial reaction of Light and Finniss to the Islanders, see Chapter 3.4.3 ‘Locals meet the Colonial Commission’, and extracts from Finniss’s ‘Recollections’ in Appendix 10 ‘Additional ethnographic source texts’, Part 2d.

degrading violence. These things did not necessarily compare favourably in their eyes with the system under which they met their Aboriginal trading partners.

In the same way, many of the First Peoples (men and even women) may have felt less ‘otherness’ and more commonality with many Islanders than with most colonists, especially the leaders. We remember that some of the KI women had sailed east and west very early in our story and met some of those representatives of power; we have noted that a significant number of women chose to stay with or return to their sealers.

For violence takes different forms, and is not in itself the defining factor of ‘Otherness’. Islanders and Aborigines, both living by choice and necessity on similar margins of survival with the Land, understood direct, small-scale violence as part of an imperfect small-scale and interpersonal normality. Not yet arrived was a much bigger ‘Other’, much more foreign, for whom the land was primarily a thing to carve up and sell; who would usually feel that any violence in achieving this was quite impersonal.

This subtle alternative dichotomy – the all-powerful Establishment vs the relatively powerless Underdogs – is a permanent background to our story.²⁹¹

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²⁹¹ This issue – of possibly greater commonality between Islanders and Aborigines than between Islanders and the British Establishment – was first raised with me by Gerhard Ruediger (p.c. discussions 2016).

1.2.1 – MEN’S BUSINESS: ABORIGINAL MEN WITH ISLANDERS.

As a first step in going beyond a simple racial model of this milieu – ‘violent white men against powerless Aboriginal women’ – we find that Aboriginal men were an essential part of the picture. Often they were not passive onlookers but active agents, perhaps instigators.

Evidence suggests that one of the driving forces between Islanders and Aborigines was male work and trade. The ‘sealers’ of Kangaroo Island must be understood as part of a trading network which consciously included both the commercial sealing ships and Aboriginal men on the mainland. It probably began when some of the commercial sealing gangs established patterns of exchange. There were variations. Gangs who confined themselves to their legitimate work were one matter. Long-term island residents with only their own self-interest to consider were another thing. Yet another were the traffickers who visited them for profit. And of course the three categories overlapped.

Yet cooperation was more profitable than conflict. And *reciprocity* – when two separate or different parties negotiate transactions which are seen by both as beneficial – was a mainstay of traditional societies, and this was essential from the captains’ side in order to retain Aboriginal cooperation.²⁹²

At a good sealing site the captains would avoid, if they could, the complications of Aboriginal ill-will and resistance. Local tribespeople knew crucial information such as where to find water, and they might be induced to become a resident labour force for trifling rewards. These were men who did not need to be housed and fed on the long voyages, nor supplied with rations when left behind. Thus the captains – and the owners in the east – stood to gain if they could regulate the behaviour of their gangs towards local Aborigines so that the work was sustainable beyond the first visit.

Sometimes they extended these good relationships by employing this resident labour force over several seasons. By 1829 some Aboriginal men around the gulfs were being employed in the industry on a semi-regular basis. At Spalding Cove near Port Lincoln from 1829 to 1832, a whaling gang from Launceston “consisting of thirty persons with five boats” lived for several months each year over four seasons. They “left their huts standing” and lived without conflict with the local Aboriginal people, making payments of tobacco for assistance with simple necessities such as the carrying of water.²⁹³ Captain Jones employed a number of Aboriginal families on ‘Cape Jervis’ over several seasons in the early 1830s.²⁹⁴

²⁹² The idea of reciprocity is a favourite theme of ‘Kurna’-Miyurna senior Elder Kauwanu Lewis O’Brien; e.g. in the sculpture at Birkenhead, “Reciprocity = Yerra (Kurna)” (2007) by Marijana Tadic and Mark Blackman in collaboration with Lewis O’Brien (https://www.portenf.sa.gov.au/webdata/resources/files/CD_PublicArtBooklet_170209%20indd.pdf). The sculpture’s text reads, “echoing society’s desire to collaborate and cooperate towards mutual benefits”. The Miyurna language actually expresses this idea in phrases which use both the word *yerra* (*yara*), ‘different separate’, and verbs containing the morpheme *re* (*rrri*), ‘each other, both, reciprocal’ (Rob Amery p.c., email 30/9/23; e.g. T&S 1840 2:61, 72).

²⁹³ Evidence of Frederick Homburg or Hamborg in London 1834, reported in EG Wakefield 1834, and by the Committee on Colonization of SA (Cumpston 1986: 118-9). Spalding Cove is a separate deep cove at the NE extremity of Jussieu Peninsula, 12 km ESE of Port Lincoln town. Homburg visited it as a passenger in the Launceston brig *Socrates* under Captain Gibbons in May 1832. He said their whaling gang “*had been over there during the three previous seasons*”, and was being landed there again.

²⁹⁴ See Chapter 2.3.1.1 ‘The Cape Jervis tribe and Captain John Jones’.

Some of these Aboriginal men would have learned a little Pidgin English, become familiar with some of the operations of a sealing gang, and observed at close quarters the use of English hunting dogs and the power of guns.

Aboriginal men sometimes joined the gangs even on long voyages. What began as onshore help could extend by natural degrees to collaborative fishing, then to the local sealing excursions of the resident gang's whaleboat, and then to 'signing up' for a complete ship voyage.

There are records of Aboriginal men from the eastern colonies working alongside Straitsmen and visiting KI on commercial sealing ships,²⁹⁵ though there is no record of these men staying on the Island. Unsurprisingly, men of the SA Gulf coasts also began to join in. A young 'Harry' from opposite KI, whose language was 'Kurna'-*Miyurna*, embarked on a long voyage from Hobart to Albany as early as 1825.²⁹⁶

There is nothing to imply that able-bodied young men such as Harry were captives. Their motives in joining such expeditions can only be guessed at, but probably the lifestyle and skills were seen as natural, exciting extensions of traditional male activities such as hunting and fishing.

In these 'immersive' experiences a man would learn – necessarily and very quickly – all the skills of handling and maintaining a whaleboat; the use of harpoons and other European technologies in sealing and probably bay whaling as well; what sealers wanted in the way of salt, blubber, oil, skins and whalebone (information which would be useful to the home clan in its trading); and some of the shipboard disciplines and lifestyle of a sailor.

We know too that adult Aboriginal men lived on KI with the Islanders at various times during the years c1825-37 at least; and probably it had happened before that as well.

The Yankalilla woman Kalungku told Robinson that in her time there (the mid-to-late 1820s) there were "several New Holland black men [i.e. mainland Aborigines] on Kangaroo Island".²⁹⁷ We can be fairly sure that 'Harry' was one of them because of his shipboard association with several of the Islanders and their Aboriginal wives in this period.²⁹⁸ Kalungku had a brother who *may* also have lived on KI and died there, but we do not know his age.²⁹⁹ Around 1829 George Bates "persuaded an old native of that tribe to come over to Hog Bay with his son".³⁰⁰ Two "lads" from Encounter Bay went there voluntarily with George Meredith about 1835, to learn the sealing trade from him.³⁰¹ In 1836 Woodforde met and worked with one of the 'Cape Jervis tribe' who "has lived with

²⁹⁵ ClarkeP 1998: 15 n7.

²⁹⁶ This 'Harry' was found in a sealing gang at King George Sound (Albany) in 1826 (see section 1.3.4 on 'Kalinga-Sally').

²⁹⁷ Robinson's interview with Kalungku, journal 2 June 1837, in PlomleyN 1987: 445. He and others habitually used the term 'New Holland natives' to distinguish any people of the Australian mainland from those of Van Diemen's Land. Among other things, their appearance was noticeably different from the Tasmanians.

²⁹⁸ On the two ships of that expedition were Straitsman James Everett, Islanders Randall and Kirby, their Tasmanian women 'Mooney' and 'Dinah', and the Fleurieu woman 'Sally' (see below, section 1.3.4 on 'Kalinga-Sally').

²⁹⁹ See footnote 'Brothers Who Died' in Chapter 2.3.3.1 'Tribal deals'.

³⁰⁰ Bates 1886b: 6d. 'That tribe' was probably the 'Cape Jervis tribe', and the 'old native' was probably Sally Walker's father Condoy (see Chapter 2.3.3 'Condoy, Kalinga, the tribes, and Bates').

³⁰¹ See Chapter 4c.

Wallend, the Chief Sealer, on the Island”.³⁰² In 1837 Wallan still had two “man Fridays” with him on his farm,³⁰³ and at the same period two of his three wives were local.³⁰⁴ Again it is not credible that these men were captives, especially when we note that some of them returned to the mainland and came again.³⁰⁵ They can only be understood as part of a network of work and trade.

But of course sealers and Islanders were not always peaceful. At other places where there were Aborigines but no other valuable commodities, the commercial gangs would not need to return later and so might behave very differently. If the captain was willing to turn a blind eye, they could raid camps to get women either for the local Islanders (some of whom might be aboard) or to sell them in the general traffic along the coast as part of the shared profit of the season. And at other times the Islander crewmen could return to a site for their own purposes, free from the captain’s restraining hand. They had their own whaleboats, and could ignore sustainable relationships if they chose.

It is on record that some of their Aboriginal colleagues took part with these sealer and Islander workmates in raiding for women. and occasionally in killing other Aborigines. Not only must these local Aboriginal workers, on or off KI, have been aware of the general traffic in women; there are some records of local Aboriginal men giving direct help to the Islanders in their raids for Aboriginal women on the Fleurieu mainland. The commercial gangs associated with Harry abducted or murdered some of the local Aborigines in Western Australia, though we have no direct evidence that Harry himself took part.³⁰⁶ By Kalungku’s own account, when she was first abducted the Islanders had frontline help from two Aboriginal men of a different ‘tribe’ who were living on KI.³⁰⁷ According to settler lore (derived from George Bates himself, it was said) one raid was accompanied by “black boys with the Kangaroo Island expedition”: that is, young tribesmen had either come over from the Island with the raiders or joined them on the mainland.³⁰⁸

It is therefore virtually certain that Aboriginal men who went voyaging with the gangs would sometimes have taken part in raids and murders on other parts of the coast. There would be little to hinder this if the people were unrelated and unknown to their home group.

Thus through the shared workplace of the commercial sealing system, the Straitsmen first and the Islanders later met Aboriginal men, and developed men’s affairs with them, both trading and raiding.

It may have begun with simple articles of reciprocal interest such as food, water, salt, materials or tools.

³⁰² Woodforde diary 16 Oct 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-16-october-1836-4/>.

³⁰³ Leigh 1839: 124.

³⁰⁴ ‘A private settler’ 10/12/1836 [in Cumpston 1986: 141].

³⁰⁵ Why would traditional men go voluntarily to live with strangers on the island which they identified as the land to which the spirits of the dead travelled on their way west? For this belief, see various accounts of the story of Ngurunduri (shortlisted in the passage about *Ngurungawi* in section 1.1.6.4 ‘Exploration & discoveries’). Were some of them escaping from payback or punishment after infringing Law? We have no record of this being the case. There is direct evidence only for abduction of young boys such as Emma’s sons, who may have grown up into Islander life and culture; and for collaboration which seems to have been voluntary.

³⁰⁶ An unspecific ‘Harry’ was involved in the Port Lincoln murders in 1834 (see Chapter 2.5.3.2 ‘Breakdown and payback’), but we cannot be sure who he was; he may have been Harry (Henry) Wallan.

³⁰⁷ See her story in section 1.3.2, below.

³⁰⁸ Oral history from Harry Bates – an unrelated KI settler who had known George – in Ruediger 1980: 36.

And even though raiding seems to have been the main way the Islanders ‘obtained’ women, sometimes in favourable circumstances women were among the items peacefully bartered. Such transactions had sometimes been made by Straitsmen in the eastern waters. There it was recorded (with righteous horror) that “instances have occurred” where sealers bought wives from their Aboriginal husbands in exchange for seal carcasses after skinning,³⁰⁹ and sometimes traded their dogs as well as other goods for Aboriginal women.³¹⁰

While Plomley thinks this ‘trading’ probably happened in the Straits only in the early years when women were plentiful and the Straitsmen were not yet loathed,³¹¹ evidence of it on the later frontiers further west has been largely unanalysed until now. In Chapter 2 we shall see that it almost certainly did happen around the Fleurieu. The story of Kalinga (‘Sally’), her father Condoy, and her uncle Natalla – moving individually or together between KI and the mainland in long-term relationships first with Bates and then with Walker – is inexplicable unless it included something like this.³¹²

There would be politics and protocols. Such relationships were no doubt fragile, complex, and variable with different groups on both sides. Bates spoke of wary protocols in trading with the mainlanders:

*Oh! yes, we found the blacks very fierce; we could not trust them and they would not trust us. They would sign to us to put down our ‘trade,’ and they would put down their rugs, each to be picked up simultaneously.*³¹³

In the same interview Bates mentioned another of the things which made this relationship fragile at some times and places; “they tried to tame the blacks. They caught one and put him on Thistle Island to tame him, but it was no good... The Port Lincoln blacks were fierce, and we could not tame them”.³¹⁴

But here the key issue of gender emerges. This was men’s business transacted across the racial barrier with some degree of male mutuality, sometimes at least. It was possible because in traditional societies men had always been engaging in similar transactions among themselves: a factor which we shall examine in the next section.

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³⁰⁹ Captain James Kelly 1820 quoted in Cumpston 1986: 56.

³¹⁰ PlomleyN 1966: 1008; Jean Nunn 1989: 27, citing a source in Historical Records of Australia. Robinson was told by an Aboriginal woman ‘Mary’ that in Bass Strait “*she herself was bought off the black men for a bag of flour and potatoes*” (PlomleyN 1966: 82).

³¹¹ PlomleyN 1966: 1008.

³¹² For discussion of the relationship between Bates and Condoy, see Chapter 2.3.3 ‘Condoy, Kalinga, the tribes, and Bates’. The relationship between Walker and Condoy, as shown in the legal evidence given to Mann by Walker and Kalinga in Adelaide in 1837, will be closely examined in Book 2.

³¹³ Bates 1895a.

³¹⁴ Thistle Island is a large island 40 km SE of Port Lincoln town. For events around Port Lincoln see Chapter 2.5.3.2 ‘Breakdown and payback.’

1.2.2 – GENDER: WOMEN BLACK AND WHITE IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

What real alternatives existed for an Aboriginal woman on KI before 1836?

Gender played its part alongside race and culture, not only in the matter of violent abuse but in all the interactions, whether or not they happened across a cultural barrier. In Chapter Two I shall examine a considerable amount of evidence which points to a collusion of men across the racial divide on the KI frontier before 1836. I shall argue that this politics of sex and power was one of the major forces at work.

Men dominated and to some extent ‘owned’ and controlled women in European, colonial and Aboriginal cultures of the 19th century. In all three, individual practice might vary but in general women suffered much violence from men, and had few rights by comparison. It was a world in which class divisions and assumptions about racial difference abounded, and many commonplaces of the 21st century were scarcely imagined, let alone practised. It was “a profoundly gendered world” where many men and women in both European and Aboriginal societies “came together to procreate, to eat and above all to work, without much friendship or companionship”.³¹⁵

Male violence and sexual exploitation were routine in all these societies. The Islanders’ women were usually slaves in all but name; but this was also the case with many a legal wife, child or domestic servant in European and colonial households, though the middle and upper classes might prefer to ignore, hide or quietly accept it. Even in abducting Aboriginal women and children, Straitsmen and Islanders were not so very different from settlers in Van Diemen’s Land, where the practice was familiar but covered up by the solidarity of the landowning class.³¹⁶ The 19th-century European ideology of race was in the background; but like the Straitsmen, settlers did these things because they could.

Two examples will open up this theme.

On one hand Keryn James rightly draws our attention to the fate of white Mrs Bagg on KI when Inspector Tolmer was investigating runaway criminals there in 1844. She had “lodged a complaint against her husband”, and “certainly appeared to have been very much ill-used”, “her eyes both black and swollen... and... she was crying bitterly”. But Tolmer wrote that “as the assault was simply a common one, and none of the police were witness to it, I took no further action”.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Richard Hosking 2003 / 2005, *A Critical Edition of William Cawthorne's The Kangaroo Islanders*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Adelaide English Dept.: 305-6, <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/22289/2/02whole.pdf>. Hosking applies the quoted sentence to European men and Aboriginal women, but in the 19th century it was equally applicable to many couples at all levels of European society. Although intellectuals sometimes discussed issues of class and gender, these theoretical debates did not yet affect the dominant social practices.

³¹⁶ PlomleyB and Henley say it was “fairly common” for respectable settlers in Van Diemen’s Land to bring Aboriginal women and children into their households and farms (PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 25). Some of them were there because settlers had attacked and killed peaceful family groups to get them. They were a cheap labour force, reliably powerless and compliant. Two early Tasmanian governors issued proclamations complaining about it, “a most barbarous and inhuman mode... the robbery of their children” (Governor Davey’s proclamation 25 June 1814, and Sorell’s on 13 March 1819: see Turnbull 1948: 47, 57-9). But there was no serious attempt to curb it. Abduction of Aboriginal women and children was theoretically illegal, and Davey might “express his utter indignation”; but administrations in VDL were too weak either to formulate effective legal sanctions or to enforce them.

³¹⁷ Keryn James 2002, ‘Wife or slave? Australian sealing slavery’, in Chittleborough *et al* 2002: 181-2; cp. Tolmer 1882 Vol.1: 314-5, <https://archive.org/details/reminiscencesan01tolmgoog/page/n341/mode/1up>.

On the other hand, at least one local mainland woman ran away from her Aboriginal husband to seek haven amongst the Kangaroo Islanders. Surgeon Leigh met her in 1837 and described how she

*knew a little English, and shewed me her skull, on which was a most fearful wound. She said, that owing to some negligence, or bad luck in hunting, her husband became enraged, and beat her head with the club till it gave way; the monster then introduced the waddie, and wrenched it about in the wound. She ran from him as soon as she was able, and had taken another husband here, who is a runaway English convict. She is his fourth wife.*³¹⁸

Such violence might contradict the ideological norms in both cultures, but it was often assumed or excused as a 'right' of husbands. The limits of these 'rights' were unclear and (as these examples show) husbands could often exceed them with some impunity.

1.2.2.1 – WOMEN IN ABORIGINAL SOCIETIES.

While a woman's life was hard and unequal among Islanders and Straitsmen, in many ways it was just as hard in local traditional societies after her early childhood. On KI her only female company were women from faraway places who spoke unintelligible languages. With Tasmanians she could share the general women's business of childbirth or food-gathering but not the deep things of home country.

But some of her hardships – rape and ill-treatment; separation from homeland and immediate family to live in foreign places and learn a new language – were also a common experience for Aboriginal women in their home societies.

On the mainland her normal life included precious dimensions such as deeply satisfying ceremonial women's business, though very little of this was recorded. She had the joys and sorrows of child-rearing and the education of girls. And she might perhaps have a husband who loved and cherished his wives.³¹⁹

But early local accounts and some surviving traditional stories³²⁰ make it clear that she had few of the liberties or human rights which we now take for granted, especially in matters of sex and marriage. Redress for ill-treatment – if any – depended on male politics. Her daily life was very laborious. Many accounts refer to the women being treated as beasts of burden, doing most of the daily work, and getting the last, worst and least of the meat after the men had eaten.³²¹

³¹⁸ Leigh 1839: 153-4. Leigh was far too accepting of settler folklore, and very careless about details such as who was a convict. This Islander could have been anyone with many women, from Wallan to Bates or one of the lesser-known men.

³¹⁹ e.g. Finniss commented on the obvious affection between 'Jim' and his wife 'Allauri' (see Chapter 3.4.6.2 'Jim & Allauri').

³²⁰ e.g. in 'Ngarrindjeri'-Kornar culture, the local part of the story of the ancestral creator Ngurunduri revolves around his pursuit and eventual punishment of his two wives for eating a restricted food. This myth was first recorded by Penney 1842 ('Cuique' [Richard Penney], 'The Legend of Ooroondooil' in his longer poem 'The Spirit of the Murray', *SA Magazine* Vol.2 No.1, Oct 1842: 21-23, <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402149/18421000/00020001/21-30.pdf>; Vol.2 No.0, no date [1843]: 331-6, <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402149/18430000/ee020000/41-50.pdf> and <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402149/18430000/ee020000/51-62.pdf>; reprinted in *Journal of Anthropological Society of SA* 29, 1991: 81-7. 'Ooroondooil' represents the 'Ngarrindjeri'-Kornar word *Ngurundu(r)-il*, i.e. *Ngurunduri* + *Ergative il*, 'Ngurunduri [did something to another person or thing]' – a form which would naturally recur very often in the original narrative in the language). The next record was "Nurunduri" in Meyer 1846: 14-15; a number of others were obtained from elderly informants in the 20th century.

³²¹ e.g. for the 'Kaurna'-Miyurna Gulf coast, Woodforde diary 31 Aug 1836,

The trading of women was a familiar Aboriginal practice and part of the marriage system. Marriage and sexual behaviour were still controlled largely by the men, with the help of older married women, and the control was often far from gentle. Trading deals in women were part of politics between Aboriginal groups themselves, and were often arrived at (among 'Kurna'-*Miyurna* language groups at least) while the girls were still infants.³²² Polygamy was normal, and to have many wives was a mark of prestige for the man.³²³

Women routinely had to leave their homeland and live the rest of their lives with their new husband based in the territory of another group, sometimes far away. But there were important social controls on this. Meyer in the 1840s recorded that one of the reasons for the Raminyeri "wandering about" was "the wish of the women to visit their relations in the tribes to which they originally belonged".³²⁴ If the groups were neighbouring it happened routinely and often, even between the Encounter Bay and Yankalilla peoples across the barrier of their extremely different languages. This was a fundamental aspect of their society, and should be kept in mind when reading any account of a 'native camp' anywhere in the region.

Aboriginal men also lent their wives and daughters to visitors and relatives, with compulsion if necessary and violence (perhaps from both parties) if she refused.³²⁵ Likewise under favourable circumstances sealers might obtain women by what we would call 'trade' or 'barter', as the whalers at Encounter Bay did from 1837 on,³²⁶ and as Straitsmen sometimes did, dealing seal carcasses or dogs.³²⁷

In such personal matters 'trade' may seem to us a nasty and commercial term. But arranged marriages, commercialized and politicized, have been common in most societies and remain so. They are found throughout European history and in its novels, satires and tragedies.

<https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-31-august-1836-4/>; 'Reminiscences' in Mary Thomas Diary 1925: 72 (EK Thomas (ed.) 1925, *The Diary and Letters of Mary Thomas*, Adelaide, WK Thomas and Co); Teichelmann 1841: 7; Wilkinson 1848: 322.

³²² For marriage arrangements in general in the area, see Moorhouse 1842: 65 (M Moorhouse, Protector of Aborigines' Report 24 Nov 1842, from Governor Grey's Collection; downloaded from http://firstsources.info/uploads/3/2/4/6/3246279/moorhouse_1842.pdf [23/6/15]). For gender relationships among the 'Adelaide tribe' see e.g. Moorhouse 1843a: 342-3 (Protector's Report 8 July 1843, *BPP: Colonies: Australia* 8); and Moorhouse 1844: 356, 360 (Protector's Report 16 Feb 1844, *BPP: Colonies: Australia* 8). Among Ngarrindjeri groups (according to Meyer at Encounter Bay) marriage was "an exchange, for no man can obtain a wife unless he can promise to give his sister or other relative in exchange... the girls have no choice in the matter" (Meyer 1846: 4); but the post-contact study by the Berndts shows a somewhat more equal balance of power between the sexes among the Ngarrindjeri than in most other Aboriginal societies (Berndt and Berndt 1993: xxvii-xxxi; these summarizing comments by Tonkinson note "the seeming paradox of high levels of sexual inequality favouring males, hand in hand with high levels of female autonomy").

³²³ Moorhouse 1840a: 353 (Protector's Report 14 Jan 1840, *BPP: Colonies: Australia* 7).

³²⁴ Meyer 1846: 5. Meyer adds: "When married very young, the girl is frequently away from her husband, upon a visit to her relations, for several months at a time" (ibid). At Encounter Bay in July 1839, "The small numbers of the Wirramumejo ['Wirramu-meyo' = Encounter Bay person] came about from the fact that the majority were staying on [residing, spending time]: German 'sich aufhielten' at Jankalilla" ['Yankalyila' = Yankalilla] (Schürmann Diary 26 July 1839, tr. Noller, edited by Lois Zweck [p.c. email 2-3/1/23]). There at the same time, Moorhouse observed that the same encampment "consisted of 39, belonging to Rapid Bay and the southern coast generally" (Moorhouse 1839: 350 [Protector's Report 9 Oct 1839, *BPP Aust Vol. 7*]). "A wife's parents and/or her father or mother's parents and close kin would fairly regularly exchange visits" (Berndt & Berndt 1993: 33).

³²⁵ e.g. Teichelmann Diary: 3 (30 Nov 1839), 27-8 (30 March 1843); Schürmann Diary 18 Jan 1840, cp. 30 Jan; Meyer to Dresden Missionary Society, 10 March 1841, 25 July 1844 (Meyer Correspondence: 47, 96).

³²⁶ Meyer 1846: 5; and cp. the murder of whaler Driscoll by Reppinyeri in 1837 (to be examined in Book 2). For the 'Adelaide tribe' see Moorhouse 1840a: 353; Moorhouse 1844: 356.

³²⁷ See above.

How might the traditional people have viewed such deals with aliens? We could try putting it thus: Aboriginal men sometimes made arrangements with Straitsmen to use or have women from their family group – perhaps occasionally even to the extent of giving one as the newcomer’s recognized wife under kinship Law – and they would expect to receive in return appropriate gifts such as valuable hunting dogs. This was quite possible under traditional terms of Aboriginal trade and marriage arrangements in those times, and would not have been seen as an insult. The deal would involve future obligations which some sealers may have been prepared to acknowledge, at least in theory.³²⁸

Forcible abduction of women – ‘wife-stealing’ – was not confined to European sealers and colonists. It was a familiar practice in Aboriginal societies around the Fleurieu in those times. While the official norm was that such things should be managed as part of a reciprocal deal, common practice might be another thing – just as in European society. Wife-stealing raids – the old euphemism is ‘marriage by capture’ – were well-known between Aboriginal groups around the peninsula and the rest of the continent, though it was an offence between men, and subject to rules which would determine how serious it was.³²⁹

The degree of force used might vary. If there was mutual attraction the women might sometimes connive.³³⁰ One early settler described how two or three young men would find a camp where the men were absent, “take away the women they want” and hurry them back to their own group before pursuit could be attempted. Tellingly, the taking might be “either by persuasion or blows”.³³¹

These actions were inflammatory, a common cause of intertribal fights. But the offending group could probably avoid a long and disastrous feud if they returned to reciprocation and the rule of Law by arranging compensation and accepting the traditional limited

³²⁸ For instance, dogs appear to have crucial in Bates’ foggy negotiations with Aboriginal people on the mainland at the time when he was involved with a ceremony as well as with Kalinga and her father (see Chapter 2.3.3 ‘Condo, Kalinga and Bates’.

³²⁹ Commenting on an earlier draft of this paragraph, Peter Sutton said that wife-stealing was “widely reported all over Australia... But also reported is the rule that a man stealing a woman had to be in the right kinship relation to her i.e. classed as her potential husband – this was not a ‘skin’ matter in the sense of moiety membership... but they all had rules for straight unions. So I don’t know about the practice being ‘contrary to Law’ as you put it – it was an offence between men but I’m not sure it had no basis in mythology” (Sutton p.c. email attachment 9/4/19). See e.g. Wyatt Protector’s Quarterly Report 1/4/1838, GRG 24/1/1838/69: 5. Settler GB Wilkinson described intertribal wife-stealing raids in the 1840s which were “one cause of the frequent wars”, including one incident which ended later in the beating and death of the hapless wife at the hands of her previous husband (Wilkinson 1848: 328-330). At other times it might be the raider who was later killed, as in the case of ‘Jim’ (see Chapter 3.6.4.2 ‘Jim & Allauri’). Such raids were remembered by informants even in the 20th century. According to Iparrityi, when hostile groups were visiting the vicinity of the Onkaparinga ford, her people who were camped there would hide their women in the Gorge, presumably to avoid such raiding (Noel Webb in *The Mail* 14/5/1921: 3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63888955/5314695>; cp. Noel Augustin Webb, ‘The Place Names of the Adelaide Tribe’, *City of Adelaide Municipal Year Book 1935-6*, Adelaide: The Advertiser 305; or the separate reprint under Webb’s name [in SLA]: 6, <https://catalog.slsa.sa.gov.au/record=b1412064>). For the Ngarrindjeri there is an account by Reuben Walker of “one of the last of these raids” on the Finniss River estuary SE of the town; the raiders were pursued to the Murray near Monteith, and “many were slain” (‘Data from Reuben Walker’ [June 1935], in Tindale Murray1: 113-5).

³³⁰ This connivance of the woman in being stolen could happen even while the other ‘tribe’ was visiting the stealer’s camp, as was the case with ‘Jim’ of Rapid Bay and his Encounter Bay bride Allauri (Finniss 1892: 6, 15; see also Chapter 3.6.4.2 ‘Jim & Allauri’). No doubt this possibility increased every woman’s chances of being a target in any reprisals by her previous husband (as in Wilkinson above).

³³¹ GB Wilkinson 1848: 329. By contrast, we might surmise that when Islanders raided a camp the option of ‘persuasion’ was rarely used.

penalties.³³² This would be easier if the raiders had followed the local kinship rules when taking wives.³³³

Under some conditions perhaps even KI raiders could avoid permanent hostility. Smaller offence might be taken if they had committed no excessive violence or murder; if they negotiated compensation or penalty later; or if the offended tribesmen thought that enough overall benefits were flowing from the same sealers. If the sealer knew the people well enough to be accepted into the kin system and classified, and if the woman was 'right' for him, then the trouble might die down. These conditions would rarely have been met, but may help to explain puzzling aspects in the changing relationships of certain Kangaroo Islanders with the mainland peoples.³³⁴ Whether trade or raid, we may be sure that such negotiation with these dangerous outsiders was hotly debated around mainland campfires.

These traditional societies also tolerated a high degree of personal violence to wives. As some men do in any society, some Aboriginal men around the Fleurieu abused their wives. When Light in 1839 wrote of the Adelaide people that "they are exceedingly cruel to their women",³³⁵ he was only one of a number who recorded similar impressions around the area in those times.³³⁶

None of this excuses the Islanders and Straitsmen for their abuses, nor condemns Aboriginal society as barbaric in general. But it becomes clear that some of their violence was at least as much about gender as about race. The women therefore probably saw their hard lot with Straitsmen and Islanders as 'normal'. Here we have the readiest explanation for the surprising facts noted above, that not all of them seem to have been anxious to escape from it and some even chose to return to it after a time away.

However, unlike Islander society, traditional societies had controls which put limits on this violence. The woman's relatives could exercise payback sanctions against the abuse of reciprocity by murder or extreme treatment.³³⁷

And for Aboriginal people violence against children was 'beyond the pale'. Whatever the variables and ambiguities in the treatment of women in Aboriginal societies at that time, with children the case is unambiguous. Early records all agree that Aboriginal people

³³² For the 'Adelaide tribe', the Schürmann journal describes several incidents which are probably examples of this: e.g. ritual head-clubbings (Schürmann Diary 15 and 20 Dec 1839, 6 March 1840).

³³³ Under the rules of exogamous marriage there was a limited and strictly defined number of particular women that a particular man might lawfully marry, though (as far as I know) we do not know exactly what the local rules were. Contrary to Tindale and his followers, it did not involve 'skin' or moiety groupings, because the Gulf coast and Encounter Bay-Lakes peoples did not have moieties (see Harold Koch, Luise Hercus & Piers Kelly 2018, 'Moiety Names in South-Eastern Australia: Distribution and Reconstructed History', in Patrick McConvell, Piers Kelly and Sébastien Lacrampe, *Skin, Kin and Clan: The dynamics of social categories in Indigenous Australia*, Canberra: Australian National University Press 2018: 142-4, 163, 166, <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/n4082/pdf/ch06.pdf>).

³³⁴ See Chapter 2.4 'Themes & investigations' and 2.5 'Shared stories'.

³³⁵ Light to Palmer 14 March 1839, quoted in Dutton 1960: 283.

³³⁶ Schürmann recorded a number of instances, e.g. Schürmann Diary 30 Oct, 15 Dec, 20 Dec 1839, 30 Jan 1840. However, in this matter settler impressions were likely to be exaggerated because Aboriginal violence was more often visible than settler violence, not being hidden behind the walls of a house.

³³⁷ e.g. after Murroparuitpinna had beaten a girl promised to him, her relatives beat him (Schürmann Diary 20 Dec 1839).

doted on them. They abhorred any violence against them, and reports that Islanders had perpetrated it would have aroused quick and high anger.³³⁸

1.2.2.2 – WOMEN IN BETWEEN.

Thus there were continuities as well as disjunctions between European, colonial, Islander and Aboriginal societies: between the lives of respectable colonists and the maligned ‘savages’ both black and white who paved their way.

Among the English middle classes ‘miscegenation’ – interracial sex – was quite ‘beyond the pale’ whether violent or not, and marriage was out of the question.³³⁹ Consequently when it happened – whether by sailors or by settlers – it would normally be condoned only if it was secret rather than open (like the violence), casual rather than committed.³⁴⁰ But Islanders, like many shepherds in the colonies, were seen as ‘savages’ partly *because* they lived openly with Aboriginal women, whatever their other behaviour.

Despite the unofficial norm, some of the social outcasts – sealers, shepherds, farming battlers – swam against the tide to live openly with an Aboriginal woman, perhaps faithfully, occasionally with a legal marriage contract when such luxuries became available, sometimes lifelong, treating her as a real and valued wife and working with her for the welfare of their children.³⁴¹ Such were Kalinga’s William Walker – who knew her as ‘Sarah’ while everyone else called her by the generic equivalent ‘Sally’³⁴² – and Betty’s Nat Thomas.³⁴³ two unions which happened long before any white man could hope to gain a land grant by marrying an Aboriginal girl. Later there was William Wilkins, husband of Mary Monarto (*Munarto*);³⁴⁴ Kudnarto’s Tom Adams;³⁴⁵ and Rathool’s George Solomon.³⁴⁶ All these couples left descendants.

³³⁸ According to Meyer, among the Raminyeri a child “is brought up with great care, more than generally falls to the lot of children of the poorer class of Europeans... the father will frequently nurse it for several hours together” (Meyer 1846: 1). This was the case among the *Miyurna* too, as shown by Peter’s loving care through the night of a screaming infant “half-caste” girl (see Finnis’s account in Chapter 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter & his family’); ‘Doughboy’ and Helen Finlayson with Captain Jack’s rescued infant (an incident to be examined in Book 2); and the evidence of ‘William’ to David McLaren: “If a man were to strike his Children w^d he think that man had done wrong. Ans^r He would run to strike him” (David McLaren 1837: 184; this interview will also be examined in Book 2). According to Eyre, “The natives are very fond of the children they rear, and often play with, and fondle them; but husbands rarely shew much affection for their wives... Upon meeting children after a long absence, I have seen parents ‘fall upon their necks and weep’ bitterly” (Edward J Eyre 1845, ‘An account of the manners and customs of the Aborigines’, in *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery...* Vol.2, London, T&W Boone: 214-5, <https://archive.org/details/journalsofexpedi02eyre/page/214/mode/2up>).

³³⁹ The issue of miscegenation, and the consequent rise of ‘half-caste’ or ‘mulatto’ populations, was (and remains) much less of a social and quasi-moral issue among the colonists in non-Anglo colonies. This was pointed out to me around 1980 by an indigenous lecturer from ‘British Guiana’ (now Guyana, South America). He had found the social relationships much more relaxed in nearby ‘Spanish Guiana’ (now part of Venezuela) or ‘Portuguese Guiana’ (now part of Brazil).

³⁴⁰ “Why come Europeans to us for our wives, and take them into our houses? We do not seize European women”, complained *Miyurna* people to the Adelaide missionaries a few years later; there was little or no reciprocation, only ‘seizing’ (Teichmann 1841: 8 footnote).

³⁴¹ It is *also* true that other Islanders settled down in this way only when they abandoned their Aboriginal women and married a white wife, probably in order to achieve social legitimacy. George Bates married Elizabeth Mainstone (they were married at Adelaide on 7 August 1848: see Australia Marriage Index, 1788-1950 in ancestry.com). George Brown (a black American) left Magalidi to marry a ‘white emigrant girl’, no doubt as a pathway to colonial acceptance (see footnote ‘Magalidi & George Brown’ in Chapter 2.5.3.4 Magalidi & Meredith: the aftermath). In the same way the Straitsman and whaling captain William Dutton returned to polite society and married Mary Saggars. For all these see ClarkeP 1998: 15 n8.

³⁴² See Chapter 2.5.2.2 ‘Kalinga-Sarah’.

³⁴³ See TaylorR 2002-8 *passim*. Thomas eventually married the white woman Sophia Newcombe, but not until after Betty’s death in 1878 and just before his own in 1879. He left his estate to Sophia and his grandson Nat Simpson, but Sophia died next year (TaylorR 2002-8: 124).

³⁴⁴ The marriage of ‘Mary Manatto’ with Wilkins on Kangaroo Island will be examined in Book 2. After research by Rick Hosking, descendants of Nellie Raminyemmerin believe that she was the same person as Mary Monarto: see Lester

Early colonial shepherds on the mainland were analogous in this respect, though their context was different. One of our protagonists (Kalungku) may have ended up with some of them. As archaeologist Nathan Wolski suggests about those in western Victoria:

*Outstations, those ubiquitous humble bark structures, [should] be considered as crucial resources for archaeologists and historians seeking a window into the early contact period. It was at these structures that Aborigines and Europeans came together on a regular basis, sometimes in violence and sometimes in friendship. In short, it was at these simple shepherd's huts that the frontier was articulated and negotiated.*³⁴⁷

Likewise the simple Islander's huts. Who were the 'savages', and who the 'heroes'?³⁴⁸ Are there better ways to picture the all-too-human motley on these frontiers?

Dispossession has many faces, and the Islanders too would be dispossessed before long. A primal tragedy is that the universal 'Cain' – the Agriculturalist and City-builder, the man of 'Civilization' – regularly and almost inevitably murders his universal brother 'Abel' – the Nomad (in Abel's case a Herdsman).³⁴⁹ But in some of these 'savage' Island farmers, in their particular conditions, we see glimpses of a tentative reversal: people born of Cain's house are learning how to live with their Abel brothers. Such 'reconciliations' might also happen under the colonial regime which followed, but proportionally they would be much less typical.

Irabinna Rigney (p.xi) and Hosking (p.147-154) in Anne Chittleborough *et al* 2002. However, historian Skye Krichauff doubts this (p.c. email 12/4/22).

³⁴⁵ They were ancestors of my colleague Lewis Yerloburka O'Brien. See Luisa O'Connor 1998, 'Kudnarto' (in Simpson and Hercus (ed.) 1998, *History In Portraits: Aboriginal History Monograph 6*. Canberra: Australian National University Press: 133-157); and Lewis Yerloburka O'Brien 2007, *And the Clock Struck Thirteen*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press.

³⁴⁶ For Rathool see Moorhouse 'Out' correspondence, GRG 52/7/458, 463, 534 (thanks to Joe Lane's transcription and index of 'Protector of Aborigines Out Letter Book 1840-1857', GRG 52/7; this was available online until recently). George Solomon was a shepherd of Rapid Bay.

³⁴⁷ Nathan Wolski 2000, 'Brushing Against the Grain: excavating for Aboriginal-European interaction on the colonial frontier in Western Victoria', Ph.D. thesis, School of Fine Arts, Classical Studies and Archaeology, University of Melbourne: 410.

³⁴⁸ I am indebted to Wayne Knoll for bringing this passage and insight to my attention.

³⁴⁹ The story of Cain and Abel, first sons of the first two humans, is told in Genesis Chapter 4 in the Hebrew scriptures (reproduced in the Christian Bible). The text does not specifically refer to hunter-gatherer culture, but 'Abel the Keeper of Sheep' probably refers to nomadic herdsman like the Bedouin. Their names in Hebrew signal that this myth is about how the older brother Cain-'Acquisition/Ownership' becomes the first Agriculturalist and first Murderer. He kills the younger Abel-'Breath/Life', and is both punished and protected by being marked and made into wanderer. Later he rejects this to become the first City-Builder: a mythical narrative of the beginning of 'settled civilization'. Soon this leads to the hubris of the Tower of Babel, in which the builders try to "reach into the heavens" so that "nothing will be impossible for them" (Chapter 11). Remarkably, the text does not endorse or justify this project of 'civilization' and Empire, of centralized totalitarian power and 'one language' imposed. What rescues the Agriculturalists of the Empire City from self-destruction by over-reach is the very linguistic and cultural diversity which they tried to suppress. The restoration of many languages and the 'scattering abroad' were not a curse but a blessing. But in every colonial empire of history, Cain's archetypal murder has been re-enacted, and justified as 'inevitable' by spurious theologies which use agriculture to legitimize domination. Repeatedly Abel's blood has "called out to [God] from the ground which received it" (Genesis 4:10). This theological undercurrent surfaced more than once in early newspapers of South Australia.

Aboriginal theologians now rightly read the Tower of Babel as an anti-colonial story – though so far they do not include the murder of Abel as part of that critique (Pattel-Gray & Habel 2022: Chapters 6 & 13). See also Jacques Ellul (translated by Dennis Pardee) 1970, *The Meaning of the City*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B Eerdmans Publishing Co., Chapter 1. Also the exposition of Cain and Abel, and of Babel, by Rabbi Jonathan Sacks 2015, *Not In God's Name: Confronting Religious Violence*, New York: Schocken Books: 253-5 and 191-4 (thanks to Ian Edwards for introducing me to this wonderful book). For Sacks, the spirit of Cain is defined well by Jean-Jacques Rousseau: "*The first man who, having fenced in a piece of land, said 'This is mine'*" (p.254). The challenge to attain new eyes will continue for all of us.

1.3 – BIOGRAPHIES to 1827

INTRODUCTION TO BIOGRAPHIES.

We come now to the protagonists of my story, the leading characters in this drama of first contact. Three of the four persons below will appear again in later chapters, alongside others also chosen for close study.

Why these individuals?³⁵⁰ Why do I not feature some other more familiar names such as Henry Wallan, Betty and Nat Thomas, or Mary Munarto? My protagonists are chosen not primarily because we are sure that they actually took leading roles in events at first contact³⁵¹ but for three other reasons.

Firstly, these are the people about whom we know enough to tell their individual tale credibly.

They are therefore our best windows into the reality of first contact. These – not the pioneers of 1836 who are remembered in the names of our towns and streets – were ‘first contact’ in southern SA. These ‘case studies’ illustrate the generalizations made in this book. Beyond the typecasting we can try to understand these people on several ‘sides’ (not just two): their relationships, actions and motivations. People like these made the first rough sketches – set up the primal relationships – of our shared history with all its contradictions from then up to the present day.

Secondly, they were involved in my focal interest: the giving and receiving of details about the local cultures, mainly on Fleurieu Peninsula. These are the rare windows through which we catch glimpses closer up of that brief time when Europeans took lessons in Aboriginal culture from Fleurieu people.

And thirdly, few of their stories have been told adequately by previous authors.

They deserve a place in our memory: lest we forget. Perhaps through these glimpses we might also understand ourselves and our current dilemmas a little better.

We know almost nothing about them until the mid-1820s. Around that time two Aboriginal women of the Fleurieu were abducted to KI, first ‘Emma’ and then her sister-in-law Kalungku (‘Sarah’). In 1824 the English seaman George Bates landed on KI. In 1825-6 the Fleurieu woman Kalinga (‘Sally’) and the Tasmanian Magalidi (‘Big Sal’) were found

³⁵⁰ Other protagonists whom I will study in later chapters include George Meredith, William Cooper, William Walker, ‘Doughboy’, Tamuruwi (‘Encounter Bay Bob’), and minor principle ‘Lame Raikongga’ (‘Peter’). In Book 2 I will also give some attention to significant Aboriginal informants Kadlitpina (OS *Kadlitpina*: ‘Captain Jack’) and Murlawirrapurka (OS *Mullawirraburka*: ‘Onkaparinga Jack’, ‘King John’); but they are not central to a book focused on the Fleurieu rather than Adelaide, and they have been well accounted for elsewhere (Gara 1998, etc). To significant ethnological recorders such as James Cronk, William Williams, Captain Bromley, William Wyatt, Matthew Moorhouse, and the four Dresden missionary linguists Teichelmann, Schürmann, Meyer and Klose, I will pay attention as needed by this story, but do not pursue them in biographical detail. Likewise certain KI residents such as Nat and Betty Thomas, and Wallan, who are important in other histories focused more exclusively on Kangaroo Island.

³⁵¹ Although I suspect that some of them did play important roles in shaping the history of Kangaroo Island before 1836-7 – such as ‘Sally’ and Condo – it is possible and quite likely that other characters played even bigger roles: such as Henry Wallan, the two John Andersons, James Everett, Bill Johnson, ‘Wab’, ‘Suke’, ‘Little Sal’, even Mary Munarto and other unnamed Aboriginal women and men. But with these people either we have no details about their time on the Island up to 1837, or so little that most of their story would have been speculation. I will note them without dwelling upon their biographies. In the case of Wallan, his folkloric fame will look after itself.

on sealing ships bound from Launceston to the far west; both of them would become well-known on KI later.

Their stories are more varied, and some of them more interrelated, than we might expect. Kalungku and Emma were taken out of local history and exiled permanently to the Straits and Victoria. Magalidi was exiled from Bruny Island to Kangaroo Island and the Indian Ocean. Kalinga found herself in Albany and Sydney but returned to her Fleurieu people for a time. Through these biographies we begin to glimpse a wider context.

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1.3.1 – AN AMBIGUOUS ISLANDER: GEORGE BATES to 1827.

‘Old George Bates’ became part of Kangaroo Island’s public legend about its ‘gone-and-done-with’ past. He is the best known of the Kangaroo Islanders because he lived the longest and talked the most.³⁵² In old age he yarned at length about his pre-colonial exploits for newspaper reporters and at public functions. Despite their reticences, ambiguities and contradictions, these yarns are an indispensable source for our understanding of pre-colonial KI.

He has an official biography,³⁵³ and some parts of his life have been expounded by Amery³⁵⁴ and Taylor;³⁵⁵ but there is much more to be said. Most previous accounts of him have been interested in juicy anecdotes and consequently very limited in their sources and quite uncritical in their use of them. For us, the man himself is a linking thread who weaves into several other biographies. Much of Chapter 2 and some of Chapter 3 will be devoted to his exploits in the decade up to 1836.

While he admitted to taking part in several raids for women, he also seems to have established peaceful relationships with some local First People for a time. He spent months living on the mainland with one ‘tribe’, had a relationship for some years with one of their women (‘Sally’) and her family, and was said to have learned some of ‘the language’.

He was an English seaman, memorable for his red hair. Born in London in 1800,³⁵⁶ schooled briefly by the Marine Society, he began a seaman’s life at the age of eleven on a man-of-war in the Napoleonic wars.³⁵⁷ In his prime his head was crowned with flaming hair and whiskers which earned him the nickname ‘Fireball’.³⁵⁸ In old age he was described as “a medium-sized man, with a frame that must have been as hard and wiry as a sheaoak”.³⁵⁹

After active service at the Cape of Good Hope and in India, he joined the merchant navy and came to Hobart in 1823 as a crew member on a convict transport. He had originally intended to catch another ship to Sydney and get back to England.³⁶⁰ But

*I became stranded in Australia on account of a row I had with the mate of the vessel...
I did not want to go on with the vessel to Batavia after that, so I spoke to the then Chief*

³⁵² This old Islander must not be confused with another George James Bates (1844-1913), one of a well-known family of Bates colonists who arrived on KI in 1858 and (in a strange irony) also settled at Hog Bay. Cp. *Advertiser* 20/3/1880: 1b; Kingston CWA 1951: 35; TaylorR 2008, *Unearthed* 2nd ed.: 189-190; <http://www.ozburials.com/CemsSA/penneshaw.htm> [13/5/14].

³⁵³ Nunn, Jean M., ‘Bates, George (1800–1895)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bates-george-12788/text23075>, accessed 11 August 2012.

³⁵⁴ Amery 1998: 49-65.

³⁵⁵ TaylorR 2002-8, see Index.

³⁵⁶ Hart gave Bates’s age as “36” in 1836 (PRG 174/11: 163), and Bates confirmed the date himself (Bates 1886b: 6c; Bates 1887b).

³⁵⁷ Nunn, Jean M., <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bates-george-12788/text23075>. Cp. Bates 1883a: 6f (SA *Register* Wed 3/1/1883, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/43472499>); and Bates 1894a.

³⁵⁸ Bates 1886b: 6c; PlomleyN 1966 Supplement: 25; Cumpston 1986: 71.

³⁵⁹ *Register* 6/10/1887: 7b. There is a photograph of him from this period of his public fame around and after the Jubilee of Proclamation 1886-7 (<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/bates-george-12788> [11/8/12]).

³⁶⁰ Bates 1887b: 2 = *Register* 9/9/1895 (Bates 1895b): 9. Cp. Bates 1894a.

*Secretary... he said he would not get me a discharge unless I promised to leave at the first chance. This I did, and as a sealing party was fitting out for West Australia I joined it... the owner then wanted us to go to New Zealand. In those days New Zealand was a very wild place, peopled with a large number of cannibals, so I thought 'No you don't, you won't eat George up if I can help it.' We were then at the mouth of the American River so I got a mate and we took and hooked it ashore. That was in 1824, and I have been in South Australia ever since.*³⁶¹

It was the *Nereus* which took him on the sealing voyage to the Bight. While they were anchored at Nepean Bay collecting salt in May 1824,³⁶² Bates and another seaman John Randall ran from it at night. They took stores and three dogs with them, and hid at the mouth of American River.³⁶³

More than once Bates said that he and his mate absconded because they were afraid of the Maoris.³⁶⁴ But probably they also wanted to get out of the sealing trade as they had known it, away from the rough conditions on every kind of ship where harsh punishments could be served out for trifles.³⁶⁵ Bates was 24 years old: "We were active young chaps, and were not afraid of a stay on the island, but when the brig had gone in the morning I was a bit sorry".³⁶⁶ Second thoughts or not, George would make KI his home for the next 67 years. At the end of his life he described his time on the Island as "perfect freedom like the blacks".³⁶⁷

They immediately put the dogs to work hunting wallabies. Three days after their arrival, three of the resident Islanders turned up: Henry Wallan, James Kirby and James Everett.³⁶⁸ At first – in a preview of other newcomers in 1836 – Bates mistook them for

³⁶¹ 'Chat With a Nonagenarian', *Advertiser* 16/10/1894 [Bates 1894a]: 7c, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/25739190/2317311>. This is his clearest and fullest account of Bates' transition from English seaman to permanent KI resident, given to *The Advertiser* a year before his death. I owe this important reference to Shueard, and have followed his account of the 'sound logic' of Bates's decision to stay on KI (Shueard 2013: 2-3). Also cp. Bates 1883a; and see Durrant's analysis of the events around his arrival (Durrant 2014b: 10, <https://www.kipioneers.org/history/precolonial>).

³⁶² Cumpston 1986: 70.

³⁶³ 'Old George Bates', *Advertiser* 27/12/1886 (Bates 1886b): 6d. That was *one* of George's versions. We have several contradictory accounts of his arrival on the Island in 1824. The date is confirmed independently, but his other versions differ in many details. Some of them must be the product not only of an aging memory but of the "considerable talent for fictitious statement" for which the old Islanders in general were noted. On Bates' dates, see TaylorR 2002-8: 27; also James Manning's dates in Cumpston 1986: 70; also Official Trip 1880: 1b; 'Death of Old George Bates', *Register* 9/9/1895: 7c-d. He seems to have named the landing place variously as Dashwood's Bay (*Register* 27/12/1886: 1a), "the mouth of American River" (Bates 1886b: 6c), and Smith Bay (*Register*, 9/9/1895 [Bates 1887b]: 9c-d). On 'fictitious statement' see Official Trip 1880: 1c. The primary sources and various accounts of Bates' arrival on KI are thoroughly presented in Durrant 2014b: 9-11.

³⁶⁴ Cp. *Evening Journal* 26/1/1895: 5f, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/198442076/22407992> (Bates 1895a). We have Shueard to thank for drawing our attention to this important interview.

³⁶⁵ One tale, remembered by a settler from old George's conversation in his last years, has it that a warship was landing at Hog Bay. "When unloading ship, young George put the gear down for a moment to observe the new land. As punishment he was forced to stand in the sun for two hours. He 'so resented the punishment' that he made for the scrub" (TaylorR 2002-8: 27). Though George was probably mingling his memories of the navy and the sealing fleet, or else his listener was finding it hard to follow the mass of data, this may stand as a mild example of the shipboard discipline from which seamen like Bates were escaping.

³⁶⁶ Bates 1887b. Cp. "I can tell you I missed my biscuits and beef" (Bates 1894a).

³⁶⁷ Bates 1895a.

³⁶⁸ For overviews of these and other Islanders, see Appendix 2 'Brief vignettes of some Kangaroo Islanders'. In a briefer account (Bates 1883a: 6f), Kirby was reported as "Currey", and Bates claimed that on the island at that time there were only "five men sealing and kangaroo-hunting" (i.e. residents rather than seasonal visitors), the other two being "Randall and Andrews" (?Anderson).

“black fellows”. They had with them Kirby’s Tasmanian woman (probably ‘Dinah’),³⁶⁹ who proved to be “of the greatest value to them in their hunting expeditions through the scrub”.³⁷⁰ One of them had a boat for fishing and possibly sealing.

George was not sorry enough about his plight to maintain his intention of heading for Sydney. With Wallan and Everett as experienced models, he seems to have found that the island life had its own rewards. But of these earliest years he never spoke except in vague hints of dark deeds ‘beyond the pale’. Although some indirect evidence suggests that later his attitude and actions would become cautious and pragmatic,³⁷¹ at first he may have been drawn into the existing culture to act as violently as others, living up to the promise implied in his ‘Fireball’ head of hair. Anderson told Robinson that Bates had once broken the arm of a 10-year old mainland boy across his knee as “a punishment because the boy ran away” – though it seems possible that it was actually a William Bales (of Bales Bay) who did this, and Robinson had mistaken the name.³⁷²

Though we know almost nothing about him in his first four years on the Island, we know a few details about his companions there. One of them would soon be found in the company of the important Fleurieu protagonist ‘Sally’-Kalinga.

Clearly these companions were still looking to the commercial sealing fleets. About sixteen months after arriving, Randall was in Hobart with the Tasmanian ‘Dinah’ and perhaps Kirby too. There the sealing ship *Governor Brisbane* listed all three as crew, along with a Fleurieu woman called ‘Sally’.³⁷³ There at around the same time Everett boarded the *Hunter*.³⁷⁴ The two ships were collaborating in a long sealing voyage to the far west which would stretch over two years while Captain Whyte was trying to rid the Straits of escaped convicts.

There is almost no record of the transactions that must have been made between May 1824 and September 1825 in order for Randall and Sally to get to Hobart and onto the *Brisbane*. Almost: for Bates once claimed that *her father had brought her to him* on KI.³⁷⁵ Sally is an important figure among our protagonists, and her career repays careful study. Two sections of this chapter below will examine this episode in detail. What was the relationship of these men with her?

In 1827 Sally and the crews of the *Brisbane* and *Hunter* returned eastward. In old age Bates claimed that it was 1826 when he first visited the mainland, and 1827 when he first “hunted... over the Adelaide Plains”, perhaps “with the blacks”.³⁷⁶ These events might have been connected, as we shall investigate in Chapter 2.

The sealing industry was at its height in 1826.³⁷⁷ Did Bates and his companions go to the mainland that year in their own whaleboat autonomously, or with one of the many

³⁶⁹ See section 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally)’.

³⁷⁰ Bates 1886b: 6d.

³⁷¹ See Chapter 2.4.4 ‘1829-35 political landscape’.

³⁷² Robinson in PlomleyN 1966: 1013; cp. 6 June 1831, p360. Cp. Ruediger 1980: 32; Shueard 2013: 55.

³⁷³ See section 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally)’ below.

³⁷⁴ Not to be confused with the ‘Governor Hunter’ which was sailing the south coast a few years later (Cumpston 1986: 197 Index).

³⁷⁵ Bates 1894b; Bates 1895a; and see section 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga’ below.

³⁷⁶ Bates 1887b; cp. Bates 1886a.

³⁷⁷ Cumpston 1986, Chapter 15.

commercial gangs? His reporters in the 1880s did not ask. But after two years or more on the Island George had probably settled in enough to be turning his attention to wider vistas, alongside his Aboriginal mentors and with an agenda independent of the ships.

.....

1.3.2 – LOCALS EXILED: KALUNGKU ('Sarah', 'Charlotte') AND 'EMMA' ('Emue').³⁷⁸

For our female protagonists who appear earliest in the records – Kalungku, 'Emma' and Magalidi – life with the Islanders seems to have been bleakly violent for the most part. All three were permanently exiled. Two of them entered the fringes of colonial life briefly and both eventually rejected it. We begin with the two locals.

Out of the unknown number of Fleurieu women who were taken east, the only one who was able to put a detailed story on record in more or less her own words was Kalungku, who also told of her sister-in-law 'Emma'. Because these two disappeared from South Australian history altogether after 1829, I shall give their biography here up to 1841, as completely as we currently know it.³⁷⁹ Like Magalidi from Van Diemen's Land, they are poignant reminders that many women never saw their home and community again even from a distance.

Kalungku and Emma were taken away separately from the Fleurieu to Kangaroo Island and then the Straits. We might think of them as typical 'victims', until we see the last phases of their stories.

Kalungku gives us two rare bonuses, which we owe to the obsessive journals of her temporary rescuer, Tasmanian 'Conciliator' George Robinson. One is her account of life with the sealers, a rarity straight from the lips of a Fleurieu woman. The other is a self-identity stated with a clarity which is also rare in nineteenth-century records.

1.3.2.1 – A WORDLIST IN TASMANIA: THE IDENTITIES OF KALUNGKU AND 'EMMA'.

In June 1837 a young woman from a sealers' haunt in the eastern Bass Strait took refuge with 'Conciliator' George Robinson at his Native Settlement on Flinders Island.³⁸⁰ She appeared to be about 20 years old; Islanders and Straitsmen had nicknamed her 'Sarah'.³⁸¹ Robinson renamed her 'Charlotte', employed her as a domestic servant, and recorded a long interview with her.³⁸² In January 1838 she gave Robinson's son Charles a total of 80 words in 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna*, the language of the Adelaide Plains 1,100 kms away.³⁸³ At the top of his extant wordlists are the handwritten entries for 'tired', 'to forget', 'lost', and 'baby'.³⁸⁴

³⁷⁸ See Map04 'The Area' and Map05 'Bass Strait'. This section is built upon the essential primary research by Rob Amery (Amery 1996, 'Kaurna in Tasmania: a case of mistaken identity', *Aboriginal History* Vol. 20, Canberra: Australian National University Press: 24-50, <https://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p72561/pdf/article0214.pdf>. It was first published, in slightly different form, as 'Exile: Kalungku, Emma and the sealers of the southern coast', in *The First Wave: Exploring early coastal contact in Australia*, ed. Gillian Dooley & Danielle Clode, Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2019. In 1831 Robinson noted that "EM.MA" or "EM.ME" was with 'Abyssinia Jack' Anderson (PlomleyN 1966: 335, 359). In 1836-7 he noted that "EMUE" or "Emu" was the woman he had previously known to be with Anderson (PlomleyN 1987: 416, 444-7, 514).

³⁷⁹ But see also section 1.3.2.7 'Kalungku after Robinson'.

³⁸⁰ For Robinson's mission of 'conciliation', see later in this section.

³⁸¹ – thus making it likely that she would disappear without trace in the big melting pot of many Aboriginal 'Sallys'.

³⁸² Robinson, cited in PlomleyN 1987: 445-7, 695. Robinson's interview with Kalungku on 2 June 1837 is found here on pp.445-7. It was also published in full and analysed by Amery (Amery 1996: 40-43, [http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p72561/pdf/article0214.pdf](https://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p72561/pdf/article0214.pdf)).

³⁸³ See Amery 1996: 24-50, especially 35. In 1993 Amery discovered this wordlist in Robinson's manuscripts; he then wrote the pioneering study of 'Kalloongoo'-'Sarah' and 'Emma', showing beyond doubt what language Sarah used. He analysed the wordlist in detail. The language is clearly 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna*, not Tasmanian as Robinson's compiler

This *Miyurna*-speaking ‘Sarah-Charlotte’ came from the Yankalilla area on the Gulf coast of Fleurieu Peninsula. At that time ‘South Australia’ was merely a first wave of colonists struggling to set up in Adelaide, for most of whom ‘Yanky lilly Bay’ was no more than a name on Colonel Light’s unpublished map, and its Aboriginal community no more than the ‘Rapid Bay tribe’ with whom Light had made friends; and Robinson knew even less about that region. ‘Sarah’ gave her real name as “KALL.OON.GOO COW.WER.PITE.YER WIN.DEER.RER” (as recorded by Robinson): phonetically, *Kalungku Kauwa-paitya Wintira*.³⁸⁵ Because we do not know any meanings for the first and third of these names, we are unable to interpret some of this name-set even though it is unusually complete for an Aboriginal woman, even in Robinson. *Kauwa-paitya* (probably ‘dangerous cliff’)³⁸⁶ could relate to her geographical identity, which she also gave as follows:

*The country where she came from was called BAT.BUN.GER YANG.GAL.LALE.LAR. It is situate at the west point of St Vincents Gulf... It is on the sea coast; there is a long sandy beach with three rivers. MAN.NUNE.GAR is the name of the country where she was born.*³⁸⁷

Plomley had assumed; and the names she gave for her homeland are clearly Fleurieu place-names in *Miyurna* language.

³⁸⁴ The manuscript wordlists are reproduced in Amery 1996: 28-30. Rowena Lennox drew my attention to the poignancy of these first entries (5/2/2018).

³⁸⁵ SPELLING PERSONAL AND PLACE-NAMES FROM ROBINSON: These spellings are my tentative phonetic interpretation of Robinson’s orthography. There is no known *Miyurna* meaning for *Kalungku* or *Wintira*. Robinson spelled it “KALL.OON.GOO”. In my spelling *Kalungku* I try to interpret this according to the Revised Spelling system of KWP. While others have adapted the name to ‘Kalloongoo’, I prefer to give the dignity of a credible phonetic spelling to this and other Aboriginal names recorded by Robinson. These are often tentative, for his spellings are of low quality. We cannot be exact and confident about the sounds he heard unless we can parallel his record with one found in other reliable sources (as with some of the place-names mentioned below).

³⁸⁶ ‘COW.WER.PITE.YER’ can be glossed in ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna*: *kauwa* ‘precipice’ + *paitya* ‘deadly’; as a phrase it probably means something like ‘dangerous cliff(s)’. The significance of this as a personal name is unknown, though it may perhaps reinforce her connection with country of steep coastal cliffs on the southern Fleurieu. Perhaps she was born among the cliffs at *Kauwa-yapingga* (probably a coastal cave site south of Rapid Bay), or at *Yartakurlangga* (Rapid Bay), or at Second Valley (‘Cowyrllanka’: possibly *Kauwa-yarlungga* or *Kauwi-yarlungga*), or at *Kauwa-yarlungga* (Myponga Beach) (see Schultz PNSs: 5.04.02/06 *Kauwa-yapingga* (forthcoming); 5.04.01/07 *Yarta-kurlangga* (2018), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-07Yartaku.pdf>; 5.04.01/01 ‘Cowyrllanka’ (*Kauwi-yarlungga*) (2020), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-01CowSecV.pdf>; 5.01/02 *Kauwa-yarlungga* Myponga Beach (2019), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-02Kauwayarlu.pdf>).

In the local cultures, such features could be the focus of a “circumstance which occurred at the time of the child’s birth”, or one of the “objects of nature” (even including “Thunder”) which were used as ‘surnames’ (*kangarita* in *Miyurna*), given by the father soon after birth. This name would be “derived from the [child’s] country,” and also the name of the child’s totem (Jane Simpson, ‘Personal Names’, in Jane Simpson & Luise Hercus (ed.), *History In Portraits: Aboriginal History Monograph 6*, Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1998) 223-6. Amery thinks it more likely that what Robinson heard was *kauwi* (‘water’) (Rob Amery, personal communication, email 5 Feb 2018).

³⁸⁷ Robinson interview with *Kalungku*, 2 June 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 445).

KALUNGKU’S PLACE-NAMES are clearly in *Miyurna* language:

1. *Patpangga* ‘in the south, south place’: This is not a site name for ‘Rapid Bay’, as some authors have accepted (following Wyatt), but a descriptor for southern territory in general; the *Patpa-Miyurna* (OS *Patpa-Meyunna*), ‘South People’, were the ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* clans south of Sellicks Hill (Schultz 2017a: 26-7 [Chester Schultz 2011, revised 12/4/2017, ‘Ask the Right Questions...’, <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/110558>]; also my place-name summary, Schultz PNS 1/03 *Patpangga* (2016), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/1-03Patpangga.pdf>).
2. ‘Yang.gal.lale.lar’ is clearly a version of ‘Yankalilla’ or *Yarnkalyilla*, ‘place of *Yarnkalya*’, analysable as ‘the place where [it] keeps hanging down’ (see Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 *Yarnkalyilla* (2016), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-02-01-02Yarnkal.pdf>; cp. Amery 2002: 172). The location does not refer originally to Yankalilla town but to the vicinity of Lady Bay and Yankalilla Hill near the mouth of Yankalilla River.
3. *Manungga* ‘place of *manu*’ (meaning unknown): This name has not been recorded anywhere else and we do not know its location. While *Manungga* and *manu* are both possible *Miyurna* words, there is no certain gloss for *manu*. Place-names do not need to have ‘dictionary meanings’. However, *manu-warta* (OS *mannu-worta*) is ‘the back of the head and nape of the neck’, but means literally ‘behind the *manu*’; so we deduce that *manu* is whatever is in front of that: the head in general? the skull? brains? but all of these have other *Miyurna* vocabulary. *Marnu* (OS *manno*) is also

We don't know where *Manungga* was, but we do know where '*Patpangga Yarnkalyilla*' is, with its three rivers. The Fleurieu region of Yankalilla Bay and Plains includes a 'long sandy beach' punctuated by the mouths of the Carrickalinga, Bungala and Yankalilla Rivers.³⁸⁸

Here we have an unusually clear statement of self-identity. Kalungku makes a distinction between 'the country where she *was born*' (*Manungga*), and 'the country she *came from*', her life on the land at *Yarnkalyilla* in the 'South Country'. The latter is expressed as a two-word phrase, in which *Yarnkalyilla* refers to a known site south of Normanville, while *Patpangga*, 'south place', is a third and more general geographical marker. This is probably how she defined herself geographically, a double identity by place and time. As such it is a uniquely informative item among pre-colonial records in South Australia.³⁸⁹

Textbox06: KALUNGKU, EMMA, PERSONAL AND GROUP IDENTITIES AND TERRITORIES.

Kalungku's distinction between 'where she was born' and 'her country' is a valuable hint in thinking about the questions of identity around the Fleurieu, which will recur throughout this book. As Robinson did, we may ask an Aboriginal person 'What is your country?' or 'Where are you from?' – which is getting close to 'Who are you?'

Today in the south of the continent, where First Peoples were dispossessed many generations ago, the answer will select from various layers of perceived identity. It may refer to both language and place, and may be different when referring to different periods of the person's life. The place and language of one's upbringing will remain primary. The place of one's birth

a variant of *marntu* (OS *marndo*) 'uncircumcised boy' (Teichelmann MS 1857). See Schultz PNS 1/08 *Manungga* (forthcoming).

4. Kalungku gave *Patpangga* and *Yarnkalyilla* as a pair: not as two different site names but as a single identifier with two layers. It is as if I were to visit Tasmania and there state my own case to those foreigners: 'I was born in Victor Harbor; but I come from Port Adelaide, South Australia.'

³⁸⁸ THE LOCATION OF KALUNGKU'S HOMELAND:

The actual location is conclusively fixed by the names and geography above; but Robinson has muddled the waters. The phrase "*the west point of St Vincents Gulf*" is rather obscure. She cannot have meant what it implies if taken literally (that her home was on Yorke Peninsula). Technically neither Yankalilla Hill nor even Rapid Head are the most westerly point of Fleurieu Peninsula, which is at Cape Jervis itself. But Rapid Head is the very prominent furthest point of the southward coastal view *as seen from the north* of it as far as Noarlunga. Probably she meant that her homeland was located in *the westernmost part of the land visible in this view of the Gulf*.

Robinson followed this phrase with another two which I have omitted in my main text: "*the point opposite to Kangaroo Island, the west point of Port Lincoln*". The second of these is incomprehensible, and has misled some authors about the location of Kalungku's country. It is incompatible with anywhere in St Vincent's Gulf, which is divided from Port Lincoln and its waters by Yorke Peninsula. In 1837 'Port Lincoln' was still only Flinders' name for Boston Bay; and although the Port was proclaimed in June 1837, the town of Port Lincoln was not surveyed until 1839 (Geoffrey H Manning 2010, *The Place Names of Our Land: A South Australian Anthology*, Modbury: Gould Books: 477). Moreover, it is on the *east* coast of Eyre Peninsula and has no 'west point'. This phrase makes no sense alongside the rest of the information, and Amery has rightly argued that in 1837 it probably arose from Robinson's almost complete ignorance of SA's geography (Amery 1996: 42). Perhaps he knew no other place-names on the SA coast; for instance, he never used the name 'Cape Jervis'. 'Port Lincoln' had come to his attention only as a distant region where George Meredith had abducted Aboriginal women; he wrote of it then only as "*country adjacent to Kangaroo Island*", and confused it with Kalungku's country (PlomleyN 1987: 352, 366). Struggling to interpret Kalungku's geography as given in Pidgin English, perhaps he really meant the west point of a peninsula located somewhere which a Tasmanian landlubber might describe as 'near Port Lincoln'. This would make some sense as a rough reference to the "*NW high Bluff*" of Flinders (Rapid Head), 14 km southwest of the Yankalilla River and part of the country known to 'Kurna'-*Miyurna* groups as *Patpangga*.

³⁸⁹ It is informative regardless of whether or not Robinson had elicited these details from her by his own questions.

Very few such nuances of personal identity were recorded first-hand in this period. One partial exception – after colonization – may be Murlawirrapurka (OS *Mullawirraburka*: 'King John'), whose geographical identity also appears to have changed by arrangement during his lifetime from the Adelaide-Reynella region to Aldinga-Myponga region, in his case by bartering land (see Moorhouse 1840b: 355 [Protector's Report 27 July 1840, 'Papers Relative to SA', *BPP*: *Australia* 7).

will also remain totemically important. The places where one has lived for extended periods will be important. The person's identity will be bound up not only in these personal places and languages but in those of ancestors and extended family, covering a geographical area which may be huge and languages which may be unrelated to each other.³⁹⁰ The context of the dialogue would decide which of these several identities a person might choose to cite for the purpose.

At first contact, European observers on the spot usually identified 'tribes' simply by the place where they happened to see camps of people gathered. But there were underlying realities which they usually did *not* see: the strictly bounded Language Countries, and the Language Groups who belonged to those Countries; and within these, the Clans or 'Descent Groups' who owned specific Estates of land, also precisely bounded. Within each Language Country and Estate, the 'proper language', and the place-names in that language, were bestowed by ancestral beings in the Dreaming, and owned by the Clan in patrilineal descent (i.e. through a person's father).³⁹¹

But on the Fleurieu the names and estates of any such descent groups are lost. There may perhaps be hints of them in the clans listed by informants in the 1930s, in their late memories of the 1870s. But we today can know almost nothing about their membership or precise locations and borders *in the 1830s*.

Small descent groups like these – "large families, or bodies of relatives" – owned land.³⁹² This kind of identity is what Clarke was referring to when he wrote that "the main landowning groups [around the Lower Murray and Fleurieu] are better described as descent groups, which were generally much smaller units than what has generally been defined as 'tribes' by those such as Tindale".³⁹³

KALUNGKU's identities at the time of capture can probably be described as follows: The 'country she came from' – *Patpangga Yarnkalyilla* – was her 'own country', expressed at two levels: (1) the Clan into which she was born, and the Estate they owned at *Yarnkalyilla*, which was (2) within the Language Country of her southern dialect group *Patpangga* or *Patpa-miyurna*. Those were her primary and by far her most important identities. Secondarily, she had important spiritual/totemic affiliations with *Manungga* where she was born, and in this way 'was' a *Manungga* woman. She did not say where this was, but the name is clearly in 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* language. 'The country' is how she refers to both *Manungga* and the place she 'came from' (*Patpangga Yarnkalyilla*). This makes them sound like separate districts comparable in size. So *Manungga* is not *Yarnkalyilla*, nor within it, but somewhere else in *Miyurna* Language Country.³⁹⁴

She also 'was' a person of *Miyurna* Language Country in a wider sense. She spoke *Miyurna* as

³⁹⁰ p.c. Klynton Wanganeen 30/4/2014, 18/11/14. I am grateful to Klynton for his help in clarifying this matter.

³⁹¹ See also Appendix 12 'Aboriginal territories, borders and identity labels'.

³⁹² Wrestling with the inadequacy of European terms to express the reality he saw, Teichelmann wrote: "*They are... to be considered as large families, or bodies of relatives which might be called a republican tribe... Several such families or tribes speak one language, which, however differs in each tribe more or less, partly in the roots of the words, chiefly in the termination, and according to these differences they divide the language into dialects... each tribe has a certain district of the country as a property received by their forefathers, the boundaries of which were fixed, according to their narration, by them*" (Teichelmann 1841: 6-7, <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=chi.37626654&view=1up&seq=7&skin=2021>). Note especially that here the identity-making and land-owning group is not defined by language alone, as with Tindale's large 'one-language tribes'; also that Teichelmann and the Protectors left no precise records of where those many boundaries were.

³⁹³ ClarkeP 1991: 100. See also Appendix 13 'Intermarriage across language boundaries'.

³⁹⁴ Conceivably *Manungga* was not even in *Patpangga* (South Country), which ended at Sellick's Hill. But it is rather unlikely that Kalungku was born north of Sellick's Hill, where began the territory of what would be known as 'the Adelaide tribe'; even the Onkaparinga River appears to have been unvisited by all but a few of the southerners before colonization (see 'Doughboy' in Chapter 3.4.10.2 'Doughboy & the fierce set' and 3.7.2.2 'Cultural geography'). But there were other more easterly territories nearby which were identified in *Miyurna* language in the early years of colonization, but may not have been seen as part of *Patpangga* – such as the Myponga valley (*Maitpangga*) 15 km northeast of Yankalilla.

her ‘own language’, and would therefore be able to communicate with visitors from regions far to the north, if and when necessary. But she had no need of any name for this wider Language Group; indeed there is no record of any internal self-name for such a generality, which normally had little social use.

Her mother was probably based at *Yarnkalyilla*, where she and her children (and presumably her husband, Kalungku’s father) were living in Kalungku’s childhood – and (we infer) had been visiting *Manungga* when Kalungku was born.

With intermarriage common across the range, her assigned husband (Emma’s brother) was probably a man of Encounter Bay.³⁹⁵ He certainly had Encounter Bay relatives, among them the husband of his sister Emma (for Emma’s son had a ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* name).

Thus even during her childhood at *Yarnkalyilla* Kalungku would already have known some Raminyeri language, gleaned from visits of Emma with her husband (and no doubt of other Raminyeri people as well).

If Kalungku’s husband-to-be was himself an Encounter Bay man, and had she been able to go there and live with him when the time came, she would have been obliged to become competently bilingual. Through this marriage her husband might have acquired secondary rights in some territory at *Yarnkalyilla*: a situation probably similar to that of ‘Peter’ and his wife in 1836-7.³⁹⁶

The self-identity of EMMA (or ‘Emue’)³⁹⁷ at the time of capture is less certain, and *may* have been rather more complex than Kalungku’s, involving country at both the Gulf and Encounter Bay.

There is no conclusive evidence to decide whether Emma herself, or her brother to whom Kalungku was promised, came from the Gulf or Encounter Bay. Her brother could in principle marry Kalungku if he was not a member of her estate or descent group, whichever *language* group he belonged to; as Sutton says, “It is possible, perhaps, that two different intermarrying estates met at *Yarnkalyilla*”.³⁹⁸ But in the historical context it is more likely that he was a *Kornar* countryman (Raminyeri or Narrinyeri). If so, then his sister Emma also belonged to the same area.

Emma’s son was given the name *Prari* (“PRARE.RE” in Robinson’s spelling).³⁹⁹ It is ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* in form and shows that either she or (more likely) her husband belonged to *Kornar* Language Country, probably Encounter Bay; or perhaps both of them did.⁴⁰⁰

³⁹⁵ It is conceivable that Kalungku’s promised husband was a *Yarnkalyilla* man, but not likely: “It would not usually have been permitted for two people of the same estate to marry... It is possible, perhaps, that two different intermarrying estates met at *Yankalyilla*” (Sutton p.c. email attachment 9/4/19).

³⁹⁶ For the man ‘Peter’ (‘Lame-raikongga’) see Chapter 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter & family’.

³⁹⁷ Her only recorded names are both English nicknames. There is no credible *Miyurna* or *Kornar* original to match the pronunciations ‘Emma’, ‘Emme’ or ‘Emue’.

³⁹⁸ Peter Sutton p.c. email attachment 9/4/19.

³⁹⁹ Robinson 4 April 1831 (PlomleyN 1966: 335). Robinson’s spelling appears to indicate a pronunciation something like English ‘prairie’, probably *Prari* or *Preri*.

⁴⁰⁰ “PRARE.RE” begins with a consonant cluster *Pr*. Clusters are never found at the beginning of words in ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna*, but often in ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar*. Was ‘PRARE.RE’ perhaps an abbreviation or dialect variation of the Raminyeri word “*brauwarāte*” (= *prawarati*) ‘favourite son’, the significance of which is not recorded (Meyer 1843: 56)? Was it a birth-order name? (For this tradition see the footnote ‘Birth-order Names’ below in Section 1.3.2.4 ‘With the whalers and Straitsmen’, concerning the children of Kalungku). If so, it is otherwise unrecorded and we don’t know its meaning. Birth-order names were rarely recorded for *Kornar* language, with a few exceptions (Simpson 1998: 224-5; cp. Meyer’s “*Brate* ‘youngest son’” [= *prati*]). Simpson wonders whether *Kornar* birth-order names “*may have been given according to the father, and not mother*” (Simpson 1998: 225 n22). If *Prari* was a birth-order name, it would show that either his father or perhaps his mother Emma was a person of *Kornar* Language Country; and if it was *not* a birth-order name, then it would show that *Prari* was being raised in a *Kornar* society and therefore his father was *Kornar*. Either way, *Prari* himself had his primary identity as a member of a *Kornar* clan. For the story of *Prari*, see below in this section.

It remains *possible* that she and her brother ‘were’ *Yarnkalyilla* people by birth and therefore that *Miyurna* was their primary language; in which case Emma at puberty had to join her husband at Encounter Bay and become proficient in Raminyeri. From her husband, especially if he died, she might acquire some totemic rights and responsibilities for land in Raminyeri country.⁴⁰¹

In *any* of these cases, both Emma and Kalungku after marriage would have acknowledged close kinship with certain identical descent groups or ‘clans’, which would have included land on both sides of the range, in both *Miyurna* and Raminyeri language country.

1.3.2.2 – KALUNGKU’S CHILDHOOD.

Living at *Yarnkaylilla* as a child with her mother, even in her prepubescent years Kalungku was already promised to a man she called “her husband”, the unnamed brother of another woman whom the sealers would nickname ‘Emma’ and ‘Emue’.⁴⁰²

He may have been a member of another ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* group on the Gulf coast, but not necessarily. He might have been a *Kornar* man, maybe a Raminyeri of Encounter Bay on the Southern Ocean, separated from *Yarnkalyilla* by the Mount Lofty Range; in which case he would have grown up speaking the unrelated *Kornar* language. In principle he could have married Kalungku whichever *language* group he belonged to, provided he was not a member of her immediate *descent* group.

Her promised husband had a sister who was recorded only under her sealer nicknames ‘Emma’ and ‘Emue’. Born no later than 1805, Emma was at least 12 years older than her sister-in-law.⁴⁰³ She had a son called *Prari*, which is Kornar in form, implying that the family was based on Kornar land, probably at Encounter Bay.⁴⁰⁴ We have nothing to tell us which side of the range was Emma’s original home, and we don’t know how well the families of Emma and Kalungku knew each other; but it is likely that they did meet sometimes, even if only in large gatherings of several families. Many of the conversations would have been bi-lingual, with no sense of discomfort. *Prari* was about Kalungku’s age, and they could have played together.⁴⁰⁵

⁴⁰¹ Tindale (citing Milerum’s commentary on one of his songs) writes of “a *Rapid Bay* tribeswoman whose country was [adjacent to] *Dalaikorombar* (West Island)” in Ramindjeri land near Victor Harbor. “This woman’s totem... was the *narak:ani* or gummy shark and her totem place was *Dalaikorombar* (also called *Darailkeili* and *Dalaikeren* in the song). It was her right to give men permission to go to West Island in rafts to kill seals”. We are not told whether this ‘right’ pertained before or only after she married a “clansman of Goolwa (*Ra:mindjeri* tribe)”. The associated song text refers to her as “that woman of *Ngalaikaran*”, even though she was then living back at Rapid Bay as a widow (Tindale 1941: 241-2, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/129818#page/281/mode/1up>). On a later index card Tindale explains that she was “born as a *Kurna* tribeswoman at Rapid Bay” and “held the right, from her deceased husband, to give permission for shark-spearing” – presumably during raft expeditions to West Island to kill seals (Tindale card “*Tarawaran*”, in ‘Vocabularies: Ramindjeri’, AA338/7/1/17).

⁴⁰² Robinson wrote: “Said that *Emue*’s brother was her husband” (PlomleyN 1987: 445).

⁴⁰³ EMMA’S BIRTH-DATE: See PlomleyN 1966: 327, 1010; PlomleyN 1987: 366. Robinson outlined Emma’s career with Anderson to 1831 (PlomleyN 1966: 327). The most thorough biography of Emma before now is found in Amery 1996: 39, 45. It is said that one of her children by Anderson, Catherine, was born about 1820 (ClarkeP 1998: 38). If we assume that she was at least 13 when she bore the first of her two mainland sons that we know of (*Prari* and the one who died), and therefore at least 15 when she bore Catherine, she was born no later than 1805. Another line of research has suggested that Catherine was seven in 1831 (PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 35, 46) and was therefore born in 1824, so that Emma could have been born as late as 1809. However, this may be an error, as the same book also has Catherine aged seven in 1827 (p.26-7) – which would bring Emma’s birthdate into line with the estimate above.

⁴⁰⁴ See the footnote about the name ‘PRARE.RE’ in the Textbox06 ‘Kalungku, Emma & identities’.

⁴⁰⁵ *Prari*’s birth year was about 1817. I deduce this from the fact that he was seen but only as a “boy” when Anderson ‘got’ him from the mainland in 1827 (PlomleyN 1966: 327), but four years later in 1831 he was seen as both a “youth” and a “boy”, say 14 years old (PlomleyN 1966: 335, 1010).

In the mid-1820s she was (in her own words) “a big girl”⁴⁰⁶ – probably not more than nine or ten years old, her husband still only a distant idea,⁴⁰⁷ her bush skills only half-developed, her ceremonial admission into womanhood probably not begun, still experiencing a child’s affection and freedom – when these days were cut short.

Around 1826⁴⁰⁸ her family camp was raided by Islanders in league with two Aboriginal men of a neighbouring ‘tribe’. Kalungku was “forcibly taken from her country by a sealer named James Allan⁴⁰⁹ ... in company with another sealer Bill Johnson” (a ‘ticket-of-leave’ convict).⁴¹⁰

Allan the sealer was led or guided to her encampment and where her mother and sister⁴¹¹ then was by two blackfellows her countrymen but not her tribe and who had been living with the sealers on the island.⁴¹² Said the blackfellows came sneaking and laid hold of my hand; the other girl ran away.

‘Sneaking’ might perhaps imply that it was night. Kalungku’s family may have been attacked at home in Yankalilla, or (more likely from her account) during a visit to Encounter Bay. Probably the whaleboat had been left in seclusion at a distance (perhaps Rapid Bay in the first case, or Yankalilla in the second); for the journey back to it, though presumably speedy, occupied part of two days:

⁴⁰⁶ PlomleyN 1987: 446.

⁴⁰⁷ Cp. Amery 1996: 43, 45. A girl would often be promised to an older man very early in her life, but might not go to live with him until puberty (see Moorhouse 1860: 97-8 [Moorhouse evidence 1860, in ‘Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, upon The Aborigines’, *SA Parliamentary Papers* No.165 of 1860]; and EDSA-Kaurna 1989: 85 [Education Department of SA 1989, *The Kaurna People: Aboriginal People of the Adelaide Plains*]).

⁴⁰⁸ Cp. Amery 1996: 43-4. From the men involved we can deduce that the year was after 1823. Knowing her birthdate to be c1817, we may deduce that the abduction date was probably more like 1826-7. Johnson was still a seaman on the ‘Alligator’ in 1823 (Cumpston 1986: 68), and could not have participated in the abduction until after that. If Jones 1835 was correct in claiming that Allen arrived only in 1827, then it would have to be after that; but this is doubtful. For her to be a ‘big girl’ she must have been about nine years old at least, making the date probably about 1826.

⁴⁰⁹ JAMES ALLAN or ALLEN was an Irishman, age unknown, who had run from the *Mary Ann* in 1816, but was “allowed to clear as a free sailor” on the *Jupiter* in 1817. He and a “J Day” (who also ended up on KI) were both in the crew of the *General Gates* on a long sealing trip in 1820-2 during which it “seems also to have visited Kangaroo Island” (Cumpston 1986: 44, 61-2; cp. PlomleyN 1966: 1010, Supplement: 25; PlomleyB and Henley 1990: 34). From indirect evidence, Allen probably settled on KI immediately in 1822 (see Morphett in 1836, who cited two sealers as having been on the island 18 and 15 years; the former was Wallan, the latter probably Allen (MorphettJ to Angas 14 Sep 1836 [SACo First Supp: 29]). Dr Leigh met an unnamed Islander in July 1837 who had arrived 15 years before then (Leigh 1839: 104). This man was probably Allen, since both he and Wallan’s farm had three women. The 1822 date is contradicted by Captain Jones 1835, according to whom Allen arrived in 1827 (Jones 1835: 252, <https://archive.org/details/colonizationpar00napigooq/page/n288/mode/2up>; reprinted in ‘Port Adelaide River: its first reported discovery’, *Proc. Royal Geog. Soc SA* 22: 75); but Jones’s dates are unreliable. Captain Hart in early 1836 warned the colonists against “the man ‘James’ who is an Irish Convict” (Hart 1836: 163).

⁴¹⁰ WILLIAM (or JOHN) JOHNSON (b. 1802) was on the *Alligator* under a 12-month bond in 1823, in his early 20s (Cumpston 1986: 68, 183; PlomleyN 1966: 1013). PlomleyN 1987: 68). Presumably it was during that period that he helped Allen abduct Kalungku. A ‘ticket-of-leave’ convict was granted permission to work in the colonies for himself or others, under conditions: see <http://members.iinet.net.au/~perthdps/convicts/res-11.html> (22/1/18). The conditions were strict when seen from a judge’s bench, but less so from a sealer’s deck.

⁴¹¹ Nothing more is known of this sister of Kalungku.

⁴¹² The complicit ‘blackfellows’ were doubtless two of those whom she mentioned elsewhere in the interview, the “several New Holland black men [i.e. Aborigines from the mainland] on Kangaroo Island”. They were “her countrymen” (local mainlanders) from a neighbouring group, but we cannot be sure which group this was. These neighbours “had been living with the sealers on the island” and so theoretically could have come from any of the other local ‘tribes’ in contact, such as Port Lincoln; but in reality they were probably from Encounter Bay. As we are already beginning to see, the Encounter Bay and Fleurieu people had many interconnections. Each would have been familiar with both their own terrain and that of the other, and with the camping habits of the related clans there; and so quite capable of acting as guides. Their connections were compatible with the occasional abduction of wives by men on both sides; e.g. ‘Jim’ of Rapid Bay allegedly abducted a wife ‘Allauri’ from Encounter Bay in 1836 (see Chapter 3.6.4.2 ‘Jim & Allauri’).

*The white man put a rope around my neck like a dog, tie up my hands. We slept in the bush one night and then they tied my legs. In the morning we went to the boat. The other man Bill Johnson had been staying with the boat. They took me then to Kangaroo Island.*⁴¹³

Now she was the white man's 'lubra', dubbed 'Sarah'.⁴¹⁴

1.3.2.3 – KALUNGKU AND EMMA ON KANGAROO ISLAND.

Kalungku-Sarah's life on Kangaroo Island in the late 1820s was fraught, though perhaps alleviated a little by the presence of relatives. She had a brother who died from eating seal meat; this *may* have happened on Kangaroo Island, or perhaps earlier on the mainland.⁴¹⁵ But certainly her promised husband's sister 'Emma' was on the Island.

Emma had already been there for some years. She was taken to KI no later than about 1820 by the Englishman John 'Abyssinia Jack' Anderson – some kind of leader on Kangaroo Island in the years before the famous Henry Wallan.⁴¹⁶ It is not clear whether Anderson abducted her, or whether her menfolk traded her to him in a peaceful transaction.⁴¹⁷ By then she was around fifteen years old, had already borne at least two

⁴¹³ PlomleyN 1987: 445.

⁴¹⁴ With the nickname 'Sarah', probably she was often referred to by its short forms 'Sal' and 'Sally', like a large number of other Aboriginal women (see my three long footnotes entitled 'A surfeit of Sals', #1-3). However, I do not know any record which confirms this nickname for Kalungku.

⁴¹⁵ Around 1829 Kalinga-Sally's brother died on KI "*of a surfeit of hair-seal*" (Bates 1894b: 6a). Kalungku's brother *may* also have died at this time. No doubt referring to the same incident, Kalungku told Robinson in 1837 that "*there were several New Holland [mainland] black men on Kangaroo Island. Said two of them died from eating seal; her brother died also from eating seal*" (PlomleyN 1987: 445). Robinson's use of the word 'also' with Kalungku's brother tells us that he was a third person after the 'two of them' on KI, and it *might not* necessarily mean that he was on KI when he died, nor that he died at the same time. Though the context within Robinson's interview is of her life on KI (1826-9), this sentence could be a general side comment on the dangers of seal meat.

⁴¹⁶ JOHN 'ABYSSINIA JACK' ANDERSON, despite his nickname referring to black Africa, was a white Englishman (not an American as assumed by some authors, misled by his nickname). He was one of three John Andersons moving round the south coast of Australia in those years (Ruediger 1980: 98).

This man who took Emma was not the John Anderson who in November 1834 at Boston Bay near Port Lincoln murdered Aboriginal men while abducting their wives; that was a "*black man*" (Cumpston 1986: 132-3).

Emma's Anderson spent some years living on Kangaroo Island from 1818 to at least 1826, or perhaps visiting it often, and was said to be "*the senior individual*" there before going east to the Straits and eventually staying there (PlomleyN 1966: 327; Cumpston 1986: 45, 85, 86; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 34-5).

⁴¹⁷ I have seen no direct evidence that Emma was kidnapped, nor that *this* John Anderson was involved in any kidnappings (though a couple of the *other* John Andersons were). Robinson on 19 March 1831 outlined Emma's career with Anderson to that date, but merely recorded ambiguously that Anderson "*got [her] from off the main on the coast of New Holland opposite to Kangaroo Island and has lived with her ever since*" (PlomleyN 1966: 327). In 1831 Anderson was willing to communicate with Robinson and report atrocities, though this does not mean that he had never been involved in some of them.

DATE OF EMMA'S MOVE TO KANGAROO ISLAND: around 1820?

Anderson must have 'got' her after 1818, the year when he came to Kangaroo Island (Cumpston 1986: 86). We know that one of her children by Anderson, Catherine, was born about 1820 (ClarkeP 1998: 38), presumably on Kangaroo Island.

Following a false lead (Robinson's note of 23 July 1836, PlomleyN 1966: 366), Amery wrote that Emma was one of the women abducted on the coast of southeastern Australia by George Meredith junior, son of a leading settler in Tasmania (Amery 1996: 45); and this might put the date 1820 in question. The facts of Meredith's life (1806-c.1835) make it impossible that he could have been abducting women in South Australia in 1820 (see Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 213-6). In 1820 Meredith was only 14 and not yet in Australia. The Meredith family had no ships until 1826 (Cumpston 1986: 131). George Jnr was managing his new sheep farm and several other land grants on the east coast of Tasmania from 1824 until at least 1826, and there is no certain record that the family ships were sailing until 1829, or that George (as opposed to his brother Charles) was involved with their ships before 1832 (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 214-6). Robinson did not mention Meredith in connection with abductions on the Australian mainland until 1836 (PlomleyN 1987: 352-3, 366, 385, 402, 404-5, 414, etc). It seems that in these journal entries several years after

sons to her previous lawful husband, and was therefore already a proper married woman travelling the way to knowledge and status. She was in her early twenties when Kalungku arrived, and lived with Anderson for most of the remainder of her fairly short life.

Kalungku told Robinson that she herself was a captive on the Island for “a long time” (her words),⁴¹⁸ perhaps two or three years until she was about twelve or thirteen. Emma was there for much longer. Their experiences on KI were often horrific. Authorities might have been cleaning up runaway convicts in the east that year, but on KI there was no Whyte or Robinson to help these women. Allen was one of the more vicious Islanders. In the small closed Island society the child Kalungku soon knew about brutality and no doubt experienced both rape and violence herself. As she remembered it, “The sealers beat the black women plenty; they cut a piece of flesh off a woman’s buttock”. Here the second item was the act of terrible sadism perpetrated upon a Tasmanian woman by Kalungku’s captor Allen, and quite likely she witnessed it.⁴¹⁹

Emma bore a child every year for about 11 years, no doubt while continuing to carry the brunt of Anderson’s work and supplying him with food. Anderson said later that he had “ten children by her, five of whom are alive”.⁴²⁰ Two of her lawful sons from the mainland were also brought to the Island. One of these spent his final weeks or months with Nat Thomas – an Englishman who had arrived in 1825. Living now very far away from his middle-class upbringing both literally and figuratively, he was setting up with George Bates at Antechamber Bay. He shared some of Allen’s practices: “They cut them with broad sealer’s knives”, said Kalungku.⁴²¹ Anderson told Robinson that Thomas had

*cut off one of the ears of a New Holland native boy⁴²² about 7 years of age (Emue’s son) so close to the head that a piece of the cheek was also removed. After lingering for several weeks the lad died. The incident... was punishment because the boy ran away.*⁴²³

The “several New Holland black men on Kangaroo Island” – such as those who collaborated in the abduction of Kalungku – must have known about some of these atrocities. Whatever the ambiguities around their presence, some were serious negotiators who expected conditions to be met. Such extreme abuse of women, and of young children who were probably their relatives, would have aroused quick and violent anger even if it was prudently suppressed at the time. Nor would it have lost any heat when the tale was told to other relatives at home later.

the events, he was identifying Emma’s abduction with that of other unnamed women from the same general region “adjacent to Kangaroo Island”, whom his men had also seen with the sealers and who had reportedly been taken by Meredith – forgetting that six years earlier Anderson had claimed that he abducted Emma himself (Robinson 19 March 1831, in PlomleyN 1966: 327).

⁴¹⁸ PlomleyN 1987: 445.

⁴¹⁹ The record of this atrocity is quoted in Chapter 1.1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally)’.

⁴²⁰ Robinson 19 March 1831 (PlomleyN 1966: 327).

⁴²¹ Robinson 2 July 1836 (PlomleyN 1987: 445).

⁴²² i.e. the son of a mainland Aboriginal father, not a mixed-race offspring of the Island.

⁴²³ Anderson in May and June 1831 gave this and other information about cruelties on Kangaroo Island (Robinson cited in PlomleyN 1966: 357, 360, 1016). The quotation above is from Plomley’s summary of Thomas (p.1016), presumably drawn from extra sources such as Anderson’s signed report. This boy was presumably a brother to Emma’s other mainland son Prari, who was still alive in 1831 (PlomleyN 1966: 335).

In 1827 Anderson brought Emma's other son Prari from the mainland, aged about ten; and again it is unclear how this happened, by force or by arrangement.⁴²⁴

Between 1829 and 1831 both Emma and Kalungku-Sarah were taken east to Bass Strait by some of the itinerant Straitsmen. First to go was Kalungku-Sarah. She was now about 13 years old, and it was probably in early 1829.⁴²⁵ Around this time not all relationships were violent with the local Aborigines; Islander George Bates was being offered "wives" and living with a 'tribe' on the Fleurieu in a peaceful deal arranged through 'Sal' and her father 'Condoy'.⁴²⁶ But it was there that Kalungku

*was seized upon by Johnson and forced on board the schooner 'Henry'⁴²⁷ ... Johnson tied her hands and feet and put her on board.*⁴²⁸

It took two men to subdue her: he was aided by "a sealer Harry Wally" (Henry Wallan).

1.3.2.4 – WITH THE WHALERS AND STRAITSMEN.

Johnson and Wallan "came away in the schooner to the islands in the straits", no doubt sealing and trading.⁴²⁹ In these years the *Henry* was sealing and whaling from Launceston to the Straits, KI and New Zealand, often commanded on other occasions by the notable whaler William Dutton, who by 1829 had based himself at Portland Bay on the Victorian coast.⁴³⁰ So it is not surprising to hear that "Johnson sold [Kalungku] to Bill Dutton",⁴³¹ and it is likely that the transaction happened at Portland.⁴³²

There is no record of her movements with him in his travels divided between Portland, long sealing voyages and the merchant port of Launceston. To judge by her account, life was much as it had been on Kangaroo Island, but probably more inescapable without the

⁴²⁴ PlomleyN 1966: 327. Again Robinson says ambiguously that Anderson "Got a black boy from the main, son to this woman". It is possible that this was not coincidental: that he brought over Prari partly at Emma's behest, partly to train him as a sealer. But there is no direct record of any such ongoing relationship between Anderson and Emma's mainland relatives.

⁴²⁵ The *Henry* certainly visited Kangaroo Island with Griffiths on board in 1829 before 13 March, and may have done so again during Griffiths' sealing trip between 1 Dec 1830 and 8 March 1831 (cp. the voyages of the *Henry* in 1829-31: Cumpston 1986: 115-6). Amery deduces from the ages of Kalungku's children that it was on the first recorded trip to KI in 1829 that she was picked up (Amery 1996: 43, 45).

⁴²⁶ See the story of Bates in Chapter 2.3.3 'Condoy, Kalinga the tribes & Bates'.

⁴²⁷ On this trip the captain of the *Henry* was probably the ship's owner, the Launceston shipbuilder John Griffiths, who must have collaborated to some extent. From Robinson's record alone Griffiths' presence is perhaps debatable; the interview with Kalungku says "she was seized upon by Johnson and forced on board the schooner *Henry J Griffith owner and master*". But if Amery is right that the deportation happened in 1829, then Griffiths was the captain and must have either colluded or turned a blind eye.

⁴²⁸ Robinson interview with Kalungku, 2 June 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 445-6).

⁴²⁹ *ibid.* Johnson never returned to KI, but Harry Wallan did. After selling Kalungku to Dutton, the two Islanders no doubt went sealing. By 1831 Johnson was living with two Tasmanian women on Gun Carriage Island, and he was drowned in 1837 (PlomleyN 1966: 1013; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 48).

⁴³⁰ For the travels of the 'Henry' and of Dutton in 1830-6, see Cumpston 1986: 120-3, 125.

⁴³¹ WILLIAM DUTTON (1811-1878), "sea-captain and farmer," a "splendid seaman... the most expert whaler on the coast," founder of Portland Bay whale fishery, and colonial trader (see <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dutton-william-2011>). For the early Dutton, and his travels in the *Henry* during his sealing days in 1830-6, see Cumpston 1986: 120-3, 125.

⁴³² Amery 1996: 45.

free space.⁴³³ Floggings were common: “They tied them up and beat them with ropes. Bill Dutton beat her plenty”. The oblivion of rum was one of the few available refuges: “the sealers got drunk plenty and women get drunk too”.⁴³⁴

In about 1830 the 13-year-old Kalungku bore a daughter by Dutton. She probably called the baby by the traditional ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* birth-order name *Kartanya* (‘first-born, a girl’),⁴³⁵ but the only recorded name for this child, ‘Sophia’, was bestowed later and not by her mother.⁴³⁶ In about 1832 came a son fathered by one of the sealers, “a Sydney black” (i.e. Aboriginal). By tradition this child would be *Warritya* (‘second-born, a boy’), but again the only name on record was given later, ‘John Franklin’. He was welcomed into the world “at a rock near to the Julians” – probably the Lawrence Rocks, two small volcanic remnants in Portland Bay, frequented by fur seals.⁴³⁷

Sometime in these years Emma and Prari were also taken from KI to the Straits. In March 1831 Emma surfaced in Robinson’s journal. She was with ‘Abyssinia Jack’ Anderson on Preservation Island (off Cape Barren Island).⁴³⁸ Robinson was already combing the Straits to rescue Aboriginal women but had not yet decided upon Flinders Island as a base at which to re-settle them; at this stage he was considering Gun Carriage Island.⁴³⁹ Like some other Straitsmen, Anderson accepted an ambiguous appointment as one of Robinson’s ‘constables’. He surrendered Emma and a recent infant of theirs to the Conciliator on Gun Carriage, where Robinson had already brought a

⁴³³ On Kangaroo Island, which had no living Aboriginal population of its own, Kalungku was no more of a foreigner than anyone else; but at Portland she was in alien Aboriginal territory, and probably no safer out of Dutton’s camp than in it.

⁴³⁴ Both quotations PlomleyN 1987: 445.

⁴³⁵ BIRTH-ORDER NAMES: In ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* culture, birth-order names such as *Kartanya* were bestowed at birth by the mother (Simpson 1998: 223-4, quoting Spoeri’s translation of Schürmann Diary 17 Sep 1839). Noller’s translation of this passage, edited by Lois Zweck [p.c. email 2-3/1/23]: “*Today the younger wife of Wattewattipinna gave birth to her first child which she named Kartanje* [sic = ‘Kartanye’]. *From that I concluded that the child was named according to the sequence in which the mother bears them, and not from the father*”. Cp. T&S 1840: 10 “*Kartanya*”. See also Eyre 1845: 324-5. This fact is important because recorded birth-order names identify the *Miyurna* Language Country identity into which the mothers or wives of several of our protagonists (both *Miyurna* and *Raminyeri*) had been born – thus revealing some of the nuances of intermarriage in the region (see e.g. Chapter 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter & family’). These birth-order names were generic, and continued as the preferred name for common lifelong use with outsiders. Consequently many of them occur often in the records, referring to different people of any age. At *Yarnkalyilla*, if Kalungku and her sister were the oldest children born to the same mother, outsiders would be told that the name of the older one was *Kartanya* and the younger one *Waruyu* (‘second-born, a girl’); but in this case we cannot tell which was which because we know the age of only one of the sisters.

⁴³⁶ Sophia’s birth date was given as “c. 1830” in her baptismal record (PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 26).

⁴³⁷ Presumably ‘at’ means that she was on board the ship, not ‘on’ the rock itself. “*The Julians*” refers to Lady Julia Percy Island (Amery 1996: 43), a seal colony 6 km off the Victorian coast. The main island is a plateau with vertical cliffs, surrounded by rock platforms and reefs; the ship would not have been able to harbour there, but sealing gangs lived onshore sometimes for months. Today it is home to the largest fur seal colony in Australia. The only ‘rocks’ which could be described as ‘near’ this island are Lawrence Rocks, 30 km away near Point Danger at the other end of the Bay (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lawrence_Rocks [13/4/18]). See Australian Heritage Database, n.d., ‘Lady Julia Percy Island State Faunal Reserve’, Australian Government: Department of the Environment and Energy, http://www.environment.gov.au/cgi-bin/ahdb/search.pl?mode=place_detail;place_id=3718 [13/4/18]; Helen Doyle in association with Context Pty Ltd, 2006, *Moyne Shire Heritage Study 2006, Stage 2, Vol. 2 Environmental History*, Auburn, Vic: Context Pty Ltd: 10, [www.moyne.vic.gov.au/files/assets/.../moyne-hs-stage-2-vol-2-teh-\[2006\].pdf](http://www.moyne.vic.gov.au/files/assets/.../moyne-hs-stage-2-vol-2-teh-[2006].pdf) [13/5/18]; ‘Portland Bay Extracts’, *Sydney Morning Herald* 23/3/1843: 4b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/12415565/1522262>; also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lady_Julia_Percy_Island [13/4/18].

⁴³⁸ Robinson 19 March 1831 (PlomleyN 1966: 327): “[Anderson] has a black woman living with him, which he got from off the main on the coast of New Holland opposite to Kangaroo Island and has lived with her ever since”.

⁴³⁹ Gun Carriage is now called Vansittart Island, between Cape Barren and Flinders Islands.

number of the Tasmanian refugees. But Anderson kept another woman and also Prari, who was by now a “youth”⁴⁴⁰ – and no doubt in training as a sealer.

Robinson interviewed Emma about the women on KI, and also learned that Prari was at the remote Kent Group where Anderson was associated with a group of itinerant sealers.⁴⁴¹ Then he sailed on looking for more to rescue, presumably leaving Emma and her baby in the care of his staff at the Gun Carriage establishment. But the surrounding islands were thick with men who were doing their best to hide their women or get them back, and ‘Constable’ Anderson proved no exception. It is therefore no surprise that when Robinson saw Emma again on 5 June 1831 she was at Cape Portland on the northeastern tip of the Van Diemens mainland, arriving once again “from the islands” with Anderson and a gang of sealers.⁴⁴² Five months later the government set up its final choice for the Native Settlement, Wybalenna on Flinders Island,⁴⁴³ and five years passed before Robinson heard of Emma again.

In January 1836 the Conciliator was told (mistakenly) that ‘Emue’ was now at Gun Carriage Island in the company of old ‘Constable’ Munro. In fact Munro was with a ‘Port Philip native’ sold to him by George Meredith for the going price of £7;⁴⁴⁴ and a year later Robinson learned that ‘Emue’ and three of her children were actually still with Anderson, now at Woody Island.⁴⁴⁵ At this small and remote place Emma was briefly reunited with Kalungku-Sarah. At some stage after 1831 Dutton had brought the young woman here (now in her late teens) with her two children. The country on Woody was far less hospitable than KI. Kalungku told Robinson, “it is no good place, there is nothing there at all”. While Anderson had perhaps been merely exploiting Emma, Dutton was still actively abusing Kalungku. She “got little to eat. Bill Dutton beat her with a rope”.⁴⁴⁶ Then in about September 1836 Dutton decided to take a new path and set up his own future as a whaling captain; possibly he had planned this move long ago. He abandoned her and the little boy to Anderson, and “took his child the girl with him”, leaving the little girl’s mother to report that Dutton had “gone away and married a white woman”.⁴⁴⁷ Later and far away, Kalungku’s *Kartanya* was baptized as ‘Sophia Dutton’.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁰ PlomleyN 1966: 331-2, 453, 1010.

⁴⁴¹ Robinson 4 and 9 Apr 1831 (PlomleyN 1966: 335, 338-9). The remote small islands of the Kent Group lie almost halfway between Flinders Island and Wilson’s Promontory in Victoria.

⁴⁴² PlomleyN 1966: 359.

⁴⁴³ Turnbull 1948: 141-3.

⁴⁴⁴ Robinson 12 Jan, 9 May, 16 Dec 1836, 9 Jan 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 336-7, 352, 402, 414, 415). The entry on 12 January implies that Anderson had sold Emue to Munro, and many historians have accepted this as a fact. I thank Tasmanian researcher Pat Grey for showing me from these journal entries that this was certainly *not* the case, and “*the actions appear inconsistent with Abyssinia and Emue’s long relationship and established family group. Also, it is a third-hand report – someone told the surgeon who told GAR [Robinson]*” (Pat Grey p.c., emails 15/6/23; cp. her careful study of Anderson, his wives, and their relationship with Robinson, in Patricia D Grey 2021, *A Family Story*, Chapters 1-3, especially her detailed critique of the alleged ‘sale’ of Emue to Munro, pp.49-54).

⁴⁴⁵ Robinson list of sealers in Jan 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 416). Woody Island (between Flinders Island and Cape Barren Island) is now called Anderson Island. There is a detailed account of it, with photographs and maps, in Grey 2021: 54-60.

⁴⁴⁶ Both quotations from Robinson interview with Kalungku, 2 June 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 446).

⁴⁴⁷ Both quotations *Ibid*. Corporal Miller reported that Dutton had “*gone to port, i.e. Launceston*” (Robinson 1 July 1836, PlomleyN 1987: 444).

⁴⁴⁸ She was baptized as “*Sophia, daughter of William and Sarah Dutton (an Aboriginal)*” (PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 25-6, 28; no date or place is given here for the baptism). Probably Dutton and his wife were raising her to be one of their domestics; but we hear no more of her.

In January 1837 back in *Patpangga Yarnkalyilla*, a new colony was beginning. Surveyor BT Finniss had established friendly if temporary relationships with the locals of “Yankallyilla” and Rapid Bay – who no doubt included Kalungku’s extended family – and was sketch-mapping her homeland to prepare the way for the prospective purchasers of ‘South Australia’.⁴⁴⁹ At Portland Bay Dutton continued in the whaling business alongside the Hentys, to transform himself eventually into a respectable pioneer colonist there with his second white wife.⁴⁵⁰

We struggle to imagine the state of mind in which an exiled young woman might face all this. In that January Robinson wrote that Kalungku on Woody “wishes to leave the sealers.”⁴⁵¹ This is unsurprising; yet in another respect it is surprising and rare that she was able to express her wish so directly to Robinson or his marines while she was still living with Straitsmen. Other women were reluctant because their ‘masters’ persuaded them against it or forced them to hide.⁴⁵² But it seems that with the departure of Dutton no other Straitsman was interested in keeping Kalungku. Perhaps Anderson was more willing than most to allow personal choices when it suited him. Or (more likely), neither he nor other Straitsmen were interested in keeping Kalungku. Emma had been abducted at the age of about 15, Kalungku at 9 or 10. With five more formative years of traditional training than Kalungku as well as much experience in caring for her children, Emma was probably tougher, more skilled in bush subsistence and more likely to be a sought-after ‘capital hand’.⁴⁵³

On 1st June 1837 Corporal Miller, one of Protector Robinson’s rescue marines, went to Woody Island accompanied by two Tasmanian women from the Wybalenna settlement. There they found Anderson with ‘Emue’, and Kalungku-Sarah with her *Warritya*-John, and offered to bring those three in to Wybalenna.⁴⁵⁴

But Emma stayed on with the sealers. No reasons were recorded. Perhaps she contemplated the quality of life at Robinson’s Native Establishment. By then the survivors there had endured six years of a miserable regulated life, and many had died from introduced diseases.⁴⁵⁵ If she had any justifiable doubts they were probably amplified by her ‘master’.⁴⁵⁶ It is also likely (though we have no direct evidence for it) that Anderson was treating her a great deal better than Dutton had treated Kalungku. We may fairly

⁴⁴⁹ See Chapter 3.6.4 ‘Friendship?’. “Yankallyilla” was Finniss’s spelling.

⁴⁵⁰ See PlomleyN 1966: 1012; Cumpston 1986: 183; John S. Cumpston, ‘Dutton, William (1811-1878)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, Australian National University, 1966, 2006-2018, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/dutton-william-2011> (2/5/2018).

⁴⁵¹ Robinson journal 9 Jan 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 416).

⁴⁵² Robinson’s journal of 9 Jan 1837 claims that ‘Charlotte’ (Kalungku) hid under a bed on *Preservation* Island to avoid being rescued. But this section of his journal has been re-written to include later information from memory (such as “[she] subsequently joined the establishment”), and in the process he has carelessly substituted Charlotte (who was on “Woody Isle”) for a Tasmanian woman Sally/Rebecca on Preservation Island, of whom he recorded identical facts on 21 May (see PlomleyN 1987: 413, 416, 443, 676).

⁴⁵³ Emma had been abducted at the age of about fifteen, Kalungku at nine or ten. Perhaps Dutton had used Kalungku mainly for sexual purposes rather than subsistence, and the other sealers may have considered her to be a less useful slave than her sister-in-law. In their economy the Straitsmen and Islanders were not interested in women (e.g. white women) who could not sustain the hard work or had little knowledge of bush tucker and the skills to find it (see e.g. PlomleyN 1966: 324, 331). In WA Cawthorne’s 1854 novel *The Kangaroo Islanders*, Flash Tom says of another Kangaroo Islander’s woman, “A capital hand she was, too, and all hands wants her, but it was no go – one time I offers all my skins I gets in a year, a big heap, too, for his gal; but no go” (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 89).

⁴⁵⁴ PlomleyN 1987: 444.

⁴⁵⁵ Turnbull 1948: 148-9, 154-6, 163-4, 175-7.

⁴⁵⁶ Cp. Robinson 12 Jan 1836 (PlomleyN 1987: 335).

guess that through long companionship in hard living, his exploitation had transformed into respect, companionship and love, and possibly the beginning of dependence (by now Anderson was probably in his fifties).⁴⁵⁷ But Emma died on Woody Island later that year – “the men were absent sealing and there was only her daughter and another woman on the island at the time”⁴⁵⁸ – in her early 30s, still severed from her country and people, but now a matriarch. She and Anderson left a number of children who presumably became part of the ‘fine, active, hardy’ mixed-race people of the Straits and southern Victoria.⁴⁵⁹

On the other hand the 20-year-old Kalungku “was willing to quit the island on the understanding that she would be conveyed to her own country, i.e. New Holland”.⁴⁶⁰ Though deprived of full social and ceremonial life as a woman of her own people, at this stage perhaps she felt herself still young and hopeful enough to take it all up again.

1.3.2.5 – KALUNGKU WITH ROBINSON ON FLINDERS ISLAND.

Anderson in the end was not a transient; given the options available, Emma’s choice or compulsion to stay with him was probably rational and not an unequivocal tragedy for her. And in the long run Kalungku’s rescue from transient sealers by the colonial government was certainly not the unequivocal ‘salvation’ which she might have imagined. She went from one kind of managed life into another.

On that June day in 1837, Corporal Miller returned from Woody to Flinders Island with the two Wybalenna women, Kalungku, and her infant son *Warritya*-John. The boy was “too young to walk” – does he mean ‘walk so far’? Was the boy perhaps weak from undernourishment; he was about five years old⁴⁶¹ – and stayed in the boat, presumably with other marines.⁴⁶² Miller brought the rest of them on foot to Robinson late in the evening.

Next day her arrival caused a stir among the Aboriginal Tasmanians on the island. When Robinson introduced her to them, “she met with a hearty welcome from these generous and simple-hearted people” and “appeared much delighted with her reception”. They would have been interested in the “bitch and two pups” which she had brought with her.⁴⁶³ No doubt she intended to keep on using the hunting skills she had acquired. Perhaps she hoped to breed the dogs as well.

At noon the little boy arrived in the boat. Robinson interviewed Kalungku at some length, partly because he found her and her son “interesting”:

⁴⁵⁷ One genealogy gives his birthdate as “about 1784” (<https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Anderson-63032> [18/6/23]).

⁴⁵⁸ Robinson 9 Dec 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 514; I thank Pat Grey for this entry [p.c., email 15/6/23], which I had missed). See also Amery 1996: 39-41, 45 (citing Linda Barwick 1985); PlomleyN 1966: 1010, 1014.

⁴⁵⁹ Clarke lists the known children of Emma Anderson (ClarkeP 1998: 38), and Mollison gives an Anderson genealogy (BC Mollison 1976, *The Tasmanian Aborigines: Tasmanian Aboriginal Genealogies, with an Appendix on Kangaroo Is.* Vol.3, Hobart, University of Tasmania, cited in Amery 1996: 45, 79). Her daughter Catherine was living with Jonathon Griffiths in 1827 or 1831 (PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 26-7, 35, 46). For ‘active, hardy’ see James Kelly 1816, quoted in PlomleyN 1966: 1008-9 (see my Chapter 1.1.3.7 ‘A new generation’). For a detailed study of what is known about Anderson’s children, see Grey 2021, Chapter Four.

⁴⁶⁰ Plomley’s summation, based on other writings of Robinson (PlomleyN 1987: 695). ‘New Holland’ was the early colonial term for the Australian mainland, while our ‘Tasmania’ was ‘Van Diemen’s Land’.

⁴⁶¹ Robinson 1 & 2 June 1836 (PlomleyN 1987, 444, 446).

⁴⁶² Robinson 1 June 1836 (PlomleyN 1987, 444).

⁴⁶³ Robinson 2 June 1836 (PlomleyN 1987, 446).

*The woman's boy... is a very interesting child. The features are European cast, thin lips and small features, and appears intelligent. So also does the mother. The woman's features are similar to the boy's.*⁴⁶⁴

The long journal entry displays its author's pride all too clearly, recording how he showed her around the wonders of Wybalenna. After seeing the men's work and the women's knitting and domestic work, she "appeared highly delighted and said she should like to work like them." At the evening school "she appeared to be quite overcome with astonishment" at witnessing "an epocha [sic] she had not possibly conceived": children teaching the art of writing to adults, hymns being sung, 'native' men praying to the God of whom "she answered that she never learnt him." "All was wonder... She said she wished to learn and I instructed her in the alphabet."⁴⁶⁵

On 3 June Robinson renamed her 'Charlotte': a break with her old life, and an implicit assertion that his authority over her was replacing that of the men who had called her 'Sarah'. He took her into his household as a family servant, and she cleaned out his office. On the 4th she attended Sunday services for the first time, where she "behaved herself with great decorum, also her child" – whom Robinson next day re-named "John Franklin" without inquiring about his real name.⁴⁶⁶

Robinson's son Charles, about the same age as Kalungku, had come to Wybalenna with his father,⁴⁶⁷ and no doubt shared in the general excitement over the arrival of this attractive and 'interesting' young woman.

On the 5th Robinson Senior wrote to the Colonial Secretary in Sydney that Charlotte, "a harmless inoffensive woman", wanted to return to South Australia, where there was a Protector of Aborigines for whom she would be "a most valuable auxiliary".⁴⁶⁸ At this date the embryonic government of SA had already asked Robinson to take up the neglected post of Protector, and he had already declined. The first active Interim Protector, Captain Walter Bromley, was alone and largely unsupported, struggling not only with the distribution of inappropriate rations to very critical 'natives', but with his interpreter, the Kangaroo Islander William Cooper, who was obstructive and often drunk.⁴⁶⁹ Kalungku would have been a much more willing and able interpreter for the SA Protectors at the Native Location on the banks of the River Torrens. She would have been vulnerable to exploitation by men both white and black; but so it turned out anyway with Robinson. In Adelaide at least she could have had the choice of returning south to her own people at *Yarnkalyilla*.

⁴⁶⁴ The 'European cast' of their faces leaves a mystery. The boy's father, a 'Sydney black', may well have been of mixed descent himself. Kalungku never mentions her own father; could he have been a European? She was born about 1817, before any known visits by sealers to the Fleurieu region. 'Sally Walker', the well-known Kangaroo Island identity, (Kalinga, born about 1806-1811), *may* have had 'European-style' features, as noted by Amery (Amery 1998: 53-4). In both cases, the evidence is too slim to take us far.

⁴⁶⁵ Robinson interview with Kalungku, 2 June 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 446).

⁴⁶⁶ Robinson journal 3-5 June 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 446-7). The boy was no doubt named after Sir John Franklin, the Arctic explorer, who had arrived in Hobart in January 1837 as successor to Governor Arthur (Kathleen Fitzpatrick, 'Franklin, Sir John (1786–1847)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University. 1966, 2006-2018, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/franklin-sir-john-2066> [16/4/18]).

⁴⁶⁷ Amery 1996: 35-6.

⁴⁶⁸ Robinson to Colonial Secretary 5 June 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 695). For a couple of months Governor Hindmarsh's private secretary George Stevenson had occupied the position and done almost nothing. See Hassell 1921: 8 (Kathleen Hassell [1921] / 1966, 'The Relations between the Settlers and Aborigines In South Australia, 1836-1860, Tinline Scholarship thesis, University of Adelaide 1921; published Adelaide: Libraries Board of SA 1966, <https://ardhinde.com/pdf/the-relations-between-the-settlers-and-aborigines-in-south-australia-1836-1860>.

⁴⁶⁹ See Hassell 1921: 19-22. Bromley's story will be examined in Book 2.

But at Wybalenna as an alien in Tasmanian country, she had no function beyond that of housemaid, with the accompanying dangers of exploitation by members of the household. In January 1838 – conversing no doubt in the Pidgin English which she must have acquired over the last ten years – Kalungku sat with young Charles Robinson as he wrote down his list of 80 words in her mother tongue (now identified as ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna*).⁴⁷⁰ ‘Do you understand my talk’, it continued... ‘whale boat’, ‘black’, ‘white man’, ‘to cry’, ‘they are coming’...⁴⁷¹

What story lies behind these three small scraps of paper? Kalungku cooperated in explaining this vocabulary and probably some of her own story of loss, as suggested by the words at the top of the list (quoted here and earlier in this essay). Did she warm to this young man of her own age who showed this interest in her? Did she find Charles a welcome change from past violence and present strangeness, a ‘wonder’ and a momentary haven? Did Charles view her with a combination of curiosity, fascination, pity and attraction: a frontier companion who lacked his English sexual inhibitions? How far did their intimacy go?⁴⁷² Robinson Senior had been one of Truganini’s lovers,⁴⁷³ and so was not in a position to be over-censorious or controlling about such relationships.

As we have seen, the Conciliator was already trying halfheartedly to get rid of her. But he did not follow it up until exactly a year after his letter to Sydney. She was still his servant but not mixing with the Tasmanians at all. Writing on 5 June 1838 to the South Australian Interim Protector himself (who was now Dr William Wyatt),⁴⁷⁴ he recorded again that she wished to return to her own country.⁴⁷⁵ There is no record that Sydney, Hobart or Adelaide replied to Robinson’s pleas, or that he tried again.

Robinson had accepted the position of Chief Protector of the new Victorian colony at Port Phillip, and was planning to move there with a small group of the Flinders Island Tasmanians – including the famous Truganini.⁴⁷⁶ By August of the same year (1838) Kalungku had decided to accompany them instead of going home.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁰ In Robinson’s wordlists, any ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* words could also conceivably have come from Kalungku, but none have been identified as far as I know.

⁴⁷¹ Amery 1996: 28-9.

⁴⁷² In the previous published version of this paragraph and the following one, I added some speculation that Kalungku had a third son, *Kudnuitya*: “For at that date Kalungku was about five months pregnant. The father is unknown; was he one of Robinson’s other servants, or perhaps Charles?... Two days later she gave birth to another son. Nothing is known about the fate of this infant” (Schultz, ‘Exile’, in Dooley & Clode 2019, *The First Wave*: 408 + n89 & 92). However, researcher Pat Grey recently showed me that all of this speculation was invalid because based on an error by Plomley. The ‘Sarah’ who gave birth on 7 June 1838 [not 1837, my typo in ‘Exile’] was not Kalungku, as assumed by Plomley, but a Tasmanian ‘Sarah’ also called ‘Tibb’, and the father was her husband ‘Eugene’ (PlomleyN 1987: 566, 742, 869; Pat Grey p.c., email 17 Sep 2023).

⁴⁷³ Vivienne Rae Ellis 1981, *Trucanini: Queen or Traitor?* New expanded edition, Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies: 38-9.

⁴⁷⁴ William Wyatt (1804-1886) succeeded Bromley as Protector in July 1837 (Alan Rendell, ‘Wyatt, William (1804–1886)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Canberra: Australian National University 1967, 2006-2018, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/wyatt-william-2821> [6/4/2018]).

⁴⁷⁵ PlomleyN 1987: 742. Plomley tells us that Robinson “had recommended her repatriation to Sir John Franklin”.

⁴⁷⁶ Later Truganini was known and mythologized by colonists – spuriously – as the alleged ‘last Tasmanian’. This was not so even in terms of ‘full-bloods’ (to use the old offensive terminology), as both Betty Thomas and ‘Suke’ outlived her (TaylorR 2002-8: 139-146). Robinson spelt her name as ‘Trugernanna’ (PlomleyN 1966: 246); Ellis used to spell it ‘Trucanini’ (Ellis 1981), and now ‘Trukanini’. As with Magalidi’s name, the difference between *k* and *g* is not semantically significant.

⁴⁷⁷ Robinson wrote two letters to the Colonial Secretary on 12 Aug 1838. In one, he alleged that all ‘his natives’ gave unanimously their “free and unequivocal consent” to his proposal, which was “hailed with rapture and delight”, though one may doubt this. In the other he wrote about Kalungku. See PlomleyN 1987: 751; Turnbull 1948: 201-2.

1.3.2.6 – KALUNGKU AT PORT PHILLIP.

In February 1839 the South Australian Country Surveys were beginning in earnest to measure and divide “Yankalyilla” for immediate sale.⁴⁷⁸ In Bass Strait “Charlotte” and her son “Johnny Franklin” were sailing for Port Phillip among Robinson’s retinue of ten Aborigines. All of them were miserable with influenza, one of the introduced diseases which had already killed others at Wybalenna.⁴⁷⁹ By July a few more Tasmanians had been brought over, making his imported “VDL natives” sixteen in all.⁴⁸⁰

At Port Phillip Robinson busied himself with his new responsibilities in southwestern Victoria. He built up a second protectorate, equally disastrous, and very soon lost all interest in these doubly-exiled refugees from Flinders Island, including Kalungku and even the Tasmanians he had known for years as friends during his early travels in the south. Even to the faithful Truganini he showed “callous indifference”, although in the 13 years of their association he had been one of her many lovers.⁴⁸¹ For a while the Flinders Island group appeared in his journals as items of expenditure for rations or attendees at Sunday prayers. On a handout day ‘Charlotte’ received 2/6d. But within months most of them were dispersed to work on farms or overlanding.⁴⁸² Many of these ‘VDL natives’ had given him years of faithful service and shared work; Truganini had saved his life.⁴⁸³ Now they must have felt utterly betrayed and abandoned by their self-proclaimed saviour.

Kalungku-Charlotte was surely aware of this. Perhaps she was disillusioned also by the Protector’s failure to fulfill the promise that she would be taken home. Unable and probably unwilling to return to Emma in a precarious life in the Straits, she was drawn to Truganini, who was only five years older. Both of them were no doubt desperately lonely, and still attractive to men. Though foreigners to each other, no doubt they used Pidgin English to reach across the language barrier, and perhaps they found a kinship of suffering. Probably confidence began with a recognition of family; for when she lived on Kangaroo Island Kalungku had almost certainly known two of Truganini’s Bruny sisters, including our other protagonist Magalidi.⁴⁸⁴ On 7th August the two women slipped away to spend a night with Aboriginal men in the Port Phillip camp.⁴⁸⁵

In November Robinson began a protracted and irritable lobbying of the New South Wales Governor Gipps to relieve him of the ‘VDL blacks’. Meanwhile he fostered out Kalungku’s seven-year-old ‘Johnny’ to a settler in the new town of Melbourne.⁴⁸⁶ In April 1840 when he went away on one of his many bush trips, some of the Tasmanian men acted at last. Rejecting life as domestic dependents of this well-intentioned but pompous and self-deluded ‘pacificator’, they absconded the day after he left. On June 2nd Kalungku and

⁴⁷⁸ This spelling – more accurate than the standard one – was obtained from ‘Kaurua’-*Miyurna* survey guides and is found on the earliest survey maps of 1839-40 (e.g. Plan 6/16B, South Australia Geographical Names Unit; map C243, State Library of South Australia).

⁴⁷⁹ PlomleyN 1987: 881; Robinson journal 22, 25, 26, 28 Feb 1839, in Clarklan 1998: 10-11.

⁴⁸⁰ ‘VDL’ = Van Diemen’s Land, i.e. Tasmania; Robinson’s abbreviation.

⁴⁸¹ Ellis 1981: 100; cp.38-9.

⁴⁸² Ellis 1981: 98-9; Robinson journals 17 July 1839 (Clarklan 1998: 59).

⁴⁸³ Robinson declared this in is evidence at Truganini’s trial (Ellis 1981: 108).

⁴⁸⁴ PlomleyN 1966: 246, cp. 336; see Chapter 1.3.3 ‘Truganini’s sister: Magalidi’.

⁴⁸⁵ Robinson 7 Aug 1839 (Clarklan 1998: 68). In these records Robinson refers to Truganini as “*Lallah Rhook*”, and to Kalungku as “*Sharlotte*”.

⁴⁸⁶ Robinson 18 and 30 Nov 1839 (Clarklan 1998: 105, 109). The new town on the River Yarra had been officially named ‘Melbourne’ in 1837 (Records and Archives Branch of the City of Melbourne, 1997, ‘The History of the City of Melbourne’: 10-11, <https://www.melbourne.vic.gov.au/SiteCollectionDocuments/history-city-of-melbourne.pdf>, 16/4/18).

Truganini also ran away and this time stayed away. One of Robinson's sons led a search and eventually discovered the two women at Point Nepean⁴⁸⁷ living with two white shepherds. He brought them most of the way back, but eight miles from Robinson's property they ran off again. Another search for them in August found only Truganini,⁴⁸⁸ and thereafter Kalungku-Sarah-Charlotte – still only about 23 years old – gets no mention in Robinson's records.

1.3.2.7 – KALUNGKU AFTER ROBINSON.

Did Kalungku return to Truganini or the shepherds in 1840? Did she end her days in western Victoria?

In 1841 Truganini and some of the others had run away again, embarked on a life of begging and violent armed robbery, and eventually murdered two whalers near Westernport. Two of the men were hanged; the three women were acquitted and restored to Robinson's custody.⁴⁸⁹

Kalungku was not among those who were sent back to Flinders Island in July 1842.⁴⁹⁰ By then the sheep farmers were moving into her own country at *Yarnkalyilla*, but it seems that she never saw them.

Perhaps the early records give us one more glimpse of her. Seven years after the trial Robinson recorded that on the night when his wife died in their home, an unidentified servant named 'Charlotte' was called to fetch his son Henry.⁴⁹¹ In a quest for survival in this harsh foreign land with any man who could offer her some stability, perhaps 'Charlotte' – the one-time 'Sarah', but still *Kalungku Kauwapaitya Wintira* – resorted again to domestic service with her old betrayer. But even if she did return to Robinson for a while, her future with him was uncertain. She and any new children would suffer the institutionalized fate of black domestic servants unless they absconded again. In fact the Port Philip Protectorate was abolished in 1849, and Robinson Senior returned to England in 1852.⁴⁹²

But Robinson did not have the last word. It was said that some of the ill-served little group of Tasmanians left descendants in Victoria.⁴⁹³ It is now confirmed that Kalungku also did;⁴⁹⁴ presumably she eventually returned to the shepherds or men like them. We remember again, "it was at these simple shepherd's huts that the frontier was articulated and negotiated":⁴⁹⁵ makeshift places which are invisible now but were then as powerful as the family halls of government functionaries to shape the future in good and evil.

⁴⁸⁷ At today's Queenscliff on the eastern side of the mouth of Port Phillip Bay.

⁴⁸⁸ Robinson 7 June, 2 and 3 July, 26 Aug 1840 (Clarklan 1998: 344, 351, 364).

⁴⁸⁹ The whole story is told in Ellis 1981: 102-112.

⁴⁹⁰ Ellis 1981: 113.

⁴⁹¹ Robinson journal 10 Aug 1848, in Clarklan 2000: 211-2, cp. 273.

⁴⁹² 'Robinson, George Augustus (1791–1866)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1967, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/robinson-george-augustus-2596> [8/5/2018].

⁴⁹³ Turnbull 1948: 215, footnote 9.

⁴⁹⁴ Since this chapter was written, I have become aware that younger Aboriginal researchers such as James Tylor are doing (2020-1) more work on the later history of Kalungku in western Victoria, in communication with her known descendants there. However, it is beyond the scope of this book to investigate that story any further.

⁴⁹⁵ Nathan Wolski 2000: 410.

Emma left descendants whose genealogy has been sketched by Mollison.⁴⁹⁶ Unable to return to their own people, Emma and Kalungku made similar decisions to move outside the doubtful protection of the Protectorate, onto the margins of invader society. It is a fair inference that they hoped for a better future there than with Robinson. Probably they saw with those outsiders not only a freer and more traditional lifestyle but a better hope of keeping their children.

So in both western Victoria and the Straits, perhaps the younger members of more than one ‘fine, active, hardy’ family learned from these two mothers that it was possible to choose who they would become: which people they would join, who would bear their children, and (to some extent) how they would live. As the tough ladies of Kangaroo Island did⁴⁹⁷ – as so many Aboriginal people have done while dealing with their trauma and loss – they could say ‘We have survived’.⁴⁹⁸

Somewhere in Robinson’s house, three small hand-written sheets by his son Charles were hidden among the masses of paperwork. Long afterwards they would come to light in research, evidence which links today’s Aboriginal people with Kalungku in their shared efforts to preserve their language:

War – w[h]ere is it
Yar.ter – country
I.tho – me
Nin.co – you
I.char.le – father
I.chie.e – mother
I.chu.ung.er – brother
I.chi.yuck.er.nu – sister ...
Tin.yare.ro – boy
Mun.car.re – girl
I.thoe ar.mi.ther – my wife
Nin.co ar.mi.ther – your wife ...
*Car.thud.er.lo – long way ...*⁴⁹⁹

.....

⁴⁹⁶ See the footnote above from Clarke and Mollison on the descendants of Emma and Anderson.

⁴⁹⁷ See TaylorR 2002-8.

⁴⁹⁸ ‘We have survived’ is the title and punchline of the song by Aboriginal reggae-rock group No Fixed Address, iconic for forty years now across the whole of Australia (see their LP album *Wrong Side of the Road*, Black Australia Records 1981).

⁴⁹⁹ Amery 1996: 29-30. In that essay Amery transcribes all of Kalungku’s wordlist into standard KWP Old Spelling, and compares each word with the most reliable language sources.

1.3.3 – TRUGANINI’S SISTER: MAGALIDI (‘Big Sal’) to 1827.⁵⁰⁰

In a story about the peoples of the Fleurieu, why is one of our protagonists a Tasmanian?

In the first place, we know quite a lot about her life: enough to make it an archetype of the careers of all the KI women. It illustrates how varied were their sufferings, how wide their unchosen travels could be, and how long and successfully some of them endured. While she left no known descendants to preserve her story, her dignified isolation all the more deserves a monument.

Secondly, Magalidi’s life intersected more than once with the lives of some of our other protagonists: Kalinga, Meredith, Cooper and ‘Doughboy’. She provides us with some links otherwise missing from their stories. I will focus on her relationships with them.

Thirdly, the pressures and choices which she faced as a Palawa from Van Diemen’s Land provide a context which highlights the different pressures and choices faced by local women.

While Kalungku was a Fleurieu woman who was taken east and became a Victorian, Magalidi was a Tasmanian who was taken west and became a South Australian loner, one of a handful of long-lived and legendary figures for KI colonists in the later 19th century. She survived and adapted through remarkable hardships in faraway places, served Colonel Light briefly alongside the Islander William Cooper, and in her final exile returned like Kalungku to the bush.

Which ‘Sal’ was she? Some issues of identification arise because of the surfeit of Salls and Sallys among women associated with KI. While recognizing that some might question some of the four identifications which I make here,⁵⁰¹ nevertheless I adopt them with confidence.

⁵⁰⁰ See Map05 ‘Bass Strait & Van Diemen’s Land’.

⁵⁰¹ A SURFEIT OF SALS #1: ‘BIG SAL’ AND OTHER SALS: IDENTIFICATIONS:

1. LIGHT’S SALL WAS MEREDITH’S SAL:

Some authors have supposed that ‘Sall’ who served Colonel Light in 1836 was the well-known local Kalinga (Sally Walker), the subject of later chapters here; but this is unlikely on several grounds.

(a) It is most unlikely that Kalinga – the ‘Sally’ who was Condo’s daughter and a very confident communicator in good English from at least 1831 – would have taken the retiring and almost invisible role which Cooper’s ‘Sall’ takes in records of Light’s survey parties on the Gulf St Vincent.

(b) The chief objection to this identification is the ‘Statement’ by William Thompson, a contemporary on the Island before colonization. He told how a ‘Sal’ came to be with Cooper in 1836, and identified this Sal unmistakably with the Tasmanian ‘Bumblefoot’ or ‘Big Sal’ of late 19th-century Island folklore (Thompson 1878, in Bull 1878a: 4d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>; = Bull 1878b: 7); cp. references for ‘Bumble’ later in this section).

2. MEREDITH’S SAL WAS ‘BIG SAL’:

Huge confusion in several sources has surrounded the identification of a ‘Sal’ or ‘Sally’ allegedly involved with George Meredith, Port Lincoln and Kangaroo Island. Cp. also my extended footnotes: ‘Surfeit Of Sals #2: competing identities of Meredith’s Sal’ in his Chapter 2.5.3.1 ‘Aboriginal slaves, Magalidi & Meredith’; and ‘Surfeit Of Sals #3: A Sally from Port Lincoln’ in Chapter 2.5.3.2 ‘Breakdown & payback’.

My narrative of Magalidi depends on accepting

(a) Willson’s back-identification, derived probably from William Walker: i.e. that ‘Big Sal’ (‘Bumblefoot’) had been taken by a “*Captain Craig or Greig*” to the Indian Ocean before settlement, and also arrived on KI with Meredith (Willson 1871: 7b [Thomas Willson, ‘Tasmanian Aboriginals’, letter 11/9/1871 in *Adelaide Observer* 7/10/1871, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158946365>]);

and also accepting

(b) William Thompson’s identification of Meredith’s Sal both with the Sal who had lost half of a foot, and with Cooper’s Sal who worked with Light (Thompson 1878, in Bull 1878a: 8).

For the origin and identity of Meredith’s Sal there is no reason to look further into the several alternative accounts: neither Tolmer’s (Tolmer 1844a, ‘Kangaroo Island’ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71630138>; Tolmer 1844b, ‘Extraordinary Case’ <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71630137/6253292>; Tolmer 1882, *Reminiscences of an*

This amazingly durable woman was born probably around 1801⁵⁰² as one of the sisters of Truganini (by blood or perhaps traditional classification). They were daughters of a clan leader named Mangana ('MAN.GER.NER'), and their homelands were Oyster Cove and nearby Bruny Island in the southeast of Van Diemen's Land.⁵⁰³

Her first name was spelt by Robinson "MAG.GER.LEE.DE" and "MAKE.KER.LEDE.DE". Interpreting his orthography, I spell these tentatively as *Magalidi*.⁵⁰⁴ Her second name was "ROM.MER.NAG.GE" (?*Romanagi*).⁵⁰⁵

Magalidi was lucky to survive an accident in infancy. Islander William Thompson said that she "lost half of one of her feet when young by sleeping with them too near the fire";⁵⁰⁶ Dr Leigh said she "nearly lost her foot and hand".⁵⁰⁷ This kind of misfortune was not uncommon in the exposed life of traditional societies.⁵⁰⁸

The mutilated foot and consequent limp made her easily identifiable, earning her the brutally descriptive nickname 'Bumble' or 'Bumblefoot'.⁵⁰⁹ Those who knew her better used her other nickname 'Sall' or 'Big Sal', which in that era distinguished her from

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<https://archive.org/details/reminiscencesan00tolmgoog/page/n18/mode/1up>), nor those in the 20th century which report and synthesize the mixed memories of old colonists who themselves had only late and marginal contact with the people concerned (e.g. Tindale 1937a; Kingscote CWA 1951; Ruediger 1980).

For more background see my footnote 'Surfeit of Sals #2'.

3. COOPER'S "MAG.GER.LEE.DE" IN 1831 WAS PROBABLY 'BIG SAL':

Furthermore, there is a very high likelihood that 'Big Sal' was the same person as the Tasmanian 'Sall' (Magalidi) who had also been with Cooper on KI just before 1831 (Robinson journal in PlomleyN 1966: 336, cp. 246, 1018).

4. PHILIP CLARKE'S 'BIG SAL' 1998:

Clarke's brief overview of 'Big Sal' agrees with all my deductions above (ClarkeP 1998: 34). But unfortunately he then adds to the confusion by saying unaccountably that Tolmer's Sal and Meredith's Sal were both Suke (ClarkeP 1998: 34-5, n.182). I do not know any early evidence which suggests that Suke was ever called Sal; nor did Suke have a mutilated foot.

⁵⁰² Willson estimated her age at 70 in 1871 (Willson 1871).

⁵⁰³ Lyndall Ryan and Neil Smith, 'Trugernanner (Truganini) (1812–1876)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/trugernanner-truganini-4752/text7895>, published first in hardcopy 1976, accessed online 2 April 2015. This Oyster Cove (in southeastern Tasmania opposite North Bruny Island) is a quite different place from Great Oyster Bay (in central-eastern Tasmania inside Freycinet Peninsula, where the family of George Meredith settled) (see Chapter 2.5.3 'Magalidi, Tamuruwi & Meredith', and Appendix 8 'The Meredith family').

⁵⁰⁴ In Aboriginal languages the sounds *g* and *k* are not distinguished in meaning, but are variant pronunciations of 'the same' phoneme; cp. Anglo-Irish variations 'Milligan' and 'Millikan'.

⁵⁰⁵ "1. MAKE.KER.LEDE.DE 2. ROM.MER.NAG.GE, alias Sall" (PlomleyN 1966: 336, cp. 246, 1018). Tentatively, both versions might represent *Magalidi*. The difference between *k* and *g* is not semantically significant in Aboriginal languages.

⁵⁰⁶ Thompson 1878, in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 7.

⁵⁰⁷ "I observed many of them with their toes off, leaving nothing but the foot... from the parent laying the child too near the fire... When on Kangaroo Island, I saw a woman who had nearly lost her foot and hand by this means" (Leigh 1839: 146). It is almost certain that Leigh was here referring to Big Sal during his sojourn on the Island in mid-1837. Snelling remembered from his childhood only that she had "lost two of her toes" (Snelling 1932, in Tindale KI, AA 338/1/32: 62).

⁵⁰⁸ Settler gossip after her death would say that she incurred the deformity when she was drunk (Snelling 1932, in Tindale KI: 62, AA 338/1/32). But of the writers who had actually spoken to her, Thompson as an Islander probably knew her best.

⁵⁰⁹ Willson 1871; cp. Tindale 1937a: 30. 'Bumblefoot' is an affliction of fowls and rodents, in which the feet swell from repeated infections. "Bumblefoot is so named because of the characteristic 'bumbles' or lesions as well as swelling of the foot pad symptomatic of an infection" [[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bumblefoot_\(infection\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bumblefoot_(infection))]. Applied to humans it refers to 'club foot' or any 'clumsiness'. This nickname for Magalidi could perhaps have originated with colonists after 1836 rather than pre-colonial Islanders, as it was not recorded until 1854 by Cawthorne (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 38).

another KI woman ‘Little Sal’.⁵¹⁰ However, the defect did not prevent her from becoming a master tracker and hunter,⁵¹¹ nor from being remembered after her death as a “fine-looking” woman.⁵¹²

Though some of the details are foggy, it is fairly clear that Magalidi was one of three women abducted from Bruny, and that shortly afterwards she lived on KI with the Straitsman Everett.⁵¹³

A report deriving from Truganini herself said that

*she saw her tribal sisters kidnapped by a man of colour, John Baker, also known as Black Baker, who forced Lowhenunhe and Maggerleede, together with another girl Murrerninghe [known as Kit (editor’s note)], into a boat and took them away to Kangaroo Island... Kit was later shot by a sealer, said to be James Everett. The other two girls, one of whom Trucanini knew as Moorina and referred to as her own sister, remained on Kangaroo Island with the sealer, Hephthernet [Everett].*⁵¹⁴

‘Lowhenunhe’ and Magalidi were abducted no later than mid-1825, most likely earlier.⁵¹⁵ They were probably in their early 20s. Thus the two sisters may have reached KI by sometime in 1824. Bates and Randall had arrived in May of that year and found Everett already there.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁰ Thompson refers to Magalidi as ‘Sall’. The name ‘Big Sal’ was first recorded in 1871 (Willson 1871). This woman should not be confused with another Tasmanian ‘Big Sally’ whom Robinson recorded (and renamed Rebecca) at Flinders Island in 1837 (PlomleyN 1987: 443-4).

⁵¹¹ Cp. Woodforde’s comment on her work with Doughboy for Colonel Light in 1836 (Chapter 3.4.7.1 ‘On the land’); and ‘Bumblefoot’ was a ‘*tracker like a hound*’ (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 38).

⁵¹² Snelling 1932.

⁵¹³ For a forensically detailed examination of the records of this abduction and the records of these three women, especially of Magalidi’s sister ‘Lowhenunhe’ or ‘Moorinya’, see Grey 2021: 25-40. Her book came to my attention too late for me to consult its findings.

⁵¹⁴ Nunn 1989: 39-40 (quoting from Vivienne Rae Ellis 1976, *Trucanini: Queen or Traitor?*, [First edition], Hobart: OBM Publishing Co: 9-10, and PP Price 1979, *The First Tasmanians*, Adelaide, Rigby: 79); cp. PlomleyN 1966: 82-3. Ellis is paraphrasing Robinson’s journal of 11 Oct 1830 (PlomleyN 1966: 246; cp.336). Robinson was “*informed that*” they were “*two of TRUGERNANNA’s sisters*”. Since the Ellis quotation refers to only ‘one’ of the two Kangaroo Island girls as Truganini’s ‘own sister’, there may be a distinction between Magalidi’s and Lowenunhe’s relationship with her: e.g. the one whom Truganini called ‘Moorina’ was a blood sister, while the other was a ‘classificatory’ sister. ‘Hephthernet’ (Robinson’s spelling) is probably his attempt to transcribe an Aboriginal attempt at pronouncing ‘Everett’. Very few Aboriginal languages use the sound *v*. Initial ‘h’ used to be common among anglicized pronunciations of ‘Haboriginal Henglish’.

⁵¹⁵ ‘BLACK BAKER’ AND THE DATE OF MAGALIDI’S ABDUCTION:

Baker was arrested in 1829 a few months after he had been seen at Kangaroo Island, and the abduction was then said to have happened “*three or four years earlier*”. Rough dates for the abduction and for Baker’s visits to KI might be calculated from the brief history of Baker in Plomley.

In March 1829 Governor Arthur ordered the arrest of ‘Black Baker’ for abducting the three women from Bruny Island “*three or four years earlier*”, probably the women reported later by Robinson (Magalidi and two others; this would put the abduction date at 1825-6). A week later Baker was said to be sealing at KI. In August he visited Georgetown (near Launceston) with two Aboriginal women, Mary and Fanny, and was arrested. He was sent to Hobart for trial; and there Mary and Fanny were taken under the wing of GA Robinson. Baker was acquitted for lack of evidence and left Hobart, taking Fanny back to the Straits with him (PlomleyN 1966: 1011; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 36).

However, they may have been abducted even earlier than 1825. Sal was taken on board the *Hunter* in October 1825 (see below), and Robinson wrote that she had “*lived with Hephthernet*” soon after the abduction, i.e. probably before this voyage.

⁵¹⁶ Bates 1886b, *Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6d.

Magalidi did not stay there for more than about a year. She was chosen for another market likely to be even more profitable to her captors: the slave trade in the Indian Ocean.

In 1871 a “settler who came here in 1832” told this story from his own knowledge and it was reported by colonist Thomas Willson:⁵¹⁷

Big Sal... was here many years ago, when a Captain Craig or Greig took her with others to the Isle of France,⁵¹⁸ and was negotiating for leaving them there in slavery, when an English war-ship opportunely made her appearance there, and, learning the facts of the case, re-embarked the women, and took them home again.

Willson’s report dovetails fairly well with records of a voyage by a sealing captain James Craig in 1825-6.⁵¹⁹

In September and October 1825 two ships left Hobart at “about the same time” on sealing voyages. Both left gangs on the southern coast of Western Australia, and neither returned to pick them up.⁵²⁰

The schooner *Hunter*, commanded by Craig, left Hobart on 29 September 1825 for a long expedition to the Isle of France (today’s Mauritius, 5600 km west of Australia). Its international and multi-coloured sealing gang included the infamous James Everett (the ‘Hepthernet’ with whom Magalidi had been living on KI), another Tasmanian woman ‘Mooney’, “Pidgeon, a Sydney Black”, and a “Native boy Harry, belonging to mainland opposite Kangaroo Island”.⁵²¹ These were left at the Recherche Archipelago in Western Australia, and that is another story.⁵²²

It would seem that some kind of collaboration was afoot between this vessel and the *Governor Brisbane*, which sailed from Hobart around the same date in the same direction, and that they intended to profit from women as well as seals. KI was on their agenda, for Craig had visited it twice in the *Perseverance* during the previous 12 months.⁵²³ No doubt there were deals afoot with the KI sealers Everett, Randall and Kirby, who all came on this voyage.

Craig had a pre-arranged contract to carry three men with five Tasmanian women and their dogs from King Island in the west of Bass Strait to St Paul Island in the remote southern Indian Ocean⁵²⁴ “to obtain seal skins”. When we discover that there were three

⁵¹⁷ In 1871 old KI colonist Thomas Willson had a farm on Dudley Peninsula near Cape Hart at the southeastern corner (see TaylorR 2002-8: 137; in the 2002 edition Taylor gives Willson the pseudonym ‘Timothy Walker’). He wrote a letter to the *Observer* (Willson 1871 [Thomas Willson, ‘Tasmanian Aborigines’, letter 11/9/1871, in *Adelaide Observer* 7/10/1871: 7, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158946365>]), giving information about some KI women “received from a settler who came here in 1832”. This was probably William Walker (of Hog Bay about 10 miles from Willson’s), one of the only two old Islanders known to have arrived in 1832 (see Walker’s sworn statement in Mann 1837a: 11). The information, though expressed at second hand, is more authoritative than most. Willson is not always infallible, though. For instance, he includes Little Sal among the Tasmanians; but several other memories say that she did not have the Tasmanian ‘woolly’ hair, making it certain that she was a mainlander – as she herself claimed according to Snelling.

⁵¹⁸ Mauritius, in the south Indian Ocean.

⁵¹⁹ PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 16-17.

⁵²⁰ Cumpston 1986: 100.

⁵²¹ Harry is now remembered as the source of the earliest ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* wordlist.

⁵²² For Harry and the wordlist see the next section herein, Chapter 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally)’. It was not unusual for Aboriginal men to join sealing gangs voluntarily, and the ‘Hunter’ had sailed from Hobart with “Pidgeon, a Sydney black” in the crew (it is quite possible that this man was the father of Kalungku’s son).

⁵²³ Cumpston 1986: 100.

⁵²⁴ Today’s Ile St Paul, a volcanic islet 3600 km WSW of Albany.

children with them, we must infer a double agenda. Willson's source believed that Craig's intention was to sell them into the Indian Ocean slave trade.⁵²⁵ We may presume that Big Sal was one of these five: either she had arrived on King Island in the course of her travels with Everett, or more likely Craig picked her up at KI *en route*.

The *Hunter's* gangs and women would experience some of the remotest places of the known world at that time.

Each ship was to leave a gang with three months' supplies on Middle Island, Western Australia, agreeing to send a ship to take them off within eight months.⁵²⁶ However, weather and circumstances changed, and in May 1826 the contracted group from the *Hunter* was landed instead on Rodriguez Island, far west in the Indian Ocean, less than 1600 km from Madagascar. The ship then headed for home, on the way dropping another two men on Amsterdam Island far to the south (a waterless volcanic peak near St Paul), with no boat or provisions because a gale had intervened.⁵²⁷ Craig returned to Hobart in October without picking up any of the three gangs.

Fortunately the Rodriguez crew did have a whaleboat. After six months marooned there, they headed west to Ile de France (Mauritius), 650 km across the open ocean, and arrived in December: two sealers, five women and three children. One woman and one child died there at Port Louis. The remaining four women and one child were repatriated to Sydney on the British warship *Orpheus* in early 1827, but only three women arrived there in May: "what happened to the other is not recorded".⁵²⁸ Perhaps this 'other' was Big Sal, dropped off at KI *en route*. Or perhaps she was one of the three in Sydney who ended up in Launceston by June.

For a few years after this we have no record of the movements of either Everett or Big Sal. But sometime between 1827 and 1830 Sal returned to KI.

Why would she return? For one thing her sister Lowhenunhe was still there. Chances of going home would have been slim and she was probably not free to choose. In Van Diemen's Land the Black Wars were escalating towards the proclamation of martial law (November 1828) and the attempted 'black line' roundup.⁵²⁹ She was probably safer with the sealers, especially as the worst of the hardened convicts had recently been removed by Whyte and Clarke.

Whatever the reasons, Magalidi, late of Oyster Cove and Bruny Island, was on Kangaroo Island again by October 1830,⁵³⁰ and in early 1831 was still there and living with William Cooper.⁵³¹ But she was no compliant consort or broken victim of Island men, rather a woman of markedly independent spirit. Seventeen years later it was said that she was

⁵²⁵ This account was reported by Thomas Willson (Willson 1871, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158946365>) from one of the Islanders (probably Walker) who was not there at the time but who knew of it presumably from other older residents such as Wallan or Walker's neighbour Bates, or from Sal herself. Both Wallan and Bates had known Everett, Kirby and Randall in those early days, according to Bates himself (Bates 1886b: 6c-d).

⁵²⁶ Cumpston 1986: 100. Middle Island (off Cape Arid, 480 km east of Albany) was a notable source of salt.

⁵²⁷ Cumpston 1986: 100, 109-110.

⁵²⁸ PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 16.

⁵²⁹ See Turnbull 1948, Chapter 3, especially pp.80, 94-7.

⁵³⁰ Robinson journal 11 Oct 1830 (PlomleyN 1966: 246).

⁵³¹ Robinson journal 4 Apr 1831 (PlomleyN 1966: 335-6).

one of two who “have always deserted and joined runaways” (i.e. escaped convicts and army deserters who still sometimes found a haven on KI).⁵³²

It is almost certain that during these years on the Island she and her sister would have got to know Emma, and possibly Kalungku as well. With them some news of the two Tasmanian sisters would eventually be carried east to Truganini in 1831, as we have seen above and shall see again in Chapter 2.⁵³³

For Magalidi in 1827, everything had changed in the last five years and the future must have looked bleak. As a Tasmanian, her only family were the other Tasmanian women on the Island. But she was a survivor, physically strong and still ‘fine-looking’. Crucially for her future, by now she had certainly acquired much of the working ability in the English language for which she would be noted in 1844.⁵³⁴ She had learned some confidence in dealing with these whitefellas; she would endure.

.....

⁵³² “These two... are called ‘Sal’ and ‘Suke’” (Tolmer 1844a: 2d). In 1844 they were living with two army deserters whom Tolmer was pursuing. During this episode – which will be examined in Book 2 – this ‘Sal’ was identified as the one who had been Meredith’s woman, whom I identify as Magalidi (see the long footnote ‘The Competing Identities of Meredith’s Sal’ In Chapter 2.5.3.1 ‘Aboriginal Slaves, Magalidi, and George Meredith Junior’.

⁵³³ For Emma’s part in transmitting information about Magalidi and Cooper to Robinson, see Chapter 2.5.1.2 ‘Magalidi’.

⁵³⁴ “We believe Sal speaks English uncommonly well” (Tolmer 1844b).

1.3.4 – THE GIRL FROM ‘CAPE JERVIS’: KALINGA (‘Sally’) to 1827.⁵³⁵

Our fourth protagonist was another ‘Sarah’ usually called ‘Sally’, but her real name was Kalinga.

We can trace the careers of Kalinga (‘Sally Walker’) and her family (‘Condoyn’ and *Natalla*) through most of the period of our study. In association with the stories of Bates and William Walker, they provide a tantalizing series of sketches – blurred and incomplete, but much more detailed than most others available – which reveal how Islanders and local Aborigines were developing their relationships from the mid-1820s to the 1870s.

She probably met Magalidi-Sal on the *Governor Brisbane* in 1825, or perhaps before that on Kangaroo Island. In the months when Magalidi was marooned in the Indian Ocean with sealers from the *Hunter*, Kalinga was marooned on Middle Island in Western Australia with sealers from the *Brisbane*.

But Kalinga was a Fleurieu woman with a different destiny. While her relationships with the Islanders may have begun in violence or perhaps in a cross-cultural deal, unlike Magalidi she returned to her homeland early in her career; yet she too continued to be involved with Islanders. Whether by design, accident or opportunity, while she was still young she and her father became for a time important brokers between her Fleurieu people and various European newcomers. After being involved for some years with George Bates,⁵³⁶ she became the permanent partner of another Island man, William Walker.⁵³⁷

She too would become a figure of KI legend, but not the same kind of ethnological legend as ‘Big Sal’. She was not a Tasmanian but a local mainlander, and so could not compete posthumously for the title ‘Last of an Extinct Race’.

Unlike Big Sal, she left descendants who are still with us today – like the other legendary KI Tasmanian Betty Thomas. The memory of Kalinga-Sally, her father ‘Condoyn’, and her husband William Walker, has been cherished by their modern heirs such as the late Lance ‘Karno’ Walker. But her family has been largely or wholly ignored by most historians of KI before and after Clarke’s and Amery’s seminal essays of 1998, even by Rebe Taylor in her remarkable book on Betty and her descendants.⁵³⁸ Perhaps this was one of the costs of not fitting the colonial stereotypes.

⁵³⁵ See Map06 ‘Wider Context’. This section is built upon the essential primary research by Rob Amery (Amery 1998, ‘Sally and Harry: insights into early Kurna contact history’, in Jane Simpson & Luise Hercus (ed.) 1998, *History In Portraits: Aboriginal History Monograph* 6. Canberra: Australian National University Press: 49-87; and by Philip Clarke (ClarkeP 1998, ‘The Aboriginal presence on Kangaroo Island, South Australia’, in Simpson & Hercus (ed.) 1998, *ibid*: 14-47.

⁵³⁶ See *passim* in Chapter 2.3 ‘Investigation’ and 2.4 ‘Themes’.

⁵³⁷ See Chapter 2.5.2 ‘Kalinga and Walker’, and Chapter 3 *passim*.

⁵³⁸ See ClarkeP 1998; Amery 1998; and Rebe Taylor 2008, *Unearthed: the Aboriginal Tasmanians of Kangaroo Island*, 2nd edition, Adelaide: Wakefield Press. There has been much public awareness of the descendants of Betty and Nat Thomas, but little of the Aboriginal Walkers until the 2000s, when Karno Walker began to campaign for the Ramindjeri Heritage Association. This difference has probably arisen from the difference in land ownership early in the colony, beginning when Nat Thomas obtained an official land grant while William Walker did not. It continued in recent times when many of Betty’s descendants identified with white society (see TaylorR 2002-8), while most of Kalinga’s seem to have identified as Aboriginal.

1.3.4.1 – KALINGA’S EARLY LIFE.

The date of her birth was around 1806-8 if d’Urville’s estimate of her age was right,⁵³⁹ or about 1809 if Bates’s memories were accurate,⁵⁴⁰ or about 1811 if her death record was right.

Though known by the nickname ‘Sally’ – or sometimes its formal equivalent ‘Sarah’ – she called herself “Kalinga”, and told Charles Mann in 1837 that she “was born near Cape Jervis, & that her father is living there”.⁵⁴¹ The hospital record of her death in 1876 was more specific, giving her birthplace as “Yankalilla”,⁵⁴² by which she and her husband would have meant the major campsites at *Yarnkalyilla* around the mouth of the Yankalilla River, rather than the town.⁵⁴³ Yet a touch of ambiguity remains in the record from Mann’s interview. The name ‘Yankylilly’ would have been familiar to all the people present then, so why did Kalinga not use it? Was there perhaps another place ‘near Cape Jervis’ which was both her birthplace and (in 1837) her father’s ‘living’ place, possibly habitual?

Kalinga sometimes lived near the Cape itself, for in 1831 Barker’s regiment would find her and her father camping there, almost certainly at Fishery Beach or nearby.⁵⁴⁴ I am not aware of any colonial records which tell of a campsite found in this rather remote location at the extreme southwestern tip of the Fleurieu. Surrounded by thick scrub, it was far from all the usual campsites and travel routes. Except along the low flats fronting the sea around the Cape itself, Land’s End and Fishery Beach, it is an area of steep high coastal cliffs, and was used by Aboriginal people only occasionally, even avoided.⁵⁴⁵ Yet it did have a burial site, and we may wonder whether perhaps Fishery Beach area was also special to Kalinga’s family.⁵⁴⁶

⁵³⁹ Her age was estimated at “18 to 20” in 1826 (Dumont d’Urville journal 19/10/1826, quoted in Amery 1998: 51).

⁵⁴⁰ Bates said she was 15 when she was brought to him on Kangaroo Island (see below), and we may assume that this was late 1824 (after Bates’s arrival) or early 1825 (before Sally embarked on the *Governor Brisbane*).

⁵⁴¹ Evidence from “*Kalinga otherwise Sarah Walker*”, recorded by Advocate Charles Mann on 29 July 1837 (Mann 1837a: 21). “Kalinga” being a local Aboriginal word, the first syllable would be stressed. Since we do not know whether Mann’s ‘-inga’ represented *ingka* (as in ‘finger’) or *inga* (as in ‘singer’), I have let his spelling stand throughout this book. (It is extremely unlikely to be *Kadlingga* = *Kalingga*, ‘dingo place’ in *Miyurna*. Since this contains the Locative suffix *ingga*, it could be a place-name but not a personal name). She was publicly known as ‘Sally’ throughout her career, but its formal equivalent ‘Sarah’ appears only in Mann and in her death notice. It is possible that Walker said ‘Sally’ and Mann translated this into ‘Sarah’ for bureaucratic purposes. His manuscript does have “Sally” once, but when editing he has crossed it out and replaced it with “her” (p.23); everywhere else he has “Sarah”. But his original Minutes also say that she “*is called ‘Sarah’*” (p.12, my emphasis), which might suggest that the witnesses were using this name for her sometimes or often (Walker the main witness, and perhaps also secondary witness William Cooper).

⁵⁴² Royal Adelaide Hospital Admissions 1840-1904: 355, GRG 78/49, State Records, https://www.archives.sa.gov.au/sites/default/files/S%20-%20Z_1.pdf: “*Sarah Walker*” of “*Kangaroo Island*”, birthplace “*Yankalilla*”, died in the Adelaide Hospital on 17th October 1876, age “65” (presumably estimated by somebody, either Walker or the hospital staff; it is unlikely that Kalinga had a clear idea of her technical age).

⁵⁴³ The hospital’s source would have been either Kalinga herself or perhaps her husband William Walker. See also Textbox20 ‘Earliest records of the place-name *Yarnkalyilla*’. Mann’s ambiguous phrase “*near Cape Jervis*” might leave us unsure exactly where her birth-site fitted into the cultural geography of the Fleurieu; but Mann probably meant ‘near Fleurieu Peninsula’. ‘Yankalilla’ matches his description if we remember (1) that Mann’s ‘Cape Jervis’ was the whole Peninsula as in Flinders; (2) Kalinga or Walker probably did not refer to the township Yankalilla, which was built long after they knew the *Yarnkalyilla* campsites; and (3) *Yarnkalyilla* lies close beneath one of the central ranges which define ‘Cape Jervis’.

⁵⁴⁴ For the geography of that encounter see Chapter 2.3.4.1.2 ‘Enlisting help’.

⁵⁴⁵ See e.g. ‘Notes from Reuben Walker 21-24 April and July 1934’, in Tindale SESA2: 158. Consequently very little Aboriginal contact history was recorded in those “*scrub lands*”.

⁵⁴⁶ KALINGA’S BIRTH-PLACE AND FAMILY COUNTRY: POSSIBLE AMBIGUITIES:

The Cape area was *Patpa-Miyurna* Country. According to Tindale and Berndt, men of ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* Language Country in the 1930s remembered that the land from the Cape to Tunkalilla Beach had been “Kaurna” territory in the past,⁵⁴⁷ though its cultural provenance has been contested in recent times.⁵⁴⁸

1.3.4.2 – KALINGA AND THE SEALERS.

Although we know nothing directly of her childhood, we know enough about her teen years to make a surprising assertion: that her father brought her to KI, probably to trade her with Islanders such as Bates as part of a larger trade with the sealing ships.

There is no hint of an abduction experience in any known record about Sally. According to Bates, “When very young she was brought over to Kangaroo Island by her father

1. ‘NEAR CAPE JERVIS’ (Mann 1837a): In assessing her cultural origin, we need to ask what Kalinga (or Mann) meant here by “*near Cape Jervis*”.

At that date Mann would probably have *heard* from fellow-colonists a very few southern place-names – Rapid Bay, ‘Yankalilla’, ‘Aldinga’, and Encounter Bay – but would have had very little idea of the geography. Even so, he would not have seen Encounter Bay as being ‘near the Cape’, for it was the subject of the interview; he would have used its English name.

If ‘Cape Jervis’ referred in the standard way to the whole peninsula, would he (or she) have used the word ‘near’? If it was Kalinga who said something which meant ‘near the Peninsula’, her answer tells us only that she was born somewhere in the south, anywhere from Encounter Bay to Sellick’s Hill. If not, the phrase would then have a much more likely meaning, ‘near the Cape itself’: a fairly specific area which (as used in 1837) might include anywhere from Delamere on one side and the rugged south coast to Tunkalilla on the other. Where in this region under traditional society might a mother bear a child?

The cliffs of Southern Fleurieu are interrupted by occasional small coves good for beach fishing, such as Blowhole Beach and Porpoise Head on the south coast to the east, and Milerum’s *Watpardungk* (“Watbardok”) on the Gulf coast to the north (see Schultz PNS 5.04.02/02 *Watpardungk* [forthcoming]). Baudin had seen someone night-fishing at Porpoise Head (see the Prelude to this chapter).

But by land these are very challenging climbs, and somewhere more accessible would be more likely for a heavily pregnant mother about to give birth: such as Morgan’s Beach and Fishery Beach within three km of the cape. The latter, although not abundantly favoured with shelter, is usable as a boat harbour and has in its immediate vicinity two known archaeological campsites (see Betty Ross 1984: 20 map). There is a burial ground at the Cape (Thomas Gill 1909: 226-7, 240-2). Fishery Beach was used as a whaling station for a while in the 1840s (Parry Kostoglou & Justin McCarthy 1991, *Whaling and Sealing Sites in South Australia*, Adelaide: State Heritage Branch, Dept of Environment & Planning SA Institute of Marine Archaeology Special Publication No.6: 67).

But the original referent of Kalinga’s or Mann’s phrase remains uncertain.

2. ‘YANKALILLA’ (Hospital Admissions 1876): In the 1840s ‘Yankalilla’ could mean the general ‘remote region far south from Adelaide’, roughly equivalent to Mann’s ‘near Cape Jervis’; but by 1876 this denotation was obsolete. By 1876 the referent ‘Yankalilla’ was probably fairly specific from the viewpoint of the recording clerk: the plains around Yankalilla town. But if it was Kalinga herself who volunteered the item, she would certainly have *meant* the prime camping area focused on *Yarnkalyilla* near the Gorge. Something like the same would also be the case if it was given by William Walker: cp. ‘Yanky-lilly of the sealers’.

3. ON BALANCE, we are probably justified in accepting that Kalinga was born specifically at *Yarnkalyilla*: perhaps in the wider Aboriginal sense of the plains around the river mouth, but much more likely in the big campsite area itself. However, if she was born at *Yarnkalyilla*, this does not answer all the questions about the cultural identities and geographical associations of her mother or Condo (see Chapter 2.4.1.2 ‘Condo’s family multiple connections’).

⁵⁴⁷ See notes on Tindale Maps ‘Tindale S Map, Summary of Kaurna area’, AA 338/16/8; Hundred of Waitpinga, AA 338/24/93; County Hindmarsh, AA 338/24/121; also Berndt 1940: 180-1. See also the footnote on ‘Tawuli’ in Textbox12 ‘Identities of Condo & family’; the section on ‘Raminyeri’ in Appendix 12 ‘Aboriginal territories’; and Appendix 13 ‘Intermarriage’.

⁵⁴⁸ The territory around the Cape was discussed by the ‘Ngarrindjeri’ and ‘Kaurna’ organizations who were drafting Native Title claims in the late 1990s. Before the 2017 Determination, the border between these two claims had been agreed on – an east-west line running through Delamere; but on the ‘Kaurna’ side many such as Lewis O’Brien continue to believe that in the negotiators at that time “we gave away Cape Jervis” (p.c. at KWP, c.2006). All the borders have been disputed more radically in recent years by the Ramindjeri Heritage Association; but (in my view) their alleged borders have no credibility *at first contact*, as assessed in the crucial arena of language evidence. What happened *later* is a separate story (which should also be told and acknowledged). In any case, the Native Title system uses Tindale-style borders of large single-language ‘nations’ (really Language Countries), which do not reflect recent anthropological thinking about land-ownership by much smaller clans (descent groups).

Condoy”.⁵⁴⁹ We may be fairly confident that another of his statements referred to the same transaction: “A chief on the mainland offered me his daughter as a present. She was a fine-looking girl of fifteen”.⁵⁵⁰ This must have been in late 1824 or early 1825: soon after Bates arrived on KI in 1824 and before Kalinga went sealing in mid-1825. Bates had not brought them; he said he did not visit the mainland until 1826. Condoy had probably been dealing already with other Islanders, but who they were we will never know: perhaps someone who had worked in an early sealing gang such as Jones’s. Through these men he was already visiting KI.

Kalinga therefore was not kidnapped, but came as a major item in a largely or entirely free trade relationship negotiated with her father – as we shall examine more closely later in this book.⁵⁵¹ “Oh, yes”, said Bates, “they used to bring over girls and boys to us, and when they were a bit domesticated they would often go away in the whalers to take service in Sydney or Van Diemen’s Land”.⁵⁵² But Kalinga – by luck or good management – would not disappear forever into dismal exile on the fringes of the eastern settlements. She would return to her homeland to continue as a major player in the local drama.

Tending to confirm Bates’s claims, other recorded events suggest indirectly that by her mid-to-late teens Kalinga must have come into the orbit of this Islander recently arrived with his mate Randall. For Randall at least was present in the first recorded episode of her story, when she and her countryman ‘Harry’ were found with Hobart sealing gangs in Western Australia in 1825-7.⁵⁵³ Perhaps Condoy had brought Harry to KI, just as he later brought his own son ‘Charlie’ or ‘Friday’ to be made “a good boy” with the Islanders in their sealing.⁵⁵⁴

1.3.4.2.1 – KALINGA IN WESTERN AUSTRALIA.

When the *Governor Brisbane* sailed from Hobart in September 1825, its international gang of thirteen included the Islander John Randall, a Tasmanian called ‘Dinah’, and “Sally, a native woman of the mainland opposite Kangaroo Island”.⁵⁵⁵ Kalinga would then have been somewhere between 15 and 20 years old. Like Magalidi and Emma at the time of their abductions, she was old enough to be a married mother – though we do not know of any children of Kalinga from this era – and to have undergone some of the ceremonial stages of her womanhood.

The *Brisbane* and the *Hunter* each left a gang on Middle Island (in the Recherche Archipelago, off Cape Arid at the western end of the Great Australian Bight).⁵⁵⁶ The whaleboat gang from the *Hunter* was commanded by Islander Everett and included a “Native boy Harry, belonging to mainland opposite Kangaroo Island”, and ‘Mooney’ (a

⁵⁴⁹ Bates 1894b: 6a.

⁵⁵⁰ Bates 1895a.

⁵⁵¹ See Chapter 2.4.4.1 ‘Politics of Condoy’s family’.

⁵⁵² Bates 1894b: 6a.

⁵⁵³ This episode has been well analysed by Rob Amery for its linguistic and cultural content (Amery 1998: 49-87). He establishes beyond doubt that the woman found in King George Sound by the French ship ‘Astrolabe’ was the same as the ‘Sally’ in Randall’s boat crew, and that her countryman ‘Harry’ in Everett’s boat was the source of Gaimard’s list of 160 ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* words collected there. But here I shall try for a more biographical perspective.

⁵⁵⁴ Bates 1894b. For ‘Friday’ see also Chapter 2.3.3 ‘Condoy, Kalinga & Bates’.

⁵⁵⁵ Cumpston 1986: 100.

⁵⁵⁶ Cape Arid is east of Esperance.

Tasmanian woman). With Randall's boat from the *Brisbane* were Sally, Dinah, and Dinah's master Kirby⁵⁵⁷ who perhaps had been picked up at KI along with Magalidi.

The *Governor Brisbane* did not return. It was pirated away by its commander Davidson, only to be arrested by the Dutch East Indies government in Batavia. The *Hunter* also did not return.

Back on Middle Island, the sealers found the anticipated eight months stretching out into twelve. No ship came. They raided for women on the mainland, and in March 1826 captured an eight-year-old girl.⁵⁵⁸

Desperate for sustainable food and shelter, the gangs took their whaleboats 500 km around the coast to King George Sound (today's Albany), closer to the shipping routes and more likely to be visited by European ships. Here they settled and built huts.

Half a world away, the French were still keeping their colonial eyes on the southern coast of Australia. It was a French scientific expedition on the *Astrolabe*, commanded by Dumont d'Urville, which found the marooned sealers here at the Sound in October 1826. They had been living there on a bare rock called Breaksea Island for seven months.⁵⁵⁹ One had some dogs with him, and d'Urville employed them in a kangaroo hunt.⁵⁶⁰ He anchored in the Sound for two weeks to investigate its suitability for a French colony. He and his officers were fascinated by the local Nyoongars, the two Van Diemen women – and especially by 'Sally' and 'Harry'.

"Aged from 18 to 20", they were apparently very distinct from all the others in facial features and because their hair was not 'woolly':

*These two, quite well proportioned, have a much darker complexion, regular features, rather beautiful eyes and very smooth black hair.*⁵⁶¹

He added that the four Aboriginal people "have been living for several years with the Englishmen", i.e. from the early 1820s, before Randall and Bates arrived on KI. This no doubt means that they had all been on other voyages before, and explains how Sally and Harry had come to be in Hobart.⁵⁶²

⁵⁵⁷ Cumpston 1986: 106.

⁵⁵⁸ Cumpston 1986: 91.

⁵⁵⁹ Cumpston 1986: 89, 104.

⁵⁶⁰ Cumpston 1986: 92.

⁵⁶¹ Dumont d'Urville journal 19/10/1826 [in Rosenman 1987: 34], quoted in Amery 1998: 51.

'WOOLLY' HAIR VERSUS 'SMOOTH' OR 'STRAIGHT' HAIR:

The 'very smooth' hair of Sally and Harry was contrasted with the hair of the Aborigines of Van Diemen's Land, described by many Europeans as 'grizzled', 'woolly' or 'tightly curled'. This contrast was a common observation in these earliest days of first contact when the colonists' only prior knowledge about Aboriginal people came from New South Wales & Tasmania. An easy way to distinguish Tasmanian people from mainlanders was by their hair:

Tasmanian hair was described as short and 'woolly' like African 'negro' or 'Hottentot' hair; while mainland hair was longer and 'straight' or 'wavy' but not 'woolly'. Cp. Mary Thomas on 'Sally' (Mary Thomas Diary, 3/11/1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-3-november-1836-4/>); Stevenson on 'Ootina' (Stevenson journal: 57, 1 Jan 1837); Aboriginal plaintiffs in the Moon & Hoare case, *Register* 8/7/1837: 4b-c; Penney 1842 on Tasmanians at Encounter Bay (*SA Magazine* Vol.2 No.1 [1843]: 18, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1988478208/view?partId=nla.obj-1988488881#page/n19/mode/1up>; reprinted in

J.Anthr.Soc.SA 29, 1991: 67). The same method was used in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, in colonial memories of the Kangaroo Island women, to distinguish the Tasmanians Big Sal, Suke and Betty (answering the first description) from Little Sal (the second): see Willson 1871; Snelling 1932: 63.

⁵⁶² A few months later one of the Brisbane's sealers (a Maori named William Hook) gave evidence to Major Lockyer that Randall, Everett and their men "have other native women that they take about with them", namely the two

Physician and naturalist Joseph Gaimard interviewed Harry, and from him compiled his “Vocabulary of the language of the inhabitants of the Gulf St Vincent”. Amery’s exhaustive analysis of the 160 words recorded, leaves no doubt about Harry’s origin in ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language country. The addition of Gaimard’s title also makes quite clear where Harry had lived. His origin was described in the shipping records with the same words as Sally’s – “the mainland opposite Kangaroo Island” – making it very probable that she too came from ‘the Gulf St Vincent’ and belonged to the same language group.⁵⁶³

The *Astrolabe*’s papers included portraits of ‘Women of Kangaroo Island’, including two which Amery identifies as probably Harry and Sally. Their personal appearance has caused him to wonder whether they might have had some European ancestry.⁵⁶⁴

When the ‘Astrolabe’ departed for Port Jackson on the 25th October, most of the sealers, including Sally and Harry, declined the offer of a lift. Why? This was the year of the scare campaign about convict ‘savages’ in the Straits, and the refusal aroused some suspicions in d’Urville’s mind that the white men might be escaped convicts,⁵⁶⁵ and quite possibly

Tasmanians and “one from the Main Land opposite Kangaroo Island” (i.e. Sally) (Affidavit of William Hook, Cumpston 1986: 102). Did Hook and Lockyer mean compulsion, or some kind of arrangement? If so, with whom? Or was Hook keeping the matter studiously vague?

⁵⁶³ As a locator, ‘Gulf St Vincent’ is still too vague to define her cultural geography for our purposes. But it clarifies the picture, suggesting, for example, that the sealers did *not* see her as originating from Encounter Bay or Port Lincoln.

⁵⁶⁴ ‘EUROPEAN ANCESTRY’ AND THE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF SALLY AND HARRY:

The ‘Astrolabe’ officers also recorded that “these two natives... were black, their skin was smooth, their hair, black, long and smooth... Their eyes were not very deepset, but the lower part of their face projected slightly” (Quoy and Gaimard diary [in Rosenman 1987: 46], quoted in Amery 1998: 53).

Rob Amery surmises that they are depicted in two of the heads sketched by de Sainson on this voyage (Amery 1998: 53-4). If he is right about which portraits they are, then there is some mystery about their looks. They “do certainly portray more European features when compared with those... on the same page”.

By the time Mary Thomas saw Sally ten years later, “Her countenance was pleasing, though perfectly black... Her chin was also ornamented with a kind of beard, and whiskers grew at the sides of her face”, and Mrs Thomas thought she looked “about twenty-five years” old (Mary Thomas Diary, 3/11/1836). But I cannot pick the two faces in de Sainson as ‘perfectly black’ or even ‘much darker’ than others.

Amery’s hypothesis might imply that Sally’s father Condoy was not her biological father but an adoptive or ‘classificatory’ father. While this might make a difference in bloodlines and genetics, it does not affect at all the recorded communal relationships between her and her Aboriginal family which we shall be examining in later chapters. If Amery’s speculation is right, then direct European intervention around the Fleurieu must have been happening around the time of marooned sealer Murrell in the first decade of the century (see section 1.1.2 ‘Straitsmen & Islanders’). This is much earlier than any local Islander liaisons which we know about. Moreover, it is almost certain that Condoy was Kalinga’s biological father, because she herself named him as the brother of her “father’s brother” Natalla (see Chapter 2.4.1.2 ‘Condoy’s family’). Unless new primary information turns up, the putative European ancestry of Sally and Harry will remain a rather unlikely conjecture.

Amery also wonders whether “perhaps Sally and Harry were brother and sister, as there seems to be a family resemblance between the two portraits”.

No other known portraits have been identified unequivocally as Sally-Kalinga. However, there is a good close-up sketch of “Sally, a Rapid Bay Bay Lubra”, made by surveyor Snell in December 1850 at Bishop’s Flat north of Second Valley (Snell, ed. Griffiths, 1988, *The Life and Adventures of Edward Snell*: 196). It shows a vigorous healthy woman perhaps in her mid-30s, showing no sign of ‘European features’, with a direct and intelligent facial expression, her overall appearance suggesting a stable living situation, and her simple but well-made shift garment looking as though she had made it herself with European material though not style. In 1850 Kalinga would have been about 40; it is possible, though not at all certain, that she was this woman. But Snell’s sketch could also have been of ‘Doughboy’ (‘Sally Cooper’) or even ‘Little Sal’ of KI, or some other local ‘Sally’.

⁵⁶⁵ Cumpston 1986: 89, 90-1.

some of them were. In the case of the two ‘natives’ from Gulf St Vincent, the question must remain open whether they were under compulsion or not.

During the two months after the *Astrolabe* sailed away, there was violence at the Sound. Some of those who remained – among them Randall, Everett and Kirby – took some local Nyoongar men to one of the islands in the Sound: ostensibly to catch birds, but in practice to maroon the Nyoongars there. Then they armed themselves with swords and guns and went off to abduct four women from the mainland. Later when they tried to bring water to the marooned men, the result was a panicky scuffle in which they wounded some and killed one.

On Christmas Day 1826 an intervention from Sydney came on the scene. Major Lockyer arrived at the Sound in the *Amity* with troops, under instructions from Governor Darling to pre-empt the French by founding a settlement. On the island he discovered the Nyoongar men still marooned; then he found the dead body, and later the sealers. He was now obliged to investigate the murder: an inauspicious beginning for the new British colony now being proposed in the region to pre-empt the French at Swan River.

Lockyer’s journal and report show that he was thorough in some respects, arresting the sealers progressively as they turned up in their whaleboats. He detained one who was living on one of the islands with the little girl from Cape Arid and a badly mistreated Nyoongar woman.⁵⁶⁶

But Lockyer had other things on his mind, and his investigative commitment did not extend to ‘natives’ in general. As a good public servant he was concerned about the depletion of seal stocks by these “Pirates”. The kidnappings as such, whether of Tasmanian or local women, were not even considered for legal action.⁵⁶⁷ In April – partly for lack of evidence, partly because there was some doubt whether British law could apply in Western Australia before it had been claimed as a possession – he set all the sealers free “with the understanding” that whenever they might go to Sydney, they would give themselves up there and face investigation for the murder: a remarkably gentlemanlike agreement in the circumstances. Randall and Kirby entered the service of HMS *Success* on which Lockyer himself returned to Sydney in April 1827.⁵⁶⁸

His men at the Sound that year had included not only his own 57th Regiment but a detachment from the 39th.⁵⁶⁹ Some or all of the 39th would meet Sally again four years later in very different circumstances.

Seven weeks after Lockyer’s departure, his replacement as commandant at the Sound reported that three black women – two Tasmanians and one “a native of Kangaroo Island”: obviously Dinah, Mooney and Sally – with twelve of the sealers from the *Brisbane* and *Hunter*, “have engaged themselves” on the *Ann* bound for Sydney.

While the women are distinguished here from the sealers, no doubt because they were women, there is no evidence that they had been taken prisoner or compelled any more than Randall or Kirby. They are listed alongside the sealers as ‘engaged’, i.e. signed-up

⁵⁶⁶ Cumpston 1986: 105. The hapless child was shipped off in January 1827 to the Governor in Sydney.

⁵⁶⁷ See Cumpston 1986: 102-8.

⁵⁶⁸ Cumpston 1986: 108.

⁵⁶⁹ Cumpston 1986: 101.

members of the crew or gang. Harry is not mentioned by name; was he classified as one of the sealers?⁵⁷⁰ What was the reality behind this minimal record? When Sally embarked from the Sound she may have been driven as much by a self-determining desire to go home as by any compulsion. She had no future in Western Australia. Any future would be dominated by men of one kind or another. If she wanted to return home at all, a ship sailing east was the only way.

However, government ships did not usually make detours on demand in order to repatriate 'natives'. If Sally was hoping they would drop her off at 'Cape Jervis', she was either not given the chance or did not avail herself of it. She arrived in Sydney on June 12th along with the other two women, the twelve sealers,⁵⁷¹ and perhaps Harry. We do not know what either of them did after that.

Unsurprisingly, there is no record of any official investigation into the violence at the Sound, nor of any sealers who followed up their 'understanding' with Lockyer.

1.3.4.2.2 – KALINGA IN TRANSIT.

Though Kalinga disappears from the records for some time after this, her fate will be different from that of women like Magalidi and Kalungku who are permanently uprooted. We do not know how or exactly when, but within about two years at most she is back in her home country. Probably she has been 'engaged' on sealing ships operating between Sydney, Tasmania and the Straits, until one of them visits the KI grounds again.

With whose compulsion, guidance or help has she done all this? Do Harry or Randall bring her home? Or is she by now a free agent with some experience and confidence, and does her own 'engaging'?

From this point up to 1837 she will usually appear in the company of her father 'Condoy' and his brother, or with them not far away. Back on 'Cape Jervis' she will be involved with Bates in the events of 1829-31 which we shall examine in Chapter 2.⁵⁷² Her family will have a close and continuing relationship with her, and it will not be broken by her concurrent association with the Islanders.

Randall, Everett and Kirby will not appear again in our story. It seems likely that they continue to engage themselves on sealing or whaling ships and do not return to Kangaroo Island. Everett goes on to gain his 'infamous' reputation in the Straits, and eventually to settle at Cape Barren Island in the Straits, where he becomes the ancestor of a large family tree of Tasmanian Aborigines.⁵⁷³

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⁵⁷⁰ Amery thinks it possible but uncertain that Harry sailed on the *Ann* (Amery 1998: 58).

⁵⁷¹ Cumpston 1986: 108-9.

⁵⁷² See Chapter 2.3.4 'Condoy, Kalinga, Natalla, Bates, Barker'. Most clearly among the records, in 1831 the men of the 39th regiment would ask Sally for help in searching for their late commander Captain Collet Barker. Finding her camped in her homeland at Cape Jervis with her father, they would recognize her "as having been at King George's Sound in a sealing vessel, about three years ago" (Davis 1831: 24).

⁵⁷³ Cumpston 1986: 101.

1.3.5 – THEMES: RACE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE MID-1820s:

The story of Kalinga-Sally raises some questions about local race relationships which tease our assumptions already and will do so again in Chapter 2.

Bates may have known Kalinga already before 1825.⁵⁷⁴ It seems fairly certain that by 1825, in her mid-teens, she had been to Kangaroo Island and was already known to Bates there, and very likely that he had something to do with her presence in the *Brisbane*'s boat crew along with three people from his immediate circle on KI.

Randall was not acting solo but within the Islanders' collective interests. Whatever went on with the women in the year before September 1825, it probably included his companion Bates as well as Kirby and Everett.

We have seen that Kalinga was not abducted like Kalungku and Magalidi; she was traded to Islanders by her male relatives. This seems to have happened already before Bates and Randall came on the scene. But perhaps the subsequent developments owed something to the personal characters and particular actions of those two newcomers.⁵⁷⁵ Were they quicker than most Islanders to learn something about maintaining reciprocity, so that Sally's relatives already in 1824-5 considered them to be fair dealers? Did they make – and keep – a special arrangement which included returning her to her country? Was Harry just a 'Kurna'-*Miyurna* man who happened to like sealing? Or was he Kalinga's relative, and came on the *Brisbane* partly under obligation to keep an eye on the deal and her welfare?

Although these are speculations and unproven, they are extrapolated back in time from questions which will be forced upon us in Chapter 2.⁵⁷⁶ Perhaps they are wrong; but if so, then there were abductions, but these offences must have been expiated and put aside; for Kalinga's relationship with Islanders continued for decades in the presence of her male relatives.

In 1827 the situation of Kalinga-Sally in Sydney might appear to be just like Magalidi-Sal's: after much hardship in the last five years, they were probably still in the company of sealers, their whereabouts unknown. But Kalinga was ten years younger than

⁵⁷⁴ D'Urville heard that by 1826 she had been with sealers for "several years". In old age Bates spoke of his time with a 'tribe' on the mainland when he was abandoned by all of them except Sally and her father. He remembered her as "a young girl" at this time; but this sojourn was probably in 1829 (see Chapter 2.3.3 'Condoy, Kalinga, tribes, Bates'), and we know that she was then a young woman of at least 18 and possibly 23. Bates himself was only 29 at the time. Either he was using the expression 'young girl' in a way very untypical of the 19th century, or else he had known her before 1829.

⁵⁷⁵ There is one hint in the records that Randall was a milder and more generous character than many other sealers. At King George Sound he was "a great favourite" with the Nyoongars, and appears to have modified the aggression of the others. He was not present when one of the marooned Aboriginal men was shot and others wounded. When he came back to them next day they "came out and kissed him". When he took them aboard he intended to take them home to the mainland, and was prevented from doing this only because "the shores were lined with mobs of natives" and they were afraid to land. He had to transfer them to another island instead, where Lockyer found them later (Cumpston 1986: 104, 106).

There are some hints that Bates was capable of being more pragmatic and conciliatory than many Islanders (see Chapter 2.4.4 '1829-35 political landscape').

⁵⁷⁶ As we shall see, sometime during the four years after her sea adventure Sally with her father and their people hosted Bates as a peaceful visitor with them for an extended time on the mainland. Her father had already lived on KI. In 1831 Sally was free on the mainland, and she with her father and uncle were willing to seek out Bates and Thomas on KI in order to work with them in the search for Captain Barker. The only ready explanation for these events is something like the one I am advancing (summarized in Chapter 2.4.4 'Political landscape').

Magalidi, and would soon head not for exile but for her 'Cape Jervis' home. There she would no longer be a lone woman among hard strangers but part of a family and clan. Even with its downside, this was easier to bear. She too would endure, but in a quite different way.

During the four years after her arrival in Sydney – two blank and two blurred – her position in the power balance may have changed somewhat as she gained confidence to deal with events, perhaps even influence them to some extent. Like Magalidi, she had acquired a working ability in the English language. In 1831 she would be speaking English “tolerably well” even in the opinion of an English doctor.⁵⁷⁷ In the ten years after 1827 this linguistic ability would give both of them a significant advantage compared with most other Aboriginal people.

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⁵⁷⁷ Davis 1831: 24.

1.4 – SUMMARY AT 1827

1.4.1 – REFLECTING ON THEMES IN THE YEARS UP TO 1827.

RELATIONSHIPS: ISLAND MEN, WOMEN, AND ABORIGINAL MEN.

The Islanders conducted their traffic in women and children within a network of collaborations which operated internally on KI, and externally with their contacts in the sealing fleets along the whole south coast of Australia. This orthodox view is confirmed by our individual studies. The network was organized to some extent, lasted for decades, and was typically ruthless in its treatment of Aboriginal women whether local or Tasmanian.

A number of records assert or imply that this network included individual Aboriginal men from the Fleurieu region. There were unspecified ‘New Holland black men’ living on KI at times. Two ‘countrymen’ of ‘another tribe’ lived on KI and also helped Allen to abduct Kalungku. Fellow-countryman Harry was ambiguously present in the same sealing fleet with Sally.

The network was so pervasive, so strong and familiar, that governments – even with troops on the spot – were powerless to stop it and could easily find themselves condoning and collaborating with it. Thus at King George Sound in 1826-7, most of the sealers’ activities short of a murdered corpse were treated with peevish acquiescence by two local commandants and the Sydney authorities, as if bowing to forces beyond their control; so that Sally arrived back in her homeland without their help. Magalidi, picked up by an English warship, nevertheless did arrive back on KI. Did the navy offer her a choice or compel her? It seems more likely that all these authorities merely washed their hands of all the women who had been with the sealers before.

On the other side, ambiguities and gaps in the biographies of 1824-7 invite some questions, and foreshadow some modification of the old large generalizations about human trafficking. What part exactly did compulsion play in these individual women’s journeys, at which points, and for how long? Did it sometimes come from Aboriginal men? Even after a woman had joined the sealers, could she sometimes still make some decisions about her movements and associations?’

The records are too fragmentary to be sure even in individual cases. But enough is implicit to raise doubts about these matters, and whether these white men were all pure predators, always impervious to the desires of the women and their Aboriginal communities. We shall keep these questions open.

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1.4.2 – THE STORY CONTINUES: LOOKING FORWARD FROM 1827.

1.4.2.1 – ISLAND MEN.

GEOGRAPHY AND EXPLORATION:

By 1827 the Islanders on Kangaroo Island were well set up, secure and reasonably familiar with the land there. But they knew little about the hinterland around ‘Cape Jervis’. Their mental map of it was probably still largely blank. A few men may have known a little more, especially of the coastal plains further north;⁵⁷⁸ but probably all that most of them had seen of the interior were the lowlands around a few coastal access points, and a sea view of the forbidding ranges and of the distant lower country eastward from Encounter Bay. A mile or two inland from these points began the daunting and seemingly monolithic interior ‘wilderness’ of the vast continent.

They had invented their own place-names for features of KI, such as ‘Three Wells Creek’ (Cygnet River), ‘Hog Bay’, ‘American Harbour’, ‘Salt Lagoon’ and ‘Flour Cask Bay’,⁵⁷⁹ and The Antechamber was for them ‘Creek Bay’.⁵⁸⁰ Names on the mainland were few and functional. At Encounter Bay they had probably named ‘Seal Rock’ and ‘Granite Island’;⁵⁸¹ they doubtless knew there was no good harbour in this Bay, and had probably not yet landed there. They certainly did not yet know that a large lake existed to the east, nor that a great river flowed into it.⁵⁸² It is doubtful whether they had yet ventured across the range in either direction, or much further up the Gulf than ‘Yanky-lilly’.⁵⁸³

A BEGINNING OF NEW DEALS WITH ABORIGINES?

Nuances already in the stories of Sally, Condoy, Bates and Randall will lead me in Chapter 2 to hypothesize that in the late 1820s and early 1830s these individuals (and perhaps others) were beginning to forge softer relationships: a little more reciprocation, a little less violence than before.

For a while, with some changes and reverses, some of the relationships between Islanders and Aborigines would be a little different. The main drivers of this fragile new era would be some of the men who lived on Dudley Peninsula - the closest point to the Fleurieu – and certain Aboriginal people with whom they had forged some kind of relationship.

But gender comes again to the fore. If there was a deal between Sally’s family and Bates, it was between men only for men’s benefit. About Sally’s feelings or desires nothing was recorded at any stage of her life.

⁵⁷⁸ Bates in old age claimed several times that he had hunted on the Adelaide Plains for the first time in 1827: “*I think the first time I landed on the mainland was in 1826. I know that in 1827 I was on the Adelaide Plains*” (Bates 1887b: 2d; cp. Bates 1886a; Bates 1890). He also hinted that he might have climbed Mt Lofty in 1827 (Bates 1893). But in his reported yarns many other dates and details are contradictory, vague, probably exaggerated or incorrect, so that we may doubt the years 1826-7. For a detailed examination of Bates’s movements see Chapter 2.3 ‘Investigation’, *passim*.

⁵⁷⁹ See e.g. Bates 1886b: 6e.

⁵⁸⁰ See e.g. Tolmer 1844a: 2c.

⁵⁸¹ The names appear on Sturt’s 1833 map, but he had not seen these places.

⁵⁸² See Chapter 2.4.2.1 ‘Islander exploration’.

⁵⁸³ It is only my speculation that Kalungku or Emma may have been abducted from Encounter Bay, and considerably more likely that these raids happened at Rapid Bay or *Yarnkalyilla*.

FREEDOM VERSUS AUTHORITY:

The Islanders had prided themselves on their freedom here ‘beyond the pale’. But from 1827 they could not completely avoid contemplating the future limits of that freedom. They would eventually have to come to terms with colonial authority. In 1826 the government had moved in the east— however inadequately – to rid the Straits of escaped convicts. But few of these were on KI,⁵⁸⁴ and here the worries had a different origin.

The first issue was guilt for their actions and the possibility of penalties. Probably all who arrived before 1827 had taken part in some of the brutalities or connived at them,⁵⁸⁵ and had some cause to fear investigation. At the end of 1826 some of the Islanders themselves had experienced a narrow escape from the same government at the opposite extreme of the southern coast, in King George Sound where Lockyer targeted their treatment of mainland First Peoples. Although their possession of captive women was not yet seriously threatened, the two issues were not easily separated. They could readily predict that someone like GA Robinson would eventually embark on a clean-up of the slave trade too. And as we have seen, for them the women were no longer marginal sex objects but mainstays of their economy.

The second issue for Islanders was ironically similar to that which threatened the Aboriginal mainlanders: dispossession and deprivation. The ‘government of Sydney’ might not only punish their actions but throw them off the land they had occupied and deport them to the colonies. Then how would they live?

1.4.2.2 – ABORIGINES.

WATCHING THE RECONNAISSANCE:

For the ‘Cape Jervis’ Aborigines in 1827, many traditional things were the same as ever, while others had already changed for the worse. Traditional life was still basically intact, but it was already under stress.

European presence in itself was the first impact. Though the white men had scarcely begun a reconnaissance, Islanders had already stolen some women, had almost certainly murdered some men. Around ‘Cape Jervis’ the clans had already experienced European work, trade and technologies, or heard first-hand reportage of them; a few had taken part in them already. As we shall see in Chapter 2, this would cause political change among the local groups. And KI was already a scouted and occupied base which Europeans would use in the impending colonial invasion.

The second impact was less direct but much more devastating: new contagious diseases. Any man or woman who returned from the Island to the mainland was likely to bring with them sexual diseases, which the swapping of women then transmitted to the rest. Meanwhile, smallpox epidemics spread from the coast of Northern Territory inland down the trade routes to Sydney in one direction and to the Adelaide Plains and Encounter Bay in another, causing a holocaust of death, depopulation and disabled

⁵⁸⁴ About convicts on Kangaroo Island, see Chapter 1.1.2.1 ‘What were they like?’

⁵⁸⁵ Cruelties were perpetrated not only by alleged convicts such as Allen who were ‘beyond the pale’ even for Captain Hart, but also by seamen like Bates and Thomas who “*seemed very intelligent*” to Barker’s deputy Davis (Davis 1831: 24-5). Dr Woodforde found them “*a civil set of men*” (Woodforde diary 6 Sep 1836).

survivors. If this had not already happened here by 1827, it would do so within a couple of years.⁵⁸⁶

PROTAGONISTS, TASMANIAN AND LOCAL:

While a few Aboriginal men chose to work intermittently with the newcomers, most of the women who were involved with them had very little choice. Because they often seemed compliant, it suited Islanders like Bates to view them as “useful and willing slaves”.⁵⁸⁷ But we should not underestimate how hard it may be for us today to understand the mindset of a traditional woman at first contact in the situations of a Kalinga or a Magalidi.⁵⁸⁸ It may be that in their eyes the pragmatic way to survive well – the only way – was to cooperate with the men who held the power.

Those with enough resilience, aptitude and opportunity might increase their chances to flourish by learning English, like Magalidi and Kalinga. Both had survived the rigours of life on remote sealing voyages. But between these two lay a fundamental difference: their origins.

Kalinga will appear next on ‘Cape Jervis’, at home with her people. But Magalidi – however intelligent and resilient – is a foreigner in exile who does not know this mainland, its people or its languages. She cannot be a useful broker with these locals: not for the Islanders now nor for the colonists in 1836. For the present, her destiny lies with the Islanders. When they cease to be her only onsite authorities, will her lot become even bleaker?

..... **endChapter1**

⁵⁸⁶ Later research rebuts the earlier claim that the smallpox epidemics *originated* in Sydney (see Judy Campbell 1998, *Invisible Invaders*, Melbourne University Press; my thanks to Peter Sutton for alerting me to this item). It is still debated whether the first Sydney epidemic in 1789 reached this area; but certainly another one did in 1829-30. See e.g. Amery 2016: 75; Graham Jenkin 1979, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri*: 28-30. “It is estimated that 60% of the Aboriginal people died of this disease” (EDSA-Kaurna 1989: 146). Sturt observed a terrible rate of disfiguring and disabling sexual disease and smallpox among the groups along the Murray in 1829, becoming worse as he went further downstream. From this some have derived the theory that these diseases had been introduced by the KI sealers and whalers rather than from the east via Aboriginal trade along the Murray (see ‘European discovery of the River Murray system: Charles Sturt and the discovery of the River Murray’, <http://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=1324> [14/11/13]). However, this theory is challenged by the fact that Sturt also then went on to observe, just above Lake Alexandrina, a “healthier tribe... more healthy than any tribe we had seen” (8 Feb 1830, Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 155, <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00059.html>). Both factors may have been at work, varying over time.

⁵⁸⁷ Bates 1886b: 6d.

⁵⁸⁸ Today we assume as ‘given’ facts of life that everyone has the right to an almost unlimited individual autonomy; that everyone wants this; that everyone automatically acts upon individual concerns rather than communal obligations; that arranged, enforced or even violent relationships between men and women are abnormal or unusual; that suffering is always avoidable; that one can always change one’s destiny. But all these ideas – some important, others more questionable – have flourished only in recent history and in some places.

**Feet On the Fleurieu,
Language On the Land:
Book 1**

Chapter 2:

1827 - 1836: TOWARDS A BEACH-HEAD.

2.1 – PRESSURES FOR CHANGE: INTRODUCTION TO CHRONOLOGY 1827-36

Ten years elapsed between the news of Captain Whyte's clean-up in Bass Strait in 1826 and the arrival of South Australian colonists in 1836. New things were happening on KI and 'Cape Jervis'; but the tale is tangled and only visible in glimpses. Often an exact chronology is hard to determine, and there are tantalizing gaps. Nevertheless we know enough to reconstruct some of the local story with a certain amount of coherence.⁵⁸⁹

Although after 1827 Kangaroo Island appears to have continued its ambiguously violent business as usual, three pressures were building up to change the social dynamics there and on the nearby mainland.

2.1.1 – NEW SAILORS ON REMOTE WESTWARD COASTS.

The first pressure came from Bass Strait in the east, as the pre-existing westward push of the sealers became stronger and quicker.

The seal population in Bass Strait had now been so drastically reduced that sealing was much more difficult than it had been. It was reported that on KI by 1832 "seals are now nearly destroyed or rather frightened away".⁵⁹⁰

Mere subsistence made the Straitsmen more dependent than ever on the enslavement of Aboriginal women, to help them survive on the land while having fewer skins to trade with the captains for food and supplies. But at the same time, as a result partly of the Straitsmen's activities and partly of the Black Wars now in their last stages, Aboriginal women were becoming scarce in the camps around Van Diemen's Land.⁵⁹¹

In order to find both seals and women the trade captains, the sealers, and the human traffickers were all pulled ever more strongly westward to other less exploited coasts.⁵⁹² Thus they swelled the numbers on KI, and also made more contact with peoples of the SA coast, especially those in the vicinity of sealing grounds such as the southern parts of the Gulf region including 'Cape Jervis'. The nature of this contact is the main subject of this chapter.

⁵⁸⁹ THE DATE FRAMEWORK: A few local events before 1836 were recorded in some detail and with exact dates which I use as anchor-points for our story. In Chapter 1 we have already so used Captain Whyte's clean-up of the Straits during 1826, and the sea adventures of 'Sally' in 1825-7. The chronology in Chapter 2 is based around the following:

(1) Reports from Captain Forbes and others about the Fleurieu coast in 1829-30, and of a 'large lagoon' nearby.

(2) Sturt's epic journey of 1829-30 to find the course of the western rivers, which led him to the Murray Mouth but no further.

(3) The voyage of the 'Dart' in 1830 to find him, and its meeting with Bates on Thistle Island.

(4) Captain Barker's exploration of the area in April 1831, and official reports of the search for him in early May after he went missing.

(5) The arrival of George Meredith on Kangaroo Island in February 1834.

Much else can be deduced, surmised and roughly dated, but only with various degrees of probability.

⁵⁹⁰ 'Report of Kangaroo Island, by Thomas Coote, as taken from his lips in Jan^y 1836', SA Company papers 1834-1847, Angas Papers PRG 174/11: 165. Seaman Coote had visited KI twice in 1832-3.

⁵⁹¹ PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 18-19.

⁵⁹² On the push westward, cp. Chapter 1.1.2 'Straitsmen & Islanders'.

2.1.2 – ABORIGINAL RESCUE IN THE EAST: COLONIAL AUTHORITIES.

A second pressure for change also came in the east, another kind of clean-up by the colonial authorities in Sydney.

The ruling elite were well aware of the human trafficking, but their interest in such affairs at the margins was intermittent, and the government forces too small to do much about it. In this chapter we will find more evidence that when their regiments came into contact with sealers they could not even avoid conniving in the situation, just as they had done in the west in 1827.⁵⁹³

But the governors had not abandoned the idea of a clean-up, and soon began to reach out more persistently in the Straits and to extend their arm westward, showing occasionally that they were not so far away that their influence could be ignored totally on Kangaroo Island. For instance, in 1829 Governor Arthur's troops arrested one John 'Black' Baker in Tasmania. He was an African-American Straitsman wanted for abducting three women (including Magalidi) from the southeast coast of Tasmania in the mid-1820s. The tip-offs began when he was seen sealing at KI, where doubtless he was well known in the trade. Arrested in Launceston but acquitted for lack of evidence, he demonstrated nevertheless that the old game against the authorities now included a real possibility of being hung.⁵⁹⁴

Making this possibility even more persistent, and adding a moral urgency to the desire for commercial security, from 1830 Tasmanian 'Conciliator' Augustus Robinson began to move his campaign of 'pacification' from the north coast of Tasmania into the Bass Strait islands. Backed by government edict and marines, he set about rescuing Aboriginal women from sealers in the Straits, and providing opportunities for them to return home.

Obsessively he sought out and interviewed people like Emma, Kalungku, Anderson and Munro for names and locations, hoping for official action to root out sealers who had engaged in the sale and abuse of women. Accounts of depravities connected with KI had already begun to appear frequently in his reports long before he came to the Straits, and continued to do so for years.⁵⁹⁵

These developments had a clear potential to threaten the autonomy of the Kangaroo Islanders in the not-so-distant future.

2.1.3 – A NEW INVASION: PLANS FOR ANOTHER COLONY.

On the other side of the globe a third pressure was at work for change on KI: after 1831 English plans escalated for a new colony on the eastern coast of St Vincent's Gulf.

The threat of war between England and France continued, especially after the Second French Revolution of 1830. The British authorities were anxious to pre-empt the French Empire in colonizing the vast southern and western coasts of Australia. Interest groups in

⁵⁹³ Cp. the impotence of Lockyer and his successors at King George Sound in regard to the human trafficking (Chapter 1.3.4 'Kalinga (Sally)'). Captain Barker's government regiment, which had been responsible for law and order in other outposts, under pressure of circumstances at the Murray Mouth in 1831 allowed a kidnapping to happen under their noses and then transported both the offenders and the victim back to Kangaroo Island in the 'Isabella' without reporting the affair (see later in this chapter).

⁵⁹⁴ PlomleyN 1966: 1011; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 36.

⁵⁹⁵ e.g. early reports: Robinson 10 Oct 1829; 11 Oct 1830; 19 March 1831 in PlomleyN 1966: 82-3, 246, 327.

London were turning their attention increasingly to KI and the Gulf region near it.⁵⁹⁶ The shady schemer Edward Gibbon Wakefield drew up plans for 'systematic colonization' in a new British province to be called 'South Australia', with a 'sturdy yeomanry' of small farmers and a reliable and compliant labour force.⁵⁹⁷ Their voices became noisy enough for the echoes to reach KI itself.

At first the Colonial Office – whether in London or Sydney – knew almost nothing about the area which would become 'South Australia', other than its coastline as charted by Flinders. Remembering the canals of England and the big rivers of America, their shining hope was that the great river system of eastern Australia might reach the sea inside St Vincent's Gulf, rather than on the exposed and dangerous shores east of KI. Here might be a harbour for a great seaport safely sheltered from the terrors of the Southern Ocean. Connected to river transport, there would be a bright and safer future for commerce between SA and the eastern colonies.

From the scanty reports of the southern coast, KI was better known than the Gulf, and now became interesting to the authorities as a likely gateway to the dream. The sealers who knew the area became more visible, and their knowledge was increasingly sought after by the Colonial Office in London and its branch in Sydney.

But we should remember that the sealers who knew it best were long-term Kangaroo Island residents, and their local knowledge came partly from the local Aboriginal people.

2.1.4 – LOCAL MAINLANDERS AND ISLANDERS: PREPARATIONS?

To what extent did Islanders and mainlanders anticipate and prepare for a life in the approaching colony?

Islanders were increasingly aware that their 'lawless' autonomy would soon be challenged. For them 'South Australia' was another threat to their autonomy, their entire power base and their continued existence on the Island. They now had to consider a future when the power of Army and Empire would settle on 'their' land and they would once more have rulers and perhaps jailers.

In this future the Aboriginal people of the mainland would face a new and quite different set of people, in overwhelming numbers and with an utterly new structure of organized power. For this revolution, their old strategies with the Island and individual Islanders would provide no adequate model.

Yet preparation of a kind was already being forced upon both groups. By the mid-1830s the mainlanders around 'Cape Jervis' were already being drawn into the fringes of a European-style economy through interaction with commercial sealers. Across Backstairs

⁵⁹⁶ The same competition with the French had already produced the push for the Swan River colony on the southwest coast of what we now know as Western Australia (as we saw in Chapter 1.3.4 'Kalinga').

⁵⁹⁷ For Wakefield's 'systematic colonization', and George Fife Angas's pragmatic version of it, see (e.g.) Ron Gibbs 1969, *A History of South Australia*, Adelaide: Balara Books: 22-4, 26. For the 'sturdy yeoman race' of small farmers renting land from the big landholders, see e.g. WS Shepperson 1957, *British Emigration to North America*: 28, http://archive.org/stream/britishemigratio00shep/britishemigratio00shep_djvu.txt [1/8/14]; L Macgillivray n.d., 'We Have Found Our Paradise', www.sahistorians.org.au/175/bm.doc/we-have-found-our-paradise---the-south-east-squattocracy-1840-1870.doc [1/8/14].

Passage, many Islanders were now subsistence farmers as much as ‘sealers’.⁵⁹⁸ By 1830 they were consolidating their occupation of KI, and a two-way relationship was being forged between them and the mainlanders independently – colonial SA would say ‘lawlessly’; but that might be a misleading and perhaps self-serving term invoked as a contrast with their colonial ‘law and order’.

But almost immediately this ‘private’ milieu found itself to be already an ‘old regime’, forced to adapt into a new three-way relationship with a ‘public’ power. For as more sealing ships began to exploit the area and the distant colonial authorities focused their eyes upon the region, the locals had to incorporate this third group somehow into their lives: the sealing captains as scouts of the colonial economy, the regiments as scouts of colonial law.

On the evolving frontier both Islanders and mainlanders began to form intermittent relationships with these precursors, and strategies to cope with them or exploit them. Some Islanders volunteered for paid work (such as Bates and Thomas in 1831).⁵⁹⁹ Some of the Aboriginal tribesmen entered the fringes of the money economy occasionally, working for the captains or for the government, often but not always in company with Island men. Islanders were able to use their pre-existing relationship and their mutually exchanged knowledge to their own advantage. They mediated between Aboriginal people and the colonial scouts, shaping their first contacts and so influencing future directions.

In particular, the death of Captain Barker becomes for us a fascinating window into the period, illustrating how important this three-way interaction was in the ‘foundation’ story which acknowledges it so minimally.

In this and other episodes on record, the protagonists are not the visiting ‘pioneer’ scouts but the Aboriginal family of Condoy and Kalinga-Sally and their ally George Bates. Their story provides the chief record of the way these complex relationships evolved.

2.1.5 – INVISIBLE PEOPLE: INVESTIGATING THE MARGINS.

Of Kangaroo Island and the Fleurieu in these ten years, one kind of history has been told often by the victorious invaders, as a small part of ‘the story of the Foundation of South Australia’.

In this tale the ‘natives’ and Islanders are little more than part of the scenery. In this drama they are not actors but more like the stage set. We glimpse them in momentary flashes, but no meaningful narrative thread of their own connects one glimpse with the next.

We might compare our historical task now with a detective mystery. At the beginning everything seems clear and satisfactory to officials and public. But then the independent sleuth re-visits each familiar detail forensically, one by one: uncovering neglected aspects and new details, interrogating little mysteries at the margins, reconstructing and

⁵⁹⁸ By that time sealing was probably an occasional thing for most, involving travel to remoter islands. Trade with ships was now centred on wallaby skins and salt. In 1836 the term ‘sealers’ was much used by the new colonists, but it was no longer a very accurate description for many. Hart did not use the word in his note about Kangaroo Island for Light, but cited their credentials as farmers and gardeners: “*They grow Wheat, Cape Barley, Potatoes, Cabbages, Portugal Onions, Lettuces, and Pumpkins, Melons and Peaches*” (Hart 1836: 159, 163). He omits the “*pigs and fowls [and] a fine cat*” which the colonists found on Wallan’s farm (Morgan Journal 2 Aug 1836).

⁵⁹⁹ See the end of section 2.3.4.1 ‘The search for Barker, officially’.

re-telling each episode with a new interpretation. Although a real-world history has no 'final scene' where all mysteries are made clear, yet we may experience something like that shift in perception. We may find ourselves re-evaluating the characters and revising the narrative. It now becomes the story of local people making their own lives in an alternative history which was not defined entirely by the British Empire.

I will focus on events in which the 'pioneers' came into actual contact with local mainlanders and Islanders, and I will ask local questions so as to put them in dialectic with colonial questions. Later in the chapter I will try to summarize how the story may have looked in the eyes of those first Australians, viewed in past and present as marginal people. What 'Foundation-and-Fall' history might *they* have written?

But firstly I give a brief recapitulation of the familiar 'Foundation tale', since parts of it are necessary pegs on which to hang any revised narrative.

.....

2.2 – THE COLONIAL ‘FOUNDATION STORY’ (1): TOWARDS “A NEW BRITISH PROVINCE OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA”

2.2.1 – INTREPID CAPTAIN STURT.

From 1830 onward ‘Cape Jervis’ and the surrounding region began to attract British attention, beginning with Captain Charles Sturt. His exploits on the Murray River revealed to England much more about the Fleurieu and its ‘tribes’ than they had yet known, and even more to us later when we put it together with other events.

In 1829 the Governor of New South Wales, Colonel Darling, sent out an expedition under Sturt to explore the mystery of the big rivers for the second time. The Lachlan, the Barcoo, the Darling and the Murrumbidgee flowed westward from the Great Dividing Range; but where did they go after that? Did they peter out in marshes inland, as some suspected? Or did they communicate with the southern coast of the continent, and thus offer hope that there might one day be a great river trade between the existing colonies of the east coast and a future colonial seaport on the south coast?

By September 1829 Darling had probably learned that there was a “large lagoon in the neighbourhood of St Vincent’s Gulf”.⁶⁰⁰ In the same month he instructed Sturt to take his new expedition downstream to the west along the ‘Murrumbidgee’ River as far as possible. They took a whaleboat for this purpose, in pieces at first, and assembled it when the water became navigable.

Following the Murrumbidgee into the river which Sturt named the Murray, they reached the Mouth in February 1830. There Sturt’s party was bitterly disappointed to find that the Murray did not allow safe passage to the sea⁶⁰¹ – so dashing one half of the hope for a river trade between the southern and eastern colonies. But many decades of bitter argument would pass before vested interests in colonial SA would accept this verdict.

The Captain had a second disappointment. He found that the locals of the Goolwa Channel area in February 1830 showed a “determined” hostility to his party, sustaining it continuously over three days and several miles of territory from the Lake exit to the Mouth. Moreover, they showed clearly that they knew about guns, and how dangerous they were even from a distance.⁶⁰²

⁶⁰⁰ The sealer *Prince of Denmark* returned to Sydney on 1 September 1829 bearing news of the ‘large lagoon’ to the Colonial Office (see below). According to Cumpston, it was this news which prompted Darling to choose the Murrumbidgee for Sturt’s route (Cumpston 1986: 126). But this is part of the story of Bates, for which I will reserve it (see 2.3.2.1 ‘Before Sturt’s trip’).

⁶⁰¹ Sturt described the Mouth as a narrow channel “*defended by a double line of breakers, amidst which, it would be dangerous to venture, except in calm and summer weather... Thus were our fears of the impracticability and inutility of the channel of communication between the lake and the ocean confirmed*” (Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 175, <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00059.html>).

⁶⁰² Sturt’s party were in a whaleboat, dirty and exhausted, and to the warriors they must have been indistinguishable from Kangaroo Islanders or sealing gangs like those who landed a whaleboat at Horseshoe Bay in 1828-9. No doubt by 1830 they had also heard about whaleboats associated with earlier raids on the Gulf, and knew all about whaleboats which were still landing men there to travel across country and raid the Estuary (for both of these events see later in this chapter). Hostilities became obvious when Sturt reached Long Island and Hindmarsh Island, but may have begun with the signal fires which suddenly appeared at Point Sturt and the western shores not long before. At the Clayton strait warriors came down from a hill on Hindmarsh Island “*fully equipped for battle*” and aimed their spears from the reeds as Sturt neared the shore, backing off only when he pointed a gun. They continued to follow his whaleboat downstream all the way to the Mouth, watching the party closely from both shores, and trying at one stage to bar their

This was to some extent contrary to his experiences on the Murray only a little way upstream,⁶⁰³ and also (though perhaps he did not know it) quite contrary to an account by George Bates of ‘hospitable’ natives ‘on that part of the coast’ only a year earlier. This contradiction will prove fruitful when we scrutinize it later.

Sturt named ‘Lake Alexandrina’ after the princess who would become Queen Victoria.⁶⁰⁴ His whole party was so exhausted and short of supplies that they could not explore Encounter Bay but had to retrace their path immediately. Three more months would pass before Darling would hear of their disappointments at the Mouth, and three years before the English public could read about them.⁶⁰⁵

When Sturt reached Sydney on 25 May 1830 he gave an enthusiastic account of “a beautiful country as seen from the Lake” towards the Mt Lofty Range on the west.⁶⁰⁶ He strongly recommended that as he had not visited this area it should be examined carefully; it was a promising site for new settlement.⁶⁰⁷ His book published three years later was a prime influence in selecting the site for a new colony and motivating the commercial and legal preparations.⁶⁰⁸

2.2.2 – TRAGIC CAPTAIN BARKER.

British interest in the area already known as ‘South Australia’ was now intensifying – the more so because the abortive attempts to found settlements had recently failed in the far north at Raffles Bay⁶⁰⁹ and in the far west at King George Sound,⁶¹⁰ while the Swan River settlement in Western Australia, only a year old, was having many problems.⁶¹¹ Edward Wakefield and Robert Gouger founded a society to discuss new ideas for ‘systematic colonization’ in the promising area of the Gulfs.

progress with “an outpost of sixteen men across the channel”. It is fairly clear that the intention was to kill them (Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 165-173, cp. p.244 “such determined hostility”).

⁶⁰³ e.g. the “quiet and inoffensive” or “extremely cheerful” natives on 6-8 Feb 1830, in Sturt 1833 Vol.2: 154-5. But, on the strength of his experiences near the Sea Mouth of the Murray, Sturt wrote that he “had every reason to believe that many of the tribes with which we had communicated on apparently friendly terms, regretted having allowed us to pass unmolested”, and might be hostile in the absence of the ‘envoys’ who had prepared their way down (p.177).

⁶⁰⁴ Manning 2010: 26. This tribute to the princess and heir explains the sporadic attempts during the 19th century to re-name and re-map the feature as ‘Lake Victoria’.

⁶⁰⁵ – in Sturt’s book published in 1833 (see later in this chapter).

⁶⁰⁶ Sturt 1833: 229 map; i.e. the Finnis-Milang-Langhorne Creek area.

⁶⁰⁷ See Cumpston 1986: 126; and Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 230-1, “promising aspect... favourable position”. His book also contributed to one of early SA’s vain dreams. In it he described the range as “terminating abruptly at a lofty mountain northerly... the Mount Lofty of Captain Flinders”, and showed it thus on his map, scarcely modified by Barker’s later discoveries which he viewed as proving the ‘termination’ (Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 157-8, 228, 232). Actually the hill he saw was Mt Barker, and the range did not terminate either there or at Mt Lofty. As viewed from the Murray it was an understandable double error. But, as we shall see, this passage was amplified around the same time by a similar ill-founded opinion expressed by another of Darling’s sources, Captain Forbes. Early colonists were led to hope that in the neighbourhood of Mt Lofty they would find a branch of the Murray flowing into the Gulf to make their river dreams come true, or at worst providing a short, safe and easy overland route from the Gulf plains to the Murray. This piece of wishful thinking would not be abandoned until Light explored northwards at the end of 1837.

⁶⁰⁸ “While there is little doubt that the Wakefield party were discussing the colonization of South Australia prior to 1831, it is doubtful they would have gained the site had it not been for the explorations and writings of Captain Charles Sturt... his achievement was known in England before 1831. The colonizers soon realized the importance of the fact that a great navigable waterway reached the sea within a few miles of the Rift Valley and Central Highlands, and henceforth the Murray became, in Finnis’s words, ‘the grand attraction of the scheme’” (‘Geographical Problems of Early South Australia’, *Royal Geographical Society of SA* 1923-4, Vol.XXV: 61, quoted in Shueard 2013: 254).

⁶⁰⁹ Near present-day Darwin.

⁶¹⁰ Today’s Albany.

⁶¹¹ Today’s Perth; see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swan_River_Colony (14/10/13).

Within a year of Sturt's return Darling seized an opportunity to follow up this coast. For this purpose he called upon the services of Captain Collet Barker of the 39th Regiment. Barker had commanded the short-lived settlement in 1828-9 at Raffles Bay near today's Darwin,⁶¹² where "he had had much intercourse with the natives, and had frequently trusted himself wholly in their hands" and was known for "his conciliating manners" with them.⁶¹³ In March 1831 he was finishing a time as commandant of a temporary army post in the other short-lived settlement at King George Sound.⁶¹⁴ Now this was to be superseded by a new settlement at the Swan River under Governor Stirling. Barker was to return to Sydney with his regiment and some convicts. Darling instructed him to include a detour into the southern Gulf country, in particular to find out whether Sturt's Lake Alexandrina was directly connected with St Vincent's Gulf.⁶¹⁵

On the last leg of this detour, exploring overland around 'Cape Jervis', Barker went missing at the Murray Mouth. Searching for him, his regiment enlisted the help of an Aboriginal 'Sally' and her father 'Condoy' on the mainland; then also of George Bates and his companion Nat Thomas on KI. Eventually the search revealed that Barker had been killed by local tribesmen.

Much of this was written up in the official report and in Sturt's book two years later; thus did 'Sally', Condoy and Bates come to the attention of the London planners. We shall examine this episode in detail later, for in it we have a very revealing glimpse of the ambiguous relationships between Islanders and this Aboriginal family.

⁶¹² Cumpston 1986: 111, 114.

⁶¹³ Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 231. Barker was a personal friend of fellow officer Sturt, who would later record this last journey and have the "*melancholy satisfaction*" of writing his epitaph. Sturt wrote of him thus: "*Mild, affable, and attentive, he had the esteem and regard of every companion, and the respect of everyone under him. Zealous in the discharge of his public duties, honourable and just in his private life; a lover and a follower of science... a steady friend... charitable, kind-hearted, disinterested, and sincere*" (Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 231). This assessment is given weight by Sturt's own example: he had taken pains to avoid shedding Aboriginal blood on his Murray trip, and later would advocate for Aboriginal land rights (up to a point) in the face of settler greed (Gara 1998: 111-112). It is also endorsed by modern historians: "*It was indeed a tragedy... that the Aborigines of the lower Murray River chose as a pay-back victim 'one of the most humane friends' that Aboriginal people had encountered in a responsible post since 1788... a man blessed with a degree of understanding and humanity exceptional for his times*" (Gara 1994: 181. Tom Gara 1994, review of Mulvaney and Green (ed) 1992, *Commandant of Solitude. The Journals of Captain Collet Barker 1828-1831*, Melbourne University Press; in *Aboriginal History* 18(2), Canberra: ANU: 181). How different might race relations in SA have been in the 1840s, if its frontiers could have benefited from his negotiating leadership rather than the militaristic 'shock and awe' of Police Commissioner O'Halloran and Sub-Inspector Tolmer and their mounted police. (Both were ex-soldiers. O'Halloran "*frequently displayed an inability to appreciate the civil function of the police department*". Both were "*influential in in organising the fledgling South Australian police into a paramilitary force*" (Robert Clyne 1981, quoted in Foster & Nettelbeck 2012: 27).

⁶¹⁴ Albany, Western Australia.

⁶¹⁵ Cumpston 1986: 114, 127; cp. Davis 1831: 22-3 (Dr Robt M Davis, M.D., report to Colonial Secretary Alexander McLeay, 19 May 1831, in 'Memorial to Captain Collet Barker, at Mount Barker', *Journal & Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia (SA Branch)*, Vol.6).

2.2.3 – ‘THE FATHERS’, 1831-6: FINAL STEPS TO A ‘SYSTEMATIC’ COLONY.

Back in England these and other developments around Kangaroo Island were followed eagerly, and the name ‘South Australia’ was on the lips of men of capital. A South Australian Land Company was formed in 1831.⁶¹⁶

Five months after Barker’s death its members read an old report of “good land” in the region. This time – surprisingly, in hindsight – it was said to be on Kangaroo Island. Captain George Sutherland, remembering his sealing visit to KI in the *Governor Macquarie* in 1819, described a large inland area of fertile open grassland with “often hundreds of acres without a tree”. This was balm to the ears of prospective landowners, though onsite in 1836 the description would prove to be dangerously misleading.⁶¹⁷

In 1833 Sturt published his journal of the Murray River expedition with reflections on it.⁶¹⁸ In his final chapter he added a second-hand account of Barker’s expedition and death, and a description of the tract of land which he had seen west of the Lake toward St Vincent’s Gulf. He deplored that he had been unable to examine it: “a spot has... been found... to which the colonist might venture with every prospect of success”. He retained the hope that there would prove to be a “practicable communication with the lake” from further up the Gulf, and his accompanying map of the Murray and ‘Cape Jervis’ were the basis for others in the next several years.⁶¹⁹

Sturt’s heroic journey and the genial Barker’s ‘unprovoked murder’ by ‘treacherous savages’⁶²⁰ quickly became leading features of the romantic Foundation myth.

Plans for colonization quickly sped up. In the same year Gouger formed the private South Australian Association. Trumpeting the forthcoming invasion, the British government in 1834 passed the South Australian Foundation Act,⁶²¹ which set up a South Australian Colonization Commission. In early 1836 George Fife Angas formed the South Australian

⁶¹⁶ The first short-lived company formed by Wakefield and his associates in 1831 (see South Australian Land Company [EG Wakefield] 1831, *Plan of a Company to be established for the purpose of founding a Colony in Southern Australia*, London: Ridgway & Sons. The SALC failed but was soon replaced by the South Australian Association, which published Wakefield 1834.

⁶¹⁷ Sutherland 1831 in Wakefield 1834: 48, <https://books.google.com.au/books/reader?id=kjRfAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PP1>. His chart is reproduced in Cumpston 1986: 36-7, Plate 13. Map03 in this book shows his 1819 track, from Southwest River (on the south coast at Hanson Bay) to the Bay of Shoals near Kingscote. Sutherland’s lurid opinion of the Islanders living at that time near Hanson Bay became well-known (it is quoted in Chapter 1.1.2.1 ‘What were they like’). His unlikely account of good land on KI remains a puzzle today. “*This account is at such odds with later experience that it appears to be a fabrication*”, and some commentators have suspected corruption (Durrant 2014b: 47-53); but after a thorough investigation of the account Durrant concludes, “*Perhaps the jury should remain out*”. The expectations which it aroused would be dramatically dashed in 1836 when the new colonists found it utterly unlike what he had described and two of them died in the process (see Chapter 3.5 ‘Women & Islanders as search-and-rescue teams’). But he was read and quoted by many in the lead-up to 1836, and details from his map were incorporated into new maps for some years.

⁶¹⁸ Capt. Charles Sturt 1833, *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia, during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831...*, London: Smith, Elder and Co., two volumes. Facsimile reprint Adelaide: Public Library of South Australia, 1963, Australiana facsimile editions no. 4.

⁶¹⁹ Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 246, 230, 228, <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00059.html>.

⁶²⁰ Sturt himself did not imagine that the murder was unprovoked, but made a natural connection between this and his own experience only a few kilometres away, guessing the cause as “*the cruelties exercised by the sealers towards the blacks along the south coast*” (Sturt 1833, Vol. 2: 243-4). My investigations will confirm his guess (see later in this chapter).

⁶²¹ The British parliamentary Act which established the Colony of South Australia according to British law.

Company; and King William issued Letters Patent which declared and defined a new British province to be called 'South Australia'.

All these people were busily raising funds; buying up the land of the *Miyurna*, the Raminyeri and others from its newly-declared owners, the British Crown; and eagerly seeking out first-hand reports about it. They knew well that the land had inhabitants who could be said to own it by right of first occupancy, but they carefully kept any such acknowledgment out of the Act. A legal basis for transfers of ownership might perhaps have been formed from an official invasion and conquest; but these were never declared. The scheme merely ignored the issue as though Crown ownership was an accomplished fact.

In February 1836 the first shiploads of immigrants embarked in Company ships bound for South Australia. They intended to settle on Sutherland's 'fertile' Kangaroo Island, beginning at the safe harbour of Nepean Bay; and expected that the Company's proposed whaling industry would very soon support their new economy. Five more months would pass before the first of them arrived.

.....

Such is the official tale of 'Foundation 1836'.

On its margin the Islanders briefly provide an exotic backdrop to the London plans. Colonial memory also throws up images of a romantic young Englishman named Meredith who lived on the Island but was murdered by 'treacherous blacks' at Yankalilla sometime in the years immediately before the first colonists arrived. Islanders walk onstage momentarily again in 1836 during the short-lived first settlement at Kingscote on KI, and helping Colonel Light as he leads the push up St Vincent's Gulf.

Even less do Aboriginal people appear in any of this. Usually they are passive spectators (chronicled or imagined) of the colonial action, unnamed 'natives' just visible in the wings: almost never as active agents.

Then all these stage extras vanish from the history. They reappear (much later) only in the nostalgic memories of 'old-time pioneers' or as unfocused figures of local folklore.

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2.3 – INVESTIGATION

2.3.1 – BACKGROUND: ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND THE SEALING CAPTAINS.

A more forensic story begins by focussing on the local margins. Here, for the purposes of this book the records of the sealing ships are an essential background, including the local information which flowed back from them to the Colonial Office and the South Australian Company. In this period the commercial sealing and whaling ships continued to act as Europe's advance guard or scouts.

In Chapter One I described in general terms the part these visitors played in the social dynamics of Kangaroo Island and the Aboriginal mainland. Functioning unofficially as the mainstay of the slave trade in Aboriginal women along the whole coast, they collaborated with resident Straitsmen and Islanders, many of whom had been in their crews or sealing gangs and still worked for them at times. They also began to trade with some mainland Aboriginal communities, bartering goods and women. Aboriginal men and women were sometimes found in their gangs. Pidgin English and seamen's skills entered some of the mainland camps.⁶²²

Their ships continued to visit KI and exploit some of the islands off the coast of the two Gulfs, notably Thistle Island.⁶²³ Until the 1830s the authorities in London were not yet seriously interested in the 'Cape Jervis' region; captains confined their visits to KI and the southern extremities of Spencer Gulf, and very little detail about the Fleurieu reached the records. But then the captains began a new push further up the Gulf St Vincent, at the same time (not coincidentally) that the reports of Sturt and Barker were circulating the idea that the fertile region of 'Cape Jervis' was of prime interest for a new colony. Thereupon a few individual captains and even shipowners become significant players in our story: the Griffiths family Jonathon and John; William Dutton; Duncan Forbes; John Hart; John Jones.

Many of the sealing ships were built and owned by the Griffiths family of Sydney and Launceston.⁶²⁴ Of the ships built in Launceston by John Griffiths (the son), two in particular – the *Henry* and the *Elizabeth* – made many voyages to KI,⁶²⁵ and some of their captains gave crucial information to those who schemed for the new colony. The *Henry* was launched in 1827 and continued sealing until it was wrecked in 1834. It had John Griffiths aboard on many of its earlier voyages, and it was captained several times by men of interest to us: John Jones and later William Dutton (to whom Kalungku was sold). The *Elizabeth* was launched in 1831 and went sealing and trading up to 1835 under John Hart: another man of interest in our story.

⁶²² See Chapter 1.1.3 'Aboriginal women', 1.1.6.2 'Subsistence', and 1.2.1 'Men's business'.

⁶²³ Thistle Island is at the mouth of Spencer Gulf, 40 km southeast of Port Lincoln.

⁶²⁴ Jonathon Griffiths and his son John, successful farmers, traders and shipbuilders of New South Wales and later Launceston, were attracted to the sealskin and salt trade in the Straits and Kangaroo Island from 1816 onward, especially after 1827. In Cumpston 1986, Chapter 19 'John Griffiths' is a compendium of voyages around the KI region in this period. In New South Wales Jonathon was "*that most industrious colonist*", and in Launceston John became "*the enterprising shipbuilder*" (phrases quoted from contemporary newspaper reports: Cumpston 1986: 55, 117).

⁶²⁵ Cumpston 1986: 55, 116-7, 123-4.

From 1831, London men were seeking out reports old and new; and from 1834, KI and the east coast of St Vincent's Gulf became a major theme of their correspondence. Some of the reports and interviews reveal much about events around the Fleurieu coast.⁶²⁶ For example, they tell us more about the extent to which the captains were implicated in the human trafficking, and about the Aboriginal people they met; and that by 1834 some of them had employed mainland men and landed as far north as the Adelaide Plains. Captain Sutherland's visit to KI in 1819 in the *Governor Macquarie* became part of this story only in 1831 when the South Australian Land Company interviewed him.

We noted in Chapter One how a whaling party under Captain Gibbons made extended visits to Spalding Cove near Port Lincoln annually from 1829-32, in a peaceful working relationship with the Aboriginal residents. But it was not until 1834 that passenger Homburg told the Committee on the Colonization of SA that here was a potentially compliant labour force: "For a little tobacco, and with kind treatment, he is convinced they would work well".⁶²⁷

More visits followed, long and frequent, under Jones and Hart in ships owned by Griffiths.

2.3.1.1 – THE 'CAPE JERVIS TRIBE' AND CAPTAIN JOHN JONES.

In the same year 1832 that Homburg was meeting the Spalding Cove whalers, John Jones – an experienced sealer – was continuing a series of apparently peaceful visits to KI and 'Cape Jervis' in the *Henry*.⁶²⁸ These are especially illuminating for Aboriginal history. By contrast with the exploiter Dutton, Jones used a Griffiths ship to employ Aboriginal people, a specific though unnamed 'tribe' of the Fleurieu.⁶²⁹ Unfortunately the slim record of these visits is rather confused in its geography.

His voyage in the winter of 1833 was at least his sixth visit to KI and his third as master; but this time he detoured over to 'Cape Jervis'.⁶³⁰

⁶²⁶ e.g. in the huge archives of the Angas papers (PRG 174, SLSA), from which more about the sealers and Kangaroo Island will no doubt be gleaned in future.

⁶²⁷ Homburg, reported in Wakefield 1834: 71, <https://books.google.com.au/books/reader?id=kjRfAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PP1>. See also Chapter 1.2.1 'Men's Business'.

⁶²⁸ For the travels of Jones in the *Henry* (first as a crew member, then as master) from 1832 to 1834, see Cumpston 1986: 119-20, 122-3. He had already visited KI in 1824 among the crew of the *Minerva* under Forbes (Cumpston: 68).

⁶²⁹ Jones was interviewed in London in 1834 or 1835 by the promoters of South Australia, and his "paper" was published soon afterwards in a book, together with a short letter from GS Kingston, the future Surveyor-General (Appendix No.5 of CJ Napier 1835, *Colonization; particularly in Southern Australia...*, London: 250-2, <https://archive.org/details/colonizationpar00napigoog/page/n288/mode/2up>. His 'paper' is reprinted in 'Port Adelaide River: its first reported discovery', *Proc. Royal Geog Soc Australasia, SA Branch* 22, 1920-1: 73-5). Kingston's letter shows that it was probably he and John Brown (the future Emigration Agent) who had interviewed Jones and sent the resulting 'paper' to Napier. Today we must read the Jones statement with caution. It was not written down by the captain himself, but is the London interviewer's report of what he heard. Jones signed his name to the last sentence, "I have read the above and find it all correct" (Napier 1835: 252). But we must wonder how literate he was, and how hasty the record; for it contains some manifest geographical confusions: e.g. between Yankalilla Bay and Rapid Bay (Napier 1835: 250); and the confusion – which would prove so misleading and time-consuming to Colonel Light – between Sturt's 'Sixteen Mile Creek' and Jones' "fine harbour" allegedly 15-20 miles to the north of it (Jones 1835: 251, <https://archive.org/details/colonizationpar00napigoog/page/n288/mode/2up>).

⁶³⁰ Cumpston 1986: 119-120. During this detour in 1833 he obtained a view of the land which sounded delicious to the Wakefield enthusiasts in London: he "crossed over to Cape Jervis, on the southern side of which, about eight miles from the western point, he found a small bay, not laid down in any chart, affording good shelter and anchorage for vessels of 400 tons, with a small stream of water running into it. He landed there, and ascended the highest part of the Cape, from which he had an extensive view of the country on all sides, as well as of the waters of Gulf St Vincent. The land was very fine, the soil rich, and covered with fine grass to the very top. The timber was gum, sheaoak, and wattle, but no scrub" (Jones 1835: 250). He had probably landed at either Deep Creek Cove or perhaps Boat Harbor Beach, and climbed the ridges to the high watershed of what is now Range Rd. His view on 'all sides' – then, though probably

In the following summer (January 1834) he went there again, “was ashore in numerous places all along the coast, and went three or four miles inland”. By now he had developed a confidence in his relationship with local groups. Somewhere there,

*he met a tribe of natives on Cape Jervis, consisting of ten families. Five of the men worked with him occasionally, and two were with him constantly for near five months. They were very useful, and willing to work for a trifling remuneration. To the two who remained with him long he gave pistols, powder and shot; to the others slop-clothing... Neither he nor any of his crew were ever annoyed by the natives, although some of the crew frequently slept on the shore.*⁶³¹

Captain Jones found that “the land was very fine... covered with grass to the very top... the soil rich and black, the grass very high and thick”, with many “open” areas and no scrub; he considered “Cape Jervis and the eastern shores of Gulf St Vincent as the best adapted for a settlement of any part of the coast which he has seen”. Intriguingly, this seaman derived his glowing description of potential farm country from his *passengers*; for he had brought farmers from the neighbourhood of Launceston.⁶³² Doubtless these two voyages doubled as scouting tours for second-generation colonists of VDL who were enterprising enough to consider speculating in this remote west. It had probably been the same in 1832 when Homburg accompanied Captain Gibbons and his whaling party from Launceston to Port Lincoln. ///

Jones’s account clearly refers to the open plains such as those we know as Yankalilla, Aldinga, McLaren or Adelaide. Equally clearly, he did reach the Adelaide Plains, even though they are far north of any likely spot for sealing;⁶³³ for he described “a fine harbour sheltered by an island at the entrance”: an inlet which can only be the Port River. Here, however, “he did not land on the main” but only on “the island” (today’s Torrens Island), and so it is very unlikely that he employed Adelaide people. The ‘fine harbour’ of this Jones report, at a prime location in the shelter of St Vincent’s Gulf, would tantalize the planners for a couple of years and almost elude Colonel Light in 1836.⁶³⁴

In trusting loaded pistols to the two men who “were with him constantly for near five months”, Jones went further in his sharing of power than any other captain on record. It can safely be assumed that they worked in whaleboats and learned how to use them. No doubt all seven of his Aboriginal helpers learned some English language.

At this time – according to Jones – it was strictly men’s business. Although the ‘families’ worked with him, “he saw their women and children only at a distance, and saw no other natives on the rest of the coast along Gulf St Vincent; but their fires were very numerous”. We cannot be sure whether Jones’s direct contacts were actually ten whole

not now – might have included bald hills above both Tunkalilla and Rapid Bay-Wirrina (see Schultz PNS 5.02.02/04 Yarnauwingga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-02-02-04Yarnauw.pdf>; or perhaps his last sentence about ‘the land’ was a separate observation from the Gulf later.

⁶³¹ Jones 1835: 251.

⁶³² GS Kingston’s letter tells that Jones “*was desirous to add that the opinion in that paper, as to the goodness of the soil, was not formed from his own judgement, but was that of the landsmen who accompanied him, and who were all farmers, or farmers’ sons, from the neighbourhood of Launceston*” (Jones 1835: 252). Jones had also carried passengers to Kangaroo Island in February 1833 (Cumpston 1986: 120). Of his two ‘Cape Jervis’ voyages, we cannot be sure whether he carried passengers in July 1833 or April 1834, or both.

⁶³³ He may have been checking for sources of salt. The tidal flats at Dry Creek on the north side of the estuary have been used for many decades as commercial salt fields. Or he may have been ‘touring’ for his passengers.

⁶³⁴ See Chapters 2.6.1 ‘In London’ and 3.4.10 ‘Third Gulf voyage’.

‘families’ in any real sense, nor is it clear how he could know this. Did he include those distant women as part of a given ‘family’? Did he mean simply ‘ten groups of people’, usually men coming to meet him, with women in the distance? – i.e. not a normal large day camp. Sutton thinks they may have been small hearth groups.⁶³⁵

Of the ‘distance’ kept from those women (for which we have only Jones’ word), historian Rebe Taylor says: “It seems the Cape Jervis people had become wise by past experiences, and now handled negotiations on their own terms”.⁶³⁶ This may be so; or perhaps it was their normal prudence with large groups of male strangers. With passengers present, Jones and his crew would have been on their best behaviour. It is a striking fact that in the only two explicit records of peaceful first contact from a sealing ship – Homburg and Jones – both had mainstream colonists present.

We do not know exactly where he found his ‘tribe of ten families’, but it was almost certainly south of the Onkaparinga – probably south of Sellick’s Hill, which would make it culturally the same as the *Patpangga* (‘southern’) regional group identified in 1840. Ten of Jones’s ‘family’ group contacts could perhaps total anything between 50 and 100: a significant part, perhaps a majority, of the whole population of ‘Cape Jervis’ at the time.

Textbox07: ABORIGINAL POPULATIONS OF THE ADELAIDE-FLEURIEU-ENCOUNTER BAY REGION AT FIRST CONTACT.

According to some estimates, the total population of the whole area from Adelaide to Encounter Bay and the Lake, even before 1836, was probably no more than 600. Figures were not recorded until 1840, by which time the population – already devastated by earlier smallpox epidemics – was being further reduced by the effects of colonization.

The ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ was a “*very small one*” according to Woodforde in 1836.⁶³⁷ Though we might ask how Woodforde could know this so soon – perhaps from the Islander Cooper? – it is true that the richer lowlands of Encounter Bay were much more densely populated.

In the winter whaling season of 1839 Schürmann found only 50 of the local people at Encounter Bay but described this number as ‘small’, while there were 140-150 of the ‘Lake people’ as well.⁶³⁸ At such times this number could swell to 300 or even many more.⁶³⁹

At the beginning of 1840 Protector Moorhouse (in association with the German missionaries in Adelaide) estimated the population of the groups occupying Rapid Bay and Yankalilla (“*the Patpunga*”) as only 90. At the same time he listed the “*Ra-mong Tribe*” as 230, though he included in this not only Encounter Bay but much of the Estuary.⁶⁴⁰ He also said there were only 80 in the “*Adelaide*” tribe “*inhabiting a district of 10 miles north of Adelaide to the foot of Mount Terrible*”, i.e. from Little Para River south to Sellicks Hill; but this figure was

⁶³⁵ Peter Sutton comments: “*In my experience of early accounts like this, these are likely to be hearth groups, people sharing a fire and, in winter, a hut. A newcomer could not work out ten families (extended or not) without a physical camp sighting, I would hazard. From camping a lot with traditional people in Cape York Peninsula in the 70s I can say that at night the large day camps would subdivide into hearth groups that were usually only maybe 2-8 people – a married couple plus kids or widowed mother in law etc. So ‘ten families’ could well be about 50 people*” (Sutton p.c. email attachment 12/4/19).

⁶³⁶ TaylorR 2002-8: 60.

⁶³⁷ Woodforde diary 15 Sep 1836,

<https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-15-september-1836-4/>.

⁶³⁸ Schürmann Diary 26 July 1839. It was winter, when people preferred to shelter inland.

⁶³⁹ Dr Wark 1841, quoted in Rob Linn 2001, *A Land Abounding*: 41; Meyer to Dresden Missionary Society 25 July 1844, in Meyer Correspondence: 92.

⁶⁴⁰ Moorhouse 1840b: 354.

probably an underestimate, as it increased later even when visiting ‘tribes’ were listed separately.

All the numbers were probably larger before 1836 than after, and possibly larger than the estimates. Perhaps the ‘Patpunga’ did not number much over 100 in 1836, and the Encounter Bay locals maybe double or triple that. Sutton thinks these figures may still be an underestimate.⁶⁴¹

The recorded estimates are all conjectural to some extent, and vary wildly. I doubt that we can now know the numbers with any certainty.⁶⁴²

Both the casual and the longer experiences of those five local workers must have had a huge influence in preparing all the groups of Cape Jervis and Encounter Bay for more extended dealings with Europeans and their ways. It is extremely likely that these families included some or all of our local protagonists such as the whalers Encounter Bay Bob and Peter, Sally and her father Condo, Harry who had been sealing nine years before, and perhaps Doughboy (a local woman whom we will first meet as a consort of Cooper). The Aboriginal men would have been able to meet any Islanders who had signed on with Jones: perhaps one of these in 1833-4 was Walker.⁶⁴³

2.3.1.2 – ISLANDERS AND CAPTAIN JOHN HART.

John Hart was a very entrepreneurial Griffiths captain. His career is notable because it spanned the gap between the old and new regimes. Between 1831 and 1835 Hart became very familiar with the coast around KI and St Vincent’s Gulf. He was one of the captains eagerly interviewed in London, and returned to SA to become a prominent businessman and three times Premier.⁶⁴⁴

After going to sea at age 12 and coming to Hobart in 1828 (later and younger than Jones), he began his captain’s career at 22 when he took the *Elizabeth* to KI in 1831.

⁶⁴¹ Sutton inclines to larger estimates. At his suggestion, we could calculate population from the recorded clan estates, allowing 25-35 people for each estate group (clan), or perhaps as low as 15 (Peter Sutton p.c. email attachment 12/4/19). The Fleurieu clans were not recorded by contemporary observers, nor by Taplin (since they were invisible by his time, though their land was not yet contested as being Ramindjeri). We could choose those remembered 60 years later by ‘Ngarrindjeri’-Kornar informants whose own clans were further east – e.g. the six clans identified around 1940 by Karlowan and others for the Berndts: Clans 70-75, covering the Fleurieu from Tunkalilla Beach and the Cape up to Sellicks Hill, and eastward to include Mt Robinson, Inman Valley town and Myponga (Berndt & Berndt 1993: 311-2, map 330-1). This exercise would give us a population for the above area of somewhere between 90 and 210. However, (1) it is very doubtful how accurately these late memories represent the pre-contact situation; (2) a majority of this Fleurieu country is very hilly, and would have supported a lower population density than the resource-rich flats north and southeast of it. If so, the lower end of the calculation is more likely.

⁶⁴² For a summary of the documentary evidence see Appendix 15, ‘Aboriginal population figures on and around the Fleurieu’.

⁶⁴³ Jones listed Wallan, Day, Allen, Walker, Thomas and another two unnamed Islanders – and therefore knew them, no doubt because he had either employed or traded with them (Jones 1835: 252, <https://archive.org/details/colonizationpar00napigoo/page/n288/mode/2up>). So far we do not have any crew lists for the voyages of Jones; and even if we did, they might not include men he took on at KI. He was almost the only captain who mentioned Walker; and it is likely that in 1834 he and his ‘ten families’ were associated with deals made when (and perhaps because) Kalinga-Sally began to live with Walker in that year (see later in this chapter).

⁶⁴⁴ Hart’s life is naturally more accessible than Jones’s. See Sally O’Neill, ‘Hart, John (1809–1873)’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hart-john-3729/text5861> (3/1/2013); and Hart 1854: 51-7 (this new Sayers edition of 1969 omits Hart’s covering letter, for which see the original publication, TF Bride 1898, *Letters from Victorian Pioneers*, Melbourne: Trustees of Public Library: 302). But for a pre-colonial view of Hart’s activities we must add various hints from the records of Bates and other Islanders.

Working for Griffiths around the Straits and southern Victoria for another six years, he visited KI often, mainly at Nepean Bay.⁶⁴⁵ Here (in his own words), “on a certain day, once a year, [the Islanders] assembled from all parts of the island to meet the vessel... and dispose of their skins, getting a supply in return for the following year, the only money required being a sovereign or two for making earrings”.⁶⁴⁶ During his third sealing voyage of 1833-4 he landed on the Adelaide plains.⁶⁴⁷ Perhaps he and Jones were competing for advantages.

Hart knew many of the Islanders in person. A list he made for the first colonists includes the men at Nepean Bay and nearby, plus Nat Thomas “pilot” and George Bates of Antechamber Bay – but, interestingly, not William Walker of Hog Bay,⁶⁴⁸ who had arrived in 1832. It would seem that Hart did not deal with Walker in 1832-5. Or was it Walker who chose not to deal with Hart? – a question I will ask again later.

2.3.1.3 – SLAVE TRADE: REFLECTION.

As merchants, Griffiths and Hart created a link between the old sealing days and the new colony. It was probably an intentional strategy, anticipating correctly that Launceston would be SA’s nearest source of supplies.⁶⁴⁹ Certainly Hart pursued his business interests continuously through the late 1830s with SA merchant JB Hack and the whale fishery at Encounter Bay, where the captain of their cutter, William Wright, would have known Hart for years in the coastal trade from Launceston.⁶⁵⁰

What of the Aboriginal women? Did any of these diligent trading captains have concern for their welfare in those years when a sealing voyage meant months of sole undisputed authority on board? Or did most or all of them swim with the tide of their motley crews, so long as their employer’s profit was intact? Did they allow the traffic to go on so closely under their noses that we could describe them as willing or active participants?

Every ship that visited Kangaroo Island would have been involved with both Straitsmen and Islanders; every captain and crew had a first-hand awareness of the traffic in women. Specific records of captains being involved directly in the trafficking are naturally scarce. Those whose own writings are on record prudently do not accuse their fellow-traders, nor mention any part they themselves played; the Islanders get the blame. We owe it mainly to Robinson and a few general references by Bates that the direct involvement by the captains was recorded at all. Even Robinson was only able to accuse Dutton, Meredith and few others.

⁶⁴⁵ Probably in the Bay of Shoals near Salt Lagoon, the old well-known source of salt. There was also a freshwater lagoon nearby.

⁶⁴⁶ Hart 1854: 52. Bates had a different view of Hart’s transactions (see “*lubra for a consideration*”, below; also the references to rum-soaked annual trade in Chapter 1).

⁶⁴⁷ Cumpston 1986: 120-4. Of the third sealing trip he said, “*On this voyage also I was on the plain where Adelaide now stands*” (Hart 1854: 53. my emphasis). ‘Also’ may imply that he had been there before this voyage.

⁶⁴⁸ i.e. Hart 1836. See section 2.5.2.1 ‘William Walker’.

⁶⁴⁹ ParsonsR 1986: 7-8 (Ronald Parsons 1986, *Southern Passages: A Maritime History of South Australia*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press); Cumpston 1986, Chapters 9 and 19. Their hopes were fulfilled when hasty mismanagement of the land settlement process had SA colonists sitting landless in Adelaide for the first couple of years, depending for survival on very expensive food imported from the eastern colonies.

⁶⁵⁰ See <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hart-john-3729/text5861> (3/1/2013); Durrant 2014a: 2-3, <https://doczz.net/doc/4275650/encounter-bay-1836%E2%80%93the-durrant-family-website> (19/9/22). The Encounter Bay whale fishery, begun by the SA Company in 1837, was taken over by Hack for a couple of years, then by Hart.

But Bates implied that among the captains who visited KI it was common, perhaps universal: “the traders, who visited the island occasionally, brought them a Tasmanian lubra for a consideration”.⁶⁵¹ A captain might easily be ‘distracted’ by something else while his whaleboat gangs brought women aboard, put them below deck as his ship left the crime scene, kept them there until the ship was out of sight of unwanted eyes, and traded them on the next island. Though it cannot be assumed that every shipmaster was doing it with full intention, some certainly were. For example, Dutton who captained the *Henry* several times,⁶⁵² had Aboriginal women himself, and lived for a time among Straitsmen with Kalungku whom he had bought from Johnson, beating her for years before abandoning her.⁶⁵³ In fact it is hard to imagine how this long-distance slave trade could have existed without such cooperation by the shipmasters.

Nor can we absolve all the merchant owners of the ships. Sometimes one of them was also present on board when women were abducted. Such was John Griffiths who was captain when Kalungku was forcibly removed from KI in the *Henry* and taken east.⁶⁵⁴ For these rich and respectable men the kidnapping of ‘savages’ was not an issue. They lived in colonies where Aboriginal women were often detained as domestics who doubled unofficially as sexual partners.

This shady underbelly of colonial trade did not prevent some captains and crews from having good relations with Aboriginal groups in some places at some times. A captain and his gangs might even continue on friendly terms for several years, using local Aboriginal men as helpers annually at a sealing site on the mainland, and prudently keeping their distance from *these* women.

But we should also remember that the positive tales of Homburg and Jones were the kind of thing the promoters wanted to hear, and were selected by them for publicity. The government’s Colonial Office was full of the ideals and good intentions of the Evangelical movement now in full swing for the abolition of slavery. In propaganda, the ‘natives’ must not be a problem for the colony of SA; best for everybody if they were eager to become a compliant labour force. Meanwhile on the other side of the world, captains and crews had abundant discretionary power and opportunity to exercise it.

Robinson’s journals do not mention Jones or Hart or the *Elizabeth* among the predators. Hart’s own memoir presents him only as a trader and observer; although he wrote about the Islanders and their resident ‘wives’ whom ‘*they* obtained... from the mainland’,⁶⁵⁵ he carefully said nothing about the actual process of human trafficking. But he must have seen it. The mate on the *Elizabeth* in his early voyages was William Dutton. It is conceivable that he was involved in the traffic almost as much as Dutton, though unlike Dutton he did not settle temporarily with women on a remote island. We have no clear idea what Hart’s attitudes to Aboriginal people were; his career later is ambivalent on racial matters.⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵¹ Bates as reported in Official Trip 1880: 1b.

⁶⁵² For the travels of Dutton and the *Henry* in 1830-6, see Cumpston 1986: 120-3, 125.

⁶⁵³ See Chapter 1.3.2 ‘Kalungku’.

⁶⁵⁴ See Chapter 1.3.2 ‘Kalungku’. The ‘Henry’ certainly visited Kangaroo Island with Griffiths on board in 1829 before 13 March, and may have done so again during Griffiths’ sealing trip between 1 Dec 1830 and 8 March 1831 (cp. the voyages of the ‘Henry’ in 1829-31: Cumpston 1986: 115-6).

⁶⁵⁵ Hart 1854: 52, my emphasis.

⁶⁵⁶ In his relations with Aboriginal people at Port Adelaide from the 1850s on, Hart and his son appear to have been at least tolerant of them camping on the family property near Glanville Hall, and also employed them at the Hart flour mill

So did Jones, Hart and others show two opposite faces toward the first Australians? We cannot be sure, but we must suspect it.⁶⁵⁷ This was an era where traffickers like Dutton could become respected pioneer settlers, and even the young ‘black sheep’ sealing captain George Meredith could be whitewashed posthumously because he came from an influential family in Van Diemen’s Land.⁶⁵⁸

As we shall see again later, any ‘peace’ between sealers and mainlanders was at best a very fragile thing.

.....

As we move our investigations now away from this backdrop of commercial visitors into specific action by local residents, we should remember that the peaceful episodes organized by Gibbons and Jones come late in the story of pre-colonial SA; and that the captains were not the first Europeans to negotiate terms with mainlanders in the ‘Cape Jervis’ region.

We now turn our attention to Islander affairs in the four years immediately *before* Jones and Hart began, to discover that a few of the Islanders had taken this initiative at least as early as Gibbons at Port Lincoln in 1829, and probably earlier.

.....

across the river (see Sheridah Melvin 1994, *Kudlyo the Black Swan: Veronica Brodie and the continuity of Kaurna history at Glanville and Le Fevre Peninsula*, Research report for Lartelare Homeland Association: 14-15, 23, 30, 32-3). His motives and racial attitudes were probably similar when he “brought in a shipload of coolies in 1853 and continued to advocate migration from India and China”: perhaps with a certain amount of tolerance focused on commercial expediency and limited by it (Sally O’Neill, ‘Hart, John (1809-1873)’, Australian Dictionary of Biography, ANU, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hart-john-3729/text5861> [7/6/14]).

⁶⁵⁷ Bates once mentioned directly (and at other times hinted at) the “little matters about the visits of vessels to the island, the ‘gin’ business, rum at 20s. a bottle” – and here ‘gin’ probably does not mean liquor. This quotation was part of “a private conversation” with another old-timer Tom Coward, “and Sheriff Boothby accidentally happened to drop in at the time, greeted the old man in that frank, generous way of his, but somehow shut him up, for the conversation seemed to slow down” (‘Hugh Kalyptus’, ‘The Patriarch Of Kangaroo Island’, *Adelaide Observer* 3/11/1894: 25d-e, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/161811757/18989244> [Bates 1894c]). Bates was extremely careful not to name names, even as late as 1894 when the very powerful Hart was 20 years dead.

⁶⁵⁸ See later in this chapter.

2.3.2 – KALINGA AND CONDOY, BATES AND STURT: 1829-30.

When we begin to investigate foggy details at the margins of the ‘Foundation story’, we quickly find that most of the relevant records involve George Bates.

Bates was an incurable self-promoter, and some of his adventures almost certainly involved other Islanders whom he often did not remember to mention: notably his new companion at Antechamber Bay, the well-known and formidable Nat Thomas.⁶⁵⁹ As a result of the imbalance in the records, much of this Chapter Two is dominated by Bates. But the story belongs also to his Aboriginal contacts ‘Sally’ and Condoy, and perhaps much more to them than the records allow us to know. Despite all uncertainties, the intertwining stories of these three people provide us with the only basis for something like a coherent narrative thread within KI and the Fleurieu in this ten-year period. We must therefore investigate them together, and first. What little we know about other individuals has to be fitted around this framework.

Captain Sturt’s epic voyage down the River Murray is strangely entangled with George Bates. The Foundation myth has Sturt ‘discovering’ Lake Alexandrina for Europeans in February 1830: an impression which he did nothing to dispel. But in fact it had been ‘discovered’ and reported by a commercial sealing gang fifteen months earlier; and Bates had been one of them.⁶⁶⁰

2.3.2.1 – BEFORE STURT’S TRIP: ‘FRIENDLY NATIVES’ AND THE FORBES LETTERS, 1829.⁶⁶¹

In December 1828 Captain Duncan Forbes⁶⁶² on the British sealer *Prince of Denmark* had a gang stationed at Kangaroo Island. From there some of them were taken to Encounter Bay by ship and landed. During their stay they trekked inland. When they reported back to Forbes, what they told him was so interesting that, back in Launceston on 20th January 1829, he wrote a letter to the Colonial Secretary in Sydney. The core of it was this:

*[They] have reported to me that during their excursions into the interior of New Holland they discovered a very large lake of fresh water. They describe it as being very deep and of great extent, as they could not discern the termination of it from the highest land. The banks abound with kangaroo and the lake with fish. They also say that the natives are very friendly, and have a number of canoes upon it, and the land from their description must be rich.*⁶⁶³

⁶⁵⁹ See Appendix 2 ‘Vignettes of some Kangaroo Islanders’. Nat Thomas’s history has been examined very thoroughly by Rebe Taylor, whose book is about him, his Tasmanian wife ‘Betty’ (an Aboriginal Tasmanian), and their descendants including many alive today (TaylorR 2002-8). Bates and Thomas formed the core of another long-term group, a decade younger than Wallan’s Three Wells group, living on Dudley Peninsula at the eastern end of the Island.

⁶⁶⁰ See Thomas Gill 1906, ‘Who discovered Lake Alexandrina?’, *Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society, SA* Vol. 8: 48-54.

⁶⁶¹ The primary sources of the Forbes letters about Lake Alexandrina are also thoroughly presented and analysed in Durrant 2014b: 13-17.

⁶⁶² Forbes had been sealing around the southern coast since he arrived from London in 1822 as master of the *Minerva*. On a visit to KI in 1823-4 his crew had included John Jones, later of the *Henry* (Cumpston 1986: 68, 119, 122).

⁶⁶³ Forbes’ first letter (20 Jan 1829) in Gill 1906: 52. His second letter (to Lt Sleeman at King George Sound 13 May 1829) expands even more pointedly for the Colonial Office: “rich and fit for cultivation” (Cumpston 1986: 113).

However, this letter did not go north to Sydney. Forbes was sailing west to King George Sound and gave it to Bates, presumably with instructions to pass it on at the earliest opportunity to a captain sailing east.

At the Sound in May, patriotically double-checking that the information would get through to Sydney, Forbes wrote a second letter almost identical with the first, addressed to the local commandant but intended for Sydney eyes. He ended up taking it there himself, reaching Sydney on September 1st. Darling's office must have received it well before Sturt left for the Murrumbidgee on November 3rd.⁶⁶⁴

2.3.2.2 – DURING AND AFTER STURT'S TRIP: THE *DART* 1830.

Meanwhile, the first letter remained for fifteen months with Bates. During this time he, the messenger, was unaware that the second letter had reached Sydney first, and that Sturt had already heard from Darling the news about the lake, and also 'discovered' it for himself.

When Sydney heard no news of Sturt for five months, Darling despatched the cutter *Dart* in February 1830 to look out for him while examining the south coast and Gulfs.⁶⁶⁵ The ship failed to find either Sturt or any river mouth,⁶⁶⁶ but did find George Bates instead, sealing on Thistle Island near Port Lincoln.⁶⁶⁷ The log of the *Dart* recorded details directly from Bates, and some of them are subtly different from Forbes:

*9 April: Learned from one man of a sealing party stationed on this island that there exists a very large sheet of water (part of which is fresh and part of which is salt) about three days journey from Cape Jervis and one from Encounter Bay. He states that from the highest land on the western side of it he could not discern its extent. He therefore does not know whether it may be a river or a lake. He also states that the natives are very hospitable on that part of the coast and have many canoes on the above-named sheet of water.*⁶⁶⁸

Bates showed himself willing to do official business, provide information, be a messenger

⁶⁶⁴ Gill mistakenly assumes that Forbes left the Sound in May 1829 and therefore "probably arrived [in Sydney] during June". But the *Prince of Denmark* was still replacing her foremast on May 14th, and was still at the sound on July 9th (Gill 1906: 49). According to Cumpston, the ship arrived in Sydney on 1 September 1829, bearing news of the 'large lagoon', and this prompted Darling to choose the Murrumbidgee for Sturt's route (Cumpston 1986: 114, 126). A letter by the sister of Sturt's second-in-command, McLeay, written on 19 October 1829, reveals that the expedition before it left was intending to travel "towards Spencer Gulf" and hoping it might then "proceed to Swan River"; from which it is clear that the McLeay family and Darling already knew in general terms "the likely course and length of the expedition and the probable (answer) to the problem of the western rivers", i.e. that they had an outlet on the coast of SA. Only a fortnight after Sturt's departure on the expedition, Darling was advising a colleague that it was "not improbable that [the River Darling] falls into the lagoon or some part of the Gulf" (see Swan & Carnegie 1979, *In Step With Sturt*, quoted in Shueard 2013: 256).

⁶⁶⁵ Cumpston 1986: 126.

⁶⁶⁶ Very narrow and surrounded by low sandhills, the Murray Mouth is invisible by sea except from a dangerously close range.

⁶⁶⁷ Thistle Island lies off the southern tip of Eyre Peninsula, SE of Port Lincoln at the entrance to Spencer Gulf. The unnamed man who spoke to the *Dart* in April 1830 was clearly Bates: he had "deserted a brig named the *Nereus* about five years past" (c.1825), and the incident matches Bates's later reminiscences except for the name of the ship. In old age Bates remembered meeting a ship on Thistle Island, but misremembered its name as the "Mary" (Bates 1886b: 6d). Obviously from his own independent report, Bates had been part of Forbes's gang and was probably one of those who had reported the information to him. Since then he had come to Thistle Island either with another commercial gang or with fellow Islanders.

⁶⁶⁸ Log of the *Dart* 9 Apr 1830, in Cumpston 1986: 127. This description reported directly from Bates is very similar to that in Forbes' two letters (Gill 1906: 52; Cumpston 1986: 113). But both versions are needed in order to deduce the exact meaning of what Bates originally saw and said.

boy and perhaps (we may guess) receive pay, as he did a year later from Barker's regiment. He handed over Forbes's letter "addressed to the Honourable the Colonial Secretary". But by then, unknown to them both, it was no longer news in Sydney.

The Forbes version of Bates's information took on a life of its own.⁶⁶⁹ In the glamour of Sturt's return, details which should have been news were lost: notably, that Bates had told the *Dart* that "no fresh water disembogues itself in the gulf".⁶⁷⁰ The context of this last remark is even more interesting for us: he knows this for a fact because he "has been living with the natives of Cape Jervis for twelve months" and has "travelled with them up the east side of the Gulf of St Vincent".⁶⁷¹ Later we shall look at this item very closely.

The piece of disinformation about the lake and the Gulf could have been discarded in the light of Bates' knowledge of the Gulf, but instead it was amplified by Sturt. Forbes' letter included his own opinion that the lake might have an outlet in St Vincent's Gulf, "as the people say it bends in that direction".⁶⁷² Sturt – who should have known better, having seen the real Sea Mouth, and the range standing as a barrier on the west – wrote a similar conjecture in his book.⁶⁷³ Thus another error continued to tantalize London with their dream of a South Australian river-sea port.⁶⁷⁴

Neither did Sturt ever acknowledge what he must have known: that a sealing gang had 'discovered' Lake Alexandrina more than a year before him. Bates in his old age had a different view of this 'chipped idol',⁶⁷⁵ and a slant of his own on Barker's follow-up: "Captain Barker was ordered to correct some mistakes of Captain Sturt as to the country near the mouth".⁶⁷⁶ No doubt one of these 'mistakes' was the one above. This general remark in passing is the nearest Bates ever came in public to complaining about Sturt's suppression of the truth, or to claiming his own rightful recognition as a 'discoverer'. As Shueard observes, "it is a sad reflection on Sturt's pride, to say the least".

.....

⁶⁶⁹ e.g. While Bates was uncertain whether he had seen a river or a lake, in Forbes it becomes simply a 'lake'.

⁶⁷⁰ He must have meant 'no large river or lake outlet'. To any Englishman the watercourses on the Gulf, even the Onkaparinga, were not 'rivers' (like the Thames or the Rhine) but mere 'creeks'. The later designation of some of them as 'rivers' shows a large downgrading of expectations from European standards, as colonists began to understand how dry most of Australia is. The plight of the Murray system in recent years has shown that this understanding is still far from complete.

⁶⁷¹ Cumpston 1986: 127.

⁶⁷² Forbes second letter (Cumpston 1986: 113).

⁶⁷³ "I had every reason to hope from the great extent of water to the N.W., there was a practicable communication with the lake from the other" [St Vincent's Gulf] (Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 230). We may well wonder whether this is evidence that Sturt had seen Forbes' letter and his judgment was clouded by it. Sturt's book about his expedition recounted Darling's instructions and the 'discovery' of the Lake without referring at all to the tip-off. Was he reluctant to share with mere sealers the credit of being 'the first'?

⁶⁷⁴ It is puzzling why Sturt included this important speculation in 1833 when it had been a known error for three years, and was bound to deflect time and effort into a dead end. By the time of Sturt's return to Sydney Darling already knew it was false. Darling had received more than Forbes's letter, for in a letter of his own on 14 May 1830 he wrote, "It would appear from the log of the *Dart* that there is no outlet from Lake Alexandrina into Gulf St. Vincent". Unlike Sturt, he had heeded Bates's information that "no river or other fresh water disembogues itself in the gulf" (see Shueard 2013: 252, to which I owe this piece of information).

⁶⁷⁵ This epithet is taken from the title of Edgar Beale's book *Sturt, the Chipped Idol*, quoted in Shueard 2013: 255.

⁶⁷⁶ Bates 1894b: 6a.

2.3.2.3 – VARIATIONS ON ‘FRIENDLY’: GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE FORBES-BATES EXCURSION AT ENCOUNTER BAY.⁶⁷⁷

We have enough geographical data in the records of the Forbes excursion to calculate that they landed on the south coast at or near Port Elliot, almost certainly at Horseshoe Bay. From there they trekked overland to visit the southwestern edge of the Lake, somewhere in the vicinity of Milang.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁷ See Map07 ‘Forbes and Bates’.

⁶⁷⁸ THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE ‘DISCOVERY’ OF LAKE ALEXANDRINA BY FORBES’ SEALING GANG:

Forbes wrote, *“The latitude of the place the men started from was 35.30, the longitude about 138.40”* (1st letter, Gill 1906, *Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society*, SA Vol. 8: 53; ‘about’ is omitted in 2nd letter, Cumpston 1986: 113). Assuming that these coordinates are degrees and minutes,* and treating them as given to the nearest minute of latitude and longitude,** they put the ‘starting’ place somewhere within a radius of about 1 km, centred at four km north of Port Elliot: i.e. on the southeastern scarp of the range near the Crows Nest Road lookout. From here the Finnis River and perhaps the Lake are just visible as thin lines of water in the hazy distance.

Forbes then added: *“and from their account one and a half days’ journey from the coast to the north eastward”* – presumably referring to their destination, the Lake.

* It is unlikely that Forbes’s figures are decimal degrees. This would give a location in the sea off Aldinga Beach. Aldinga Plain is just conceivable theoretically as a starting place ‘from Cape Jervis’; but it would make their journey southeast, not northeast as in Forbes, and it would take more than three days, not 1½. As Bates himself told the Dart later: the *“sheet of water”* is *“about three days journey from Cape Jervis and one from Encounter Bay”* (Cumpston 1986: 127).

** Since both coordinates end with a zero, they may be intended to the nearest ten minutes (thanks to John Frith for alerting me to this). If so, they may cover a much larger area with a radius of about 10 km, and so allow for two other possible landing places: Crozier’s ‘Victor Harbor’ on the west margin and Ratalang (Fishery Bay) to the east.

A KI seaman told Sturt that the *“anchorage under the lea of Freeman’s Nob and a small island off it”* was *“altogether preferable”* to both Rosetta Harbour at the Bluff and ‘Victor Harbour’ in the lee of Granite Island (Sturt 1847-9: 159). This bay is far the most sheltered, and the most central to the coordinates. Thus Horseshoe Bay is far the most likely place for their landing. Since Forbes knew the coordinates, we may infer that he landed them from his ship anchored nearby.

From this starting point: -

1. In order to discern that *“the natives... have many canoes”* on the Lake, the gang must have travelled a considerable distance and viewed the scene from fairly close up.
2. A drive around the area shows that all the water bodies in the Estuary south of the Finnis are narrow channels (never more than two km wide) whose opposite bank is clearly visible, but from which the Lake itself is invisible. The gang’s route to the Lake was almost certainly on foot, inland around the creek mouths of Currency Creek and Finnis River – not by boat to Point Sturt, as assumed by Durrant (Durrant 2014b: 14). Based at Horseshoe Bay, they could not use boats for this excursion without either entering the Murray Mouth from the sea, or carrying a boat 11 km overland to Goolwa; both options very unlikely. In any case, their *“one and a half days journey from the coast to the North Eastward”* clearly implies inland and overland.
3. In order to see the Lake at all – any sheet of water which could be described as ‘very large’ – they would have had to cross the Finnis River somewhere near today’s Finnis village, then cross to the northern side of the Sturt Peninsula.
4. They went far enough around the Lake to find out that *“part of [it was] fresh and part salt”*, but without being able to see its far end.
5. Along the southwestern lake coast about 5 km south of Milang one can clearly see
 - (1) to the east, the headland opposite at Point McLeay and a small section of coastline northward from it; and
 - (2) to the north, a stretch of the western shoreline curving east from Milang towards Tolderol. But
 - (3) to the northeast no far side is visible, not even from a little north of Milang. The highest land around Milang and Clayton Bay is still well below 30 metres, nowhere near high enough to reveal the far shore at Pomonda Point and the River Murray entrance (30 km away in a direct line).
6. This must be the view which Bates and his peers reported. Its position is about 34 km from Port Elliot, reached via fairly flat land around the heads of the inlets of Currency and Finnis Creeks: a route which matches reasonably the ‘one and a half days journey’ cited by Forbes.
7. For Bates early in the summer of 1829-30, the water was fresh at this place, from which they could not see Pomonda Point, the northern extremity of the Lake. Perhaps the Murray flow then was greater than it was later in summer the next year; for in February 1830 Sturt would find the transition from fresh water to salt happening immediately below Pomonda Point (10 Feb 1830, in Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 158).

The lake coast does ‘bend’ sharply WNW (towards the Gulf) for 9 km from Point Sturt; but beyond that its sharp northerly turn to Milang was probably Bates’ viewpoint (if their journey was overland). Durrant thinks the gang reached Point Sturt (Durrant 2014b: 14), which would imply a trip by dinghy, probably from Goolwa). But even if he is right (which is doubtful), the Milang coast trending NNE would still have been visible. Most likely the gang reported plenty of details; but because Forbes knew what the masters in the eastern colonies and England wanted to hear, hoping for a

We know that the Islanders normally visited Encounter Bay overland, and this incident is the only known record before 1836 of them actually *landing* there from the sea.⁶⁷⁹ Probably they knew very little about the country east of today's Victor Harbour. It seems that in December 1828 none of this gang had seen the Murray Mouth, and that even in April 1830 Bates had still not seen it – because at that date he said that he still did not know whether the 'very large sheet of water' was a river or a lake. Cooper had still not seen it in 1836 when he was advising Colonel Light about the coast.

Textbox08: WHEN DID ISLANDERS FIRST VISIT THE MURRAY MOUTH?

At the Murray Mouth the long dune barrier almost closes the water off from the sea leaving only a narrow opening, almost invisible from the sea except at very close range. To anyone who *knew* this, the 'large sheet' of water would have been a lake by definition.

But if Forbes' gang had seen or visited the Mouth in 1828-9, they would have mentioned something about it to Forbes then. And in April 1830 Bates, speaking to the Dart about the Lake at Milang, still "[did] not know whether it may be a river or a lake".

If they did visit this Milang area as described in the footnote above, why was Bates unsure? The Dart's log says it was because he "could not discern its extent". The implied reasoning is a matter of definitions. He could not see whether it led to a *sea outlet* of some kind: neither southward past the channels he had seen, nor beyond the invisible northeast end. He was probably comparing the Milang view with large river mouths familiar to him in England, such as the Thames estuary. At its mouth the River Thames is 33 km wide (as wide as Lake Alexandrina and far too wide for anyone at ground level to see flat land on the far side); but it is wide open to the sea and therefore a 'river' mouth, not a lake.

A further implication is that none of that gang had actually seen the Murray Mouth in December 1828, and that Bates had still not seen it when he made the statement in April 1830. Even after Bates and Thomas had worked there with Kent in 1831, the existence and location of the Mouth seems not to have been common knowledge among the Islanders.

Cooper had still not seen it in 1836; for Colonel Light "was prevented by the boisterous weather from approaching Encounter Bay, and feeling satisfied from the result of Sturt's expedition, and the report of a very intelligent man, named Cooper, whom he found at Kangaroo Island, and who had frequented the coast, that the River Murray could not reach the sea at Encounter Bay by a navigable channel; he did not consider that vicinity adapted for the site of the proposed town, more especially as the approach was exposed to the whole swell of the Southern Ocean whenever S.W. winds set in. Colonel Light now directed his attention to that part of the coast where Jones's Harbour was supposed to exist".⁶⁸⁰ Cooper might have said the Murray "*does not*" reach the sea; in fact he said "*could not*". He was making an accurate deduction from his observation of the Estuary (possibly reinforced by reading Sturt's book or hearing about its findings), but he had not seen the Mouth himself to confirm it.⁶⁸¹ And it seems that Walker was still ignorant or unclear about the Mouth even in late 1837.⁶⁸²

navigable outlet into the Gulf, he pricked up his ears when he heard 'northwest bend'. So did Sturt, who should have known better.

⁶⁷⁹ Most or all other pre-colonial records have them walking to Encounter Bay from the west, overland from the Gulf coast.

⁶⁸⁰ BT Finnis 1837: 54c (SA Record 7, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883828>).

⁶⁸¹ This assessment – that Islanders never visited the Mouth in pre-colonial times – is confirmed by Light's own conclusions written in 1836 after much consultation with Cooper and other Islanders: "*the Murray could not have a passage sufficiently deep or wide to discharge its waters into the sea*" (Light Brief Journal: 89, 17 Dec 1836). Again, 'could not'. He doubted that there could be a usable Mouth; and here he deduced this from his own general principles and distant observations, clearly implying that his sources could not confirm it from experience (even though they had made the same deduction, as we see from the Finnis letter above).

⁶⁸² See the uproar over Walker's fictitious "*noble river and harbour connecting Lake Alexandrina with the sea*", e.g. SA Gazette & Colonial Register 1(8), 11/11/1837, "2nd edition" dated the 18th: 1b; and MP Mayo 1937, *The Life and Letters of Col. William Light*, Adelaide: FW Preece & sons: 223.

Yet we also know that by now Islanders did sometimes visit this perilous coast, because they had a preferred landing place, Horseshoe Bay.⁶⁸³ When Forbes brought his gang there in December 1828 it was summertime, when Encounter Bay was not the dreaded lee shore which it became every winter as the prevailing southwesterlies tended to drive ships ashore or make it very hard for them to get out of the Bay.⁶⁸⁴ Like others before them, the gang was probably there to hunt seals.⁶⁸⁵ Their ‘excursions into the interior’ could also have been official business, for example a search for salt.⁶⁸⁶

Horseshoe Bay in summer would also have been a good place to make Aboriginal contacts. It was a short walk away from a major set of coastal campsites at a notable fishing ground, Ratalang.⁶⁸⁷ And (as we shall soon see) this was country which Sally and Condoy knew.⁶⁸⁸ The official business could easily have been combined with an unofficial reconnaissance for Aboriginal contacts and women.⁶⁸⁹

It is therefore likely that during this visit the Islanders got in touch with the coastal people of Encounter Bay, and perhaps not for the first time. But the excursion inland to the Lake was obviously new to them. Quite likely it arose from tip-offs obtained during their contact

⁶⁸³ Sheltered by Freeman’s Nob and Pullen Island, Horseshoe Bay was the preferred landing in Encounter Bay for the Islanders. “*An experienced seaman, one whose intimate knowledge of this part of the coast of South Australia is indisputable*” – probably Nat Thomas – told Sturt before 1846 that the anchorage under Freeman’s Nob was “*altogether preferable*” to Rosetta Harbour and Victor Harbour, though deeper in the bay and consequently harder to beat out of against a head wind (Sturt 1847-9: 159 [Captain Charles Sturt 1847, ‘An Account of the Sea Coast and Interior of South Australia’, in Vol. 2 of Sturt 1849, *Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia...*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/4976>]). Captain Hart thought the same (Hart 1841: 115, <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14402149/18411000/00010004/1-10.pdf>). Horseshoe Bay was used as a port briefly later in the 19th century.

⁶⁸⁴ This was the advice which Bates and Thomas gave to the Barker search party in 1831 (see section 2.3.4.1.3 ‘The Search’).

⁶⁸⁵ On the eastern side Commodore Point was a well-known site for seals, enshrined as a place where the creator being Ngurunduri killed a seal (Berndt 1940: 177-8. Seals also frequent the low heap of granite boulders which we now call Pullen Island at the entrance to the Bay.

⁶⁸⁶ Once they had climbed a nearby height such as today’s Crows Nest Road (which is at the coordinates given for ‘*the place the men started from*’), they would have seen the low swampy land of the estuary in the middle distance, and it would have occurred to them that there might be profitable salt lakes to exploit. No doubt they had general instructions from their employer to keep on the lookout for such things.

⁶⁸⁷ Archaeologists have located a group of well-used ancient campsites less than a kilometre northeast of Horseshoe Bay; “*ancient hearths scattered all through the sandhills at the sides and back of the Point*”, with a large main camp “*just to the west of Frenchman Rock*” (RH Pulleine 1921, ‘Old Native Camps at Commodore Point, Encounter Bay’, *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of South Australia Inc.*, Vol. 45, Adelaide: 278-280, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/114267#page/296/mode/1up>). This was summertime, and the camps would have been occupied often by families using the excellent fishing ground there at Ratalang (Ratowar) (Fisherman Bay, at Bashams Beach between Port Elliot and Middleton): cp. Berndt 1940: 176-8; Tindale Map Hundred of Goolwa, AA 338/24/34. The campsites are now interpreted on signboards at the Yarlwe Ruwe Park in Basham Beach Regional Park.

⁶⁸⁸ These places in the western part of Encounter Bay were part of the same granite territory whose heartland was at Ramong (near Rosetta Head) only six km west. As I have speculated, Bates may have had contact with ‘Sally’ and her father Condoy already. As we shall soon see, Bates was living with them somewhere around the Fleurieu a few months later (section 2.3.3 ‘Bates on the mainland’), and Condoy and Sally were familiar with Encounter Bay at least as far as the Mouth (section 2.3.4.1 ‘Kent, Kalinga & Condoy’). Through them he could have established communication with the locals at Horseshoe Bay, possibly even before this visit. Perhaps Bates and his fellows were already embarking on the political process which I shall argue below (developed through section 2.4 ‘Themes & investigations in Kalinga & Bates 1827-34’): perhaps they were checking out campsites that for various reasons might be safer to raid than the local ones near Ramong or Ratalang.

⁶⁸⁹ Peaceful contact may have been possible in the summer of 1828-9 despite the twenty years of European presence on Kangaroo Island. Contrary to popular assumptions, there is no *direct* evidence that there was enmity and fear of Europeans among Encounter Bay locals before Sturt’s visit in 1830.

with the local Aboriginal groups. Certainly it would have seeded new developments in the relationship with them.

Notably, they saw for the first time the canoe-makers of the Lake and Estuary: a people distinct not only from the *Patpa-miyurna* of ‘Cape Jervis’, but also from the familiar *Raminyerar* group at Encounter Bay’s west end, whose Country did not include wide rivers or lakes. On their way to Lake Alexandrina they must have passed close to *Taltarruar* at Currency Creek, the ‘favourite camp’ of these Lake people.⁶⁹⁰ Was it perhaps occupied at that time by families including many women, whose men were canoeing a few miles away on the Lake?

For the next several years their ‘discoveries’ would profoundly influence not only the progress of British colonization in the region, but the local intercultural politics.

In January 1829, thirteen months *before* Sturt came, Bates told Captain Forbes that the ‘natives’ in the vicinity of the Lake were “very friendly”.⁶⁹¹ But in February 1830 Sturt was confronted by men showing armed and ‘determined’ resistance from the Goolwa Channel to near the Mouth. Two months *after* this, Bates was still telling the *Dart* that “the natives are very hospitable on that part of the coast”.⁶⁹² These apparent contradictions are of great interest for our underside history.

Sturt’s experience at the Estuary is the only event recorded in the area between Bates’ residency in 1829 and the Barker saga in 1831. For an early Aboriginal viewpoint on it we have only a single report in 1842, late and third-hand but coming allegedly from Condoys:

*Old Con, a native near Adelaide, tells his white friends that when captain Sturt first visited Lake Alexandrina, he and his party were taken by the natives for Yahoos*⁶⁹³ –

i.e. the dangerous ‘Yowie’ beings of Australian folklore, who walk with their feet turned backwards. But this ‘take’ does not fit the recorded fact that the hostile group clearly knew guns and their function. It therefore implies that Con was not present at the event. Probably Con’s remark was intended mainly to disparage the Lake people by comparison with his own, and that was the main point of his story. Some reasons will emerge soon why he might wish to spin it this way.

Coming dimly into view here are some distinctions on the mainland more subtle than those which interested the captains for whom the whole region was the same part of ‘the coast opposite KI’; more subtle too (we may guess) than the versions of the selected facts which Bates chose to tell the authority figures. Later I shall analyse these details closely.⁶⁹⁴

.....

⁶⁹⁰ – assuming they were travelling overland. For *Taltarruar* see section 2.4.3.1 ‘Tribes of the estuary’.

⁶⁹¹ Forbes’ first letter (20 Jan 1829) in Gill 1906: 52.

⁶⁹² Log of ‘*Dart*’ 9/4/1830, in Cumpston 1986: 127.

⁶⁹³ Superstitions 1842: 95 (Anon. 1842 (ed. Capper), ‘Superstitions of the Australian Aborigines: the Yahoo’, *Australian & New Zealand Monthly Magazine* Vol.1 No.2: 92, <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14605988/18420000/00010002/21-30.pdf>). Thanks to Des Gubbin for this reference.

⁶⁹⁴ See sections 2.3.4.4 ‘What really happened in May 1831? (1)’ and 2.3.6 ‘What really happened in May 1831? (2)’.

2.3.3 – CONDOY, KALINGA, THE ‘TRIBES’, AND BATES: LIVING ON THE MAINLAND: ?1829.

Our investigations come now to a much murkier tale, one which the log of the *Dart* mentioned in passing: in April 1830 Bates “has been living with the natives of Cape Jervis for twelve months” and has “travelled with them up the east side of the Gulf of St Vincent”.

Whereas the episodes with Forbes and the *Dart* come from dated records, most of Bates’s history on KI is found only scattered among his rambling late yarns. Most of these exist only as reported by journalists. They include many gaps, contradictions, ambiguities and known errors. Because much of their dating and chronology is very uncertain,⁶⁹⁵ we cannot approach them in a straightforwardly chronological way, but have to deduce or guess many of the connecting links.

Bates claimed that he had first visited the mainland in 1826,⁶⁹⁶ and had “hunted... over the Adelaide Plains” in 1827, and it seems this was “with the blacks”, perhaps even specifically with Condoy, rather than with a gang of sealers or Islanders.⁶⁹⁷

We can take 1826 as being credible for his first visit. After about two years on the Island he had settled in enough to be turning his attention to wider vistas. The reporter does not ask whether Bates and his Islanders mates went in their own whaleboat autonomously, or in one of the many commercial gangs who were operating in 1826, the height of the sealing industry.⁶⁹⁸

A few years after this first visit he lived with an Aboriginal ‘tribe’ for some months, at least once and perhaps more often. His report to the *Dart* on 9th April 1830 – that he “has been living with [them] for twelve months” – roughly dates his residency (or one of them) at late 1829 and early 1830.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁵ In trying to date the events, we have precisely-dated contemporary records only for items relating to the Forbes letters (discussed above), for Captain Barker in April and May 1831, and for the arrival of George Meredith on Kangaroo Island in February 1834.

⁶⁹⁶ One interview says “1820” (*Adelaide Observer* 3/11/1894: 25e [Bates 1894c]); but this must be a typographical error, as Bates did not arrive in Australia until 1823.

⁶⁹⁷ Bates 1887b; cp. Bates 1886a. Cp. Bates commenting on Hutchinson’s ‘first’ ascent of Mt Lofty in 1837: “*In the year 1827 I was living with the natives on the Adelaide Plains, and Mount Lofty was our main hunting grounds*” (*Register* 1/3/1893: 4d): though the last phrase cannot be taken too literally, as ‘Mt Lofty’ was probably the landmark by which precolonial sealers identified those Plains. Cp. “*It was that same ‘Old Con’... who first got me to go over among the blacks on the Adelaide plains*” (*Advertiser* 30/10/1894: 6a).

⁶⁹⁸ Cumpston 1986, Chapter 15.

⁶⁹⁹ DATING BATES’S RESIDENCY OR RESIDENCIES ON THE MAINLAND:

The log of the *Dart* sounds as though he had only just left the mainland; or it could even mean that he was still based there while joining the gangs to work elsewhere in season. If so, then this residency began in early 1829 a few months after he had worked in Forbes’ gang at Encounter Bay and glimpsed the Lake, and probably ended sometime shortly before April 1830.

In a long interview in 1886, Bates gives an extended account of his residency, dates it at “*about... 1830*” (compatible with the *Dart* log), and mentions hunting at the Onkaparinga River (Bates 1886b: 6d). But in an 1886 letter to the editor three weeks earlier Bates himself had written, “*In 1827 I was living with the natives from Cape Jervis to Adelaide*” (Bates letter to editor, *Register* 8/12/1886: 1a [Bates 1886a]; reprinted in part in *Register* 9/9/1895: 7d. It is not clear whether ‘Cape Jervis’ means the actual Cape or the Peninsula). He seems to have repeated this claim in another interview ten months later (*South Australian Register* 6 Oct 1887: 7b). This 1827 date is either a reference to another and earlier residency, or the entrenched mistake of an aging memory.

Can we make anything of these contradictory dates? Did Bates live on the mainland more than once?

ACCORDING TO HIS 1887 INTERVIEW:

Though we are not entirely sure of these dates, other facts are more certain. It is fairly clear *where* he and this ‘tribe’ lived and hunted: the territory northwest of the main range, from Fleurieu Peninsula (possibly the Cape itself)⁷⁰⁰ north to the Onkaparinga River.

It is possible that they travelled as far as the Adelaide Plains; but more than once he referred to his hosts as the ‘Cape Jervis’ people, implying that their homeland was neither Encounter Bay nor Adelaide but Fleurieu Peninsula.

He communicated with them well enough to learn their belief about a Being associated with the Onkaparinga River.⁷⁰¹

In this interview he likewise seems to insist on 1827 as a year when he stood on the Adelaide Plains, and the reporter takes him to mean that there he “*hunted with the blacks*”. But how reliable is this report? In it his date for another event (his first mainland visit) contradicts both himself and known facts.

The original published piece is ‘A Kangaroo Island Relic’, *South Australian Register* 6 Oct 1887: 7b [my reference ‘Bates 1887b’]. This whole piece was reprinted soon after (*Register* 17 Oct 1887: 2d-e). The verbatim section only was published a third time as part of his obituary, ‘Death Of George Bates’, *Register* 9 Sep 1895: 7c-d [my reference ‘Bates 1895’].

As so often with Bates, we have confusions to clear up. Here is the published text:

“How long was I on Kangaroo Island before I went on the mainland? Well, I think it was about eight years. We used to cross over in a boat and hunt on the Adelaide Plains. I think the first time I landed on the mainland was in 1826. I know that in 1827 I was on the Adelaide Plains – that was before any of your settlers had been there by a good bit”, he added with a grim smile”.

Although these sentences are given in the first person and in quotation marks, there seem to be several confusions, either in Bates’ narrative or in the reporter’s transcription.

We can dismiss the figure of ‘eight years’ between his arrival (1824) and his first mainland visit. This would make it 1832; but he had certainly visited the mainland before January 1829, as we saw earlier.

Probably three or four separate items are being merged:

1. He first visited the mainland in 1826.
2. Islanders frequently crossed from KI to the mainland: either in their own whaleboats or on commercial sealing ships.
3. Islanders hunted on the Adelaide Plains.
4. He himself stood on the Adelaide Plains in 1827.

A whaleboat excursion as far north as the Adelaide Plains was quite feasible (Walker would do the 120 km as a paid job with Captain Martin in 1836: see Chapter 3.4.6 ‘First Gulf voyage’). But it is unlikely that Islanders took their own boats this far afield to hunt kangaroos when open plains, equally fire-managed to optimize game, were available at Second Valley, Yankalilla and Aldinga within half the distance or less (cp. Appendix 2 Part (1) ‘Geography of communication by whaleboat’). In the text perhaps ‘a boat’ meant a ship such as the *Henry* with Captain Jones in the 1830s (though Bates himself would be unlikely to call a ship a boat; more likely the reporter became confused between different events referred to in Bates’ ramblings).

The reporter has merged Nos. 3 and 4 with a fifth item:

5. Bates spent time with an Aboriginal ‘tribe’ from the south up “to Adelaide”, as he wrote in his 1886 letter (Bates 1886a), probably reaching that far in overland visits or hunting trips. The reporter interprets him in the same way earlier in the 1887 piece: “*he remembered that sixty or more years ago he hunted with the blacks over the Adelaide Plains*”. In the actual words attributed to Bates in that report, ‘we’ merely ‘used to hunt on the Adelaide Plains’: it is not said that ‘we’ – a whole gang of Islanders – hunted ‘with the blacks’. Yet that possibility remains to consider. We need to be cautious when Bates implies, or his reporter assumes, that noteworthy events happened to him alone.

⁷⁰⁰ Indirect evidence from Cawthorne – the depiction in his novel of ‘Georgy’s escape from the mainland – suggests that Bates may have lived at the Cape itself in the last stage of a residency (see section 2.4.2.3 ‘Cawthorne’s 1854 novel: Fact Or Fiction?’ and ‘Georgy’s narrow escape’ in Appendix 7 ‘Islanders and mainlanders in Cawthorne’s novel’). The “cave near the shore” where he lay down to die may have been at the Cape. Probably it was one with which the Islanders had long been familiar, where he could hope to be found by a search party. It could not have been the large one at the north end of the beach at Rapid Bay, which was usually inundated until quarry tailings built up the beach after 1940 (cp. Henderson 1843 painting <http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+2434/1-43> [15/7/15]). At Second Valley there is at least one inhabitable small cave on the beach; it was used by Aboriginal people in the early 20th century (see PNS 5.04.01/01 ‘Cowyrilanka’ (Kauwiyarlunga), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-01CowSecV.pdf>). But Des Gubbin has found also a “small cave... that faces the Island at Cape Jervis south of the jetty” (p.c. email 10/6/14). From this cave, unlike those further north, KI is visible; from here Bates could have hoped to send a smoke signal and see his rescuers coming.

*When out hunting the Cape Jervis natives showed a mysterious dread of the Onkaparinga River, alleging as a reason that it was inhabited by some terrible animal which would exterminate the tribe if they came within range of his sense of smell.*⁷⁰²

His opinion of the ‘natives’ (at least as expressed to a reporter in 1894) was “low”: “They could make nothing but a spear and a bit of net”.⁷⁰³ While this statement might be historically credible as a European view of the resource-poor inhabitants further up the Gulf, it is hard to believe that Bates would apply it to the technologically sophisticated net and basket weavers of Encounter Bay and the Lakes, whom he had observed using reed rafts in the Estuary.⁷⁰⁴

But any doubt about the language identity of his *main* contacts or informants⁷⁰⁵ is banished when we read in the same interview the only surviving example of any Aboriginal language recorded directly from him:

They could count 'kuma, parlaichi' (one, two), and after that they were all at sea.

Kuma and *purlaityi* are well-attested as the first two numbers in the ‘Kaurna’-Miyurna language of Adelaide and south of it.⁷⁰⁶ Presumably Bates learned these words from the new and important protagonists who were the chief actors in his tale of mainland life: ‘Condoy’ and his daughter Kalinga (‘Sal’).

This important episode included a traumatic moment in Bates’s career which he would re-visit later in several interviews. There are three main sources, and it is worth quoting them in full before reflecting on them. In an extended interview in December 1886, he told a little of how his stay came about, and within it he touched upon deeper personal and political scenarios.

About this time (1830) Bates very foolishly hazarded himself amongst the blacks of Cape Jervis. He had persuaded an old native of that tribe to come over to Hog Bay with his son. The lad died, and Bates accepted the bereaved parents’ invitation to go back with him to him to his tribe. The man would hunt for him, give him wives, and make him a chief among them. Against the wishes and warnings of his comrades Bates went, and was received at a grand corroboree, where he was presumably

⁷⁰¹ It is certain that he meant the Onkaparinga flood plain around Noarlunga, not the plains of the same river around Oakbank above the gorge. The latter would have involved long journeys across the range, and in today’s terms is on the edge of Peramangk country.

⁷⁰² Bates 1886b: 6d. Cp. the early colonial tale of the ‘Yahoo’ or ‘Yowie’ at Port Noarlunga, cited from an Aboriginal informant at third hand (Superstitions 1842: 94).

⁷⁰³ Bates 1894b: 6b.

⁷⁰⁴ Bates 1894b: 6a-b.

⁷⁰⁵ Here and elsewhere we must keep in mind that the language used by the dominant local individuals was not necessarily or even probably the ‘own language’ of every individual living in the group or band. “Usually they lived in bands of people who had often two or more different linguistic identities, and they moved over ranges that extended beyond their own countries and across linguistic territories. This is all now par for the course. I would recommend... my book *Native Title in Australia*, especially Ch 3 ‘Aboriginal country groups’” (Peter Sutton p.c. email 3/4/19). See also my analysis of Kalinga and Condoy (Textbox12 ‘The multiple identities of Condoy’).

⁷⁰⁶ These words cannot be ‘Ngarrindjeri’-Kornar. In that language at first contact (i.e. in Meyer), ‘one’ was *Yammalai* or *Yammalaitye*; and ‘two’ could be *kuko* or *nenggengk / ningkengk* and related forms (MaryAnne Gale 2009, *Ngarrindjeri Dictionary, First Edition*, Raukkan Community Council: 26, 72, 89, 176). By Taplin’s time (1859 and onward) the Miyurna word *pulatji* ‘two’ had been added to the vocabulary at Raukkan (*ibid*: 118), no doubt by increased contact with Miyurna groups since colonization.

made a member of the tribe by being thrown on his back, and having all the males jump on his body in succession. At first the natives treated him as one of themselves, although they never let him out of their sight, and appeared suspicious of him; but when the dogs he had brought over were knocked up by hunting, he was left to shift for himself. He fell ill, and the three natives who remained with him – the old man Condoy,⁷⁰⁷ a young girl named Sal, and a boy nicknamed Friday⁷⁰⁸ – begrudged him almost any provisions. When he had given up hope and lain down to die in a cave near the shore, he was discovered by his mates, who had crossed over to the mainland to find out what had become of the missing man. As a punishment for their neglect of Bates the three natives mentioned above were carried away in to captivity on the island.⁷⁰⁹

A second account in 1894, which seems to have escaped the notice of most historians, claims to quote Bates's own words. It gives us other important details, and his analysis of the events and their wider context:

There were no natives on Kangaroo Island when we first went there, as they had no means of going over from the mainland. There were a large number of them in the latter place, and we at times went over in the boat and brought some back with us. I was young and foolish at that time, so I told my mates I wanted to go over to the mainland and live with the natives. They took me over in the boat with my pack of dogs, and I was admitted into the tribe. As long as I had the dogs the natives were very friendly and kind to me, as the animals could get food better than they could. On one occasion, however, I went hunting at Cape Jervis, and the kangaroos being very fierce all my dogs were so severely wounded that they were no good afterwards. As soon as I lost the use of the dogs I lost the natives too, as they saw I could be of use to them no longer... The natives having left me it was a very difficult matter to get food, and I was almost starved. In fact I came to that stage when I had to eat my own dogs. I caught and devoured as many black snakes as I could, but I thought it was all up with me when, about three months after I had left them, my mates came over from the island in the boat in order to see how I was getting on.⁷¹⁰

Bates had already told the tale to ship's doctor William Leigh in 1837, only eight years after the event:⁷¹¹

A man who lived amongst them for four or five months assured me, that he was so hard put to it for food for his dogs, that he was compelled to share his scanty allowance among them. It unfortunately happened that he was taken ill, when, though he endeavoured to coax the natives to feed his dogs, they never took the trouble to throw them a mouthful; and the unfortunate master shared the same fate, and being unable to move, was utterly neglected. In this unhappy situation, lying under his boughs, he found himself compelled to cut the throats of his only companions, his

⁷⁰⁷ The phrase "*the old man Condoy*" [my emphasis] almost certainly refers back to the previous "*old native*" whom he persuaded to come to Kangaroo Island.

⁷⁰⁸ We should not take this nickname seriously as a real personal identifier. Robinson Crusoe's 'Man Friday' was a familiar character to all English readers, and was applied much more than once. In another interview Bates calls him 'Charlie' (Bates 1894b).

⁷⁰⁹ Bates 1886b: 6d.

⁷¹⁰ Bates 1894a. (Thanks to Shueard's *The Forgotten Men* for this reference).

⁷¹¹ Leigh 1839: 161. Though Leigh never names Bates, this tale is so similar to the other two in Bates' interviews that it almost certainly comes from him and describes the same visit.

poor dogs, in order to subsist upon their emaciate carcasses; the master reserving his share, and the others assisting to eat their fellow. After having sacrificed all of them, he made his escape, and came here with some black women, who assisted him in his flight. He, however, acknowledges that they treated him as a being superior to themselves, and offered him no injury; but they sadly neglected him, when no longer able to shift for himself.

Compared with the log of the *Dart*), which quotes a stay of as long as twelve months,⁷¹² these discrepant timespans (3, 4 or 5 months) suggest a much shorter stay. This disastrous visit was probably one of several; perhaps twelve months was the total timespan for several visits in 1829 and early 1830. In addition “we at times went over and brought some of them back with us”, and we should not assume that this always meant kidnapping; more likely most of it was trading and interchange.⁷¹³

The preliminary stages of the narrative become much clearer in a separate part of the 1894 interview. “When very young [Sally] was brought over to Kangaroo Island by her father Condoy”, said Bates:

*It was that same 'Old Con,' as we called him, who first got me to go over among the blacks on the Adelaide plains, when I was nearly starved. There was his boy, too, Charlie; I was making a good boy of him on the island, when he died of a surfeit of hair-seal that he and his father cooked in one of their underground ovens with hot stones and steam... The old man pulled through, but the boy died.*⁷¹⁴

Lest there should be any ambiguity about the relationship between KI and the mainland, Bates added,

Oh, yes, they used to bring over girls and boys to us, and when they were a bit domesticated they would often go away in the whalers to take service in Sydney or Van Diemen's Land.

It seems explicit that many of these apprentices or slaves – their status remains ambiguous – began quite young. But in 19th-century records we should hesitate to take the terms ‘boy’ and ‘girl’ too literally (especially when they refer to ‘natives’) unless they are accompanied by the words ‘very young’ or some other collateral evidence, as in the case of ‘Sally’. No doubt recalling the same incident, Kalungku said that the victims of seal meat on KI were two of “several black men”.⁷¹⁵ It is very likely that the whaleman ‘Harry’ who gave a ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* wordlist to Gaimard at King George’s Sound in 1827 was one of these ‘good boys’.⁷¹⁶

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⁷¹² Log of the *Dart* 9 Apr 1830, in Cumpston 1986: 127.

⁷¹³ See later in this section 2.4.2 ‘Political geography of mainland-Island relationships’.

⁷¹⁴ Bates 1894b.

⁷¹⁵ My emphasis. Kalungku told Robinson in 1837 that “*there were several New Holland [mainland] black men on Kangaroo Island. Said two of them died from eating seal*” (PlomleyN 1987: 445).

⁷¹⁶ Harry was then aged “*from 18 to 20*”; see Chapter 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally)’.

2.3.3.1 – ‘TRIBAL’ DEALS: REFLECTION.

From these accounts, even after allowing for some exaggerations in George’s telling, we can infer many things about a developing relationship between Islanders and at least one Aboriginal group on the mainland, one which Bates identified as the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’.⁷¹⁷

Firstly, his almost-fatal time of residence on the mainland with Condo and Kalinga – the event of which he told most often – had been preceded by earlier visits during which he had met some of this ‘Cape Jervis tribe’. It is quite possible that these included the recorded visit of Forbes’s gang to Encounter Bay in December 1828, and that the gang had met Condo then.⁷¹⁸ But the other hints we have seen suggest that that first made his acquaintance even earlier, possibly in 1825. Perhaps even during his first mainland visit in 1826 Bates was already following up contacts made on KI in 1825.⁷¹⁹

Secondly, by about 1828 there was a group of Islanders who must have been on fairly good terms with the mainland group; for they brought over – either independently or on a sealing ship – three voluntary visitors: the ‘old native’ Condo, his son ‘Charlie’ or ‘Friday’, and his daughter Kalinga (perhaps on a different occasion).

Bates gave (rather obliquely) his own motive for ‘persuading’ Condo to bring over his ‘lad’, probably a strapping young man in his early teens: he “was making a good boy of him”, no doubt as a crewman in his whaleboat and all-round sealing help.

But we do not know Condo’s motives for accepting the offer. Did Bates ‘persuade’ Condo to see something like this as a good deal, with potential benefits for his family group? Perhaps also Kalinga was already staying on KI (though invisible in the contemporary records at this date) and her father wanted to visit her. It was risky for the family as well as Bates. ‘Charlie’ soon died from food poisoning, and Condo was lucky to survive the same ‘surfeit’ of Australian Sea Lion from their traditional earth oven.⁷²⁰

⁷¹⁷ Bates identified the ‘tribe’ as “the blacks of Cape Jervis”, and the “old native” as a member “of that tribe”. I use the plural ‘Islanders’ again because, though Bates usually casts himself as the sole hero of his yarns, we should be cautious when he so often implies (or his reporter assumes) that the events were his own single-handed exploits.

⁷¹⁸ This earlier meeting must have happened no later than very early 1829. Perhaps it was an initiative of the Islanders in their own whaleboats, somewhere in the south; or perhaps it happened while Bates was sealing for a captain such as Forbes at Encounter Bay, or further up the Gulf coast. (It could not have been the captaincies of either Jones or Hart, which all happened after December 1831 when the *Elizabeth* first came to Kangaroo Island.)

⁷¹⁹ It seems likely that even this visit in 1826 may not have been the first peaceful one (though we know nothing directly about any others; Jones’s friendly ship came later). But we remember that there could be a relatively benign interpretation of the mystery surrounding Sally’s presence in the sealing gang of the relatively mild Randall in 1825-6 (see Chapter 1.3.5 ‘Race Relationships’); and that Randall had been Bates’s shipmate.

⁷²⁰ BROTHERS WHO DIED: WAS KALINGA-‘SALLY’ A SISTER OF KALUNGKU?

Condo’s son was presumably a brother or half-brother of Kalinga-Sally. He was a ‘lad’ (we do not know his exact age) who died on Kangaroo Island, and was nicknamed “Charlie” (Bates 1894b: 6a) or “Friday” (Bates 1886b: 6d). Kalungku also had a brother who may have died at about the same time, around 1829. There is no hint of this man’s age. She told Robinson in 1837 that “there were several New Holland [mainland] black men on Kangaroo Island. Said two of them died from eating seal; her brother died also from eating seal” (PlomleyN 1987: 445).

From these facts Amery has speculated that there is “a better than even chance that Sally and Sarah (Kalloongoo) were sisters as both had a brother who died on Kangaroo Island at about the same time” (Amery 1998: 60). We might add that Kalungku was with her sister and mother at the time Allen first kidnapped her in the 1820s, guided by two ‘black men’ of KI. Was Kalinga that sister?

If this were so it could have some implications for Condo’s identity (see the analysis of Kalungku’s family in Chapter 1.3.2).

But Robinson’s use of the word ‘also’ with Kalungku’s brother tells us that he was a third person after the ‘two of them’ on KI, and *might* not necessarily mean that he was on KI when he died, nor that he died at the same time. Though the context within Robinson’s interview is of her life on KI (1826-9), this sentence could be a general side comment on the dangers of seal meat.

Thirdly, it was at the invitation of this ‘old native’, with a number of generous incentives, that Bates later came to live on the mainland. It seems clear that Condoxy offered inducements which were very significant in traditional eyes: several wives and the status which would accompany that gift,⁷²¹ and provision of hunting services. It is likely that one of the women so offered was Kalinga-Sal.

Why did he offer this lavish deal? Why did Bates accept the risks?

Condoxy must have regarded the accident with the seal meat as one of the normal hazards of life which he shared with Bates, rather than a cause for blame. Life went on. Probably they hammered out a deal to meet their respective needs with reciprocal inducements. On one side, Condoxy was an old man with his son dead, lonely and homesick with no reason to stay, and Bates his only hope of return. But back home he had family, status and influence. On the other side, Bates was still young, about 29. Sal was about 20; he apparently knew her as a ‘young girl’ before this, perhaps by 1825 when she was “a fine-looking girl of fifteen”,⁷²² and he would have met her when Randall was taking her east; by all accounts she was attractive and striking to European eyes. And Bates had four valuable trained hunting dogs. He may also have seen this as an opportunity to extend his influence on both sides of Backstairs Passage. Perhaps he tried to ensure that Condoxy’s group would trade through him in future dealings with the Islanders.

Perhaps Bates found some such arrangement attractive enough that he was prepared to comply with it to the risky extent of living there without a boat.⁷²³ Condoxy may have seen much the same opportunity for himself, protected by conditions. Probably he insisted that the liaison be treated as a marriage acknowledged by his people, and so Bates must live with them for a while and take up some of the responsibilities of kinship. Probably the dogs were a crucial part of the bargain; Condoxy and his associate groups stood to gain by having the use of them together with their master.

Both of them kept to some at least of this deal. Even allowing that Bates may have embellished the tale, it does appear that he underwent a traditional ceremony. It probably formalized his relationship with Sal (and perhaps other women) by bringing him into the kinship circle.⁷²⁴ And the dogs went with him, serving their desired purpose until accident intervened.

Therefore, while the identification of Kalungku’s brother with Sally’s is conceivable, it remains too uncertain for us to build anything upon it. The doubt is reinforced when we consider that Condoxy remained collaborative with one daughter while in this same period Kalungku suffered two violent abductions. Nevertheless, in view of the local marriage system and small population on the Peninsula, it is fairly certain that the two families would have been related even if distantly.

⁷²¹ To have many wives was a mark of status and perhaps also of fighting prowess for men such as Murlawirrapurka (OS *Mullawirraburka*; see Gara 1998: 94, 129; cp. Moorhouse 1840a: 353). However, we may take the word ‘chief’ with a large grain of salt, as it was a common European misunderstanding of Aboriginal society based on their earlier perception of Africans and First Americans.

⁷²² Bates 1895a; see also Chapter 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally).

⁷²³ His own account tells how he returned to KI only because his peers there came searching for him, which implies that he had no boat. If he was the only man staying and would be travelling on foot with the ‘tribe’, there was no point in stowing any boat in any cache, as the mainlanders would be most unlikely to leave it undamaged for months until he returned for it. As it turned out, his mates did not come until it was almost too late. “*Against the wishes and warnings of his comrades*” he had accepted and gone; probably they had feared some such outcome from a long boatless stopover.

⁷²⁴ Clarke is no doubt correct when he surmises that any Islanders who took Aboriginal wives and were also involved in ceremonial life were “*to some extent incorporated into the Aboriginal kinship system*” (ClarkeP 1996: 66). This matter will be revisited, e.g. in section 2.4.4 ‘1829-35 political landscape’. It is not possible to deduce much from the

Possibly this immersion experience was more common among Islanders than the records show. Henry Wallan must have spent some time on the mainland, for he told Leigh that “he was once permitted to witness” part of “the lying in state of a famous old warrior chief... placed in one of their huts, on a kind of bed”.⁷²⁵ Had the ‘Governor’ also lived there for a while?⁷²⁶ And William Cooper knew enough ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language to be employed as interpreter for a couple of years in Adelaide. Had he too learned it while living on the mainland?⁷²⁷

Yet even in his residency Bates remained an outsider to the ‘tribe’. Even from his slanted narrative it is clear that he was on probation: “they never let him out of their sight, and appeared suspicious of him”. This was still a period of tangled and violent politics, of violent abductions such as that of Kalungku by Johnson and Allan (around 1826), with the help of members of another ‘tribe’ – perhaps Encounter Bay – “who had been living with the sealers on the island”; and when Anderson ambiguously “got” Emma’s son Prari onto KI in 1827. It was the era when Emma and Kalungku witnessed atrocities on KI, and local women were being traded to the Straits against their will with the help of Wallan. Both Condoy and Bates would have had to prove a dissociation between themselves and these other violent factions. Were they both already envisioning and working towards a gentler set of relationships?

What Bates did not realize until too late was that on the mainland the dogs were his main security, and a precarious one. His adventure came to a humiliating end after his dogs were disabled by kangaroos. The traditional subsistence economy could rarely support unproductive mouths; Bates and the dogs had now reached their use-by date. It is interesting that Condoy, Sal and ‘Friday’ stuck with him at all: perhaps because he was now kin. But even kin might become subject to economic necessity like anyone else. Bates almost starved to death. He was rescued in ambiguous circumstances which may have included help from Aboriginal women (Kalinga?) and/or the abduction of Sal and Condoy to KI.⁷²⁸

Despite Bates’ claim that he took Condoy and Sal ‘into captivity’, the relationship was not permanently broken. If ‘captivity’ really happened in 1829, it did not remain so for long, and the family must have soon put aside any strong resentment about it. For when we meet them next in 1831 they are free on the mainland among their own people; and when they play key roles in the search for Barker there are no overt sign of compulsion

description of Bates’ ceremony. I do not know of any local ceremony which involved “*being thrown on his back, and having all the males jump on his body in succession*”. A possible exception is a certain stage in the circumcision ritual of the ‘Adelaide tribe’, as described by Moorhouse (Moorhouse 1843b, in *Aboriginal Adelaide* 1990: 56) and Cawthorne (Cawthorne 1845, ‘Sketch of the Aborigines’, Cawthorne-Foster 1991: 76). But it is improbable that Bates would have got to this second stage of initiation. It seems extremely likely that Sally’s later relationship with William Walker from about 1834 was also negotiated (see my discussion in sections 2.5.2.2 ‘Kalinga’ and 2.5.2.3 ‘Condoy, Kalinga, Walker’).

⁷²⁵ Leigh 1839: 160.

⁷²⁶ But Taylor extrapolates too much from this account when she comments: “Henry ‘Governor’ Wallen... spent considerable time on the mainland with the Aboriginal people... That he was invited also suggests that he occupied a place in the private world of the Aboriginal people and was privileged to do so” (TaylorR 2002-8: 64, my emphases).

⁷²⁷ See later in this chapter.

⁷²⁸ The variations on his rescue-escape are fascinating. Their details are discrepant, but they share a common concern to save the hero’s face at the end of the tale. In Leigh, Bates himself “made his escape” with the help of “some black women” – mainlanders with Sal? Tasmanians in the rescue party? – but never mind, they had all “treated him as a being superior to themselves”. In his 1886 interview, his Islander friends came looking for him when he was nearly dead, but they all “punished” the recalcitrants by carrying three of them “into captivity” on KI. Between the ambiguities, the secondhand reportage, and possible fictionalizing in both accounts, it is impossible for us to be sure of the facts.

by either the regiment or the Islanders, and many signs that they actively collaborated with both.

.....

Bates soon recovered.

It appears that by now he and Nat Thomas were living in a “substantial dwelling” on the eastern extremity of KI at The Antechamber (or ‘Creek Bay’ as they called it).⁷²⁹ In the next year (1830) he was out sealing again and was found on Thistle Island in April. After this we know nothing directly about his activities for another 12 months.

.....

⁷²⁹ Thomas and Bates “built a substantial dwelling at Antechamber Bay, which they made their depot, and here they lived for the most part until the coming of the first immigrants in 1836” (Bates 1886b: 6d). This was where Barker’s *Isabella* anchored in 1831, probably after meeting them at Hog Bay (see later in this chapter); and where Captain Hart found both of them during his expeditions in the years immediately before colonization (Hart 1836). For ‘Creek Bay’ see Tolmer 1844a: 2c; Tolmer 1882 Vol.2: 2ff, <https://archive.org/details/reminiscencesan00tolmgoog/page/n14/mode/1up>.

2.3.4 – CONDOY, KALINGA, NATALLA, BATES, AND BARKER: 1831.⁷³⁰

Barker's last expedition in the *Isabella* demands a forensic examination of its much-cited but under-analysed local side. It rewards us with some very instructive findings. It reveals how some of the earliest cultural records were obtained first-hand from Aboriginal people of the Fleurieu region.

For example, it gives us the second known record of the 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* language (a set of three place-names), and the first known record of 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* language (three personal names).

It also sheds new light on the earliest European explorations of SA; and becomes a fascinating window into complex relationships between Kangaroo Islanders, authorities and a number of different Aboriginal groups.

Let us re-visit the story with more of the local details.

2.3.4.1 – KALINGA, CONDOY, NATALLA AND KENT: THE SEARCH FOR BARKER, OFFICIALLY.⁷³¹

2.3.4.1.1 – UP TO BARKER'S DISAPPEARANCE.

Barker and his regiment landed at the Onkaparinga River⁷³² and explored northward as far as the 'Mt Lofty' of Flinders. From the heights he saw in the distance a second prominent hill (later called 'Mt Barker'), and the Port River Estuary which he dubbed '16-mile Creek'. There was no sign of any large watercourse reaching the Gulf from the east. Back on board and about to set sail for Sydney, he decided to double-check for a western outlet by making a final excursion overland to the Lake mouth. Accordingly he landed on April 27th at Carrickalinga,⁷³³ took a party across the range of 'Cape Jervis' and

⁷³⁰ See Map08 'Sturt 1833 Chart'; also Map09 'Fleurieu mainland with Sturt & Barker', and Map10 'Kent, Davis'.

⁷³¹ The official story which follows is reconstructed from the following three contemporary accounts:

1. Davis 1831: 24-5. This is the official report in 1831 by regimental surgeon Robert Davis. Because he had been left in charge of the *Isabella*, he is an eyewitness of the geographical context and events on board, while for those on land he is a close but second-hand reporter of his colleague Kent. Sturt calls him 'Davies'.

2. Sturt 1833 Vol.2: 241-2, <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00059.html>. Sturt took this account in Sydney from regimental storeman Mr John Kent, who had accompanied Barker ashore and, as the second-ranking officer in the regiment, took charge of the search party. Many of Sturt's details show that he had misunderstood some of Kent's information. Kent Reserve on the Victor Harbor foreshore at the mouth of the Inman River is named after this man.

3. A brief public notice from the Colonial Secretary's office in Sydney: Government Order No. 13, Colonial Secretary's Office, Sydney, May 23, 1831, *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*, 24 May 1831: 2c, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/2200703>. This is presumably based mainly on Davis's report. Its very few extra details may derive from personal interviews with Davis or Kent, or may be paraphrases made by the author Alexander McLeay.

⁷³² On April 17th 1831 Barker took the ship's boat up the Onkaparinga River (he thought of it as a "narrow inlet"), camped by the "rocky glen" (the Gorge at Old Noarlunga), and explored north to Mt Lofty, observing in the distance the Port River estuary and the striking hill to the southeast which would bear his name. He also found and named the Sturt River (Sturt 1833 Vol.2: 233-7). He and his men were not the first whites to fish and camp on the Onkaparinga flood plain. Bates at least had already been there hunting with Aboriginal people who may well have included Condoy. But to our loss, the conciliatory Barker met no Aboriginal people and recorded nothing of their mental map, culture or language.

⁷³³ WHERE DID BARKER LAND FOR HIS FINAL JOURNEY?

Bates said twice that Barker landed "at Yankalilla" (Bates 1886b: 6d; Bates 1894b: 6a).

In my view it was certainly at Haycock Point, Carrickalinga. The past confusions about the location arise from confusions in Sturt's book (notably about two different 'rocky points': see the other footnote about them, 'A confusion of rocky points', below in section 2.3.4.1.3 'The Search'). The matter can be cleared up from Davis's complementary and more authoritative on-the-spot account.

Davis says that Barker "resolved, before quitting the gulph, to proceed from the bay (twelve miles north of Cape Jervis)". Sturt described the place as a "valley which opened direct upon the bay", with a "rocky point at the northern extremity of this bay" (Sturt 1833: 237-8). Allowing for some inaccuracy in Davis's distances, this can only be Yankalilla

“reached the west side of the inlet on the evening of the 29th”, somewhere very near the Mouth of the Murray. On the morning of the 30th he swam the Mouth alone and disappeared. His party, waiting on the western bank for over 24 hours unable either to swim over or make a raft, saw large numbers of people on the opposite side.⁷³⁴ “The suspicious conduct of the natives, their numbers, frequent ‘cooeings’, and fires” convinced them that Barker had been either murdered or detained.⁷³⁵

Bay, whose south end is Lady Bay about 13.5 nautical miles north of the Cape, and whose north end is Carrickalinga, with its rocky point Carrickalinga Head.

Some have supposed that the *Isabella* anchored at Rapid Bay (e.g. Elder 1984: 26). But this is only 8 nautical miles north of the Cape. The mistake arises from the confused geography of Sturt’s written account and from the inaccuracies of his map. The latter shows an “Anchorage 10” northeast of Flinders’ “Northwest High Bluff” (Rapid Head). This anchorage is much too far from the Head to be Rapid Bay, and is placed right next to the northern end of the “Flat & beautiful Valley” which apparently cuts right through the range (i.e. includes Inman Valley); it can only be Haycock Point. This minor landing place, 1.25 km south of Carrickalinga Head, is very exposed to winds. Barker had worked out a contingency plan with the ship’s captain if bad weather should arise after his departure, since it was late autumn (Davis 1831: 22). But it has deep water close to shore, and in colonial days was sometimes used as an anchorage; in the early 20th century it briefly had a jetty (Collins 2005: 179). Carrickalinga Head must be Sturt’s “rocky point at the northern extremity of this bay”, since Haycock Point is sandy. However, Sturt was writing second-hand of places he had not seen. In his written account of this anchorage he merged it with another “good and safe anchorage for seven months in the year” which was “immediately behind Cape Jervis”, about which the Kangaroo Island sealers told Kent later (Sturt 1833: 236-7). This was Rapid Bay, which Barker and his men did not visit.

Kent’s account to Sturt is explicit that Barker had not used the ‘flat and beautiful’ Inman valley for his final journey, and that Kent discovered it only on the way back, to the south of their outward route (Sturt 1833: 244). Some of the description of this outward route is hard to interpret in terms of the actual topography (Sturt 1833: 238-9); but probably Barker, having landed near the Carrickalinga River, followed it up “due east” across Wattle Flat and Wild Dog Creek, over “the summit” of the range at Spring Mount to the vicinity of Crozier Hill.

⁷³⁴ It is easy to assume that ‘the opposite side’ means today’s Younghusband Peninsula (the line of coastal dunes east of the Mouth, corresponding to Sir Richard Peninsula on the west). However, for Barker’s party the expression probably included more than that. Note that on Sturt’s map the “Sand Hills” on the Coorong form a single continuous coastline with Kumarangk (Hindmarsh Island); i.e. it seems that *neither Sturt nor Barker’s party knew that there were channels around the Mouth other than the main Goolwa Channel*. Probably for them, looking from the low beach on the western side of the Mouth, the low ‘opposite side’ which they saw was a seeming continuity which actually included what we now know are the southern extremities of Mundoo Island. Then there is the further complication that the Mouth has always shifted its position. In 1831 it may have been as much as 1 km further east than it is now, possibly opposite Mundoo Island and what is now the junction of Mundoo Channel with Coorong Channel (cp. Diane Bell 1998, *Ngarrindjeri Wurruwarrin: a world that is, was, and will be*, North Melbourne: Spinifex Press: 296-8; <https://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=1376> [29/5/23]).

Barker was certainly killed on Younghusband Peninsula, for that is the only part of the party’s ‘opposite’ area where there could be high sandhills – though now much less than the reported height of “60 ft.” [18.5 metres]. The location gazetted now as ‘Barker Knoll’ is 10m high; but “*Barker’s Knoll no longer exists... [It] was swept away during the easterly movement between 1857 and 1859*” (Durrant 2014b: 59, n13). The southern parts of Mundoo Island are all low-lying mudflats with nothing that could be called sandhills, let alone high ones.

On 30th April in the hours after Barker failed to return, “a very large fire was made... east of the sandhills over which Captain Barker went, and several smaller fires... in different directions”. Later “A large party of natives was observed moving from the direction the captain was last seen in and taking a northerly course” (see the details in Davis 1831: 22-3). Kent could not have seen traveling north on Younghusband Peninsula for more than a couple of hundred metres, but the passage suggests a movement longer than that, and that some of the fires ‘in different directions’ could have been on Mundoo. Were the ‘large party’ heading for Mundoo Island, or already on it? (They could not have been on Kumarangk, whose southeastern tip would have taken them west, not north, and because of the more easterly location of the Mouth, they would first have had to cross extensive tidal flats around Bird Island: a very unlikely scenario). On that day people may have been moving between the Peninsula and the islands, by raft, canoe or swimming, or even wading if the channel was much narrower than now.

⁷³⁵ At the Mouth “the tide runs strong, and the water is deep”. Barker “was the only one of the party who could swim well”, and even he reached the opposite side only “with difficulty” (Sturt 1833: 239-240). After his disappearance there was “no possibility of procuring wood to construct a raft”, and of all the party remaining, only one “could swim across”, and he “would not attempt it alone without arms, the natives being on the look out” (Davis 1831: 24). On the opposite side of the Mouth – probably on Younghusband Peninsula but possibly on Mundoo Island – there was a large-scale event in preparation. According to Davis they saw small groups and sometimes “great numbers” of people, moving to and from a camp with “a very large fire” which was just out of sight opposite, about half a mile east of the sandhill where Barker had disappeared from view. “Two or three were frequently seen on the bank near the large smoke watching” his men. Soon after nightfall there was a ceremony (Davis 1831: 23). Next day (1st May) “none made their

2.3.4.1.2 – ENLISTING HELP.

Leaving Barker's clothes and a rescue package at the nearby site of their night's sleep, they returned hastily to Carrickalinga to seek help.⁷³⁶ With Mr Kent and Dr Davis now in charge, they sailed immediately for Encounter Bay.

En route on May 3rd they saw a fire "on Cape Jervis", at or near the cape itself.⁷³⁷ It was an Aboriginal camp, and they went ashore to make inquiries. Here they met a woman called 'Sally': to Davis's surprise she "spoke English tolerably well",⁷³⁸ and some in the regiment recognized her "as having been at King George's Sound in a sealing vessel about three years ago".⁷³⁹ "After a little difficulty" Davis "prevailed on her" to come on board the ship and agree to help him search for Barker next day. She brought with her a man whom Davis identified as "a native from Encounter Bay": this was her father Condoy.⁷⁴⁰ From her they "learned... that there was a party of sealers in Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island (about twelve miles from us)", and decided to enlist their help as well.

On the 4th they crossed over, hoping to find the sealers at Nepean Bay.⁷⁴¹ However, it was from Hog Bay⁷⁴² or perhaps Antechamber Bay⁷⁴³ that they finally fetched two Islanders, including Bates. All four of the new contacts agreed to help them search for Barker.

appearance... except two... They had neither seen nor heard any" until "soon after night-fall" (Sturt 1833: 241). Here, as in some other puzzling or discrepant details, Sturt's details may not always be reporting Kent accurately, and Davis is preferable.

⁷³⁶ Davis 1831: 23-4. Kent's party must have made a forced march, doing this journey in about 28 hours and reaching the ship at Carrickalinga by late afternoon on the 2nd (cp. p.22). They had found a better route than their outward journey, this time following the valley of the Inman River (Sturt 1833: 244, 247).

⁷³⁷ WHERE WAS CONDOY AND SALLY'S CAMP 'ON CAPE JERVIS'?

Although Davis's text says "*on Cape Jervis*" – which would usually mean the whole peninsula – other details make it clear by deduction that this was very near the Cape itself. Davis says that the Kangaroo Island sealers were "*in Nepean Bay... about twelve miles from us*". The cape is the only part of the mainland which is within twelve miles of any part of Nepean Bay (i.e. Eastern Cove at Kangaroo Head. Sturt's map marks one of their anchorages there). The *Isabella*'s captain Hanson no doubt had Flinders' chart and probably computed this distance on it, as well as using its place-names (the only ones available).

Sally and her people were probably camped at Fishery Beach, 3.5 km southeast of today's lighthouse: a small boat harbour which was later used for a whale fishery; or perhaps the vicinity of the town, where boats might land inside the reef with care. Or at a stretch it might conceivably have been Blowhole Beach, 7 km east of the cape.

⁷³⁸ Davis 1831: 24. The Government Order, more circumspect, said that she spoke "*a little English*" (*Sydney Gazette* 24 May 1831: 2c).

⁷³⁹ Davis 1831: 24. As we saw in Chapter 1.3.4 'Kalinga (Sally)', some of the 39th Regiment had been at King George Sound in 1827 under Lockyer.

⁷⁴⁰ "*A native from Encounter Bay who accompanied Sally to the vessel from the shore*" (Davis 1831: 25). Bates later remembered this man as being Sally's father 'Condoi' (Bates 1887a), and there is no reason to doubt it.

⁷⁴¹ Sturt called it "*American Harbour*" (Sturt 1833: 242). This was the Islanders' name for Nepean Bay, in memory of the early American ships such as the *General Gates* which had anchored there. The name survives as 'American River', a southern inlet from the larger bay.

⁷⁴² Hog Bay was marked "*Freshw B.*" on Sturt's 1833 map – showing that the regimental party were still calling it 'Freshwater Bay', as charted by Sutherland 1831.

⁷⁴³ THE *ISABELLA*'S MOVEMENTS FROM SALLY TO THE SEALERS:

Sturt's map shows three anchorages on the coast of Kangaroo Island which are doubtless those of the 'Isabella'. One is at "*Antichamber*". Two are in Nepean Bay: at what is now Kingscote, and another immediately west of "*Kangaroo H^d*". These markings may signify (for example) that they went first to the usual ship anchorage at today's Kingscote; found nobody there; crossed to Kangaroo Head and anchored there; bypassed Hog Bay (which is not a good anchorage for a schooner in uncertain autumn weather), and continued searching as far as Antechamber, where they anchored; saw a smoke signal at Hog Bay (see section 2.3.4.3 'The search according to Bates'), then returned and came ashore there. (On the limitations of Hog Bay as a landing, see Cawthorne 1854/2020: 82).

2.3.4.1.3 – THE SEARCH.

The Islanders advised them that it was too dangerous to take a whaleboat directly onto the Encounter Bay coast with the autumn westerlies likely to set in at any time. Instead, they suggested an overland course, “to land at Cape Jervis, and proceed to the inlet”.⁷⁴⁴ Bates proposed that in order to cross the Mouth they would “construct a raft of reeds, the usual mode of crossing the lake adopted by the natives, and which... (Bates) informed me he crossed over on a short time since”.⁷⁴⁵ Accepting this advice, Kent and Davis returned to ‘Cape Jervis’ (probably anchoring at Carrickalinga again). From here Kent disembarked – presumably later on the 4th – with a party of eight including the Islanders, Sally, Condoy and three others, eventually adding a blind man from the mainland: Sally’s uncle whom they picked up at Encounter Bay.⁷⁴⁶

At the Mouth on the 7th and 8th they learned that Barker had indeed been killed by locals. He had “tried to sooth them” but “they were determined to attack him”, says Sturt;⁷⁴⁷ though Davis disagrees: “Captain Barker never perceived their approach until he received his first wound”.⁷⁴⁸ Somehow they obtained a very detailed account of his fatal encounter with three warriors, including their personal names: “Cummarringeree” (*Kamarindjeri* or *Kamaringkeri*),⁷⁴⁹ “Pennegoora” and “Wanangetta”.⁷⁵⁰ The first of these is unmistakably a ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* word, using the common suffix *-indjeri* (or *-inyeri*: ‘belonging to’).⁷⁵¹ Davis’s report (from “three sources”)⁷⁵² thus gives us the first known record of the *Kornar* language.

⁷⁴⁴ Davis 1831: 24-5. This ‘inlet’ is obviously the Murray Mouth. The Islanders told Davis that “*even if the weather admitted of her [a boat’s] entrance [to the ‘inlet’], it may be a month before she could get out of the bay should the westerly winds set in*” (Davis 1831: 24). Cp. Chapter 2.3.2.3 ‘Geographical & cultural analysis of Forbes-Bates’. Sturt’s map does mark an “*Anchorage*” in Encounter Bay, just south of Granite Island, between Wright Island (which is not shown) and “*Seal Rock*”: a very unsafe position in fact, exposed between two reefs. The anchor symbol is inverted (but so it is also at Haycock Point). The relatively safe anchorage – first named ‘Victor Harbour’ by Crozier – is actually north of the Island. Since Davis and Kent followed the Islanders’ advice and did not sail there, this must be an attempt to map their verbal description of an anchorage which was safe *in other seasons*; but he did not get all the details right.

⁷⁴⁵ Davis 1831: 25. Bates in old age denied that he said the last sentence, or that he himself had ever made a crossing on a raft (Bates 1894b: 6b).

⁷⁴⁶ ENCOUNTER BAY AND CARRICKALINGA: A CONFUSION OF ROCKY POINTS: According to Sturt’s slightly confused account, the party “*landed at or near the rocky point of Encounter Bay, where they were joined by two other natives, one of whom was blind*” (Sturt 1833, 2: 242). Encounter Bay does have ‘rocky points’ at Freeman’s Nob and Commodore Point (both at Port Elliot). But as we saw above, the ‘rocky point’ where Barker *landed from his ship* was actually at Carrickalinga, and when Kent’s party (having been warned *not* to anchor in Encounter Bay) set out on foot from the same place, Condoy was already with them. Both ‘rocky points’ are mentioned explicitly in Sturt’s text, but only the one at Encounter Bay is marked as such on his map; it is clearly not The Bluff (Rosetta Head) at the western end of the Bay, nor Police Point at Victor Harbor (which is not rocky but sandy); it is at or near Port Elliot, i.e. Freemans Nob or Commodore Point, or perhaps even the adjacent headland of Fisherman Bay (a favourite fishing campsite). No doubt they did pick up the blind man in Encounter Bay somewhere near this, but they did not ‘land’ there. Davis reported that “*they reached the lake*” [i.e. the Mouth] “*accompanied by the father and uncle of Sally*” (Davis 1831: 25).

⁷⁴⁷ Sturt 1833: 242.

⁷⁴⁸ Davis 1831: 25.

⁷⁴⁹ Davis’s spelling “Cummarringeree” is an important piece of evidence in my argument about the contested historical spelling and pronunciation of the common suffix *inyeri* or *indjeri* (see Section 4 in Appendix 12).

⁷⁵⁰ Davis 1831: 25.

⁷⁵¹ Though the other two names could belong to any of the local languages, the general linguistic identity of this Mouth group is clearly established. In any case, there has never been any dispute that the Language Country around the Murray Mouth was ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar*.

⁷⁵² About the ‘three sources’, see Point 8 in Appendix 4 ‘What probably happened in 1831’.

There was no point in staying to search for his body, as it had been thrown into the surf and swept out to sea. The party returned to the *Isabella* by the 11th and prepared to take the grievous news to Sydney.

For Bates and his mate it had been a very good week. They had not acted from altruism but “for a certain reward”,⁷⁵³ including a new dinghy⁷⁵⁴ and £12/1/6^d in cash between the two of them.⁷⁵⁵ To any working man in 1831 this was a huge amount of money for a week’s work.

2.3.4.2 – MISSING LINKS: QUESTIONS ARISING FROM THE OFFICIAL ACCOUNTS.

Readers of this episode in the ‘Foundation’ script have been surprisingly incurious. The official accounts contain some obvious inconsistencies, especially when they touch upon the events of the 7th and 8th. A number of important details are either omitted or suspiciously vague. Of the crucial events during those forty hours or so in May when Kent got the answers that he needed,⁷⁵⁶ the official accounts give not even a basic narrative. The story cries out for some forensic examination.

Sturt understood from Kent that “*the woman* was sent forward for intelligence, and on her return gave the... details”.⁷⁵⁷ But Davis writes a quite different story: he “learned from Mr Kent that... *Condoy* was chiefly instrumental in gaining information concerning Captain Barker’s fate”; and that the particulars on the immediate circumstances of Barker’s death were obtained “from *three sources*, all of which agreed”; but does not identify them. What does he mean when he adds that he has “much satisfaction in stating that G. Bates, from the knowledge he possessed of the language and manners of the natives, proved of essential service in obtaining the above information”?⁷⁵⁸ The government notice says cryptically that Condoy was informed by “some natives whom they met at that place”.⁷⁵⁹

So who spoke to whom? and in what language(s)? – for in hindsight we know that these transactions could not have been done by a simple process using one language (“the language”, as assumed in all the reports) but a complex one using English, Pidgin English, *Miyurna* and two dialects of *Korlar*.

At the Mouth, did anyone use a reed raft as planned? Were the ‘natives’ hostile or communicative? But how did *anyone* in Kent’s party, let alone an Aboriginal woman of a different group, achieve detailed communication with those wary and probably hostile people? Who were the ‘three sources’? Why not name them?

⁷⁵³ Sturt 1833: 242.

⁷⁵⁴ Bates 1886b: 6d.

⁷⁵⁵ Davis 1831: 25-6. Bates remembered that Davis “*gave us £1 a day for the time it took*” (Bates 1887a), though it had been seven days not six. £12 was equal to what Captain Hart would pay them for 37 fur seal skins (cp. Bates 1887b: 6e) or 2400 wallaby and kangaroo skins (cp. Bates 1886b: 6d). £1 (one pound) was 20s (20 shillings). In England thirty years later, a seaman on a steamer got 16s a week, a sailor 15s (<http://www.victorianweb.org/economics/wages2.html> [24/10/15]).

⁷⁵⁶ The search party’s excursion to the Mouth lasted from May 4th to 11th: three days down (recorded), two nights and a day on the spot getting the answers (about 40 hours, deduced), and three days back (assumed).

⁷⁵⁷ Sturt 1833: 242 (my emphasis).

⁷⁵⁸ Davis 1831: 25 (my emphasis).

⁷⁵⁹ *Sydney Gazette* 24 May 1831: 2c.

With all his apparent ‘knowledge’, what did Bates actually *do*? What parts were played by Sally and Condo? and by the men from the regiment? How did Sally’s uncle become involved, and why?

Why are we told almost nothing of the eight-day journey there and back? Everything we *officially* have is reportage deriving from Kent at second-hand, and it is remarkably little by comparison with the long accounts of the 24 hours after Barker disappeared.

These men all knew that the colonial planners in England were avid to hear every detail of the ‘condition of the natives’ in this region of interest. Their reticence in this case demands our investigation.

2.3.4.3 – KALINGA, CONDOY AND THE GIRL: THE SEARCH ACCORDING TO BATES.

Nearly 56 years later the ancient pioneer ‘Old George Bates’ let the cat out of the bag in a newspaper interview (December 1886) and a follow-up letter.⁷⁶⁰

He fiercely denied Sturt’s published version, which then was the only publicly available account. Bates’ own account was drastically different. After his theatrical tale was published in the *Advertiser*, a correspondent ‘Pioneer’ disputed some of it, quoted Sturt, and added a sceptical conclusion: “I make no apology for substituting the above quotation... in lieu of old Bates’s ‘yarn’”.⁷⁶¹ Old George was stung to defend and reassert parts of his story. In January he wrote to the editor from Hog Bay,⁷⁶² riding a righteous war-horse of first-hand knowledge: “The writer thinks I tell untruths. My tale runs thus...” – and finished with the barbed retort, “This is old Bate’s ‘yarn’ to ‘Pioneer’”.

From his interview and letter, I summarize Bates’s ‘yarn’ in my own plain language as follows:

Bates and his Islander companion (Nat Thomas)⁷⁶³ were at Hog Bay. They saw the *Isabella* off Antechamber Bay, and attracted its attention with a smoke signal. Davis brought them on board and hired them.⁷⁶⁴ When the search party arrived at the Mouth “a large number” of the offending ‘natives’ were still camped on the other side, but they appeared “in warlike attitude” and “we had no conversation with them”. Kent’s *only* first-hand source of information about Barker’s death was a “young girl of about sixteen” whom Bates and Thomas captured from the camp in a night raid: “from her they learned” that Barker had been speared. The party then brought the girl back with them to the schooner and allowed the two Islanders to bring her to Kangaroo Island,

⁷⁶⁰ 1. The report of a long interview with Bates, ‘Old George Bates’, *Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6d [Bates 1886b]; and 2. A short letter from the man himself, *Advertiser* 19/1/1887: 6 [Bates 1887a]. By 1886 amid the celebrations for the Jubilee of ‘Proclamation’, Bates was the only player still surviving from this little pre-colonial drama. In that December a reporter got him talking on the evergreen subject of Barker’s death with less caution than usual.

⁷⁶¹ *Advertiser*, 1/1/1887: 7d.

⁷⁶² [Bates 1887a] *Advertiser* 19/1/1887: 6.

⁷⁶³ In the 1886 interview Bates (or his reporter) mistakenly named the second sealer as “*Warley*”, i.e. Henry Wallan. But the 1887 letter and other data correct the record: it was Nat Thomas (cp. StephensS 1836, 15 Aug, PRG 174/1: 11).

⁷⁶⁴ The *Isabella* was “standing across Antechamber Bay and evidently looking for some of the islanders. So we made a smoke and the boat came ashore” (*Advertiser* 30/10/1894: 6a [Bates 1894b]; cp. p.6b).

possibly landing them there from the ship. Here she became the “property” of either Thomas or perhaps Wallan.

It is worth setting down Bates’s entire evidence. In the interview, we can forgive old George for a few wrong details after such a time lapse, or the reporter for finding it hard to record accurately by hand a narrative which was probably rambling and self-correcting.⁷⁶⁵ The relevant part of his interview was reported thus:

In hopes of obtaining some news of Captain Barker... Bates formed a daring plan... In the darkness of the night he and his mates⁷⁶⁶ surprised a camp of natives. Bates acted the part of the orthodox ghost, dressed in a white sheet, and his costume and dismal groans so frightened the black fellows that as soon as awake they fled in all directions. A young girl of about sixteen bolted straight into Warley’s [Nat Thomas’s] arms, and he at once secured and gagged her. From her they learned that Captain Barker had been speared by the natives and his body hidden in the scrub. On the departure of the schooner for Sydney Bates and his comrades returned to Hog Bay... The black girl was claimed by Warley as his property, and lived with him at Hog Bay, assisting him to hunt.⁷⁶⁷

Textbox09: ‘WARLEY’, BATES, THOMAS, AND THE YOUNG GIRL CAPTURED AT THE MURRAY MOUTH.

In this 1886 interview, probably ‘Warley’ and ‘Hog Bay’ are misreports, and Bates was referring to Nat Thomas at Antechamber Bay. ‘Warley’ (Wallan) at this time lived not at Hog Bay but at Cygnet River. Bates also added that “Warley having sailed with a whaling captain... handed over his native girl to Bates”. It is likely that she was first traded from Thomas to Bates at Antechamber Bay; and possibly, if she was ‘Puss’ (see below), from Bates to Wallan later. And in later life Wallan did come to live at Hog Bay. If Bates tried to tell all this to the reporter it probably got both of them confused.

At age 16, this girl of the Murray Mouth (in ‘Ngarrindjeri’-Kornar Language Country) was probably a married mother of young children. We do not know her personal identity. Contrary to several previous authors,⁷⁶⁸ she was not identified by any early source as ‘Sal’, and obviously cannot have been the well-known Sally-Kalinga who was working with Kent and Bates on this occasion.

It is possible that she was the local girl ‘Puss’ mentioned by Bates earlier in the same interview as one of those captured during raids on what he called ‘Lake Alexandrina’: “One girl, whom Bates named ‘Puss,’ from her propensity to scratch the face of her owner when in a rage, lived for years afterwards at Hog Bay”. But it is possible that Bates was misreported about where on Kangaroo Island ‘Puss’ lived, and when. She was probably the same person as “Old Puss... a native of this colony” who was still living with Wallan in the last year of his

⁷⁶⁵ The reporter was no investigative journalist, and possibly had never been to Kangaroo Island. He was merely covering one of the old ‘identities’ for the Jubilee nostalgia. His whole report (Bates 1886b) suffers from confusions of identity and sometimes of place; e.g. ‘Warley’ and ‘Hog Bay’ seem to be overused and are sometimes demonstrably wrong (see below). Here he claims the body was “hidden in the scrub”, though elsewhere he says it was in the surf.

⁷⁶⁶ Why the plural ‘mates’? In this interview Bates says (or more likely the reporter misreports) that “four ‘runaways’ went on board the ‘Isabella’ for this job: Bates, Warley, and (deducible from the context) two others out of the three Randall, Kirby and Everett. This cannot be correct. Everett certainly, and Randall and Kirby probably, were no longer on Kangaroo Island (see my previous section). From other records it is clear that only one other Islander accompanied Bates on this 1831 trip, and it was Thomas (cp. Bates 1887a, and StephensS 1836, 15 Aug, PRG 174/1: 11). His companion – both at the Mouth and on KI – is named “Warley” (i.e. Wallan) throughout this interview.

⁷⁶⁷ *Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6d [Bates 1886b].

⁷⁶⁸ Tindale 1937a: 32; ClarkeP 1998: 42; Amery 1998: 59.

life (1856), but not then at Hog Bay; Wallan intended to move there but died before he could do so.⁷⁶⁹

Perhaps echoing this history is a piece of KI colonial folklore. It probably came from George Bates via settler Harry Bates (no relative) who knew both George and Nat, and in the usual manner it confuses events and identities: “George was familiar with the district [Murray Mouth], as his lubra, Bet-Bet had been captured in this vicinity... a young lubra was seized. From her Bet-Bet extracted the story of Barker’s untimely death”.⁷⁷⁰

Bates’s January letter reiterates in brief the whole story from his viewpoint:

My tale runs thus: — I was at Hog Bay, when I saw a schooner off the bay. We made a smoke, and they sent the boat ashore and told us of Captain Barker's absence, and asked us to go on board to see Dr. Davis. I went. He gave us £1 a day for the time it took. We landed at Cape Jervis. When we landed two natives came down, father and daughter, named Condoi and Sally Walker, the same that Mrs. Thomas speaks of in the Africaine barque.⁷⁷¹ The boat's crew was Mr. Kent, Mills, Nathaniel Thomas, and self. We went over to the place where Captain Barker went from. There were a large number of natives on the other side in warlike attitude. We had no conversation with them. We then came back to the schooner. What Mr. Kent told Dr. Davis I dont know. The native lubra came back with us [to KI]. Some few years back I was reading the second volume of Captain Sturt, and at page 229 saw an account of the captain's death. It is not true. Mr. Kent must have listened to the story of Sally, for she could speak good English.⁷⁷²

Nearly eight years later Old George gave a few extra details in yet another interview for the *Advertiser*.⁷⁷³ “Comfortably enjoying the sunset of life on a corner bed in a bright and airy ward of the Destitute Asylum” in Adelaide, he heard the reporter read out the second half of Davis’s newly-unearthed account, beginning at the *Isabella*’s departure towards Encounter Bay.⁷⁷⁴ Once again Bates expressed scepticism: “He thinks the official narrative of the captain’s death much too highly colored, and that it is not likely so many details of the spearing were ever obtained from the blacks, nor was the body of the captain ever found to corroborate their story”. He also contradicted Davis’s claim (based on Kent) that it was Condoy who was ‘chiefly instrumental in gaining information’. According to Bates it was Sally: “when Mr. Kent’s party got to the Murray Mouth he was able to communicate with the Encounter Bay natives, and through her the official narrative of the murder was obtained”.⁷⁷⁵ Then followed Bates’s brief “account of the

⁷⁶⁹ See *Register* 30/4/1856: 3d.

⁷⁷⁰ Ruediger 1980: 35-6, my emphases; cp. 30; here ‘Bet-Bet’ is clearly Kalinga-Sally.

⁷⁷¹ i.e. Mary Thomas: see Chapter 3.5 ‘Women & Islanders as search-and-rescue teams’ and 3.6.2.6 ‘Africaine diarists’.

⁷⁷² It is not clear why Bates is so keen here to discredit Sally’s reliability, and it is unclear which parts of Sturt Bates was claiming to be ‘not true’. Perhaps he remembered a version similar on the whole to Davis’s, and noticed the various discrepancies. Perhaps he was annoyed by Sturt’s inaccurate geography, or by his inaccurate reporting of the busy and watchful tribesmen on the eastern bank. Perhaps he was nettled because his own name was not mentioned, while the unnamed sealer in the text appears by implication to be a resident of American Harbour rather than Bates of (then) Antechamber Bay. But the blame for discrepancies and errors is surely better laid on the reportage by Sturt and Davis or perhaps Kent himself, who may not have been good at deception.

⁷⁷³ ‘An Old Time Episode: The Murder Of Captain Barker: Narrative of a Survivor’, *The Advertiser* 30/10/1894: 6a-b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/25740466> [Bates 1894b].

⁷⁷⁴ This extract from Davis was here published for the first time.

⁷⁷⁵ – as in Sturt’s version (also from Kent).

tragedy". It seems to be given partly verbatim, but begins with events which he could not have witnessed:⁷⁷⁶

Captain Barker was ordered to correct some mistakes of Captain Sturt as to the country near the mouth. He landed at Yankalilla, and along with Mr. Kent, Mills (his servant), and another man or two walked across to the Murray mouth. The others would not swim the river, so Captain Barker stripped, put his compass on his head, and swam across. When on the search party I saw his footsteps in the sand on the eastern side. He went along the beach and two natives came on his track and tackled him, finding he had no weapons. He took to the water, and they speared him in the surf. He never came out, and his body would go to sea with the drawback. The two murderers were named Puragora and Kamma-injeri.⁷⁷⁷ Dr. Davis left me a warrant to apprehend them and send them by the first vessel to Sydney. Of course I was never able to get them, though he said (in joke) that the two heads would do. I saw them on the opposite bank shaking their spears at us... Dr. Davis makes a mistake... in making me say I had ever crossed the river on a reed raft. I never did, but the blacks often crossed that way with their lubras and children sitting on the raft, the men tugging it along and puffing like a lot of black dogs in the water. Of course they chose a time when the tide was not ebbing.⁷⁷⁸

We shall see below that here for once Bates' yarns are vindicated – by and large, though not in every detail. His body of evidence enables us to explain how the party obtained the circumstantial details and three 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* personal names which appear in Davis's account. We have no reason to doubt its essentials. Between the lines it also hints at some answers to other and larger questions.

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2.3.4.4 – FRIENDLY AND UNFRIENDLY 'NATIVES': WHAT REALLY HAPPENED IN MAY 1831? (1) PRELIMINARY.

Armed with this primary revelation and its implications, we may take a step or two forward in our investigation of this affair and its local context.

The reticence in the official accounts was the cover-up of the regiment's connivance in a crime of abduction. There was no dialogue with the hostile group. Under the pressure of circumstances, with emotions running high against the murderers of their beloved captain, Kent and the 39th Regiment knowingly made itself accessory to the kind of raid against which the Sydney government was sending troops elsewhere, and which Barker

⁷⁷⁶ Bates 1894b: 6a-b. Some parts of this account cannot have been witnessed by Bates in person, and must have come from Kent or even (at this date) from Davis's report.

⁷⁷⁷ Did Bates speak these names for the reporter, or write them down, or spell them out? "*Kamma-injeri*" is clearly Davis's 'Cummarringeree'. "*Puragora*" might be a mistranscription of a *written* 'PVnagora' (first vowel unknown), which would nearly match Davis's 'Pennegoora'; or it might be a fair transcription of Bates pronouncing the name from memory. But if so, what was he remembering? – an informant, or the extract read from Davis's report?

⁷⁷⁸ Despite Bates's typical use of 'I' and 'me', the reporter must have asked who was the other of Davis's 'two sealers'; for he then added: "*Bates's mate on the occasion was named Thomas. They were offered a guinea per day by Dr. Davis, and they took their wages out in provisions, tobacco, lead, and gunpowder, money being really of no value on Kangaroo Island at that early date*". This interview confirms that there was a basis for the claim (perhaps exaggerated) made by both Bates and Thomas in 1836, that they were "*commissioned by the Governor of VDL to take the natives who killed Capn Barker*" (StephensS 1836, 15 Sep). In old age Bates repeated much the same thing, that they were both "*afterwards sent out as special constables with a warrant to arrest the murderers, but were unsuccessful*" (Bates 1883b).

would never have condoned. When the girl had served the regiment's purpose, they allowed the abductors to keep her as a slave. Governor Darling and the Colonial Office would not like this kind of publicity. English readers would be outraged.

It is fairly clear that the first bit of core business – obtaining a witness – had been taken out of Kent's hands by the Islanders. And in preparing for the raid they probably had help from their Aboriginal allies.

We have no reason to doubt Davis's report that there was a plan to use a reed raft. Though Bates denied that he ever used one to cross the river, it remains doubtful that the Islanders could have escaped quickly across the Mouth, and restrained a struggling girl throughout the crossing, without using one.⁷⁷⁹ If so, did Condoy help them build it? What was the truth behind Bates's disclaimer? Was he regretting his former frankness about the raid, and beating an evasive retreat from it?⁷⁸⁰

But the second bit of business – understanding what the witness said – seems to have excluded the Islanders and depended upon Condoy and Kalinga, whose role now appears in a light which is very ambiguous from an Aboriginal perspective, to say the least.

It is certain that they took part in the proceedings to the extent of interrogating the young Eastern-Kornar girl in her own language: Condoy was 'chiefly instrumental' in obtaining the information; Sally also told 'the story'. Kent managed the interrogation directly through them, then reported back to Davis without George's help: "Mr. Kent must have listened to the story of Sally, for she could speak good English", and "What Mr. Kent told Dr. Davis I don't know". Bates seems quite unaware that a second language was involved, one which he did not know.

And perhaps Condoy also gave advice about the raft.

Why would Condoy and his family take part in these actions, which must have been inflammatory within cultural politics?

⁷⁷⁹ CROSSING THE MOUTH FOR THE RAID: Kent had been unable to construct a European-style raft because there was no timber at the site; but reeds for an Aboriginal raft were abundant there. Unlike many sailors, Nat Thomas could swim (Mary Thomas Diary, 2 Nov 1836), and presumably Bates too. On 7-8 May 1831 the moon was waning from Last Quarter, so its light at night would be dim even if it had not set. In their expedition time they must: 1. cross over to the east side without being seen by the tribesmen who had been 'in warlike attitude'; 2. track Barker's footsteps in the sand; 3. enact the raid; 4. escape quickly with the girl; and 5. start crossing back before they could be caught. To avoid the danger of being swept out to sea at ebb tide, all this would have to happen around high tide. A high tide occurred on 7 May 1831 at 1:40 pm; but being in daytime, this one was unusable. Another higher one was at 9 pm, 3½ hours after sunset, with about eight hours to low tide and about ten hours to sunrise. Thanks to Mike Davis (data analyst at the National Tidal Unit in the Adelaide Bureau of Meteorology, 10/3/2017), for providing me with the tide calculations of Victor Harbor tide levels and times on those dates; and for links to websites for phases of the Moon, <http://templatecalendar.com/moon/1831/05> [10/3/17] and <https://www.timeanddate.com/calendar/?year=1831country=32> [10/3/17]. Sunset and sunrise times came from the 2016 government Tide Tables. The weather on 7-8 May was apparently unremarkable, and so would be unlikely to affect these predictions.

However, the river current would affect the time available before and after 9 pm, reducing it if flowing strongly, or extending it if very weak. What had the rains been like on the upper Murray-Darling in the previous months? At 10 a.m. on 30 April Barker "*swam across the inlet (200 yards wide at low water) in three minutes*", unencumbered by clothes or gear apart from a compass strapped to his head (Davis 1831: 22). Sturt says that Barker judged the channel to be more than twice that width, "*a quarter of a mile*" (Sturt 1833: 239). Perhaps the river current in that season was weak enough that it posed no *extra* threat.

There are some more complications to consider, notably that in 1831 the Mouth was probably not in the same position it is now (see section 2.3.4.1.1). Where exactly was the channel which Barker swam in order to climb the high dune? Was this the same place where Bates and Thomas rafted across in order to make their raid on the camp a week later?

⁷⁸⁰ During his 1886 interview he had been still a celebrated visitor from Kangaroo Island where he lived "*in perfect freedom like the blacks*". Now in 1894 he was a bed-ridden inmate of the Destitute Asylum, of which he said, "*you can't be free of speech*" (Bates 1895a). Here "*You cannot get him to say anything about the alleged black-birding exploits of which lubras were the victims in the old times*" (Bates 1894c).

After May 1831 there is nothing more on record about Condoy or Sally until she began to live on KI with William Walker in 1834.⁷⁸¹ But we do know something of the local context the 1831 raid, and once more we shall owe most of it to Bates.

After a short digression about this context, our investigation of the mysteries of 1831 will resume in the light of the knowledge so gained.

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⁷⁸¹ Mann 1837a: 12

2.3.5 – UNFRIENDLY ‘TRIBES’: BATES AND RAIDS ON ‘LAKE ALEXANDRINA’: 1829?-1835?

The raid in May 1831 was part of a local pattern. Among the intrepid exploits which Bates yarned about in his later years was a series of ‘wife’-stealing expeditions. He acknowledged his own involvement in four of them, all at what he (or his reporter) called “Lake Alexandrina”.⁷⁸²

The first is given in some detail. Two recently-arrived seamen “Thomas and Jack”⁷⁸³ were “anxious to obtain wives”. A party of five men “crossed over to the mainland to undertake this *chasse aux femmes*.”⁷⁸⁴ They landed at Cape Jervis – [probably Yankalilla Bay]⁷⁸⁵ – “and walked across country to Lake Alexandrina”; this was apparently their normal route. Bates (or his reporter) then adds a paradoxical remark to which we shall return:

... having no difficulty in eluding the natives, who were very numerous.

The tactics were different from those employed in May 1831. No cover of night was necessary, only trees or scrub, because on these other occasions they made sure that the warriors were absent:

Waiting until the morning was well advanced, and the men were out hunting, they stole up under cover until close to the camp, when at a signal they rushed forward and secured their prizes before they had time to escape.

The process became familiar with repetition:

They made four trips with this object at different times, securing one or two women each time, who, when captured, had their hands tied behind their backs, and were made to walk with their captors in double quick time back to the boat.

Bates’s Jubilee image as a harmless old salt required him to interpret the women’s stoic acceptance of their lot as compliance: “They were set at liberty on reaching Hog Bay, where they in most cases proved useful and willing slaves”.

These trips became increasingly dangerous, “the last one... nearly costing Bates his life” in an ambush:

⁷⁸² The Lake raids are described in the long interview in December 1886 (Bates 1886b: 6d), which also contains (separately) his story of the Barker raid. He never gave details of any other raids, though he did mention one on Rapid Bay (Bates 1886b: 6d; Bates 1887b: 7b = Bates 1895: 7c), and referred to women whom they stole from Port Lincoln (Bates 1886b: 6d).

⁷⁸³ He says they came from the ship which was sent to look for Sturt but met Bates at Thistle Island, i.e. the *Dart*; but in this interview he calls it the “*Mary*”. However, these men cannot have been involved in the *first* raid on the Lake. In order to produce the hostility and the familiarity with guns which Sturt encountered in February 1830, the raids on the general southwest of the estuary must have begun – at the latest – not long after the Islander visit to Horseshoe Bay and Milang in summer 1828-9. They probably continued while Bates was living on the Gulf mainland in 1829.

⁷⁸⁴ French: ‘a hunt for women’.

⁷⁸⁵ See this chapter 2.4.2.1 ‘Islander Exploration’; also ‘Feet on the hinterland’, Part 2 of Appendix 3 ‘Islander explorations’.

When they landed at Cape Jervis the natives were watching them, and when the whites were three miles inland⁷⁸⁶ an attack was made, Bates receiving a spear in the foot, but escaping with a slight wound.

Let us re-visit the intriguing paradox: Why was it so easy to ‘elude’ all those ‘very numerous’ natives and their warriors? Was Bates merely boasting? Or does this alert us to something more substantial?

Between the Gulf coast and the targets at the Lake there were at least two different identified Aboriginal groups: the “very small” ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ and the much larger Encounter Bay ‘tribe’.⁷⁸⁷ At least 60 km had to be crossed on foot, a trip which took three days each way,⁷⁸⁸ passing through hills where ambush was easy. These mainlanders were trained in vigilance from birth. As they proved on the final occasion, they could ambush the raiders not far from their landing point. They would be eluded only when they chose to be.

We are forced to ask, Were the ‘Cape Jervis’ and Encounter Bay peoples turning a blind eye to the raids on the people at the Lake?

And who were these various First Peoples? Were some of them indeed conniving with Islanders? These are issues of cultural geography and politics, and will be examined in more depth in the section ‘Themes’.

But in the meantime we shall turn again to the events of 1831.

.....

⁷⁸⁶ ‘Three miles inland’ would place them among the hills, giving cover for an ambush, regardless of whether they had landed at Rapid Bay, Second Valley, or (most likely) the Yankalilla area.

⁷⁸⁷ See Textbox07 ‘Aboriginal populations’.

⁷⁸⁸ Cumpston 1986: 127.

2.3.6 – ‘TRIBES’, CONDOY, KALINGA, ISLANDERS, AND BARKER’S REGIMENT: WHAT REALLY HAPPENED IN MAY 1831? (2).⁷⁸⁹

Some of the questions of 1831 may never be answered, but the episode raises two issues which do repay analysis.

One is the identity of Condoy’s family, in both language and geography, with implications for some of our major themes. This will be pursued in depth in the next section ‘Themes’. The other issue – pursued in this section – concerns Bates and Thomas, employed as the interface between the mainlanders and the colonial authorities: what were the dynamics between the two Islanders, Barker’s regiment, and local tribespeople including Condoy’s family and the captive girl?

During the previous two years Bates had shown himself willing to support official business through Forbes and the *Dart*. Now he and Thomas actively sought their meeting with Kent at Hog Bay: “We made a smoke”.⁷⁹⁰ They had seen the *Isabella* sailing around the eastern end of the Island, obviously looking for some sealers. Here perhaps was a job for these local experts.

But when they discovered whom they had summoned, their second thoughts may have been less enthusiastic: ‘This is no trading sealer; this is a troopship from the government of Sydney’.⁷⁹¹ And when they heard what the job was, the next thought may have been even worse: ‘This Barker has been killed because our raids over the last few years have stirred up the Lake people. If these fellows learn the secret we could be in trouble’. Then they found that Kent had already contacted Sally and Condoy and was intending to work with them: what beans would the English-speaking Sally spill? For her silence they would have to get her father’s cooperation as well. The situation demanded careful management.

The regiment’s desperate need of help was also the Islanders’ insurance. A raid conducted under Kent’s nose would get what he wanted, but we may infer that Bates was able to demand a strong deal: ‘We can do it – in return for rewards, no questions asked, and your silence afterwards’.

The targeted camp was just out of sight only about a kilometre away. The group was larger than usual and probably aware of their presence. This time the raid should be

⁷⁸⁹ See also Appendix 4 ‘A tentative sketch of what probably happened in 1831’. More details and context around the sad and fascinating story of Barker’s last weeks may become clear – or at least a little clearer – when we can get access to the unpublished notes and diaries of Barker and Kent from their South Australian time in 1831. These have not been included in the currently available publication of Barker’s journals (John Mulvaney & Neville Green, 1992, *Commandant of Solitude: The Journals of Captain Collet Barker, 1828–1831*, Melbourne: Miegunyah Press), and (as I understand from Tom Gara, p.c. 2022) remain under wraps somewhere in England.

⁷⁹⁰ According to Cawthorne, smoke signalling was a standard Islander method of attracting a ship’s attention: “‘They see us,’ said the first mate, ‘that’s the way they talk. They make a smoke, and that’s just as good as if they said, “We are coming.” It’s a capital plan, and as good as bunting nearly’”. Hosking may be right in believing that they had learned this ‘bush telegraph’ trick from Aboriginal people (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 82, and n.294; cp. p.95, 104). Interestingly, the first of Cawthorne’s fictional episodes of smoke signalling happens at Hog Bay. However, Bates had “no belief in the existence of an elaborate system of smoke signals among the natives. ‘I saw something in the papers about it,’ he said..., ‘but this telegraphing by smoke signals is all my eye. At least, I never heard of it. We put up a smoke on the island because we thought the *Isabella* wanted us and we let them know where we were. Smoke is only of use when you have arranged to signal to your friends on reaching a certain spot, or in case you want them to come over and have arranged that the smoke shall tell them to come’” (Bates 1894b: 6b).

⁷⁹¹ This *Isabella* was a “government brig” and must be distinguished from the other *Isabella* which Captain Hart bought in London in 1836 for John Griffiths’ trade fleet (Cumpston 1986: 102, 163).

done at night, with a minimum of discussion or official observation, and preferably without firing guns.

The relevant part of Bates's 'knowledge of the manners' included the value of night attacks, the use of white to arouse panic,⁷⁹² and reed rafts.⁷⁹³ He and Thomas had suggested constructing (and presumably using) such a raft. Despite Bates's disclaimer, it is very likely that they prepared one onsite and used it for the raid. They could cross the outlet at high tide by night and back again later with the girl at another high, before any tribesmen could overcome their fear of night spirits and follow in their own raft (if they had one available).⁷⁹⁴ No wonder that neither Davis nor Kent mentioned rafts again. Perhaps Davis reported this proposal only because Kent had not told him what it had actually been used for on this occasion.⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹² NIGHT AND WHITE: At night Aboriginal people of this region preferred not to be away from campfires, because of danger from

1. dark-coloured spirits called *Melapi* or *Muldarbi*, "All the natives entertain great dread of evil spirits, and those who lived in the neighbourhood of Adelaide never moved about at night. In other parts of the colony they would not do so without carrying firesticks with them, except on moonlight nights" (Woods Intro 1879: xxxi, in JD Woods 1879, *The Native Tribes of SA*, Adelaide: ES Wigg & Son). Cp. 'Dlarbe' in Wyatt 1879: 167; Meyer 1846: 9; Taplin Narrinyeri 1879: 133, 140, 141-2 (George Taplin 1878, 'The Narrinyeri', in Woods 1879,

<https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/15080/1/Narrinyeri.pdf>); Taplin Folklore 1879: 50-1.

2. the spirits of dead humans which were probably white. See Taplin Narrinyeri 1879: 19. Because of a perceived resemblance to such corpses, white people were called *gringkarri* 'corpse' in 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* Language Country (Meyer 1846: 10). In 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* Language Country where smoke-drying of corpses was not practised except in the southern border area, white people were nevertheless called *Pinti-miyurna* 'people of the pit or grave' in reference to the white colour of spirits of the dead (OS *Pindi-meyunna*; see T&S 1840 under '*pindi*'), and 'Goonya' more recently in Narungga (probably related to *Miyurna kuinyu* 'death, corpse'; during death ceremonies the skin of a corpse turns white at a certain stage).

⁷⁹³ Bates had seen rafts used before, perhaps in similar raid retreats from the Lake across the Finniss and Currency Creek inlets.

⁷⁹⁴ Timing both crossings to coincide with a high tide rather than the 'ebb' (as Bates had observed), they could cross eastward at the first high (against the current, perhaps in early evening). This would leave time for them to track Barker's footsteps in twilight, and time the night raid so as to escape on the next high (perhaps 6-10 hours later; a much easier and quicker journey as the inflowing current would take the raft west into the Goolwa Channel).

⁷⁹⁵ BATES AND REED RAFTS:

In May 1831 Bates claimed (rightly) that reed rafts were used by the local mainlanders as "*the usual mode of crossing the lake*", and (probably) that he had "*crossed over*" on such a raft "*a short time since*" (late 1830 or early 1831) (Davis 1831: 25). He could only have learned and used them during personal contact or observation in Ngarrindjeri Language Country: possibly at Encounter Bay, though perhaps it could have been somewhere in the estuary where they were more commonly used, and where he observed "*many canoes*" in December 1828. We do not know whether his teachers included Condoy, perhaps during one of Bates' peaceful residencies. Perhaps he had used such a raft during a raiding trip to cross channels such as Currency Creek or the Finniss River, perhaps the Goolwa Channel.

Significantly for our later analysis, he could do this only if on the outward journey the raiders had enough time to build it onsite without being disturbed by other groups. In his last year Bates denied that he had ever used a reed raft, and said Davis had misreported him (Bates 1894b: 6a-b). Perhaps he regretted having spilled the beans earlier about the 1831 raid (Bates 1886b: 6d), and was now covering his tracks.

Reed rafts are a Ngarrindjeri technology, probably a specialty of the groups around the "*lower part [of the] lake*" (Robinson journal 11 July 1846, Clarkan 2000: 83), i.e. the estuary. They were not used by the people northwest of the range as far as we know.

Protector Wyatt in 1837 observed such a "*raft of timber and reeds*" being used to take a whole family across the Goolwa Channel (Wyatt 1838: 84a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883863>; this incident and its context will be examined in Book 2).

Robinson observed some large and sophisticated reed rafts on Lake Alexandrina in 1846. Covering them with seaweed, women took them seven or nine miles from shore to dive for mussels. They were large enough to carry six or seven people, and incorporated a fire for warmth and cooking, with a rail around it (Robinson journal 11 July 1846, in Clarkan 2000: 83, cp. 104).

Other kinds of reed raft were used in the deep parts of the Coorong (Tindale, 'Vanished Tribal Life of Coorong blacks', *Advertiser* 7/4/1934: 9, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/47549397>), and sometimes to cross to Pullen Island at Port Elliot (ClarkeP 2001: 22, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/126201#page/22/mode/1up>) or West Island (Tindale 1941: 241, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/129818#page/280/mode/1up>).

It was the two Islanders who in this way got hold of the necessary ‘source’ of information, and Davis credited Bates as ‘essential’ to this result. But from another angle – also acknowledged by Davis – it was Condoy who was ‘chiefly instrumental’. Bates and Sturt credited Sally.⁷⁹⁶ Why the variation in credits? The heart of the answer is to be found in language.

The young captive girl could not have known English, being in a group with no previous friendly European contact. Her language was certainly ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar*, and since she lived in the east, not in border country further west, it is unlikely that she knew ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna*. So she must have been translated by one or more of Condoy, his brother Natalla, Sally and the two Islanders. In view of Davis’s remark, Condoy is far the most likely.⁷⁹⁷

No doubt the raiders planned with Sally and Condoy how they would control and censor the presentation of the girl’s story during Kent’s interrogation. Condoy and Natalla spoke very little English,⁷⁹⁸ and would leave Sally to do most of the communication with Kent, who would see nevertheless that she was only acting as a spokesperson for Condoy and Natalla. Probably he counted all three as ‘sources’; and naturally these ‘all agreed’, because two of them had obtained everything they knew from the third.

Probably Bates and Thomas were not present, and only learned later the parts of it which Sally and Kent chose to tell them.⁷⁹⁹ Thus it would appear to them – in their ignorance of the language issues – that Sally was the one ‘from whom the narrative was obtained’.

How much had this family collaborated in the prior plans and the raid? What part did Condoy’s blind brother Natalla play to justify bringing him to the Mouth? Was he wanted there because his hearing was acute?⁸⁰⁰ Or was he an important man, and is this evidence of a wider collaboration with the Encounter Bay people? “The woman was sent forward for intelligence”, probably with others, to where? – perhaps from Carrickalinga to Encounter Bay to pick up Natalla and discuss the situation with the clan? or from the Bay to the Mouth to spy out the situation? or with the raiders from Kent’s night camp to the crossing? We cannot be sure.

For a line drawing see Daphne Nash 2004, *Aboriginal Plant Use in south-eastern Australia*, Australian Government & Australian National Botanic Gardens: 4; online at

<http://www.anbg.gov.au/gardens/education/programs/Aboriginal-plantuse.pdf> (13/11/13).

⁷⁹⁶ According to Sturt it was not Bates but ‘the woman’ who reported the details to Kent.

⁷⁹⁷ I have seen *no* recorded evidence that any islanders knew ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* language – with the *possible* exception of ‘waikerries’, though I conclude that it is almost certainly ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* (see PNS 4.04.02/04 Waikari-winturrilla, <https://www.kaur nawarra.org.au/s/4-04-02-04Wyecare.pdf> – or that before 1837 they were even aware of it as a separate language. (For Kangaroo Island languages see Chapter 1.1.6.5 ‘Beliefs, language identities, place-names’). In 1831 all the reports – including Bates’ with his alleged knowledge of “*the*” language – failed to notice that *two* languages were involved.

⁷⁹⁸ Six years later Natalla could “*speak a little English but not much*” (Mann 1837a, Minutes of Evidence: 13), but there is nothing to show that he could do so in 1831.

It seems that in the 1840s “*Old Con*” could talk to colonists; but this is the only evidence of it that we have, and it is 11 years later. In 1842 or just before, “*Old Con, a native near Adelaide, tells his white friends that when captain Sturt first visited Lake Alexandrina, he and his party were taken by the natives for Yahoos*”, i.e. Yowies (Superstitions 1842: 95, <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14605988/18420000/00010002/21-30.pdf>). However, this source is of low quality, and the information is probably garbled.

⁷⁹⁹ Bates doubted that the ‘blacks’ would give the amount of detail reported about the spearing (Bates 1894b); but we may imagine that Kent conducted the interrogation with forensic care, encouraging the girl that none of those present were liable for whitefella payback. Condoy probably also pressed for the names of the individual killers in order to deflect any such payback from his own people.

⁸⁰⁰ Klynton Wanganeen’s suggestion (p.c. 18/11/2014).

And *why* did Condoy take part at all in this inflammatory action against a nearby Aboriginal group? There could have been pressure: not only from Bates and Thomas (with whom he may have been bound by a larger deal), but from the four members of the regiment who came with them, all no doubt armed with well-kept army weapons, and backed up by a troopship, whose soldiers and weapons – and convict prisoners shackled below deck – Sally and Condoy had certainly observed for themselves.

To be fair to Kent, we cannot tell whether he knew beforehand about the plan for a raid, nor what yarns Bates and Thomas may have spun for him. Perhaps it all happened out of his sight when Sally and others were ‘sent forward’, and Kent only saw the result afterwards when a new young girl came back with them.

After the raiding party had told Kent the facts he wanted to know and as much of their doings as they wanted to tell, he probably thought it expedient not to inquire much further. Or perhaps he knew or guessed everything, but hoped that affairs of state would justify him.

What of Bates? Any other role he may have played is unclear. It was Davis who wrote of him most gushingly, but Davis had stayed on the *Isabella*. The sentence looks suspiciously like a formal job reference, part of a deal with an eye to Bates’s future: “I have much satisfaction in stating that G Bates, from the knowledge he possessed of the language and manners of the natives, proved of essential service in obtaining the above information”.⁸⁰¹ In fact his essential service consisted mostly of the raid. There is no firm evidence that he used Aboriginal language at all during these events.⁸⁰²

As a melancholy postscript to the cover-up, Kent asked what every English reader would want to know: *why* did the people of the Mouth kill Barker? Sturt recorded the response which Kent cited: “the natives... were influenced by no other motive than curiosity to ascertain if they had power to kill a white man”.⁸⁰³ This rather unlikely motive was one of the ‘details’ in Sturt which were given by Sally ‘on her return’. It is also the kind of thing that Bates and Thomas would have told her to say in English regardless of what the captive might divulge or Condoy translate.

In fact this was more cover-up; for this situation at the Mouth had indeed been partly shaped by previous Islander raids. Local First People spoke to Encounter Bay missionary Meyer in the 1840s: “the natives were greatly exasperated at the time [of Barker’s death] for the sealers at Kangaroo Island had frequently landed, had shot the men and stealing their women [sic] this was a common practice”.⁸⁰⁴ This shooting of men was even more inflammatory than stealing the women, and certain to attract payback.

It is very likely that there was more to the incident than any of the early paper accounts reveal. The ‘large numbers’ of people gathered on the eastern side of the Mouth was probably a rather rare thing at this out-of-the-way location. It suggests important

⁸⁰¹ Davis 1831: 25.

⁸⁰² For the three ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* place-names which were another legacy from the search, see later (section 2.4.1.1 ‘The Kurna-*Miyurna* place-names on Sturt’s map’, and Part 2 of Appendix 5 ‘Sturt’s 1833 map’). But it is much more likely that these were given by Sally, not Bates.

⁸⁰³ Sturt 1833: 243-4.

⁸⁰⁴ Meyer as reported by Robinson in his journal 5 July 1846 and undated report, in Clarklan 2000: 103, cp. 79, 81.

ceremony. The Mouth was part of an ochre trade route;⁸⁰⁵ a beached whale at Kondilindjerung near the Mouth could be the occasion of a big inter-clan feast,⁸⁰⁶ and nearby Mundoo Island was a place for male mortuary rites (men's business).⁸⁰⁷ On 30th April 1831 there was a large camp of people on or opposite the island. Was this meeting restricted? Maybe; though not so a week later, when there was at least one young woman present, and therefore presumably others. Perhaps on the fatal day Barker had unluckily trespassed into the vicinity of a sensitive site during restricted ceremonies. This, combined with the recent history of abductions by Islanders at the Lake, could account well for his hair-trigger reception by the three men,⁸⁰⁸ and for the subsequent 'warlike' reception of Kent and Bates' team on May 7th.

The 'warlike' clan and their spearmen may have felt that hindsight proved their action well justified. A few days after the killing of Barker, one of their women was abducted by men who had obviously come from a party of Europeans on the western shore. Doubtless they observed that some of those men had also been there a week earlier with Barker. But we still don't know their side of the story of April-May 1831.⁸⁰⁹

What the visible part of the story does clearly imply is an intriguing relationship between Condo's family and the Islanders, just as ambiguous as before. Clearly it was not a simple one of Island predators versus Aboriginal victims. In order to understand better the surrounding series of events, and in particular Condo's role in them, our investigation will now draw us deeper into themes of identity and Aboriginal geography.

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⁸⁰⁵ However, the ceremonies associated with this trade happened further east on Tauwitcheri Island, not at the Mouth (Diane Bell 1998, *Ngarrindjeri Wurruwarrin*: 555-6).

⁸⁰⁶ Bell 1998: 555, 632 n10.

⁸⁰⁷ Bell 1998: 296-8; "*During times of importance in the mortuary rituals, Mundoo Island was exclusive to men*". The sources (Meyer, link burial rites closely with both Mundoo Island and the Mouth, suggesting that these were seen as two closely-connected parts of the same place.

⁸⁰⁸ – though some accounts (including Sturt and Meyer-Robinson) say that Barker spoke with them first. He may have done so for some time before a decision was made to kill him; for there was a gap of 2½ hours between his disappearance and "*a shouting... as one in great agony*" (see Davis 1831: 22-3. If so, the people may have been engaging diplomatically with him, perhaps even (by their own values) showing considerable restraint before acting.

⁸⁰⁹ The motives for the killing of Barker have been the subject of several pieces of settler folklore which need not concern us here. One other item – recorded at third-hand, originally from a 'Ngarrindjeri'-Kornar man via his 'Adelaide-tribe' wife – asserts that "*the tribe would not have killed him only he ran away and would not stop when they gave him friendly signs*" (Bull 1878b: 66-7). This is compatible with the accounts from Meyer here and also Sturt, which both say that they and Barker spoke to each other before he was killed. See Robinson p.79, citing Meyer: "*He crossed Murray alone and natives killed him and said what for you come here, you want to steal lubra?*"; and cp. Sturt 1833: 242); though the Davis report says that "*Captain Barker never perceived their approach until he received his first wound*" (Davis 1831: 25).

2.4 – THEMES AND INVESTIGATIONS IN THE NARRATIVE OF KALINGA AND BATES, 1827-34

2.4.1 – CONDOY'S FAMILY IN THIS SITUATION: IDENTITIES (1): KALINGA, CONDOY, NATALLA.

The three members of Condoy's family must have known about the raid in 1831. Their role in the events was crucial not only from Kent's viewpoint but also from that of the local Aboriginal groups, who must have had a great communal interest in the outcomes.

In agreeing to handle the Aboriginal side of the business, Condoy's family was unavoidably acting on behalf of their people, and their choice was collaboration.⁸¹⁰ The initial reluctance of Sally (and Condoy?) to come aboard the *Isabella* may have arisen partly from foreseeing the dilemmas they might face in this job.

We may assume that their actions may be understood as a combination of their cultural identity and their political manoeuvres arising from it in response to the circumstances. While Aboriginal identity involves long-term constants including language, geography and kinship, political relationships arise from shorter-term self-interest and are therefore changeable. In the short term, the necessities of survival might trump language and perhaps even kinship.

Accordingly we shall begin with an overview of the main recorded details which assert or imply the identity of these three individuals: a puzzle which will nevertheless continue to tease us throughout the book.

.....

2.4.1.1 – LANGUAGE AND PLACE (1): 'KAURNA'-MIYURNA PLACE-NAMES IN 1831 AND STURT 1833:⁸¹¹

It is certain that dialects of the 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* language were involved in the events of May 1831. Davis's report on the Barker affair left us its first known record: the personal names of his three killers; and, as we have seen, this was evidence – if we needed evidence for something so likely (from the location) as to be almost certain – that at least one of Condoy's family must have spoken *Kornar* competently, in order to elicit details from the girl captured on the eastern side of the Mouth.

But the episode also left us another important clue: the second known record of *Miyurna* language,⁸¹² in Sturt's *Two Expeditions*, published in 1833. This book included an important appendix to the Barker story: two maps by Sturt, notably the larger-scale 'Chart

⁸¹⁰ We shall find the same family collaboration again in 1837 when Natalla and 'Con' were present in Sally's dealings with white authorities in the arrest of Reppinyeri for the murder of whaler Driscoll (this will be examined in Book 2).

⁸¹¹ See Map08 'Sturt 1833 chart'. See also Appendix 5 'The geography of Sturt's map and three Aboriginal place-names'.

⁸¹² The first known record of 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* language is Gaimard's "Vocabulary of the language of the inhabitants of the Gulf St Vincent" taken from 'Harry' at King George Sound in October 1826 (see Chapter 1.3.4 'Kalinga (Sally)').

of Cape Jervis' which accompanied his final chapter about the new area of interest.⁸¹³ Here a number of features, mapped here for the first time, are marked west of the Mt Lofty Range in areas which Sturt had not seen even from afar. These details could only have come from his discussions with Kent (and perhaps Davis), or perhaps from notes left by Barker (which are not available to us). Unsurprisingly, they include quite a few inaccuracies.⁸¹⁴

Among these 'western' features we find three Aboriginal place-names: the only ones recorded by Sturt in South Australia, and the first ever recorded in this state. They all have spellings which unmistakably represent *Miyurna* language. One, "Ponkepurringa Cr", is marked on the lower Onkaparinga River; the other two, "Waccondilla Cr" and "Cutandilla", are on the western side of Sellick's Hill. 'Cutandilla' and 'Waccondilla' are confirmed in related *Miyurna* forms at the same locations by Aboriginal informants in the 1840s and 1930s respectively.⁸¹⁵

These names and their locations must have been recorded by Barker and/or Kent, and given by Kent to Sturt in Sydney later. As far as we currently know, Barker himself met no Aboriginal people in SA apart from his executioners at the Mouth. He had certainly not set foot on the two places near Sellick's Hill, and it is vanishingly improbable that the search party had done so either.⁸¹⁶

Why were these particular names given and recorded?

Two of these three locations, and other data between Onkaparinga and Carrickalinga, seem to stand apart from the circumstances of May 1831. They look very much like a newcomers' guide to the notable landmarks on an important Aboriginal route from the northwestern plains to Encounter Bay. It is a route well attested in colonial literature, but probably never used by the Islanders.⁸¹⁷ Having seen the fertile lands of the Gulf, Barker and his officers were certainly aware that any such routes connecting those plains directly with the equally desirable Encounter Bay – and perhaps with the Murray River trade route to New South Wales – would be of great interest to a future British colony. The route hinted at by these place-names – "Ponkepurringa" to "Waccondilla" to "Cutandilla", across the "Fine Valley" of the Myponga, to the "Extensive Valley" (Hindmarsh Valley) to Encounter Bay⁸¹⁸ – became the standard 'northern' track from Adelaide to Encounter Bay in colonial times.

⁸¹³ 'Chart of Cape Jervis', Sturt 1833, Vol. 2: opposite p.229; cp. 'Map of the Discoveries in Australia', Vol. 1 [before Chapter 1].

⁸¹⁴ Sturt's 'Chart' contains a number of inaccuracies worth noting, especially (for our purposes) around Carrickalinga. We do not know whether Kent ever checked Sturt's mapping. Comparing some of the incorrect map details with the main text and the actual topography, I would suggest that he did not. See Appendix 5 'The geography of Sturt's map and three Aboriginal place-names'.

⁸¹⁵ "Waccondilla" and "Cutandilla" use the *Miyurna* Locative *-illa* correctly on three-syllable roots, but the meanings of the roots are unknown. "Ponkepurringa" is a compound word. Its second word is obviously the common *parri* 'river', using correctly the normal Locative suffix *-ngga* for a two-syllable root. Its relationship to *Ngangk-parringga* (anglicized as 'Onkaparinga') is discussed in my essay PNS 4.02/05 'Ponkepurringa', <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-05Ponkepur.pdf>. See also PNS 4.04.01/03 Wakuntilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-01-03Wakunth.pdf>, and 4.04.03/03 Kurtandilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-03-03Kurtandilla.pdf>.

⁸¹⁶ It was Kent who was on the scene and who provided Sturt with material for his chapter: "*The concluding chapter of this volume, relative to the promontory of St. Vincent, or Cape Jervis, has been furnished me by the kindness of Mr. Kent*" (Sturt 1833, Vol. 2, at the end of Chapter 1 'Introductory').

⁸¹⁷ See Map04 'The Area' and Map09 'Fleurieu mainland'; also Appendix 6 'Routes'.

⁸¹⁸ Its midsection in the Hindmarsh Tiers was not named or mapped by Barker and his informants, possibly because it was in Peramangk territory and had no obvious landmark.

But that ‘northern route’ is further north than any route likely to be used by the Islanders before colonization. If they wanted to reach Encounter Bay overland from their landing in Yankalilla Bay, the obvious ‘southern route’, much shorter and easier, was the “Flat & beautiful Valley” of the Inman – also duly noted by Kent and Sturt with the same eye to the future.

Textbox10: STURT’S ‘KAURNA’-MIYURNA PLACE-NAMES.

Sturt’s ‘Chart of Cape Jervis’ guides us southward from the Onkaparinga River. From its position, “Ponkepurringa Cr” is obviously the Onkaparinga River and estuary (described by Sturt as an ‘inlet’), where the party had camped. At the mouth of the Onkaparinga Gorge (the site of today’s Old Noarlunga) was a crucial ford for travellers and this, together with its estuary, made the whole flood plain an unavoidable landmark for both Aboriginal and colonial travellers.⁸¹⁹

The other two of Sturt’s *Miyurna* names are located in places which the Barker party may have seen but had not visited. Sailing by in his ship they would certainly have seen ‘Waccondilla Cr’ (*Wakuntilla*: the Washpool, near Sellick’s Beach). But they did not land here, as there is no anchorage. *Wakuntilla* was a permanent salt lagoon (now extinct), expanded every winter by the Blue Lagoon filling just north of it. Here were many campsites and a major workshop area.⁸²⁰ “Cutandilla” (*Kurtantilla*) is the site of today’s Victory Hotel on Sellicks Creek on the lower slopes of the scarp. It could have been visible from the ship, but only as one of many distant gullies. On the route leading up the scarp it was the last campsite with water.⁸²¹

Two at least of the three main valleys shown on Sturt’s map – “*Flat & beautiful Valley*” (Inman Valley) and “*Extensive Valley*” (Hindmarsh) – were important parts of two different Aboriginal routes across the range: places well-watered and abounding in game, good for camping *en route*; and of course they also held much potential for settlement.

His third valley, the “*Fine Valley*” with a creek leading due west to the sea, *most likely* represents a combination of Myponga Beach with the upper Myponga valley.⁸²² The configuration suggests that the informants had not seen either of these places on the river.

Perhaps before he sailed away Kent asked his informants for landmarks which future colonists could use in travelling between the two prime sites on either side of the range, and in response received the titbits quoted above.

For detailed analysis of Sturt’s *Miyurna* place-names, see Appendix 5 ‘The Geography of Sturt’s map’. For more about Aboriginal travel routes, see Appendix 6 ‘Some Aboriginal Travel Routes’.

It was most likely Kalinga and perhaps also Condoy who volunteered this information. Among the local members of the search party who might have been Kent’s informants, these two are far more likely than Bates and Thomas, for two reasons: firstly, because the three places are all in country which was rarely visited by Islanders; and secondly, because the names are given more accurately linguistically than we would expect in Islander versions.⁸²³

⁸¹⁹ See my PNS 4.02/04 Ngangkiparingga and 4.02/05 ‘Ponkepurringa’. *Ngangkiparingga* means ‘women’s river place’. ‘Ponkepurringa’ is probably *not* a variant of ‘Onkaparinga’, but the original word represented by ‘Ponke’ is uncertain).

⁸²⁰ See PNS 4.04.01/03 *Wakuntilla*.

⁸²¹ See PNS 4.04.03/03 *Kurtantilla*.

⁸²² See Part 1 ‘Inaccuracies on Sturt’s map’ in Appendix 5 ‘The geography of Sturt’s map and three Aboriginal place-names’.

⁸²³ It is true that Bates had been to the Onkaparinga recently, and Thomas may have been. It is possible that Bates knew these places. However, it would be surprising if he (or they) gave *these* three northern places while omitting “*Yanky-lilly*”, where they habitually landed in order to reach Encounter Bay. Barker and Kent had landed there as well as at ‘Ponkepurringa Creek’. By contrast, ‘Cape Jervis’ people, probably with Sally and Condoy among them, had lived

These considerations raise two important linguistic issues which are now beyond reasonable doubt.

The first is that the informant – Kalinga and/or Condoy – used *Miyurna* language by choice. It is likely that for this person it was ‘my own language; the primary tongue of my clan (descent group), inherited from my father’. As we shall see below, *all* the Aboriginal words recorded from these people at any time, and from their ally Walker, were *Miyurna*. Yet the events at the Mouth show that one or both also spoke *Kornar*. For these well-travelled traditional people to be bi-lingual in *Miyurna* and *Kornar* is not at all surprising. Indeed, for those living near a language border “multilingualism appears to be the norm within Australia”, and not at all a social barrier.⁸²⁴

Yet even in this episode which had also crossed deep into the *Kornar* Language Country, these names are given in *Miyurna*. Nobody gave Kent a *Kornar* version of these place-names, as they would probably have done, even for places in *Miyurna* territory, if their ‘own tongue’ had been *Kornar*.⁸²⁵

This leads directly to the second linguistic issue, which will provide essential background for our discussion of the identities of Condoy and his family: namely, the three place-names recorded by Barker and Sturt were the correct names in the language proper to that area – on and near the southern Gulf coast, northwest of the range – and *at that time* this was ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna*.⁸²⁶

This is proved beyond reasonable doubt by my geographical and linguistic research into all the local place-names recorded at first contact in this region. Almost all of these names passed on *by the locals* were *clearly* in *Miyurna* language for places northwest of the main ranges, while those southeast of the ranges were *Kornar*. Exceptions in the northwest were very few; exceptions on both sides were either linguistically ambiguous or

on or visited these Gulf lands with Bates, and would certainly have known place-names there and the southward routes.

The three names are spelled for the most part at a quite high level of literacy and linguistic accuracy which makes it unlikely that they were given by Bates or Thomas. Only one Aboriginal place-name is definitely known to have been recorded from Islanders: “*Yanky-lilly according to the sealers*” (MorphettJ 1837), for the ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* place-name *Yarnkalyilla* (= ‘Yankalilla’; see Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla). In the ‘sealer’ version two vowels are corrupted (one of them ending the very common suffix *illa*), probably by association with the English words ‘Yankee’ and ‘lily’. In two of Sturt’s names we would expect by analogy something like ‘Wacky-dilly’ and ‘Cooty-dilly’.

This assessment might perhaps be changed if notes from Barker turn up which show that he spoke with other *Miyurna* people at the Onkaparinga and somehow managed to elicit these place-names from them. But they would not have known English; how then would he have known what the named features were and where to map them?

⁸²⁴ Amery 1998: 66 n69; and see Appendix 13, ‘Intermarriage across language boundaries’.

⁸²⁵ For example, we know that in the 1840s Raminyeri people used the *Kornar* variant *Yangkalyawang* for the ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* name *Yarnkalyilla* (Yankalilla). Milerum and Karlowan were still calling it by the *Kornar* name in the 1930s. The Raminyeri also had their own name *Ngutarangk* for Rapid Bay, which was called *Yarta-kulangga* (Yattagolingo) by its *Miyurna* inhabitants (see Meyer 1843: 50; and Textbox17 ‘Yartakurlangga’; also my PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla and 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga). In the same period, Adelaide people called Lake Alexandrina *Pangka* in their own language; but a few Encounter Bay people who were frequent travellers to Adelaide knew the Onkaparinga ford by its *Miyurna* name *Ngangkiparrangga* (Meyer 1843: 50).

⁸²⁶ The exclusive presence of ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language along the Gulf coast of the Fleurieu *at first contact* has been disputed, e.g. by the Ramindjeri Heritage Association; but I have not seen any linguistic or historical work which persuasively supports the dissent. During his time as Protector (1837-9) Wyatt recorded fragments of a ‘Rapid Bay’ language which was clearly a dialect of *Miyurna* (the eight words tagged “r” in his 1879 wordlist, using forms and vocabulary closely related to the Adelaide language [Wyatt 1879: 169-178]); and the German linguists also noted a word of this dialect “*used only by the natives of Yangkalya and Rapid Bay*” (*wininthe* [OS “*wenendi*” in T&S 1840]). In the 20th century a number of *Kornar* place-names along the Gulf coast were given to ethnologists such as Tindale and Berndt, several generations after the period of first contact; but these names were the product of major social changes which began shortly after the colonization of Adelaide. The informants, though very knowledgeable, were remembering the situation of their youth in the 1870s-80s, when clans from *Kornar* language country had absorbed the remnants of their less numerous *Miyurna* relatives on the Fleurieu: a different situation from that of 1836-1840.

obviously given by visitors, sometimes as adaptations of a known name in the local language.

Textbox11: THE GEOGRAPHY OF LANGUAGE GROUPS FROM THE EVIDENCE OF THE EARLIEST PLACE-NAMES.⁸²⁷

The place-names recorded in this region at first contact (i.e. from the beginning of contact up to about 1850) show a clear demarcation of language between the lands northwest and southeast of the range at that time.

Beginning with the three on Sturt's map, 13 place-names were obtained in the period from 1831 (the Barker affair) to 28 July 1837 (after which the first serious colonial communications with Encounter Bay people began). In these 13:⁸²⁸

- 12 refer to places on or within a few kilometres of the eastern coast of St Vincent Gulf, from Fishery Beach at Cape Jervis ("Pat Bungar" = *Patpangga*), north to Adelaide ("Cowandilla") and Norton Summit ("Morialta"). One has an unknown location.
- all 13 use 'Kurna'-*Miyurna* locative suffixes *ngga* or *illa*; the majority are fully analysable in *Miyurna* language; and none is analysable as 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar*.⁸²⁹

The *Kornar* language was first recorded in 1831 by the Kent-Condoy-Kalinga party in the form of personal names of the three men who killed Barker. But the first short list of about five *Kornar* place-names was not recorded until September 1837 by Protector Wyatt during his investigation at Encounter Bay; and they all refer to places on or near the coast of Encounter Bay.⁸³⁰

In the course of the same investigation, Wyatt and Mann recorded at least 20 more *Miyurna* names:

- 9 along the Gulf coast;
- 9 around Encounter Bay (of which 4 are *Miyurna* versions of *Kornar* names, and the others no doubt given by known informants who had accompanied Wyatt from *Miyurna* country);
- 2 in the high borderland between these areas;⁸³¹
- plus 3 more names along the Gulf coast which are linguistically ambiguous.

Place-names recorded from then until about 1850 tell much the same story, except for the addition of a number of 'visitor' or 'outsider' names: i.e. a few *Kornar* names for places on or near the Gulf which also had *Miyurna* names; and a larger number in *Miyurna* for Peramangk or *Kornar* places on the southeastern side of the range. The latter probably arose from

⁸²⁷ An older summary of this research includes a list of Aboriginal Named Places known in 2017 in the target area of the Southern Kurna Place Names Project (Schultz 2017b, 'The Geography of Language Groups Around Fleurieu Peninsula at First Contact, from the evidence of the earliest place-names', <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/110560/1/Schultz%20Geography%20of%20language%20groups.pdf>).

⁸²⁸ The 13 place-names recorded from 1831 to July 1837 were (from north to south): 'Morialta'; 'Curracooringa'; 'Wallinga'; 'Cowandilla'/Kouandilla'; 'Ponkepurringa Cr'; 'Enkeperinga'/'Ungke-perre'/'Onkaparinga'; 'Aldinghi'/'Aldinga'; 'Wacondilla'; 'Cutandilla'; 'Yanky-Lilly'/'Yankalillah'/'Yang.gal.lale.lar'; 'Yatagolunga'; 'Pat-Bungar'/'Bat.bung.ger'; 'Man.nune.gar'. Each of these has been analysed in my place-name essays (Schultz PNS, online at <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/southern-kaurna-placenames>, and <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/110310>).

⁸²⁹ Many of the informants for these 13 place-names were not named and must be deduced; and even when identified, their language identity is ambiguous in some cases. Nevertheless, only one of these names is even slightly ambiguous in its language: "Aldinghi" is almost certainly a 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* version of a 'Kurna'-*Miyurna* name, as the same name was also recorded soon after this as "Aldinga", then unambiguously in 1840 by the German linguists in the *Miyurna* form *Ngaltingga*. Another one ("Yankalilla" = *Yamkalyilla*), though certainly *Miyurna*, likewise had a *Kornar* version recorded, "Yangkalyawang", but not until 1843, from informants who were Encounter Bay residents (Meyer 1843: 49); and this version is not fully analysable in *Kornar*.

⁸³⁰ Wyatt 1879: 179.

⁸³¹ 'Mipunga' (*Maitpangga*) and 'Mooteparinga' (*Murtaparingga*), places for which no 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* names have been recorded.

explorers and surveyors hiring their guides in Adelaide rather than in the places they visited during their work.⁸³²

Three implications flow irresistibly from these facts:

1. At the time of first contact the ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* names in the southern Gulf area were the ones used by the recognized occupants of the places, and *Miyurna* was therefore the ‘proper language of the land’ in that territory, but not at Encounter Bay and eastward.

2. At that time the ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* language was recognized as the ‘proper language’ for Encounter Bay and Lakes (an area defined in the title of Meyer’s 1843 vocabulary), but not on the Gulf.

3. The informants all knew this, and used *Miyurna* language correctly on the Gulf, even if they ‘came from’ Encounter Bay or had family ties there.

In this context we must now consider more closely the group identities and affiliations of Condoy, his brother, and Kalinga. The evidence is ambiguous and (inevitably) contested.

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2.4.1.2 – LANGUAGE AND PLACE (2): CONDOY’S FAMILY AND MULTIPLE CONNECTIONS.

Most of what we know about Condoy and his brother Natalla involves their relationship with Kalinga-Sally and a few of their deeds in company with her. The family had a very low profile in the life of the colony. They are on record in connection with the precolonial Bates events described in this chapter; then as brief novelties on Kangaroo Island in August 1836 during the flurry of first impressions;⁸³³ then giving private evidence in August 1837 about the colony’s first murder of a European by an Aboriginal person;⁸³⁴ and after that, scarcely any record at all.

From the minimal facts available we can deduce that Condoy was most likely born later than 1760 and earlier than 1780, but probably nearer to the latter.⁸³⁵

Two names were recorded for him.

Bates called him ‘Condoy’ and ‘Condoi’. Cawthorne wrote of a fictional character named “Old Conday” who was obviously based on him.⁸³⁶ In 1837 Wyatt listed his European

⁸³² See Appendix 16 ‘Named Places up to 1850: a rough summary’.

⁸³³ See Chapter 3.4.5.1.2 ‘Condoy & family make contact’.

⁸³⁴ The murder of whaler Driscoll by Reppinyeri near Encounter Bay. These events will be examined in Book 2 in detail.

⁸³⁵ CONDOY’S BIRTHDATE: According to Bates, when he had dealings with Sally’s father on KI and the mainland in about 1829, Condoy was already ‘old’ (Bates 1886b); cp. “*Old Con, as we called him*” (Bates 1894b: 6a). We have no way of knowing whether this meant fifty or eighty. There are no records of him having white or grey hair, or being frail. Speaking many decades later, was Bates simply repeating the stereotypical epithet ‘Old Con’ from the 1840s, rather than remembering clearly a man already ‘old’ in the 1820s? Contemporaneous accounts do not speak of him as ‘old’ until the 1840s. There is no ‘old’ for either him or his brother in Davis or Sturt or Woodforde; but ‘Anon.’ 1842 (representing SA settlers) calls him “*Old Con*”; and Cawthorne’s novel (probably repeating the contemporary terminology of Islanders such as Nat Thomas) speaks of him repeatedly as “*Old Conday*” (Cawthorne 1854/2020, Chapter 17: 95, 97-8). But Condoy was fit enough in 1831 to undertake a potentially dangerous journey to the Murray Mouth with Kent, probably the whole urgent three-day hike from Carrickalinga. Was he then about fifty or about seventy? It is likely that his birthdate was nearer to 1780 than to 1760. Allowing for his appearance in European eyes being affected by his years of hard outdoor living, he might even have been born as late as 1790, with the Barker search occurring at 40 in his seasoned but vigorous middle age.

nickname as “Kon”, and a few years later colonists knew him as “Old Con”. It is likely that ‘Conday’ was a mis-hearing of the man’s own pronunciation of *Kondoli* (OS), the word for ‘whale’ in both *Miyurna* and *Kornar*.⁸³⁷

Wyatt also recorded another of his names, “Olallyoo”. As it stands, this word resists analysis in either language; but probably Wyatt had missed a sound *ng* at the beginning, as he sometimes did elsewhere. *Ngulalyu* could still be in either language, but since Wyatt listed this name under ‘Encounter Bay’, he clearly thought it and its owner were *Kornar*.⁸³⁸

The little we know of his biography is told in this book. It is inferred that he negotiated with Islanders over Kalinga in about 1825. He went on overland expeditions with Bates a few years later, which seem to have gone northward up the Gulf coast. Kent employed him with Bates and Thomas in the search for Barker in May 1831. In 1836 he appeared on KI with Walker and probably in two whaleboat expeditions up the Gulf.⁸³⁹ In July 1837, after Walker and Kalinga reported to the authorities in Adelaide the murder of an Encounter Bay whaler by one of the local men, Conday and his brother were involved in the subsequent onsite investigations.⁸⁴⁰

He did not become a prominent colonial public figure like Murlawirrapurka (OS *Mullawirraburka*: ‘King John’ of the ‘Adelaide tribe’), who would take up residence at the Native Location on the River Torrens for a few years. By contrast, Conday was known mainly to the Islanders and some of the whalers, and it is not on record that he ever visited colonial Adelaide.

We last hear of him in 1842. In that year an anonymous writer in London makes a passing reference to “Old Con”, who “tells his white friends” – presumably recently and in English – that Sturt met hostility at the Murray Mouth because the people there mistook the party for ‘Yahoos’.⁸⁴¹ It is not clear whether the ‘white friends’ were Islanders or colonists.

There are no later references to ‘Old Con’ as a living contemporary. It is likely that he died around 1850 (when he would have been at least 60 or 70, and conceivably 90), but there is no known record of his death.

⁸³⁶ Cawthorne’s 1854 novel *The Kangaroo Islanders* has a character called “Old Conday” who is clearly modelled on ‘Conday’ – or rather the Islanders’ memories of him, notably those of Cawthorne’s main informant, Nat Thomas. Perhaps Nat had his own idiosyncratic version of the name.

⁸³⁷ ‘Kurna’-Miyurna RS *kuntuli* (?; but see discussion of the linguistics in the footnote ‘Whales and the word *kondoli*’, below in Textbox12 ‘Multiple identities of Conday’). Philip Clarke was probably the first to speculate that the name ‘Conday’ might be related to the ‘Kurna’ and ‘Ngarrindjeri’ word *kondoli*, ‘whale’ (ClarkeP 1998, ‘Aboriginal presence on Kangaroo Island’, *History in Portraits*: 39). In my view his guess is not certain but very likely (though Rob Amery tends to doubt the derivation, p.c. email 29 Sep 2015). As Bates must have known when telling his tales, the Encounter Bay whalers from 1837 onward in their everyday work used a pronunciation more articulated than ‘conday’: it went on record as “*condolley*” ([Newland 1926: 32] Simpson Newland 1926, *Memoirs of Simpson Newland* CMG, Adelaide: FW Preece & Sons. Newland had spent his childhood at Encounter Bay). This fact might argue against identifying ‘Conday’ with *kondoli*. But perhaps the Islanders had already fixed upon their own version of the man’s name ever since 1825, never thinking to connect it with ‘whale’.

⁸³⁸ See Textbox12 ‘The multiple identities of Conday’.

⁸³⁹ See Chapter 3.4.6 ‘First Gulf voyage’ and 3.4.9 ‘Second Gulf voyage’.

⁸⁴⁰ These events will be examined in detail in Book 2.

⁸⁴¹ Superstitions 1842: 95, <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/14605988/18420000/00010002/21-30.pdf>. My thanks to Des Gubbin for this reference. Re this explanation, see also Section 2.3.2.3 ‘Analysis of the Forbes expedition’.

A kind of high status was attributed to him by some who met him. At least once he was called “King Con, a chief”, by one of the first colonists, Robert Thomas, who with a few others had just met Con’s daughter (and probably Con himself) on KI in the company of Islanders, and dubbed her “Princess Con”.⁸⁴² But these terms should be taken in context and cautiously. ‘King’ and ‘chief’ reflect preconceived British notions of authority among ‘Indians’ in the colonies: an outside view of the man based on their own interactions with him and the role he thus assumed. Mr Thomas may have been quoting the Islanders’ view of him, built up in their minds (and perhaps also in reality) by his ambassadorial function with them since 1825. This is not the same thing as his original status among his own people.

Unlike Murlawirrapurka, Condoy seems to have learned little if any English, apparently always relying on his daughter for communication with Europeans. This may be why no other colonists referred to him as ‘king’ or ‘chief’ in the way that became common later with ‘King John’ of Adelaide.⁸⁴³ In fact, the only Encounter Bay man recognized in this way by the colonists at first contact was “Youngerrow, Chief of the Rormear Tribe”, as inscribed on a brass plate for Encounter Bay Bob’s father *Yangarawi* or ‘Old Bob’ in 1837, “a native well known and highly respected at the Bay”.⁸⁴⁴ The colonists gave him this specific and temporary honour because of his help in achieving first communication there during the official investigations into the whaler’s death, while ignoring the prior role of Condoy and Natalla in the same business.

However, there is another ground for surmising that Condoy may have had high status within his own group (whatever that was). If his name meant ‘whale’, then this identity was how he chose to be known publicly, and presumably the groups around him accepted it as legitimate. If so, he was probably a leading custodian of the whale totem and consequently “a senior member of his descent group”.⁸⁴⁵ The status of such a totemic ‘Old Man’ might extend to many Whale Dreaming sites across language boundaries. Perhaps Condoy had more status among the ‘Cape Jervis’ people than at Encounter Bay. However, since the word *kondoli* was shared at first contact by both languages, we must rely on other factors to deduce (if we can) the nature and location of the group which acknowledged his seniority.

2.4.1.2.1 – CONDOY’S BROTHER NATALLA.

The name of Condoy’s brother was Natalla.⁸⁴⁶ He was a “father’s brother” to Sally.⁸⁴⁷ Kalinga’s husband William Walker regarded him explicitly as “one of the race of men living at Encounter Bay”, i.e. a *Kornar* man, probably Raminyeri.⁸⁴⁸ He was blind.⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴² The names and titles were recorded by Robert Thomas’s wife Mary (Mary Thomas Diary, 3 Nov 1836, in Hope 1968: 96-7. See Chapter 3.5.3 ‘The sagacity of Princess Con’.

⁸⁴³ Gara comes to a similar conclusion in discussing the status attributed to Murlawirrapurka (OS *Mullawirraburka*) as ‘King John’, noting that Schürmann retracted his early impression that there was “*something very similar to a chieftainship*” and his early description of ‘King John’ as “*the present Burka of the Adelaide tribe*” (Gara 1998: 127-131, my emphasis; cp. Schürmann to Angas 12 June 1839, *SA Colonist* 17/3/1840: 23a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/22333170>; and Schürmann to Angas 3 April 1840, in Schürmann 1987: 90-91). Colonists were looking for ‘chiefs’ and ‘kings’, and thought they found them.

⁸⁴⁴ These facts came to light during the expedition of Charles Mann and Wyatt to Encounter Bay in September 1837 to investigate the murder of Driscoll (events which will be examined in detail in Book 2). See also Chester Schultz 2023, ‘Tamuruwi Rungkawuri (‘Encounter Bay Bob’) and his father Yangarawi: a biographical outline’, online at <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/> (Schultz 2023b).

⁸⁴⁵ ClarkeP 2001: 29; cp. ClarkeP 1998: 39. Condoy’s claim to status would be justified in this way: not because Europeans gave him the common titles ‘king’ and ‘chief’.

⁸⁴⁶ Mann 1837a: 4, 5. In Mann’s manuscript the name was originally spelled as “Nutulla” (or perhaps “Natulla”). Understanding the English written ‘u’ to be pronounced as in ‘nut’, *Natalla* is as close as we can get to the correct phonetic spelling.

Natalla also may have had status. On at least three occasions he took a significant or (once) leading role alongside Condoy in events which could be described as ‘foreign affairs’ from the group’s viewpoint. In May 1831 he was not left behind but specifically sought out at Encounter Bay; Condoy brought him away from home to help conduct important business at the Mouth, with potential for serious repercussions. In August 1836 he was on KI with Condoy, Kalinga and Walker, meeting the earliest colonists. In July 1837 with the murder of a whaler, it was Natalla who first *instigated* the local investigation by passing his information on to Kalinga and Walker, who then visited the murder site in a bicultural party to examine and re-bury the body.

If he rarely seems to have an active role, we may infer that this was partly because of his blindness. There may have been a strong bond of brotherly love. On the other hand, his presence on all these occasions probably indicates that Condoy wanted or even needed it. Was Natalla perhaps the senior advisor behind his activist brother?

Natalla in 1837 spoke “a little English but not much”,⁸⁵⁰ and there is no evidence that he ever learned more.

2.4.1.2.2 – KALINGA-‘SALLY’-‘SARAH WALKER’.

In the early-19th-century context when Encounter Bay was clearly distinguished from the Peninsula, Kalinga said she was born “near Cape Jervis” – in fact it was probably at *Yarnkalyilla* on the Gulf – and Walker called her “one of the native women of Cape Jervis”.⁸⁵¹ Bates also referred to her as “a Cape Jervis native”.⁸⁵² No record shows any contemporary referring to her as an ‘Encounter Bay’ woman. The various descriptions of her kinship with Condoy and Natalla are also instructive. She was “related to” the Encounter Bay people rather than one of them; and at Encounter Bay it was her “relatives” rather than her “family” with whom she had “frequent intercourse”.⁸⁵³

She was (at least) bi-lingual in *Miyurna* and *Kornar*. Under Mann’s forensic examination she claimed – doubtless correctly – that she “understands the language of the natives of Encounter Bay”.⁸⁵⁴ We have no words on record which prove this claim, for among the few which came or might have come from her, none are Raminyeri; they are all

⁸⁴⁷ Sally’s evidence (Mann 1837a: 22). This means that he was her ‘uncle’ only in European terms, not traditional. A father’s brother was a classificatory *father*; only a mother’s brother could be ‘uncle’ (*kauwanu* in ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna*). See EDSA-Kaurna 1989: 86. Note that this evidence also tells us that Condoy was almost certainly Kalinga’s biological father, not a classificatory father.

⁸⁴⁸ Mann 1837a: 13. Walker is a reliable source who at the same time personally “*knows many of the native men residing in & about Encounter Bay*” (ibid). These facts were elicited by Charles Mann in Adelaide in August 1837, beginning his legal inquiry into the murder of Driscoll, before his expedition to Encounter Bay: events which will be examined in Book 2. We know nothing to contradict this identification. The name ‘Natalla’ could be either *Kornar* or *Miyurna*.

⁸⁴⁹ Sturt 1833, 2: 242.

⁸⁵⁰ Mann 1837a: 13.

⁸⁵¹ Mann 1837a: 11. For Kalinga’s ‘Cape Jervis’ identity see also Chapter 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally)’.

⁸⁵² Bates 1894b: 6a.

⁸⁵³ Mann 1837a: 12-13. In Mann’s manuscript the word “*family*” was written first, then crossed out and replaced by “*relatives*”. The interrogator Charles Mann was in a hurry and did not record his questions and their answers in Hansard style. To arrive at this conclusion, he had probably elicited statements that her immediate ‘family’ such as Condoy did not always reside at Encounter Bay, while her ‘relatives’ such as Natalla normally did.

⁸⁵⁴ Mann 1837a: 22.

Miyurna.⁸⁵⁵ Not only was the interrogator Mann unaware there was a major difference, but so was her three-years' husband Walker.⁸⁵⁶

When it came to English, her third language, Kalinga was the only one in the family who spoke it relatively well.⁸⁵⁷ She also had long experience with Europeans in the sealing gang. Thus in the context of her family's dealings with Europeans, her role would inevitably tend to expand from mere interpreter to sharing in Condoy's role of intercultural broker. In the minds of Natalla and Condoy she would be necessary but secondary; in the mind of Kent reporting to Sturt she was primary; but Davis somehow perceived the prime importance of Condoy.⁸⁵⁸

2.4.1.2.3 – THEIR ATTRIBUTED IDENTITIES AND ASSOCIATIONS:

When reading records of identities and politics on the precolonial Fleurieu, we must understand them in the light of two great underlying facts. In spite of their totally different languages, (1) the people on either side of the range often intermarried and consequently visited each other, so that (2) many people spoke both languages as a normal part of family life, travel and trade.⁸⁵⁹

At least two identities were ambiguously attributed to Condoy at first contact by those who knew him or met him: 'Encounter Bay' and 'Cape Jervis'. He was described as an 'Encounter Bay' man by Davis and Wyatt, but as one of the 'Cape Jervis tribe' by Bates, who had much longer contact with him. Walker identified Condoy's 'tribe' indirectly and ambiguously, implying from the relationship with Kalinga that he was one of the "many... native men residing in and about Encounter Bay" whom he had known since 1832; but he did not classify Condoy outright as he did with Natalla.⁸⁶⁰ It seems clear that he had an ongoing presence at Encounter Bay; but he also had ongoing connections with peoples on the Gulf coast where *Miyurna* was the language of the land, and probably visited the plains there with Bates. As we have noted, every word recorded from his family's associations with Bates and Walker was *Miyurna*.

⁸⁵⁵ Language words which definitely came from Kalinga are "*Mooteparinga*", and "*Curra__inga*", both using the 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* locative suffix *ngga* (Mann 1837a). Walker's knowledge of "*Conyou*" (*Miyurna kuinyu*) probably came from her (Mann 1837a: 20). The three *Miyurna* place-names on Sturt's map, and "*Pat Bungar*" (*Miyurna patpangga*) in MorphetJ 1837 (see Chapter 3.4.9.2.1 'The Cape'), were probably given by Kalinga or Condoy.

⁸⁵⁶ On the date of this examination, Mann was still assuming that the Encounter Bay language was much the same as the 'Cape Jervis', and so did not pursue all the necessary distinctions. Walker believed that Kalinga spoke "*the same language as the people at Encounter Bay*" (Mann 1837a: 11). No doubt he had often seen her speaking with these people; but these conversations were almost certainly bi-lingual, and it is unlikely that he could have noticed the switch between languages at any given moment. He himself spoke only "*a good many words*" of "*the language*" (singular) "*but not fluently*", and believed that on 'Cape Jervis' and Encounter Bay "*their habits and language are the same*". Even in July 1837 in the company of interpreters Cronk and Cooper, Walker "*cannot himself say whether they [Adelaide and Encounter Bay] have the same language or not*" (Mann 1837a: 11-12). Cp. my footnote above on 'Multi-lingualism'.

⁸⁵⁷ Kalinga "*can speak good English*", said Walker in 1837 (Mann 1837a: 12), and all other evidence agrees.

⁸⁵⁸ When juniors with good English are thrust into cross-cultural situations, the business may unintentionally and unwittingly sideline senior Elders. This has become sadly familiar in Aboriginal affairs throughout Australian history.

⁸⁵⁹ For a discussion of this social context see Appendix 13 'Intermarriage across language boundaries', and also note the frequent examples in the narrative of this book.

⁸⁶⁰ Walker adds, "*She is related to the Encounter Bay people. Her father is there now*" (Mann 1837a: 12). Walker must be regarded as more reliable than Davis or Wyatt in this matter. The ambiguity might have arisen accidentally through Mann's recording, but might also reflect a reality. Natalla may have been a 'classificatory' brother, rather than having the same father and mother as Condoy. Further analysis of this possibility is beyond my competence.

So a ‘Cape Jervis’ woman from *Yarnkalyilla* had a father’s brother who certainly was an ‘Encounter Bay’ man – according to Walker he lived there and was part of that local ‘race’ – and she had a father for whom the records are ambiguous.

In times of first contact, the well-attested political alliance between Encounter Bay and the Gulf peoples⁸⁶¹ went together with their intermarriage. On this major language borderland, small descent groups married exogamously: that is, with people of the opposite language group, who were not aliens but a familiar part of normal life; but the marriage did not alter one’s Language-Group and Language-Country identity.

A typical modern question: “Was CondoY Kaurna or Ramindjeri? Was Kalinga Kaurna or Ramindjeri?” But when we ask this, what exactly are we asking? This identity question needs more definition, and relevant facts about the birthplaces and inherited clan totems of Kalinga, her mother and Con. In the absence of this information, I contend that we don’t and can’t know enough to answer it usefully. In the following textbox I attempt a more nuanced analysis, but it is still inconclusive.

Textbox12: THE MULTIPLE IDENTITIES OF CONDOY AND HIS FAMILY.

European outsiders typically used geographical identifiers for the ‘natives’ they encountered, but these are very uncertain guides to the real identities of the people to whom they were attached. Davis⁸⁶² and Wyatt⁸⁶³ – both of them outsiders and passing visitors – identified CondoY as a man ‘of Encounter Bay’. However, George Bates identified him as connected with country northwest of the range, not only ‘Cape Jervis’ but also the Gulf coast. Though Bates spoke in reminiscences long after those years, he had been in a much better position than Davis and Wyatt to know the pre-colonial facts close up and over time. He said that CondoY was one of the “Cape Jervis tribe”.⁸⁶⁴ He claimed that ‘Old Con’ had invited him to come over and live with Con’s own ‘Cape Jervis’ people. He had apparently hunted with this group at the Onkaparinga River, and once (dubiously) he even cited “the Adelaide Plains” as his destination with CondoY.⁸⁶⁵

⁸⁶¹ See the long footnote ‘Captain Peter at the Torrens’ (at the end of Chapter 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter’); also my separate essay Schultz 2023a, ‘Adelaide as a battleground’, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>; and Appendix 14 ‘Alleged chronic enmity between Encounter Bay and Gulf coast’.

⁸⁶² When Davis brought CondoY on board with Sally the cape itself on 3rd May 1831, he described him as “a native from Encounter Bay” (Davis 1831: 25). At that moment Davis would have regarded this ‘Bay’ identity as relevant because such a man was more likely than the others to know the Mouth and its peoples. The fact that he was singled out in this particular way probably indicates that the others at the camp there – perhaps even Sally who must have been the spokesperson – were differentiating him from themselves who were *not* ‘Bay’ people. If so, *their* geographical self-identity was presumably something like ‘people of the Peninsula’, those whom the commercial sealers and later Light’s team would call ‘the Cape Jervis tribe’.

⁸⁶³ Wyatt in 1837 listed “Kon” as “Olallyoo”, one of the men “of Encounter Bay”, in a list which included ‘Kaurna’-Miyurna items (Wyatt 1879: 180; this wordlist was first published in 1879, but almost certainly most of it was obtained during Wyatt’s expedition to Encounter Bay in Sep 1837). These included “Peter: Lāme raikongga”, “Encounter Bay Bob: Parroo paicha”, “Meelaicha”, and others. Even though we know from Schürmann that Bob also had a Raminyeri name *Tamuruwi*, the last two names are definitely Miyurna: “Parroo paicha” = *Paru paitya* (‘deadly meat’); “Meelaicha” = *Midlaitya* (birth-order name ‘fifth-born (male)’). “Lāme raikongga” is problematic: the last three syllables resemble a Miyurna word with a correct Locative suffix; but Miyurna words never begin with *l* or *r*.

⁸⁶⁴ Bates identified the “old native” who came to Kangaroo Island, and CondoY with whom he lived on the mainland, as one of the “blacks of Cape Jervis”, a man “of that tribe” (Bates 1886b: 6d).

⁸⁶⁵ “It was that same ‘Old Con,’... who first got me to go over among the blacks on the Adelaide plains” (Bates 1894b: 6a). Here we need not take ‘Adelaide plains’ too literally (Adelaide is about 70 km north of *Yarnkalyilla*); Bates was merely highlighting his treasured claim to be ‘the first white man’ on the coastal plains further north in general. Perhaps he did visit the Adelaide Plains on a sealing ship, perhaps also on an overland hunting visit with CondoY. In any case it clearly confirms that his sojourn with CondoY’s people was northwest of the range. So does another interview when he

Although we don't have any record of how Condoy identified himself to anyone, we may be sure that he would have referred to his personal relationship with several pieces of country: primarily the clan estate inherited from his father; and to the descent group of his father and perhaps that his mother, thus bringing in a number of other language groups and other geographical 'countries'; and also to the totem place of his birth.

Unfortunately we know none of these things for sure. But there are hints. In order for members of Condoy's group to have *secondary* hunting rights as far north as the plains of Onkaparinga, their 'Cape Jervis' clan estate – where they were the *primary* owners of such rights – would need to share a boundary, i.e. it would lie on adjacent land somewhere northwest of the range. This would be a matter of proximity and alliance, using the term 'brother' but not involving close kinship or shared totems. However, we have no details of Condoy's case.⁸⁶⁶

No unmistakable indicators of attachment or rights to particular country were recorded for Condoy and Natalla, but Kalinga would have had totemic rights and responsibilities in her birthplace, either at *Yarnkalyilla* or "near Cape Jervis".

We know that Encounter Bay Bob's primary identity lay at Encounter Bay because we know he inherited land there from his father.⁸⁶⁷ For another of Wyatt's 'Encounter Bay' men, 'Lāme raikongga' or 'Peter', We also deduce that he had some kind of rights in land at "Yankalyilla" (probably through a wife who inherited rights there).⁸⁶⁸ But we have no such direct information about Condoy's 'own country'.

Linguistic analysis of personal names can often reveal a person's language identity. In this family, the names 'Nutulla' (?*Nathala*) and 'Kalinga' (?*Kalingka* or ?*Kalinga*) could belong to any of the local languages. But the names of Condoy are more fruitful.

Wyatt's record of the name "Olallyoo" identifies "Kon" as another 'Encounter Bay' man, but this is not a knock-down case. As it stands with an initial *o/u*, 'Olallyoo' cannot be in *Miyurna* language. Even after allowing that Wyatt probably missed an initial *ng*, the only known vocabulary to which the name *Ngulalyu* or *Ngolalyu* might perhaps be related is *Kornar*, not *Miyurna*.⁸⁶⁹ But personal names do not always have dictionary meanings.

claimed knowledge of how "*the Cape Jervis natives*" behaved "*when out hunting*" at the Onkaparinga River, which is about 45 km north of Yarnkalyilla (they showed "*mysterious dread*" of a "*terrible animal*" there [Bates 1886b: 6d]).

⁸⁶⁶ HUNTING ON TERRITORY BELONGING TO NORTHERN NEIGHBOURS: *TAWULI* (*TALWALI*):

In addition to patrilineal rights, people had "*ready access to a host of countries*" on the basis of other specific kin ties, such as the estates of one's mother, spouse, son-in-law, etc, especially if they were nearby (Sutton p.c. email attachment 12/4/19). But if indeed Condoy went hunting this far north of his 'Cape Jervis' territory, he probably had or acquired secondary hunting rights there through the system of special relationships with groups who were not a man's kin and did not share his totem, but whose hunting territory adjoined his. This was called *tawuli* or *talwali* by old 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* men in the 20th century such as Albert Karlowan, Clarence Long (Milerum) and Reuben Walker (Pulpumini). The latter told Tindale of the *tawuli* working in his youth, the 1870s-80s, after the Raminyeri clans had absorbed the southern Gulf peoples: "*The natives from Pt Willunga Noarlunga Horseshoe... to Brighton were the 'tawuli' of the real Ramindjeri who came from the Rapid Bay to Goolwa*" ('Notes from Reuben Walker' 1934, in Tindale SESA2: 161; cp. Berndt & Berndt 1993: 27-8 on *talwali*; thanks to Christine Walker for this reference). However, Karlowan modified Walker's view of the group names, remembering that "*the Fleurieu Peninsula... [was] part of the coastal region previously occupied by the Lower Kaurna people*" (Berndt & Berndt 1993: 16). He put the old boundary near Tunkalilla Beach (Berndt 1940: 180-1; this essay is a detailed account of the Ngurunderi story). In speaking of the Tjirbruki story, Karlowan said that Lands End near the Cape was "*at that time still in Kaurna country*" (Tindale 1987: 8a, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/126684#page/11/mode/1up> [Tindale 1987, 'The Wanderings of Tjirbruki: A Tale of the Kaurna People of Adelaide', *Records of the SA Museum* 20]; cp. note on Tindale Map Hundred of Waitpinga, AA 338/24/93). Unfortunately this historical distinction is not sufficiently clarified elsewhere in Berndt & Berndt 1993, notably not on its maps.

No doubt Condoy had lived with a system similar to that which Pulpumini remembered, using a related but somewhat different set of group and territorial identities because the *Miyurna* language was then still dominant on the Gulf coast.

⁸⁶⁷ See Schultz 2023b, 'Tamuruwi'; cp. Gara 1998: 111.

⁸⁶⁸ For 'Peter' see Chapter 3.6.4.4 'Peter & his family'.

⁸⁶⁹ There is much room for doubt about the spelling 'Olallyoo'. Wyatt obtained this name at the beginning of his career as Protector, and in his wordlist sometimes misses an initial *ng* (see Amery 2016: 95). If he did so here, it might

The spelling ‘Condoy’ could represent an English attempt to pronounce the Aboriginal word for ‘whale’, most often recorded as “kondoli”, but sometimes as “kondarle”. This is one of the very few words which were shared by both *Miyurna* and *Kornar* languages.⁸⁷⁰ This possibility (first raised by Philip Clarke) is increased to a probability by the likelihood that variant pronunciations included a Retroflex *rl*. If so, the three-syllable *kondorli* / *kondarli* (OS) would have sounded to a sailor’s ears very like a two-syllable word ending with a diphthong ‘oy’ or ‘ay’.

If ‘Condoy’ was *Kondoli*, this could suggest not only that he was a senior man in that totem, but also that he was recognized around the whole region as a major custodian of Whale

perhaps have represented *Ngolalyu* or *Ngulalyu*. In ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar*, *ngolalyu* could be related to the verb *ngolun* (‘to wrap, cover, wear’); or the alternative *ngulalyu* related to *ngulun* (‘to listen, remember’). But we still would not have the whole word: the only known morphemes resembling Wyatt’s ‘*alyu*’ are the adverbs *alyenik* and *aldj* (both meaning ‘here’ and extremely unlikely in a personal name). In *Miyurna* language *Ngulalyu*/*Ngolalyu* would have no known meaning.

⁸⁷⁰ WHALES, THEIR VISITING SITES, LANGUAGE GROUPS, AND THE WORD KONDOLI:

A chronology of first records of the word:

Wyatt (no doubt during his Encounter Bay excursion in September 1837) listed it as an Encounter Bay word, “eKondolle: a whale; also its blubber” (Wyatt 1879: 170); but in this wordlist Wyatt’s identification of languages is often wrong. The word soon appeared also in *Miyurna* wordlists collected in Adelaide: “Con-dol-ley” (WilliamsW 1840: 295a [William Williams, ‘The Language of the Natives of South Australia’, *SA Colonist* 1(19), July 1840, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/228133230/22333444>]); cp. “kondolli” (T&S 1840). “Condolley” was familiar among the Encounter Bay whalers and settlers of the 1840s as their word for ‘blubber’ (Simpson Newland 1926: 32).

Miyurna peoples of the Gulf coast were also familiar with whales. In traditional times there were whale feasts at Moana (ClarkeP 2001: 22), and in this period fair numbers of whales were sometimes seen off Adelaide: e.g. “On Sunday week [i.e. 2 Aug 1840] no less than six whales were seen at one time gambolling in Holdfast Bay. We have been informed that a house in Glasgow intend establishing a fishing station in that neighbourhood” (*SA Register* Saturday 15 Aug 1840: 5a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27441750/2049886>). In late 1840 settler JF Taylor saw eight whales from the beach near Brighton (TaylorJ 1840: 23 [John Fogg Taylor to ‘John’ in England, D7310(L), SL&A; transcribed by F Hemstock, typescript, https://archival.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/d/D7310_TaylorLetter_transcript.pdf. Thanks to Dr Phillip Jones for this reference, and to Charles Appleton and the State Library of SA for permission to quote]). Settler John Clarke (later of Wattle Flat) “spoke of the forty whales seen playing in the gulf not far from the shore” during his years living in in Adelaide, 1836-40 (James Clarke MS ‘Resume’, typescript p.2, appendix to heritage register nomination for ‘Wattle Hills; homestead, 2021; thanks to Des Gubbin for this source). In these numbers, even though dwarfed by those visiting the south coast, they would certainly be part of the local culture. A few still appear on the Adelaide coast today.

So to the linguistics:

There is no known *Miyurna* word for ‘whale’ other than *kondoli* (OS; RS ?*kuntuli*). By contrast, it *could* be significant that Meyer’s Raminyeri wordlist in 1843 recorded only the word *winkulare* for ‘whale’, and only *bailpuli* for ‘fat, oil’ and by extension whale oil and perhaps blubber (Meyer 1843: 107). He did use “Kondole” later as the name of the ancestor in the whale myth (Meyer 1846: 13-4). His omission of it in 1843 remains a mystery. Meyer was at Encounter Bay at the same time as Simpson Newland, and some of the Raminyeri whalers were among his earliest and closest contacts. Did he know ‘*kondole*’ in 1840-3 but not yet count it as a Raminyeri word?

Most of the primary sources, including all the *Miyurna* ones, give the unstressed second vowel as ‘o’. Since *Miyurna* language does not distinguish o from u, the ‘Kaurna’ RS could be *kuntuli*. But *Kornar* language does distinguish them; and it is worth noting that the second vowel was also recorded from *Kornar* sources as ‘a’, including place-names derived from the root *kondarl*-. Chronologically: “kondarle” and “Kondarlinyeri” (Taplin Folklore 1879: 141, 34); “kwendarli” (from Karrammi in Black 1917: 10). These two sources seem to indicate a Retroflex *rl*. Does this reinforce the possibility that the word originated in *Miyurna* with the Retroflex *rl* in *kunturli* (see below)? Reuben Walker’s 1935 manuscript gave “Kon.dul.ee” (= *Kondali*; Tindale SESA2: 220). Berndt also recorded the spelling “Kondali” from Karlowan (Mountford & Berndt 1941, ‘Making fire’, *Oceania* XI(4)).

The second vowel is also given as ‘i’, but only in later Berndt, presumably from Karlowan: “kondili”, “Kondilindjera”, “Kondilindjerung” and “Kondilinar” (Berndt & Berndt 1993: 15-16, 81, 326, 450-1); but “also given as Kondarlinyeri” (p.310). Perhaps “Conday” in Cawthorne’s novel (from Nat Thomas’s pronunciation) was based on *Kondarli*, and Bates’s ‘Condoy’ on *Kondoli*; and perhaps both variants had originally been spoken by the man himself.

I speculate whether *kondoli* / *kondarli* might have originated in *Miyurna* as *kunturli* ‘like a chest’, from *kuntu* ‘the chest; anything that sticks out like a chest’ + *rl* ‘like’: an apt descriptor for a whale, especially a Southern Right. *Perhaps*, when communications between Encounter Bay and Adelaide increased massively after the fishery was established in early 1837, the Adelaide word *kondoli* eventually displaced the *Kornar* synonyms, first among the whalers and then among the depleted Raminyerar. Or it could have been adopted and shared long before this. Rob Amery thinks it more likely that the word originated in *Kornar* and was adopted into *Miyurna* as a single morpheme (Amery p.c. email 29/9/2015).

Dreaming sites – perhaps the name was almost a title, ‘The Kondoli’. Certainly the Walker descendants believe that all three of these things were so.⁸⁷¹

Perhaps a totemic affiliation with whale sites could go some way to explain the paradox of Condoys apparent connection with both Encounter Bay and ‘Cape Jervis’. The fragments we know about Whale Dreaming sites in this region could connect him with a Miyurna place-name *Murtaparingga* at an important place of intertribal meeting and ceremony in borderland at the top of the range near Spring Mount,⁸⁷² and with a number of Raminyeri place-names on the south coast from Goolwa to King’s Beach. If these places were found to be connected with Condoys in the early records, they would confirm his double linguistic and geographical connections.⁸⁷³

For Kalinga, a number of possibilities in exogamous intermarriage could explain many of the known facts about her.

⁸⁷¹ – notably the late Karno Walker and the Ramindjeri Heritage Association. Since Condoys daughter married William Walker, the case for *Kondoli* ‘whale’ would be strengthened if there were an independent recorded link between whales and the early Aboriginal Walkers. Such a link may perhaps exist, first of all with William Walker himself, whose main occupation was whaling in the years when Kalinga first came to live with him. John ‘Sustie’ Wilson in old age remembered from his early years at Encounter Bay a man whom he called “*Charlie Warner*”; Charlie was of the whale totem, and could sing whales back into the Bay (see ‘Account of Sustie Wilson’, in Tindale Murray1: 48). His name could be Wilson’s misremembering (or the reporter’s misreporting) of ‘*Charlie Walker*’. This would be confirmed if a whale-singing Charlie Walker has been remembered in an independent oral tradition which dates from a time before Clarke raised the Condoys-*kondoli* conjecture in 1998; I leave it to others to discover or reveal whether this is so. And was this man the elite whaler ‘One-arm Charley’ of Penney and Pullen, brother of Tamuruwi? (See other references to these whalers in Textbox25 ‘Peter’, and Chapter 2.5.3.3 ‘Two lads’).

⁸⁷² *Murtaparingga*, on the high plateau between Hindmarsh Valley and Myponga valley, bordered not only Kornar and Miyurna language country but also a third language country to the northeast, that of the hills group now known as ‘Peramangk’ (after Tindale). See Schultz PNS 7.02/04 *Murtaparingga*, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/7-02-04Murtaparin.pdf>.

⁸⁷³ CONDOY AND WHALE DREAMING SITES IN THE FLEURIEU-ENCOUNTER BAY REGION:

A local Whale Dreaming myth of ‘Kondoli’ was known at first contact in both a ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* and a Raminyeri-Kornar version (Teichelmann 1839: 277a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/228133246/22333426>; Meyer 1846: 13-4; cp. Amery 2016: 114).

Sites occurring in this story or connected with whales in general could perhaps link Condoys with the plateau near the top of the range between Spring Mount and the head of Hindmarsh Valley; or with various places on the *Kornar* south coast; but probably not with the *Miyurna* Gulf, where no sites are known to be associated with any whale myth. If Condoys was indeed a *Kondoli* man, some of these places were likely to be his heartland, whether or not he usually lived near them.

The first of these sites, the Kondoli dancing site, is the only one with a direct circumstantial link to Condoys family; and it has a *Miyurna* name *Murtaparingga* (probably meaning ‘river of injury’). Its location is probably borderland in terms of language groups: a little to the east of the Fleurieu proper and a few kilometres inland from Encounter Bay. See my essay Schultz PNS 7.02/04 *Murtaparingga*. The name itself thus becomes primary evidence suggesting that at first contact Miyurna may have been the language proper to this Kondoli site, rather than Kornar as commonly assumed (partly because it was sometimes said to be the name of the whole Hindmarsh River). The same name was used by the Raminyeri (spelled “*Mutabaringar*” in Meyer 1843: 49) and in the 20th-century *Kornar* versions of the myth; and in them its location is similar, though obscured by several geographical speculations of Tindale. At *Murtaparingga* in 1837 the whaler Driscoll was murdered, and Natalla, Kalinga and Condoys initiated the colony’s investigations (the cultural evidence collected during this event will be thoroughly analysed in Book 2).

If Condoys was in fact a leading custodian of the Whale totem, we may speculate whether his estate lay in a border area within or near *Murtaparingga*. Against this is the slightly stronger guess (with a piece of primary evidence to suggest it) that his estate may have been further north of *Patpangga* land, adjoining other estates at the Onkaparinga River over which he might have had hunting rights (see above in this Textbox).

All the other known sites associated with parts of this whale story are on the south coast, from 30 km beyond the Murray Mouth, westward to Port Elliot, the Inman River and King’s Beach: all in territory where *Kornar* was the ‘proper’ language. All these sites were recorded from Kornar men in the 20th century (see Berndt and Berndt 1993: 235-6, 311; and ClarkeP 2001).

A *Kornar* ‘whale’ clan, ‘Kondolinyeri’ near the Murray Mouth, is on record (Taplin Narrinyeri 1879: 2; “Kondarlinyeri” in Taplin Folklore: 34); but its existence is disputed (Radcliffe-Brown 1918 quoted in ClarkeP 2001: 21). If Condoys was a member of this clan, then the raid at the Mouth may have been carried out partly on his own clan land or totemic site; but this cannot be regarded as certain or even likely. We have no early documentary evidence that *directly* links Condoys or his family with any of these *Kornar* sites.

If Condoy was an Encounter Bay man whose ‘own tongue’ was the Raminyeri dialect of *Kornar*, the most likely solution to the paradox of Kalinga is that she had a ‘Cape Jervis’ mother. This woman would have been a member of a clan in *Miyurna* Language Country, assigned to Condoy in her childhood, and obliged to join him at Encounter Bay as soon as she reached puberty. Perhaps Kalinga was born during one of her visits back to her homeland, but then would have spent her childhood with her father and mother at Encounter Bay. There the young girl would acquire Raminyeri dialect there from her father and his clan, and simultaneously some *Miyurna* from her mother, reinforced by frequent visits to her mother’s clan. Thus she would certainly be bi-lingual from birth.⁸⁷⁴

Why then did Kalinga and Condoy – bi-lingual and with close connections to Encounter Bay and Raminyeri clans there – use only *Miyurna* in their communication with Europeans (as far as we know)? Probably they did so because (as we have seen) this contact happened mainly *on the Gulf coast*, where *Miyurna* was the ‘proper language’ of the land and its owners. Perhaps also Kalinga did all the talking to the white men, and (especially here in her own country) she used the ‘own language’ of herself and her mother. The present study has shown that although Condoy and some others may have primarily ‘belonged to’ Encounter Bay, and Islanders sometimes met the people there (as Walker and Cooper claimed in 1837), yet these contacts were initiated and maintained through landing-places on the Gulf, especially Yankalilla Bay. For those places the local contacts gave only *Miyurna* names at the time – *Yarnkalyilla* and *Yartakurlangga* (Rapid Bay) – even though it is almost certain that some of those present would also have known the Raminyeri names.⁸⁷⁵

Physical descriptions exist for all three people in Condoy’s family, and might help in assessing their ancestries. In 1836 Dr Woodforde gave a description of the brothers which suggests that both of them were physically typical of the Peninsula and Gulf rather than Encounter Bay. On Kangaroo Island both men struck him as looking “emaciated”, and “their limbs very small”.⁸⁷⁶ This does not sound like the typical well-fed and solidly-built ‘Encounter Bay’ physique, but more like other references to the lightly-built “spindleshanks” of the ‘Adelaide tribe’.⁸⁷⁷ Later Woodforde wrote that the brothers “belong to the same tribe” as the ‘Cape Jervis’ natives who came to Light at Rapid Bay in September 1836, and are “much the same in appearance”.⁸⁷⁸ Walker must trump Woodforde in the matter of Natalla’s ‘Encounter Bay’ identity at least; but the physical appearance does seem to suggest ancestries mingled (at the least) with genes from northwest of the range.

Mary Thomas’s description of ‘Princess Con’ in 1836 throws no light on these matters; and

⁸⁷⁴ Other solutions to the paradox of Kalinga’s geographical and language identity are possible, though less likely. Perhaps Condoy, an Encounter Bay man, had lived there as normal, but business with the Islanders attracted him to spend increasing amounts of time with relatives on the Gulf coast, especially his wife’s close kin. Or perhaps before 1825 he had already come to live much of the time among his wife’s people, and to speak their language from constant practice as well as his own. This is what happened a few decades later to a Coorong man Kaltanganuru, who spent much of his later life at Yankalilla (see Appendix 13 ‘Intermarriage’; also Tindale 1941: 242-3, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/129818#page/282/mode/1up> [‘Song of the Swallow Watari and the Ring-tailed Mouse Lepidawi’, in ‘Native Songs of the SE of SA, Part 2’]).

⁸⁷⁵ *Yangkalyawangk* for Yankalilla and *Ngutarangk* for Rapid Bay (Meyer 1843: 49); cp. Schultz PNS 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga and 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla.

⁸⁷⁶ Woodforde diary 31 Aug 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-31-august-1836-4/>.

⁸⁷⁷ Bull 1878b: 45. See the section on the physiological differences between *Miyurna* and *Kornar* peoples in Chapter 1.1.6.5 ‘Beliefs, language identities, place-names’.

⁸⁷⁸ According to Woodforde, the brothers were “*much the same in appearance*” as the small group who came to Rapid Bay on 15th September 1836 to tend Light’s garden; these (he said) “*belong to the same tribe*”. He identified this group (“*our natives*”) as the “*Cape Jervis tribe*” and distinguished them from a tribe of “*strange natives*” who “*belong to Encounter Bay*”. Yet the September group may have come to Rapid Bay from Encounter Bay! (See Woodforde diary 15 Sep; 13, 14, 16 Oct; 21 Nov 18, 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/dr-john-woodforde>). This group of eight also included some whom the young naval officer Pullen thought were “*fine looking fellows*” (Pullen MSS Journal: 31/16) – which sounds more like Meyer’s Raminyeri giants; but here Woodforde does not seem to be referring to those strangers. I shall discuss this Rapid Bay conundrum elsewhere in this book (Chapter 3.4.7.4 ‘The tribe of the place’).

the (probable) portrait of her by de Sainson in 1827, with its ‘more European features’, merely deepens the mystery.⁸⁷⁹

Thus the geographical distribution of the languages at that time is much clearer than the geographical and linguistic identities of the people who gave the information.

So if we use modern political labels and insist on asking ‘Were they Kaurna or Ramindjeri?’, the question cannot be answered in these terms.⁸⁸⁰ For lack of information it is not clear how Kalinga and Condoy’s identities fit into the original Language Groups and Language Countries, and even less clear how they fit into the modern categories.

In the light of Sutton’s analysis of traditional systems elsewhere in Australia, the reality at first contact in this region was different from the common position of Aboriginal families in the city today, where almost everyone has multiple ancestral and historical identities. A person can identify with one or more of them as a political choice for limited political or personal reasons; and choosing only one does not reflect the full human reality either historical or present.⁸⁸¹ In traditional pre-contact times there would have been no ambiguity and very little choice.⁸⁸² But there could have been duality; Condoy’s clan and estate – and therefore also Kalinga’s – could have had a double linguistic identity, *Patpa-Miyurna* and *Raminyeri-Kornar*.⁸⁸³

We don’t know where his estate was. We may speculate whether it abutted some *tawuli* estates further north towards Adelaide, rather than southeast towards Encounter Bay.⁸⁸⁴

⁸⁷⁹ See Chapter 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally)’.

⁸⁸⁰ The ‘tribal’ categories and boundaries debated in Native Title affairs have often been based on the published analyses and maps of Tindale 1974 and Berndt & Berndt 1993. But their accounts of this region are overdue for critical reconsideration: see e.g. Knight 2003, which rigorously scrutinizes both men’s work on ‘tribal’ identities and boundaries around the Fleurieu (James Knight 2003, *Testing Tindale Tribes: A re-assessment of Tindale’s work on the Aboriginal Tribes of Australia, with reference to the written records of the southeast of South Australia*, Ph.D. thesis, University of New England).

⁸⁸¹ Aboriginal public intellectual Noel Pearson has written similarly of this issue (e.g. *The Australian* 26/1/2019: 24, <https://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/inquirer/diversity-in-unity-best-balm-for-australias-conflicting-identities/news-story/870b43834859c7ae88e80b41445b0a3b>).

⁸⁸² “One should not project this modern personalised and choice-oriented system back onto the deep past, where there was very little choice compared to now. In particular, one’s patrilineal estate and totemic clan and dialect were one’s by default, by rule. A newborn belonged in these ways, even though it was unable to ‘choose’ among them” (Sutton p.c. email attachment 12/4/19).

⁸⁸³ “On the edges of language countries, estates and their sites are often of dual linguistic identity – this is not fuzziness but structural duality of language ID around the edges. Again, some sites or estates that belong to the same language country may be physically separate from the rest of the estates of that country – again, this is not fuzziness but structural and often reflects e.g. mythology & ecology” (Sutton p.c. email attachment 9/4/19). However, my research has not turned up any clear local examples of such structural duality expressed by ‘insider’ place-names. *Yarnkalyilla* / *Yangkalyawang* could perhaps be one such, since Peter/Lamiraiangka (Raminyeri) had ‘his district’ at *Yarnkalyilla* (‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna*) (see Chapter 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter & his family’). For other early cases like *Yartakurlangga* / *Ngutarangk*, we have no evidence that the Raminyeri versions were also ‘insider’ names.

⁸⁸⁴ See above on hunting rights.

2.4.2 – ‘TRIBES’ AND ISLANDERS: A POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF RELATIONSHIPS: 1827-31.⁸⁸⁵

Having tried to analyse the geo-linguistic identities of our main Aboriginal players as far as the records allow, we now turn our investigation to what we may learn of human action, the region’s geo-political *history*.

Here were the ‘friendly tribes’ on this coast, here were the ‘determined and numerous enemy’ of Sturt; the helpful Condoy family, and the murderers of Barker – all (it seems) at roughly the same time and place. We shall find evidence which begins to join the dots of these fragments into a possible connected narrative.

Were some Islanders being treated differently by the ‘tribes’? Were some ‘tribes’ being treated differently by the Islanders? Were both of these things happening?

It will help if we lay out a clear chronology and geography of the conflicting claims.

2.4.2.1 – PLACES: ISLANDER EXPLORATION AND CONTACT UP TO 1835: WHEN, WHERE?

From the story of Bates and his doings we gain a glimpse of some of the earliest European exploration of SA by the largely uncredited Kangaroo Islanders.

While previous authors have tried to assess the geography of their explorations in part indirectly, from cultural or language data, this book also brings direct *geographical* particulars into the discussion. In my assessment of the records, the Islanders’ knowledge of the local mainland was extensive around some coastal areas, but also variable: incomplete in some areas and absent in others, determined by what their economic geography made practical and desirable.

Their private sealing and raiding trips included the immediately adjacent Fleurieu coast and long voyages westward to the southern coasts and islands of Yorke and Eyre peninsulas; but they did not go far to the east or north, and ventured inland in only one limited area around ‘Cape Jervis’ and Encounter Bay.⁸⁸⁶

Some of them such as Cooper knew both sides of Gulf St Vincent well enough *by sea* to tell Light (correctly for most purposes) that there were no harbours on Yorke Peninsula’s eastern coast.⁸⁸⁷ But most of them had very limited knowledge of the *hinterland* of the Fleurieu region. Their area of familiarity was probably confined to the Yankalilla plains – their main landing place, despite the safer and closer harbour at Rapid Bay – plus (by

⁸⁸⁵ See Map04 ‘The Area’ and Map08 ‘Fleurieu mainland with Sturt & Barker’.

⁸⁸⁶ For more details of the distances and other factors involved in their private voyages, see Appendix 3 ‘Islander Explorations around the Fleurieu’.

⁸⁸⁷ Light Brief Journal: 88, 16 Dec 1836: “At eleven a.m., having embarked everything, we got under way and stood over to the western side of the Gulf. At six, made the land out distinctly ahead, and on the larboard beam; but an opening between gave me hopes that some harbour might exist there, although all the information I had before collected from my man Cooper and others was contrary to any such thing”. The ‘opening’ proved to be only the shallow bay at Coobowie, which is unusable by ships. For a short time in the early colony this ‘opening’ earned it the tag “Deception Bay” (Cock and Jameson’s voyage to Yorke Peninsula, *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 8/12/1838: 3a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31750283/2052568>): the same (though for a different reason) as Light’s original tag for what is now Aldinga Bay (see Chapter 3.4.10.1 ‘Yarnkalyilla’).

1830) the Inman valley route over the range,⁸⁸⁸ and (for some) the Encounter Bay plains from the Bluff eastward to Middleton and perhaps Goolwa.⁸⁸⁹ Very few of them had seen the Murray Mouth.⁸⁹⁰ A few had been northeast to Milang.⁸⁹¹

Northward in the Gulf, a few had visited the Onkaparinga and Adelaide coastal plains with commercial ships, and Bates at least had been as far as Onkaparinga overland with a ‘tribe’. But – contrary to the assumptions in some Adelaide-centred histories – this region 120 km away was not needed by the Islanders for anything they wanted, and there is no solid evidence that it was visited by any more than a few times by these few individuals.⁸⁹²

2.4.2.2 – ‘TRIBES’, RAIDS, HOSTILITY, FRIENDSHIP, PARTICIPATION: WHEN AND WHERE?

On one side of the paradoxical records are the raids, abductions and hostility; on the other, the examples of friendly collaboration. When we catalogue them carefully, a chronological and geographical pattern appears.

A number of raids are recorded on the Gulf, mostly at Yankalilla. For these all the recorded dates are 1827 or earlier.⁸⁹³

From about 1827 to 1834-5 two parallel trends occur.

Firstly, *no* raids are recorded on the Gulf, Peninsula or Encounter Bay, and *no* hostilities there. Bates lives with a ‘tribe’ on the Gulf, and also sees the ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* technology of reed rafts in action, perhaps also learning how to build and use them himself. The local ‘tribes’ “on that part of the coast” – which in its context means the coast *near* Lake Alexandrina and *on* Gulf St Vincent – are described as ‘friendly’ and ‘hospitable’. In this period there are recorded collaborations between sealing ships, Islanders and people of ‘Cape Jervis’ and Encounter Bay, including Aboriginal men

⁸⁸⁸ For more details on the Islanders’ knowledge of the Inman Valley route, see Appendix 6 ‘Some Aboriginal Travel Routes’.

⁸⁸⁹ Sealers and Islanders had doubtless observed – probably long before some of them stayed on Kangaroo Island – that there are no landing places east of Goolwa on the exposed surf of the Coorong coast. For this inherent reason as well as other historical evidence, we may be fairly sure that they had no interest in or knowledge of the Murray Mouth (see section 2.3.2.3 ‘Forbes-Bates excursion’). Middleton is a topographical boundary, the eastward limit of rocky cliffs and points. Only west of it are there usable sea landings, along the focal western part of Encounter Bay, in which the Islanders’ preferred landing was Horseshoe Bay (see *ibid*). For more details about Islander knowledge of the Encounter Bay Plains, see Appendix 3 ‘Islander explorations’.

⁸⁹⁰ See the Textbox08 ‘When did Islanders first visit the Murray Mouth?’

⁸⁹¹ See Chapter 2.3.2.3 ‘Forbes-Bates Excursion’.

⁸⁹² See Appendix 3 ‘Islander exploration’, which also gives more detailed sources about Islanders and the northern Gulf coast).

⁸⁹³ RAIDS ON THE GULF:

Anderson abducted Emma (probably from Yankalilla) about 1820; Allen and Johnson took Kalungku at Yankalilla in about 1826-7 (see Chapter 1.3.2 ‘Kalungku’).

One raid explicitly involving Rapid Bay gets a passing mention in the reports of Bates. It netted at least two girls. His own words are that one of them, ‘Bett’, “*was brought from Rapid Bay*” (Bates 1887b): this might refer to the spot where the raiders’ had left their boats for the getaway, but more likely the site of the raid itself. The date is quite unclear.

Cawthorne’s novel provides some indirect confirmation that raids did happen at Rapid Bay. He describes one in which five women are kidnapped there (Cawthorne 1854/2020, Chapter 17).

There is no reliable evidence that any of the Kangaroo Island women came from further north than Yankalilla Bay, or that the Islanders raided north of it at any period – despite a well-known but very doubtful assumption by colonist CW Stuart that it was from the Onkaparinga that Thomas had abducted a woman, and his even more improbable assertion that the Islanders’ women were taken “*chiefly*” from the Onkaparinga (Stuart 1886: 6b). (There will be a detailed discussion of this source in Book 2).

staying on KI. Four Island raiding parties and two expeditions from the *Isabella* cross unhindered from the Gulf to the Estuary. Secondly, during the middle and latter part of the same period there are a number of raids on the Lake and Murray Mouth; and in this Estuary area the locals show notable hostility in 1830 and 1831.

Later, around 1835 (as we shall see in this chapter), Islanders are attacked on or near the Gulf twice at least, but Encounter Bay men lead the hostilities.

Remarkably, at Encounter Bay *no* raids are reliably recorded at any period, and no hostilities until 1835.⁸⁹⁴ However, on the Estuary no peaceful contacts with Europeans are known until 1837 at the earliest, when Estuary people begin to visit Encounter Bay every winter for feasts at the new whale fisheries.⁸⁹⁵ Raids before about 1827 were only on the Gulf; raids from 1829 onward were only at the Lake; no raids ever happened at Encounter Bay; and until 1835, not much else is known except the dealings of Bates with both 'Cape Jervis' and Encounter Bay people. This pattern may be significant.

2.4.2.3 – 'CONDAY' AND THE 'TRIBES' IN CAWTHORNE 1854: FACT OR FICTION?⁸⁹⁶

In trying to establish the facts of this saga and understand its dynamics, we may draw cautiously upon some ambiguously factual fiction by WA Cawthorne. His short novel *The Kangaroo Islanders*, first serialized in 1854, was based partly on a number of long conversations with Nat Thomas, and perhaps also with other Islanders such as Bates.⁸⁹⁷ It presents itself as "a narrative of fact to a very large extent".⁸⁹⁸

In his account, some of the Islanders had much more contact with the normal life of mainlanders than we would expect from the other records. They not only went "wife-hunting" but (says Cawthorne) "visiting the tribes," or lending a hand in the tribal fights that take place invariably on grand annual occasions".⁸⁹⁹

⁸⁹⁴ The *only* known account which specifies a kidnapping at Encounter Bay is a piece of oral history recorded about a century after the event. Karlowan had heard about a woman who was captured "near the mouth of the River Inman", i.e. at Encounter Bay. She was said to have been "a Ramindjeri native of the shag totem from Jaltu (Bald Hills, Inman River)" (Berndt 1940: 185; cp. "Yaltung", Berndt & Berndt 1993: 292). In this account she escaped on Kangaroo Island, swam Backstairs Passage and returned home to her child. Karlowan's source cannot be dated, and the detail about Encounter Bay is not confirmed by any other version of this well-known tale of a woman swimming the Passage. If she was captured at Encounter Bay, her captors almost certainly came overland from Yarnkalyilla and took her back that way. In Berndt's original essay (Berndt 1940) he says she "swam the strait (eight to nine miles)". Berndt's later book says that she swam that same distance "back to the Inman River", but this is actually about 38 miles, and we can safely dismiss the error. Berndt gives her identity as 'Ramindjeri', and her totem site (perhaps her birthplace?) as Bald Hills. Within the post-contact viewpoint of Karlowan as given in Berndt & Berndt 1993, Bald Hills is located in a greatly expanded 'Ramindjeri' territory. However, Karlowan also knew that the whole Cape area had previously been 'Kaurna' country (Berndt 1940: 180-1). So too had Bald Hills, as revealed by two 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* place-names recorded at first contact (see Schultz PNS 5.03/08 Tutukauwingga, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-03-08_Tuttokauwingga.pdf; and 5.03/10 'Tootongha', https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-03-10_Tuttongga.pdf). Taplin was told that this woman came from "the mainland near Cape Jervis" (Taplin Narrinyeri 1879: 8). In 19th-century terminology this could include Bald Hills.

⁸⁹⁵ Contact around the whale fisheries at Encounter Bay will be discussed in Book 2.

⁸⁹⁶ For more details of these matters in Cawthorne's story, see Appendix 7 'Islanders and mainlanders in Cawthorne's novel'.

⁸⁹⁷ See Cawthorne 1854/2020: 203, 209, 229, 234.

⁸⁹⁸ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 77, 203. However, there are things in the novel which are demonstrably wrong, beginning with the date 1823 assigned to the events. His main source Nat Thomas did not arrive on KI until two years after this date; neither did the other historical originals of his main characters. (George Bates arrived in 1824, and George Meredith Junior in 1834. Of those with whom he *may* have spoken, only Henry Wallan arrived earlier than 1823).

⁸⁹⁹ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 66. Cawthorne says that this happened at the "River Murray". However, in fact we know that the Islanders could not have visited the Murray River above the Lake in the years before 1836. Either he must mean the same estuary area – the Goolwa Channel, or Bates's 'Lake Alexandrina' (having perhaps heard hints of

Geographically, *everything* we actually ‘see’ happens at Rapid Bay and Yankalilla, including a detailed account of a raid at Rapid Bay. There is one general reference to other adventures with ‘tribes’ at (vaguely) the “River Murray”,⁹⁰⁰ but in context this probably meant the Estuary. The Encounter Bay coastland has no part at all in the story.

The character ‘Georgy’ is clearly based to a large extent on the historical Bates. ‘Georgy’ – he alone – is very familiar with one Aboriginal man whom they meet at Rapid Bay: “Why, that’s ‘old Conday’ – the greediest old rascal o’ the lot. I’ll go ashore and have a yarn”.⁹⁰¹ Conday recognizes him and accepts his presence as a sign that the group is approaching them in good faith. But Bates betrays his trust; the occasion is in fact a raid, pre-planned with the leader ‘Old Sam’ (a much tougher character who is partly based on Nat Thomas).

The novel refers directly only to abductions, but not to a trade in women by Aboriginal men. Yet Cawthorne’s slant on the relationships is compatible with that alternative. Georgy’s epithet ‘greediest’ for Conday is not explained, but seems to imply that they had engaged in haggling. The two groups are on familiar terms which are yet very cautious and volatile; the mainlanders much less ‘friendly’ and accommodating than in most of Bates’s reports, the balance of power much more perilous, the wary peace ever in danger of turning to violence in an instant.⁹⁰²

With caution, and allowing for the fact that Cawthorne sometimes introduces material taken from his own early experiences with the Aboriginal people of Adelaide, and from the publications of Teichelmann and Schürmann, these novelistic details are potentially illuminating. Some of them – especially the accounts of Georgy and his relationships with ‘the blacks’ – might be less fictitious than the self-portraits reported from the real George as he exercised the ‘talent for fictitious statement’ in his old age.⁹⁰³ However, we cannot generalize too much from any of Cawthorne’s particulars.

Bates and the gang discovering it) – or he misunderstood his informants, or he or they were creatively embellishing the information.

⁹⁰⁰ See also ‘Places of contact on the mainland’, in Appendix 7 ‘Islanders and mainlanders according to Cawthorne’.

⁹⁰¹ Cawthorne’s spelling ‘Conday’ could be Cawthorne’s perception of Nat Thomas’s pronunciation, or even Nat’s own spelling, or Cawthorne’s mistranscription of ‘Condoiy’ from Nat’s handwriting. It could perhaps represent a different second vowel, a instead of o/u. Bates spelled the name ‘Condoi’ (Bates 1887a).

⁹⁰² Only once did Bates admit to the mistrust and risk in the trading (see Bates 1895a).

⁹⁰³ On the Islanders’ “*considerable talent for fictitious statement*”, see Official Trip 1880: 1c. One passage in Cawthorne’s novel might modify Bates’s self-glorifying versions of his stay on the mainland. ‘Sam’ tells how ‘Georgy’ was left behind accidentally during a previous raid, partly by his own indiscretion. He was seized by the locals; later Sam and others in a whaleboat rescued him from the rocks at the Cape. Sam warns him that “*if yer gets cotched again they’ll smash yer head for yer for that day’s work.*” *‘In course they will,’ replied Georgy*” (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 79). If Nat Thomas told this episode to Cawthorne as fact, it would seem that this time at least Bates’s stay was unintentional and very dangerous from the start. A similar colonial folk version – obtained by Wynniss Ruediger probably from colonist Harry Bates (no relation to the pre-colonial George) – claimed that George was in a raid which was ambushed and in the panic he was left behind. This may have been derived partly from this passage in Cawthorne’s novel and partly from George’s newspaper report of being ambushed. But Harry could have heard his version from Old George himself, whom he claimed to have known. See Ruediger 1980: 30, 36.

It is hard to see how Cawthorne’s episode is compatible with Bates’s two accounts of his residency. In the novel the visit has a quite different origin, and does not seem to allow for extended travels between his capture and his escape. Perhaps it is a version of the last raiding party when he was wounded in the ambush but escaped. Or perhaps it is a sample of how relationships swung wildly and frequently between trade and hostility. Or perhaps it was Nat Thomas spinning a good yarn which was later touched up by Cawthorne.

2.4.2.4 – HYPOTHESIS: AN ALLIANCE OR TRUCE WITH LOCAL ‘TRIBES’?

In the intertribal and interracial politics, what might have brought about these variations of ‘friendship’ and hostility?

The absence of recorded conflict immediately around ‘Cape Jervis’ in the years 1828 to 1834 could have one familiar explanation: all the Europeans were well-armed with guns, and the watching mainlanders left them alone because they were afraid. But Cawthorne’s novel joins with historical examples to retort that the balance of power was not so one-sided; the facts demand a more nuanced explanation.

This investigation will argue that

1. the Islanders appear to have developed different relationships with different groups;
2. relationships between these Aboriginal groups themselves also varied over time; and
3. this volatile and variable situation was – for a while – tolerated and managed by the ‘friendly’ groups in some kind of deal negotiated with the Islanders. This probably included trading some of their own women. We might describe this deal as a conditional truce or temporary alliance.

We may even be able to approach the reasons *why* things happened this way: some of the motivations on both sides; what Condoy, Kalinga and Natalla may have been trying to achieve by their actions.

For the Islanders it would be very useful to have a truce with the people of ‘Cape Jervis’ and Encounter Bay, their most immediate contacts on the mainland. In the long term they needed (as a bottom line) safe visiting rights when they went to the Gulf sealing or replenishing their water supplies.

Trade with these “very fierce” people had been a fraught business: “we could not trust them and they would not trust us. They would sign to us to put down our ‘trade,’ and they would put down their rugs, each to be picked up simultaneously”.⁹⁰⁴ Perhaps it could be made less dangerous. It would be expedient to distance themselves from earlier predators like Allen and Johnson who had raided Yankalilla. It would also be expedient not to abduct women from Encounter Bay: the landings onsite were often dangerous to boats; the area was densely populated; and if they took their captives back to the Gulf, it was a long foot journey through people who were allies of Encounter Bay. Perhaps the 1828 visit to Lake Alexandrina gave them a new idea.

We will evaluate these possibilities by examining what is known of the next groups further east, and their relationship with their western neighbours.

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⁹⁰⁴ Bates 1895a.

2.4.3 – ‘TRIBAL’ IDENTITIES: A POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ABORIGINAL GROUPS AROUND THE FLEURIEU AT FIRST CONTACT.⁹⁰⁵

2.4.3.1 – IDENTITIES (2): ‘TRIBES’ OF THE ESTUARY.

Records of the region made about ten years later give us some Aboriginal group identities, useful understandings and analogous events involving the people immediately east of Encounter Bay.

In the early 1840s the missionary linguist Meyer defined the territory of the ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* language: “the vicinity of Encounter Bay, and... along the coast to the eastward around Lake Alexandrina and for some distance up the River Murray”.⁹⁰⁶ He observed that within this territory the various sub-groups, though speaking the same language “with slight variations” and “more or less connected with each other by marriage”, were “extremely jealous and suspicious of each other, and almost constantly at war”.⁹⁰⁷ As also observed later in Adelaide, the most common cause of jealousy and fighting was male disputes over women.⁹⁰⁸

Our story so far has presented hostilities involving three groups east of the core referent of the name ‘Encounter Bay’. There were the enemies of Sturt in 1830, on Hindmarsh Island along the Goolwa Channel and perhaps also at Point Sturt;⁹⁰⁹ the enemies of Barker in 1831 on the eastern bank of the Mouth; and the targets of Bates in 1829-34, somewhere on the southwestern margin of Lake Alexandrina. The earliest colonial observers included all of these in a collective called the ‘Little Murray tribe’: the people of Milang, the Finnis, Currency Creek, Goolwa Channel and the Mouth. Around 1840 Dr Richard Penney was calling them the ‘people of the Little Murray’; we might usefully describe them as ‘people of the western Estuary’.⁹¹⁰ One of their main campsites was

⁹⁰⁵ See Map04 ‘The Area’ and Map02 ‘The Gulf Region’. See also Textbox27 ‘Identities north and south of Rapid Bay’; and Appendix 12 ‘Aboriginal territories, borders and identity labels’.

⁹⁰⁶ Meyer 1843, Titles.

⁹⁰⁷ Meyer 1843: title page; Meyer 1846: 1. Marriages were exogamous here too: “*always between persons of different tribes, and never in the same tribe*” (Meyer 1846: 4).

⁹⁰⁸ See e.g. Meyer to Dresden 27 Aug 1844 (Meyer Correspondence: 102).

⁹⁰⁹ There is no record that the people of the Milang-Point Sturt area were *directly* hostile to Europeans. But when Sturt approached across the Lake in 1830, it was a camp of “*several natives*” at Point Sturt who “*kindled a large fire as soon as they saw they were noticed*”: the first of fourteen large warning fires which sprang up within ten minutes on both sides but especially the west (Sturt 1833 Vol.2: 163). Three decades later Taplin knew “*several men who remember the arrival of Captain Sturt; and they tell of the terror which was felt as they beheld his boat crossing the Lake Alexandrina*” (Taplin Narrinyeri 1879: 3). It is not necessary to invoke supernatural terror of the *grinkari* (‘white corpse’), or of the ‘Yowie’, when we know that the people a few miles downstream recognized Sturt’s guns.

⁹¹⁰ ‘TRIBES’ AROUND THE ESTUARY: ‘MURRAY’, ‘LITTLE MURRAY’, ‘MILMENROORA’, ‘BIG MURRAY’, ENCOUNTER BAY:

For the groups living around the estuary, Adelaide observers in 1837-40 used the terms the geographical descriptors ‘Murray’, ‘Currency Creek tribe’, ‘Little Murray’ or ‘Piccaninny Murray’, and (on the Coorong) ‘Big Murray’ or ‘Milmenroora’. They used ‘Murray’ to mean the part of it which was most accessible to them in those very early years: not the river east of Adelaide (a destination for which they had to cross the densely wooded ranges) but the Estuary, which they explored at first from the southwest, beginning at Encounter Bay: see e.g. Mann on the “*Parangacka or Murray River*” group (Mann to Hindmarsh 20/9/1837, GRG 24/1/1837/365: 6); Wyatt on the “*Murray man*” (Wyatt 1879: 179). These first colonial explorations by land from Encounter Bay will be discussed in Book 2.

In the early 1840s Dr Richard Penney said that the Encounter Bay people “*form one tribe*” with the “*Little Murray*” tribe and would soon unite with them in battle against “*their worst enemy, the tribe from the Big Murray*” (Penney cited by Meyer, in Meyer to Dresden 10/3/1841 [Meyer Correspondence: 48]). Simpson Newland arrived at Encounter Bay as a child in 1840. His *Memoirs* (remembering the 1840s and owing something no doubt to conversations with his father Ridgway and older brother Watts) record an account of ‘tribal’

somewhere on Currency Creek, a place called Taltarruar.⁹¹¹ Let us note that Currency Creek is the beginning of Lake country; it includes a substantial broad inlet into the Goolwa Channel, which widens eastward into Lake Alexandrina at Point Sturt. Despite familiar assumptions about a Narrinyeri federation, this ‘Little Murray’ identity did *not* include a fourth group, the legendary ‘Milmenroora’ or ‘Big Murray’ people further down the Coorong: neither in Aboriginal nor European perception at that time, well before Taplin’s mission.⁹¹²

In 1839 the ‘Little Murray’ people were enemies of their neighbours at Encounter Bay. During a visit by Meyer’s colleague Schürmann to Encounter Bay in July 1839, a ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* informant identified the *Pangka-miyurna* (‘Lake people’),⁹¹³ who “come down from the banks of Lake Alexandrina”, and specifically described the locals (the

organization fairly similar to Penney’s. He believed that the ‘Lower Murray’ and Encounter Bay were one ‘tribe’: “*The lines of demarcation appear to have been very clear between the tribes of the Lakes, the Coorong, and those of the lower Murray and Encounter Bay, and hostilities were frequent*” (Newland 1926: 32).

Penney travelled much among the peoples of the ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* Language Group between 1840 and 1843. As Clarke rightly says, his ‘Murray’ terminology here jolts us into realizing how much this area has been altered, with the barrages now dividing fresh water from salt and causing us now to perceive the Coorong as an identity quite separate from the Murray or even the Lake (ClarkeP 1991: 91).

In those years the Coorong was very new and remote to the settlers, and they (or Penney) referred to it variously: as the ‘Big Murray’, and as the ‘Eastern branch’ or ‘Southeast Arm’ of either Lake Alexandrina or the Murray River. Penney found several groups there, including the ‘Milmenroora’ or ‘Milmenyra’ whom he often called ‘the Big Murray tribe’.

The ‘Little’, ‘Lesser’, ‘Lower’ or ‘Piccaninni’ Murray was the south-western part of the estuary, certainly including Currency Creek, and almost certainly the Lake-Milang area. Parts of Clarke’s map may be debatable as a guide to the Little Murray territory as understood by Penney (ClarkeP 1991: 93); but the northern border mapped on the east side of the Lakes appears to agree with Teichelmann and Moorhouse, who in December 1840 found that it was at the channel to Lake Albert (Teichelmann Diary: 12, 9 Dec 1840).

⁹¹¹ Currency Creek, a “*preferred spot for the [Lake] aborigines*” (Schürmann Diary 26 July 1839). Cp. “*Taltarruar or Currency Creek... 11 English miles to the east of Encounter Bay... a favourite place of the numerous aborigines there*” (Schürmann Correspondence: S69 [Clamor Schürmann Correspondence, translated by Marcus Krieg & others, typescript, Adelaide Lutheran Archives]); here he quotes and expands his own original Diary entry for 30 July 1839. Cp. “*Taldaruwar: Site of Hall’s Survey Camp*” (Meyer 1843: 49).

⁹¹² THE BORDER BETWEEN THE ‘LITTLE MURRAY’ AND THE ‘MILMENRURA’:

Most outsiders in the 1830s assumed that all four of the groups mentioned above were ‘the same’; and most historians since then have followed their lead (using Taplin’s larger category ‘Narrinyeri’ for all). It was said to be the ‘Milmenroora’ or ‘Big Murray’ on the Coorong who massacred the survivors of the brig *Maria* in 1840. But the Milmenrura did not occupy any of the locations associated with Sturt, Barker and Bates. The position of their nearest border with the ‘Little Murray tribe’ makes it unlikely that they were involved on those occasions. Penney located it precisely on the Coorong not far from Meningie and 30 km east of the Mouth. The southeastern border of “*picaninni Murray*” land was (according to him) at “*Noongong*” (now called Nunkamung), opposite Pilgaru where the massacre happened and two men were hung. This is near today’s Long Point (see Penney 1841: 3d [Penney to George Hall 19 April 1841, in *SA Register* 24/4/1841, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27442414/2050066>]; cp. Foster 1991 and ClarkeP 1991 in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia* Vol. 29: 5, 99; and Tindale Map Hundred of Baker, AA 338/24/6).

In 1838 the overlanding ex-convicts Stone and Foley had reported a border in a similar position, 16-20 miles past the Mouth, between a friendly ‘tribe’ who accompanied them to the Mouth and a hostile ‘tribe’ further down who (Stone believed) had never seen a white man before (‘Progress of Discovery’, *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 1/9/1838: 4a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31750100/2052502>).

However, the later Hastings-Cameron oral tradition places the relevant border in the ‘Maria’ case 25 km further down opposite Magrath Flat (Peter Doolette 1997, *Murder, Mishap & Misfortune: a select history of the Coorong*, [First edition], Glenelg South: Coorong Publications: 19-20).

The location and nature of these Aboriginal borders is clearly a matter for further targeted research in records, oral history and cultural background; and the existing literature on the *Maria* affair and its context is very extensive.

⁹¹³ OS *Parnka-meyunna*.

Wirramu-miyurna)⁹¹⁴ as their “enemies”. Both groups were camping at Encounter Bay for the winter feasts at the whale fisheries, but at opposite ends of the coastal flat.⁹¹⁵

Was this enmity already in force ten years earlier for Sturt in 1829-30? Did it become so at that time in response to the Islander raids on Estuary land? Did the Encounter Bay people at that time, under pressure from KI, decide that the Little Murrays were ‘not our people’ and so ‘fair game’? Because this is the only available reason which can partly explain the paradox of the early 1830s, it moves from a possibility to a probability; for it was against these ‘Lake’ people that the Islanders were directing their raids, and they were crossing Encounter Bay unhindered in order to do it.

In 1840 the politics changed abruptly, and the ‘Little Murray’ and Encounter Bay peoples joined as *allies* against the next group eastward on the Coorong, the ‘Big Murray’ or ‘Milmenroora tribe’. Strangely, when we scrutinize the circumstances closely this episode confirms our hypothesis rather than questions it.

A prevalent view in colonial conversation was that treacherous and unprovoked savages on the Coorong had murdered the helpless survivors of the wrecked *Maria*, and then several friendly interpreters from Encounter Bay had very rightly helped Major O’Halloran to bring the murderers to justice and ‘teach the blacks a lesson’. But from the other side of this frontier a different politics was heard and recorded. The Little Murrays had been receiving benefits from the Europeans, while the Big Murrays had not. No doubt the perceived favourites were regarded automatically as being in league with the invaders. Other favoured men from nearby Encounter Bay confirmed this perception by collaborating with the invaders’ payback against the unfavoured. Outraged, the outsiders

⁹¹⁴ OS *Wirramu-meyunna*.

⁹¹⁵ CW Schürmann Diary 26 July 1839 (Noller translation).

SCHÜRMANN’S ‘WIRRAMU-MEYU’ [RS *Wirramu-miyu*]:

The “*Wirramu-mejo*” (‘Wirramu or Ramong people’) were the locals whose core site was Ramong near the Bluff. They were busy preparing for battle with the “*Parnka-mejunna*” (‘Lake people’; RS *Pangka-miyurna*), the immediate occasion being the severe beating of a local woman by two of the Lake men on the previous day; probably she had been stolen (back?) by Encounter Bay men. Was she the same woman whose murder at the Bay was recorded from hearsay by Wilkinson? This woman “*from one of the Murray River tribes*” was first stolen from her original husband at Encounter Bay during one of the whale feasts; the murder was said to have happened some time later when “*no enemies [were] seen about the districts*”, but the Murray ‘husband’ suddenly appeared at the Bay and in the shallows beat her to death with his club (GB Wilkinson 1848: 329-330).

Four days later when Schürmann travelled to Currency Creek, both his *Miyurna* guide and an Encounter Bay man deserted him because they were afraid of the *Pangka-miyurna* (Schürmann Diary 26 & 30 July 1839, edited by Lois Zweck [p.c. email 2-3/1/23]; cp. Schürmann Correspondence: S69).

In the same year, on a second visit to Encounter Bay in October, Schürmann found that the *Pangka-miyurna* had disappeared from the neighbourhood after a battle with the locals over their disputed rights to a whale carcass at the Bluff fishery (Schürmann Diary 12 Oct 1839).

SCHÜRMANN’S ‘LAKE PEOPLE’:

While Schürmann may have been right that these ‘enemies’ came from the Lake itself (perhaps the Milang area), at this stage he had never visited the estuary or the Murray, so that his geography here could be as ambiguous as that of most other settlers in 1839-40. *Pangka* or *Parnka* was a ‘Kurna’ name for Lake Alexandrina (T&S 1840), but was also a general term for ‘lake’ or ‘lagoon’ and might easily refer as well to the collection of lagoons near the coast immediately west of Goolwa, or even the whole estuary in general including the Coorong – as perceived by ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* groups from Adelaide, northern people who rarely if ever visited those parts. It is unclear how the category *Pangka-miyurna* relates to other contemporary names recorded, such as (1) “*Parangacka tribe*” (in 1837: Mann to Hindmarsh 20/9/1837, GRG 24/1/1837/365: 6, and “*Parrangocka*” in Wyatt 1879: 179; ‘Parangacka’ is probably their perception of a *Miyurna* variant *parngka* ‘lake’); (2) ‘*Little Murray tribe*’ and (3) ‘*Big Murray tribe*’ (Penney and Meyer); (4) ‘*Currency Creek tribe*’ (Penney). Nor do we know exactly how any of these relate to Meyer’s clan names such as “*Pankinjerar*” (= *Pankinyerar*, Meyer 1846); nor a generation later to Taplin’s “*Pankinyeri*” at “*Lake Coorong*” (Taplin Narrinyeri 1879: 2); nor to 20th-century categories such Warki and Tangani (though it is usually agreed that the Tangani, like the ‘Little Murray’ people, lived on both sides of the Mouth: Berndt & Berndt 1993: 309-310, 329; Tindale 1974: 218 ‘Tanganekald’). We do know that most or all of these groups used variants of ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* language, as did the *Raminyerar* of Encounter Bay (though there was some doubt about the language of the lower Coorong groups).

immediately declared war on the two favoured groups, who were forced into an alliance with each other. Similar political scenarios were created regularly on each expanding frontier as it was opened up, and by 1840 were already a familiar process in the young colony to those with eyes to see.

Textbox13: REPLAYING THE POLITICS OF PRIVILEGE VERSUS THE POLITICS OF ENVY IN 1839-40.

THE MURDERS OF APRIL 1839:

Exactly the same tensions as those which I infer in 1829-34 rose again in 1839 between the ‘Adelaide tribe’ and their neighbours 30 km north at the Para. The context was the recent execution of two Para men for the murder of shepherds, the first serious breach of SA’s colonial ‘peace’ with the First Peoples.⁹¹⁶ In Adelaide the locals were appropriating the Para people’s ration distributions and telling them to go home. There was a quarrel between the two groups. An old Para man said, “You get your houses built and we have to live in wurlies. That is why you kill no Europeans and still more and more are coming”. An Adelaide man retorted, “We kill no Europeans because if we are hungry we can go to them”.⁹¹⁷

THE MARIA MASSACRE (1840) AND ITS AFTERMATH:

Contemporary reports around these events support my interpretation of events in the same region ten years earlier. According to a contemporary report by Dr Penney from onsite visits, the *Maria* massacre was sparked by a dispute at the border between the ‘Big Murray’ and the ‘Little Murray’ tribes. One core issue was reciprocation: reward for service. Another was favouritism, the special benefits flowing to the group nearer the colony. Although the ‘Big Murray’ were not yet in much contact with Europeans, they had done most of the work to rescue the *Maria* survivors, care for them and guide them along the Coorong from Kingston.

At Noongong near Meningie,⁹¹⁸ the rescuers told Penney “they had brought the whole people up a long way... That, when they came to this point, they could not take them any farther, as their country ends there, and the piccannini [little] Murray begins. They then claimed some clothes and blankets for their trouble, but the white people refused to give them, yet said, if they would take them to Adelaide, they should have plenty. This they could not do, so they began to help themselves, and, this being resisted, ended in the murder of the whole... They were also jealous of the next tribe into whose territory they would there have passed, and who, being in the habit of visiting Adelaide, could have taken them up and obtained the reward promised to them”.⁹¹⁹ The ensuing dispute escalated into a decision that this party of aliens was causing more trouble than their lives were worth.

However, in a similar rescue from the *Fanny* shipwreck in June-Aug 1838, the survivors had been also aided by the Big Murrys and had reached Encounter Bay safely. At that time the Little Murrys had scarcely made first contact; probably the social gap increased in the next two years. In each case the behaviour of recent overlanders and of the ship’s crew probably also influenced the different outcome.⁹²⁰

The *Maria* business pushed the Little Murray people back into alliance with their previous

⁹¹⁶ The story is told in Schultz PNS 8/14 Muna, 8/18 Kadlitiya, 9/04 Karrawadlungga, and 8/17 Murlayaki, to be read in that order.

⁹¹⁷ Teichelmann’s “report” to Dresden Missionary Society, n.d. [mid-1839], in dispatch “No. 2”, Teichelmann Correspondence: 80 [Archival Ref: TB 104-106], tr. Lee Kirsten and Geoffrey Noller, typescript in Adelaide Lutheran Archive.

⁹¹⁸ See Map02 ‘Gulf Region’.

⁹¹⁹ Penney in *SA Register* 24/4/1841: 3d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27442414/2050066>. The Aboriginal side of the *Maria* affair, as found in contemporary records, will be discussed in some detail in Book 2.

⁹²⁰ See Jenkin 1979: 280-2.

enemies. Several Encounter Bay men interpreted for Major O'Halloran in his terror campaign against the Big Murray, and in the court-martial there they gave evidence against the two men who were summarily hung at the murder site. The Big Murrays immediately declared war on both the colonists and their Aboriginal collaborators. Tamuruwi (Encounter Bay Bob) told Penney that "the Milmenrura tribe, or part of them, met around the bodies of the murderers and agreed that they would kill every white man who came within their reach, and that any black tribe who had communication of a friendly nature with us, should be on the same footing".⁹²¹ Perforce, the Little Murray and Encounter Bay peoples became so close that Penney said they "form one tribe".

BLACK WARS ON THE MURRAY RIVER AND NEAR PORT LINCOLN (1841-5):

Likewise, 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* interpreter-trackers such as *Pangki-pangki* and 'Henry' and 'Bob' collaborated for pay with the Mounted Police in war zones of the early 1840s: the Rufus River (on the Murray just over the New South Wales border), and southern Eyre Peninsula including Port Lincoln.⁹²²

It is easy to see how such conflicts would also arise in the early 1830s between the Encounter Bay and Lake people. Through their connections on 'Cape Jervis' the former were trading with Europeans, but the latter were receiving no such benefits of contact at that time.⁹²³ In 1830-1 the Little Murray viewpoint would have been that the Encounter Bay people were 'collaborators' or Quislings, beneficiaries in league with the white invaders – whose raids on Little Murray camps would have inflamed the passions still more.⁹²⁴ But ten years later the Little Murrays would find themselves playing the same role towards the Big Murrays.

It is also easy to guess that the Islanders might use and encourage this division for their own benefit. These Lake locations were good for them tactically and strategically, situated near the eastern border of the Raminyeri and on the other side of the large Finniss inlet. Raiders could escape quickly and efficiently with their prey by using rafts. Any pursuing Lake men would have to enter hostile territory and risk escalating the conflict with their western neighbours – who meanwhile could point the finger at the Islanders and deny any part in it.

Thus contact with Europeans caused or increased conflict between Aboriginal groups, before colonization and even more tragically after. Divide-and-rule strategies thrived. Threatened groups of First Peoples began to see *each other* as 'them not us', adopted short-term 'collaborate-and-survive' responses, and spent their energy on faction fighting instead of seeking a united strategy. In their situation they may have seen no alternative.

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⁹²¹ Penney to George Hall 7 Jan 1841, GRG 24/1/1841/8: 3.

⁹²² The same might be true of the Flinders Ranges in the same period. The early colonial use of Aboriginal guides such as Pangki Pangki and 'Bob' will be discussed in Book 2. See also Appendix 11 'Eight Bobs'.

⁹²³ The benefits of trade came not only from Islanders but also from their visiting allies, commercial sealers like Jones. Mainlanders living in a hard subsistence economy valued a diverse range of items from metal implements (knives and hatchets) to bottle glass, dogs, and rare foods such as seal meat and garden vegetables. We remember Robinson's record that a woman was traded in the Straits for flour and potatoes (PlomleyN 1966: 82). The scale of such transactions was smaller than colonial rations later, but the dynamic was the same.

⁹²⁴ My comparison with those who collaborated with the Nazi invaders during World War 2 (the Vichy government of occupied France, Quisling in Norway) helps us to understand the kind of passions which must have been aroused, and the contradictory political pressures which people like Natalla and Condoys must have faced.

2.4.3.2 – IDENTITIES (3): THE ENCOUNTER BAY AND CAPE JERVIS ‘TRIBES’.

But our investigation must also account for ‘Cape Jervis’, the geographical and cultural space between Encounter Bay and St Vincent’s Gulf. In order to reach the Lake by their normal route from the Gulf, the Island raiders had to cross not only Encounter Bay but also the Yankalilla plain and the Fleurieu ranges: territory belonging to their earlier targets of the 1820s.

The records give us less material for ‘Cape Jervis’, and most of it is less explicit; but we have enough for our purpose. It is timely to review it here.

The *Miyurna* people of the Gulf were separated from the *Kornar* by several barriers: by a range of steep mountains, with extensive rich riverine and estuarine flats to the east and much smaller and drier coastal flats to the northwest; by two very different languages,⁹²⁵ and possibly by a major difference of culture and ideology (the practice and non-practice, respectively, of circumcision).⁹²⁶ Despite this, and contrary to what we might expect, two well-attested historical facts point to connection rather than separation.

Firstly, they were so closely tied by intermarriage that early colonists, even observant ones, could sometimes regard them as parts of a single culture group; a camp observed on one side of the range very often included a large group from the other side.⁹²⁷

It is not surprising that all the pre-colonial observers – even Bates, Cooper and probably Walker – failed to notice that there were two local languages.⁹²⁸ We noted earlier that around a major language border such as that along the South Mt Lofty Ranges, many people become bilingual and are able to switch languages according to the people they are with. The recorded communications with Europeans happened mostly on ‘Cape Jervis’ with individuals who were usually ‘Cape Jervis’ people. Many of those learned some English as a third language, and the newcomers did not need to inquire further.

⁹²⁵ ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* was the language of common speech and place-names at Encounter Bay in September 1837 (during Mann and Wyatt’s visit) and onward, and there is no reason or evidence to imply they were any different in the 1820s. Amery has speculated that Encounter Bay may have been occupied by ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* until 1837 or so (Amery 1998: 84, 87; cp. Amery 2016: 5). However, I find no evidence to support this and much to cast doubt on it. In any case, anthropology (see Knight 2003: 370), and evidence recounted in this book, show that language difference does not create as much of a barrier in Aboriginal societies as Tindale imagined. The totality of data is much better explained by bi-lingualism and intermarriage across the language border (see Appendix 13 ‘Intermarriage across language boundaries’).

⁹²⁶ Some ethnologists have said that the Mt Lofty Ranges marked the border between ‘circumcising tribes’ to the northwest and ‘non-circumcising tribes’ to the east (see e.g. Tindale 1974: 134, 213, 214, 217 and accompanying map, <https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/handle/1885/114913>; Berndt & Berndt 1993: xxix, 24). How this major cultural difference may have played out on the Fleurieu borderlands – before colonization, and subsequently over historical time – is a story of which fragments survive but the overall narrative is still unwritten, and beyond the scope of this book. However, this difference was not necessarily definitive or territorial in the way asserted by Tindale. One critic responds, “Male initiation surgery does not relate to ‘tribes’, and the only other worker to link initiation with territory is Mathews” (Knight 2003: 30). Certainly on the Fleurieu, if it was an issue at all it was nevertheless compatible with intermarriage.

⁹²⁷ Among his earliest observations Moorhouse wrote that at Encounter Bay “a 2nd [native encampment] consisted of 39, belonging to Rapid Bay and the southern coast generally” (Moorhouse 1839: 350 [Protector’s Report 9 Oct 1839, *BPP Aust* Vol. 7]). This was in July 1839, the same camp observed then by Schürmann and described by him as “*Wirramu-meyunna*”, the Encounter Bay people, noting that at the same time many of the locals were absent on a visit to Yankalilla (Schürmann Diary 26 July 1839). Likewise, an early observation by Penney asserted that “*All the tribes from Cape Jaffa [near Kingston] to Cape Jarvis [almost certainly he means ‘Fleurieu Peninsula’] and as far as Mr Morphett’s station [Wellington] speak the same language*” (Penney to Sturt, Aug 1841, GRG 35/5/1841/336: 2). It may have been from ambiguous records like these, and from the writings of Berndt, that ethnologist Philip Clarke included much of Fleurieu Peninsula in his “Lower Murray cultural bloc” (ClarkeP 1994: 18-19, cited in Amery 1998: 66; cp. ClarkeP 1998: 19).

⁹²⁸ Walker is a slightly ambiguous case; but even for him there is no real evidence that he knew Raminyeri language. It seems he may have regarded it as a dialect of the ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* used by Kalinga (see Mann 1837a: 12).

Secondly, throughout the period of first contact the peoples of Encounter Bay and the southern Fleurieu coast were linked by a strong and mostly stable political alliance, which in early colonial times expanded to include the *Miyurna* people of Adelaide.⁹²⁹ There have been dissenters from this view, alleging ‘chronic enmity’ between the peoples on each side of the range; but they have all over-generalized from very limited data.⁹³⁰

This seemingly paradoxical combination – separate yet connected – is explained in anthropological terms by the practice of exogamous marriage: there were strict laws requiring people to marry outside their own group.

Members of the Fleurieu family about whom we know most – Kalinga, Natalla and Condoy – were associated with places on *both* sides of the range.⁹³¹ The same is true of several others such as Kalungku and ‘Emma’,⁹³² ‘Doughboy’⁹³³ and Peter.⁹³⁴

Thus the politics westward from Encounter Bay were quite different from the politics eastward, while observations of the smaller ‘Cape Jervis’ group by outsiders were complicated by frequent visits of relatives from populous Encounter Bay. It is not surprising that in the 1830s ‘Cape Jervis’ and Encounter Bay people should be allies, and hard for outsiders to distinguish one from the other.⁹³⁵

⁹²⁹ Encounter Bay warriors came to Adelaide repeatedly in the early 1840s to help the ‘Adelaide tribe’ defend their land against the invaders from ‘Moorunde’ (on the River Murray near Blanchetown). Cawthorne remembered the situation in the 1840s: “*the Encounter Bay tribe were friendly and frequently aided the Adelaide Blacks in their wars*” (WA Cawthorne 1864, ‘Aborigines and their customs’ in Cawthorne-Foster 1991: 90). Newland (in the 1926 reminiscence cited before) remembered that this alliance included the Rapid Bay people as well: “*The lines of demarcation appear to have been very clear between the tribes of the Lakes, the Coorong, and those of the lower Murray and Encounter Bay, and hostilities were frequent; while the relations between the latter tribe [Encounter Bay] and the Rapid Bay and the Adelaide blacks were apparently always friendly*” (Newland 1926: 32). There is no known evidence to contradict this at any date, nor to dilute the very high probability that it was also the case in the ten years before 1836.

⁹³⁰ If there is any substance to these allegations, it is probably explained as either preparations by the Raminyeri to go to Adelaide to help the local ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* in their wars against the ‘Moorunde’ invaders; or occasional skirmishes arising from temporary issues; or perhaps misunderstood local game contests. See Appendix 14 ‘Alleged chronic enmity between Encounter Bay and Gulf coast’; also the long footnote ‘Captain Peter at the Torrens’ (at the end of Chapter 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter’); also my separate essay Schultz 2023a, ‘Adelaide as a battleground’, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>; and Schultz PNS 5.02.02/04 Yarnauwingga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-02-02-04Yarnauw.pdf>.

⁹³¹ As we have seen, Condoy had Encounter Bay connections and knew the ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* language, while his family group nevertheless gave ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* place-names for Gulf territory, and knew specific *Miyurna* beliefs such as the spirit *kuinyu*. Sally and Walker told of “*Conyou*” as “*a being whom they dread*” (Mann 1837a: 12); cp. “*Kuinyo: a dead person; skeleton; death; a monstrous being said to have the shape and appearance of a black, save that he is larger, and of an immense abdomen*” (T&S 1840); “*death personified*” (Teichelmann MS 1857).

⁹³² See Chapter 1.3.4.

⁹³³ See Chapter 3.4 ‘Flurry around the Fleurieu’, *passim*.

⁹³⁴ See Chapter 3.6.4.4, and Peter’s involvement with colonial investigations after the *Maria* massacre in 1840 (which will be examined in Book 2).

⁹³⁵ Yet a close relationship between the Encounter Bay and southern Fleurieu peoples before colonization does not imply some overarching single identity *at that time*, such as the much-inflated ‘Ramindjeri’ territory on Berndt’s map (Berndt & Berndt 1993: 330), or as claimed by the Ramindjeri Heritage Association on the basis of Reuben Walker’s post-contact views. The language difference *at the time of first contact* precludes this.

2.4.4 – ABORIGINAL PEOPLE ON KANGAROO ISLAND AND THE MAINLAND: A TENTATIVE POLITICAL HISTORY, 1829-35.

In the light of our investigations I draw two provisional conclusions:

Firstly, that after about 1828 there was a change in raiding targets from the Gulf to the Lower Murray-Lakes area.

Secondly, that for a few years (about 1828-34) the inhabitants of Encounter Bay and ‘Cape Jervis’ made a fragile truce or alliance with the Islanders. Probably the Islanders were guaranteed safe conduct to cross these lands and raid the Estuary, and in return the Islanders guaranteed to continue preferential trade with the peoples of the truce and to refrain from molesting them and their women.

One of the relevant fragments in the story is Bates’ ambiguous character and equally ambiguous role in the intercultural politics of the period.

He was a boaster, the hero of his own boys’ adventure yarns: for which he may be forgiven a little, telling most of them at the Destitute Asylum where he lived for his last 14 years as a harmless “*good specimen of the hardy pioneer*” of the old days.⁹³⁶ Yet there may have been another side to ‘Fireball’ Bates, and he should not be whitewashed. His relationships with Aboriginal people were ambiguous.

On one side, according to KI folklore he allegedly “assisted an Aboriginal man with a spear protruding from his stomach. He cut out the spearhead”.⁹³⁷ On the other, we remember the third-hand report that he had once broken the arm of a 10-year-old mainland boy across his knee as “because [he] ran away” – though it is possible that this was done by another Islander and wrongly attributed to George Bates.⁹³⁸ If this tale reached the ears of the boy’s relatives, the perpetrator could face serious consequences on the mainland.

But there are hints that Bates learned caution and restraint quickly, and even put some effort into more sustainable relationships with Aboriginal people.

We have noted his early association with the relatively mild John Randall, and with Condoy and Kalinga.⁹³⁹ In Cawthorne’s novel, ‘Georgy’ is a man not habitually governed by impulse or rage; he could think ahead to consequences and try to modify his own behaviour. He might even try to restrain other Islanders from violence.⁹⁴⁰ One colonial family of KI had a story that the real Bates behaved thus in the 1870s during a confrontation when the fearsome Nat Thomas was making homicidal threats against the narrator’s grandfather, who had been making use of Nat’s old wallaby-snaring trail.⁹⁴¹

⁹³⁶ Bates 1887b: 7b.

⁹³⁷ EL Bates, cited in Kingscote CWA 1951: 23. EL ‘Ted’ Bates was a colonist who as a child had known the pre-colonial George, but was no relative (see TaylorR 2008: Index and *passim*).

⁹³⁸ Robinson in PlomleyN 1966: 1013, cp.360. Cp. Ruediger 1980: 32; Shueard 2013: 55.

⁹³⁹ See Chapter 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga’ and 1.4.2.1 ‘Island men 1827’.

⁹⁴⁰ Cawthorne’s ‘Georgy’ is known among his mates as ‘the Parson’ or ‘the Doctor’ (and the latter actually signifies ‘Cook’). He is habitually cautious and conciliatory except when drunk. “*He was perpetually arguing, moralising, and speechifying on religious questions; yet... no one was more conscious of his deep errors than himself. He had a kindly disposition that would not hurt a fly, but when the rum was in the wit was out, and woe betide the man that offended him*” (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 58). At the end the ‘Doctor’ stands over the corpse of the fictional Captain Meredith, killed by mainlanders who mistook him for an Islander, and says: “*Softly, softly... we kills too much, that’s how they kills us; it’s all our fault*” (*ibid*: 106). Is this a sentimental sop to his moralistic Victorian-era readers, or a glimpse into the real man’s character, either from Cawthorne’s own observation or mediated by Nat Thomas?

⁹⁴¹ TaylorR 2008: 110.

We now glimpse a credible interpretation which links this character with many other fragments into one story-line:

- Sally's presence in a sealing gang in 1825-6.
- The 'discovery' of the Lake by Bates and other sealers in the summer of 1828-9.
- Condoys offer of 'wives' to Bates in about 1828-9.
- Bates's residency with Condoys and Sal soon after this.
- Their joint actions with Kent in 1831.
- The Lake raids in 1829-34.
- The peaceful work arrangements of Jones with the ten Fleurieu families in 1834.
- The long-term liaison of Sally with Walker which began in 1834.

2.4.4.1 – THE PERSONAL POLITICS OF CONDOY'S FAMILY AND BATES, 1825-34.

Whatever was true about the other facets of Bates's character, we can see from his recorded actions that he was a creative opportunist. He seems to have kept a firm eye on his own future.

For example, while other Islanders such as Wallan and Thomas were content to put their main efforts into farming and treat visits such as the *Isabella* as mere transient windfalls, Bates was apparently the first who took steps to make himself useful to visiting colonial authorities through the knowledge and contacts he had acquired. He cultivated Forbes (and indirectly the Colonial Office) in 1829, and ensured that Davis included a favourable job reference in his report in 1831.

But his most creative efforts may have been on the mainland. From the time of his residency in 1829 onward, perhaps Bates was trying to establish a less dangerous way of achieving the desired goals of the Islanders.

He would placate the nearest mainlanders by maintaining or establishing viable trade relationships, and divert raids to 'Lake Alexandrina' (Currency Creek and the southwestern Estuary), so as to provide access to other people's women while keeping their main contacts (the 'Cape Jervis' people and their relatives at Encounter Bay) as peaceful as possible.

This analysis proceeds from records which revolve around Bates. But on the ground Bates may not have been the linchpin of the process. Even more likely is that these ideas originated with Condoys or in discussions with him through Kalinga; that the passion to minimize conflict on 'Cape Jervis' and Encounter Bay was Condoys's even more than Bates's.

Condoys and his brother Natalla were either important senior men themselves or under instruction from seniors. Perhaps they were true and prudent diplomats, with a larger-scale and forward-looking strategy designed to control the incursions a little. Perhaps as part of this they were making deals first with Bates, then with Jones, and soon with Walker. The deal – alliance or truce – certainly involved 'wives', and probably Kalinga was one of them at some stages.⁹⁴² Dealing thus with Islanders and captains and their power and resources, such a strategy would also maximize the benefits to Captain Jones's 'ten families' from trade, and in the process enhance their own personal

⁹⁴² Klynton Wanganeen reminded me that the personal was co-opted by the political throughout European history too, with the diplomats of England and France arranging royal intermarriages purely for strategic alliance (p.c. 18/11/2014).

influence at both Encounter Bay and ‘Cape Jervis’. If this was the solution of Condoy and his group, it was imperfect and (in the event) short-lived; but it was a proactive attempt to survive by using whatever leverage they had.

The story, as inferred, goes like this:

Condoy begins the process as early as 1825 when he allows Kalinga-Sally to join Randall’s sealing gang.⁹⁴³ Maybe at that stage the Aboriginal man Harry is a relative involved in monitoring the deal. During this two-year experience the teenager Kalinga is acquiring her command of English language and serving her apprenticeship to become an indispensable player in Condoy’s politics when she returns home.

Perhaps Condoy’s strategy matures during his early stay on Kangaroo Island with his son, perhaps in 1829 or even 1827. Probably he and Bates are influenced by the Islanders’ discovery of the ‘Lake Alexandrina tribe’ at Currency Creek in December 1828. Then, around 1829, both sides negotiate a mutual plan, and Bates accepts the bereaved father’s invitation to go back with him to his ‘tribe’.

But by staying on the mainland without a whaleboat, Bates gives up his main technological advantage. Perhaps he now has confidence in his longer-term reciprocal arrangements with Condoy about wives, food and trade. Or perhaps the strategy has developed while he is on the mainland, as he shows himself willing to enter into the personal commitments of kinship.

*This episode ends badly for Bates; yet it is not the end, for soon after he has almost died of illness and neglect on the mainland, he continues to talk on the Dart about the ‘friendly tribes’. Meanwhile, if Sally has ever ‘belonged’ or been ‘captive’ to Bates or any other Islander – as part of the deal or in retaliation for Condoy’s eventual neglect of Bates – by May 1831 it is so no longer: she is again – or still? – living freely with her father among their people in their homeland.⁹⁴⁴ Condoy and Sally are still ‘friendly’. They are willing to come aboard the *Isabella*, after some persuasion; to refer Davis to the nearby Islanders; and to work with Bates and Thomas. The rift has been healed, or perhaps neutralized by political need; perhaps there has never been a major rift. The raid at the Mouth in that year probably complements other Lake raids which have already begun from 1829.*

By 1831 the deal with Bates may be moving into a new phase which he cannot fully control, determined more by the mainland politics of Condoy and Natalla than by Islander initiatives.

For this is the last we hear of Bates mediating relationships with Condoy or Sally. Next time (as I will argue later in this chapter) it will be Jones and Walker: for it is virtually certain that Condoy and Natalla – and Kalinga ‘at a distance’ – were among the ten ‘Cape Jervis’ families who were communicating with Captain Jones in 1834, and very likely that Walker was among his sealers.

So was Condoy a mercenary powermonger, “the greediest old rascal o’ the lot” as claimed by Cawthorne’s Georgy? Or were he and Natalla the pragmatic statesmen of

⁹⁴³ See Chapter 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally)’.

⁹⁴⁴ Bates had several wives, simultaneously and in succession – including in 1831 a Tasmanian named “*Woor.rart.te.yer*”, according to Emma (Robinson 4 April 1831 in PlomleyN 1966: 336). But in that year Sally was not one of them. If she had any partner then, it must have been one of the mainlanders.

their community? Perhaps they were both things. Whatever the nature of their motivations, their ploys appear to have been successful with the Islander regime – for a while.

2.4.4.2 – ABORIGINAL STRATEGIES AND NECESSITIES: THE END OF THE TRUCE PREFIGURED.

Any alliance with the Islanders must have been fragile. We may well imagine that each side had its own militant lobby group. The peace could be quickly ruined by the actions of rougher and more impulsive Islanders uncontrollable even by ‘Governor’ Wallan; or by commercial gangs away from their captains; or by fear-mongers and hotter heads among the mainlanders.

Mainland politics might be dominated in the short term by one or two family groups with their own particular advantages of kin, geography and self-interest, such as Condoy and his ‘Cape Jervis’ affiliations. But in the longer term, the claims of wider Aboriginal kinship and politics would eventually prevail. These pressures would in fact lead to a new triple alliance of ‘Cape Jervis’, Encounter Bay and the Lake against those further ‘outside’: the alien Islanders, including even the adopted kin among them such as Bates and perhaps Walker and Cooper (as inferred here).

No matter what deals he had made or who was adopted into the family, Condoy’s survival strategy was at best a lesser evil with its own risks. In some circumstances it could be cancelled necessarily and instantly. For example, if any close blood relatives of his who lived at the Estuary happened to fall victim to the Islander raids there, then basic Law would oblige him and other kin to join forces and move quickly with payback.⁹⁴⁵ This would be so especially if men were killed in the raid.⁹⁴⁶

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Let us pause temporarily for breath after this investigation of the paradoxes of Bates, Barker, Kalinga and Condoy.

Unlike a detective yarn, a real-world history does not have a final scene with a ‘resolution’ where all mysteries are made clear. Yet we may experience something like that shift in perception; we may find ourselves revising the whole narrative radically, and re-thinking old evaluations of the characters. These ten years 1827-36 now become the story of people who were living their own lives and forging a history which (so far) was defined very little by the British Empire.

Of course much of the preceding sections on the pre-colonial saga of Bates and Condoy are an interpretation, a hypothesis. It *can* explain the scanty and often ambiguous facts available; but this does not make it true, only possible or probable. I believe it fits the known facts better than any other explanation I have seen, until a more persuasive one arrives.

It illustrates how the old stereotypes will not fit, neither the ‘colonial’ nor the ‘anti-colonial’. These European Islanders and these Aboriginal mainlanders were almost as different

⁹⁴⁵ I thank Klynton Wanganeen for this insightful suggestion (p.c. 18/11/2014), which seems more likely than most of my other guesses even though there is no direct evidence to support it.

⁹⁴⁶ Meyer heard specifically in the 1840s that the KI sealers “*frequently*” shot men while raiding in the Mouth area for women in the years of Barker’s murder (Meyer as reported by Robinson in his journal 5 July 1846 and undated report, in Clarkan 2000: 79, cp. 81, 102-5).

from each other as it is possible for people to be; but the social circumstances and power dynamic were ambiguous and variable rather than simple and one-sided.

Yet even if there was a milder approach to the mainland – sustained by some and begrudged by others – we should not imagine that life generally on KI itself was much milder after 1827. During this era thugs like Johnson and Allen lived on the Island; so did some of the perpetrators of Boston Bay murders of November 1834; and Kalungku and Emma were violently removed from KI to the Straits. And even a character like Nat Thomas – in these years the companion of prudent Bates at Antechamber Bay, and by 1836 on the way to becoming a settled farmer – was also an abductor who knew he was marked for payback.⁹⁴⁷

So it will not surprise us when we find that by 1835 the situation passes out of the conciliating hands of Condo. We now pass on to a new period of the action, with some new players.

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⁹⁴⁷ See Stuart 1875: 12b.

2.5 – SHARED STORIES: LOCAL NARRATIVE 1831-5

In the light of this analysis of the years 1827-31, we may now try to understand how local relationships developed after 1831, and to build up a coherent narrative of events from then to the arrival of the first colonists in 1836.

From 1831 to 1835 captains Jones and Hart are visiting the coast, while Bates and his cronies are raiding the Lake. At first (so I have suggested) there is a fragile truce or alliance in force between Islanders and certain ‘tribes’. But at the end this is demolished when the mainlanders kill at least one Islander, wound another, and threaten the entire Island regime with extermination.

The three pressures on Kangaroo Island which we identified at the beginning of this chapter continue to mount. This is the time of the final build-up to the ‘foundation’ of SA in 1836, with British eyes closely scrutinizing KI and the whole eastern coast of the Gulf. The focus of Islander anxieties is not only the Sydney authorities, for now they are working closely with London towards a full-scale colonial invasion on the Islanders’ doorstep. As the westward push of Straitsmen and disaffected seamen continues, new men are still arriving to stay, though many of them almost unknown or lost among vague hints.⁹⁴⁸

Three significant new men – Cooper, Walker and Meredith – provide our story with important links, milestones and background; but from here on Bates rarely appears even on the margin. In the flurry of the early colony the three newcomers will be much more prominent than him, though just as brief on the public stage. Each of them shares a history with one or more of our Aboriginal protagonists: Magalidi, Kalinga, and two new ones, ‘Doughboy’ and Tamuruwi.

These new people are part of a new era and help to shape it. Perhaps it is a little less violent on KI itself. Several of the new arrivals are not on record for abduction or violence, and a few seem not to have a woman at all.⁹⁴⁹ But initiative now passes out of the hands of Bates on KI, and after a few years also of Condoy on the mainland. Any truce or alliance with KI breaks down; and the old Islander-mainlander regime is still trying to recover from this unexpected crisis when the long-feared colony overwhelms it from outside.

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⁹⁴⁸ In the 5 or 6 years leading up to July 1836, the European population of Kangaroo Island continued in flux, some men leaving, others arriving and sometimes staying. Bates’s brief interchange with the *Dart* in 1830 worked in two directions. In one, his information about the Lake flowed back to the authorities; in the other (according his own later account, Bates 1886b: 6d) two of the *Dart*’s crew, “*Thomas and Jack*”, took the opportunity to jump ship and join the Island community, no doubt with Bates’ advice and help. No other record helps us to identify these two men, and there is some confusion in this report; e.g. he misremembers the *Dart* as the “*Mary*”. If ‘Thomas’ was meant to be Nat Thomas, Bates (or the reporter) was inaccurate here, for Nat had deserted from the *Nereus* in 1825. Nobody knows who ‘Jack’ was, nor any other ‘Thomas’. For a summary of the lesser-known population of KI in this period, see the footnote ‘People living on Kangaroo Island in July 1836’ in section 2.6.2.

⁹⁴⁹ There is no record of any raid involving Cooper, Walker or Thompson, nor any direct allegation that they had taken part, though the first two clearly obtained women somehow. There is no record that Thompson had a woman during the short time he was on Kangaroo Island. William (John) Day, speaking to Robinson in the Straits in 1831, said that “*he never had a black woman*”, and Robinson believed him then (PlomleyN 1966: 337, cp. 1012). Day may or may not have changed his celibate style on KI, as in 1836-7 he was living on the Three Wells farm where Wallan had his three wives (StephensS 1836, 2 Aug; Leigh 1839: 104, 124).

2.5.1 – MAGALIDI, ‘DOUGHBOY’, COOPER, AND ‘KAURNA’-MIYURNA LANGUAGE, 1829-36.

2.5.1.1 – WILLIAM COOPER.

Around 1829 – at about the time when Bates was staying with Condoy and Kalinga on the mainland, and Gibbons was beginning to employ Aboriginal labour at Port Lincoln – an English seaman called William Cooper took up residence on KI.⁹⁵⁰ He was around 30 years old, and probably an ex-convict.⁹⁵¹ In 1823-5 he had been a crew member on the same voyages as Nat Thomas and Kalungku’s abductor Bill Johnson, and there he would have heard about Bates and Randall deserting at KI.⁹⁵²

Even more than Bates, Cooper is a paradox: ex-convict, seaman, Islander, ‘husband’ of Magalidi and of the Fleurieu woman ‘Doughboy’, consultant and guide for Colonel Light, hunter, drunkard, and interpreter of ‘Kaurna’-Miyurna language for the first two Interim Protectors. But apart from his brief flurry of fame in 1836-7, most of his life is hidden.

Although he must have met Nat Thomas on the *Nereus*, he did not settle near Antechamber and the *Nereus* group (men of about his own age) but on the north coast on the opposite side of Nepean Bay. No doubt over the next year or two – while Bates was living on the mainland, sealing on Thistle Island and searching for Barker, and Jones and Hart were just beginning their visits to KI – Cooper was setting up where he would be found in 1836, “on the Western side of the Point Marsden”⁹⁵³ – probably Emu Bay. This was only 13 km overland from the annual trading rendezvous in Nepean Bay, and 11 km from the farm on the Cygnet River where Wallan and his two companions lived – all three a decade older than Cooper. Here by 1835-6 he was living with one Peter Johnson, his senior by 30 years,⁹⁵⁴ who had arrived before 1835, possibly long before.⁹⁵⁵ These age groupings and the geography suggest a couple of unanswerable questions. Did Cooper join Johnson, or did Johnson join Cooper? Was Cooper determined to remain separate

⁹⁵⁰ For 1829 as the date of Cooper’s arrival, see StephensS 1836, 14 Aug (PRG 174/1, reel 1: 11); Pullen MSS Journal: 31/14; and Cooper’s own sworn deposition in Mann 1837a: 19.

⁹⁵¹ In 1836 the Cooper of Kangaroo Island was said to be “35-40” years old (Hart 1836: 163). He seems to have come to Australia as a convict but was later a seaman in the Straits on sealing vessels such as the *Alligator*. On this ship he was listed as ‘free by certificate’ when it sailed for the seal fishery in June 1823 (Cumpston 1986: 68). Although there were several William Coopers in the period and more than one of them were convicts, the details of the Cooper on p68 and especially the one on p72 make for an obvious and easy transition to the island and probably refer to the KI man. ‘Free by certificate’ means that he had served a full sentence of 7 or 14 years (see <https://www.gendata.com.au/convicts-certificates-of-freedom/> [8/10/23]).

The Cooper who obtained his ticket of leave in 1825 (cited in PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 41) must be a different man. In later years the KI man must have hidden his convict past well, as no other records hint at it.

⁹⁵² Long before Cooper arrived on Kangaroo Island himself, he must have known something of the Islanders and their motives for staying. On the *Alligator* he was in the company of a ‘John Johnson’, probably the same as the ticket-of-leave man William Johnson who would help James Allen to abduct Kalungku.

He was in the crew of the *Nereus* when Nat Thomas jumped ship at KI in 1825, and must have known him. Some of his *Nereus* shipmates would also have told him about Bates and Randall who had run from the same ship the year before. In 1824 George Bates and John Randall had deserted at KI from the *Nereus* (Cumpston: 1986: 70-2). Randall was not in the crew when she left Sydney, but may have joined at Launceston (Cumpston 1986: 72; cp. Bates 1886b: 6c). On its next voyage, sailing from Sydney in November 1824, Cooper was in the crew (Cumpston 1986: 72). During this trip the ship visited Middle Island (off Cape Arid in Western Australia) and rescued the crew of the *Belinda* who had been stranded there for five months. Among them was Nat Thomas, who then jumped ship on KI during the return journey in early 1825 (TaylorR 2002: 21, 32; Cumpston 1986: 72, 74).

⁹⁵³ StephensS 1836, 14 Aug.

⁹⁵⁴ At the end of 1835 Hart considered Johnson to be ‘65-70’ (Hart 1836: 163).

⁹⁵⁵ We know almost nothing about Peter Johnson. He was probably the Peter Johnson who in 1823 was in the crew of the *Perseverance*, commanded by Captain James Craig (the man who would later try to sell Magalidi in the Indian Ocean). This was the first of several visits to Kangaroo Island by the *Perseverance*, an old sealing brig which had discovered Macquarie Island in 1810 (Cumpston 1986: 69, cp. 34, 100). We do not know when Peter Johnson settled on KI, but it could thus have been as early as 1823 when he was already in his mid-fifties.

from the several KI establishments, while maintaining contact with the visiting traders for paid sealing work? Perhaps even on this remote island he felt the alienation of his convict past, and held aloof from other sailors with a 'legitimate' past who (according to Bates) did not want convicts on the island⁹⁵⁶ – or perhaps they knew, and held aloof from him. Perhaps, remembering the lash, he preferred to be his own boss and did not like the authority wielded at Cygnet River by 'Governor' Wallan.⁹⁵⁷ Old Johnson may have been congenial if he was unable or unwilling to control the young Cooper.

Emu Bay was one of the few spots near Nepean Bay which were suitable for a farm and had not been already taken. He and Johnson had three acres under cultivation in August 1836,⁹⁵⁸ a substantial effort though smaller than Wallan's.

From later records of Cooper one might form the impression that he was a man less stable and focused than others like Bates, Wallan and Walker. But this may be an unfair judgment, mainly based on his long and very visible presence in Adelaide as co-worker mis-matched with Protectors Bromley and Wyatt.⁹⁵⁹ During his time in Adelaide he appears to have been a heavy drinker and a restless rebel except when actively hunting or guiding in the bush. On the other hand it is not alleged that at any stage of his history he abducted anyone, nor do we know of any personal violence by him. This is more than we can say of Thomas and Wallan.⁹⁶⁰

2.5.1.2 – MAGALIDI.

In 1831, while Barker was travelling toward his fatal rendezvous at the Mouth, Cooper was living with a Tasmanian woman called 'Sall'. It was in this period that Robinson learned her real name: she was Magalidi, 'Sall' of Bruny Island.⁹⁶¹

⁹⁵⁶ cp. Bates's remark: "*There never was a prisoner (convict) on Kangaroo Island... One or two tried to stay, but we would not let them*" (Bates 1887b, *Register* 6/10/1887: 7b).

⁹⁵⁷ We know that in his Adelaide situation as official interpreter in 1837 Cooper reacted with insolent contempt to anything resembling authority or attempts to domesticate him (this period will be examined in Book 2).

⁹⁵⁸ StephensS 1836, 14 Aug. See Chapter 5a.

⁹⁵⁹ He was not alone among the prominent Islanders in having this problem. Both Walker and teetotal Wallan also came unstuck with alcohol when they visited Adelaide. All these men seem to have functioned best when they were living and travelling on the land.

⁹⁶⁰ 'Harry Wally' (Henry Wallan) helped Johnson to abduct Kalungku from KI to the Straits (see Chapter 1.3.4), and may have been the 'Harry' involved in some violent raids with one of the John Andersons near Port Lincoln (see Cumpston 1986: 133).

⁹⁶¹ COOPER'S 'SAL': (See also the three footnotes entitled 'A Surfeit of Sals', especially #1 in Chapter 1, cp. #2 and #3 in this chapter.)

1. MAGALIDI'S MOVEMENTS 1827-31:

On 11th October 1830 Robinson was informed by persons unknown that "*MUR.RER.NING.HE alias Kit and two of TRUGERNANNA'S sisters, LOW.HE.NUN.HE and MAG.GER.LEE.DE – were taken from Brune Island by Black Baker a man of colour and lived with Hephthernet, a sealer. Kit was shot at Kents Group by Bob Gambell, but the others are still alive and living at Kangaroo Island*" (Robinson journal 11 Oct 1830, in PlomleyN 1966: 246; cp. PlomleyN 1987: 868).

Here Robinson's past tense 'lived' probably means that Magalidi was then no longer living with Everett; it probably also means that his informant did not know who she had been with since then.

Speaking to Emma six months later on 4th April 1831, Robinson recorded that two other named women "*stop with James Allen*"; another "*stops with a man called Piebald or George*";* and "*MAKE.KER.LEDE.DE ROM.MER.NAG.GE, alias Sall, Brune native, stopped with Wm Cooper*" (my emphasis). The past tense 'stopped' may perhaps mean that Magalidi had already separated from Cooper by 1831. If so, she may then have been taken east to the Straits; and this would tie in with her subsequent history as Meredith's companion.

* 'Piebald' was George 'Fireball' Bates. Robinson's original spelling was "*Pye Ball*" (PlomleyN 1966 Supplement: 25). It most likely represents an Aboriginal pronunciation of 'Fireball', which Robinson then assimilated to a familiar English word. The sound *f* does not occur in Aboriginal languages, and would be replaced by *p*.

2. COOPER'S 'SAL': EMMA'S LIST OF KANGAROO ISLAND WOMEN AND THEIR MEN:

After the British navy had ‘repatriated’ her to the eastern colonies from her Indian Ocean adventures in 1827,⁹⁶² somehow she had returned to KI. Her years 1827-9 are a blank for us, but she was back there by 1830, now perhaps 30 years old.

It is not hard to see that she may have come voluntarily. Her sister Lowhenunhe was also there, probably the only member of her family of whom she had news. By 1830 KI was certainly a better risk than Van Diemen’s Land, which was now a terrifying war zone with whole clan groups decimated and dispersed and the Black Line beginning.⁹⁶³ On KI she could at least be alive and a hunter with room to move, not a corpse after a night ambush or a prisoner in Robinson’s Native Settlement.

She lived with Cooper for a while, may perhaps have been separated from him before April 1831, then at some stage must have been traded eastward. For in 1834 she would return to KI from the east with George Meredith.

2.5.1.3 – COOPER, ENCOUNTER BAY, ‘DOUGHBOY’, AND ‘KAURNA’-MIYURNA LANGUAGE.

We know almost nothing directly about Cooper during the early 1830s except what he said on oath in 1837: that he “has been on the coast of South Australia for eight years past and has been employed chiefly in sealing”; and that during this time he had “frequent” interaction with “the natives at Encounter Bay”, “understands their language and could act as interpreter”.⁹⁶⁴ But not all of these statements can be taken at face value. In fact his claim to know the Encounter Bay language soon proved to be

The identity of the ‘Sal’ who was living with Cooper in 1831 was given by Kalungku’s sister-in-law ‘Emma’. At the Flinders Island Native Settlement in that year, she gave Robinson the names of some women who were living on KI (Robinson journal 4 Apr 1831, in PlomleyN 1966: 335-6). He interviewed two sealer’s women: “*the New Holland woman*” (“*Emma*” or “*Emue*”) who belonged to Anderson on Woody Island; and “*PLEEN.PER.REN-NER*” alias “*Mother Brown*”, who came from Cape Portland in northeastern Tasmania (PlomleyN 1966: 990, 1019; PlomleyN 1987: 820). Mother Brown was then 35 years old. She and Emma may have been kindred souls, for both of them later elected to stay with the sealers (cp. Robinson journal 12 Jan 1836, PlomleyN 1987: 335-6), and they were among the few women whom the sealers allowed Robinson to interview.

The 1831 list, entitled “*Kangaroo Island*”, includes the names and origins of 14 Tasmanian women, and often the names of the particular man with whom each woman “*stops*” or “*stopped*”. With the exception of two who were said to be “*at the NW Islands*” (northwest of Tasmania), the rest were then (or had recently been) living on KI. Among them were “*MAKE.KER.LEDE.DE...* alias *Sall*” and “*LORE.WE.NUN.NE*”, the two sisters of Truganini (PlomleyN 1966: 336; see also Chapter 1.3.3 ‘Truganini’s sister: Magalidi’). Emma almost certainly knew them both, as their time on the Island had overlapped hers by several years.

How did they know who was with whom on KI in 1831? Mother Brown had probably never been there. But Emma had probably known personally the people she listed. Most likely she had lived on KI for some time after Cooper arrived there in 1829 and before she came east with Anderson. Possibly she was a very recent arrival in the Straits, and her news correspondingly recent. Alternatively, she may have heard some of it from her sister-in-law Kalungku. It is very likely that Anderson’s path in the Straits crossed that of Dutton (Kalungku’s current ‘master’). If so, Kalungku could have met Emma and passed on the news up to when she was taken east in either early 1829 or late 1830, and anything she had heard since then (see Kalungku’s story in Chapter 1.3.4). Or some other woman from KI could have done the same. Those who had known each other would doubtless be eager to ‘catch up’.

POSTSCRIPT: Shueard writes that Cooper’s two wives, those employed by Light in his 1836 Gulf survey, were *both* called ‘Sall’, one being the Tasmanian ‘Big Sal’. So far this is not problematic, since ‘Doughboy’ was also a Sarah’ and therefore might readily be referred to as ‘Sal’. But according to Shueard the other wife was a ‘Ngarrindjeri’ from either Encounter Bay or Lake Alexandrina. His sources for this are unclear, and seem to include an unreliable secondary history written by EM Waddy in 1938, where ‘Doughboy’ is said to be Cooper’s daughter (Shueard 2013: 117, 126, 226, 248, 326). Shueard’s error about ‘Doughboy’ being a daughter probably originated from James Hawker’s *Early Experiences* (Hawker 1899: 39a; original newspaper article No. XIII, *Adelaide Observer* 1/4/1899: 33b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/162335147>).

⁹⁶² See Chapter 1.3.3 ‘Truganini’s sister: Magalidi’.

⁹⁶³ See Clements 2014, *The Black War*, chapters 4 and 5.

⁹⁶⁴ Mann 1837a: [19-20].

completely untrue.⁹⁶⁵ So when this record asserts his frequent contact, not merely *with* Encounter Bay natives but *at* Encounter Bay, it must be viewed cautiously. The issue will become important later in our story.

Though we must infer it from indirect evidence, another of his activities during these years is both certain and more important: he was learning the ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language of ‘Cape Jervis’. We know that he was employed in 1837 as interpreter for the *Miyurna* people of Adelaide, and we have direct documentary evidence for some of his personal *Miyurna* vocabulary⁹⁶⁶ – more than for Bates. How and where did Cooper do this? Probably not on KI, where any Aboriginal woman in close companionship with Englishmen must have learned at least some English. In this situation there would be scant motivation for Cooper to learn a new language well enough to interpret later for people in Adelaide who knew no English.

We may suspect two things: firstly, that he too may have spent some time living on the mainland, where necessity would be the quickest teacher. Cooper arrived on the Island in the year of Bates’ sojourn over there: hot news from which the Islanders would regale the newcomer with information and warnings. But Cooper must have heard all this with another kind of ear. Secondly, we can be fairly sure that he, like Bates, had been accepted into kinship with an Aboriginal family.⁹⁶⁷

The link between these guesses is the woman ‘Doughboy’. We do not know her real name. She was one of the two ‘wives’ who accompanied Cooper with Colonel Light in 1836-7, and we can be sure that she spoke *Miyurna* language.⁹⁶⁸ Her first appearance in the records will be when Colonel Light arrives, but by then she will have been away from her mainland sons “for many years”.⁹⁶⁹ Perhaps she was living with Cooper for long enough before that to teach him his stock of *Miyurna* language; or perhaps the liaison began among her people on ‘Cape Jervis’; we cannot be sure.

We should note that this rough Islander took the trouble to listen and learn more than most. What else did he know? On the rare occasions when he had the chance to speak in his own right, Cooper seems to have been a difficult and rebellious interviewee; while in the one recorded interview which included ‘Doughboy’ and might have drawn out some of her knowledge, she was largely ignored in favour of Cooper and the local ‘real natives’.⁹⁷⁰

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⁹⁶⁵ This story will be told in Book 2. In Cooper’s legal examination by Advocate-General Charles Mann in Adelaide on 29 July 1837 (Mann 1837a), Encounter Bay was the focus of attention because a whaler had been murdered recently in its vicinity. Mann was in a hurry and not interested in ‘Cape Jervis’, Cooper’s contact with it and its occupants, or distinctions between the two places and peoples. Neither he nor any other colonist at that stage suspected that there were two quite different languages. His record of the evidence therefore contains confusions about language geography. Mann’s other European witnesses (Walker and Cronk) did little to clarify, almost certainly because they themselves were ignorant of the details; while Kalinga was sidelined even though answering in English, questioned only briefly because she could not take an oath.

⁹⁶⁶ The limited evidence for Cooper’s ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language accomplishments will be scrutinized in Book 2.

⁹⁶⁷ See the incident at Myponga in September 1837, when unnamed mainlanders among a larger group set up their camp close to Cooper because they were relatives of ‘Doughboy’ (Book 2 will tell this story). From this we may infer that he too was regarded as kin. Peter Sutton comments that this “*would normally occur automatically upon them cohabiting with an Aboriginal woman*” (Sutton p.c. email attachment 12/4/19).

⁹⁶⁸ See Chapter 3 *passim*. Book 2 will tell the story of Cooper, Doughboy and *Miyurna* language in Adelaide.

⁹⁶⁹ Field 1837: 3e, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/32155172/4259621>.

⁹⁷⁰ In October 1837 David McLaren and Protector Wyatt interviewed Cooper (now the official interpreter) and his wife (now called ‘Sarah’), along with several Adelaide Aboriginal people: see ‘Journal kept by David McLaren... With notes on the knowledge, beliefs, etc of the aborigines, October 1 1837’, PRG 790/2: 179-190, SLSA. This interview will be examined in detail in Book 2.

2.5.2 – KALINGA AND WALKER 1832-6: A NEW ALLIANCE.

2.5.2.1 – WILLIAM WALKER.

Some attention to William Walker is overdue, because it was to him that Condoys's family transferred their alliance in 1834, and because many Aboriginal people today trace their ancestry to him. But the records of his life are even more fragmentary than those of Bates and Cooper. Born in 1812 in Spalding, Lincolnshire,⁹⁷¹ he was a seaman, and may have been in the British navy.⁹⁷²

He came to KI in April 1832⁹⁷³ at the age of 20, in the usual way. In that month Captain Gibbons, with his passenger Homburg, sailed for Port Lincoln in the *Socrates* to employ Aboriginal people there for the fourth time, and Walker himself said this was the ship by which he arrived on KI.⁹⁷⁴

Like so many others, this young sailor seems to have begun his Island life at or near Nepean Bay and Wallan's establishment. There he had a companion John (or William) Day: a much older man (then 42) who had been on KI before, returned in about the same year as Walker arrived, and joined Wallan.⁹⁷⁵ However, Wallan and Day were older than

⁹⁷¹ When Walker died on 1st August 1880, his age was either 67 (death notice, *SA Advertiser* 26/8/1880: 4d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/30805727/2295721>; cp. Australia Death Index 1789-1985 V.104 p.416) or 68 (his headstone at Penneshaw, http://www.chapelhill.homeip.net/FamilyHistory/Photos/Penneshaw-Kangaroo_Island-SA/index.php?image=pc040920.jpg&d=d.html). The discrepancy may simply mean that his birthday was shortly after 1st August. Records of Adelaide Hospital, with age presumably given by Walker himself, imply the same ambiguity about his birth-year, and a similar explanation (age 59 on 6/1/1872, and 66 on 20/12/1878: Royal Adelaide Hospital Admissions 1840-1904, GRG 78/49, <https://geneafh.com/record-search/south-australia/health-hospital-asylums-and-institutions/royal-adelaide-hospital-rah-admissions-1840-1904/18/10/23>); these two entries also give his birthplace).

⁹⁷² In the obituary of the man who came to live with him at Hog Bay (William Thompson), it was said that Walker had been "*an old companion*" of his before they both came to KI. Thompson had "*served aboard a man-of-war*". The two comments taken together probably mean that Walker had been on the same British navy ship ('Death Of An Old Colonist' [William Thomson], *SA Register* 27/3/1882: 5a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/47110451/4015154>).

⁹⁷³ In July 1837 Walker had been there for "*five years, counting from Ap last*" (Walker evidence, Mann 1837a: [11]). The arrival year 1832 is consistent with the hospital records (above), which show his 'Time in Colony' as 40 and 46 years in 1872 and 1878 respectively.

⁹⁷⁴ Cumpston 1986: 118-9. Walker certainly arrived on a sealing ship. Captain Jones thought so, including him along with 'Whalley', Thomas, Allen and Day in a list of those who "*formed part of the crews of different sealers, who had been left on the island*" (Jones 1835: 252). Walker's name is not found in any shipping record collected by Cumpston, but crew lists are often incomplete. In 1872 Walker told the hospital that the 'Ship by which arrived' was the *Norfolk*; in 1878 he told them it was the *Socrates*. Both appear to be true, referring to different 'arrivals'. Among its other voyages, the *Norfolk* transported convicts to Sydney in 1825, 1829 and 1831, the latter arriving at Port Jackson on 9 Feb 1832 (https://www.jenwillets.com/convict_ship_norfolk_1832.htm [30/10/18]). Walker was not one of the convicts, but presumably one of the crew. The *Socrates* sailed under Gibbons from Launceston on 20th April 1832, bound for Port Lincoln. According to the doubtful testimony of passenger Homburg (or Hamborg), they "*sailed to the southward of Kangaroo Island*"; but shipping records say they returned "*from Kangaroo Island*", reaching Launceston on 3 June (Cumpston 1986: 118-9). In the light of his character as suggested by other records, Walker may have asked to be landed after fulfilling his contract, as his friend Thompson did in 1835.

⁹⁷⁵ WILLIAM DAY:

Jones said that in 1833-4 "*William Day (who is a partner of Whalley's in sealing) lives at Nepean Bay,* with a man named William Walker*" (Jones 1835: 252).

* Jones, or more likely his reporter, may perhaps have confused either this location or Walker's presence there. The Jones report was not written down by the captain himself but is the London interviewer's record.

It is possible that Walker was already at Hog Bay when Jones first called at Kangaroo Island (see my note below on Walker's probable connection with Jones at the Hog Point whale fishery).

William Day (alias John or perhaps Joseph) was born about 1790 ("*age 40-41*" in 1831, PlomleyN 1966: 1012). There were several Straitsmen named Day, and it is hard to deduce which of them were the same man (see PlomleyN 1966: 1012, Supplement p.25-6; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 42). Possibly an ex-convict (Plomley 1966: 1012; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 42), he was on the *General Gates* in 1822 and may have visited KI then; but he took up sealing in the Straits for the seven years 1824-31. Cast away on a remote island in the Straits called The Slipper, he lived alone there for three years (PlomleyN 1966: 336-7), and did not settle permanently on the Island until 1832 (Morgan Journal 2 Aug

Walker by a whole generation. Soon he moved to Hog Bay (near today's Penneshaw) – on Dudley Peninsula, well away from Wallan's and very close to the mainland⁹⁷⁶ – and lived there for the rest of his life. Perhaps the Dudley Peninsula set suited him better as neighbours partly because they were ten years closer to his age.

It seems likely that Walker did not fit the stereotype of the brutal, drunken sealer at all. As with Cooper, we do not know that he committed any violent acts or abductions.⁹⁷⁷ Even in the matter of alcohol, only one rather biased record accuses him of being a drunkard.⁹⁷⁸ The scanty records give the impression of a man who chronically avoided publicity, both before and after 1836. It would seem that when it came to attracting the attention of colonists he had neither the confident self-assertion of Wallan, nor the self-promoting instinct of Bates, nor the sheer proximity to Kingscote which brought Wallan and Cooper into colonial limelight.⁹⁷⁹

But like some other Islanders, he seems to have had a strong nautical work ethic. He was not only a sealer but also – and presumably by preference – a whaler. His arrival coincided with the first of the only two whaling seasons which are known to have included a base on KI.⁹⁸⁰ On KI this set him apart, for it was a quite different industry, much more strenuous and dangerous than sealing, wallaby snaring or salt scraping. But it would pay

1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-2-august-1836-2/>; in attributing this date, Morgan was referring to the 'Robinson cruso' who was Day, not Wallan as supposed by some writers: cp. StephensS 1836, 2 Aug, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-2-august-1836-3/>).

Day and Wallan were of similar age and seem to have become the core of a long-term older group (together with Allen) at Cygnet River. The three would be found there still in 1836, in their forties.

⁹⁷⁶ All subsequent references to Walker have him living at Hog Bay, but it is unclear exactly when he first settled there.

⁹⁷⁷ Walker's name did not come to the attention of Robinson in the Straits. Most of what we know about him shows him as a quiet but energetic worker using his seaman's skills either in search-and-rescue or in coastal trade, or selling his vegetables to the surveyors (see Chapters 3.4.6 'First Gulf voyage'; 3.4.9 'Second Gulf voyage'; 3.5 'Women & Islanders as search-and-rescue teams'. Book 2 will tell of his involvement in the *Maria* search-and-rescue, building a ship, and a few later incidents). There can be little doubt that he knew about the trade in women along the southern coast of the continent; but I am not aware of any evidence to connect him personally with it. Colwell writes that "*Walker claimed he had seen [a deep harbour connected with the sea] before any of the explorers, while he was on 'gin raids' to the native camps around the Murray mouth*" (Colwell 1969: 58); but as far as I can tell, Walker's participation in 'gin raids' is Colwell's unsourced assumption. (Book 2 will tell the rather sad tale of the abortive 'Walker's harbour' in December 1837).

In Cawthorne's novel there is a violent character called 'Flash Tom' whom the fictional Captain Meredith picks up at Hog Bay to act as a pilot. But this gives us no clues to Walker at all. It turns out that Tom is only camping there temporarily and normally lives fifty miles west (p.86, 92-3). Flash Tom is a hard and vicious alcoholic character who steals a woman from another Islander, fights him with knives, maroons him to starve to death, and is murdered by the woman he stole. It is extremely unlikely that this depiction owes anything to Walker. The Hog Bay location, with its strange circular boat harbour Christmas Cove, is probably there for its own sake as 'colour'; and Tom is another piece of 'colour' introduced at Hog Bay only for the sake of economy. See Cawthorne's Chapters 14, 15 and 16, in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 82ff, 87ff, 92ff.

⁹⁷⁸ This was Colonel Light in a moment of frustration when Walker's information was being used against him by Governor Hindmarsh during the brief 'Walker's harbour' controversy (see Book 2). It is not clear whether Light ever met Walker in person.

⁹⁷⁹ Among the pioneer surveyors and colonists of 1836 who left letters, journals or reminiscences, only Mildred and Jacob even mention Walker (Hiram Mildred in *Register* 19/8/1886: 7d; Jacob journal, 3 Jan 1837, PRG 558/23). From his work for the colonists in late 1836, very few records mention his name apart from receipts for his pay (see Chapters 3.4.5.2.1 'Stephens, Light, Islanders' and 3.5.3 'Sagacity of Princess Con'). He was at Hog Bay for more than forty years after that, but only a little is recorded of him, in marked contrast with Bates and Thomas. A few years after his death he was unknown, and when Bates mentioned him the reporter could only identify him as "*a person named Walker*" (Bates 1887b).

⁹⁸⁰ Bates remembered that the first whaler visited Kangaroo Island in 1832 (Bates 1894a). For a thorough analysis of the primary sources for pre-colonial whaling on KI, see Durrant 2014b: 29-35. Durrant concludes that there was a whaling season based on KI in both 1832 and 1833 (p.32), but not in any other years. He also doubts the location at Hog Bay (p.32); but see below.

him in *cash*.⁹⁸¹ In the 1830s he was probably out often on long whaling voyages, possibly including some from the shortlived fishery nearby. Clearly he was not looking for the “luxurious and lazy” life of dependence on slave women which Bates described as typical of the Islanders.⁹⁸²

In 1836 he and his companions at Hog Bay were farmers and gardeners; they had wheat “most flourishing” and “all kinds of vegetables”.⁹⁸³ From these they supplied the surveyors and colonists in the *Cygnets*.⁹⁸⁴ It was also said that Walker “after colonization... had the distinction of being the first sheep owner in the Hundred of Dudley”.⁹⁸⁵

He had above-average skills⁹⁸⁶ and would use them entrepreneurially: he is the only pre-colonial Islander known to build a small ship and trade in it.⁹⁸⁷ He or his wife would often be on the spot when colonists needed help with search and rescue.⁹⁸⁸

But the only known source before 1836 which even mentions him is Jones. Several pieces of data collectively suggest that this was not accidental, that there was probably a particular connection between the two men. For in this period, about one km west of Walker’s home, it seems very likely that Hog Point had a short-lived whale fishery. Jones almost certainly visited it three or four times, and knew “a man named William Walker” living with William Day at Nepean Bay.⁹⁸⁹ Captain Hart *may* have visited it at least once;

⁹⁸¹ In colonial times Walker joined the whale fishery at Encounter Bay, probably as soon as it began in 1837. In one season under Hart’s management he caught eight whales there in 1846 (Robinson journal 6 July 1846, in Clarklan 2000: 80). For the pay by ‘lay’ (a share in the profits at the end of the voyage), see Colwell 1969: 48-9; a very thrifty whaling seaman “*would be lucky if he cleared a few pounds*” at the end of a voyage lasting for months. Compare this with the £6 apiece earned by Bates and Thomas in seven days in 1831. On the difference between the sealing and whaling industries, see K Firth 2006, “Bound for South Australia”: 19th century Van Diemen’s Land Whaling Ships and Entrepreneurs’, http://www.flinders.edu.au/ehl/fms/archaeology_files/dig_library/mams/9Firth2006_final.pdf (24/10/15): 2, 64.

⁹⁸² Bates 1886b: 6d.

⁹⁸³ MorphetJ to Angus 22 Sep 1836 (SACo First Supp: 32).

⁹⁸⁴ ‘Death of an old colonist’, *Register* 27/3/1882: 5a.

⁹⁸⁵ Ruediger 1980: 29. Ruediger’s most used source seems to have been Kangaroo Island settler Harry Bates (no relation to sealer George Bates).

⁹⁸⁶ – and perhaps intellectual interests; for possibly it was he in 1836 who owned a copy of Brewster’s recent *Treatise on Optics* and could “*discuss its merits*” at length. But more likely this was his companion William Thompson (see Chapter 3.4.8.4 ‘Water and food’).

⁹⁸⁷ In the 1840s Walker and another companion Wilkins built a cutter *William* which traded for a few years between Hog Bay, the south coast and Adelaide under Walker’s command (this story will be discussed in Book 2).

⁹⁸⁸ Walker later proved himself to be a supplier and worker as keen and reliable as any Islander, perhaps more so. See Chapters 3.4.8.4 ‘Water & food’, 3.4.6 ‘First Gulf voyage’, 3.4.9 ‘Second Gulf voyage’, 3.5 ‘Women & Islanders as search-and-rescue teams’; and the incidents in Book 2 mentioned above; and consider also his consistent position outside the cycles of violence (Chapter 2.5.4 ‘Mutuality’).

⁹⁸⁹ Jones 1835: 252, <https://archive.org/details/colonizationpar00napigoog/page/n288/mode/2up>.

JONES, WALKER, AND THE HOG POINT FISHERY: TM

This passing mention by Jones suggests that ‘*a man named Walker*’ was not one of his higher-profile commercial contacts like “*Whalley*”, Thomas and Day. Yet he was aware of Walker, one of the five whom he named out of the “*seven Englishmen*” of whom he was aware.

About the Hog Point “*whaling establishment*”, the Kangaroo Island trade in whalebone and whale oil, and the relevant voyages of the *Henry*, see Cumpston 1986: 119-120; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 14. For the colonial 1840s see Kostoglou’s note about ‘Alex / Alecs Lookout’ for whalers, 6 km east of Hog Point (quoted by Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 129 n106). Presumably Hog Point was operating as a bay-whaling operation, i.e. using whaleboats from shore, probably Hog Bay.

Most of the trading visits happened at Nepean Bay, where shipmasters typically bought sealskins, salt and wallabies. It seems they also bought whalebone and oil for a brief period. It is unlikely that much or any of the Bay’s whale products came from commercial whaling ships, who would have kept what they already had for sale at the markets elsewhere. Hog Point and Bay were not good anchorages for large vessels; but if whalebone and oil were sold at Nepean Bay, doubtless it came from the Hog Point fishery while it was operating.

yet, strangely, when he listed useful working contacts for Colonel Light, Walker was not among them.⁹⁹⁰ Later he was also forgotten by colonists. A few years after his death he had to be identified as “a person named Walker” when Bates mentioned him.⁹⁹¹

This combination of facts may tell us something important about him. His ‘invisibility’ may simply mean that he was a very private man who preferred to get on with his life and work away from the circles where outsiders collected local information. Walker’s chosen friends Thompson and later Wilkins (another whaler) seem to have been similar industrious, retiring and focused men. There are very few records of him collaborating with anyone else, even other Islanders.⁹⁹²

Perhaps also – like Bates, Thomas and Cooper before him – he was distancing himself physically and socially from Wallan and the Nepean Bay trade hub with its excesses and bad bargains, and from Hart, who was probably involved in this.⁹⁹³ Perhaps he was a harder worker and a better businessman, who by whaling for cash was hoping to achieve more control over his relationship with the colonial economic fringe.

2.5.2.2 – KALINGA-‘SARAH-SALLY WALKER’.

If Walker worked for Jones he would have met both ‘Cape Jervis’ and Encounter Bay men on the Gulf coast in 1832-4, almost certainly including Condoy. Although these families kept their women at a distance while Jones was about, it would be hard to believe that no member of the gang talked to an Aboriginal man about women, or arranged to talk later.⁹⁹⁴ Be that as it may, two years after Walker’s arrival, early in 1834,

When the *Henry* brought stores to KI in June 1832 (just after Walker had arrived on KI) and returned with whale oil, Jones was a member of the crew. He returned there as captain for the same purposes in September, and again in November and in Feb and July 1833.

In July 1833 Jones took the *Henry* on a whaling voyage during which he “first touched at Kangaroo Island near Kangaroo Head”. Kangaroo Head is only 3.5 km west of Hog Bay, and ‘near’ it almost certainly means the Hog Bay whale fishery. He then “crossed over to Cape Jervis”. He followed much the same sequence again in April 1834 from an unspecified part of KI (Jones 1835: 250-1; cp. Cumpston 1986: 120).

It may have been the Hog Bay fishery (and perhaps Jones’ interest in it?) which attracted Walker to settle at Hog Bay. Possibly the fishery was where Jones met Walker the whaling man; or perhaps he only heard about him. In any case, no doubt it was Jones’s involvement in whale products at KI which caused him to note the presence of Walker at Hog Bay about 1 km east of the Point.

⁹⁹⁰ Hart 1836. Yet Hart must have been professionally aware of the Hog Point whale fishery, and consequently of the Hog Bay settlement which supported it. He was among those who shipped oil and whalebone from Kangaroo Island in November 1832 in the *Elizabeth* (Cumpston 1986: 119): “On a certain day, once a year, they assembled from all parts of the island to meet [Hart’s] vessel in Nepean Bay” (Hart 1854: 52); but he did not mention Walker either in 1836 or in his 1854 memoir. Why not? With his eyes on a later career in the official colony, did he prefer that the colonists spoke to his regular Nepean Bay traders who could be trusted to keep quiet about illegal pre-colonial merchandise such as women? Perhaps Walker had not dealt with him in person much or at all; perhaps Walker’s reasons for that were not only geographical. We don’t know.

⁹⁹¹ Bates 1887b.

⁹⁹² Even on Dudley Peninsula, Walker seems rarely to have collaborated with the older men at Antechamber. The fact that Bates had also been a navy man does not seem to have brought Walker any closer to him – though he did once help Bates to “set fire to American River”, and it “went right across to Cape Willoughby” (Bates 1887b = *Register* 6/10/1887: 7b = 17/10/1887: 2d-e). We don’t know whether this was a campfire which got away, or a botched attempt to clear scrub.

⁹⁹³ An Islander with prudence and a longer-term view of his life – qualities at which we can only guess among the fragments – might decide to avoid the annual drunken rip-off at Nepean Bay (see Point 3 in Chapter 1.1.2.1 ‘What were they like?’). In this period it may have been Hart who was the presiding profiteer as often as not. Perhaps Hart knew Walker’s opinions of this, and with an eye on his own ambitions in SA, prudently omitted him from the list for official attention.

⁹⁹⁴ This extremely probable connection between Walker’s Encounter Bay contacts and Jones’ sealing operations in the Gulf links with the near-certainty that these Encounter Bay people often took part in joint work with the southern Gulf coast people.

Kalinga-Sally began to live with him.⁹⁹⁵ She would stay with him for the rest of her life. Walker was the only person on record who knew Sally's real names, both the formal English version 'Sarah' under which her death would be recorded, and her traditional name Kalinga. No longer will we see Kalinga at home and apparently free on the mainland. Never again will we find her in the company of Bates.

We do not know how the liaison with Walker came about. Perhaps it even had something to do with whales and whale lore, which, if Condoy was *Kondoli*, would have been a deep field of knowledge paradoxically shared by the totem guardian on land and the man who hunted them at sea.⁹⁹⁶ Perhaps Condoy was already concerned about their fate at the hands of the sea hunters, though here their decline was only beginning.⁹⁹⁷ Perhaps the two men were able to make a special deal with the Hog Point fishery about the use of surplus blubber and offal, which could enable Condoy to arrange big feasts with many visitors and benefits for the hosts.⁹⁹⁸ This would have been an item far more persuasive than anything Bates could offer.

Whether any of this was so or not, it is clear that Condoy and Natalla accepted the liaison and continued to associate with Walker both on KI and at Encounter Bay, even after the hostilities in 1835.⁹⁹⁹

There can be no doubt that that Kalinga entered into the relationship with the consent of her senior male relatives, perhaps by their arrangement. It was not a mere adventure, much less a kidnapping.¹⁰⁰⁰ Perhaps on her part the marriage to this young sailor was voluntary or even desired; and we may be fairly sure that Kalinga also looked good to William.¹⁰⁰¹ Presumably Walker kept his commitments to the satisfaction of Condoy and his group. The liaison may even have been monogamous on Walker's part for 20 years, as there is no evidence that he kept other women in this period.¹⁰⁰² A piece of unsourced

⁹⁹⁵ According to Walker's sworn testimony on 29 July 1837, "*Kalinga otherwise Sarah*" had then "*been with Witness upwards of three years*" (Walker evidence in Mann 1837a: [3, 12]). Although she is never called 'Sally' in this interview, it is clear that she was the same person. "*Her father*" was one of the party who first accompanied her and Walker to look for the corpse; elsewhere in the evidence this man is named as "*Con*" (*ibid*: [5, 27]).

⁹⁹⁶ This difference need not have put Condoy and Walker at odds. In a rare exception to a general law, *kondoli* people were permitted to kill and eat their totem (Berndt & Berndt 1993: 81, 198).

⁹⁹⁷ The total population of Southern Right whales, already somewhat depleted in 1830, went into steep decline between then and 1849 (Carroll et al 2014, 'Two Intense Decades of 19th Century Whaling Precipitated Rapid Decline of Right Whales around New Zealand and East Australia', <http://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0093789> [24/10/15]).

⁹⁹⁸ Subsequent history illustrates this well at the Encounter Bay whale fisheries from 1837 onward, which attracted big parties of Estuary people every winter when whales were brought in.

⁹⁹⁹ e.g. Chapters 3.5, and the events of 1837 (see Book 2).

¹⁰⁰⁰ There is no evidence that Kalinga was ever kidnapped at any date, and a strong probability that she was not. It is far more likely that her movements were arranged by her male relatives.

¹⁰⁰¹ Was Sally already empowered by her ability to flourish in the challenging situations she had faced, and now able to influence male decisions about her own future? Without overstating the case, we might admit the possibility that neither Sally nor William took much persuading to enter into this liaison. They were around the same age, she in her 20s, he a few years younger, no more than 21. From Walker's side, no doubt Sally looked good in his European eyes. She had a confident personality and good English, was capable and still attractive not only to Gaimard eight years earlier (see Chapter 1.3.4 'Kalinga (Sally)'), but even to the middle-class Englishwoman Mary Thomas two years later, who commented on her "*musical voice, and... pleasing intonation*"; and to colonist John Adams a year or two after that. For Mary Thomas's description see Chapter 3.5.3 'Princess Con'. John Adams' impression (see https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/88490/1/Adams_My%20Early%20Days%20in%20the%20Colony.pdf, p.7-8) will be examined in Book 2.

¹⁰⁰² We have no evidence that Walker's marriage was other than monogamous on his side until at least the mid-1850s, when he does seem to have had one other Aboriginal wife, the daughter of Wallan's 'Old Puss' (*Register* 30/4/1856: 3d). Another alleged relationship in the 1830s – with a Port Lincoln woman from Meredith's camp – is doubtful. Colonist Harry Bates, when speaking of Meredith's Western River group and their women kidnapped allegedly near Port Lincoln, told Ruediger that "*one of the other lubras became William Walker's property*"; but this is third-hand

colonial folklore from KI recounts an incident which probably happened in the 1830s or 40s. The record strongly suggests that people knew Kalinga was valued very highly by 'her consort'.¹⁰⁰³

Several sealers were returning from Cape Jervis to Kangaroo Island when caught in a north-westerly gale, and some of the men were drowned. Sally Walker was washed ashore unconscious on American Beach. Finding Sally's half-frozen body, her consort proceeded to revive her by unorthodox methods. He lit a huge fire on the beach, scattered the embers, scooped out a hole, and placed Sally in the warm sand, covering her body up to the neck!

Their marriage seems to have produced several children, two of whom became ancestors of Aboriginal people who are alive today.¹⁰⁰⁴

2.5.2.3 – CONDOY, KALINGA, WALKER, AND 'KAURNA'-MIYURNA LANGUAGE.

Politically, Condoys and his family had moved on to a different ally. In view of subsequent events we may speculate intelligently on Condoys's motives.

In the lead-up to the ambush on the last raiding party around this time, perhaps he saw that the uneasy truce with the Islanders was under strain; that he therefore needed to strengthen the alliance; and that Bates for some reason was no longer acceptable.¹⁰⁰⁵ As before, the solution was an arranged marriage, with its obligations much deeper than those arising merely from being accepted as a presence and assigned a 'skin' (moiety).¹⁰⁰⁶ To this family Walker may have seemed a better proposition than most, with a clean history and more reliable than Bates. Perhaps they recognized him as someone who did not kidnap women.

Perhaps Walker understood such overtures and encouraged them, observing the situation and appreciating the value of a negotiated mainland relationship to maximize his own chance of safety and mutual benefit.

Of Walker's life in these years 1832-6, as of Cooper's, we know very little detail. But he was involved in two processes which are important in our story. At face value they seem paradoxical in relation to language geography.

Firstly, he was acquiring a special relationship with Encounter Bay and its people, having "frequent" interaction with them, and getting to know personally "many of the native men residing in and about" the Bay.¹⁰⁰⁷ This has implications for the identity of Condoys and

settler memory, and must be regarded as unreliable (Ruediger 1980: 73-4). In 1853 Cawthorne wrote that "*at Hog Bay an old islander has four [wives]*" (Cawthorne 1853: 162); but by that date this was probably George Bates. See also Book 2.

¹⁰⁰³ Kingscote CWA 1951: 5.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Clarke identifies two children of Sally Walker whose father was probably William Walker: George Walker and Joe Walker, both born on Kangaroo Island in or before 1836. Another child of Sally's was a second Sally Walker, possibly born of another father (ClarkeP 1998: 43, 46). The late Karno Walker of the Ramindjeri Heritage Association, and other relatives, identify as descendants of Condoys, Kalinga and William Walker.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Perhaps Bates had neglected his reciprocal obligations; or had overstepped some limits during his raids on the Lake

¹⁰⁰⁶ Married under Law, an Islander would be expected to refrain from acts of violence against his new relatives, and to discourage and dissociate himself from any such acts by his Island colleagues. He would need to visit, and share his food and possessions. Any man who took these obligations seriously might have to break with other more predatory Islanders.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Mann 1837a: [11-12]). Here "*in and about Encounter Bay*" probably includes 'Cape Jervis'. Again we remember that Encounter Bay, not 'Cape Jervis', was the focal subject of Mann's examination which elicited these replies from Walker. "*During all the five last years*" after he arrived he was also (like several other Islanders) observing "*a good deal*

Kalinga.¹⁰⁰⁸ We don't know whether he acquired his knowledge by actually living among Condoys people for an extended period.

Secondly, he was learning "a good many words" of a local language, almost certainly from Kalinga. If his interrogators in 1837 understood him correctly, he knew that Kalinga can speak the Encounter Bay language, and he thought (even so late) that this was a language common to 'Cape Jervis' and Encounter Bay, "the same" or perhaps with a dialect difference only.¹⁰⁰⁹ Yet in this interview and elsewhere, *all* the actual vocabulary given by both Walker and Kalinga is not Raminyeri but clearly *Miyurna*.¹⁰¹⁰ This too has obvious implications for the identity of Kalinga's family – but different from the impression we might gain from the frequent mention of Encounter Bay.

Walker believed he could interpret 'the language' for the colonists. We have no direct evidence that he knew more than these few words of it, or any grammar; but the 'good many words' had probably sufficed for his needs. After all, his wife could "speak good English" well before 1832, and we may be fairly sure that when he was on the mainland she interpreted for him most of the time.

.....

of... the different natives living about Cape Jervis and Encounter Bay". But Walker's special connection with Encounter Bay is confirmed by his subsequent history, in which almost all his known activities move between Hog Bay, Encounter Bay and the Coorong. In his 1837 examination he is afraid of Reppindjeri, the murderer against whom he is testifying, but "does not think the tribe would hurt him" (ibid: [19]).

¹⁰⁰⁸ See section 2.4.1 'Condoys family: identities (1)'.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Mann 1837a: [11-12]. LANGUAGES IN MANN'S EXAMINATION, 29 July 1837:

Walker and Kalinga came to Adelaide for this interview, which also included Adelaide interpreters Cooper and Cronk. Walker seems to be describing a difference of dialects within one language. As we know from other sources, this was the actual situation between the 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* dialects of Rapid Bay and Adelaide (the vocabulary prefixed "r" in Wyatt 1879; T&S 1840, 2:55, 72; cp. Amery 2016: 92, 110, 150-1). But he (or Mann) seems to assume throughout that Encounter Bay and 'Cape Jervis' have 'the same' language. He seems unsure whether this is quite different from the Adelaide language, or perhaps only a little different, or whether he knows the answer.

In his inquiries into language, all Mann wanted was somebody who could interpret for him at Encounter Bay. Walker, Cooper and Kalinga all claimed to be able to do this. But it seems that none of the Europeans had entertained the idea that there were two quite different languages, and Mann did not ask the questions which could have clarified the matter.

The full text about language is as follows:

"Witness [Walker] understands a little of their language – and speaks a good many words but not fluently. Knows the language sufficiently to act as interpreter between the natives of Encounter Bay and the white population here. Witness has a wife who is one of the native women of Cape Jervis and who speaks the same language as the people at Encounter Bay. Witness has seen a good deal of the habits and method of living of the different natives living about Cape Jervis and Encounter Bay alleging that their habits and language are the same... The language of the people at Encounter Bay is different from that of the people near Adelaide, so that one would not at first understand the other but after a little time they would do so. Witness has not seen much of the inhabitants near Adelaide and cannot himself say whether they have the same language or not. The woman who is with Witness at Adelaide is called 'Sarah'... She speaks the language of the Encounter Bay people fluently and can speak good English".

Cooper says merely that he agrees with Walker (ibid: [20]). Kalinga herself merely testifies that she "understands the language of the natives of Encounter Bay" (ibid: 22).

Peter Sutton points out another factor in Walker's mistake: no doubt there were "some Kaurna people more or less permanently living at EB", especially wives: 'Kaurna people' who belonged to Kaurna language country and spoke Kaurna from birth (Sutton p.c. email attachment 12/4/19).

¹⁰¹⁰ Walker cites "Conyou" (*Kuinyu*), the death-figure of the 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* language group. Both he and Kalinga give a Miyurna name to a site "Mooteparinga" (Murta-parringga, 'river place of injury'). She gives a Miyurna name for 'Adelaide': partly illegible but beginning with "Curra" = *Karra* ['red gum, high'] and ending with "inga" = *ingga*, the Miyurna Locative). See Mann 1837a: [11-12]; and further examination in Book 2.

2.5.2.4 – WALKER AND WILLIAM THOMPSON.

In 1835 another seaman joined Walker at Hog Bay: a like-minded “old companion” William Thompson, who had been in the navy. He was 32, and he did not jump ship. After fulfilling his navy contract he went sealing in the trading cutter *William* with Captain William Wright,¹⁰¹¹ and when he had fulfilled this contract as well, Wright landed him on KI.

Despite his friendship with Walker, Thompson must have retained some aspirations to re-join ‘society’, for he stayed only four years. Unlike most Islanders, he had no Aboriginal ‘wife’ or slave. In view of the plans for a colony well-advertised by 1835, his presence on KI looks more like that of an early-bird colonist than a pre-colonial escapee from ‘society’. After his short stay he became one of the few Islanders to join the colony in Adelaide and forge a visible career there, probably as a labourer.¹⁰¹²

Textbox14: WILLIAM THOMPSON or THOMSON.

Thompson died at 79 in 1882. His obituary said that he had obtained his discharge from a British man-of-war at the Ile de France (‘Isle of France’, today’s Mauritius) three or four years before he came to KI, and that after reaching Sydney he came there “in a whaler”. But Thompson himself told JW Bull that in 1835 he “landed on Kangaroo Island from the cutter William, Captain Wright, after he had fulfilled his engagement in a sealing voyage with him”.¹⁰¹³ Captain William Wright was a coastal trader.

When he reached KI, Thompson was much the same age as Bates and Thomas but a decade older than Walker. According to Thompson’s obituary, Walker was “an old companion” already when they came to KI. Probably they had both been navy men; perhaps Thompson had been Walker’s seafaring mentor. It is likely that Thompson also brought with him to KI an intellectual pursuit: a copy of a recent treatise on optics.¹⁰¹⁴

Thompson stayed on the Island only four years, and this may explain why he attracted even

¹⁰¹¹ CAPTAIN WILLIAM WRIGHT AND VARIOUS CUTTERS CALLED *WILLIAM*:

There has been confusion in many publications between several men in SA called Wright, and several cutters called *William*. A cutter is a small one-masted vessel.

The Yorkshireman William Wright traded around the Straits (probably with many shady deals) from 1834 to 1838 in a cutter named *William* built by Griffiths in Launceston. In 1836-7 he owned and used it in trading with the SA Company and its Encounter Bay whale fishery, and was involved there in a pistol-packing dispute with Blenkinsop’s fishery. Later he became the fishery’s manager when it was taken over by JB Hack and Co (see Cumpston 1986: 102, 165; Chris Durrant 2014a: 2). In September 1838 this *William* was “wrecked at Yankalilla” (Ronald Parsons 1998, *Shipwrecks In South Australia 1836-1899*, Goolwa: the Author: 6), or “driven ashore and lost in Aldi[n]ga Bay in August” (JK Loney 1975, *Wrecks on the South Coast of South Australia* [Fourth Edition], Geelong: the Author: 7).

Another 42-ton cutter *Royal William* was launched in 1832 in Hobart and sailed for 87 years (Cumpston 1986: 144). A third small cutter *William* was launched on Kangaroo Island in 1844. It was built by William Walker himself and captained by him for about three years before it was wrecked (see Book 2).

Wright Island, immediately east of the Bluff, was almost certainly named after William Wright: not the Cornish captain Joseph Wright (as in Cockburn 1990: 245 and Manning 2010: 948), nor Dr Edward Wright of North Adelaide. The name first occurs on maps in April 1837, but attached to what is now West Island on the opposite side of the Bluff (Crozier 1837b, ‘Plan of the Anchorage in Encounter Bay and Victor Harbour: HMS Victor, Richard Crozier Esq^r. Commander April 1837’, C735, SLSA). The name was not transferred (or corrected?) to its present location until 1840 (Arrowsmith 1/9/1840, ‘Part of South Australia to the eastward of the Gulf of St. Vincent... from documents in the Survey Office Adelaide’, C 218, SLSA; and later versions).

¹⁰¹² William Thompson died at 79 in 1882 (SA Register 27 /3/1882: 5a,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/47110451/4015154>).

¹⁰¹³ Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 7.

¹⁰¹⁴ Most likely it was William Thompson who in 1836 owned a copy of Brewster’s 1831 *Treatise on Optics* and could “discuss its merits” at length (see Chapter 3.4.8.4 ‘Water and food’).

less attention from the colonists than Walker. In the records of first colonization only Finniss names him,¹⁰¹⁵ no doubt because he and the *Cygnets* had been supplied with food by the Hog Bay men.¹⁰¹⁶ When we remember that Thompson and Walker had selected each other as companions, we may suspect that both of them continued to stand apart from the wider KI society and did not identify themselves with it much if at all.

The partnership with Walker endured after Thompson left KI in about 1838. In 1840 the two men would be found working together again alongside an Aboriginal man and boy and in cooperation with the Police Commissioner O'Halloran, searching on the Coorong for survivors of the *Maria*.¹⁰¹⁷

Thompson's obituary is sometimes inconsistent with other information from him and Walker. The full text is as follows:¹⁰¹⁸

"DEATH OF AN OLD COLONIST.— We have been supplied with the following:— "Death of Mr. W. Thomson.— A very old pioneer of this colony has just passed away in the person, of Mr. William Thomson, who died at his residence in Gouger-street on Saturday, March 25, aged seventy-nine years. Mr. Thomson was a colonist of fifty years, having lived in Gouger-street for the last thirty-two. In his earlier days he served aboard a man-of-war, and obtained his discharge from one of His Majesty's vessels at the Isle of France about the year 1831 or 1832. Thence he sailed for Sydney, and went soon afterwards to Kangaroo Island in a whaler with Mr. Walker, an old companion. His residence on the island lasted four years, during which time he supplied water from the island to the barque *Cygnets*, which brought to the colony Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Morphett, Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. S. Kingston, and Captain Lipson in September, 1836, and he landed them on these shores. He was also employed in the search for the wreck of the *Maria*".

Thompson's *curriculum vitae* is perhaps the sign of a mindset which was both more congenial to Walker and more adaptable to 'society' than that of most Islanders. It is confirmed by his only known writing: a few brief 'Statements' about Island affairs of 1835-7, which he made in 1877 for colonist JW Bull. These are by far the most coherent and reliable record to come directly from an Islander; they are his main contribution to our story.¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁵ Finniss 1892, 'Some Early Recollections': 3.

¹⁰¹⁶ See Chapter 3.4.8.4 'Water and food'.

¹⁰¹⁷ O'Halloran report, *Register* 12/9/1840: 2c-d; and see Book 2.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Register* 27/3/1882: 5a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/47110451/4015154>.

¹⁰¹⁹ WILLIAM THOMPSON'S 'STATEMENTS' TO JW BULL:

Bull's series of reminiscences first appeared anonymously in the *Chronicle*: 'Early Experiences of Colonial Life, By an Arrival of 1838'. He spoke with Thompson sometime between May 1877 when No. 1 appeared (5 May 1877) and Thompson's 'Statement' in No. 44 (23 March 1878), i.e. probably in late 1877 or early 1878. Here is his original introduction to the Statements (*SA Chronicle & Weekly Mail* 23/3/1878, Supplement p4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>):

"Early Experiences of Colonial Life, No.XLIV, By an Arrival of 1838.

In the construction of the series which has crept on to an extent not originally contemplated, it did not occur to the writer to commence with the first occupation of Kangaroo Island, indeed to do so was not then a possibility to him, as he had no personal experience on that part of the province, and he has had subsequently to wait for reliable information from such of the actual primitive settlers as he could meet with. He has been enabled to correct one erroneous impression early extant, that they were principally runaway convicts, the fact being that the majority of the early inhabitants were men who had left whaling and sealing vessels or surveying ships".

Bull re-published the "Statements of Thompson" in 1878 (Bull 1878b, *Early Experiences Of Colonial Life In South Australia*, [First edition]: 7-10,

<https://archive.org/details/earlyexperience02bullgoog/page/n24/mode/2up?ref=ol&view=theater>). Some care is needed

Thompson arrived at the right time to observe and chronicle the final episode in the hidden pre-colonial saga of exchange between Islanders and local mainlanders. These events were also the final chapter in the strange life of young George Meredith Junior of Van Diemen's Land.

To this fabled melodrama and its local significance we now turn our attention.

.....

to determine which parts of the text are these 'statements' and which are Bull's own. They can be distinguished much more clearly in the first edition than in the second (1884), and more clearly still in the original *Chronicle*.

In the second edition, Bull said that he was indebted to "*information obtained from two of the original islanders*". His second Islander was probably Bates, who in 1878 had "*forwarded*" some information which he paraphrased in the same way, such as Bates collecting whalebone at the Murray Mouth "*shortly after the whaling stations were formed*" nearby (Bull 1884, *Early Experiences Of Colonial Life In South Australia*, Second Edition, Adelaide: ES Wigg & Son: 4-5, <https://ia904608.us.archive.org/25/items/earlyexperiences00bull/earlyexperiences00bull.pdf>).

2.5.3 – MAGALIDI, TAMURUWI AND MEREDITH, 1834-6: BREAKDOWN, PAYBACK, WAR.

By 1834 the Islanders may have thought that their lives were settling down a little. In their Island stronghold no doubt they continued to treat the women as they wished. They had contact with mainlanders and sometimes brought a few of them onto Kangaroo Island. Hart and others kept the Nepean Bay residents supplied with goods, rum and perhaps women from the east. Jones spent five months in peaceful and mutually satisfactory dealings with the families of ‘Cape Jervis’, probably with Islanders such as Walker among his gangs. There may have been a few years of apparent peace, with depredations only on the remoter interior at the Lake.

But then came a turning point. On ‘Cape Jervis’ the occupants became hostile again. Unexpectedly the situation exploded into a crisis which set their entire existence on the island at risk. It included an event involving the Tasmanian Magalidi (‘Big Sal’), a new Raminyeri protagonist, Tamuruwi (‘Encounter Bay Bob’), and a new Islander, George Meredith.

2.5.3.1 – ABORIGINAL SLAVES, MAGALIDI, AND GEORGE MEREDITH JUNIOR.¹⁰²⁰

On Kangaroo Island Meredith was a brief and unlucky outsider. He played no part in the history of exchange with local mainlanders, and made no contribution to local exploration or our knowledge of languages. Yet he holds a fascinating place in this pre-colonial history. Yet in the end we may find ourselves speculating that he did introduce some new things there: perhaps the dream of a cheap and docile Aboriginal labour force in a legitimized colony; perhaps something like the reciprocated love of one Aboriginal woman.

Meredith’s memory includes no Wallan-style costume of skins. Unlike all the other Islanders, he was not a common seaman, emphatically not one of “the toilers and survivors, the poor bastards who had felt the cat on their backs”.¹⁰²¹ Even on KI he was still a member of the officer class, son of a prominent merchant family: a rich boy slumming. It is unclear what his aspirations were. It is possible that he was trying to become a mainstream pioneer like Dutton and Hart, who were using their shady adventures to set themselves up comfortably. Disowned by his family and reviled by Robinson, he was certainly involved in two acts of collective violence against Aboriginal people on the south coast of Australia, and probably others earlier in Van Diemen’s Land. But soon after his death, variations of a durable legend began to circulate: that he was an innocent and kindly dropout, a lover worthy of a Victorian melodrama who ‘loved below his station’ and was treacherously murdered by his Aboriginal wife or apprentices.¹⁰²²

¹⁰²⁰ See Map02 ‘The Gulf Region’, Map05 ‘Bass Strait’, and Map03 ‘Kangaroo Island’. Some more details are summarized in Appendix 8 ‘Aboriginal people and the Meredith family of Oyster Bay’.

¹⁰²¹ TaylorR 2008: 30. The seamen of Kangaroo Island had come from the working class, or occasionally the lower middle class (e.g. Nat Thomas: see my footnote on him in Chapter 1.1.5 ‘Kangaroo Island in 1827’).

¹⁰²² The primary print sources of the Meredith legend include (in chronological order):

WH Leigh 1839, *Reconnoitering Voyages and Travels... in... South Australia*: 155-7.

‘Extraordinary Case’, *Southern Australian* 24/9/1844: 2e [Tolmer 1844b],

<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71630137/6253292>.

WA Cawthorne 1853, ‘Journal of a Trip to Kangaroo Island’, in Chittleborough *et al* 2002: 162.

Cawthorne’s novel *The Kangaroo Islanders*, especially Chapters 2 and 19 (see Cawthorne 1854/2020).

‘Early Experiences of Colonial Life No.XLIV, By an Arrival of 1838’ [Bull 1878a], *South Australian Chronicle & Weekly Mail* 23/3/1878, Supplement: 4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>.

Perhaps he was all of these things; for human creatures are rarely self-consistent.

This rich Islander is almost as elusive in the records as the others, partly because his family purged their archives of references to him after 1833.¹⁰²³ Some important details are disputed and have to be argued. After two centuries of his legend, a few scholars have finally devoted some serious attention to him.¹⁰²⁴ I will draw upon their findings as I focus here on the local politics of his story.

He was the younger son of the big pastoralist and whaling merchant George Meredith Senior of Oyster Bay in central-eastern Van Diemen's Land.¹⁰²⁵ a prominent hardliner in the Black War of 1824-31.¹⁰²⁶ Young George had only recently turned to the sea, no more than a year before he arrived at KI.¹⁰²⁷ He came in a whaleboat, after a long voyage from the east: at least 750 km as measured from the nearest islands of the Straits. It was February 1834.¹⁰²⁸ At 28,¹⁰²⁹ he was already a landowner in VDL,¹⁰³⁰ with an estate in Hobart worth £500.¹⁰³¹ After a serious quarrel with his father – in obscure

JW Bull 1878b, *Early Experiences Of Colonial Life In South Australia*, [1st edition] Adelaide: Advertiser and Chronicle Offices: 8.

Anon [Tolmer] 1866, 'A Bundle Of Stories: No.3 – The Old Settler's Story', *SA Register* 4/5/1866: 3b [Tolmer 1866] <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/41018327>.

Anon., 'A Week on Kangaroo Island [By one of the Party]', *SA Register*, 8 March 1880: 5e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/43106882/4000900>. (This was the same expedition as Official Trip 1880).

Alexander Tolmer 1882, *Reminiscences of an Adventurous and Chequered Career At Home and At The Antipodes*, London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, Vol.2: 6-7, <https://archive.org/details/reminiscencesan00tolmgoog/page/n18/mode/1up>.

¹⁰²³ The Meredith family removed from their archival records all reference the circumstances of George Junior's departure from society, and his entire subsequent history. Most public references to him were self-censored for more than a hundred years. Maria Fels comments that "*his name was not mentioned in society out of respect for the feelings of the now distinguished family: his name is not even now, in 2010, mentioned in the Australian Dictionary of Biography online entry which lists all the other children of George Meredith senior*" (Fels 2011: 346). This was still the case in 2015.

¹⁰²⁴ The most detailed chronology of George Meredith Junior is that of Rick Hosking (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 209-226). He uses much new material not known to Cumpston (1986: 131-5), nor even to Fels (Fels 2011: 345-354) despite her valuable account of the wider context (Maria Hansen Fels, 2011, Chapter 11 'The abduction between Arthurs Seat and Point Nepean', in '*I Succeeded Once*': *The Aboriginal Protectorate on the Mornington Peninsula, 1839-1840*, Aboriginal History Monograph 22, Canberra: Australian National University: 325-392; <https://press.anu.edu.au/publications/series/aboriginal-history/i-succeeded-once>).

¹⁰²⁵ This Oyster Bay (Great Oyster Bay in central-eastern Tasmania inside Freycinet Peninsula, the region where the family of George Meredith settled) is a quite different place from Oyster Cove (the homeland of Magalidi and Truganini, in southeastern Tasmania opposite North Bruny Island) (see Appendix 8 'The Meredith family', and Chapter 1.3.3 'Truganini's Sister: Magalidi').

¹⁰²⁶ See Hodgson biography of George Meredith Senior at <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/meredith-george-2449> [8/1/14]). Among 14 settlers who gave written replies to an opinion survey in 1830, George Meredith Senior was one of two who advocated "*annihilation*" for both the 'bushrangers' and the 'native outrages'. He recommended "*the earliest possible importation of bloodhounds... and in the meantime the training of colonial dogs... to track unerringly and either insure their capture, or... their annihilation*" (Archives Office of Tasmania, CSO/1/323/7578 pp.357-8, quoted in K Windschuttle 2002: 340; cp. 326-342). Robinson had been in the Oyster Bay area when murders and attacks were common. In response to news of young George's death, he wrote that it was "*no doubt in retaliation for the injuries he has done to them. This was a just retribution. Many aggressions [were] committed by the Merediths on the natives at Oyster Bay*" (Robinson journal, 9 May 1836, in PlomleyN 1987: 352).

¹⁰²⁷ After managing the family's land grants around Oyster Bay, he followed his brother Charles in 1833 to the family's whaling station at Maria Island in Tasmania's southeast (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 215-6; cp. Cumpston 1986: 131).

¹⁰²⁸ COMPETING DATES FOR MEREDITH'S ARRIVAL ON KANGAROO ISLAND:

Meredith did not arrive on the KI-Fleurieu scene until 1834, despite a number of accounts which claim that it was 1827.

(1) Following Robinson's generalization in 1837 about women raided by George Meredith Junior "*from their country adjacent to Kangaroo Island*", and its included assumption that Emma had been one of these (Robinson journal 23 July

circumstances which included a mysterious “infatuation” which his brother was anxious to keep secret from the government and the press – he had managed to wreck the family ship *Defiance* off the New South Wales coast.¹⁰³²

With him now came a motley crew of sealers who called him ‘Captain’ and ‘commander’. Some of them, perhaps all, had recently been with him when he used another family ship to abduct up to eight Aboriginal women from Point Nepean near Port Phillip. They were sold immediately in the Straits for cash.¹⁰³³

1837, in PlomleyN 1987: 366), Amery has naturally inferred that Meredith was raiding in this area already in the mid-to-late 1820s.

(2) Concerning the date of Meredith’s arrival to live on KI, many researchers have relied on what Tolmer reported to a newspaper in 1844 *(Tolmer 1844b). He asserted that Meredith had arrived on KI “*about seventeen years ago*”, i.e. c.1827.

* One anonymous correspondent defined this whole article as “*a faithfully transcribed copy of the account current in Kangaroo Island*” (SA Register 28/9/1844: 3b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27448119>), but it does not represent serious investigation by Tolmer. His own published version in 1882 (Tolmer 1882, *Reminiscences of an Adventurous and Chequered Career*, Vol.2: 6-7) does not offer a real alternative, as it reproduces most of the newspaper report word for word.

(3) But these early dates in the 1820s are impossible. Contemporary records show that Meredith was not in the neighbourhood of KI until February 1834. On the contrary, the family papers show that he was involved in managing their land in southeastern Tasmania right up until about 1832-3 when he first became involved in the family’s maritime business (see Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 215-6). The shipping records show his family’s ships active during the years 1826-33 (see Cumpston 1986: 131-3; Fels 2011: 346, 348-9, 353); but these voyages were not under his command. The only voyage in which George was listed as master was the last one, in the *Defiance*, begun in September 1833. There is no record (and no likelihood) that he even visited KI until his final arrival on KI in February 1834, as stated under examination by his companion Manning.

(4) How can Robinson’s and Tolmer’s errors be explained?

Robinson was collecting a vast amount of data from Straitsmen and women. The Meredith raid ‘adjacent to Kangaroo Island’ (to which Robinson must have been alluding must have been the one on Boston Island in November 1834 (see my note ‘Meredith’s New Holland Women’ below in this section).

Tolmer and his reporter were synthesizing data from several Islander informants, and the only version I know of is what the reporter compiled from him in 1844. It contains some known errors, such as the surname ‘Jacobs’ for Jacob Seaman.

Tolmer was certainly mistaken, either about the figure 17 (date 1827) or about the event(s) which this was supposed to mark. Most of his date figures (Tolmer 1844a: 2c-d; Tolmer 1844b; Tolmer 1882 Vol.2: 7) show distinct signs of vagueness and haste, particularly in this one. Apart from ‘Warland’ (Wallan) whom he gives as 27 years (conceivable) and Bates 20 years (correct), he attributed

(1) ‘seventeen years’ (exactly) to Nat Thomas (wrong: it was 19), and to ‘Jacobs’, and *collectively* to the ‘other settlers’ (other than Bates and Wallan), ‘and the black women’.

(2) ‘upwards of seventeen years’ to the women *collectively* (which may be a fair generalization about many of them).

(3) ‘about seventeen years’ to Meredith, even though he also said that Meredith and ‘Jacobs’ had arrived together and that Jacobs was exactly seventeen years.

Most likely in his haste and preoccupation with other matters Tolmer (or his reporter) remembered the figure given by some, and generalized it onto other old Islanders. Likewise, he claimed that Meredith’s Sal came from Port Lincoln; and this too was probably misremembered from data about another ‘Sal’ and Meredith’s connection with the Boston Island raid.

¹⁰²⁹ Born in 1806 (Fels 2011: 345; Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 213), Meredith was remembered as ‘young’. He was about six years younger than Magalidi, but 7 or 9 years older than Walker.

¹⁰³⁰ Cumpston 1986: 131.

¹⁰³¹ SA Register 28/9/1844: 3b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27448119>. In fact he had sold off some of the family land without his father’s permission (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 216).

¹⁰³² Fels 2011: 346, 349; Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 216-8.

¹⁰³³ MEREDITH’S RAID ON POINT NEPEAN:

See Fels 2011: 354; Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 218, 243 n51. In this raid Meredith probably used the *Independent*; he was certainly present and may have been the official ‘captain’, but the sea-captain was an American sealer, James West (see also Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 218, 224, 148 n211; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 69). African-American George Brown was probably also in the party (Ruediger 1980: 73; Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 245 n61).

Meredith's companions in the whaleboat included a young man James Manning who would later become a valuable source of evidence for Meredith's deeds;¹⁰³⁴ a much older Dutchman who would become the long-term Islander known as Jacob Seaman;¹⁰³⁵ another young man James Newell; and probably a few others such as James West, George Brown, and perhaps John Bathurst.¹⁰³⁶

Also with him was "a native woman" called "Sal". Although others have identified her differently, we have good grounds to believe that she was our protagonist Magalidi.¹⁰³⁷

Authors differ about the exact date of the raid. Fels, relying only on the *Defiance*, puts it between March and May 1833 (Fels 2011: 354). Hosking, surmising another family ship such as the *Independent*, guesses "late (October?) 1833" (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 218, 243 n50). At Point Nepean near Port Phillip, finding a Bonurong family group engaged in a kangaroo hunt, they took to their whaleboat and landed. Though nervous, Meredith, West and their sealers forced a sealer's woman named Maria (Robinson later renamed her Matilda) to act as a decoy. According to Maria later, they "did not shoot the blacks, nor did the blacks spear the whites; both parties were afraid to commence hostilities" (Maria-Matilda's account to Robinson, Fels: 334). But the crew managed to intimidate the local men by a show of arms, and suddenly seizing up to eight of "the best looking women and Girls", tied them up and took them away on a sealing voyage (Fels 2011: 334), to be sold in the Straits for £7 each. One of the women went to James Munro at Preservation Island (off Cape Barren Island): "There is positive proof that Munro bought the woman with whom he was cohabiting and it is currently reported that he gave £7 for her... there is positive proof that not only for this woman was a consideration given for this woman but for every other woman brought from Port Philip by George Meredith the original importer" (Robinson journal 9 Jan 1837, in PlomleyN 1987: 414).

¹⁰³⁴ JAMES MANNING'S ACCOUNT OF MEREDITH'S WHALEBOAT JOURNEY TO KANGAROO ISLAND:

Much of our firsthand knowledge of Meredith's movements at this time comes from James Manning. He had been a passenger on the *Defiance* with Meredith when it was wrecked (Cumpston 1986: 131), accompanied him to KI, and lived with him there for a short time before sailing northwest with Bathurst. In 1835 Manning told the story at some length in a court at King George Sound when a black American sealer named John Anderson was charged with stealing from him. Much of Manning's version was reported in 'Two English Lads', *Perth Gazette & Western Australian Journal* 3/10/1835: 575a-b (quoted in full in Fels. 2011, Chapter 11: 349-352, but without listing the source; see also Cumpston 1986: 131-6). Manning's account became the only public version of the voyage. Beyond doubt Manning had much to hide. His story contained some glaring gaps which brought sceptical comments from the *Perth Gazette's* investigative reporter (Cumpston 1986: 131-2; Fels 2011: 352).

¹⁰³⁵ Jacob Seaman (Siemens?) was misidentified by Tolmer in 1844 as "Jacobs". He was then living at what became known as 'Jacob's Gully' near Morrison Point at the entrance to American River (Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 8; Tolmer 1844a: 2c; Ruediger 1980: 78). Tolmer (1844b) describes Seaman as "an old man-of-wars man", and during his later narrative the Inspector makes clear that by 'old' he means 'aged' (Tolmer 1882, Vol.1: 310-1, Vol.2: 2).

¹⁰³⁶ According to Manning, on arrival at KI Meredith's boat contained four men (himself, Newell, Meredith, and another man) and "a native woman" (*Perth Gazette & Western Australian Journal* 3/10/1835: 575a). Later sources allege that there were two or three more men in the boat – as would be likely in order to man a ten-oared vessel, unless the five listed by Manning were very tough and expert. Tolmer would later claim that one was John Bathurst, an American black man (Tolmer 1844b). Other oral sources claim that two others who were in the raid at Point Nepean also came: James West, and another African-American called George Brown (Ruediger 1980: 73; Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 245 n61). Mike Gemmell (of SA Museum Information Centre) considers that this long voyage in a ten-oar whaleboat would "probably" be possible with five or six people, "but they would have to know how to sail" (p.c. email 13 Jan 2014).

¹⁰³⁷ A SURFEIT OF SALS #2: THE COMPETING IDENTITIES OF MEREDITH'S 'SAL':

Cp. my note 'A Surfeit of Sals #1: 'Big Sal' and other Sals' in Chapter 1.3.3 'Truganini's sister: Magalidi'.

My identification of Meredith's Sal as Magalidi has been contested.

However, my account follows Thompson and Willson (below) as the more reliable two of the three conflicting primary versions:

(1) Thompson arrived on Kangaroo Island in 1835, only a year later than Meredith and "more than 12 months" before the first colonizing ships came (Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 9). It is almost certain that Meredith's final deeds happened while he was on the island. Thompson makes her identity unmistakable: Meredith's party "had with them... a Tasmanian black woman, called Sal, who had lost half of one of her feet when young by sleeping with them too near the fire. She was owned by Meredith" (Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d). This clearly identifies her as the woman who was later called 'Big Sal' or 'Bumblefoot'.

For Magalidi, KI was already familiar ground. I speculated that she was taken or traded east in about 1831, but we have no record of how and where he met her: perhaps in Launceston or Sydney; or he may have ‘obtained’ her in the Straits or *en route* to KI. She was fortunate to be a big and strong woman, as it is very likely that she pulled on an oar and hoisted a sail alongside the men for weeks in that heavy open boat.

It seems likely that Meredith’s ‘dropping out’ had been thoroughly pre-planned. He had put money aside in Hobart¹⁰³⁸ and “bought a fine ten oared sealing boat”.¹⁰³⁹ But perhaps the involvement of sealers took the plan in directions which caught him by surprise. For now he had also to escape the scrutiny of Straitsmen by Robinson and his marines, which since 1831 had widened to include ‘New Holland’ as well as Van Diemen’s Land. Well might Meredith fear, as Robinson later referred to him by name – virulently and repeatedly – as a notable predator on Aboriginal women, and apparently thought (incorrectly) that he had abducted women from the mainland near KI.¹⁰⁴⁰

(2) KI colonist Thomas Willson reported information in 1871 from an old Islander who was probably Walker. His account of Tasmanian Sal in the Indian Ocean ends thus: “*Big Sal again found her way to the Island in a whaleboat with Meredith, a settler from Tasmania, and lived with him at Western River*” (Willson 1871: 7b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158946365>).

Second-generation colonist Roland Snelling made a parallel observation in 1932 that Big Sal, who “*was bumble-footed... lived with a man named Marion, who had a large whaling boat*” (Snelling 1932, in Tindale AA 338/1/32: 62). ‘Marion’ seems to have been a name by which Sal herself remembered Meredith (see later in this chapter).

(3) There is a well-known third version of Meredith’s Sal which claims a quite different origin for her. According to this version, Sal had been “*taken from Port Lincoln*” by Meredith and his KI peers “*in the course of their expeditions to the neighbouring coasts*” (Tolmer 1844b).*

* This report was taken (but not verbatim) from Inspector Tolmer and/or his team, and published in the press in 1844 (*Southern Australian* 24/9/1844: 2). One anonymous correspondent defined this whole article as “*a faithfully transcribed copy of the account current in Kangaroo Island*” (*Register* Saturday 28/9/1844: 3b), but it does not represent serious investigation by Tolmer. His own published version in 1882 (Tolmer 1882, *Reminiscences of an Adventurous and Chequered Career*, Vol.2: 6-7) reproduces most of the newspaper report word for word.

But there are reasons for questioning this, the first of which is the existence and origin of the alternative in (1) and (2) above. Bull quotes or paraphrases a single coherent account from a single insider who was in a position to know the woman and her men both before and after 1836. Thompson’s identifications were not guesswork; he and the other Islanders had no doubt heard it from Sal herself.

In contrast, the extant version of Tolmer’s account is fourth-hand: a newspaper report of his synthesis of his interviews with several Island men. He was an outsider whose main urgent business on the island was to catch some wanted criminals (the Islander and Aboriginal aspects of these events will be examined in Book 2). For him not only individual origins but even Meredith’s murder were marginal. He may have heard a few details about Meredith from Sal after arresting her. But it is more likely that in his haste he was confusing her origin with that of another ‘Sally’; his informants may have mentioned her among the details of kidnappings near Port Lincoln (see below in my main text). He himself had probably read Manning’s account of one of the Boston Island raid in the 1835 *Perth Gazette*. But when Tolmer republished this material later in his own book, he did not include the claim of a ‘Port Lincoln’ origin for Meredith’s Sal (Tolmer 1882, Vol. 2: 6). Perhaps he had reconsidered the matter by then; or perhaps he had been misreported in 1844, and now corrected the error.

Clarke accepts Tolmer’s claim (ClarkeP 1998: 34-5), and increases the confusion when he unaccountably says that Tolmer’s Sal and Meredith’s Sal were both Suke (another of the KI women who survived into the 1870s). I do not know any early evidence which suggests that Suke was ever called Sal; nor did Suke have a mutilated foot.

(4) In relation to Port Lincoln, there has been yet more confusion with another ‘Sally’: see my long note on the Boston Island incident: ‘A surfeit of Sals #3: a Kangaroo Island Sally from Port Lincoln?’ in section 2.5.3.2 ‘Breakdown and payback’.

¹⁰³⁸ Tolmer 1844b; *SA Register* 28/9/1844: 3b.

¹⁰³⁹ As reported to Tolmer by Islanders in 1844 (Tolmer 1844b). The ‘sealing boat’ was presumably a whaleboat. A ten-oared boat is larger than the five- to eight-seaters which were usual (see Colwell 1969: 25-6, 79). It would have cost a lot, and may have been keenly envied by other Islanders for the year or two it was there.

¹⁰⁴⁰ MEREDITH’S ABDUCTIONS AND ROBINSON’S ‘NEW HOLLAND’ WOMEN: WERE SOME OF THEM SOUTH AUSTRALIANS?

With Magalidi he “took up his residence at Western River on the north coast opposite the Althorpes”,¹⁰⁴¹ a long way from the centres of population on KI. His companions “built a house and garden for the Commander and his native wife”.¹⁰⁴²

We do not know whether he intended his escape from society to be final. Perhaps he hoped that he could emulate hard-living profiteers such as Dutton of Portland¹⁰⁴³ and, if affairs turned out well, set himself up eventually as a successful South Australian entrepreneur with docile black workers. He had seen a little of such a system in Van Diemen’s Land, but probably did not appreciate how dependent it was on the prior subjugation of the local groups by numbers and force.

If the men at the other end of KI had much to do with him, it is not recorded. Yet he left an impression with them which endured and contributed to the myth.

2.5.3.2 – BREAKDOWN AND PAYBACK: THE END OF THE TRUCE.

Meredith had been on KI only nine months when he was associated with another attack even worse than the one at Port Phillip. In September 1834 some of his accomplices from Western River joined forces with other roving sealers who were preying on the mainland West Coast, including the black Americans Anderson and Bathurst. Meredith followed them for reasons of his own, and in November seems to have been party to their murderous raid for women at Boston Bay near Port Lincoln.¹⁰⁴⁴

Under examination James Manning said that

there was another whaleboat on Long Island [Thistle Island]¹⁰⁴⁵ with four men in her named George Roberts, John Howlett, Harry and William Forbes. In November, on Boston Island, the people in this latter boat caught five native women from the

‘New Holland’ was Robinson’s usual term for any part of the mainland of Australia. It was not until May 1836 that a sealer identified George Meredith to Robinson as the man who in recent years had kidnapped and brought to the Straits several “*New Holland*” women; and also that since then Meredith had been speared somewhere on the mainland (Robinson journal 9 May 1836, PlomleyN 1987: 352).

However, other interviewees later claimed that some at least of these victims were kidnapped “*from their country adjacent to Kangaroo Island*” and that those were the people who had killed him (Robinson journal 23 July 1837, PlomleyN 1987: 366). It does not seem that Robinson ever clarified the origins of those ‘*New Holland*’ women whom he did not rescue or at least interview personally, and his journals reflect this vagueness. Nor in most cases did he distinguish *different* places ‘adjacent to Kangaroo Island’, and when he tried, he got confused about the geography (as in the cases of Kalungku and Emma-Emue: see Chapter 1). A similar confusion surrounds the allegation that a Tasmanian woman called Matilda had been present at Meredith’s death (see Robinson in PlomleyN 1987: 366; Fels 2011: 328, 354).

In the light of all evidence about Meredith’s activities, we conclude that Robinson’s reports of him – and subsequent interpretations based on Robinson – probably derive mainly from only three real events: the abductions at Port Phillip in 1833; those from near Port Lincoln in Nov 1834; and Meredith’s death at Yankalilla.

¹⁰⁴¹ The Althorpes are a group of small precipitous islands off the ‘toe’ of Yorke Peninsula.

¹⁰⁴² Manning in Cumpston 1986: 132.

¹⁰⁴³ See Chapter 1.3.2 ‘Kalungku’.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Boston Bay and Boston Island lie immediately east of Port Lincoln town. It is possible that Meredith did not predict or condone this raid at Boston Bay. Yet he cannot be absolved of the will to violence here. His involvement began when he followed Anderson and Bathurst’s party to Thistle Island and with Anderson’s help robbed Manning of £4.10.0 at gunpoint, claiming that Manning had stolen it from him (Cumpston 1986: 133. This was the robbery which would motivate Manning to go to court later in King George Sound and give so much delicate evidence). In view of the wealth awaiting Meredith in Hobart, this does suggest a man who loved money and was prepared to back it by force.

¹⁰⁴⁵ “*Long Island... seems to be another name for Thistle Island*” (Cumpston 1986: 132).

*neighbourhood of Port Lincoln and enticed two of their husbands into the boat and carried them off to the island, where in spite of the remonstrances of Declarant [Manning]... Anderson, Roberts, Harry, Forbes, and Bathurst went with the two native men just round a point, where they shot them, and beat their brains out with clubs. Declarant believes they still have the women in their possession, except Forbes, the woman he had having run away shortly after. Two infants the women had at the breast at the time they murdered their husbands they gave to an old woman and made her carry them into the bush. One other native was drowned endeavouring to swim to the island to recover his wife.*¹⁰⁴⁶

While kidnapping five women would certainly cause wrath among their clans, this incident was even more explosive. Three Aboriginal men died, and probably the two un-weaned infants as well. The news would travel far. Meredith's name would probably travel with it, along with those of other identifiable Islanders, while he returned to KI¹⁰⁴⁷ with Forbes and the woman who later ran away.¹⁰⁴⁸

¹⁰⁴⁶ THE RAID AT BOSTON ISLAND:

Once again the account comes from James Manning's court evidence (Cumpston 1986: 133). The wording of Cumpston's version is slightly different from the *Perth Gazette* in Fels, and may be from the court records. Another account of what is probably the same incident was received by government servant Nathaniel Hailes from Aboriginal people at Port Lincoln in the 1840s, and reported by him much later. He believed it had happened at Kirton Point in the 1820s (Nathaniel Hailes 1878 (ed. Allan L Peters 1998), *Recollections: Nathaniel Hailes' adventurous life in colonial SA*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press: 128; original newspaper article <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/42980899/4004783>).

Some (e.g. Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 208, 223) have thought that one of the women abducted in this raid was 'Little Sal'. This might be so, but only if we disregard Snelling's claim that she "was caught by the whites near Cape Jervis", while accepting that she told him "not once but often" that "she was an Australian black", i.e. a mainlander (Snelling 1932, in Tindale AA 338/1/32: 62).

P Clarke speculates that the 'Harry' in this party might have been Gaimard's 'Kaurua'-Miyurna informant, the Aboriginal sealer Harry (ClarkeP 1998: 38, citing *Perth Gazette* 3/10/1835). Aboriginal men sometimes did take part in European raids on other groups; and among the crew of four boatmen only he lacks a surname, which might suggest that he was Aboriginal. It is certainly possible; members of one group quite often took service in violent excursions by whites against other groups (e.g. 'Henry' and 'Bob' from Adelaide who went to Port Lincoln in 1842 with Lt. Hugonin's Mounted Police [James McLean 1903, 'Police Experiences with the Natives', *Proceedings of Royal Geographical Society (SA)* 6: 77-80, <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/15091>]). But this 1834 Harry might also have been the well-known Henry Wallan, whom Kalungku called 'Harry Wally' (see Chapter 1.3.2).

After quoting Manning's description of the Boston Bay murders, the *Perth Gazette's* reporter prophesied that "future settlers in the neighbourhood of Port Lincoln will be made to expiate the crimes and outrages of these lawless assassins" (*Perth Gazette & Western Australian Journal* 3/10/1835: 575b). In late 1836 the people at Port Lincoln were still said to be "very ferocious", as reported by new immigrant William Deacon on his arrival at Kingscote, no doubt quoting conversation with Islanders (Deacon letter 2/11/1836, in P Hope 1968, *The Voyage of the Africaine*: 111). The Port Lincoln wars of the 1840s proved all this prognosis to be correct.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Fels (p.353) assumes that Meredith remained stuck on Thistle Island, but this appears groundless. No doubt he returned to Kangaroo Island with the same whaleboat and crew that had brought him hence.

¹⁰⁴⁸ A SURFEIT OF SALS #3: A KANGAROO ISLAND SALLY FROM PORT LINCOLN?

The Boston Island event has given rise to many speculations about yet another Sal or Sally abducted from 'near Port Lincoln': which one was she of the various Sals known to have lived with sealers around SA? Tolmer asserted she was Meredith's Sal (see my note 'A Surfeit of Sals #2: competing identities of Meredith's Sal', above in this section). Hosking speculates that she was 'Little Sal' (see note above, 'Raid at Boston Island'). Two other tales are also brought into the argument:

(1) "Sally" and "Charlotte" on St Peters Island with Bryant:

At an unspecified date in the heyday of the KI sealers, a 'Sally' and 'Charlotte' were living with a sealer Bryant on St Peters Island (off today's Ceduna on the far West Coast). After the death of their 'master' they were re-abducted by a gang from KI including John Williams. They were taken to King George Sound, then dumped again at St Peters. Charlotte was abducted by yet another pair of sealers, survived a wreck and eventually returned to Port Lincoln after settlement there (which began in 1839). Sally was left on St Peters with her two children, and it is unclear what became of them (GB Barton 1902, quoted in Cumpston 1986: 181-2). These events could well have happened between 1834

Far away – but not beyond the reach of the Aboriginal ‘bush telegraph’ – trouble was brewing on ‘Cape Jervis’. We have no exact date, but it must have been around this time (1835) that the last Lake raid was ambushed and Bates was speared in the foot.

Meanwhile Meredith, back on KI again, was perhaps inspired by the employment model which Captain Jones was using at about the same time. He “had also with him two native boys whom he had procured from the mainland, and whom he was training to be of great use to him in his sealing trips”.¹⁰⁴⁹ This kind of thing may have become familiar practice by now, even if not common enough on KI to be visible to the outsiders who made the records. According to Islanders later, these “two lads” came from Encounter Bay. They “acted as servants” at Meredith’s establishment, and were being trained in skills which doubtless included the use of that fine large whaleboat.¹⁰⁵⁰ For them it was a hunting trade in many ways continuous with their own traditions and technologies; whaleboat management would have been a natural extension of freshwater skills learned in bark canoes on the Murray River and Lake. For him they may have been extra recruits needed because his large whaleboat required up to twice as many oarsmen as the average craft.

Eventually¹⁰⁵¹ – perhaps still basking in the apparent local peace of 1834 – Meredith “in one of his boat voyages” visited the mainland at Yankalilla, taking with him Magalidi and

and 1839. Clarke speculated that these women might have been two of the victims of the 1834 abductions near Port Lincoln (ClarkeP 1998: 18-9, 37). But this was not Charlotte’s homeland; she dreaded the local ‘tribes’ there, and wanted the settlers to protect her from “*any interference*” by them.

(2) Bill Brien and his family on Flinders Island:

A similar-sounding group of people was involved in the ‘human conundrum’ of Bill Brien, who had grown up on Flinders Island (off Elliston on the central-western coast of Eyre Peninsula) with his Aboriginal mother, his Irish father Brien, and two sisters. (Chapter 18 ‘Bill Brien: a Human Enigma’, Hailes 1878: 129-134; original newspaper article <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/42988698>). However, this appears to be a different group from both of the others. Certainly Hailes thought the abduction by Irish Brien had happened “*a year or two before*” the Kirton Point event; and this Brien Senior did not die until 1845.

Clarke equated Sally’s Bryant with Bill Brien Senior, and speculated that Bill Brien Jnr may have been Charlotte’s son, and further that Bryant’s Sally was the ‘Little Sal’ of KI folklore later (ClarkeP 1998: 37, 41; Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 208, 223); but a reliable source who knew Little Sal well asserts that she was “*caught by the whites near Cape Jervis*” (Snelling 1932, in Tindale AA 338/1/32: 62).

Tindale, following Tolmer, thought that Meredith’s Sal was ‘Little Sal’ (Tindale 1937a: 32, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/127561#page/36/mode/1up>); and others have followed Tindale (e.g. G Edith Wells 1978, *Kangaroo Island South Australia: Cradle of a Colony*, Kingscote: Island Press: 32, as cited in the Appendix of an early online version Gordon Copland’s essay ‘The Mysteries of Karta’. His old Appendix is now unavailable online. The final form of his essay is published in Chittleborough *et al* 2002: 129-140, without the Appendix which has an Aboriginal chronology).

It may be impossible now to know the truth of Port Lincoln Sal’s identity. It is also unlikely that any of the three groups in the discussion above contained the same people.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 8. It is likely that these two young men came to the Island voluntarily. ‘Procured’ is an ambiguous word. When applied to women it could mean either ‘traded’ or ‘kidnapped’, and certainly the latter when applied to children. Hosking suggests that they may have been two children kidnapped at Port Phillip (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 222). But this idea is based on a misreading of the Thompson-Bull text. There is no evidence to support it, and Tolmer’s evidence is against it.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Islanders told Inspector Tolmer later that they were “*two lads from Encounter Bay, who acted as their servants*” (Tolmer 1844b). ‘Lads’ here is likely to mean ‘able-bodied youths’. ‘Boys’ (in Thompson) is also ambiguous when applied in the 19th century to black males. If Encounter Bay Bob was one of them, he was certainly not a child when he commanded a whaleboat within a year or so of Meredith’s arrival on Kangaroo Island (see below).

¹⁰⁵¹ DATE OF THE MURDER OF MEREDITH:

the two young trainees. He made this visit “very much against [the] advice” of his companion from the east Jacob Seaman, a much older and cannier ex-navy sailor.¹⁰⁵² Meredith was still only 29 years old, and over-confident – much like Bates six years or so before him, who had also gone to the mainland ‘against the wishes and warnings of his comrades’.

“He landed” (says Thompson) “on the part of the coast now known as Yankalilla”, and there “whilst they were encamped Meredith was killed by his two black boys”.¹⁰⁵³

2.5.3.3 – FROM CONDOY TO TAMARUWI: DECLARATION OF WAR.

Three months later, a rather oddly-mixed group of Islanders – Seaman, Wallan, Thomas and Walker – came over to search for the missing young man. They found Magalidi at

It must have happened before October 1835, possibly several months before.

Captain Hart, in his list of useful Islanders noted in England in January 1836, did not mention Meredith but did mention that the Islanders “*are unwilling to leave the Island*” (Hart 1836): probably because of the threat from Encounter Bay which followed Meredith’s death. It is therefore likely that the Islanders had learned of the threat by the time Hart made his last visit to Kangaroo Island. It was said that they learned this “*about three months*” after the murder (Tolmer 1844b). When did Hart visit KI for the last time before writing his note? He made trips to “*Bass’s Straits*” (which *may* have included KI) in Oct 1834, again before 28 Feb 1835, and there are no other records of him visiting the area before he sailed for London on 10 Oct 1835 (Cumpston 1986: 124, 136). Meredith was still alive in Nov 1834 but could have been murdered soon after his return from Thistle Island, say in Dec 1834, still about three months before Feb 1835. Or perhaps Hart made an unrecorded visit between Feb and Sep 1835, or had news from other visitors.

¹⁰⁵² Tolmer 1844b. Tolmer refers to Jacob Seaman as “*Jacobs*”. He may have heard this detail from Seaman himself. According to later folklore (e.g. Leigh 1839: 155-7), Meredith had decided to *settle* on the mainland, but no reliable accounts make this claim.

¹⁰⁵³ Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 8.

WHERE WAS MEREDITH MURDERED AND BURIED? –

Cawthorne knew where the body was buried because Nat Thomas had shown him the place. We can therefore take it that the murder place described in his novel is accurate – if we can understand it:

“The hills retreated from the coastline, though here and there a kind of conical mound was left. On one of these Captain Meredith determined to camp... half way up that conical mound they found the mutilated corpse... On the very spot where this tragedy happened, the plough now moves along, and waving cornfields crown the grave of Captain Meredith... the conical hill will remain for ever a monument of this murder... The spot is near the Yankalilla River and forms now a part of the farm of one of our wealthy colonists” (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 104, 106, 107; cp. 209-210, 224, 179 n363).

This could apply either to Haycock Point at Carrickalinga (which Hosking favours) or to the hills at the mouth of the Yankalilla River Gorge at Lady Bay.

Haycock Point is a known landing place used by Barker and its low hill is easy to climb. But rather than being ‘near the Yankalilla River’, it has two other named rivers between it and the Yankalilla – as Cawthorne would have known in 1854. (Their names, ‘Carrickalinga’ and ‘Bungala’, obtained in 1839-40, were in common usage thereafter: see Schultz PNS 5.01/07 Karragalingga [forthcoming] and 5.02.01/01 Pangkarla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-02-01-01Pangkar.pdf>. Old paintings show two clear conical hills at Haycock Point: Giles-Angas lithograph ‘Currakalinga’ in Angas 1847a, SA *Illustrated* Plate 33; and a Thomas Wood watercolour 1903, ‘Calicalinga’ [sic], <http://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=961&c=7530> (28/11/14).

Lady Bay is on the Main South Road at the southern end of the plains, at the mouth of Yankalilla River just below the Gorge. This was the site of Light’s survey camp in 1836, and he painted the scene, including one of the hills which might be called ‘conical’ (W Light 1836, ‘View at Yankalillah’, Art Gallery of SA). At the Yankalilla mouth the hills ‘retreat from the coastline’ to make room for the little estuary. Though much steeper to climb than Haycock they are more conical, and certainly ‘near the Yankalilla River’; and therefore they seem to me rather more likely. However, at both places the hills are much bigger than a ‘mound’.

According to local chronicler Lucy Webb the murder happened “*at Yankalilla Gorge, while fishing around Normanville*” (Lucy Webb 1929, in Yankalilla Yarns No. 56, Nov 1929, Yankalilla & District Historical Society archive files 6207-8). Her source is unknown. PT Bell reported that Magalidi said it was at Second Valley (see below in main text).

The matter might be settled by a careful survey of hill shapes as viewed from the sea, combined with the Section numbers in the area from Carrickalinga to Lady Bay which were owned by ‘wealthy colonists’ in 1853 when Cawthorne was writing the novel.

Rapid Bay, rescued her – we shall see that ‘rescued’ is the right word – and heard her story:

*Whilst their unsuspecting master was sitting near the camp fire partaking of porridge, the boys stole behind him, and with a small hatchet split his skull open, causing instantaneous death.*¹⁰⁵⁴

One version has it that “one of these lads had fallen in love with Sal” and the murder was “a means of getting her”.¹⁰⁵⁵

Be that as it may, what impressed the rescuers most was a much bigger scenario:¹⁰⁵⁶

It was supposed that they had been instigated to commit this act of treachery by some blackfellows,¹⁰⁵⁷ who afterwards took possession of the black woman, the boat, and all its contents, with which they made their way to Encounter Bay.

Even worse, revolution was at work:

*It was manned by them, and under the command of one of them... who intended to go over to the island and murder all the whites.*¹⁰⁵⁸

Clearly someone among the Encounter Bay men knew how to command a whaleboat; for they had ‘made their way’ – rowing or sailing it – more than 80 km from Yankalilla around the Cape to Encounter Bay.¹⁰⁵⁹ In one stroke these men had put Encounter Bay warriors on a level playing field. They now had an ocean craft and knew how to use it, at least within sight of land. With this development they deprived the Islanders of their monopoly on mobility and surprise by sea, and of their unassailable safety on the Island. Now numbers, warrior organization and traditional weapons might count for more than slow-loading guns.¹⁰⁶⁰ And it is quite likely there were a few Encounter Bay men (or Fleurieu relatives) already on the Island. Were they ‘sleepers’ who would join forces with attackers from the mainland?

Within cultural politics, the initiative had passed out of the hands of old Condoys’ diplomacy and was now with the young warriors. According to later records, the firebrand commander was the young man Tamuruwi who within two years would become well-known as ‘Encounter Bay Bob’.¹⁰⁶¹ Tamuruwi must have learned whaleboat skills in the several previous years with the sealing gangs of captains like Jones, or perhaps during

¹⁰⁵⁴ Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 8. Tolmer has it that Meredith was “on deck” reading his Bible (cp. also Nat Thomas in Cawthorne 1853: 162). Leigh before him had said that Meredith “was a religious person”, and that it was a prayer-book (Leigh 1839: 156). The ‘hatchet’ (Thompson) or ‘tomahawk’ (Tolmer) was found later by Captain Martin, probably during his Gulf exploration with Walker in 1836 (see Chapter 3.4.6.2 ‘To the mangroves’).

¹⁰⁵⁵ Tolmer 1844b.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Thompson in Bull 1878b: 8.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Tolmer confirms that these ‘blackfellows’ were “*Encounter Bay Blacks*” (Tolmer 1844b).

¹⁰⁵⁸ Tolmer 1844b.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Any whaleboat would be much too heavy and cumbersome to be transported over the range by hand. A 10-oar whaleboat would be about 30 feet long and weigh more than half a ton unloaded. The voyage around this coast involves managing the tide and currents of Backstairs passage, which can be horrendous. Bob and his crew must have acquired a considerable degree of expertise (Mike Gemmell, SA Museum Information Centre, p.c. email 13 Jan 2014).

¹⁰⁶⁰ See my note on guns in Chapter 1.1.6.2.3 ‘Whaleboats’.

¹⁰⁶¹ Tolmer 1844b. Tolmer must have obtained this identification from either Sal or the Islanders he spoke with in 1844 on Kangaroo Island (see Book 2). Bob’s real name in Raminyeri was *Tamuruwi*. He was strongly linked to Encounter Bay; his links with the ‘Adelaide tribe’ were not as strong as some other authors have suggested. His father was an important man at Encounter Bay, *Yangarawi* or ‘Yungerrow, king of the Rormear’ (‘Old Bob’) (Mann to Hindmarsh, 20/9/1837, GRG 24/1/1837/365: 2). See my separate essay Schultz 2023b, ‘Tamuruwi’.

visits to KI. Perhaps he had learned from Meredith himself; for it is conceivable that he was one of Meredith's two lads.¹⁰⁶² In that case we might suspect that these young men had designs on Meredith and his vessel from the start.

Tamuruwi would soon become an interpreter of 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* language for the colonists, and later a collaborator with their police force.¹⁰⁶³ But in 1835 he was a passionate young warrior planning a counterattack against enemies of his land and people.¹⁰⁶⁴ His object was to exterminate them altogether. This was a military goal which

¹⁰⁶² WHO WERE THE 'TWO LADS' WHO KILLED MEREDITH?

It is conceivable that Tamuruwi ('Encounter Bay Bob') was one of these 'two lads'. However, despite this assumption by other readers of the source, there is no positive evidence for it.

Thompson said that "*it was supposed*" (by the Islanders) that the lads were "*instigated*" by the others. Whether this was so, or whether the lads took the first initiative, it is very likely that the murder was in accord with the known wishes of the Encounter Bay people. In subsequent events it is clear that Bob was a leader of the payback push, so if there were any 'other blackfellows' who instigated the murder, he would probably have been among them.

But Inspector Tolmer's wording – or his reporter's – leaves us a little uncertain who it was in 1844 that he suspected of the actual murder.

The text reads: "*In the course of their expeditions to the neighbouring coasts, they [the Islanders] had taken... two lads from Encounter Bay, who acted as their servants*"; and later, "*She [Sal] also told that the Encounter Bay Blacks had taken Meredith's boat; that it was manned by them, and under the command of one of them (now called Encounter Bay Bob), who intended to go over to the island and murder all the whites*" (Tolmer 1844b: my emphases).

Were "*the Encounter Bay blacks*" who took the boat (1) Meredith's "*two lads from Encounter Bay*"? or were they (2) the people of Encounter Bay in general? Bob was "*one of them*": does this mean 'one of the two lads', or 'one of the Encounter Bay blacks'?

For some reason Tolmer was only looking for one person, perhaps for legal reasons if Sal had identified only the individual who wielded the tomahawk. According to Tolmer's second account much later, "*The native who committed the murder was well-known at Encounter Bay, and instructions for his apprehension were forthwith sent down, after the foregoing facts were made known to the Government. It was subsequently ascertained, however, that he had been dead about two or three years [i.e. by about 1842], and consequently the two black women were discharged*" (Tolmer 1882, Vol.2: 7).

If Tolmer was right about the suspect's death, other evidence rules out Tamuruwi: for 'Bob' was still alive in 1845, after Tolmer's report (Meyer to Dresden Missionary Society 27 Oct 1845 [Meyer Correspondence: 125]). It was apparently not that very high-profile man that he wanted, but somebody else 'well-known'. Although we don't know who this suspect was, he might be found in police records of 1844, if they are available.

Was it for instance one of Penney's whalers? Of these:

- 'Big Solomon' was still alive in late 1846 ('Salomo' or *Nakandeanambe* in Meyer to Dresden 4 Oct 1846 [Meyer Correspondence: 128-9, 132]).

- 'Peter' took part in the resistance to the Moorunde invasions of Adelaide at some time in 1842-4 (for which see Tom Gara 1998: 116-8, and my separate essay Schultz 2023a, 'Adelaide as a battleground', <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>).

- 'One-arm Charley' was still alive in March 1841 (Moorhouse to George Hall 13 March 1841: 3, GRG 24/1/1841/106).
- and 'Joe' in December 1840 (McLean 1903: 67).

Meredith's executioner might have been any of the last three if one of them died by about 1843; but we don't know their death dates. Meyer was active at Encounter Bay in 1844, but nowhere mentions Tolmer's investigation, nor the name of any other man who died before that year. Both Peter and Charley were targeted for payback by the Milmenrura people after August 1840. Either of them could have been killed in Adelaide during the conflicts with Moorunde, in which many Encounter Bay warriors joined. On the other hand, it would be surprising that the death of a prominent man like Peter was not remarked at the time. Also, in 1837 Peter had a son *Warritya* who was old enough to be noticed as an individual by Wyatt (Wyatt 1879: 180); and this would suggest that in 1835 Peter was older than a 'lad' in his mid-teens or early 20s. This leaves Charley and Joe as possibilities for the suspected man.

Could Bob have been the *other* 'lad' rather than the killer? The possibility remains open but unproven. And he could have got his whaleboat training elsewhere during the previous five years (e.g. with Captain Jones). See also Schultz 2023b, 'Tamuruwi'.

¹⁰⁶³ 'Bob' would be missionary Meyer's chief source for his important records of the language and culture; a well-known identity from Encounter Bay to Adelaide; and the first South Australian Aboriginal to make a land claim under colonial law. See Book 2, and Schultz 2023b, 'Tamuruwi'.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Even during the colonial era Tamuruwi was much less inclined than the Adelaide leaders Kadlitpina and Murlawirrapurka (OS *Mullawirraburka*) to settle down in a house. He sought legal rights to his land, and did not work with the whites on any continuing basis except in whaling. In his intransigence he resembled Ityamaitpina (Rodney)

went well beyond the common intertribal skirmish. If there had been a truce, it was ended now. This, before there was a colony, was to be the first of the colony's several 'black wars'.¹⁰⁶⁵

The Islanders knew that this threat was no idle boast. The small isolated settlements were scattered widely over KI's great length, most of them defended by only one or two men.¹⁰⁶⁶ Seven years later they still remembered the time of fear vividly: "This intelligence terrified them much, and... for months afterwards they lay at night with their arms loaded, and imagined every noise to be the landing of the blacks".¹⁰⁶⁷

Meredith's fine large whaleboat was "for some time used by the Encounter Bay natives in sealing and fishing".¹⁰⁶⁸ But the whaling warriors did not keep their advantage for long. It transpired later that the boat "was ultimately lost by getting adrift from their careless fastenings".¹⁰⁶⁹ While they delayed – perhaps trying to muster enough warriors who could also make up a viable boat crew – accident or inexperience lost them the opportunity.

2.5.3.4 – MAGALIDI AND MEREDITH: THE AFTERMATH.

Magalidi had spent three months on the mainland. In the eyes of the locals she was not a fellow-countrywoman but (as a Tasmanian) an alien; a member of the KI community (hated now and of old, even if not always by all), and a spoil of war. If Meredith's 'lad' had ever been 'in love with her', desire probably translated very quickly into abduction and rape, and the novelty would soon have passed:

*She had been several times in danger of her life from the young man, and from the other natives, who wished to kill her, to prevent her telling the white men of the murder.*¹⁰⁷⁰

Moreover, she could (and eventually did) blow the whistle on their plans for Kangaroo Island.

From this predicament even the sealers of KI were a welcome refuge. The search party, arriving at Rapid Bay, "saw a number of natives on the rocks who ran off". They were

and Milerum's family on the Coorong in the 20th century, and even perhaps Condoy (though we have no details about him in that era): those who, for as long as they could, refused to 'come in'. There must have been many others, but the price they have paid is that we do not know about them.

¹⁰⁶⁵ The events on the Coorong in 1840 and around Port Lincoln in the early 1840s must be accounted as undeclared wars against Aboriginal people (see Foster & Nettelbeck 2012, Chapters 2 & 3).

¹⁰⁶⁶ This is the point of the Tolmer's comment, in the context of this threat, that "*then, as now, they were settled at different points of the island*" (Tolmer 1844b). If a well-armed band of a dozen warriors – solidly-built men with formidable weapons, skills and training – could cross Backstairs Passage safely and arrive unseen and unexpected, they could strike and then move quickly along the north coast in the whaleboat using the cliffs and bays for cover, just as the Islanders had done on the southern Fleurieu. They would have a realistic chance of eliminating the men camp by camp. On the notably formidable weapons and war skills of Encounter Bay, see Jenkin 1979: 14-15, and Finniss 1892: 13-14 (though he mistook them for Rapid Bay people). Soldier Finniss appreciatively observed them practising wedge attacks (see my separate essay Schultz 2023a, 'Adelaide as a battleground', <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>).

¹⁰⁶⁷ Tolmer 1844b.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525> = Bull 1878b: 8, <https://archive.org/details/earlyexperience02bullgoog/page/n8/mode/2up?ref=ol&view=theater>.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d = Bull 1878b: 8. According to two other sources the boat was wrecked (Tolmer 1844b; Leigh 1839: 157). Even if the boat was badly damaged rather than 'lost', their expertise did not yet extend to repair or reconstruction.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Tolmer 1844b.

then “hailed by Sal, who was also on the rocks, and who immediately came on board”. She took them to Meredith’s body and they buried it.¹⁰⁷¹

Back once more on KI, life went on under the new fear. Magalidi “joined a settler, a black American named Geo. Brown”,¹⁰⁷² who was probably one of Meredith’s accomplices at both Port Phillip and Western River. Within a year or so she was back again with William Cooper¹⁰⁷³ in his establishment with Peter Johnson at Emu Bay. Less than a year later Magalidi and Cooper would meet Colonel Light.¹⁰⁷⁴

So Big Sal moves on from another brutal episode in her personal epic of survival. But one last piece in the puzzle gives a rare and fascinating echo of Magalidi’s own voice.

¹⁰⁷¹ Tolmer 1844b. Nat Thomas showed the exact spot to Cawthorne in 1853 (Cawthorne 1853: 163). However, the spot was not at Rapid Bay but Yankalilla Bay (probably Haycock Point). Either Tolmer got it wrong or the rescue and the burial were at two different places.

¹⁰⁷² MAGALIDI, GEORGE BROWN AND HER TRANSITION BACK TO COOPER:

Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d = Bull 1878b: 8.

By ‘settler’, Thompson here almost certainly means a pre-colonial Kangaroo Island resident. In the first few months of colonization, the colonists often used this term when referring to the Islanders who had preceded them.

Some sources claim it was this Brown who had taken part in the Port Phillip raid and come to KI with Meredith (Ruediger 1980: 73; PlomleyN 1987: 405; Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 245 n61).

Thompson continued: “[Brown] had been engaged as headsman in one of the whaling companies. After the colonists arrived with the Government staffs Geo. Brown left the island, and was engaged at the first occupation of *Holdfast Bay. He had become acquainted with an emigrant girl who was in the service of Captain Lipson... Brown was legally married to this young woman”.

* In the original newspaper article Bull wrote “first occupation of Port Adelaide”.

Very little is known of George Brown.

A man named Brown was involved in the Port Phillip raid (Robinson in PlomleyN 1987: 405).

According to one chronicler of oral history from Kangaroo Island colonists: “With George [Meredith] came... Jacob Seaman, also Bathurst, and George Brown, the latter both American negroes... Brown was a ship’s carpenter... Now that their leader was dead, the group at Western River drifted apart. Brown and Bathurst both joined whaling gangs... George Brown had a remarkable history. After 1836 he left the Island and worked at the first settlement at Holdfast Bay... where a carpenter was much in demand in the early days. Here he met an emigrant girl...” (Ruediger 1980: 73-4). The direct quotation in the last sentence shows that Ruediger is mixing Thompson with her other unnamed sources (perhaps colonist Harry Bates).

Captain Lipson did not reach Kingscote until September 11th on the ‘Cygnet’, by which time Cooper and the two women were already on the mainland with Light. So if Thompson is correct about Sal’s alliances, she may have been still ostensibly with Brown until some time *after* her official work alongside Cooper; or perhaps Brown had recently traded her to Cooper, or she was staying with either of them in turn. We cannot check this because there is no identifiable record of her in the months immediately before and after the Gulf trip.

Hosking gives some details which I cannot pursue because they are unsourced: “Brown was an African-American ship’s carpenter who later became a well-known tradesman in the new South Australian colony after a stint as a headsman at the Encounter Bay whale fishery” (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 222-3). “[Maggerlede] then lived with George Brown when he worked at the whaling station at Encounter Bay, but when he abandoned her she moved back to Kangaroo Island” (*ibid*: 141 n163). But the Encounter Bay whaling station did not begin until April 1837; so Hosking seems to contradict Thompson (who says that Magalidi joined Cooper “*after parting from Brown*”). The best synthesis of all the data may be that Brown ‘loaned’ Sal to Cooper for the job with Light in August 1836, but did not relinquish his claim on her until later, after he had been whaling at Encounter Bay and met Lipson’s servant girl.

¹⁰⁷³ Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d = Bull 1878b: 8. In 1836 we shall meet Magalidi again in this role as Cooper’s woman (see Chapter 3.4.5.2.4 ‘Doughboy, Kalinga & families’). The circle of her identification is thus complete. Cooper’s ‘Sall’ of 1836 is identified by Thompson (a first-hand authority) as Meredith’s ‘Sal’, who was clearly the ‘Bumblefoot’ of later memory. This identification also brings with it her history as the captive taken to Mauritius in 1826, and her future as the old woman fending for herself on Kangaroo Island in the 1870s.

¹⁰⁷⁴ “Sal, after parting from Brown, joined Wm. Cooper, one of the sealers, who acted as interpreter to Colonel Light” (Bull 1878b: 8, <https://archive.org/details/earlyexperience02bullgoog/page/n26/mode/2up?ref=ol&view=theater>). This sentence does not occur in Bull 1878a, but it is very unlikely that the information came to Bull from anyone other than Thompson, his main KI informant).

For her, in her terms, not all of the last two years had been brutal. In old age she remembered her 'Marion' with tears not of rage but of love:¹⁰⁷⁵

She was very fond of Captain Marion, and said that the Captain was a good man, read his Bible every day and taught her to say "The Lord's Prayer", which she could repeat quite well. She told Mr Bell of the murder of Captain Marion on the mainland near Second Valley by the blacks who crept on him as he was sitting on the beach reading the Bible. Old Sal was with him at the time and swam out to sea to escape meeting a similar fate. I understood she used to sail with Captain Marion frequently and used to weep whenever she told the tale of his murder.

Although this record – a letter to Tindale from HC Barrett – is third-hand and may contain some errors of detail, its core message about the relationship seems authoritative.¹⁰⁷⁶ From her reminiscences to Bell we may reasonably infer that young George was also genuinely 'fond' of her, and perhaps more than fond. Magalidi in 1834 was not only a tough survivor but an attractive woman still in her 30s. Three years later her face was "as expressive and pleasing as any I had met with", according to a rather cynical ship's doctor.¹⁰⁷⁷ Was it Sal who had evoked the 'infatuation' about which George's brother worried? Was the dreaded taint of 'miscegenation' at the root of the quarrel with his father?¹⁰⁷⁸ Perhaps young George embarked with this woman on his long and ultimately

¹⁰⁷⁵ HC Barrett 1932, letter to Tindale, in NB Tindale, 'Kangaroo Island loose notes', AA 338/1/32 SA Museum: quoted verbatim in Hosking 2005: 265, 255n117. (Note that Hosking incorrectly identifies Barrett's source as JP Gell. But it could not be Gell, since he had permanently left the colony in 1848 (<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gell-john-philip-2087>). Barrett's source was a "Mr Bell": probably PT Bell, who arrived at Stokes Bay in 1869 (Kingscote CWA 1951: 42), and would have been 32 when Magalidi died in 1874 (<http://www.ozburials.com/CemsSA/kingscote.htm> [20/3/14]). There was another Kangaroo Island old-timer whose reminiscences also record that Magalidi remembered Meredith as 'Marion' (Snelling 1932). Like 'Everett', the word 'Meredith' contains phonemes such as e and English th which may be difficult for speakers whose main language is Aboriginal. 'Marion' may have been her best attempt at it, or even a simplified pet name for her lover. Hosking misattributes the quoted reminiscence to the colonial headmaster JP Gell, a leading member of the Tasmanian Society in the 1840s, who had Teichelmann annotate his paper on 'the vocabulary of the Adelaide tribe' (Amery 2016: 90; cp. <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/gell-john-philip-2087> [accessed 10/1/2014]). But this seems most unlikely in view of the 'Mr Bell' cited within the quotation from Barrett's letter. The Barretts and the Bells were colonial families of KI. PT Bell and his wife arrived at Stokes Bay on the north coast in 1869 (Kingscote CWA 1951: 42). He died in 1921 (<http://www.ozburials.com/CemsSA/kingscote.html> [20/3/14]). Betty Thomas's grand-daughter Emma Seymour married a Barrett (ClarkeP 1998: 44).

¹⁰⁷⁶ Probable errors in Barrett include (1) the location 'near Second Valley' (although a version recorded from old settler RT Sweetman in 1928 also identified the location as Second Valley (*The Register* 8/3/1928: 10f, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/57042053>); and perhaps (2) the claim that the murderers also tried to kill her on the spot, which may be a hearer's assumption (the 'fate' which she was avoiding may have been abduction and rape by the man who wanted her).

This account also confirms that Meredith really had taken up religion. Like Straitsman Munro, he was not only reading his Bible, but was teaching the central Christian prayer to his Aboriginal wife. With his background it is quite likely that he resorted to the standard Victorian spiritual remedies – Bible reading and prayer – because he bore a load of specific unresolved guilt. This is suggested strongly in Tolmer's literary retelling in 1866 (Tolmer 1866: 3b [Anon [Tolmer] 1866, 'A Bundle Of Stories: No.3 – The Old Settler's Story', *SA Register* 4/5/1866, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/41018327>]), and is perhaps hinted at in Cawthorne's novel. More than the money matters, the violence at Point Nepean and Boston Bay would have been prime causes. It would be pleasant to hope that God blessed him with pangs of conscience; there is little if any record of this in other Islanders except the semi-fictional Georgy's final thought in Cawthorne: "we kills too much" (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 106).

¹⁰⁷⁷ Leigh 1839: 155.

¹⁰⁷⁸ In the light of all the evidence it is a little too easy to assume that Meredith's quarrel with his family was only about business and money. But if young George had fallen in love with an Aboriginal woman, and stayed with her and allowed such 'profligacy' to become public, then in his father's eyes this would probably have been worse than killing one of the black 'savages': not a crime but an unforgivable social disgrace. In writing several times of young George's career, Tolmer was typical of polite society in varying his euphemisms from "follies and extravagancies" (Tolmer 1844b = Tolmer 1882, Vol.2: 7) to "profligacy and crime" (Tolmer 1866: 3b).

fatal journey partly in order to keep her. If so, we may appreciate how far she was from being the treacherous axe murderer of the tale which was already circulating in 1837.¹⁰⁷⁹

Young man Meredith: kindly dropout and lover? racist and mercenary predator? romantic Bible-reading recluse? Perhaps he was all of these, at the same time or in succession. His story is obscure even though his family is well represented in the archives.¹⁰⁸⁰

But about any of Kangaroo Island's other 'poor bastards', we know even less of the human truth.

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¹⁰⁷⁹ Leigh 1839: 155-7.

¹⁰⁸⁰ For more reflections on Meredith Jnr see Appendix 9 'George Meredith Junior: the man and the colonial myth'.

2.5.4 – REFLECTION: MUTUALITY AND THE END OF THE TRUCE.

For a moment let us pause to reflect on the human relationships which developed on this frontier: complex interchanges which challenge any simple generalizations. At their secret heart is the question of what we might call ‘mutuality’ or ‘hospitality’: an internal stance of willing ‘give-and-take’, which might underlie the external acts of trade and exchange which we examined in Chapter 1 – or might not.¹⁰⁸¹

All were struggling in very human ways to realize their varying self-interest and different values, with varying wisdom and always imperfectly: much like us.¹⁰⁸² In our present life we *must* evaluate in order to act; but if we will judge the past, then its ethics are harder to judge than we might prefer, and when we do it too hastily we will not *understand*. The best history writing is an act of empathy.

2.5.4.1 – A RECIPROCITY OF MEN ONLY.

The external reciprocity of trade is one of the core values of traditional societies.¹⁰⁸³ Relationships between Islanders and mainlanders would be made or unmade according to how they observed it. But it was clearly men’s business on both sides, and for most of them this transactional activity was the imaginative limit of their relationship. Within this, women were negotiable items.

Yet we have also opened up the possibility that some men – at least with other *men* – may have sought a little deeper towards mutuality, a genuine reduction of conflict even with those whom they saw as aliens and competitors. Condoys group, Bates, Cooper, Walker and Meredith give at least a hint of it. Condoys family in particular may be seen as negotiating relations between KI and local mainlanders as early as 1825 and continuing up to the 1840s at least. Whether these relationships ever ventured beyond the transactional into the riskier mutualities of *friendship* will remain unknown.¹⁰⁸⁴

Female cross-cultural mutuality is impossible to find in these pre-colonial records because there were no European women present.¹⁰⁸⁵

¹⁰⁸¹ We might define ‘mutuality’ as ‘the willingness to include room for the Other (the Alien) within one’s Self’. Such willingness is essential for any common exchange to work smoothly; and much more so for restoring such relationships after they have been shattered, to break free from the endless ‘natural’ cycles of reciprocal violence, or to achieve anything worthy of the name ‘reconciliation’. Volf – a Croatian writing from first-hand experience of division and hatred during the Serbo-Croatian wars – calls this “*the will to embrace*”, or at least to “*make space in the self for others*” (Volf 1996: 257, 197, 165). Without this will, the Other will continue to be unrecognized, unknown, and “*much unloved*”, as Noel Pearson observed – Recognition being a matter much deeper than law or Constitution (Pearson in his first 2022 Boyer Lecture, ‘Recognition’ (<https://capeyorkpartnership.org.au/noel-pearson-boyer-lecture-one/>)).

¹⁰⁸² This is a point well made by Clements about the Tasmanians: “*Our forbears, black and white, were the same as you and me: imperfect mammals who generally did what they thought was right, or at least what they felt was necessary*” (Clements 2014: xv). Aye, there’s the rub: because we are all expert in converting our current passions into ‘necessary’ (i.e. ‘unavoidable’) actions.

¹⁰⁸³ See the footnote on ‘Reciprocity’ in Chapter 1.2.1 ‘Aboriginal men with Islanders’.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Peter Sutton (author of *The Politics of Suffering*, Melbourne University Press 2011), comments on this: “*In my P. o. S. book I explore early contact relationships, one point being that what the whitefella understands as a friendship was largely interpreted by their Aboriginal contact as kinship. There was a small role played by friendship in traditional Aboriginal societies but kinship trumped it at most turns, and kinship had a big range of emotional components – so the new contact was typically a ‘sister’ or ‘brother’ or, in the present case, a ‘spouse’ or cross-cousin*” (Sutton p.c. email attachment 12/4/19).

¹⁰⁸⁵ For a rare recorded glimpse of women’s cross-cultural mutuality we must go to the colonial story of Doughboy and Helen Finlayson in 1837 (see Book 2). Even for mutuality among Aboriginal women themselves – though it certainly must have existed – we have to read between the lines in the stories of Kalungku, Emma, Doughboy, Magalidi and others; or of the three aged surviving women on colonial Kangaroo Island (see TaylorR 2008: *passim*; these details

2.5.4.2 – MAGALIDI, MEREDITH, AND GENDER MUTUALITY?

Reciprocity in trade did not normally include women as active negotiators except (maybe) in very rare and limited cases such as Kalinga. Within the universal masculine framework, a strong and assertive woman like her might gain a certain amount of influence if she had acquired any skills which had unusual value in the eyes of men on both sides, such as English language.

But did these men ever move beyond mere self-interest towards a real mutuality with *women*? George Meredith may have come nearer to this than most, and perhaps Walker moved in that direction for at least part of his life. Had Meredith lived longer, he might *perhaps* have become less like the exploiter Captain Dutton and more like Straitsman Munro in the later years with his valued family.¹⁰⁸⁶ In the memory of Magalidi as a lonely old woman in the 1870s, 'Marion' – whatever his behaviour towards other Aboriginal people – was a light amid the darkness of her other violent encounters: Black Baker, Everett, the slave-trading *Hunter*, Brown, Meredith's killers, Cooper, and the abusive runaway convicts with whom she lived in 1844.¹⁰⁸⁷

On the Aboriginal side, it is *possible* that Condoy had developed with his daughter an early negotiated respect which was usually reserved for influential older married women.

2.5.4.3 – THE LIMITS OF ABORIGINAL TOLERANCE: WHAT ENDED THE TRUCE IN 1835?

While 'Captain' Meredith may have achieved some degree of mutuality with his 'Sal', and perhaps even with his apprentice 'lads', it is clear that he did not conceive of it in relation to other 'natives' or their *societies*. In this respect ordinary seamen like Bates and Walker seem to have outshone him by far. Although (as far as we know) he himself had committed no outrage on the groups immediately around KI,¹⁰⁸⁸ he had no history of relationship with them, and probably no more intention of forming one than he had at Point Nepean or Port Lincoln. From the viewpoint of locals, he was only another potentially dangerous stranger. And much more so were the other hard-bitten men of KI, often brutalized by their own early experiences and known for their cruelty.

From its outset the limited truce was probably much less secure than Bates thought.¹⁰⁸⁹ All too predictably, something changed around 1834-5 to end it.

Perhaps Condoy decided that Bates's long association with the formidable Nat Thomas had now become intolerable. Both of them are known to have attacked children on KI in the past, and it is very likely that Aboriginal men may have carried home the news.

were recorded – mostly after the actors were dead – because by then they were considered anthropologically interesting).

¹⁰⁸⁶ Cp. my analysis in Chapter 1.1.3.7. 'A new generation'.

¹⁰⁸⁷ For the two escapees see Tolmer 1882, Vol.1: 322. The story of Tolmer's 1844 expedition to KI will be in Book 2.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Robinson assumed that Meredith had committed strictly local abductions such as that of Emma, and that the murder was in retaliation for these; but this view was unfounded, based on Robinson's shaky geography and error about dates. See the footnotes 'Date of Emma's move to Kangaroo Island' in Chapter 1.3.2.3 'Kalungku and Emma on Kangaroo Island'; and 'Meredith's Abductions' in section 2.5.3.1 'Aboriginal slaves, Magalidi, and George Meredith Junior'.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Even at the end of his life, Bates's memory seems to have been coloured by delusions of grandeur about him being a 'chief', a 'superior' guest, 'a member of the tribe'.

Thomas was a distinctly harder character who had an Encounter Bay woman (presumably abducted) and was targeted by her people for payback.¹⁰⁹⁰ There were other brutal Islanders such as Allen.¹⁰⁹¹

Perhaps in the changing tide of affairs Condoy decided that Walker was likely to be a much better ally. We note that neither Walker nor his Hog Bay companion Thompson, nor Cooper at Emu Bay, are known to have committed violence against Aboriginal people, or indeed at all.

Perhaps on the mainland there was a political victory of ‘hawks’ over ‘doves’, boiling up from old hatreds which had been simmering since the early 1820s or before.

Perhaps the suffering Estuary groups rallied to apply pressure on the Encounter Bay ‘collaborators’. The ‘Encounter Bay tribe’ has all the recorded credit as prime movers in this outbreak of armed resistance; it was said they had ‘instigated’ the attack on Meredith. This could be an effect of selective observation; for even if ‘Cape Jervis’ warriors were also involved in skirmishes, the Encounter Bay warriors would be remembered for their formidable physique and military skills.¹⁰⁹² But in this case their alleged primacy could also be a significant political fact. The Bay part of the alliance had to manage relationships in both directions, east and west. Perhaps by 1835 the intertribal tensions caused by Islander raids had become unsustainable, and the Encounter Bay men were forced to act at last. If so, they were probably accompanied by warriors from the Estuary with similar formidable qualities, who to the Island observers at that date would be indistinguishable from their Encounter Bay peers.

Perhaps a particular event became a new flashpoint. Perhaps Bates betrayed Condoy’s trust by using their previous alliance as cover for someone else’s raid on Condoy’s people.¹⁰⁹³ Or Island ‘hawks’ may have acted unilaterally in an unrecorded raid. News of the Port Lincoln murders may have been another catalyst. Perhaps Condoy and his ‘doves’ were faced at last by a crisis which was close-up, unambiguous and irresistible: the abduction or murder of close relatives at the Lake.¹⁰⁹⁴

Whatever this process was, it seems that by 1835 the several local groups felt that the aliens, based in their unassailable Island fortress, could not be drawn reliably even into civilized reciprocation; that the time for negotiation was over; that they should join forces to stop the raiding altogether.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Bates’s companion Nat Thomas was one of the models for Cawthorne’s ‘Old Sam’, who is depicted as considerably harder and more vengeful than ‘Georgy’ in his approach to mainlanders, though less bloody than ‘Long Bill’ (e.g. Cawthorne 1854/2020: 29-31, 78-9, 106-7). In the 1837 incident it has usually been supposed that he was afraid of the Onkaparinga people; but I argue that it must have been Encounter Bay visitors that he feared. (There will be a detailed analysis of the story in Book 2).

¹⁰⁹¹ See Chapter 1.1.3.4 ‘Violence’.

¹⁰⁹² See also the section on the physiological differences between Miyurna and Kornar peoples in Chapter 1.1.6.5 ‘Beliefs, language identities, place-names’. It was Tolmer who recorded that Encounter Bay led the revolt. It is very possible that his sources, speaking years afterwards, remembered these warriors in particular although others from the Fleurieu had been present at the same time. The physical build and military organization of the people southeast of the range were more formidable than those of the Gulf people. They probably had more leisure to develop a more highly organized military culture. Consequently they were more likely to be noticed among the attacking warriors. With regard to ‘Ngarrindjeri’-Kornar culture and organization, see also Jenkin 1979: 14-15, and Finniss 1892: 13-14.

¹⁰⁹³ This is exactly what Cawthorne portrays in his fictitious account of a raid on Rapid Bay. Here ‘Georgy’, by deceitful mediation with ‘Conday’, plays the Trojan horse for a raid led by his mate ‘Sam’, a tough and vengeful driver partly based on Thomas (Cawthorne 1854/2020, Chapter 17). If this incident actually happened, it would be more than enough to end any general truce with the mainlanders and any relationship between Bates and Condoy.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Klynton Wanganeen’s suggestion: see earlier in section 2.4.4.2 ‘End of the Truce Prefigured’.

When the anger finally overflowed it was indiscriminate: Tamuruwi wanted to murder *all* the whites on KI. Even the attack on Meredith was probably directed against the Islanders collectively rather than at individual payback. If the ambush of Bates was the first overt expression of these intentions, then Meredith's whaleboat provided a golden opportunity to push them to the limit. The cycle of collective demonization, hatred and violence would rule, as ever since Cain and Abel; people would take revenge because they could, as on the coast of Van Diemen's Land previously.¹⁰⁹⁵

2.5.4.4 – 'TREACHEROUS BLACKS': THE VICTORS CONTROL THE PAST.

In eastern Australia, private reports of Meredith's raid at Point Nepean began to surface in 1836. It was a "flagrant outrage upon the Natives", but his name, though known privately, was not mentioned publicly.¹⁰⁹⁶ Although it was in this context that news of his death emerged, with a sad irony the main theme as usual was the 'treacherous Blacks'.¹⁰⁹⁷

His story remains an inconvenient reminder how the actions of 'savage sealers' often reflected those of 'old pioneers'; how closely the slave-traders were sometimes linked with leading settlers in the Black War; and how carefully the settlers could re-write public history to suit their interests. The protagonist in George Orwell's *1984* knew that the Party could "say of this or that event, *it never happened*"; and, as his torturer explained, "Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present, controls the past".¹⁰⁹⁸

In order to understand we are obliged to speculate. Perhaps the novelistic theme of the Meredith myth was not so far off the mark. Perhaps his short life really did include a touch of rebellion for the sake of love, framed by this social background and its ideology of exclusion. Uncertain though this is, the possibility throws an interesting light elsewhere, onto hints that on the frontier there might sometimes have been real affection, as well as exploitation and practical exchange, between tough men like Nat Thomas and women like Betty;¹⁰⁹⁹ signs that mutuality can spring up in places where we might not expect it.

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¹⁰⁹⁵ For the only three recorded attacks by Tasmanian tribesmen on sealers, see Clements 2014: 201. We should note that sealers were very rarely in a position to mount punitive expeditions as the colonists did.

¹⁰⁹⁶ In March 1836 the Port Phillip Association became aware of the incident and reported it to the Colonial Secretary in Van Diemen's Land (see Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 218).

¹⁰⁹⁷ His only public obituary was this: "*We have the pain to announce the premature death of Mr. Meredith, junior, son of George Meredith esq. of Oyster Bay who we learn was barbarously murdered by the savages on the north [sic] coast of New Holland while on a fishing expedition*" (*Hobart Town Courier*, 22 April 1836: 2d, quoted by Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 224). No doubt a sealing ship had gleaned the news from Islanders and taken it back to Hobart or Launceston. After that, silence except in Robinson's journals. Eight years later George Senior was still trying to get his son's money released, even though Captain Martin had found the tomahawk in 1837 and sent an affidavit to confirm the death (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 225; letter in *SA Register* 28/9/1844: 3b).

¹⁰⁹⁸ Orwell 1949, *1984* (quoted in Volf 1996: 233).

¹⁰⁹⁹ cp. Cawthorne 1854/2020: 77, 229-232, 162 n283.

2.6 – THREE ‘FOREIGN’ CULTURES ON THE EVE OF COLONIZATION, mid-1836

While Englishmen in London have planned the ‘new province of South Australia’, Islanders have continued to raid for women on parts of the nearby mainland; Aboriginal men have lived on Kangaroo Island at least some of the time;¹¹⁰⁰ and Bates and Walker have pursued an ambiguous alliance with Condoy, Natalla and Kalinga.

Relationships are changing, with contradictory currents of raiding the mainland and residing on it. Certain Islanders have developed working relationships with the mainlanders and drawn upon Aboriginal knowledge such as local geography. These individual relationships have more to them than mere brutal predation and violence; they are certainly ‘rough around the edges’ but in this not totally different from standard European relationships of the era. Well before the local colony begins, these Islanders set about turning these things to good account with the colonial authorities, hoping to make them their allies or at least patrons rather than their enemies when the time of change arrives.

Though some compromise may have been achieved between Islanders and certain groups on the mainland, the benefits do not apply equally to all and are a source of intertribal conflict. By 1835 the selective truce has ended with a hostile standoff, seriously threatening the Islanders’ existence in their stronghold. After the events of 1834-5 it is unlikely that there will be any more raids on the mainland by Kangaroo Islanders in the six to eighteen months between their discovery of Meredith’s death and the arrival of the first official colonists.

2.6.1 – IN LONDON.

By today’s standards the intending immigrants are astonishingly ignorant about the place where they will settle on the other side of the world. Their latest maps show Flinders’ accurate coastal outlines, and beyond that a mix of vagueness and misinformation, some of it less accurate and less informative than Sturt’s map three years earlier.¹¹⁰¹ Most of

¹¹⁰⁰ For this we have the explicit record of Light’s surgeon Woodforde in 1836 (Woodforde diary 16 Oct 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-16-october-1836-4/>), Robinson from Kalungku in 1837 (Robinson journal 2 June 1837, in PlomleyN 1987: 445), and Bates in his old age (Bates 1886b: 6d).

¹¹⁰¹ CONFUSIONS IN THE 1836 MAP OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA:
Its full title was ‘Part of Southern Australia from the 132° to 141° degree of East Longitude’. It was very small-scale (about 57 miles to the inch) and very general; published in many versions for several years, e.g. Wakefield 1834, Frontispiece,
<https://books.google.com.au/books/reader?id=kjRfAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PP1>;
reproduced in Jane Hylton 2012, *South Australia Illustrated: colonial painting in the Land of Promise*, Adelaide, Art Gallery of SA: 22.

On Kangaroo Island it marked a non-existent “rich country” on the south coast, a legacy of Sutherland.

On the nearby mainland only the following were marked: “C. Jervis” across the whole peninsula, and “Encounter Bay”, as in Flinders; Sturt’s version of Barker’s “Anchorage” in the Gulf, and another one vaguely on the south coast; Sturt’s “Flat & beautiful Valley” (the Inman); and “Sturt’s R[iver]” extending across “Fertile Land” and more than halfway east to “Lake Alexandrina”. Much of this was extremely misleading, notably the ‘flat’ valley of the Inman: this could only refer to the lowest 11 or 12 km of the river at most (below Hancock Rd), ignoring the other half, the narrow Upper Inman surrounded by steep scarps and leading up the range to the watershed at Bald Hills. This confusion – suggesting that there was an flat easy route all the way from the Gulf right through to Encounter Bay, and so feeding the durable

them are still hoping for the quick establishment of a seaport in St Vincent's Gulf on a waterway leading directly to the River Murray and so to the eastern colonies: a dream of English canals which is quite impossible on the real landscape.¹¹⁰² Their initial destination is Kangaroo Island with its large but untried harbour in Nepean Bay. They look forward to seeing KI's paradisaic interior as in Sutherland's description – alas, all of it false in 1836, whatever the captain may have seen in 1819.¹¹⁰³

During the last months of preparation in London, the South Australian Company is still raising funds and collecting information. Their most up-to-date link with their prospective land is Captain Hart who, as it happens, is in London in January 1836 buying a new ship for the Griffiths brothers.¹¹⁰⁴ He provides practical information about KI to Colonel Light

London dream that the River Murray had an outlet on the Gulf – would be amplified in 1836-7 by a garbled version of a report by Captain Martin (see Chapter 3.4.6.2 'To the mangroves').

Another four rivers were marked on the east coast of the Gulf, but at least one of them did not exist.* Laid out there were Barker's "16 Mile Creek" and also Jones's "Fine Harbour Discov^d 1833". In reality these were the same place (the Port River), but Jones's harbour was mapped as a separate river north of the 16-Mile and three-quarters of the way up the Gulf. (Durrant thinks this error arose from mis-labelling the Sturt River as '16 Mile Creek' [Durrant 2014b: 34].

"Mt Lofty" was shown now as a single isolated peak. Nobody knew that the range extended further north, and there was no indication even of the known range to the south (the "Hay's Range" of Sturt, i.e. the Mt Lofty Ranges, a fundamental feature of the area).

In the general vicinity of their destination, that was all. Even allowing for oral additions and a few other details from Flinders and Sturt, it was not much.

* Much confusion had arisen from the terminology of water bodies. Sturt had described the Onkaparinga River as an 'inlet' while mapping it as a 'creek'. Barker had also said that the 'Inlet 16 miles' occurred at a "considerable indentation in the coast" (i.e. today's Barker Inlet, about 16 miles north of Sealcliff where the range meets the gulf), and this indentation is incompatible with the coast at the Onkaparinga. But in Sturt's published text these details are divided confusingly between two separate parts of the narrative (Sturt 1833 2: 234, 237). In 1834-5 Jones reported that "the inlet, mis-called by Sturt Sixteen Mile Creek is a stream of fresh water"; but he had mistaken the Onkaparinga for it, failing to note Barker's 'indentation'. Consequently he added to the confusion by saying that his own 'fine harbour' was a different place from the Sixteen Mile, "about fifteen or twenty miles north of this river" (Jones 1835: 251, <https://archive.org/details/colonizationpar00napigoog/page/n288/mode/2up>). In fact both his 'harbour' and Sturt's 'Sixteen Mile Creek' were today's Port River with Torrens Island in its estuary. It is about 20 miles north of the Onkaparinga.

¹¹⁰² As we noted earlier, Sturt – from his own experience on Lake Alexandrina and following the unacknowledged Forbes – was enthusiastically promoting the vain dream that the Gulf plains might be connected with the Murray by level land immediately north of Mt Lofty, perhaps including a water outlet from the Lake (Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 157-8, 228, 230, 232, 246). In the same book he had also used his second-hand analysis of Kent's information about the unnamed Inman Valley to add a second "level line of communication" in the south, from Barker's Gulf anchorage (Carrickalinga) to Encounter Bay (ibid: 246-7). This route is of course very far from 'level'; and so another impossible dream would tease the hopeful first colonists.

¹¹⁰³ According to Sutherland, Kangaroo Island "wears every appearance of being fertile, a deep loam with coarse grass... plentiful supply of pure spring-water... The land here is as good as any I have seen in Van Diemen's Land... an open country covered with grass... often hundreds of acres without a tree... plenty of water in ponds, saw abundance of kangaroos and emus" (Sutherland 1831, in Wakefield 1834: 47-8, <https://books.google.com.au/books/reader?id=kjRfAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PP1>).

¹¹⁰⁴ CAPTAIN HART'S 1836 NOTE FOR THE SURVEYORS (my reference 'Hart 1836'):

As Hart said later, he "furnished sailing directions for Colonel Light, then about to leave in the *Rapid*" (Hart 1854: 305). Hart had sailed for London as a passenger in October 1835 (Cumpston 1986: 136). Some of what he had to say to the Company has survived on three pieces of notepaper in their archives (Hart n.d. [Jan 1836], 'Report of Captain Hart', in 'SA Company papers 1834-1847' (microfilm Reel 14), Angus Papers PRG 174/11: 159, 163-4). Thanks to the staff of the Reference Desk of the State Library of SA, who located this original item for me.

Pages 163-4 seem to be the original note passed on to the Commissioners by Osmond Gilles, and contain a more nuanced version of the core information. Page 159 seems to be a neater single-page copy with two extra notes. Both versions include another note: "This is the report of Captain Hart who has just arrived from Launceston and has been sealing on the coasts of South Australia for four years and knows the parties personally".

He lists eight men, giving their ages, locations and occasionally his perception of them; and summarizes very generally the state of the Islanders at the end of 1835 insofar as it would help the first new arrivals. Notably, they could expect to

and his survey team. From him Light and his surveyors learn there are ‘sealers’ on KI, whose help they can expect.¹¹⁰⁵ But the first colonists will arrive at Kingscote well before the surveyors and apparently without any of this information.

Most of the emigrants of 1836 have devoted little thought to the ‘natives’. The propaganda now and later encourages them to be rosily optimistic about their imminent relationship with the occupants of this “waste and unoccupied” land.¹¹⁰⁶

2.6.2 – ON KANGAROO ISLAND.

In the winter of 1836 there are probably more than two dozen Islanders living on KI,¹¹⁰⁷

find a pilot and fresh European vegetables: “*They grow Wheat, Cape Barley, Potatoes, Cabbages, Portugal Onions, Lettuces, and Pumpkins, Melons and Peaches*”.

¹¹⁰⁵ Hart lists only eight men, whom he “*knows... personally*” (original note, Hart 1836: 163-4) at three locations: At Antechamber Bay are “*Nathaniel Thomas [age] 33; Pilot*” and “*George Bates 36*”. At “*Pelican Lagoon*” * are “*William Day 50; James — [Allen] 45-50 Irish a prisoner; Henry Whalley 50, 20 years on the island; and a young Englishman*”. At “*Nepean Bay on Point Marsden*” ** are “*William Cooper 35-40 and Peter Johnson 65-70*”.

* The location of Wallan and Day at ‘Pelican lagoon’ seems impossible. As Flinders named it, Pelican Lagoon was the whole southern reach of the Nepean Bay estuary, incorporating American River. It is 30 km southeast of Three Wells (Cygnet) River where they had their well-established inland farm in 1836. Either Hart was misremembering what they told him when they met at his regular anchorage near Salt Lagoon in Nepean Bay, or he was using the name as a synonym for ‘Nepean Bay’.

** “*Nepean Bay on Point Marsden*” seems rather muddled. Hart probably meant that Cooper was (1) not far from the anchorage in Nepean Bay where his ship met them all regularly, and (2) ‘on’ the near-peninsula which contains Point Marsden. Emu Bay is itself the western boundary of this peninsula.

As we noted before, Hart’s omission of the flourishing Hog Bay establishment may reflect his own compromised history. He knew of eight or ten more men (total 16 or 18, Hart 1854: 52), but did not mention them. He adds that there were also “*about 16 native women*” on the island, but has nothing else to say about them.

¹¹⁰⁶ Propagandist John Stephens wrote: “*Thus conducted, observe the Commissioners, after describing their wise and benevolent intentions, the colonization of Southern Australia will be an advent of mercy to the native tribes... Colonization thus extended to South Australia, though it should do nothing for the colonists, and nothing for the mother country, would yet deserve, in its influence upon the aborigines, Lord Bacon’s character of ‘a blessed work’*” (StephensJ 1839: 70-71 [John Stephens] 1839, *The Land of Promise: being an authentic and impartial History of the Rise and Progress of the New British Province of South Australia...*, London: Smith, Elder & Co.). The Lord Bacon quoted here was Francis Bacon (1561-1626), philosopher, administrator, essayist and leading promoter of early English colonies; see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir_Francis_Bacon (19/8/14).

“*Waste and unoccupied*” comes from the Preamble to the SA Foundation Act, 15 August 1834 (in ClarkManning 1950: 204 [CMH Clark [ed.] 1950, *Select Documents in Australian History 1788-1850*, Sydney: Angus & Robertson]). The planners had heard people like Jones, and knew perfectly well that this description was false; but they used it in order to avoid legal complications and delays in the sale of land.

When the first ships left, the planners had not yet appointed anyone to enforce and administer the planned benefit fund for Aboriginal land. The only man who was nominally appointed to keep ‘native affairs’ in mind at all on the spot in the colony (George Stevenson, the first ‘Protector’) held nine other public offices. In fact no such money would be set aside, and no reserves created until 1840. The question of South Australian land rights law has been dealt with by many writers. See e.g. Henry Reynolds 1992, *The Law of the Land*, 2nd edition, Penguin Books Australia, Chapter 5 ‘Land Rights Frustrated, 1834-1838’.

¹¹⁰⁷ PEOPLE LIVING ON KANGAROO ISLAND IN JULY 1836:

We cannot be sure how many Islander men and Aboriginal women were living on KI in mid-to-late 1836.

1. ISLANDER MEN:

The total numbers of men reported in 1836 vary from “*only six of us*” (Bates 1883a: 6f), to 11 (CB Powell in *Observer* 15/1/1898: 12d), and 18 (Hart 1854: 52); but even the highest is probably an underestimate, reflecting mainly those men whom the visitors actually saw on the eastern end of the Island.

Although Captain Hart in January had listed (from a Nepean Bay viewpoint) eight men whom he “*knows... personally*” – Thomas, Bates, Day, James [Allan], Wallan, Cooper, Johnson, “and a young Englishman” – he had heard of 8 or 10 more (total 16 or 18, Hart 1854: 52). These would have included Walker and Thompson in the east, and others probably further west on the Island whose names have survived in oral tradition, such as:

- John and Henry Stokes at Stokes Bay (Kingscote CWA 1951: 42; Ruediger 1980: 47).

with an equal or greater number of Aboriginal women,¹¹⁰⁸ and a quite unknown number of their children.¹¹⁰⁹ plus a few Aboriginal men.¹¹¹⁰

- Harry Smith at Smith's Bay. Harry Smith is said to have arrived in 1819, stayed with Bates for a while, and moved west to Smith's Bay (Kingscote CWA 1951: 43; Ruediger 1980: 48). According to Snelling, "*the only man I know who ill-treated these blacks* [i.e. the three late survivors Big Sal, Little Sal and Suke] *was old Harry Smith*" (Snelling 1932). Cp. ClarkeP 1998: 41.

- Possibly "A 'runaway whaler' called Pirkey" who "(in the 1820s and early 1830s?)... was living on Kangaroo Island with a number of Aboriginal women who had been stolen from Cape Jervis" (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 205). This datum about 'Pirkey' was obtained in about 1914 by Herbert Basedow from Mary Seymour, the daughter of Betty and Nat Thomas). Someone called "Perky" was said (after his death) to have been "generally known" on KI, along with Bates, Walker and Thomas (TG Bennett in *SA Register* 12/10/1887: 4e, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/46833520/4050463>; cp. Ruediger 1980: 100); so was this a nickname for another prominent Islander, Wallan or perhaps Cooper?

- Others of Hart's 8 or 10 extras have remained nameless, and may have included the two rough recluses found in a scrub hut on the outskirts of infant Kingscote (Gouger Journals, 3 Nov 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/robert-gouger/>); see Chapter 3.4.2.5 'Those who did not come out'.

Beyond these "sixteen or eighteen", there may have been others who arrived before 1836 but whom Hart had not met. Moreover, some who have been called pre-colonial may not have come until a little later, e.g. after the whale fishery was set up at Encounter Bay in 1837. One of the latter is the Encounter Bay whaler and KI shipbuilder William Wilkins. This Wilkins has been confused with another probably unrelated Wilkins who visited the mainland before 1836, probably in a sealing ship; he was the grandfather of Sir Hubert Wilkins, but was not an Islander. There was perhaps another "*white whaler named Wilson*" who married 'Fanny' (ClarkeP 1998: 47). Book 2 will discuss the origin of KI whaler Wilkins.

There are yet other names whose connection with the region before 1836 is unclear, disputed or disputable: Within the Eatts family a story has been told how an Englishman Jack Eat (or Heath?) came to KI before colonization in an American ship and married an Aboriginal woman who was "*the aunt of the wife of George Bates, or from the same tribe*". A son Isaac was born, and Jack took him back to England. Isaac married and the couple came back to SA in 1846 as the ancestors of the Eatts family. This story as it stands has been recycled by Fleurieu historian Roy Williams without crediting his source (WilliamsR 1991: 245 [RF Williams 1991, *To Find the Way: Yankalilla & District 1836-1986: History of the Western Fleurieu Peninsula*, third edition, Yankalilla and District Historical Society Inc]), and is also convincingly rebutted by the family historians (Frank W & Elaine M Hall 2008, *Isaac and Lucy Eat: A Pioneering Family*, Encounter Bay: The Authors: 14. In this regard they cite "*a letter... in the Chronicle*" which I have not been able to find). We must wonder whether the story originated in some real facts about Aboriginal women on KI, which remain otherwise lost.

There are also a few foggy stories of sailors shipwrecked or deserting to live with local mainlanders. Some of these came to light during correspondence about Bates in his last years; e.g.

(1) CJ Leonard (a settler at Currency Creek) wrote that in about 1887 he met an old whaler – "*He said he was eighty-one I think*" – who told how he was "*wrecked near Cape Jervis when a lad of sixteen years*", i.e. in about 1822; "*I think he said all his mates were speared but he got away and afterwards lived with the blacks for a long while*" (*SA Register* 4/1/1890: 5b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/47076302/4056034>). Bates wrote to dispute this, claiming that "*In 1826 I was living with the natives for some months on Cape Jervis. There were some very old men there, and they said that I was the only white man who had lived with them*" (*SA Register* 15/1/1890: 5a [Bates 1890]). But the two men could have 'lived with' different family groups, and both tales might perhaps be partly true.

(2) James Graham, aged about 92 (cp. Bates 1895b), was interviewed in 1896 (*Express and Telegraph* [Adelaide] 31/3/1896: 3, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/209061315/22920333>). He said he had served in the whaler *Grecian* for 8 years from 1819, "*frequently at Encounter Bay... then known, he says, as Shark Bay*", then continued whaling on KI, where "*he remembered George Bates landing on the island very well, though he was three days on the island before they discovered him*". (Bates, now 6 months dead, could not confirm or deny this). Beyond all credibility, Graham said he met Sturt at the Murray Mouth and "*with him he travelled down the Coorong to where Mount Gambier now stands*"! He "*was at Encounter Bay when the colony was proclaimed, but he knew very little about it*".

The Honeyman family of Encounter Bay say that "*in the 1830s*" or even the "*in the 1820s*" the Scottish sailor William (Billy) Honeyman and his brother Alexander allegedly "*jumped ship and lived with the local aborigines for a time*" after deserting from a ship which had stopped for repairs at Granite Island (see Peter Rumbelow with Lesley Avery, Mary George & Matt Rumbelow, 2005, *The Rumbelows of Encounter Bay: 150 years of the family in Australia*, Adelaide: the Author: 23; *The Mail* 4/12/1926: 17c & e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/58840388>; and Cameron 1979: 83). If this were to be proved true, it would confirm the hospitality and openness of the Encounter Bay people, even during the crisis of 1835-6, towards those Europeans who could be distinguished from the Kangaroo Island predators. However, the details are scant and inconsistent. It is more likely that they 'lived with the Aborigines' in some loose sense during the earliest days of the whaling station (from Feb 1837 onward).

¹¹⁰⁸ 2. WOMEN:

In his old age Bates said that in 1836 on Kangaroo Island there were "*eight aboriginal women, four belonging to Cape Jervis tribe, and the rest from Tasmania*" (Bates 1883a: 6f). Hart estimated there were "*about 16*" women (Hart 1836),

Hart's memo to Light lists eight Islanders who "render assistance to Whaling and Sealing Vessels", and says that most of them may be depended on; but adds that they "are unwilling to leave the Island". The hidden agenda behind this cryptic note is probably the Islanders' continuing fear of extermination. They are also well aware that their crisis can also become terminal under the imminent new regime. How will they survive in it? "The Islanders on all occasions evinced the greatest dread at the prospect of a regular settlement, either on the main or on the island".¹¹¹¹ Some of them are no longer young

but it is likely that there were more. We know a name for about ten of them. Philip Clarke has given brief biographies of 17 mainland Aboriginal people on KI, 14 of them women (ClarkeP 1998: 37-43). However, some of them were on the Island only briefly; a few such as 'Poll' and 'Waub' may not be local; and others are almost certainly the same person under a different name. Every datum should be checked and re-evaluated, as there are a number of confusions of identity and source in those parts of his biographies which I have studied in detail. (In the publication, the first part of Clarke's biography of 'Sarah-Doughboy' has been accidentally omitted before p.38. I have seen the missing text, and its information is covered in my present book.)

Many of the women were Tasmanians; others came from the local mainland, from both 'Cape Jervis' and Encounter Bay (according to Thompson), and near Port Lincoln (see earlier in this Chapter 2.5.3.2 'Breakdown and payback'). Probably already present in 1836 were some whose origin is unclear, such as 'Waub' (see Book 2, where she is found on KI during Tolmer's 1844 expedition).

The Tasmanians included Magalidi-'Big Sal'; Betty Thomas, the ancestor of many people still living across Australia today (see TaylorR 2002-8, which is devoted to Betty and her descendants); and others such as 'Suke' (also found on KI during Tolmer's 1844 expedition (see Book 2; also ClarkeP 1998: 34-5; and there is much about Suke in TaylorR 2002-8, see her Index).

Some of the women of local origin were ancestors of Aboriginal people who live in the Adelaide region today, but the records made at that time do not allow us to identify any of them in this period except Kalinga-Sally.

From Encounter Bay we have no definite early record of any individuals. However:

- The Coorong woman 'Fanny', wife of the whaler Wilson (ClarkeP 1998: 38), may have been counted by Thompson as one of the 'Encounter Bay' women he mentions, if she was on KI already in 1835-6.
- Another woman called 'Puss' – who was possibly the 'young girl' captured at the Mouth by Bates and Thomas – "*lived for years afterwards at Hog Bay*", according to Bates (see my Textbox09 'Warley, Bates, Thomas, and the young girl captured at the Murray Mouth'). She would certainly have been there in 1836, possibly as one of Wallan's three wives.

Bates said that there were "*four belonging to Cape Jervis tribe*" (Bates 1883a) – i.e. the southern Gulf coast in 'Kaurna'-Miyurna Language Country.

- Kalinga (Sally Walker) had connections with both 'Cape Jervis' and Encounter Bay.

There were at least three other women who were said to come from 'Cape Jervis':

- 'Doughboy' (see Chapter 3.4 *passim*).
- 'Little Sal' (Snelling 1932; see my footnote 'A surfeit of Sals #3: a Sally from Port Lincoln?' in Chapter 2.5.3.2 'Breakdown & payback'.
- 'Martha' who lived with "*Wylie*" (Wallan) (Tindale in ClarkeP 1998: 39). She is now thought to be the same person as "Mary Manatto" who lived with William Wilkins 1844-60. It is thought that she was later called 'Nellie Raminyemmerin' (Hosking 2002: 154); however, historian Skye Krichauff doubts this (p.c. email 12/4/22). She was probably on KI already in 1836, but we have no record of her until later (Book 2 will examine this matter a little further). Since she had a *Miyurna* birth-order name – *munartu*, 'fourth-born child (female)' – her mother had certainly been a woman of *Miyurna* language country, almost certainly 'Cape Jervis'.

The late memory of Pirkey's 'number of women' stolen from 'Cape Jervis' is a hint that there may have been more of these on the Island than the ones named in the records.

¹¹⁰⁹ 3. CHILDREN: By 1836 Sally Walker already had two children, Betty had at least two, and Wallan had at least Henry Junior (See ClarkeP 1998: 43-7).

¹¹¹⁰ 4. ABORIGINAL MEN:

As we shall see in Chapter 3, a number of Aboriginal men were found on Kangaroo Island in 1836 and 1837, including:

- Condoy and Natalla (Woodforde diary 31 Aug 1836).
- two young "*man Fridays*" found living at Wallan's camp (Leigh 1839: 124).
- Another man at Rapid Bay who had recently lived with Wallan on KI (Woodforde diary 16 Oct 1836).

As we have already seen, these men must be considered as part of an ongoing mobility of men between KI and the mainland. It may have been interrupted in 1835 by the threat from Encounter Bay, but if so it resumed quickly after the arrival of the colonists.

¹¹¹¹ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 66-7. We may assess this item from Cawthorne's fiction as representing a historical sentiment probably coming straight from Nat Thomas and his like.

men.¹¹¹² Will they escape punishment? Will they be able to keep their land, or join the ‘sturdy yeomanry’, or the labour force?

On the other hand there will be a window of opportunity. The newly-arrived colonists are bound to need local help, and the Islanders are in a good position to offer it. With their land and their future at stake, these men have only three cards to play in the colony’s new game. The first is their gardens and livestock. Then there is their knowledge of the local coast and mainland. And thirdly they have their knowledge of the local Aboriginal peoples. They have already influenced the way race relationships are established here; and they will inevitably continue to mediate them for a while. Perhaps that advantage can be prolonged.

What of the KI women?

No doubt many of them have heard something about the colonial developments, the recent Black War in Van Diemens Land, and the abject misery of Robinson’s Native Settlement. Some, such as Kalinga and Magalidi, have seen and no doubt told of the degraded condition of ‘town blacks’ in Sydney, Launceston and Hobart. Like the Island men, the women have had mixed feelings: all hoping to have their sufferings reduced, the locals hoping to return home, but all fearing disaster.

Those from the local mainland probably fear a local replay of the Tasmanian catastrophe, or at best the Sydney fringe camps. With Magalidi’s experience in mind, the Tasmanians know their chances are better on KI than on the mainland. The lucky ones might continue as before, unpaid labourers for their ‘masters’ but with a measure of independence. If they have to leave their Island man, they can anticipate drifting very quickly to the bottom of the new social pile.

Or will they be able to forge some kind of independence?

2.6.3 – ON THE MAINLAND.

Mainlanders on ‘Cape Jervis and the Encounter Bay coast, though already weakened by new diseases, have tried to control the pre-colonial incursions into ‘Cape Jervis’; but they probably have no idea of the scale of the colonial invasion soon to come. Still less can the *Kawantilla* people of the northern plains imagine this. Only in the south is there any first-hand knowledge of the white man. At mid-1836 those living north of Sellicks Hill have been scarcely involved if at all, even though they too are *Miyurna* and their land has been visited occasionally in passing by Jones, Hart, Bates and Thomas.¹¹¹³

¹¹¹² Peter Johnson was around 70 years old; Seaman already an ‘old’ man; and Wallan about 42.

¹¹¹³ Cawthorne’s novel, ostensibly set in 1823, gives the impression that Islanders had already made independent whaleboat visits to the Adelaide Plains by that date. His story ends at sunset with ‘Old Sam’ (Nat Thomas), ‘the doctor’ (George Bates) and two Aboriginal women, in a whaleboat “*bound north to visit a tribe of blacks that lived on the plains below Mount Lofty, now so well known as the Adelaide Plains, in the midst of which is situated the city of Adelaide, the capital of South Australia*”. I agree with Hosking that “*Cawthorne deploys here a commonly deployed trope about Aboriginal people from the last half of the 19th century, representing them as in the twilight of their lives. Here, in a neat touch Old Sam and the Islanders are also associated with that previous day, with a glorious new dawn looming with the coming of the settlers in 1836*” (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 106-7, 179 n364). This gives us good reason to doubt that the scene is in any way based on a real visit made independently by sea so far north in the years before 1836. They *could* have done it fairly easily if they had wished, but they would have had no motive except curiosity. And among the earliest records of settlement in Adelaide the only signs of prior European contact with the locals indicate short-term visits by sealing ships rather than sustained contact with Islanders; e.g. some Adelaide people showed that they knew about guns, but in the first 8 months none knew English. Nat Thomas had once visited Port Noarlunga, but it is very doubtful that he had met the people there. (These stories will be told in Book 2).

2.6.4 – ON THE EVE OF INVASION.

The Islanders have had no ambitions for conquest; the most they envisioned was some small-scale trading and raiding on the nearby coast. Even so, they have prepared Kangaroo Island as a base for the real invasion. The British movers and shakers will use them and their KI farms (very briefly) to help establish a beach-head on the mainland; then they will leave KI largely out of sight and mind as their front moves on.

In the winter of 1836 – quite satisfied in their own minds that they are *not* invaders – the advance guard will reach KI: the *Duke of York*, the *Lady Mary Pelham* and the *John Pirie* carrying the first shiploads of colonists. The destinies of mainlanders, Islanders and Island women are at a turning point. On both sides of Backstairs Passage, rich living storehouses of Aboriginal knowledge, local and Tasmanian, are about to vanish forever, leaving behind only scattered and buried fragments. Along with the worst of the old brutalities, years of slow-learned mutuality will be buried just as surely under the dirt of casual prejudice.

..... **endChapter2**

**Feet On the Fleurieu,
Language On the Land:
Book 1**

Chapter 3:

**July 1836 – January 1837: BEACH-HEADS
RAPID BAY AND ADELAIDE:**

3.1 – A MOMENT FOR NEGOTIATION?

INTRODUCTION TO THE STORY from July 1836 to January 1837

For a very short time after July 1836 Aboriginal people around 'Cape Jervis' can still, to some extent, force Europeans to negotiate their presence. But this reciprocation will end abruptly with the move to Adelaide.

The Islander regime has been able to act with impunity on Fortress Kangaroo Island, except during a brief and abortive threat by Raminyeri whaleboat warriors. Very soon the colonial regime will act with impunity on the mainland. Their overwhelming numbers, organized force of arms, and long supply chains by sea (and eventually overland) will relieve them of the need for cooperation with the people of the land.

The small window for negotiation stays open only as long as the newcomers remain ignorant of the land and desperate for a place to call their own. During this moment the colony relies heavily on the support of certain Kangaroo Islanders (Wallan, Day, Walker, Bates, Thomas, Thompson, Seaman) and certain Aboriginal people (Kalinga, Condoy, Magalidi, 'Doughboy'); and on the prolonged hospitality of a large group of independent mainlanders at Rapid Bay.

Many Islanders are quick to offer goods and services to private settlers and the South Australian Company which brought them, and to officers of the British government's Colonial Commission. All these have urgent need of water, fresh food, labour, whaleboats, and pilots and guides with local knowledge. The Islanders have all those assets, and often bring with them Aboriginal women (and some men) as co-labourers with superior local knowledge and bush skills. But for some time only Walker's team and Cooper venture onto the mainland. Bates and Thomas follow later.

Just as quickly, the invaders will forget these benefactors of their colonial project. In later years their successors will glorify only the pioneers who have benefitted from the forgotten aid. The amnesia will not be quite innocent, for it will serve to mask some uncomfortable truths about how the South was 'won.'

The leaders of the colony have been instructed to treat the 'natives' well, even to negotiate with them for a 'voluntary' ceding of land. These good intentions in London drive Colonel Light's team to communicate with the Fleurieu people (for a while) as soon as they reach the mainland. London has anticipated that this conciliation will be mediated by a few of the Islanders; and the first colonists do hire Walker, Cooper and others partly for this purpose. But the main agents of mediation, largely unrecognized, are a few Aboriginal people, mostly women: Kalinga, Condoy, 'Doughboy' and Magalidi.

No doubt the mainlanders realize quickly that the new boat people are a formidable force. But in 1836 they can have little idea of the huge scale of the imminent invasion. It seems that at first they try to replicate the manageable small-scale relationships which they have set up with some sealing captains and Islanders in the past decade. Although their politics with KI have recently changed from compromise to conflict, now they see that the newcomers are on the one hand mild in speech and action, yet on the other backed by much greater numbers, weapons and organization. The best hope of survival is to respond in kind, to compromise, conciliate, draw the newcomers into negotiable

relationships which might endure. In this response many settlers see what they have been encouraged to hope for, to be “received as friends”.¹¹¹⁴ Perhaps by 1837 the mainlanders will realize that this new wave, having much greater ambitions than the old, cannot be stopped or even slowed by such tactics. But they try on ‘Cape Jervis’ for more than six months. After that it is much too late for effective armed resistance.

Though this episode ends in Adelaide, it is not Adelaide-centred. The invasion begins on Kangaroo Island and continues piecemeal on Fleurieu Peninsula for five months before moving on. Of the locals involved at this stage, on KI and the mainland, most are unfamiliar with the Adelaide Plains and its people, and none will take any serious part in the colonial explorations there.

The Fleurieu hinterland is completely unknown to the colonists, and before long, uninteresting. The wave passes over Kangaroo Island, Rapid Bay and Yankalilla, collecting on its way the flotsam of a few place-names, a marginal record of a few Islanders and women, and some teasing fragments of information about the peoples of ‘Cape Jervis’ and Encounter Bay. Buried now in the archives, these records will be precious nuggets which now we labour to exhume, and whose meaning we try to understand.

To tell the ‘underside’ story of this complicated half-year flurry of activity, we shall first remind ourselves of its familiar ‘topside,’ repeated countless times as the official ‘Foundation Story’ of South Australia.

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¹¹¹⁴ Bull 1878b: 69.

3.2 – THE COLONIAL ‘FOUNDATION STORY’ (2): A BRIEF UNIMPORTANT PRELUDE TO ‘THE PROCLAMATION’

3.2.1 – THE STORY AS REMEMBERED IN 1936.

Until the 1990s, official ‘topside’ histories devoted little attention to these six months, even less to Kangaroo Island, and none to the Fleurieu. As one of the better examples, consider ‘Story of the State’ by Ernestine Hill, published in Adelaide’s *Centenary Chronicle* amid the celebrations in 1936.¹¹¹⁵ It mentions ‘the black population’ rarely, as a passive backdrop. The editor’s first four subheadings show the reader what is important:

One: “Wakefield’s Dream:”

The visionary dreamed; the successful merchant George Fife Angas and his South Australian Company rescued the plan; the “distant Utopia” was offered for sale.

Two: “A Colony Complete:”

The boats sailed for the wilderness, carrying the administrative officers of Colonel Torrens’ Board of Commissioners. “The sealers of Kangaroo Island watched the sails of the *Duke of York* approaching and knew that their lawless life was over. In a country of youth, it was fitting that the first footsteps in the sand should be those of a child... She was followed by Samuel Stephens, company manager.” Though Hill spares us the common trope of ‘exotic savages,’ this is the only mention of the Islanders. Kangaroo Island does not rate a subhead of its own, but is subsumed under the next.

Three: “Colonel Light:”

This “Raleigh of the nineteenth century... a man of vision,” after “charting the havens in a brilliantly rapid reconnaissance of the coast,” discovered a site for the capital:

A paragraph drawing on KI information is not about the place or its people, but the usual major theme: the hardships of the pioneers, including the lost party of six from the *Africaine*. No mention of Aboriginal people on the Island, nor the crucial parts played by them and the Islanders in the business of 1836, notably in providing fresh food, in search and rescue efforts, and in Light’s first contact on the mainland.

Four: “South Australia Is Proclaimed:”

We jump straight to Holdfast Bay, “a gypsy camp of white men and women on the seashore, the hills ablaze with blackfellows’ fires behind them. They were now exposed to the peril of attack by the natives.” Several paragraphs are devoted to the arrival of Governor Hindmarsh and ‘The Proclamation’:

The whole white population of 200, and a few of the black, were gathered in the shade of a gum-tree to hear the reading of the Proclamation that transformed a virgin bushland into a province of the Crown... ‘God Save Great George, Our King,’ sang the settlers with fervor, forgetting that it was William... The ceremony closed with many a toast of loyalty and goodwill, and a cold collation... with bottles of sherry and ale and port and porter... The great day was over. As the shadows of evening lengthened to

¹¹¹⁵ Ernestine Hill 1936, ‘Story of the State: From Wilderness to Wealth in a Hundred Years,’ in *The Centenary Chronicle 1836-1936*, Adelaide: Advertiser Newspapers Ltd, October 5th 1936: 14-16. Journalist Hill was the author of popular books such as *The Great Australian Loneliness*, and ghost-writer for Daisy Bates’s *The Passing of the Aborigines* (<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hill-mary-ernestine-10503> [20/3/17]).

*the hills, in Gouger's tent... the birth of the colony saw the birth of its first child. Both mother and child were buried in one grave.*¹¹¹⁶

The trope here is familiar: Hindmarsh's proclamation is important because it transformed the wilderness into a British possession. Typically again, no mention of its major content: that the 'natives' were now "His Majesty's subjects" with the same rights, "protection" and "privileges" as the rest, which must be respected on pain of punishment "with exemplary severity."¹¹¹⁷

But as we shall see, much more than that had transpired by the end of 1836, and the 'blacks' were not always passive spectators.

3.2.2 – COMMEMORATIVE THEMES AND MYTHS.

In like manner many other commemorations, Proclamation Day speeches and newspaper articles have eulogized the pioneers and their hardships, often not mentioning KI or Aboriginal people at all.¹¹¹⁸ Sometimes they have ruminated in the abstract on the arrival of 'civilization' and 'progress,' another familiar theme. Some of them note in passing that the colonists had very good intentions towards the 'natives,' and though apprehensive at first were pleased and relieved to discover very quickly that those on this part of the coast were 'harmless,' 'inoffensive,' 'peaceable,' 'friendly,' and posed no threat to the colony.¹¹¹⁹

¹¹¹⁶ Hill's account contains a number of inaccuracies. For instance, 'the whole white population' did not attend the ceremony; a few were absent, notably Colonel Light.

¹¹¹⁷ Robert Thomas's famous poster of the Proclamation, printed at Glenelg a few days later, had the actual content in very small print, and the words 'Proclamation' and 'South Australia' in very large print. Find a facsimile of the poster at <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/topics/> and in the Powerpoint downloadable at <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/for-schools/week-45/>. This clever and convenient distortion of the Proclamation's message has been perpetuated ever since on every Proclamation Day (see Foster & Nettelbeck 2012: 2, 133-5).

¹¹¹⁸ I and many other South Australians of my generation lived well into adulthood in the 1960s and 70s before we began to hear that colonists in 1836 had arrived on Kangaroo Island months before Glenelg.

¹¹¹⁹ EARLY COLONISTS ON 'FRIENDLY' NATIVES ON GULF ST VINCENT AT FIRST CONTACT:

The first reports which went back to England in 1836 repeated what the Islanders had told them. John Morphett wrote (before his whaleboat voyages up the coast) that the sealers "*characterize the Natives as being generally peaceable, and well inclined*" (MorphettJ to Angas 14 Sep 1836, in SACo First Supp: 29). William Deacon on KI wrote, "*The natives are very peaceable on the main land... except at Port Lincoln*" (Deacon letter 24 Oct 1836, in Hope 1968: 111). By the end of 1836 this was supplemented by reports of Light's party at Rapid Bay. George Stevenson wrote that Light had found the Rapid Bay people "*perfectly friendly, very tractable and ready to assist*" (Stevenson to Hindmarsh 14 Feb 1837, C.O.13/6/53: 2, State Records of SA).

One early colonist wrote home "*They are perfectly harmless*" (Therese Chauncey letter 13 Feb 1837, *Advertiser* 28/12/1897: 5f); and in mid-1837 another couple: "*The natives are very harmless and there is not many of them*" (Philip and Caroline Boad letter 4 July 1837, *SA Record* 7: 56, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883830>).

Finniss generalized in 1837 about his recent experiences with the Rapid Bay and Adelaide 'tribes': "*The natives of our colony are a poor harmless race, few in number, and full of confidence in the virtue of their new allies. They mix with us on the most friendly footing*" (BT Finniss 1837: 55b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883829>).

These adjectives quickly became well-known clichés of colonial writing, an important part of propaganda for the colony over the next decade. At a speech in London on 9 August 1838 Gouger described the Aboriginal people of the colony as "*a docile and tractable set of men*" (*Southern Australian* 23/1/1839: 3d,

<http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71685045/6244732>). John Stephens in London paraphrased: "*No danger can reasonably be apprehended from the natives, for they are a tractable and an inoffensive race, when treated with kindness... a harmless class of beings, strong, active, tractable*" (StephensJ 1839: 68, 79).

At the end of 1847 Sturt wrote of the colony's prior occupants as "*an inoffensive and harmless race*" ('An Account of the Sea Coast of South Australia,' Chapter 3, in Sturt 1847-9, Vol.2: 288).

These clichés passed into official and popular myth: "*We had been received as friends*" (Bull 1878b: 69). "*Most of the early settlers agree... that they saw very few natives... The few natives seen were quiet and harmless*" (Old Colonists' Association 1887, *An Account of the Celebration of the Jubilee Year of South Australia*, Adelaide, WK Thomas & Co: 17).

The propagandists of the 1830s had gushed that the colony would be, at the least, “an advent of mercy to the native tribes,” bringing them British protection from

*the lawless squatters, the abandoned sailors, the runaway convicts, the pirates, the worse than savages, that so infest the coast and islands along that portion of new Holland, and perpetuate against the defenceless natives crimes at which humanity revolts... Colonization thus extended to South Australia, though it should do nothing for the colonists, and nothing for the mother country, would yet deserve, in its influence upon the Aborigines, Lord Bacon’s character of ‘a blessed work.’*¹¹²⁰

But in the following century or so the commemorations have been quieter on this subject.

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¹¹²⁰ ‘Treatment of the Aborigines’, in *First Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners of South Australia 1836* (Colonization Commissioners Reports: 8-10, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1126497737/view?partId=nla.obj-1126500985#page/n8/mode/1up>). These and other paragraphs by the Commissioners were quoted and paraphrased at some length in Company propaganda (StephensJ 1839: 69-71). As shown by Shueard (Shueard 2013: 65), and in my present book, the colonial propagandists of SA used the clichéd reputation of the Bass Strait ‘savages’ to justify the colony by slandering the Kangaroo Islanders, tarring them all with the brush of old and inaccurate reports from the eastern colonies. Lord Francis Bacon in the 17th century was a leading apologist for the early colonization of America by England (see e.g. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir_Francis_Bacon).

3.3 – THEMES: POWER SHIFT: FROM DISTANT FRONTIER TO NEW COLONY

A more complex narrative lies below these mythologized versions of the ‘topside.’

The new regime came to an Island which was ‘wild,’ but not completely so. Some patches were already ‘tamed’ by resident Islanders and Aboriginal women. But the first colonists were even less prepared for the Island than they might have been. They arrived at Kingscote three weeks ahead of the surveyors who were supposed to have paved the way for them. All were totally ignorant of the land and conditions here, and worse, misled by sources such as Sutherland. Their labour force was an ill-disciplined assortment of workers and sailors, their leadership ill-suited for the job. Samuel Stephens, Colonial Manager for the South Australian Company, would prove later to be an energetic explorer and valuable as a land agent; but as manager of Kingscote he was incompetent, arrogant, hot-tempered and (according to one of Light’s Assistant Surveyors) “very diminutive... both in stature and much more so in commonsense and justice.”¹¹²¹ Under his command the new settlement rapidly sank towards chaos, comical in hindsight but serious to the hungry immigrants at the time, and ameliorated only a little by an Islander and a ship’s captain.

3.3.1 – ISLANDERS IN THE NEW REGIME.

By mid-1836 the Islanders were probably expecting colonists in the near future, and *may* have prepared themselves for the shock of the new. They must have been counting up their tradeable assets and skills. They were much better prepared for the colonists than the colonists were for them; and in the event, a number of them did seek and find paid work from the newcomers.

Their most obvious solution was a simple extension of the relationships they had with the sealing ships: trade and short-term jobs arising from their own resources, skills and local knowledge. They already had among them small organized teams with years of disciplined experience in coasting by whaleboat and bushcraft on land. The little teams usually contained both Island men and Aboriginal people; the latter might be male or female, both equally tough and competent. It is clear that most of them had a strong work ethic. As Shueard trenchantly observes, the stereotypical contrast between hardworking pioneers and ‘savage sealers’ is the exact reverse of the truth. Islanders such as Bates scorned the immigrant labourers and sailors for their laziness and bad discipline.¹¹²² When Light, Kingston and Finniss arrived with labourers under government discipline, they ignored Stephens and his Company men and dealt directly with Islanders.

They had fresh food. When the colonists arrived, badly in need of it after their long voyages, several Island groups came to sell or barter it to them. The Three Wells and Hog Bay groups quickly set up a regular trade in wallaby meat and fresh vegetables and European fruit. The increased demand for wallabies was of course met by the labour of their Aboriginal women, traps and hunting dogs.

¹¹²¹ The description was applied to both Samuel Stephens and his brother Edward in Adelaide later (Jacob journal 10 Feb 1837, quoted in Dutton 1960: 212).

¹¹²² Bates 1886b: 6e; Shueard 2013: 81-5.

They had whaleboats. Company administrator Stephens, having settled at a waterless unusable site which he called Kingscote, had urgent need for daily commuting and transport between there and the places miles away where water could be found, livestock pastured and food grown. For this he needed boats larger than a ship's dinghy. Several Islanders began to hire out their precious whaleboats and contract their own skilled labour and pilotage.

They had local knowledge, much of it acquired from Aboriginal men and women and still reliant on them. As soon as the drivers of exploration arrived – Light, Morphett, Kingston, and Stephens when he could break free from other affairs – Islanders could sell their knowledge of the mainland coasts. But their own history ruled that they rarely undertook these excursions without their 'native' contacts, even if these were unpaid and scarcely mentioned.

3.3.1.1 – THEIR FUTURE:

These brief casual jobs will not secure them a future, for there remains the issue of land ownership on KI. Colonial vultures will immediately begin to circle around their hard-won farm pads. To the colonists the conclusion is foregone and paid-up. The same thought undoubtedly looms large in the minds of the Islanders: will the new regime confiscate their acres and thus render them homeless wage-labourers, some of them aging, in a society built by Britain whose treatment of the poor they knew only too well? Can they perhaps secure titles to their lands?

In the end, few of them will achieve a place in the new economy beyond casual labour or tracking. Despite a promise about their land from Light himself,¹¹²³ one of Stephens' first official actions will dispossess Wallan. In later decades only Nat Thomas will manage eventually to gain a land title, and even he will have to supplement the family farm by a whaleboat ferry service from Adelaide to the Island, and by helping to build and run the Cape Willoughby lighthouse.¹¹²⁴ Walker, Thomas, Kalinga, Betty and several other women will surface occasionally as trackers. Almost all our KI protagonists will die destitute.

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3.3.2 ABORIGINAL PEOPLE IN THE NEW REGIME.

3.3.2.1 – MEDIATED AT FIRST BY ISLAND WHITE MEN.

Some Islanders were in a position to mediate contact with Aboriginal people of the local mainland. Crucially at this moment; for the immigrants knew that the Colonial Commissioners, with a new reforming zeal, expected them to establish friendly relations with the local 'natives.' To them the Islanders' knowledge of the 'tribes' appeared not only essential but vast. They wanted to know one main thing in advance: whether the local 'natives' were peaceful or dangerous.

In reply, Islanders told them a careful and slightly puzzling selection of the truth: the 'natives' on the east coast of Gulf St Vincent were 'friendly,' while those on Yorke

¹¹²³ See section 3.4.5.2.5 'Moving on from Kangaroo Island'.

¹¹²⁴ cp. WA Cawthorne 1853; TaylorR 2002-8: 116, 118.

Peninsula and near Port Lincoln were ‘ferocious’ or ‘hostile.’¹¹²⁵ But most of the Islanders were still unwilling to risk leaving the Island.

The comments about the ‘natives’ further west are hints of recent history such as the Boston Island murders and other unrecorded dark deeds on Yorke Peninsula. But they omitted the recent threat from Encounter Bay, and their own current fear of leaving the Island, as noted by Hart.¹¹²⁶ Probably at this moment they thought it prudent not to talk about matters which might encourage scrutiny of their past actions. Or perhaps the first colonists spoke to Islanders less anxious than those whom Hart knew.¹¹²⁷ In fact most Islanders chose to stay on KI during these months; only Walker and Cooper seemed keen to risk themselves on the mainland; Bates did so only later, and Thomas later still.

Despite their fraught and varied relationships with local mainlanders, their ability to produce ‘friendly’ Aboriginal guides and hunters was an important asset which they could hire out. Much of the work paid for by the colonists was assigned to these women, as usual: on KI wallaby snaring, search and rescue; kangaroo hunting on the Gulf coast. For mainland work they brought Aboriginal men as well as women.¹¹²⁸ But it was the Islanders who were paid. In many ways the situation and the response were similar to the Barker events five years earlier.

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3.3.2.2 – MAINLANDERS AMID THE CHANGE IN REGIME.

3.3.2.2.1 – FROM NEGOTIATED POLITICS TO OVERWHELMING POWER.

Under the old regime, the mainlanders had compelled their Island visitors into hard negotiation. The colony would now replace this by soft power – for the moment; hard force would come later. The Islanders had only a very small force available. Aboriginal mainlanders had much greater numbers, available force and knowledge of the terrain. Before 1836 there was a wary, realistic and fairly equal politics based on trade. But now an organized power was arriving very quickly in overwhelming numbers, backed by European force and resources; and its practical necessities would ensure that it operated without taking time for real negotiation. The good intentions of the Colonial Commissioners were half a world away.

Within this great shift, the politics between mainlanders and Islanders inevitably took a new turn. Probably this began on KI a week before Light crossed over on 7th September. We know that ‘chief’ Condoy was present at Kingscote on August 31st and later, always with Kalinga and sometimes his brother Natalla. Possibly his role now was more than

¹¹²⁵ Morphett wrote that the sealers “characterize the Natives as being generally peaceable, and well inclined” (Morphett to Angas 14 Sep 1836, in SACo First Supp: 29). William Deacon on KI wrote, “The natives are very peaceable on the main land and do anything for a biscuit, except at Port Lincoln, where they seem very ferocious” (Deacon letter 24 Oct 1836, in P Hope 1968: 111). Light wrote, “the natives on Yorke’s Peninsula and Gulf Spencer are represented much more hostile” (Light to Commissioners 12 Nov 1836, in Light Brief Journal: 77).

¹¹²⁶ Only a few months earlier, Captain Hart had written that all the Islanders he knew were “unwilling to leave the island” (Hart 1836: 159).

¹¹²⁷ Hart before 1836 knew Bates, Thomas, Wallan and Cooper, who would certainly have been ‘unwilling to leave the island’, but not Walker (see Hart 1836). For those who spoke to Light and other colonists in late 1836, see later in this chapter. Light spoke to Walker, Thompson, Seaman and Cooper, but not Wallan, Bates and Thomas. Martin and Morphett spoke first with Wallan and the Hog Bay team. Not until later did Stephens and Morphett speak about exploration with Bates and Thomas.

¹¹²⁸ For details of the Aboriginal members of these early expeditions, see later in this chapter.

ever the intercultural politician, even the statesman, trying to influence the tide of strangers coming to his country, rather than the patriarchal trader in women. Unfortunately, the records of this period give fewer data than ever by which to assess his family's hidden story.

3.3.2.2.2 – FROM GENDER TO RACE.

For the moment this was *not* a frontier without women, for the colonists brought their wives. Gender politics temporarily took a back seat, though it would resume later on new frontiers. The preferred style of business for British colonists with 'natives' was always going to be bureaucratic and impersonal. Sexual trading would not be on the official agenda; nor was it likely to be common while colonists had the authorities present among them and survival was still at stake.¹¹²⁹

Nor would there be a trade in goods between colonial men and Aboriginal men. British colonists were finding that 'white savages' had useful commodities to offer them, but could not imagine the same of 'black savages.' The interests of Aboriginal men would get little more attention than those of Aboriginal women. Yet while survival was at stake, even racial superiority would be put aside a little. The main business had to be food and exploration. Aboriginal men and women would serve their purpose as hunters, guides and interpreters. And if they were locals who also knew English, they might bypass other Islander and mainlander middle-men, saving time and effort.

3.3.3 – TEACHING GEOGRAPHY: FEET ON THE LAND AND SEA.

The records reflect the needs of their own moment. What they tell us is mostly about our theme of geography and exploration. Like the early 1830s, and like the Country Surveys of 1838-40, this was one of the brief and rare times when European newcomers walked as learners beside Aboriginal people as teachers. Black and white put their feet together on the Fleurieu. A few of the whites preserved tiny fragments of the land's language. The 'friendship' lasted while the newcomers were fearful enough to feel a need for it.

But colonial learning of the land was largely *mediated* by the KI men. For geographical advice Light went straight to them, as planned. He asked them about the seasonal weather patterns. He rejected KI on the strength of their counsel as well as his own observations. He prioritized coastlines for exploration largely on their advice, heading straight for the east coast of Gulf St Vincent, ignoring Encounter Bay and Yorke Peninsula, and visiting Port Lincoln only because his instructions obliged him to. On Islander advice he made his first landfall on the mainland at Rapid Bay.

Yet we shall see that the Islanders often reached the limit of their knowledge quickly; anything more came directly from their Aboriginal associates.

¹¹²⁹ Soon enough of course the sex trade would be very much back on the *unofficial* agenda of the dockside at Port Adelaide, the fishery at Encounter Bay, and the shepherds' huts on every new frontier. But these encounters would now function, not in their own right as negotiable matters with consequences only for those directly concerned, but as inflammatory preludes to the subjugation of each new area by the colonial power.

3.3.3.1 – VOYAGES OF EXPLORATION BY WHALEBOAT AND SHIP.

The London organizers of the colony anticipated geographical help from the Islanders. The scope of it may seem small to us now, but it was not so to the newcomers then. Most histories have underrated the *amount* of this help in the first six months, and its *importance* at the time. The ignorance, greedy haste and inadequate planning of the province in the early 1830s resulted in many delays, avoidable problems and confusions in 1836, even with this local help. Without it these would certainly have been much worse.

In that July the anxious colonists knew very little about their new surroundings. Kangaroo Island was a beach backed by impenetrable scrub, with no sign of Sutherland's fertile grasslands. The mainland coast was sketched in by Flinders, but the local hinterland a daunting almost-blank space on their maps. It contained only 'Cape Jervis' with 'rugged... hills intersected by gullies'; and further north, the vaguely located 'Hay's Range' and a couple of Aboriginal place-names.¹¹³⁰ Even by the end of the year, none of them had been more than a few miles inland at any point.

During September and October the newcomers employed Islanders and their Aboriginal companions in four separate voyages up the east coast of Gulf St Vincent. One was Colonel Light's well-known survey in the brig *Rapid*. But the Gulf was also explored by three independent whaleboat expeditions – also significant though little known – one of which preceded Light.

The colonists hitch-hiked on working partnerships which had been forged earlier. On Light's voyage (7 September to 10 October) he employed William Cooper as his geographical mentor and (in theory) interpreter, with his 'wives' Magalidi ('Sall') and the local woman 'Doughboy'.¹¹³¹ – as hunters only (in theory). In practice Doughboy also found herself also performing as interpreter and cultural broker, more so than Cooper. All three whaleboat voyages were accompanied by Islanders, at least two by 'natives,' and all used whaleboats hired from Islanders. Two were managed by colonial landlubbers, so that the Islanders must have been the organizers and effectively commanders as well as pilots and probably oarsmen. At least two trips had Aboriginal guides, men and women. We deduce some of the identities from circumstantial evidence, with a fair degree of confidence. It was probably William Walker who took two or three Aboriginal people on 7-18 September with Captain Martin, and again on 20-28 September with Deputy Surveyor-General Kingston and Company Manager Samuel Stephens; and it was certainly George Bates and Nat Thomas who took Stephens and John Morphet on 4-18 October. The 'natives' very probably included Kalinga and Condoy on Walker's voyages. They must have been land guides, bush tucker experts, interpreters in any onshore meetings, and probably some of them (even Kalinga) active rowers as well.

But the Islanders, though fee-paid for these explorations, received no public recognition for them then or later; much less the expert Aboriginal people who sailed with them.

Although those who requisitioned and reported these trips showed almost no interest in Aboriginal culture, they did record four Aboriginal place-names, all in 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna*

¹¹³⁰ Map in Sturt 1833, *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia*, Vol.2: 229.

¹¹³¹ We know her only as 'Doughboy' and later as 'Sarah', 'Sarah Cooper' or 'Sally Cooper'. Her Aboriginal name is unknown.

language. Two of these passed quickly into common currency and survived officially in the forms ‘Yankalilla’ and ‘Aldinga.’ ‘Pat Bungar’ was ignored by everyone except a few explorers, and very soon forgotten. ‘Yatagolanga’ was revived in 1839-40 during the Country Surveys.

The geography which these Islanders and women knew was probably less extensive than might be supposed. In my analysis, most of the Islanders except Bates, all the KI women, and even most of the ‘Cape Jervis tribe,’ were personally unfamiliar with the Adelaide Plain and its people, and none took part in the colonial explorations there. On the Gulf coast the previous personal experience of Cooper and Doughboy may have ended north of Yankalilla Plain. Condoy probably knew the Onkaparinga by land, and passed it in Captain Martin’s whaleboat, but nothing of it was recorded on that voyage. The colonists were misled by having both Jones’s ‘fine harbour’ and Barker’s “*inlet 16 miles*” marked separately; but no Islander was able to clarify this – not even Cooper or Doughboy during Light’s targeted search for it.¹¹³²

Nothing we know suggests that the Islanders told the colonists (or indeed *knew* at that time) much at all about the local ‘interior’. The one exception was a garbled reference to Inman Valley as a connection of some kind between the Gulf creeks and Barker’s through-route on the west of the range, and Encounter Bay and the Lake on the east; and the hearers reported this so ambiguously that the London editors continued to misunderstand it.¹¹³³

3.3.4 – DIFFERENT FOR A WHILE AT RAPID BAY?

Throughout those six months, most of the new colonists knew the local inhabitants only from Islander descriptions of them, apart from a few very brief encounters in Kingscote. Martin, Morphett, Kingston and Stephens sat and camped with ‘natives’ from KI on the whaleboat voyages; but this had little or no intercultural significance to them. The women – ‘owned’ by Island men and dressed no doubt in their own unique hybrid style which differentiated them both from ‘real natives’ and from Europeans¹¹³⁴ – scarcely counted as ‘the natives.’ Neither they nor Condoy counted in the colonial future of Morphett *et al*.

But there was one notable exception. For a few days in September and again for more than fourteen weeks from October to January, a party of about 20 surveyors, labourers, settlers, women and children at Rapid Bay sustained a living and working relationship with people they called the “Cape Jervis tribe.” Some of these guests would remember their hosts later, at least a little.

This collaborative colony was set up in September by Light’s hunter Doughboy (who had relatives on the Fleurieu or at Encounter Bay or most likely both) and her man Cooper

¹¹³² It is also possible, though unproven, that it was some of those individuals who first communicated the name of the plains near Holdfast Bay as “Cowandilla” (*Kawantilla*, ‘north place’ [OS *Kawandilla*] see Schultz PNS 1/02 *Kawandilla* [2018]). This name would make more sense coming from these southerners than from the Adelaide people, for whom ‘north place’ probably meant somewhere towards Gawler or the Barossa (see Schultz PNS 8/18 *Kadlitiya*; 8/17 *Murlayaki*; 1/03 *Patpangga*).

¹¹³³ e.g. the “*three fine rivers running through into Lake Alexandrina*” in Capper’s London report of Captain Martin’s voyage (see section 3.4.6.2 ‘To the mangroves’). Even with a colonist on the spot, it often took time for local knowledge to penetrate the fog of pre-emptive theories based on misleading old information such as Sturt’s, and encouraged by the colony’s London propaganda.

¹¹³⁴ See Leigh’s illustration (Leigh1839: 104) and Mary Thomas’s description of Kalinga (Mary Thomas Diary, 3 Nov 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-3-november-1836-4/>).

(who spoke the ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language). It is *possible* that early planning for it was done in association with Condoy and Kalinga.¹¹³⁵ But it seems there was fairly direct communication in Pidgin English between the colonists and the mainlanders, rendering both Doughboy and Cooper unnecessary as intermediaries; indeed they were probably elsewhere most of the time from October.

Here the colony first came to know ‘Peter’ and others, perhaps including ‘Encounter Bay Bob’: men who would become familiar as workers and cultural brokers in the colony later, sometimes in the frontline of official ‘native affairs.’ Though individual Islanders had created some pre-colonial precedents for the Rapid Bay experience, it would rarely be repeated in the colony.¹¹³⁶ Its cultural implications are therefore of great interest. What kinds of politics were practised there in those brief months? As the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ got to know this small friendly sample of the invaders, did they and the people of Encounter Bay try to forge a new deal for their uncertain future? It was their final chance. How did the colonists respond? What, if anything, was achieved or salvaged? These are questions which I address in the last part of this chapter.

3.3.5 – THE INVASION SHIFTS THE EUROPEAN FOCUS FROM THE FLEURIEU TO ADELAIDE AND ENCOUNTER BAY.

After November 1836 the colony shifted its attention to Adelaide. Though the language there was another dialect of ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna*, basically the same as at Rapid Bay, it was a different place with a different ecology and a different and scarcely-contacted local people.¹¹³⁷

The colonial leadership rejected Encounter Bay for settlement in the short term.¹¹³⁸ In spite of connections with its people made unwittingly at Rapid Bay, nobody yet knew anything substantial about it, not even that its language was totally different (‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Korinar*) or that its contact experience was almost as old as the Fleurieu’s. But Stephens was already planning to use it for a bay-whaling fishery, whose revenue (the Company hoped) might sustain the early years of the colony. There a third local ‘tribe’ would soon have to face another outpost, the third beach-head of the invasion.¹¹³⁹

Sidelined outside these two hubs of attention and development, the people of ‘Cape Jervis’ would become invisible, merging with their more numerous neighbours, forgotten apart from a few brief memoirs by settlers in the 1840s.¹¹⁴⁰

¹¹³⁵ See section 3.4.7.3 ‘A garden & perhaps a conference?’

¹¹³⁶ In times of first contact here (up to 1845), a very few colonists did live for significant lengths of time among Aboriginal people or in sustained association with them: the German missionary linguists Clamor Schürmann, Christian Teichelmann, Heinrich Eduard Meyer and Samuel Klose; Meyer’s wife Friedericke, and Klose’s wife Elizabeth; and the medical doctor and writer Richard Penney.

¹¹³⁷ Today it is necessary for us to transcend consciously the pervasive but mistaken idea (deriving from Tindale) that speaking the same language defines a ‘tribe,’ and means automatically that the whole Language Group were one unified people. The present history abundantly shows the opposite within both Language Groups on each side of the range.

¹¹³⁸ Light’s choice of Adelaide as the capital was fiercely disputed by Hindmarsh who favoured Encounter Bay, and there was a very bitter, protracted and partisan controversy about the matter.

¹¹³⁹ Book 2 will tell some of the story of the SA colony’s first contacts with the locals at Encounter Bay.

¹¹⁴⁰ See e.g. GB Wilkinson 1848, *South Australia: Its Advantages and Its Resources*, London, John Murray: 322, 336-8; and the memoirs of Henry Kemmis (Kemmis 1889, ‘Copy of Notes made by Henry Kemmis’, Yankalilla & District Historical Society digital archives 1292, Yankalilla Library).

3.4 – LOCAL NARRATIVE July to November 1836: FLURRY AROUND THE FLEURIEU

3.4.1 – INTRODUCTION: JULY 1836.

In London at the beginning of 1836, Captain Hart alerted the surveyors that the Kangaroo Islanders could help them: they had “Wheat, Cape Barley, Potatoes, Cabbages, Portugal Onions, Lettuces, Pumpkins, Melons & Peaches,” and were already known to “render assistance to Whaling & Sealing Vessels.”¹¹⁴¹

On KI, while the main groups were ready for the colonial tide in many respects, it is unlikely they had any overall cooperative plan. Had their various camps – at Emu Bay, Three Wells Creek, Hog Bay and the Antechamber – already worked out a collective approach to jobs? Or would it be a free-for-all competition with cooperation only between ‘mates’? Evidence favours the latter.

Unsurprisingly, we know much more about the men than the women. Most records were made by busy men who usually dismissed the ‘native women’ in a few words. No doubt many Islanders were happy to encourage this view of things. Islander men appear as the negotiators and drivers of business. This was so not only because the Island men were Europeans but because they, from their position in the local hierarchy, had the time and the power. With the rare exception of Kalinga in November,¹¹⁴² the women were usually somewhere else doing the subsistence work, trapping or hunting the wallabies, catching the fish, tending the vegetables and pigs. The colonists present at the time were well aware of this.¹¹⁴³

But when it came to exploration on the mainland, the men’s business was constrained. As Hart also wrote in January, these men were “unwilling to leave the Island”; we infer that they were afraid of the mainland warriors. In Chapter 2 we examined the recent history of conflict which would explain this. In this chapter we shall see to what extent it proved true, and of whom.

This period of intense interest and new beginnings left a relative abundance of diaries, letters, reports and reminiscences. For new arrivals it was an exciting time when their minds were focused on this region and its people in a way which was never repeated. Nevertheless, what we they tell us about our protagonists is vastly outweighed by what they don’t. From scattered references and much anonymity I try to piece together an ‘underside history,’ a chronology and interpretation of the locals and their deeds. The result is incomplete and often conjectural, and will remain so even after future historians modify it; for the records leave many large gaps in what we seek.

¹¹⁴¹ Hart 1836: 159.

¹¹⁴² See section 3.5.3 ‘Sagacity of Princess Con’.

¹¹⁴³ See e.g. Morgan Journal 2 Aug 1836; Pullen MSS Journal: 31/12, 22 Aug 1836; Woodforde diary 6 Sep 1836; Finniss 1892: 2. The situation had not changed since the observations made in 1826, that the Aboriginal women were the foundation of the “comfortable” life of “indolence” at the Three Wells camp (Cumpston 1986: 79, cp. 85). This “luxurious and lazy” life was confirmed in general by Bates in his old age (Bates 1886b: 6d).

3.4.2 – July-August: FOUR LOCAL TEAMS MEET THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COMPANY.

No Islanders, white or Aboriginal, were present on the western coast of Nepean Bay when the first shipload of 42 colonists arrived in the *Duke of York* on 26th July; nor two days later when the *Lady Mary Pelham* came in with another 29. Possibly days or weeks passed before the locals noticed the arrival of the ships and their human payload; certainly it seems they were in no hurry to communicate. At Three Wells, Wallan would have been unable to see them. If Cooper and Johnson at Emu Bay saw them passing along Investigator Strait, perhaps they thought these vessels were merely winter whalers.

In fact whalers is what they were, fitted out by the South Australian Company for what it hoped would be its first colonial industry. From this viewpoint their passengers were an unwanted nuisance, delaying the crew's business and bonuses in order to drop them on Kangaroo Island. The discontent which this had caused already would soon become the Company Manager's nightmare and Wallan's opportunity.

The settlement inland on Three Wells River,¹¹⁴⁴ containing four white men and some Aboriginal women, was only 13 km from the colonists' tent village huddled on the beach. Living on the only significant river nearby, it is not surprising that these men were the first to make contact; yet it happened a week later and by accident. They themselves did not *make* contact. Were they lying low while assessing the strength and intentions of the colony? More likely they did not know it was there.¹¹⁴⁵

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3.4.2.1 – THE WALLAN FARM AND STEPHENS.

On August 2nd John Day¹¹⁴⁶ of Three Wells was out along the river searching for swan's eggs, when he came across Captains Morgan (of the *York*) and Ross (of the *Pelham*), with Samuel Stephens (Colonial Manager of the infant colony) and a boat crew.

Possibly Day had been unaware that colonists had arrived; but his first words may indicate that he had already prepared a response to stop them shooting him by mistake. He was

*dressed in kangaroo skin vestments, with cap and moccasins of the same material. Mr Stephens hailed the strange figure with the exclamation – 'Who are you?' The reply of the sealer was promptly 'a man,' for he seems to have thought of the possibility of being taken for a wild animal and perhaps devoted to destruction then and there.*¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴⁴ Today its name is Cygnet River, after the ship whose people camped at the mouth (see later in this chapter).

¹¹⁴⁵ – contrary to Taylor's interpretation: "*The Islanders had been watching the settlers*"; but her account of the first few days is based too much on secondary sources (TaylorR 2002-8: 73-4).

¹¹⁴⁶ Other sources call him 'William Day.' Day was the 'resident' or 'Robinson Crusoe' whom Stephens and Captain Morgan met first; Wallan was his 'partner' who had arrived 18 years before (StephensS 1836, 2 Aug; cp. Captain Morgan Journal 2 Aug 1836). Some researchers have wrongly assumed that it was Wallan whom they met first; but Stephens names him as "*John Day*" (StephensS 1836, 2 Aug).

¹¹⁴⁷ Finniss 1892: 4.

The newcomers had been dismayed by KI's "melancholy jungle" (as another one said), "where the bushes grew so thick, that... he was afraid to go twenty paces lest he should never find his way out again;" where it was "impossible to see a yard before them."¹¹⁴⁸ Primed by descriptions of lush land in the Gulf country and Sutherland's reports of open grassland on KI, they were not prepared for this unmanaged scrub. On their initial foray three days earlier Stephens and others foolishly left the river and got lost for a day in undergrowth and fallen timber, subsisting on three biscuits and a crow until they found their way back.¹¹⁴⁹ This time they stuck to the river, searching for a boat which they had left behind, and hoping to shoot some birds to feed the hungry colonists.

Even the experienced whaling commander was impelled to use the familiar cliché of Defoe illustrations. In his own eccentric spelling, Morgan wrote,¹¹⁵⁰

*In walking along the side of the river on the oppersite side I saw a man some what like when a boy I have seen Robinson cruso with long hair and beard a stick in his hand and verry little apperil. I put to him a few questions which he answered said he had bing here since 1832.*¹¹⁵¹

Day took them to the farm to meet his partner Henry Wallan:

The man turned back and we accompanied him to his farm which was closed in with piles drove in the ground contaning about five acres of weat some turnips cabages onions and a few pertatoes. they have pigs and founs a fine cat. we where introduced to the partner of our friend who appeared to be a rough sailor though left of sea and had bing on the island about [blank]¹¹⁵² years and had become quite nativefied his voice appeard to have lost his mother tongue...¹¹⁵³ they lived in small one story level with the ground houses. had out houses for thier stock.

The other two white men of Three Wells were not seen or mentioned.¹¹⁵⁴ The women of the house were absent at work, hunting "wallaby that is a small kind of Kangaroo." They

¹¹⁴⁸ Comments by Thomas Beare who arrived with Stephens in the *Duke of York*: noted in 1837 by Leigh (Leigh 1839: 71, 67; cp. 60).

¹¹⁴⁹ StephensS 1836, 29-30 July.

¹¹⁵⁰ Morgan Journal 2 Aug 1836.

¹¹⁵¹ '1832' might possibly be an error for '1822,' *if* the story is correct which asserted that Day arrived two years after Wallan ('A.M.' 1886, 'Reminiscences of Kangaroo Island Settlement,' *Observer* 31/7/1886: 7a). Morphett wrote that one of the first two sealers met in 1836 had been there for 15 years (Morphett to Angas 14/9/1836, in SACo First Supp: 29); this could possibly refer to Day, but more likely to Allen. Day is known to have been sealing around the Straits in the years 1824-31 (PlomleyN 1966: 1012) but may have spent a short previous time on Kangaroo Island from about 1822, perhaps after leaving the *General Gates* with Allen (Cumpston 1986: 61-2).

¹¹⁵² Stephens wrote that Wallan had been there 18 years (StephensS 1836, 2 Aug).

¹¹⁵³ Taylor wonders whether the 'nativefied' man (she thinks it was Day) had become used to speaking in one of the languages of his women (see TaylorR 2002-8: 70). If so, which language? Wallan had at least three Aboriginal women in 1836, two of whom were local ('A private settler' 10/12/1836 [in Cumpston 1986: 141]); and he may have lived on the mainland for a while (see TaylorR 2002-8: 64-5). But there is no known record of either Wallan or Day using or alluding to Aboriginal language. Had he largely given up talking? We have no direct evidence to tell us. Rather than loss of language it may have been reticence, caution with the unknown, or even apprehension about his future with the authority represented by Stephens (well-justified in hindsight when he lost his land a few months later).

¹¹⁵⁴ There were two other white men in Wallan's establishment. From his knowledge acquired a year earlier, Hart had identified Allen the Irish ex-convict and a 'young Englishman' (Hart 1836). They were not visible to Morgan & co, and apparently not on the same level in the Three Wells hierarchy. One of them – probably the anonymous 'young Englishman' – later ran errands from Three Wells to storeman Gilbert at Freshwater River (see section 3.4.8.5 'Dispossession of Wallan'), and was perceived by both Gilbert and a Company labourer as "the servant of Day and Wallan" (evidence of Mitchell & Gilbert in GRG24/90/342: 4, 27).

were identified later as ‘Puss’ and ‘Polecat.’¹¹⁵⁵ In fact Wallan had three Aboriginal wives at this time, two locals and a Tasmanian.¹¹⁵⁶ These women did not routinely share social space with the Islanders but lived in a separate hut in the farmyard, probably one of the structures which Morgan took to be out-houses for the farm stock.¹¹⁵⁷

Stephens obviously wanted to draw these two potentially useful men – with their produce and livestock – into a respectable position under his command. He

*invited them to come with thier wives to see him on sunday and have a religious service. but says the man, to introduce our wives whould be like introduceing a dog to you presence.*¹¹⁵⁸

And so to the main business: fresh food for Kingscote. Agreeing to sell two pigs, the hosts sent off their guests with a bag of turnips. “They seem very industrious and steady people,” Stephens noted. Morgan promised some tracts and a Bible each. Two men and a boat stayed behind to bring the pigs to Kingscote along with their late owners.¹¹⁵⁹

Seizing the moment, Wallan and Day delivered the pigs on August 3rd – to Morgan on his ship, in the absence of Stephens. The Manager was furious, for this pre-empted the business lunch in which he had intended show these two squatters¹¹⁶⁰ the Foundation Act. Instead, he had to wait ashore for two hours until they were ferried back. Nevertheless he signed up Wallan for a three months’ contract “to give me his service and advice in any way I wished,” in return for pay and provisions. He made sure they knew who was boss: “Henry Wallan and John Day acknowledge me as Magistrate of the Island;” and noted that “on arrival of the Governor [they] wish to retain their farm on payment of the purchase money.”¹¹⁶¹ Then he had himself rowed out after dark, got Morgan out of bed, and berated him about the “eternal disgrace” of omitting The Manager. Nettled, Morgan regaled his diary with an unflattering opinion of Stephens’ conduct since leaving England.¹¹⁶²

This deal began a trade in fresh meat and vegetables which flourished for the rest of the year. Thompson remembered that the new arrivals soon obtained “a splendid supply of

¹¹⁵⁵ Watts 1890: 17, 29 (Anon. [Jane Watts, nee Giles] 1890, *Family Life in Australia Fifty-three Years Ago dating from October, 1837*, Adelaide: WK Thomas and Co). According to Watts, these were the two women who in Nov-Dec 1836 helped Wallan search for the lost passengers from the *Africaine*. For more on ‘Puss’ and ‘Polecat’ see the footnote ‘Jane Watts, Puss & Polecat’ (in section 3.5.4 ‘Women & sealers on the track’).

¹¹⁵⁶ More Aboriginal people than two were visiting or resident at the Three Wells farm in 1836-7. In December 1836 five colonists lunching with Wallan and Day met “three black women - two natives of the main and one of Van Diemen’s Land” (‘A Private Settler’ 10/12/1836 [Cumpston 1986: 140-1]). In July 1837 Leigh noted three wives and two “man Fridays” there (Leigh 1839: 124).

¹¹⁵⁷ cp. Cawthorne’s novel on the subject of separate wurleys for the women (see Chapter 1.1.3.6. ‘Compliance?’). In early December Wallan and Day took visitors out to the farmyard to display it and the women’s ‘house’ together; but took them back into their own building for an afternoon tea-tree drink (‘A Private Settler,’ Cumpston 1986: 140-1).

¹¹⁵⁸ Morgan Journal 2 Aug.

¹¹⁵⁹ StephensS 1836, 2 Aug.

¹¹⁶⁰ In his journal Stephens repeatedly described any Islanders as “settlers;” but what he meant was ‘squatters,’ i.e. illegal occupants of Crown land.

¹¹⁶¹ This is ambiguous: who was supposed to pay whom? Was Stephens already leaning on Wallan to sell the farm? Or had they already agreed to sell it but ‘retain’ occupancy of it?

¹¹⁶² Morgan Journal 3 Aug; StephensS 1836, 3 Aug.

vegetables, including a quantity of water melons very fine, though not quite ripe. Those were quickly disposed of.”¹¹⁶³

Wallan was entering upon a volatile scene. Stephens, universally unpopular when he arrived, was hated increasingly until replaced in 1837. The sailors and labourers – bored, hungry, often drunk, angry at a long delay in their pay – were already striking on the day he met Wallan. He needed not only reliable labour but a strong deputy. Even with the help of Ross and Martin he could barely keep order, let alone get the essential work done. Into the breach stepped Wallan. Despite the initial taciturnity on his home ground, he was a genial man with charisma and leadership skill, experienced in wielding an authority based on respect earned from his peers. Over the next several weeks Stephens came to rely more and more on him to get things done: “*really a worthy fellow.*”¹¹⁶⁴

Stephens was a very short man who compensated for it with pompous vanity. If there is any truth in the Island folk tale recorded in 1837, his relationship with Wallan was fraught from the beginning. It told of a “truly ludicrous” face-off, perhaps on that same frustrating August 3rd:

*“Who are you?” quoth S[tephens] to W[allen]. “I am the Governor,” says Wallen. “You are no such thing,” retorted the enraged S__ to the astonished islander; “I am the governor.” – “I tell you I am,” says Wallen stoutly; and enquired “Who made you a governor? you a governor! why you are not even one of King John’s men; you don’t stand four feet in your stockings.”*¹¹⁶⁵

If anything like this happened, and especially if it got around, Stephens would never forgive him.¹¹⁶⁶

Thus the change of scene began in chaotic tragi-comedy. Nevertheless, for a few more months the front and centre of Kingscote’s economic stage would still be held by the Islanders, their food supplies and their whaleboats.

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¹¹⁶³ Bull 1878b: 10 (this passage is not in Bull 1878a, but it was probably Thompson who provided the information to Bull); TaylorR 2002-8: 80-1. Thompson may have been remembering Hog Bay supplying Freshwater River a little later; but his point – ‘quickly disposed of’ – applies equally to Three Wells supplying Kingscote.

¹¹⁶⁴ Five days later Stephens wrote, “*I receive considerable assistance from the Islander Mr. Wallan, who is really a worthy fellow.*” By the end of the month he was relying on “*Mr Wallan... whom I... always treated as an officer*” to get work done which his own estranged officers would not enforce (StephensS 1836, 8 & 31 Aug).

¹¹⁶⁵ Leigh 1839: 124 (Leigh’s emphases). ‘King John’s men’ was a traditional English insult: “‘He is one of king John’s men, eight score to the hundred: a saying of a little undersized man.’ Definition taken from *The 1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, originally by Francis Grose” (<https://www.fromoldbooks.org/Grose-VulgarTongue/k/king-johns-men.html> [31/3/17]). According to Taylor, Wallan was “*tall*,” but I do not know any source for this claim (TaylorR 2002-8: 83). If so, this would sharpen the point of the tale at one end. But Ruediger claims that Wallan was also “*diminutive*,” which would sharpen it at the other (Ruediger 1980: 41; this detail unsourced).

¹¹⁶⁶ See Shueard 2013: 83-7; Leigh 1839: 124; TaylorR 2002-8: 82-3. The fact that Wallan “*is called the ‘Governor’*” was first recorded by Woodforde on 6 September; but Thompson knew both the title and the reality it represented before that time: “*to his rule the others yielded such obedience as was necessary*” (Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 7). Perhaps Woodforde mentioned this because by September the irresistible tale of ‘Governor’ Stephens’ humiliation had gone the rounds.

3.4.2.2 – THE HOG BAY TEAM: WALKER, KALINGA, THOMPSON, SEAMAN.

On the 7th, four days after Wallan's contract, "three settlers from another part of the island (near Kangaroo Head)" came asking for Stephens.¹¹⁶⁷ Probably they were the same men who on the following day asked an "exorbitant" price for the hire of their whaleboat.¹¹⁶⁸ Stephens declined, not yet aware that he would need it routinely to fetch water from a distance.

They were the group of 'mates' whom I will call the 'Hog Bay team': William Walker, his "old companion" William Thompson, and probably the aging Jacob Seaman (who appears to have become a close friend of Thompson).¹¹⁶⁹ They brought no Aboriginal companions; perhaps Condoy and Kalinga were not on the Island. And just as they had avoided Hart, now they adopted a cautious and selective approach, offering hire but not personal employment. Both facts would reverse a few weeks later, when perhaps they found somebody they trusted. Or did Condoy push them then for closer involvement?

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3.4.2.3 – COOPER OF EMU BAY.

Another week passed before a third camp made contact on the 14th. This time it was only one man, William Cooper from Emu Bay. Stephens had "some lengthy conversation" with him.¹¹⁷⁰

The subjects no doubt included the most urgent problem at Kingscote, a lack of fresh water. The Manager had chosen a place which was "one of the *worst* in the island" for such a venture.¹¹⁷¹ A well at Kingscote was brackish, and the Islanders were initially reluctant to divulge where good water could be found nearby. This is understandable. Water was an irreplaceable negotiating asset which would be lost as soon as the colonists knew where it was; they would take control of it, beginning the process of dispossession. But someone told about the nearest source, on the beach at the opposite end of the Bay of Shoals, a couple of miles from Point Marsden – in the direction of Emu Bay. It was 7 or 8 km by boat from Kingscote, and an equal distance across the

¹¹⁶⁷ StephensS 1836, 7 Aug. Kangaroo Head is the eastern terminator of greater Nepean Bay, only about 3 km west of Hog Bay.

¹¹⁶⁸ StephensS 1836, 8 Aug. Since he wrote "*Islanders*" (plural), the whaleboat offer was not from Cooper (singular), nor Bates and Thomas, who all came later; nor from Wallan and Day, who are not recorded as having a whaleboat.

¹¹⁶⁹ Next day the SA Company paid £1.15s to Thompson for the hire of his whaleboat (Sexton 1990: 29 [Robert T Sexton 1990, *Shipping Arrivals and Departures South Australia 1627–1850*, Canberra: Gould Books]). Seaman, Thompson and Bates had all been 'bluejackets' in the navy; so possibly had Walker; but not Nat Thomas, although he had in his time sailed on a government surveying expedition with Captain Philip King. We do not know for sure where Seaman was living at this date; later he had a hut at Morrison Point, American River (Tolmer 1844a: 2c). Seaman and Thompson were close friends. Ten years later, the death of old Jacob Seaman was lamented in a letter to local newspaper from "*An Old Blue Jacket*" (enlisted sailor in the Royal Navy) who regarded Seaman as "*my faithful friend*" (*South Australian Register* 12/9/1846: 2d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27453700/2103214>). This Blue-jacket was almost certainly Thompson, who would be remembered as "*an old man-o-war's man*" (*South Australian Register* 27/3/1882: 5a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/47110451/4015154>).

¹¹⁷⁰ StephensS 1836, 14 Aug.

¹¹⁷¹ Light to Commissioners 23 Aug 1836, *SA Record* 3: 19c, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883793> (his emphasis). He probably heard this from some of the Islanders. For them, and for the sealing captains and salt traders, the only virtues of the Nepean Bay shore were that it was accessible by sea (*if you knew the reefs*), and a safe harbour for repairing ships and storing goods. But nobody *lived* there. On or off the Island, they only came there to trade, e.g. at the annual appointments with Captain Hart.

promontory from Emu Bay,¹¹⁷² putting Cooper in a strategic position to solve Stephens' problem. Perhaps he was the one who broke the silence.

Like Wallan, Cooper took the personal plunge without delay; Stephens signed up him and his whaleboat for service "so long as I might require it." He wrote, "This arrangement is a great relief to my mind."¹¹⁷³

Cooper's whaleboat was used immediately as a ferry for the water.

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3.4.2.4 – THE ANTECHAMBER TEAM: BATES, THOMAS AND WOMEN.

On the evening of the next day, August 15, a fourth delegation, the furthest and final, came to check out the colony. The 'mates' Nat Thomas and George Bates of Antechamber turned up, bringing Aboriginal women with them.¹¹⁷⁴

Bates had heard about the arrivals only on the previous night, more than a fortnight after the *Duke of York* landed. He was out camping at 'Hog Bay River.'¹¹⁷⁵ Thomas arrived and told his mate of a large ship crowded with people.¹¹⁷⁶ According to Bates, "next day at dawn" the two of them hurried off "to welcome the newcomers," accompanied by several dogs and three Aboriginal women no doubt including Betty Thomas. At Kingscote they caused "shouts of alarm and a general stampede" at their fascinatingly 'savage' appearance, clad in possum-skin garments and kangaroo-skin boots.¹¹⁷⁷ The Company manager "regaled them with a good dinner in his tent."¹¹⁷⁸ It was they – again according to Old George – who put him straight on the nature of the Island, debunking Sutherland's account.

Stephens wrote that he "spent some time in conversation" with them, during which they spruiked themselves as "the two men who were commissioned by the Governor of V.D.L.

¹¹⁷² The well – at the northern extremity of the Bay of Shoals, two miles from Point Marsden – is marked on Chesser's map 'Sketch of Nepean Bay and Kingscote Harbour' [c.1837], insert on Arrowsmith 5/6/1838, *The Maritime Portion of South Australia*, BRG 42/120/26; but first published on Arrowsmith 11/5/1838, 'A new map of South Australia,' C 929, SLSA. Cp. Henry Alford's memory of his time there after arriving on the *John Pirie*: "Mr. Stephens asked these men to show us where we could get water, but they declined. After some solicitation, however, they relented and pointed out where the very requisite fluid was to be obtained. It was some distance across the gulf, whether on the island or on the mainland I cannot now say, but it took four of us the best part of a day to pull there. Then we worked during the night in filling a large cask, and started back on the following morning towing the cask behind the boat; but we had a head wind, and we were the whole day in getting back" (Henry Alford 1886, 'The First Police Constable,' *Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6e).

¹¹⁷³ i.e. the brackish well at Kingscote: StephensS 1836, 14 Aug.

¹¹⁷⁴ StephensS 1836, 15 Aug.

¹¹⁷⁵ Now called Willson River. From headwaters 2-3 km SSE of Hog Bay, it flows southward all the way across Dudley Peninsula to the south coast.

¹¹⁷⁶ "This," said either Bates or his reporter fifty years after the event, "was the *John Pirie*, having on board the first instalment of the South Australian Company's immigrants." Apart from Day via Finniss (above), this yarn of 'Old George Bates' is our only other record of an Islander's view of the arrival of the first official colonists ('Old George Bates,' *South Australian Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6d-e [Bates 1886b]; cp. Bates 1894a). As usual in his last years, George focused on himself as the hero, the only surviving and therefore incontestable relic.

But it was not September; not the *Pirie* which Nat had seen or heard about; and the *Pirie* carried the third shipload of migrants, not the first. According to Stephens' diary, Bates and Thomas first visited Stephens on 15 August. Only next day did the *Pirie* approach from Investigator Strait on the west, and it was not seen even from Kingscote (let alone Dudley Peninsula) until it rounded Point Marsden that morning (StephensS 1836, 16 Sep). Thomas must only now have seen (or heard about) the *Duke of York* and/or *Lady Mary Pelham*; and Bates in 1886 and 1894 must have been remembering the arrival of the *Pirie* on the 16th while he was still in Kingscote.

¹¹⁷⁷ These details are not mentioned in Stephens's diary, and sound suspiciously like embellishment from Stephens' first meeting with Wallan, which by 1886 was well-remembered.

¹¹⁷⁸ Bates 1886b: 6e. Bates gave the name of the Company manager as "Mr. Samuel Giles;" but William Giles was the second Colonial Manager of the SA Company, and did not arrive to replace Samuel Stephens until October 1837.

to take the natives who killed Capn Barker.”¹¹⁷⁹ Even if they did not elaborate on the details of that event, these exploits showed him they knew the mainland.

Stephens offered Bates three months’ work, and on the following morning contracted him to the Company for unspecified “services”.¹¹⁸⁰ What would these ‘services’ be? In fact he was tied up first as a manual labourer.

We are not told directly what came out of this meeting for Thomas; but doubtless he too advertised his skills to Stephens, and probably was also employed immediately.¹¹⁸¹ Maybe he provided some more farm produce, though he would have to bring it more than 45 km by boat from Antechamber and across Nepean Bay. Perhaps he was cannier than Bates; perhaps he, a trained pilot, simply had more skills to offer. Later that year he was a “valuable man”¹¹⁸² engaged in congenial maritime work, piloting new ships and running a whaleboat around the bay.¹¹⁸³

Nothing is mentioned of any part the women may have played in these deals, nor even whether they met Stephens. But their presence in Kingscote would certainly have drawn his attention, and no doubt Bates and Thomas extolled their usefulness in tracking and hunting.

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3.4.2.5 – THOSE WHO DID NOT COME OUT.

There were of course other Islanders who did *not* turn up for work, now or ever. Some of them were not far away, but probably had good reason to lie low – perhaps with criminal or runaway charges still current, low expectations of what the colony would offer, and a deep fear and suspicion of authority.¹¹⁸⁴ Other camps were too far away from Kingscote to compete, or too small to compete with the other four groups in trade; or they may have seen that the other had pre-empted them already in this little economy.¹¹⁸⁵

¹¹⁷⁹ StephensS 1836, 15 Aug. In the light of the first-hand accounts by Davis and Sturt, this alleged viceregal commission is a slight exaggeration bordering on the well-known ‘fictitious statements’ of Kangaroo Island. Even the Bates of 50 years later said merely that “*Dr. Davis left me a warrant to apprehend them and send them by the first vessel to Sydney*” (Bates 1894b: 6a).

¹¹⁸⁰ StephensS 1836, 15 & 16 Aug.

¹¹⁸¹ Light, Kingston and Finniss had probably all seen Captain Hart’s note recommending Thomas as a pilot, and were looking out for him. Until they arrived Stephens probably did not know this, but no doubt had Nat’s talents explained to him by the man himself.

¹¹⁸² Gouger Journals, Nov 3.

¹¹⁸³ See sections 3.4.8.1 ‘Kingscote & the *Cygnēt*’, and 3.5.1 ‘Nat Thomas in Kingscote’.

¹¹⁸⁴ On about 4th November, somewhere within easy walking distance of the Kingscote settlement, Robert Gouger and ‘H’ (probably John Hallett) met three Islanders who do not seem to be identifiably recorded elsewhere at all: “*In wandering with H. among the partially cleared brushwood, we one day fell upon a Hut – one room of about 12 ft square, inhabited by 2 men and a woman – a native of Van Dieman’s Land, of most forbidding appearance. The men were run-away Sailors, who had never approached the Company’s settlement with a view to obtaining employment. One of them sternly ordered the woman to get some tea & make it. She accordingly cut off a branch of the tree, and put it into the pot, thus obeying the mandate of her lord*” (Gouger Journals, 3 Nov 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/robert-gouger/>).

¹¹⁸⁵ See the footnote ‘People living on KI in 1836’ (in Chapter 2.6.2 ‘On Kangaroo Island’).

If any Islanders thought they might be punished for past kidnappings or cruelties, they need not have worried. Such matters were off the colonial agenda completely, and would remain so, even while their dastardly deeds became the stuff of colonial legend.¹¹⁸⁶

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¹¹⁸⁶ The colony would have no troops until a small contingent of marines arrived on the *Buffalo* at the end of the year, and no organized police force until 1838 (see Clyne 1987: 2ff, 12ff [Robert Clyne 1987, *Colonial Blue: a history of the South Australian Police Force*, Adelaide: Wakefield Press]). Only in 1844 would the police become interested in KI women even momentarily, and that was in order to enlist their help in catching runaway convicts and then to consider charging two of them with complicity in the murder of Meredith (see the story of Tolmer's KI expedition, in Book 2).

3.4.3 – August 16-22: LOCALS MEET THE COLONIAL COMMISSION: COLONEL LIGHT.

Though Stephens had posed as ‘Governor,’ it was the commercial wing of the colony which by accident of circumstances had got in first. The Company now had contact with four groups, setting the initial shape of relationships with the Island population. But future arrangements would have to take account of the real Government (whenever it might get there) – and also of Colonel Light, who as the Colonial Commission’s man would take a line markedly independent of both Company and Government.

On August 16th as Bates was accepting his contract, a third Company ship was arriving with more provisions, settlers and workers. The *John Pirie* was a schooner set up as a whaler under Captain George Martin. Like Morgan, Martin was an experienced commander and deeply religious. Like Wallan, he would soon come to the rescue of Stephens in his chaotic efforts as ‘governor’ of the workforce. Over the next year he would also play an active part in maritime affairs at KI and Encounter Bay.

On the 21st the word ‘governor’ went quiet with the arrival of the Commission’s key public servant. Stephens saw a brig approaching from the east. It was the *Rapid*, carrying Colonel William Light, Surveyor-General, with a small part of his survey team and some of their family members.¹¹⁸⁷ Their crucial job – which should have been finished before any private colonists arrived – was about to begin: very late, under-staffed and under-equipped.

Delayed in London by ill health, Light was now labouring under impossible pressure. On his shoulders lay the whole responsibility for the surveys, which were the essential link between theory and money in London and a successful outcome in the colony. The *Cygnet*, with more than half of his team, had left England weeks ahead of him but had not arrived. The Government had not arrived either. Colonists were already here waiting on him. Though very conscientious in obeying his instructions from the Commissioners, he was not about to slow down for cultural exchange with the ‘natives’ beyond what was unavoidably necessary.¹¹⁸⁸

Stephens and his assorted helpers were attending to the immediate welfare of the colonists. Light’s most urgent needs, therefore, were firstly fresh food and detailed local advice about the coast and lands, and then good weather to move on promptly and examine them.

Writing to the Commissioners next day with exploration in mind, he described what was visible on the way to harbour: “the beautiful appearance of the main land,” which “looked more like land already in possession of persons of property than that left to the course of

¹¹⁸⁷ Many other ships approached from the west along Investigator Strait. For the route and timing of the *Rapid*’s cautious approach on August 18-22 – from landfall east of Encounter Bay, to Antechamber, to Point Morrison, to Kingscote – see Light Brief Journal: 60-61; Light 23 Aug in *SA Record* 3: 19; Woodforde diary; Pullen MSS Journal: 31/11-13; StephensS 1836. On the 22nd, Martin piloted the brig across the Bay, anchoring off Kingscote at 2 pm.

¹¹⁸⁸ The SA Colonization Commission instructed Light to “*proceed first to Nepean Bay*,” then explore the whole coast from Port Lincoln to Lake Alexandrina (1500 miles), find out whether there was any entrance to the Murray River other than the unpromising one discovered by Sturt, establish a town (or preferably several), and survey about 100,000 acres of country land – all in two months! (Letter of instructions, in Elder 1984: 125-8). These orders were quite impossible for anyone to fulfil however talented and energetic, let alone in the time available and under his shortage of both staff and equipment. For a fuller account of Light’s impossible instructions see G Dutton 1960: 159-163.

nature alone.”¹¹⁸⁹ “As for Encounter Bay”: he had long pondered it on the charts, had looked at it from the *Rapid* while approaching Nepean Bay, and with sound judgment based on geographical science and experience, had already dismissed it as a site for the capital; it *could not* have a suitable harbour.”¹¹⁹⁰

No doubt certain Islanders had been keenly waiting for a designated explorer who would need their unique local knowledge. Some of them visited Light only a few hours after he had anchored off Kingscote. A sailor himself, Light at this first meeting with Islanders did not use the label ‘sealers’: “There are several English *sailors* who have run from ships and settled in the island. Some of these worthies paid us a visit.”¹¹⁹¹ But his first report of them merely reassured those waiting in England that their emigrants were safe with KI and its inhabitants: “At their dwellings they are never in want. They have plenty of corn, good gardens, water, and all they require in the wild life they have by choice embraced.”¹¹⁹²

Who were the ‘English sailors’ who first visited Light? While he did not mention their names, it is likely that they included the Hog Bay team again: Walker, Thompson and Seaman.¹¹⁹³

We may be sure that Light in this first meeting also talked about exploration of the mainland coast; and Stephens and Martin too were making plans for it. On the same day, 22 August, Stephens wrote to Angas that Martin had already offered to examine the east coast of the Gulf and report back on places which Stephens wanted to know about.¹¹⁹⁴ Over the next fortnight, Stephens, Martin and Light would all be looking for Islanders to go up the Gulf. Perhaps all of them had received offers already.

Behind the negotiation was that unspoken question: Who was ‘willing to leave the Island’? We shall examine the outcomes of this job competition as the chapter proceeds. For the moment it was only ‘men’s business;’ but we shall see that when it got moving, the women would often prove more essential than the men.

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Four Islander camps (including Aboriginal women) and two colonial authorities, Company and Commission, had taken about four weeks to set up their basic relationships. It was already clear that Kangaroo Island was unsatisfactory as a place for the capital.¹¹⁹⁵ The

¹¹⁸⁹ Light to Commissioners 23 Aug 1836, in *SA Record* 3: 19b. He assumed his impression was false, that the mainland looked like land already managed by landowners. But as we now know, it was actually true. ‘Persons of property’ *had* been managing this land for thousands of years and had produced its ‘park-like’ appearance (see Bill Gammage 2012: 7-8).

¹¹⁹⁰ “No good and accessible harbour could exist, contrary to the general laws of nature” (Light Brief Journal: 89, 17 Dec 1836). Local knowledge from Islanders such as Cooper would soon confirm this judgment of Encounter Bay. For more details about the process, see Section 3.4.5.2.5 ‘Moving on from Kangaroo Island’.

¹¹⁹¹ Light to Colonial Commissioners 23 Aug 1836 (*SA Record* 3: 19c; my emphasis).

¹¹⁹² Light added, “If, therefore, these men, without agricultural implements and without the least knowledge of farming, can produce wheat, melons, cabbages, turnips, fine potatoes – rear pigs and poultry, what may not be done by an emigration of men professedly adapted” (ibid).

¹¹⁹³ See my comments above on the three settlers from ‘near Kangaroo Head.’

¹¹⁹⁴ Stephens to Angas 22 Aug 1836, quoted in Chris Durrant 2014a: 4. Before he had even dispatched his labourers to build a station at Salt Lagoon, Stephens was already looking for a second and better station for the same livestock.

¹¹⁹⁵ The clinching factor was lack of water on good land near anchorages. It took Light only a few days to become sure that no place on Kangaroo Island was suitable for a capital city. The most positive thing he could say about KI was to note that “a settlement might be formed... at some future period” at the northeastern end of Nepean Bay, where

invader scouts and their local helpers must now explore the mainland for a beachhead without starving, getting lost or alienating the inhabitants of the ‘interior.’ To initiate the ‘blessed work’ envisaged by Lord Bacon, there would have to be ‘conciliation’ with the ‘natives’.¹¹⁹⁶

Which Islanders were in a position to conciliate? Soon Kalinga, Condoy and Natalla would visit the *Rapid* with Walker, probably to weigh up a complex of agendas involving their kin on the mainland as well as themselves.

Meanwhile Bates was labouring at a familiar but desolate salt lake on KI.

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water was being obtained for Kingscote four miles away, and the soil was better (Light Brief Journal: 61-2, especially 29 Aug; cp. p.77, 12 Nov, point 3 of his letter to the Commissioners).

¹¹⁹⁶ ‘Conciliate’ was the idealistic term used later by earnest Robert Gouger. The Commissioners’ instructions had put the bar lower: Light must “*prevent collision*” (Instruction 22, Elder 1984: 128); but Lord Glenelg at the Colonial Office had higher aims.

3.4.4 – August 24 to September 30: BATES AND THE SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COMPANY AT SALT LAGOON.

We don't know what Bates was doing for the first nine days of his new contract. But on August 24th, he was probably one of four Company labourers whom Stephens sent off to 'the Salt Lagoon' on the Bay of Shoals, eight miles away from Kingscote by land and about six by sea.¹¹⁹⁷ They departed in a hired whaleboat (probably Cooper's), under the management of one John Brown, a Company storekeeper who had arrived on the *John Pirie*. According to his diary, the five of them were to build fences for a stockyard (sheep, pigs and geese) with sheds for themselves and the stores; "it is intended to establish a permanent Station."¹¹⁹⁸

Bates already knew this outpost. For three decades sealers (including him), whalers and Islanders had scraped salt there, Kangaroo Island's first claim to European fame.¹¹⁹⁹ For newcomers it was a dismal place. Woodforde visited it two days after Brown's men arrived there, hoping to shoot birds. After a fatiguing eight-mile trek around the Bay of Shoals, "we were very much disappointed finding instead a fine sheet of water covered with wild fowl, a miserable salt swamp – merely an inlet of the Bay – with nothing on it but screeching curlews and these so wary that we had no chance of killing any." Added to the trials of Kingscote, this unpleasant experience had Woodforde doubting KI and the whole colony: "*this is dreary enough and I begin to sigh for Old England.*"¹²⁰⁰

For Stephens' purpose the virtues of Salt Lagoon seem to have been water, grass and accessibility. But now as summer came on, the grass proved to be temporary, the accessibility variable, and the surrounding vegetation probably poisonous to the stock.¹²⁰¹

¹¹⁹⁷ LOCATION OF THE SALT LAGOON STATION:

An 1831 map by Mowle shows this 'Salt Lagoon' rather inaccurately (<https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-229964772/view>). However, it was marked more accurately on the 1837 map by Captain Chesser of the *Coromandel*: at the head of the Bay of Shoals near the beginning of its north coast, and about 4½ miles due west of Company Point. Chesser made his sketch while the SA Company was still working the lagoon (William Chesser n.d. [c.1837], 'Sketch of Nepean Bay and Kingscote Harbour,' insert on Arrowsmith 5/6/1838, *The maritime portion of South Australia*, BRG 42/120/26; it first appeared on Arrowsmith 11/5/1838, 'A new map of South Australia,' C 929, SLSA). I leave it to others to discover which particular salt lagoon this was, somewhere near the North Coast Rd; and which part it was of the system which includes the Salt Creek (KI) Estuary, a small nominated estuary in the Kangaroo Island Natural Resources Management (NRM) region (SA Dept for Environment & Heritage 2007, *Estuaries Information Package: Kangaroo Island Natural Resources Management Region*: 5, 9, 12, <https://cdn.environment.sa.gov.au/marine-parks/docs/mp-gen-estuariesinfopack-kangisland.pdf>).

¹¹⁹⁸ Brown-Pirie journal 24 Aug 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-24-august-1836-4/>. Find a note on the 'John Pirie journal writer' at <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/people/>. He is (or was) thought to be a John Brown, according to a History Trust source note now unavailable (<http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/journey-content/john-pirie-journal-writer.html> [2015], <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/using-this-site/source-material/source-notes-for-john-pirie.html> [9/10/2023]). This diary is the main source of what we know about the varying fortunes of the Company's livestock during 1836-7. This 'John Brown' diarist should not be confused with the Emigration Agent of the same name, also a diarist, who came later on the *Africaine*.

¹¹⁹⁹ Charles Powell, another of Stephens' labourers at Salt Lagoon, recorded that "*This [salt] trade must have been carried on for some time, as there was a good beaten track between the salt deposits and the beach*" (CB Powell in *Adelaide Observer* 15/1/1898: 12d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/162387388/19004349>). See also Nunn 1989, Chapter 2; Cumpston 1986: 30, 33, 39, 42-3, 45, 50, 70-1, etc. Bates had absconded from the *Nereus* in 1824 while it was loading 60 tons of salt from this place (Bates 1886b: 6c).

¹²⁰⁰ Woodforde 26 Aug, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-26th-august-1836/>. He wrote, "*The Island even at this Season swarms with mosquitoes and today they have bitten me so unmercifully, giving me rather an unpleasant idea of the pleasures of the summer season... [T]he want of water... is here [at Kingscote] very distressing. The wells that have been dug near the tents producing after much labour nothing but salt water. I hope to God we shall find better cheer when we visit the main.*"

¹²⁰¹ Brown-Pirie journal Nov 12, 26, Dec 3.

The workers at the Lagoon might not have been pleased if they had been told that most of their efforts here would be wasted – and especially not Brown, whose diary shows that he genuinely cared about the animals. Four weeks later Stephens would be planning to move the whole enterprise to the mainland.¹²⁰²

The four labourers remained at Salt Lagoon for the whole of each working week. On weekends they were ferried back to Kingscote to pick up their wages, and the provisions on which the outpost was dependent. At the store liquor was also made available. This regularly left the conscientious Brown “quite alone” at the swamp (as he complained more than once to his journal), pondering on the straying or ailing livestock, or on new men who were refusing to return to camp because Stephens would not allow them to bring liquor there.¹²⁰³

Bates knew the place, was used to conditions on KI, and may have rejoiced in receiving a wage. Though some overstayed at Kingscote, on the fifth day “two of them came back named Bates and Powell, with a few Sheep, Pigs and grey Peas.”¹²⁰⁴ He seems to have had a strong work ethic; or – remembering his own confession that the Islanders were ‘luxurious and lazy’¹²⁰⁵ – perhaps he adopted it now for the sake of his future. Decades later he would remember with prim disapproval the laziness and strife of the Kingscote workforce.¹²⁰⁶ Very soon Brown was impressed by his character: “The Man Bates... has been 13 Years on this Island, and is a very active, civil sort of Fellow.”¹²⁰⁷ Several times over the next month the manager mentions him looking for lost sheep, mending fences, tending the stock or helping to build Brown’s cottage.¹²⁰⁸

One factor which probably helped Bates to be happier than most at the lagoon was “his two women” who helped him with the work. Brown noted them twice, and being so far from Antechamber they must have been there all that week. On September 20th “the Merino Sheep having strayed away Yestdy Eveng, G. Bates and his two Women have been employ’d seeking them all this Day, without success.” They resumed next day: “The Merino’s were found this Forenoon in the Woods, at a considerable distance from here, and on their arrival, were secured by Cords to Tethering Irons.”¹²⁰⁹ These Aboriginal women were a gift of free labour for the Company as well as for Bates, perhaps every week though unrecorded. We do not know who they were. If Bates told Brown anything of his past or that of his wives, the brief diary entries record none of it.

Bates – and with him the women, no doubt – had a contract until the middle of October. During this time, on weekend visits to Kingscote he would have heard about the jobs he had missed: the Hog Bay partners with Martin and others exploring the Gulf; Cooper and his wives departing on the *Rapid* with Colonel Light.¹²¹⁰ He probably saw – with a

¹²⁰² Stephens to Angas 27 Sep (PRG 174/1: 460, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-27-september-1836-4/>).

¹²⁰³ Brown-Pirie journal 29 Aug, 17 Sep 1836.

¹²⁰⁴ Brown-Pirie journal 29 Aug.

¹²⁰⁵ Bates 1886b: 6d.

¹²⁰⁶ Bates 1886b: 6e.

¹²⁰⁷ Brown-Pirie journal 29 Aug.

¹²⁰⁸ Brown-Pirie journal Sep 8, 13, 17, 20, 24, 26, Oct 1. It was probably this cottage which Bates remembered in 1886, saying that he “*did some hut building for the company*” (SA Advertiser 27/12/1886: 6e).

¹²⁰⁹ Brown-Pirie journal 20 Sep.

¹²¹⁰ For all these see later on this chapter.

foreboding of his own future – the drunken rampage of ruined Wallan on the weekend of September 25th.¹²¹¹

Bates was out of the running for work which would use his local knowledge and skills, until such time as Stephens might need more men at Kingscote than just Nat Thomas. Did he regret that by contracting so hastily he had lost an opportunity to work for Light? It was said later that he claimed to have “accompanied Colonel Light in his survey of the coast in the brig *Rapid*.” Was this the wistful might-have-been of an old man, or a reporter’s misunderstanding?¹²¹²

But in September 1836, in the light of his most recent experiences on ‘Cape Jervis’, it is likely that he was not altogether unhappy to be building Powell’s hut and hunting merinos here on KI, even at a ‘miserable swamp,’ rather than touring a coast which for him was now hostile territory.

Meanwhile busy energetic Samuel Stephens, the Company entrepreneur, was still unable to explore for good land himself; but his ally Captain Martin offered to do it for him. Now the Hog Bay team found the opportunity they wanted.

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¹²¹¹ See Shueard 2013: 86, and section 3.4.8.5 ‘Dispossession of Wallan.’

¹²¹² BATES AND COLONEL LIGHT: The *Advertiser* reported Bates in old age as saying that he “*did some hut building for the company, and also accompanied Colonel Light in his survey of the coast in the brig Rapid*” (Bates 1886b: 6e). The first claim no doubt refers to his stint at Salt Lagoon. But the second is most unlikely to be true; there is no other evidence for it. Most likely it is the reporter’s misunderstanding of a reference to Bates, Morphett and Stephens meeting the *Rapid* in the Gulf on 11 October. All through the time of Light’s initial survey (7 Sep to 11 Oct) Bates was employed by the SA Company, first at Salt Lagoon, then exploring with Stephens and Morphett (Brown-Pirie Journal, Aug 24 to Oct 1 1836; cp. StephensS 1836, Aug 16; MorphettJ 1837: 5). He probably returned to Kangaroo Island with Stephens on about Oct 18 – by which time Light had returned to Rapid Bay from his first discovery of the Port River and was writing up his results. On the 11th during his return journey Light met Stephens’ boat sailing north, and stopped for information (Light Brief Journal: 72, 11th Oct 1836); and Stephens’ party stopped overnight at Rapid Bay on the 17th on their way back to Kingscote (Woodforde journal 17 Oct 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/monday-17-october-1836-3/>). Bates *could perhaps* have transferred to Light’s service on either of these occasions and stayed with the surveyors from then on (i.e. during the Rapid Bay surveys, the return to Holdfast Bay, the discovery of the inner harbour of the Port, and even the excursion to Port Lincoln); but there is no contemporary evidence for it, and no apparent reason why Light would have wanted him then when he already had Cooper.

3.4.5 – August 22 to September 7: PREPARING FOR THE MAINLAND.

3.4.5.1 – OBSERVING BOTH WAYS.

3.4.5.1.1 – LIGHT.

Light very quickly saw for himself, and heard from the first Islanders who visited him, that Kingscote was no place for the capital.¹²¹³ In hindsight, a more diligent curiosity in London could have predicted this. Islanders and captains had known for decades that while Kangaroo Island had no ‘wild natives’ and a splendid harbour, it was dominated by thick underbrush and poor soils, with little fresh water in places accessible to the sea. The Commissioners could have known it too, had they interviewed and reported carefully instead of highlighting Sutherland as propaganda and cherry-picking the rest.

As more colonists approached this unpleasant waiting-room, a better and final site on the mainland was now urgently needed.¹²¹⁴ To find it Light needed Islanders. Obviously an explorer’s most immediate needs would be fresh food from the land (to keep his men viable on a new voyage of unknown length), and a detailed knowledge of the dangers and harbours on all the Gulf coasts. Light’s ‘several sailors’ were ready for both. The Colonel wrote of his debt to them – though (in hindsight) they were a little less knowledgeable than he imagined, especially on the priority eastern coast of Gulf St Vincent.¹²¹⁵

It was equally urgent – and explicit in his Instructions – to minimize the danger of “collision” by setting up good relationships with the inhabitants of the new site.¹²¹⁶ For this too Light needed Islanders. He had conflicting information about the ‘natives.’ He needed guides and local interpreters who knew the language (nobody thought of there being more than one) and could help to ‘conciliate’ them.

But bad weather forced the *Rapid* to remain at anchor off Kingscote for a fortnight. Light fretted, hoping the *Cygnet* would show up; for it carried his Deputy Kingston and most of the survey team, and they had left England before him. If he started the survey now he would be seriously undermanned.

Meanwhile he discussed local geography with any Islanders who presented themselves, and used the small boats of the *Rapid* to check his initial impressions of KI east and west from Kingscote. But bad weather continued until September 3rd. He managed only a few brief forays, and his examination even of Nepean Bay was quite perfunctory. He noted at

¹²¹³ On his second day at Kingscote, after “several English sailors” had visited him the previous evening, Light was still looking on the bright side of KI when he wrote to the Commissioners thus: “In this bay there is excellent anchorage in 3, 4, and 5 fathoms water, safe in every wind. I feel convinced that labour and a little resolution will do much here, and that even in this place a good settlement may be found, and this is one of the worst in the island” (Light to Commissioners 23 Aug 1836, *SA Record* 3: 19c; his emphasis). This was before he or any other colonist had been able to examine the whole Island, so he or someone else must have heard this assessment of Kingscote from Islanders. But it was not long before he changed his mind about the viability of Kingscote and KI in general, whose only virtue for a capital was its one sheltered harbour. He had already seen the “beautiful” mainland from afar as he approached KI on the 21st in the *Rapid* (see section 3.4.3 ‘Locals meet the colonial commission’), and probably also heard it recommended by Islanders.

¹²¹⁴ Light’s search has been covered exhaustively by many previous writers, and will not be covered in detail here except as it relates to the story of our protagonists.

¹²¹⁵ Instruction 12 (Elder 1984: 125-6). See section 3.4.10.3 ‘Doughboy, Cooper, and the large river.’

¹²¹⁶ For more about this aspect of the Colonization Commission’s Instructions to Light, see Section 3.4.5.2.2 Light’s Instructions about the ‘natives’.

low tide a “fresh water river” about 6½ km southwest of Kingscote.¹²¹⁷ Before leaving KI he would write instructions for Kingston to land passengers and stores there from the *Cygnat* when they arrived, rather than at Kingscote.¹²¹⁸

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3.4.5.1.2 – CONDOY AND HIS FAMILY MAKE CONTACT.

Were the various Islander groups, aware of this key explorer, lining up for Light to hire them?

On August 27th some Islanders visited the *Rapid* to sell “two of a small species of opossum called by them ‘Wallobees’.”¹²¹⁹ They could have come from either Three Wells or Hog Bay. Perhaps the visit was part of Wallan’s market round, or perhaps these men had their eye specifically on Light.

On August 31st the Hog Bay team visited the *Rapid* again. Their interest had moved to a new level, and perhaps they were responding to political demand; for with them came Condoy, Natalla, and Kalinga. Dr Woodforde now met Aboriginal people for the first time:¹²²⁰

*The Sealers again visited us this morning bringing with them two native men and a woman belonging to the Main. These men are brothers and one of them is the father of the woman who lives with the Sealers on this Island.*¹²²¹

Scientifically intrigued, the doctor made observations which can help us to place their identity within the Fleurieu context: “They were much better looking than we had expected and probably are a good specimen of their tribe – their stature is about 5’6” and their limbs very small.” Significantly, to his eyes they had an “emaciated appearance,” attributable to their “means of subsistence which are very uncertain.” This feature, though not definitive on its own, suggests a physical inheritance from the light-limbed Gulf people rather than the heavier build at Encounter Bay and Lakes.¹²²² He also noted their “large flat noses and exceedingly long beards,” and that “their hair is not woolly” like that of the Van Diemens people.

The visitors were a merry bunch, “exceedingly good-humoured, occasionally giving way to immoderate fits of laughter especially when we gave them brandy and tobacco of which they seemed very fond.”

¹²¹⁷ Light Brief Journal: 62, 31 Aug. This was in fact the mouth of what we now call the Cygnat River. Woodforde had already been to this place on foot at high tide when it was “very brackish” (Woodforde diary 20? or 23? Aug; date unclear, before 26th, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/saturday-20-august-1836-6/>), and no doubt reported it to Light. For a short time Light’s phrase became the local name of the site, ‘Freshwater River’, where Kingston and Finniss would set up a temporary second settlement (see section 3.4.8.2 ‘The settlement at Freshwater River’).

¹²¹⁸ “Should the *Cygnat* arrive during my absence on the main land, I shall leave directions for Mr. Gilbert to take possession of the ground near the river for landing his stores” (Light to Commissioners 23-29 Aug, *SA Record* 3: 19c); cp. BT Finniss 1892: 2-3. Gilbert later gave his address as ‘Freshwater River’ (Gilbert letter 24/9/1836, Capper 1837: 10).

¹²¹⁹ Woodforde diary 27 Aug, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/saturday-27-august-1836-4/>. The *Rapid* was anchored off Rolls Point, not at Kingscote, and the survey party lived on board, ready to leave.

¹²²⁰ Woodforde diary, 31 Aug 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-31-august-1836-4/>.

¹²²¹ ‘The sealers’ suggests that these men were by now familiar to Woodforde, supporting the inference that they were among the ‘several sailors’ who had visited Light on the 22nd.

¹²²² See the passage and footnote on physical types in Chapter 1.1.6.5 ‘Beliefs, language identities, place-names’.

The presence of these two leaders, especially the older brother, probably signifies an agenda wider than work alone. What was this mixed group now hoping to achieve? The black and the white agendas might have been separate or overlapping. We may try a few intelligent guesses.

No doubt the sailors wanted work and were hawking an eminently employable team with skills, experience, language, local knowledge and connections unmatched by any other. And Condoy's family came now in force. He and Kalinga returned in early December¹²²³ – or were they on KI all that time?¹²²⁴ Clearly they were not captives. Perhaps they had mainland politics in mind as well as support for Walker's jobs. At this date the colonists had not yet visited the mainland. Perhaps these experienced cultural brokers were hoping to influence any new deal whose shape might be emerging in these first days of contact.

But they were out of luck. Light was absent all that day examining the 'fresh water river.' So it was that Condoy, Walker and the rest did not discuss business and appeared only in Woodforde's journal, not Light's. Their contact with the survey team lapsed. After this, it seems they pursued work with Captain Martin; perhaps they began it on that same day.

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3.4.5.2 – September 1-7: DECISIONS.

A week later, on September 7th, exploration of the mainland began. During the fortnight's leadup, the Islanders and both of the colonial employers had been making decisions about each other.

3.4.5.2.1 – STEPHENS, LIGHT, ISLANDERS.

On the day of Condoy's visit Stephens was still relying for discipline on Wallan, "a man whom I introduced here & always treated as an officer."¹²²⁵ But this is the last time the manager mentions him. On the same afternoon he turned to a more congenial saviour, Captain Martin.¹²²⁶ Keen to help, a few days after his arrival, Martin offered to investigate the mainland; in Stephens' words, "to examine the places I wish and report to me on his return."¹²²⁷

Again in the first week of September Martin spent much time with Stephens, his officers and the workers, giving the manager "kind and valuable aid in various ways,"¹²²⁸ by the 5th he had achieved a temporary reconciliation, and next day the men returned to

¹²²³ See section 3.5.3 'Sagacity of Princess Con'.

¹²²⁴ Kalinga "*lives with the sealers on this island*": the expression 'lives with' suggests permanent residency for her. Her father and uncle were also present with her at certain recorded times, but may have been there much more often, and for long periods. Clearly they had no objection to her being there 'with the sealers.'

¹²²⁵ StephensS 1836, 31 Aug, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-31-august-1836-2/>.

¹²²⁶ StephenS 1836, s31 Aug.

¹²²⁷ Stephens to Angas 22 Aug, quoted in Durrant 2014a: 4.

¹²²⁸ StephensS 1836, 1 Sep. One of the 'various ways' in which Stephens received 'kind aid' was that Martin agreed to marry him to his sweetheart Charlotte Beare; this happened aboard the *John Pirie* on 24 September (cp. StephensS 1836, 23 Sep).

work.¹²²⁹ There can be little doubt that Martin and Stephens also talked about the Company's proposed whaling industry.¹²³⁰

Light, on the other hand, was not interested in advice or help from Stephens. He soon heard about the manager's dubious conduct, and resolved to get the colonial depot away from him and under better supervision as quickly as possible.¹²³¹ Stephens must have known or suspected this. Communications between the two were minimal, confined to "trivial matters."¹²³²

Three of the Islander groups were now contracted to Stephens: Wallan at Kingscote, Bates at Salt Lagoon, and Cooper, though it is not clear what he was doing. Walker's team were available but so far independent. On September 3rd the Company paid an unnamed person £3 for the hire of another whaleboat.¹²³³ On the 6th Light "went on shore to engage one of the sealers."¹²³⁴ We don't know how the transaction happened, but the man was Cooper.

3.4.5.2.2 – LIGHT'S INSTRUCTIONS ABOUT THE 'NATIVES'.

William Light was more likely than most colonists to have some understanding of Islanders and Island women, more likely than most to commit himself to the spirit of the Commissioners' instructions about the 'natives,' the ultimate colonial outsiders. For he himself, despite his prodigious talents, was an outsider to the ruling class of the colony: a man of mixed race, tainted by 'illegitimacy,' and accompanied on the *Rapid* by his working-class mistress.¹²³⁵

What might the mainland peoples hope for from this official front-man of the unofficial invasion? The Commissioners had provided for a 'Protector of the Aborigines' – reluctantly – but when Light left England none had been appointed. Their instructions emphasized a consideration of the 'natives,' but carefully avoided anything substantial. Light *could not* negotiate with the First Peoples about their land ownership and legal

¹²²⁹ StephensS 1836, 5 & 6 Sep.

¹²³⁰ There can be little doubt that those early-September conversations with the seasoned whaling captain from Hobart included Stephens' plans for the Company's whaling and sealing industries. Martin was eventually involved in transporting Stephens to Encounter Bay in January, and probably helped him choose this as a site for bay whaling. For an account of Stephens and the Encounter Bay fishery see Durrant 2014a: 2-6 (but he underestimates the probable role of Martin).

¹²³¹ – as Pullen told Gouger (Gouger Journals, 3 Nov).

¹²³² StephensS 1836, 26 Aug.

¹²³³ Sexton 1990: 29. This was Stephens' *third* whaleboat, and possibly belonged to Walker. Stephens probably used it locally as a substitute for the one which went with Martin (probably Thompson's).

¹²³⁴ Light Brief Journal: 62, 6 Sep.

¹²³⁵ See <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/light-william-2359>. William Light, then 50 years old, was accomplished in several fields: "soldier, seaman, musician, artist, and good in all" and also "an able linguist who also... reported accurately and showed great tact." He had travelled widely. Napier, the first appointed Governor of SA, on resigning in 1835 had recommended for Light for the post. His background predisposed him to a perspective less narrow and self-interested than that of the average colonist. Not a 'real Englishman,' he was born in Malaya, the son of Francis Light and Martinha Rozells who was "almost certainly a Portuguese Eurasian"; Francis being the illegitimate son of a serving girl and a Suffolk landowner. He had an aura of 'Otherness' which was obvious to English colonists, even those who admired him: "Yes, I remember Colonel Light, a little, dark, very active, clever man" [my emphasis], wrote Margaret Bevis in old age (*Adelaide Observer* 1/8/1896: 30c, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/162360050>). His second wife (illegitimate daughter of a duke) had left him; and though still officially married he was now accompanied by his mistress Maria Gandy. She and other members of her family would be Light's essential support in his last years of illness and overwork until he died in 1839. But the entire context – the conditions of his appointment, vicious opposition in the colony, and his rapidly declining health – made it impossible to him to do the 'conciliating' which he might have done.

rights, because these were not on the agenda.¹²³⁶ But he should have in his survey staff “someone accustomed to intercourse with natives, and possessing at least a general knowledge of their language.” In the few weeks allowed for his entire work, he must establish harmonious relationships; above all, the colonists must not use violence as in Van Diemen’s Land. Unenforceable pipe-dreams were a sop to the Colonial Office. He must respect the food rights of the ‘natives’: trade with them, *buy* meat from them, not *take* it as an assumed right, for the animals were their property. The moral screws turned: “Not only the safety of your party, but the future security of the colonists generally, and the state of feeling which shall hereafter exist between them and the natives, will depend mainly on the attention paid to this instruction”.¹²³⁷

Island women were not on the official agenda at all, though everyone knew that many of them were kidnapped slaves. Light’s team knew explicitly – probably from the Islanders themselves – that some had been abducted from ‘Cape Jervis’.¹²³⁸ Commissioners, Company and colonists made an occasional disapproving reference to the horrors of the slave trade in women. But if this issue had been raised on the spot – it was not – colonial leaders would have dismissed it; these ‘wives’ were no business of theirs, being the property of their Island ‘masters.’ Nor were they ‘real natives,’ since they spoke English and dressed like their husbands in skins and European castoffs.¹²³⁹ And in spite of reassurances about ‘friendly natives,’ many of these abductees, especially the Tasmanians, would be identified with the Islanders by the local ‘tribes’, and might face hostility if set free.

3.4.5.2.3 – WHO CHOSE WHOM? DOUGHBOY, MAGALIDI, COOPER, CONDOY, KALINGA, WALKER.

In the blustery first week of September both Light and Stephens were choosing exploration teams. The frustrated Colonel had “nothing done” except his reports,¹²⁴⁰ and could not wait any longer for the *Cygnēt*. On the 6th he hired his ‘sealer’ but, preoccupied with matters of interest to the Commissioners and the public, did not even mention him

¹²³⁶ Light’s employers, the promoters of the colony, had excluded any serious question of land rights, in spite of some fine-looking words including a theoretical recognition of Aboriginal ownership of the animals. In the contemporary English climate of Evangelical reform, with the slave trade recently abolished, the Colonial Office regarded ‘native’ welfare as important and had guaranteed their land rights in the King’s Letters Patent for SA. But all the leaders of the venture (except Angas) had other ideas. At the insistence of the Office, the SA Colonization Commission provided for the appointment of a ‘Protector of the Aborigines,’ but delegated the matter to the Governor, who appointed Stevenson only when they were already on the way to SA. The Protector was supposed to ensure that the previous owners would give up their land by a ‘voluntary sale’ – *if* they should be found to be in ‘occupation or enjoyment’ of any lands according to European ideas. But the Foundation Act declared the land ‘waste and unoccupied’ so that there would be no impediment to its sale. The Commission directed that 20% of funds from land purchases be set aside for reserves to provide for the ‘natives’, but gave no clear idea how they were to be ‘protected’ because it was ensuring from the start that land rights would be blocked by European definitions of ‘occupy and enjoy.’ See Henry Reynolds 1992, *The Law of the Land*, 2nd edition, Penguin Books Australia: 103, 107, 113.

¹²³⁷ “You will exercise the utmost caution to prevent any collision with the natives. You will consider the wild animals as the property of the natives, of whom any which may be desired as food should be purchased.” For the same reason he should “discourage sporting” (recreational game shooting), and “in inhabited districts prevent it altogether”. See Instruction 22 (quoted in Elder 1984: 128). See also section 3.6.2.4 ‘Food and families: food rights’.

¹²³⁸ “Some of these men have whale boats in which they frequently cross over to Cape Jervis from which place they have at different times stolen the women who now live with them” (Woodforde diary 6 Sep 1836; but this information had no doubt circulated among Light’s team during the fortnight before this date).

¹²³⁹ Light would shortly create a rather similar class of English-speaking European-dressed ‘native marines’ at Rapid Bay, with everyone’s approval; but then the uniforms would be intended for show.

¹²⁴⁰ Light Brief Journal: 62, 1-6 Sep.

again until four days later,¹²⁴¹ nor name him until the 15th: “my servant, Cooper”,¹²⁴² a close and personal adoption.

Also on the 6th, Stephens wrote, “In the morning Captain Martin starts for the Main in my whale boat.”¹²⁴³ This time Martin was not so much a commander as a passenger. His hosts were almost certainly Condoy and Kalinga with Stephens’ three men ‘from near Kangaroo Head’: William Walker, William Thompson and Jacob Seaman. But they were described only as three Islanders, one Aboriginal man, and one Aboriginal woman (or perhaps two).¹²⁴⁴

On the same day, the 7th, Light sailed with William Cooper and his Aboriginal wives ‘Sall’ and ‘Doughboy.’ On board too were the officers and crew of the *Rapid*, its small portion of his survey team, and some of their family members. Our protagonists were the hired team, and it is useful now to refresh our minds about the two women: ‘Sall’ was Magalidi, a Palawa of Bruny Island, and ‘Doughboy’ was a ‘Cape Jervis’ woman who spoke ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna*.

Textbox15: THE PERSONAL IDENTITIES OF COOPER’S ‘DOUGHBOY’ AND ‘SALL’.

Who were Cooper’s two wives on this voyage of the *Rapid*?

Of all Light’s party it was only Hiram Mildred – a 13-year-old cadet in 1836 – who would later remember and record the English nicknames of both of Cooper’s ‘wives’: “Doughboy and Sall.”¹²⁴⁵ Which ‘Sall’ was this? And were they both in fact longstanding ‘wives’ of Cooper, as assumed by most of the contemporary observers? Or was this threesome partly a product of the occasion?

1. COOPER’S ‘SALL’:

This woman was not Sally Walker (Kalinga).¹²⁴⁶ Despite some data complications among the many Salls and Sallys, I conclude with confidence that Cooper’s Sall in 1836 was the

¹²⁴¹ 10 Sep, SA Record 3: 19b.

¹²⁴² Light Brief Journal: 63, 15 Sep.

¹²⁴³ StephensS 1836, 6 Sep. Next day he reiterated that Martin “set out in my boat.” This whaleboat was probably Thompson’s, not Cooper’s. It was hired in August, as we can infer from the date interpolated into Martin’s letter by the Company: “I hired a boat (August 1836)” (my emphasis: Martin to Angas 29/10/1836, version published in a SA Company advertisement (‘New Colony of South Australia’, Angas Papers PRG 174/11, microfilm Reel 15: 549). Cooper had hired himself and his boat to Stephens on 14 August. The SA Company hired a whaleboat from Thompson for £1.15 on 23 August (Sexton 1990: 29). These two were the only boats to be hired in August, and Thompson himself was almost certainly one of the three Islanders who went with Martin. This conclusion differs from Hosking, who assumes that the boat used by Martin was Walker’s (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 225, 246 n79).

¹²⁴⁴ MARTIN’S CREW: On the day Martin embarked, Stephens wrote that the crew included “3 of the Islanders, 2 sailors (found by me), 1 native man & 2 women, arms & provisions &c. &c.” (Stephens S 1836, 6 Sep [this part actually happened on the 7th]). Six weeks after the trip Martin said that he had taken “the islanders” (no number) and “two of the natives” (Martin to Angas 29/10/1836, manuscript copy of original, in ‘Letters from SA 1836-1844’, Angas Papers PRG 174/7: 65). Of the two accounts, Martin on the spot is more likely to be correct about the numbers. If the Islanders here were those whom Stephens knew but had not contracted already, they were no doubt the party of three from ‘near Kangaroo Head’ whom he had met on 7 August; i.e. almost certainly Walker, Thompson and Seaman; and thus the two Aboriginal crew members would almost certainly have been those associated with them, able-bodied and recently present on Kangaroo Island: Condoy and Kalinga.

¹²⁴⁵ Hiram Mildred, ‘With Colonel Light,’ SA Advertiser 27/12/1886: 6a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/37164792/2297821>. Another very young man, William Jacob, was the only one who recorded a name for either woman on the spot and at the time. His Rapid Bay diary mentions “Doboy Coopers woman” once (Jacob journal, 6 Jan 1837).

¹²⁴⁶ If the woman the *Rapid* took to Rapid Bay were the same woman he had already met (i.e. Sally-Kalinga), Woodforde would probably have mentioned it. Most conclusively, Thompson (who was Walker’s companion) said that Cooper’s Sall was the Tasmanian with a mutilated foot who had been with Meredith. But Sally-Kalinga had already begun to live with Walker in 1834 (see Walker evidence in Mann 1837a: 12; also footnote ‘A Surfeit Of Sals #1: Big Sal and other Sals’ in Chapter 1.3.3 ‘Truganini’s sister: Magalidi’). This was the same year when Meredith’s Sall-Magalidi

Tasmanian Magalidi, sister of Truganini; later known on KI as ‘Big Sal’, the “fine-looking, big” Tasmanian with a deformed foot.¹²⁴⁷ She had been with Cooper a few years before,¹²⁴⁸ and was probably now in her mid-30s. When Dr Leigh met her a year later, he remarked that “her countenance was as expressive and pleasing as any I had met with.”¹²⁴⁹

Being a Palawa, Magalidi knew neither the language nor the country here. But she was a very competent hunter and bushperson. With the added value that she also spoke English “uncommonly well,”¹²⁵⁰ she was an excellent fit for Light’s needs.

There is little data available on her movements in 1835-7. It seems likely that the Colonel’s job was the *occasion*, perhaps even the cause, of her leaving George Brown and rejoining Cooper. The best interpretation of the ‘dots’ *may* be that Brown ‘loaned’ her to Cooper for the *Rapid* in August 1836, but did not completely relinquish his claim on her until later, after he had been whaling in 1837 at Encounter Bay and had met a servant girl of Captain Lipson.¹²⁵¹

2. ‘DOUGHBOY’:

We do not know the real name of the other woman. At that time she was known only as ‘Doughboy.’¹²⁵²

‘Doughboy’ was a name used elsewhere in colonial times to nickname Aboriginal people; for example, two decades later it was given to a young man from Mundoo Island at the Murray Mouth.¹²⁵³ A doughboy was “a rounded lump of dough boiled or steamed as a dumpling;”¹²⁵⁴ but when applied to a woman it was no doubt a sexual innuendo, not a compliment to her cooking.

She too must have been in her 30s, or more, since she would meet two of her sons from a traditional marriage, whom she had not seen ‘for many years.’¹²⁵⁵

arrived on the Island for the second time. Kalinga was still with Walker in 1836 when Cooper’s Sall accompanied Light. A further complication is that both Kalinga and Doughboy were also called ‘Sarah’ and its short form ‘Sally.’ But David McLaren’s description of Cooper’s ‘Sarah’ in 1837 (McLaren 1837: 182) does not match Kalinga’s appearance and confident demeanour; this ‘Sarah’ must be Doughboy. (This interview will be examined in Book 2).

¹²⁴⁷ Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d = Bull 1878b: 8-9; quotation from Snelling 1932. See also Chapters 3b and 4c.

¹²⁴⁸ We know beyond reasonable doubt that Light’s Sall was Meredith’s Sal; that Meredith’s Sal was Big Sal; and that Cooper’s “MAG.GER.LEE.DE” in 1831 was Big Sal. See footnote ‘A Surfeit Of Sals #1’ in Chapter 1.3.3. The key link here was made by Islander Thompson, who would certainly have known (Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>).

Shueard asserts that Cooper’s two wives were Tasmanian ‘Big Sal’ (i.e. Magalidi) and another ‘Sally’ from Encounter Bay or Lake Alexandrina (Shueard 2013: 126, 226, 248, 318, 326). But he seems to have arrived at this on the basis of a doubtful late memory that Cooper’s two *children* were nicknamed ‘Doughboy’ and ‘Dumpling.’ This idea was recycled in one of Shueard’s sources, a partly fanciful book by EM Waddy (*Those Shades of Earliest South Australia*, 1938); but it originated with James Hawker (Hawker 1899: 39a; original newspaper article No.XIII, *Adelaide Observer* 1/4/1899: 33b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/162335147>). It appears Shueard did not know Mildred’s first-hand memory of ‘Doughboy’ and ‘Sall.’

¹²⁴⁹ Leigh 1839: 155.

¹²⁵⁰ Tolmer 1844b.

¹²⁵¹ See footnote ‘Magalidi, George Brown and her transition back to Cooper’ (in Chapter 2.5.3.4 ‘Magalidi & Meredith: aftermath’). Mere conjecture might seek (and probably has sought) other candidates for the identity of Cooper’s ‘Sall’ (including ‘Little Sal,’ another of the late survivors on KI); but in the light of Thompson’s Statement this seems pointless.

¹²⁵² Hiram Mildred in *SA Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/37164792/2297822>. Her nickname is confirmed in Jacob’s *Rapid Bay diary*, “*Doboy Cooper’s woman*” (Jacob journal, 6 Jan 1837). Later in 1837 she is identified by the formal name ‘Sarah’ or ‘Sarah Cooper’, sometimes ‘Sally’, presumably because a proper English name more acceptable among the new colonists (e.g. McLaren 1837: 179).

¹²⁵³ Taplin’s journal 9 Nov 1859, in Taplin Narrinyeri 1879: 71-2. Cp. “*the cook made some doughboys for dinner*” (Jessie Cameron letter [?1890s], in Cockburn 1908: 41). In *Moby-Dick* (1851) by Herman Melville (who had earlier served as crew on whaling ships), Captain Ahab has a steward called Doughboy (chapter 29, Norton edition: 113).

¹²⁵⁴ Macquarie Dictionary. “*Sometimes the Dough is made into a round ball & instead of being baked it is boiled & is then called a ‘Doboy!’*” (TaylorJ 1840: 25).

¹²⁵⁵ Field 1837: 3e, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/32155172/4259621>.

From subsequent events in Adelaide – where she supported Cooper in his job as official interpreter – it is clear that ‘Doughboy’ spoke ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language, and we infer that she had taught some of it to Cooper.¹²⁵⁶ If so, she was probably recommended by Cooper to Light in 1836 because she knew both the country and ‘the language’. In 1837 a few complete English sentences from her were recorded, but nothing to indicate that she was as fluent as Kalinga and Magalidi.¹²⁵⁷

As this chapter proceeds, it will become clear that ‘Doughboy’ had connections with both the Gulf and Encounter Bay; but these were not clear to any colonist at the time, and were consequently recorded ambiguously. She is another classic illustration why we should not try to pin down the group identity of any of these historical persons as exclusively ‘Ramindjeri’ or ‘Kaurna’ – i.e. assuming the popular modern categories, which over-ride the original data, skew the subtleties of the context, and forget that we must remain irretrievably ignorant of essential facts about their identity.¹²⁵⁸

‘Doughboy’ and Magalidi seem to have worked well as a team; there is no hint of conflict or competition. If we may take late opinions as evidence for 1836, such friendship and collaboration between Palawa and locals on Kangaroo Island was rare.¹²⁵⁹ They probably communicated with each other in Pidgin English and sign language.

These choices of employee and employer might seem rather puzzling, and we don’t know how they came about. Only Light’s team left any record of their reasons. He

¹²⁵⁶ See Book 2 for the story of Doughboy and Cooper in Adelaide.

¹²⁵⁷ For Doughboy’s sentences in English, see McLaren 1837: 180, 183.

¹²⁵⁸ Cp. Tindale’s ‘Rapid Bay tribeswoman’ who in first-contact times married a Goolwa man, and as a widow returned to Rapid Bay before re-marrying to a Coorong man Keinindjeri, and living with him ‘sometimes... along the Coorong.’ Tindale refers to this woman both as ‘Kaurna’ and as ‘Ramindjeri’ – which shows the confusions inherent in this terminology which we owe to him more than most. If a woman grows up in a descent group whose estate is at Rapid Bay where ‘Kaurna’ is their ‘own language’ and the language of the land itself, then marries a Goolwa man and goes to live with him where Ramindjeri is the land’s and his ‘own language’, is she now a Rapid Bay woman or an Encounter Bay woman? See Appendix 13 ‘Intermarriage across language boundaries’. Anthropologist Peter Sutton, commenting on a draft of this chapter from much knowledge and experience of field work elsewhere in Australia, makes these observations which are very pertinent to any discussion of language identities, intermarriage, geography and place-names around the Fleurieu: Such a woman retains her “*spiritual identity, totems, language identity, [and] agnatic land-holding descent group*”, even while “*being part of her husband’s band and enjoying its range... She remains forever with the country, language and spiritual identity with which she was born*”. However, “*The usual situation in more or less intact regions... is that most people regard one linguistic identity as their ‘own’, their ‘real one’, but they have lawful secondary rights in e.g. their mother’s and father’s mother’s languages. This is not blurry but precise usually. Where a person’s clan estate is on the edge of their wider language country and abutting a neighbouring language area, it is common for them to identify with BOTH languages, as their estate has both languages, as do every site within it. In an intact system you can ask for and receive a linguistic identity for each well, hill, lagoon, significant tree, and so on... People got their linguistic identity not from being born into a ‘tribe’ but by being born into a totemic estate-holding descent group*” (Sutton p.c. email attachment 16/4/19: 1-2).

However, in this border region there is also the possibility that Doughboy’s estate (like Condoys) may have had a double linguistic identity (see footnote on duality in Chapter 2.4.1.2 ‘Language & place (2)’).

With the protagonists in this book, *usually we cannot now know with any certainty* the crucial facts which determined their identity: where they were born, what their totems were, who else was in their descent group, where their estate was. When there are fragments or hints of these, I try to assess them: e.g. the birthplace of Kalinga-Sally: ‘*Yankalilla*’, or “*near Cape Jervis*” (see footnote ‘Kalinga’s birthplace’ in Chapter 1.3.4 ‘Kalinga (Sally)’).

Cp. also my Textbox06 ‘Kalungku, Emma and personal identity’.

¹²⁵⁹ However, few observers would have bothered to record conflict between Magalidi and Doughboy even if they noticed it. Almost a century later Tindale reported – from the memories of old KI residents – that Sally Walker (Kalinga) “*had no associations with the Tasmanian women*” (Tindale 1932 [*The News* 24/3/1932: 6e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/129324537>]). This memory dates from the 1870s, and even if accurate, cannot necessarily be extrapolated to *all* of the local women and backdated to the situation in 1836. However, Mary Seymour, Betty Thomas’s daughter, said that the Tasmanian women “*regarded themselves as much superior in every respect*” to the locals and refused to hunt with them (Mary Seymour obituary by Basedow, quoted in TaylorR 2002-8: 129). Cawthorne – in his novel *The Kangaroo Islanders*, based partly on conversations with Nat Thomas – indicated that some of the Islanders thought so too: “*I wouldn’t take six lubras of the main there for one of these Vandiemans*” (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 76, 77, 162 n282; cp. Hosking 2002: 145-6).

praised the Islanders in general for their knowledge of the local coast, waters and weather; but other records from the *Rapid* suggest that the Cooper group *on this trip* were employed primarily as hunters for fresh meat and mediators with the ‘natives.’¹²⁶⁰ Woodforde was the only officer who wrote of this at the time:

*We have hired one of the Sealers and his two native women to go to the Main with us, and as they have capital dogs they will answer a double purpose, that of providing fresh food, and by means of the women conciliating the natives should they prove hostile.*¹²⁶¹

Walker’s team could probably have performed all these functions equally well with the possible exception of the four trained hunting dogs. If this moment had become a competition between the camps, did the dogs decide the outcome?¹²⁶²

¹²⁶⁰ VARIOUS JOB DESCRIPTIONS FOR COOPER, DOUGHBOY AND ‘SALL’:

“I have engaged one of the sealers from Kangaroo Island, with his two native wives, and find them very useful – the women are the hunters” (Light to Commissioners 10 Sep, *SA Record* 3: 19b). Elsewhere, writing of the other sealers, he emphasized their knowledge of the local coast, waters and weather (*SA Record* 3: 20a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883794>; Light Brief Journal: 88-9, 16-17 Dec). Perhaps the Islanders whom Light consulted had all declared ignorance of Jones’s Harbour. It is likely he did not see Bates, the only Islander who made a specific claim to have seen the Adelaide Plains before settlement. If so, knowledge of the coasts was not essential here but merely a bonus; for they would be exploring only one sheltered coast, and probably the Islanders had already declared it safe. (The dangerous shoals around Troubridge island are near Yorke Peninsula and irrelevant since the *Rapid* was not approaching from the west. Light would write that in Gulf St Vincent “there are no obstructions whatever” [Light Brief Journal: 85, 5 Dec]).

Pullen (Marine Surveyor on the *Rapid*) says that Cooper “was to act as Pilot,” while “his wives... and Kangaroo dogs were to supply us with fresh meat” (Pullen MSS Journal: 31/14; this part of the journal was written in 1842).

Among Light’s labourers, two (both very young in 1836) remembered in later life only the cultural function. Hiram Mildred said that Cooper was hired as “an interpreter,” and Doughboy and Sall “as a go-between us and the native tribes” (*SA Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 5g, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/37164792/2297821>). William Hodges said that Light “engaged him and his two black women as interpreters, as Col. Light wanted to correspond with the blacks” (‘Old-time Memories: A Fine Old pioneer,’ *Observer*, 26/4/1902: 4b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/162353403>). I am indebted to Max Raupach, a descendant of Hodges, for this reference).

See also the Woodforde quotation in main text (Woodforde 6 Sep).

None of these men seem to have realized that ‘Sall’ (Magalidi) was a Tasmanian who therefore could neither interpret nor ‘conciliate’ on this land. Obviously these functions would depend on Doughboy.

¹²⁶¹ Woodforde journal, 6 Sep 1836,

<https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-6-september-1836-7/>. Mildred and Hodges confirm that Light was looking for people who could both interpret and mediate. The ‘kangaroo dogs’ were an important consideration. There were four of them, according to the *Rapid*’s commander, Lieutenant WG Field RN (Field 1837: 3e). They belonged to Cooper. A few years later he also had “an excellent show dog” which he sold to surveyor Hawker in about 1839 (Hawker 1899: 39a, original newspaper article No.XIII, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/162335147>; and Hawker 1899: 49-50, original No.XVI, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/54386826/4100560>). No doubt they had been one of the chief items of wealth among the Islanders, along with whaleboats, and for a while would remain an important asset in bargaining.

¹²⁶² POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THESE CHOICES:

1. There was a radical difference between the two projects. Martin offered a short voyage up one Gulf, with Island people as independent majority hosts and executors of the venture, and himself a minority passenger. Light offered a potentially much longer voyage, with Island employees a small minority on a government brig with official surveyors.
2. Were Martin and Light competing for the services of the same preferred Island team? This would probably be the Hog Bay group, who had almost everything that Cooper could offer, and more? Did Martin get in first?
3. Alternatively, were Walker and Cooper competing for the same preferred employer? Was this Martin, because his small-scale expedition put the Islander in charge and offered more of their prized independence? Did Walker get in first?
3. Or did Cooper prefer Light and Walker prefer Martin, for their own different reasons? Like Bates, Cooper had already leased his autonomy, his services and his whaleboat to Stephens “so long as [he] might require it.” His new contract, also with no time limit, enabled Light to define him as his “servant” (Light Brief Journal: 63, 15 Sep; cp. “my man Cooper,” 16 Dec). Cooper would soon cast his lot completely with the new regime and follow it to the capital for at least three years (Book 2 will tell of Cooper in the Country Surveys in 1839, and back on Kangaroo Island at the time of Tolmer’s expedition in 1844). Was he already looking for security as a labourer for hire, while Walker (at this stage) was still hoping to remain independent?
4. Or did Light, on a longer voyage, need Cooper’s dogs more than Martin did, and pre-empt them?

3.4.5.2.4 – INVISIBLE CONNECTIONS: DOUGHBOY, KALINGA, AND THEIR FAMILIES.

It seems likely that in 1836 only Cooper and Walker had viable relationships with their wife's kin.¹²⁶³ If so, this would be enough to explain why they were the only competitors for mainland work at this date. Only eight months after Hart noted that the Islanders were all 'unwilling to leave the island,' two of them were signing up for mainland voyages with no recorded qualms.¹²⁶⁴ If they had extended family among the mainlanders, and had sufficiently honoured their obligations, they could be confident of their safety now in spite of the recent conflict. By contrast, Bates and Thomas ventured later and less far, and it seems they had good reason for their delay.¹²⁶⁵

But perhaps they were not *equally* confident, for their relationships with their Aboriginal kin were not identical.

It would seem that Walker and Kalinga were observing well their kin rights and obligations. She had been able to see her family regularly. She and her father and uncle seem to have moved easily and often between their homeland and Walker on the Island,¹²⁶⁶ which could happen only in a whaleboat and with Walker's cooperation. These movements were probably related to the common seasonal family visits of the 'Cape

5. Or did it all happen by chance, when Condoy and Walker missed Light on 31 August, and then perhaps went on to contract with Martin and so become unavailable to others?

¹²⁶³ We have already seen ample evidence for Walker's kin relationship with Kalinga's family.

For Cooper's relationship with Doughboy's family, we have three pieces of evidence:

1. He knew 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* language and was employed in Adelaide as an interpreter in 1837-8.

2. He could move freely around the Fleurieu with Doughboy in September 1836.

Those two items, though suggesting prolonged friendly contact, are inconclusive about kinship. The third is conclusive:

3. At Myponga Valley in September 1837, Cooper was camped in the evening with an official party heading south to Encounter Bay, when a large group of Aboriginal men and women arrived. These people ate at the settlers' campfire and performed a corroboree; then *"they all retired to their encampment at some distance, except two, who, being relatives of Cooper's woman, were accommodated with a lodging near us"* (Wyatt to Hindmarsh, 22/9/1837, GRG 24/1/1837/372: 7). Doughboy herself was probably not present, as she is not mentioned elsewhere in the ample records of this trip. The incident is an unmistakable sign that Cooper was not only at peace with her family but regarded as kin. The group included Encounter Bay people and *"Parangacka or Murray River"* people (i.e. from near Goolwa). These details suggest that the estate of Doughboy's previous husband could have been anywhere from Goolwa or Currency Creek to the Bluff at Victor Harbor. (This story of Cooper and Doughboy at Myponga will be told in detail in Book 2).

¹²⁶⁴ Cp. the Islanders' reports of 'friendly Cape Jervis natives' (see also section 3.3.2.1 'Mediated by Island white men').

¹²⁶⁵ The possibility of violence was a constant backdrop to traditional life. Men like Walker or Cooper, entering into kinship apparently with some success, must have learned to live with this, and to stay within the traditional rules which would minimize it. It is likely that Bates and Thomas, and perhaps Wallan, suffered the consequences of not doing so. (Wallan may perhaps have taken part in the Port Lincoln murders: see Cumpston 1986: 133, and my Chapter 2.5.3.2 on the Boston Island murders).

Perhaps, from a closer perspective, both Walker and Cooper were sure that the mainland warriors would distinguish one Islander from another. The recent rhetoric of Tamuruwi and his followers – 'murder all the whites on Kangaroo Island' – may have been an immediate response to the Boston Bay massacre and the payback on Meredith (see Chapter 2.5.3.3 'From Condoy to Tamuruwi'). But now it would have faded a little; and people might have standing grudges against Bates and Thomas, but none against *them*.

For Bates see Chapters 2.3.5 'Bates & raids', and 2.5.3.2 'Breakdown'.

Nat Thomas at Port Noarlunga in 1837 was afraid when he met a large Aboriginal group: *"his wife's relations had a great objection to their union, and that the chances were, should he be recognized, we should all be murdered"* (Stuart 1875: 12b). In my analysis (contrary to earlier historians), it was Encounter Bay people he was afraid of (who were absent, as it turned out), not the local Onkaparinga people who were present (This story will be analysed in detail in Book 2. Stuart's complete text is found in Schultz PNS 4.02/01 Pirrangga,

<https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-01Pirrangga.pdf>.

¹²⁶⁶ Note also the presence of Kalinga and Condoy together on Kangaroo Island with the Islanders on 31 Aug (above) and 6 Dec 1836 (section 3.5.3 'Sagacity of Princess Con').

Jervis' peoples. For Walker, then, there was no risk in company with Condoy and Kalinga.

On the other hand, there is one sign that Cooper and Doughboy may not have been able to keep in regular touch with her kin: in 1836 she had not seen her two mainland sons "for many years."¹²⁶⁷ This being so, the homesick woman would jump at a chance of an extended voyage on 'Cape Jervis', in the hope of seeing her family again. She would influence Cooper towards it if she could; but he would know that by now his own credibility there might be a volatile issue. Would such a trip be constructive, with Doughboy as guarantor and the brig and its men as a retreat? or too dangerous? Perhaps he hung back until encouraged by seeing Walker signed up with Martin.

3.4.5.2.5 – MOVING ON FROM KANGAROO ISLAND.

Where on the mainland would Light begin? Against instructions, he had decided not to visit Encounter Bay just now, because he would achieve nothing there but a waste of valuable time. His Island informants confirmed his reasoning.¹²⁶⁸ Though we have no direct evidence, no doubt it was also Islander advice that led him to choose Rapid Bay for his first destination on the mainland. It was the nearest safe harbour for anything larger than a whaleboat; the brig would find no such haven further south, not even at Fishery Beach.

With complex human backgrounds and motives, then, two Islander teams departed for the Gulf on the same day. Walker and Thompson (almost certainly), Seaman (perhaps), Condoy and Kalinga (almost certainly), sailed with Martin; and Cooper, Doughboy and Magalidi with Light.

The Colonel would conduct no further business on KI, but he left behind him a promise to the 'English sailors' there: "The buildings, gardens, &c., were left to be generally occupied by the original islanders. Colonel Light promised them that they should not be disturbed in their original squatting holdings, but this promise he was not able to fulfil."¹²⁶⁹ So remembered Thompson, one of the Islanders at that time. But Light's remaining years would be too brief, busy, harassed and ill for him to do anything about it. The forces of invasion and dispossession would prevail on Kangaroo Island too.

.....

¹²⁶⁷ Field 1837: 3e.

¹²⁶⁸ "As for Encounter Bay... I was also sure that on a low, sandy shore like that, there must be a bar and tremendous surf. When I reached Nepean Bay this idea was fully confirmed by the reports of the sealers, and some said there was no such thing as a harbour along the coast" (Light Brief Journal: 89, 17 Dec). At a crucial moment it was Cooper who confirmed the Colonel's view that he could save time by ignoring the Commissioners' instruction to examine Encounter Bay. Close to the event, Finniss wrote that Cooper in particular "had frequently visited Encounter Bay. His description coincided precisely with that given in Sturt's work" (Finniss to Edward Stephens 1837, in Finniss Diary & Letters: 20; cp. Finniss's 'Note on the capital site' (*ibid*: 15), and Light Brief Journal: 89, 17 Dec). A little later, Finniss described Cooper as "a very intelligent man" who, among other things, had been able to tell Light that Encounter Bay was no good as a site for the proposed town because "the River Murray could not reach the sea... by a navigable channel," and to warn him (as Bates and Thomas had warned Kent) about the dangers of that exposed coastline under southwesterly winds (Finniss 1837: 54c, my emphasis).

¹²⁶⁹ Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525> = Bull 1878b: 10.

3.4.6 – September 7-18: FIRST GULF VOYAGE: THE HOG BAY TEAM AND CAPTAIN MARTIN.¹²⁷⁰

This 12-day voyage¹²⁷¹ is little known, overshadowed by the exploits of Light in the *Rapid*. But its significance in Aboriginal politics may have been greater than colonists ever realized. For within the simultaneous travels of Martin and Light, at this strategic moment, there *might* have been a brief meeting and conference of most of the known brokers of ‘Cape Jervis’ foreign affairs.

For our ‘underside’ story it is of minor interest that Captain Martin visited ‘Jones’s harbour’ about 12 days before the *Rapid*. Of great interest, however, is that this voyage probably gave the ‘Cape Jervis’ people their one chance to prepare strategy a step ahead of the invaders. If this conference happened, it could have been on September 15-16 when Condoy, Kalinga and Doughboy found themselves together for a day or more with eight mainland men – escaping the notice of Europeans then and ever since.¹²⁷²

3.4.6.1 – TO RAPID BAY.

During their previous careers around the sealing and whaling ships of eastern Australia, the Hog Bay sailors could have known Captain George Martin. An experienced ship’s captain who had sailed from London to places like Rio de Janeiro and Chile, he had set up his family in Hobart since 1823. On Kangaroo Island in 1836, so far his actions were both authoritative and conciliatory. Even with his high religiosity he would have been congenial to Walker and his comrades.¹²⁷³ Out on the sea and coast there was probably peer respect and even solidarity between the sea-captain and the sailors.

The whaleboat sailed on September 7th. There were at least eight in the expedition: Martin, probably Condoy, Kalinga, Walker, Thompson, Seaman, and two crew from one of the ships.¹²⁷⁴ They were very overcrowded; seven men is the maximum for a whaleboat of normal size,¹²⁷⁵ but this whaleboat was “tiny.”¹²⁷⁶

¹²⁷⁰ See Map02 ‘Gulf region’.

¹²⁷¹ The records of Captain Martin’s voyage are few and for our purposes only modestly informative. Apart from some short references in the journals of Stephens, Light and Woodforde, the main sources are two of Martin’s letters:

1. to Angas and the SA Company (the original manuscript is lost, but his erratic spelling and style are preserved in the “Copy” in PRG 174/7: 65-7).

2. to his wife Mary (A1141 B10, State Library of SA, transcript by Bob Sexton, found at <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/captain-george-martin/>).

Both are dated Hobart, 29 Oct 1836.

¹²⁷² The story is told in section 3.4.7.3 ‘A garden & perhaps a conference?’

¹²⁷³ It is worth remembering that not all these Islanders were irreligious, though with Walker, Thompson and Seaman we have little evidence to go on. Walker told the Adelaide Hospital in 1872 that he was a Wesleyan; but in 1878, Church of England (Admission Registers, GRG 78/49). As lifelong seamen they may have preferred the plain honest and ‘local’ Martin even to Light, who was a capable sea-captain but also an army officer and not an Australian ‘local.’ Perhaps even Light’s past as a navy captain, his many talents, and his personal connections with the rich such as Morphet, also distanced him from the sympathies of ex-navy underdogs.

¹²⁷⁴ See footnote ‘Martin’s crew’ (in section 3.4.5.2.3 ‘Who chose whom?’).

¹²⁷⁵ Colwell 1969: 25, 79.

¹²⁷⁶ Woodforde 9 Sep, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-9-september-1836-6/>. Perhaps Thompson’s boat was built for a crew of five. Woodforde added that “*he [Martin] may like it, for my part I feel much more comfortable on board the ‘Rapid’.*”

They intended to sleep on the first night at Freshwater River and on the second at Hog Bay.¹²⁷⁷ But they bypassed one of these places and on the next morning, with no wind, rowed the twelve miles across to the recommended harbour “about eight miles up St. Vincent’s Gulf.”

The *Rapid* joined them there a few hours later. It was “a fine bay” (Martin wrote), “on one of the loveliest spots I ever beheld with a fine run of water thro’ the middle of a level plain; and Colⁿ Light at once pronounced it to be one of the best situations possible for a town.”¹²⁷⁸ On that day (the 8th) it is *possible* that Condoy and Kalinga spoke very briefly with Doughboy and Magalidi, but rather unlikely. Almost immediately the latter were sent off to hunt for kangaroos. They were out overnight, and Martin sailed north early next morning before they returned.¹²⁷⁹

3.4.6.2 – TO THE MANGROVES, YANKALILLA, ALDINGA, PORT RIVER.

Martin slept on the *Rapid*, and on the 9th the whaleboat “proceeded up the Gulf on the East side about 75 or 80 miles,”¹²⁸⁰ which would bring them level with today’s township of Two Wells, 30 km north of Adelaide. The party entered the Port River estuary, though probably not ‘Jones’ Harbour’. This place – probably Barker Inlet¹²⁸¹ – was “sufficient for the John Pirie to enter at high water... the banks of this river is very low & composed of small Islets, with low Mangrove trees growing in the water.” They landed to explore the plains a little; Martin enthused about the colonial potential of the land:

*A little way inland we came to a beautiful open country fine plains as far as your Eye can reach, very moderately wooded, as is also the hills, all fine, rich, dark-brown soil, with a yellow clay of from two to four feet under it, runs of fine water in all directions.*¹²⁸²

¹²⁷⁷ Stephens says they were “*intending... to sleep the first 2 nights on the banks of the ‘Morgan’ & at Kangaroo Head*” (StephensS 1836, 6-7 Sep). Captain Morgan had named the main river after himself, but it was later re-named Cygnet River after the ship which landed its occupants at the mouth (which would temporarily be dubbed ‘Freshwater River’). As we have seen, for Stephens ‘Kangaroo Head’ was a good enough approximation for Hog Bay.

¹²⁷⁸ Light in SA Record 3: 19c; Martin to Angas 29/10/1836, manuscript, PRG 174/7: 66. The *Rapid*, becalmed in the strait on the afternoon of the 7th, reached Rapid Bay at 1 pm on the 8th to find Martin already there.

¹²⁷⁹ Woodforde 9 Sep.

¹²⁸⁰ Martin to Angas 29/10/1836, manuscript, PRG 174/7: 66; probably as measured from the Cape. For his wife Mary on the same day he estimated “*to the distance of from 100 miles or more,*” i.e. nearly to the head of the Gulf. There is no other evidence to tell us which is correct. Martin’s ‘miles’ are not very reliable; after leaving Rapid Bay on September 18th he told Morphett that Light was then “*about 30 miles*” up the Gulf (Morphett to Angas 21 Sep, in SACo First Supp: 31), which would put him in the vicinity of Aldinga.

¹²⁸¹ – or conceivably Port Gawler.

¹²⁸² Martin to Angas 29/10/1836, manuscript, PRG 174/7: 66. What Martin found was the large and complex Port River estuary. He probably landed somewhere around Dry Creek or perhaps the nearby Little Para River, both of which enter Barker Inlet. But there are puzzling details in his account: “*I went up about twelve miles this river; it runs close up to Mount Lofty*” (neither of these statements can be literally true); and it is hard to know what to make of the “*runs of fine water [fresh?] in all directions*” on the ‘fine plains’: the Dry Creek area? or perhaps even Port Gawler? Extracts from this letter (variously edited and abridged) were widely circulated by the SA Company: e.g. in a public advertisement “*To experienced farmers, possessing capital*” (PRIG 174/11: 549); in a Directors’ Report (SACo First Supp: 25-7); and in the London magazine *The Spectator* (Vol. 10 No. 455, 18/3/1837: 250a-b, ‘First News from South Australia’, https://archive.org/details/sim_spectator-uk_1837-03-18_10_455/page/250/mode/2up). Caution: the editor of *Spectator* added some phrases without acknowledgement, e.g. those underlined in “*a river (the Sturt River)*” and “*the John Pirie (Captain Martin’s ship)*”. Unmarked editorial interpolations were common in London reproductions, and could incorporate their own assumptions, as here. Martin did not need to explain to his Company employers that he was captain of their *Pirie*, but the *Spectator*’s editor did need to explain this to his readers. However, in explaining ‘a river’ he erred due to ignorance, and so misled the reader about the location of the mangroves. Clearly this river cannot be the Sturt, which would certainly not have allowed any navigation for a schooner like the *John Pirie* (we remember that the brig *Rapid* had to anchor offshore), nor anything like ‘twelve miles’ by whaleboat.

Did Walker or Condoy guide Martin to this estuary? As we saw in Chapter 2, it is doubtful that any Islander except Bates had ever visited the Adelaide Plains. But Condoy *may* have known there was an estuary in this area.¹²⁸³

They also examined Yankalilla Bay and its plain. Though not mentioned in accounts of the journey, it was this place – Kalungku’s three-river country – that Martin would recommend to Stephens.¹²⁸⁴ From those ‘fine plains’ to the cape,

all... is a continuation of fine land, plenty of grass for feed for cattle or sheep, fine shady hills moderately wooded - the principal wood is the oak and mimosa (or Wattle), the greatest difficulty I see is the want of fine timber for sawing there is some Gum trees, but far inland; I have not seen one stringy bark tree in all my journey... There is abundance of kangaroos and emus on the Main... there is one large plain of fine land... where there is three fine rivers running thro’ –

– and, surely quoting Walker or Thompson –

*from this to Lake Alexandrina is but about 22 miles across & the finest country that eyes ever beheld:*¹²⁸⁵

– country which Martin had not seen.

Though we have no record that Martin himself wrote down the name of the place, he certainly told it to Stephens, who spelled it as ‘Yankalilla.’¹²⁸⁶ Very likely it was Kalinga or Condoy who told Martin.

Walker and Seaman led him to the place which Magalidi had shown them a year before: the conical hill where they buried young Meredith. From his home in Hobart Martin had no doubt heard the story and shared the intense interest it aroused in Tasmania. Probably he now asked these locals about it. They found the tomahawk which had killed him, “with part of the hair and blood still upon it,” and Martin took it with him.¹²⁸⁷

¹²⁸³ If Condoy ever went to the Adelaide Plains, it is unlikely that he would have visited the estuary swamps, unless (conceivably) to hunt emus by permission on the natural trap of Lefevre Peninsula, as in the Tjirbuki story. However, even this would not enable him to trace the channels from a sea approach.

¹²⁸⁴ “I have strongly recommended Mr Stephens to go & examine it” (Martin to Angas 29/10/1836, manuscript, PRG 174/7: 67); “This place has been examined for me by Capt Martin & I have requested him to send you an account of it” (Stephens to Angas 27 Sep 1836, manuscript draft, PRG 174/7: 57).

¹²⁸⁵ Martin to Angas 29/10/1836, manuscript, PRG 174/7: 66-7. What Martin wrote here about the country towards the Lake must mean that Walker and his crew had told him about their familiar route to Encounter Bay. The ‘three fine rivers’ can only be the Yankalilla, Bungala and Carrickalinga, running through the Yankalilla Plain, with the valley of the Inman River over the range and leading to Encounter Bay. The original text looks confusing: “there is one large plain of fine land between this river & the Cape where there is three rivers running thro’ from this to the Lake Alexandrina is about twenty-two miles across” (PRG 174/7: 67). Some of the transcribers added the missing full-stop after ‘running thro’. But Henry Capper – publishing in London with no idea of the topography and no attention to physical possibility – paraphrased this part of the letter and introduced his own misunderstanding, that the rivers ran from the Gulf to the Lake: “From this part there are three fine rivers running through into Lake Alexandrina” (Capper 1837: 11). Thus he perpetuated for a little longer the old fantasy of a direct freshwater connection between Adelaide and the Murray.

¹²⁸⁶ Stephens made the first surviving record of the name “Yankalilla” in his letter to Angas on the 27th. It must have been Martin who reported the name to him, either verbally or in writing (see also Textbox20 ‘Earliest records of the place-name Yankalilla’).

¹²⁸⁷ Tolmer 1844b. Tolmer or his reporter noted that by the year of his investigation on Kangaroo Island (1844) the grisly relic of old payback had been lost again.

After a six-day absence they came back to Rapid Bay late on the night of the 14th. The *Rapid* was still at anchor, and again Martin came aboard, reported what he had seen, and slept there.¹²⁸⁸

At that moment Light's team was awaiting the return of Cooper, Doughboy and Magalidi from a long excursion into the interior. They arrived next morning in company with eight mainland men. Martin's party stayed on for at least a second night and possibly a third.

Martin told Light he had "landed in several places;"¹²⁸⁹ "the whole shore is like [Rapid Bay], composed of fine land." He found "no want of water but once, and then by digging about two feet, they got abundance;" which probably tells us that the landings included Aldinga Plain.¹²⁹⁰ This was country which Condoy and Kalinga knew, and it is quite likely that they led Martin straight to one of the dune springs in the vicinity of the Washpool.¹²⁹¹ Later in this chapter we will see what else was recorded on this voyage, and what may have happened under the white men's radar.

3.4.6.3 – EIGHT 'NATIVES'.

This Gulf voyage had also made independent contact with eight mainlanders. We do not know where it happened, though we may suspect Yankalilla Plain or the site *Yarnkalyilla*.¹²⁹² It was early spring but there were late winter storms. Perhaps most families were still at sheltered sites inland, such as *Warda-paringga* near Mt Hayfield.¹²⁹³ Writing to his wife later, Martin found it remarkable that there were so "few natives" on

¹²⁸⁸ Woodforde 15 Sep, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-15-september-1836-4/>.

¹²⁸⁹ The 'several places' do not seem to have included the Onkaparinga River, or Martin would have mentioned this relatively large inlet or stream. Condoy certainly had visited it. He had hunted there with Bates in 1829 (see Chapter 2.3.3 '1829: Condoy, Kalinga, tribes & Bates'). Like Doughboy's clan menfolk, and like the Encounter Bay people whose full-moon visits Nat Thomas knew about (see Stuart's expedition to the Onkaparinga in Book 2), Condoy had probably visited the Onkaparinga on other occasions as well. But the river is invisible *from the sea in a low boat*, and he seems to have missed it, as Doughboy and the *Rapid* also did at first. See section 3.4.10.3 'Doughboy & the large river'.

¹²⁹⁰ Light to Commissioners 16/9/1836 (SA Record 3: 19c). The dry place with underground water was probably somewhere on Aldinga Plain, which is often dry on the surface but well served by the underground drainage of the Willunga Basin (see Schultz PNS 4.04.01/01 Ngaltingga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-01-01Ngalti.pdf>). See also the footnote on Light's 'Deception Bay' in section 3.4.10.1 'Yarnkalyilla'.

¹²⁹¹ They had given Barker's party the name of this place and another in the Sellicks Beach area, five years earlier: "*Waccondilla Cr*" (the Washpool) and "*Cutandilla*" (waterhole at the Victory Hotel); see Chapter 2.4.1.1 'Kaurna-Miyurna place-names on Sturt's map'. For the dune springs see Schultz PNS 4.04.01/03 Wakuntilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-01-03Wakunth.pdf>, and 4.04.01/04 Witawali (Sellicks Beach), https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-01-04_WitawaliSellicks.pdf.

¹²⁹² It is very unlikely that they would have met a party of locals when they visited the swampy coast of the Barker Inlet. While Aldinga Plain is possible, the well-frequented Yankalilla Plain would be much more likely to have people present.

¹²⁹³ INLAND CAMPSITES: In the 1930s this place, under its 'Ngarrindjeri' name as given by Milerum and spelled by Tindale "*Watarabering*," was said by Tindale's informants to be Tjirbuki's winter campsite: see Schultz PNS 5.03/04 Wataraparingga, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-03-04_Wataraparingga.pdf. The 'Kaurna'-Miyurna version of the name (*Warda-paringga*) is conjectural. Milerum's first morpheme was probably *Warda* (*rd* is a Tapped *r*, which can sound to an English ear like either *r* or *d/t*), since Tindale also spelled Milerum's pronunciation as "*Warabari*" and "*Wata bareinggi*", and Milerum's pronunciation on an audio recording sounds to me like *Wata-beringg*. According to Tindale's informants in the 1930s (Karlwan and Milerum) – in the context of the story of Tjilbruksi whom they described as a man of the southern Fleurieu – Rapid Bay was a summer camp known to these 'Ngarrindjeri'-Kornar men as *Tankulrawun*. In winter they would shelter at places such as "*Wataraberingg*" ("*Watirangenggul*") far inland in the Hay Flat valley near Mt Hayfield, "*one of the southernmost living places of the Kaurna tribespeople*" (see Tindale 1936: 500, <https://ia802602.us.archive.org/20/items/RecordsSouthAus5Sout/RecordsSouthAus5Sout.pdf> ['Story of [Tji:r]buki', Tindale & Mountford 1936, 'Results of the Excavation of Kongarati Cave', *Records of the SA Museum* Vol.5 No.4]); and Tindale 1987: 6a, 11a, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/126684#page/10/mode/1up> ['The Wanderings of Tjirbruksi', *Records of SA Museum* Vol.20]).

this coast, “not having fell in with more than eight in all that extent of country.”¹²⁹⁴ The expression ‘fell in with’ implies an actual meeting rather than a distant sighting; and it was friendly. Woodforde wrote, “The few natives he met with were peaceable, but as we are going the same road in a day or two we shall be able to judge for ourselves.”¹²⁹⁵

Martin’s eight ‘natives’ may have included some, perhaps all, of the eight men who came into Rapid Bay a few days later. If some of the latter had already spoken with Condoy at Yankalilla, they were the first messengers to bring to the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ significant news of the newcomers, their observed character and stated intentions.

Walker’s whaleboat party left Rapid Bay probably early on the 18th, arriving back at Kingscote before noon that day.¹²⁹⁶ There Stephens was wanting a place on the mainland to which he could shift his stores and begin an “Agricultural Establishment.” It was in this context that Martin reported back to him and he made the first known record of the name ‘Yankalilla’.¹²⁹⁷ Thus one tiny piece of local culture began to find a place in the un-mapping and re-mapping of the Fleurieu: the ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* place-name *Yarnkalyilla*, ‘the place where it keeps hanging down.’ Still today it preserves a little of the place magic, language and story which it once carried.¹²⁹⁸

¹²⁹⁴ Martin to his wife Mary Martin (Martin to Mary 29/10/1836, transcribed by Robert Sexton, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/captain-george-martin/>).

¹²⁹⁵ Woodforde 15 Sep.

¹²⁹⁶ StephensS 1836, 18 Sep.

¹²⁹⁷ Stephens to Angas 27 Sep 1836 (PRG 174/1: 460-1; <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-27-september-1836-4/>).

In this letter he reported his plan for “*forming forthwith an Agricultural Establishment*” at the place of that name. Before this date only the Islanders’ spelling ‘Yanky-lilly’ was known to the colonists. Whether Sally or Condoy had told Martin the name at ‘Yankalilla,’ or whether he heard it from somebody at Rapid Bay, his was the only group who could have reported this spelling to Stephens at this date. See also the footnote on Martin’s “three fine rivers” (in section 3.4.6.2 ‘To the mangroves’), and Textbox20 ‘Earliest records of the place-name Yankalilla’.

¹²⁹⁸ Although a Raminyeri version *Yangkalyawang* was later recorded, the name as given throughout 1836-7 was clearly in ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language; e.g. the Locative suffix *illa* ‘place of,’ which does not occur in Raminyeri. The something which ‘keeps hanging down’ is probably the stretch of overhanging rock strata on the Main South Road under Yankalilla Hill, where fallen rocks litter the foreshore and there is still a caution against rock falls. Tindale and others have thought that the name might refer to decaying pieces of the smoke-dried corpse carried by the culture hero Tjirbuki during his last southward journey; in my view this is conceivable but unproven. For an account of what is known about this Aboriginal place and name, see Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla. For its etymology see the same essay; also Amery 2002: 170-2.

3.4.7 – September 7-17: FIRST BEACH-HEAD (1): AT RAPID BAY WITH COLONEL LIGHT.¹²⁹⁹

Walker, Condoy and their companions had introduced Captain Martin to some of the ‘Cape Jervis’ natives. Now Doughboy, Magalidi and Cooper did the same at Rapid Bay. This second contact was planned and managed by the colony. But (in my analysis) it may *also* have been planned and managed to some extent by the ‘Cape Jervis’ people themselves. For a rare moment longer they were a majority on Country with some influence over their visitors.

A closer look at the records shows that once the *Rapid* had left KI the Aboriginal women played a more important role in the subsequent events than Cooper. The women are mentioned more often; they did the hunting without him. Cooper’s knowledge of the coast is not mentioned again, and his interpreting function probably turned out to be unnecessary. But in the business of conciliation, ‘Doughboy’ may have played a very significant role invisible to Europeans at the time.

3.4.7.1 – ON THE LAND: KANGAROO HUNTING AND A SEARCH FOR ‘THE TRIBE’.

At Rapid Bay on the 7th Light found nobody in residence¹³⁰⁰ except Captain Martin’s whaleboat party, which had arrived there a few hours before them.¹³⁰¹ Perhaps Condoy, Kalinga and Walker met Doughboy and Cooper briefly, but there was little time for talk.

Concerned for his men’s diet, Light sent Magalidi and Doughboy off hunting as soon as they arrived:

*We landed the native women... and they set off with their dogs in search of kangaroos. They were to have returned to the beach by sunset but as they did not make their appearance we put off without them and returned on board to sup off porpoise fry.*¹³⁰²

Next day Martin left early in the morning, heading north. A few hours later the hunters returned to the camp empty-handed, but not for long:¹³⁰³

When we landed we found our two native women returned from their hunt without success but after eating a hearty meal they again started apparently not in the least fatigued.

Magalidi may have become known on KI as ‘Bumblefoot,’ but the young surveyors found that on the hunt nothing about her was bumbling. She and Doughboy were dynamos. This time Woodforde and some others of Light’s hand-picked team started off with them.

¹²⁹⁹ See Map11 ‘Routes’.

¹³⁰⁰ As in Adelaide, the fact that colonists did not see people might mean only that the locals were observing them quietly without making contact. There are many vantage points in the small region surrounding Rapid Bay cove, called *Purlaparingga*, ‘the two rivers’ (‘Bullaparinga’: see Schultz PNS 5.04.01/06 [forthcoming]), centred on a high ridge with creeks on either side which we now call Yattagolinga and Nowhere Else. The latter creek includes a named site *Ityikauwingga*, a sheltered waterhole only 3.5 km from the beach (see Schultz PNS 5.04.01/12, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-12Ityikau.pdf>). However, Doughboy’s later search took her further afield, and probably there was nobody there during Light’s first week.

¹³⁰¹ cf. “I... proceeded over to Cape Jervis, where Colonel Light soon joined me in the *Rapid*” (Martin to Angas 29/10/1836, manuscript, PRG 174/7: 65).

¹³⁰² Woodforde 8 Sep, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-8-september-1836-8/>.

¹³⁰³ Woodforde 9 Sep, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-9-september-1836-6/>.

These were fit and energetic young men,¹³⁰⁴ ready to explore unknown country fast and on foot. But the women were fitter and faster, even Magalidi with her deformed foot. Woodforde wrote,

*The activity of these women is astonishing as not one of our party was able to keep up with them for more than a mile.*¹³⁰⁵

After staying out overnight again, the two returned on the 10th with a fine catch. Light was lyrical about the meat:

*We have already been the better by their exertions, with the tail and hindquarters of an enormous kangaroo; it is fine food; and to those who are fond of ox-tail soup, I should recommend a trip to South Australia to eat kangaroo-tail soup, which, if made with all the skill that soups in England are, would as far surpass the ox as turtle does the French potage.*¹³⁰⁶

KI had effected a fascinating reversal of the traditional roles in Aboriginal society by which men hunted big game, while women had the unglamorous but staple work of foraging for vegetable food, grubs or small game such as possums.¹³⁰⁷ But on KI these two had learned how to handle a team of trained kangaroo dogs alongside whatever traditional weapons they used, such as clubs, in the snaring and hunting of wallabies and probably also kangaroos. In this bloody and dangerous activity they were now a formidable pair.

The Colonel continued to be “enchanted” with this “beautiful little valley,”¹³⁰⁸ but prosaically named it ‘Rapid Valley’ after his brig. The English name stuck, even though some of the team knew the real *Miyurna* name *Yarta-kurlangga* within a week or so.¹³⁰⁹ Everything was new and wondrous, especially for the young: vision spiced with danger. Some of the youths were ‘enchanted’ not only with the place but with all the new sources of wonder: the adventure, the comradeship, the strange Island ‘Crusoe,’ the even stranger ‘native’ women with their extraordinary skills, their kangaroo, even the skinning of it. Many years later Hiram Mildred remembered himself at thirteen, watching Cooper skin that first kangaroo. The rough Islander allowed him to extract a tooth, which the boy kept and eventually had it mounted “as a relic.”¹³¹⁰

¹³⁰⁴ Woodforde himself would turn 26 only in late November (Woodforde 27 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-27-november-1836-5/>).

¹³⁰⁵ Woodforde 9 Sep.

¹³⁰⁶ Light to Commissioners 10 Sep, *SA Record* 3: 19c.

¹³⁰⁷ Note, however, that they did not infringe the men’s cherished and mythologized monopoly of *spears* and spearcraft.

¹³⁰⁸ Light Brief Journal: 62, 8 Sep.

¹³⁰⁹ Light to Commissioners 10 Sep, *SA Record* 3: 19c. Perhaps he intended to rename it; for he wrote that this name was only “for the present.” But ‘Rapid Bay’ became permanent after it appeared later on his maps. It is doubtful that Light was seriously interested in Aboriginal place-names. Probably he was just too busy. For the Aboriginal name of Rapid Bay see the Textbox17 ‘Yartakurlangga’; also Schultz PNS 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-07Yartaku.pdf>.

¹³¹⁰ Hiram Mildred in *SA Advertiser*, 27/12/1886: 6a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/37164792/2297821>. Hiram was 13 years old at this date; his father had sent him out as a cadet with Light, a friend of the family, and Hiram regarded it all as “fun,” remembering it later as the happiest period of his life. Cp. *Advertiser* 22/8/1892: 5g, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/25335374>.

A strong easterly wind on the 12th tested the anchorage. Light declared it sound and safe for most seasons, because “the sealers” had told him September was “the most blowing month in the year.”¹³¹¹

The party did not live on the land but visited it daily at most. Work began quickly, but wary for potentially hostile ‘natives.’ Whereas the whaleboat explorers no doubt slept under the sail or perhaps in a wurlie built by their Aboriginal members, Light’s officers and even the workers were building no huts and almost certainly spent these nights on board.¹³¹²

Three of the team were “countrymen” (i.e. farmers), one of them a gardener. They pronounced the soil to be “excellent,” and on the 9th or 10th planted seeds to test its quality.¹³¹³ This garden was designed as a depot from which the surveyors could supplement their meat (salt junk, fish and kangaroo) to avoid scurvy. Soon it would also prove important in negotiations with the ‘natives.’¹³¹⁴

They had not yet seen any local occupants. On the 11th Light therefore ordered a small-scale expedition into the interior to find “the tribe of the place,”¹³¹⁵ to “induce the natives... to communicate with us.”¹³¹⁶ He also wanted to “engage some of the natives to take care of our garden during our cruise”.¹³¹⁷ The scouting party would be expected to search “as far as Encounter Bay”¹³¹⁸ – so recently a name of dread for Islanders. Rather surprisingly, Cooper “volunteered to go to the east with the women.”¹³¹⁹

This would probably be the first visit to Encounter Bay by an Islander since Encounter Bay Bob’s threats. Whether or not Cooper had been involved in any raids on the Gulf or Lakes, he must now have decided that with Doughboy beside him he was safe. Probably he knew he was a special case. Possibly the couple had jointly planned how to go about it. Conceivably they had also broached such a possibility with Condoy and Kalinga on the 8th. But Magalidi-Sall had been in fear of her life from Encounter Bay people only a year ago, and she could not have viewed the plan with much pleasure, even under Doughboy and Cooper’s protection.

Because we have no direct details except the dates, we can only conjecture what happened on their journey. It took three nights and nearly four days. The 12th and 13th had such heavy rain and strong winds that Light in his surveying could do “nothing” and “very little” respectively,¹³²⁰ and this weather would also have slowed up the scouts.

¹³¹¹ Light to Commissioners 15 Sep, *SA Record* 3: 19c.

¹³¹² This changed when they returned in October and found their confidence in the mainlanders to be justified. Woodforde did not sleep ashore until October 13th, early in this second visit; it was the first time he had done so since leaving England (Woodforde 13 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-13-october-1836-3/>). Probably this was not only for the sake of comfort (for Oct 13th was a night of gale force wind) or haste (until October there was no time to build huts), but presumably also arose from caution about hazarding a vulnerable night on land.

¹³¹³ Light to Commissioners 10 Sep, *SA Record* 3: 19c.

¹³¹⁴ For the location of the garden on the eastern side of the creek near its mouth, see Light’s map (“Rapid Bay: Eastern Coast of S^t Vincent’s Gulf, from a Sketch by Col^l Light,” *BPP: Australia* 5: 196, inset accompanying ‘A Sketch of Nepean Bay,’ online at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-231421375/view>). The “Garden” is marked, “This spot was dug by our men.”

¹³¹⁵ Pullen MSS Journal: 31/15.

¹³¹⁶ Field 1837: 3e.

¹³¹⁷ Woodforde 11 Sep, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-11-september-1836-4/>.

¹³¹⁸ Field 1837: 3e.

¹³¹⁹ Field’s words, but Light used the same verb “volunteered” (Field 1837: 3e; cp. “volunteered to go to Encounter Bay,” Light Brief Journal: 63, 15 Sep); and Woodforde 11 Sep. ‘East’ is roughly the direction of Encounter Bay from Rapid Bay.

¹³²⁰ Light Brief Journal: 63, 12-13 Sep.

Meanwhile, late at night on the 14th, Walker and Martin's party arrived in their whaleboat on their way back to KI. They had been examining the country for the previous six days; and during that time – overlapping Cooper's journey – they met eight mainlanders somewhere along the coast to the north, probably at Yankalilla. Now, tired no doubt from their cramped voyage in rough weather, they stayed at Rapid Bay for at least a second night and possibly a third.¹³²¹

3.4.7.2 – THE RAPID BAY EIGHT.

Martin slept overnight on the *Rapid* and next morning (the 15th), not long after breakfast, went ashore with Woodforde.¹³²² Condoy, Kalinga and Walker were no doubt beginning their day at the whaleboat. It was a serendipitous moment; for just then Doughboy, Magalidi and Cooper returned from their trip accompanied by a group of mainland men.¹³²³ It is very likely that the current concerns of all these Aboriginal people intersected; and there was time to talk.

The new party were clearly not a random group. There were eight¹³²⁴ – all men,¹³²⁵ a sign of normal caution when meeting strangers. In the circumstances there can be little doubt that they were a delegation, an embassy. Following traditional practice for intertribal meetings, men would approach first and assess the intentions of the strangers. Families would join them later if the situation was deemed safe.

Where had these Rapid Bay Eight come from?

Many of Light's team wrote and spoke as though Cooper had been to Encounter Bay and fetched the new men from there. However, the timing and circumstances make this doubtful, and no record tells us unequivocally where Doughboy and Cooper had been in those four days.¹³²⁶ Quite possibly these were the same eight whom Martin met – who would have heard from Condoy about Light at *Yartakurlangga*. If so, then even before Doughboy and Cooper came for them they may have decided to go there and meet him; perhaps the two embassies were seeking each other.

As another serendipity, Doughboy had found family. According to Lt. William Field – a navy man, First Officer of the *Rapid*, later its captain – “Two of [these natives] were the sons of one of the women above-mentioned, and whom she had not seen for many years.”¹³²⁷ From her viewpoint, then, the unrecorded meeting between the 11th and the 15th was foremost a family reunion. There would have been joy and tears. Could she stay, or return to them later? And perhaps not only for that family. Probably some of the eight had other kin on KI. Quite likely some were kin of Kalungku; how was the child they remembered at *Yarnkalyilla* in the early 1820s, now absent from them for about ten years?¹³²⁸

¹³²¹ See the previous section of this chapter.

¹³²² Woodforde 15 Sep, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-15-september-1836-4/>.

¹³²³ Apparently Light did not see the significance of this event beyond his own agenda of meeting some locals and hiring them as gardeners. He noted merely that “my servant, Cooper... returned with a tribe of natives” (Light Brief Journal: 63, 15 Sep), and did not bother to mention it in his letter to the Commissioners.

¹³²⁴ Woodforde on the spot said “eight” precisely. Others said “six or seven” (Field 1837: 3e) or “about a dozen” (Pullen MSS Journal: 31/15), but they were speaking from memory later.

¹³²⁵ “There were no women with them except those belonging to the Sealers” (Woodforde 15 Sep).

¹³²⁶ See Textbox18 ‘Group affiliations of Doughboy and the Rapid Bay Eight’.

¹³²⁷ Field 1837: 3e. See also <http://www.pioneerssa.org.au/files/087%20W%20Field%20APPROVED.pdf> [5/10/16].

¹³²⁸ Doughboy would probably have known Kalungku on Kangaroo Island, and possibly before that. The latest news of her would be that she had been forcibly removed from KI about six years ago. Nobody present would know that she

There must have been intense political discussion during those days away. Doughboy and Cooper were *de-facto* ambassadors for the colony, and (it seems) accepted as such by these mainlanders. Simultaneously – whether or not these men were Martin’s eight already on their way to negotiate, and whether or not new men were found or chosen – the final Rapid Bay Eight were ambassadors for the mainland. Regardless of *where* they were found, they must have represented families from the Fleurieu as well as Encounter Bay; after all, it was a Gulf site they were discussing. But probably they did not yet represent all the stakeholders; there had not been enough time.

In this prompt response and its aftermath, one factor was probably crucial: the foreigners were following protocols for entry to land. Instead of exploring the land uninvited and using its resources immediately in a unilateral show of entitlement, they had sent out a kinswoman of this country, to seek out the lawful proprietors and ask for something.¹³²⁹ Probably ‘Doughboy’ shaped her message in terms of permission. No doubt the Eight delegates thought this bit of whitefella politics was better than usual.

As usual, Dr Woodforde took a scientific interest in their appearance and social milieu. It is worth quoting the entire passage for what it can tell us:

*These men are much the same in appearance and belong to the same tribe as the two we saw on the Island. There were no women with them except those belonging to the Sealers. It appears that the small-pox commits great ravages against them as three of them were deeply pitted and one has lost an eye from the same disease. Two of them had congenital malformations – the most singular – of the arm, there being in the place of that useful member a shrivelled stump not more than ten inches in length with three small appendages the rudiments of fingers at the end of it. They are all more or less tattooed in a very rude way, the principal incisions being on the back and two very large ones of a similar shape over each blade-bone. Their faces are free from these mutilations which are made with pieces of flint. This tribe is a very small one – a great number being carried off yearly by disease and a still greater number being put to death shortly after their birth. They hold a ...*¹³³⁰

‘The two we saw on the Island’ were Condoy and Natalla; ‘same in appearance’ therefore means that these newcomers also had small limbs and (to him) looked ‘emaciated.’¹³³¹ Woodforde might generalize about their bad health, but William Pullen – the young lieutenant appointed as Light’s Marine Surveyor, who would become an Admiral – remembered that “some of them [were] fine looking fellows.”¹³³² These (he said) “made

and her little boy were now far away on Woody Island and had just been abandoned by Dutton. By comparison Doughboy was lucky, able to return if only briefly. How long had she been away? Could she return to them? We know that she stayed with Cooper and in 1837 went to Adelaide with him, but we know too little to guess fruitfully at the reasons. Was returning too hard now? Cp. my discussion of staying and returning in Chapter 1.1.3.6 ‘Compliance?’

¹³²⁹ She had not asked first to hunt kangaroo a few days earlier. Did she perhaps already have the personal affiliation to country which gave her the right? – and Cooper too?

¹³³⁰ Woodforde 15 Sep. His detailed observations on that day are gearing up for a miniature essay, based on his on-the-spot inquiries probably including information gleaned from Cooper in this moment of intense interest – but unfortunately for our study, our source breaks off here. At this point some pages had been torn out of the original journal long before Woodforde’s sister copied what remained in 1867.

¹³³¹ See earlier in this chapter.

¹³³² Pullen MSS Journal: 31/16. WJS Pullen was a young navy man who became a friend of Light in the Mediterranean and resigned his commission to join him on the SA expedition. He later re-joined the British navy, became a Commander and eventually Vice-Admiral, and took part in the search for Sir John Franklin in the Arctic. See

themselves very useful” and were given “biscuit and soldiers old clothes of which they were very proud,” i.e. Light chose them as his ‘Marines.’¹³³³ The shipboard menu was not new to them, who doubtless belonged to one of Jones’s ten families; they had *already* learnt to be very fond of biscuit and tea.¹³³⁴

By now Light had stayed as long as he could spare in “this little paradise,”¹³³⁵ and wanted to proceed up the Gulf as soon as possible. He re-embarked the same afternoon, but most of his team remained on shore overnight.¹³³⁶ Cooper and his wives may have been with them, and Martin’s party were probably there too. The Rapid Bay Eight *possibly* held some kind of ceremony that night in honour of the occasion, but in the absence of local women other than the one, it could not have been a full ‘corroboree.’¹³³⁷ ‘Doughboy’ and Cooper may not have re-embarked until 2 pm next day (the 16th).¹³³⁸ Condoy, Kalinga and Walker were probably still ashore with Martin when the *Rapid* eventually sailed on the morning of the 17th.¹³³⁹

3.4.7.3 – A GARDEN, AND PERHAPS A CONFERENCE?

Light was gratified to see both of his immediate aims so promptly fulfilled: the natives “soon became intimate with our men” and “were engaged to remain and take care of our garden.”¹³⁴⁰ He had given gifts of food and finery with which the men were “much pleased.”¹³⁴¹ Now he asked them to stay at this place, avoid disturbing the garden, and “take care” of it until they returned. He promised more rewards if they would do so.¹³⁴²

http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/pullen_william_john_samuel_11E.html; SA Advertiser 19/1/1887: 5f-g, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/37166112/2926140>.

¹³³³ See section 3.6.2.1 ‘Gardeners & hunters’.

¹³³⁴ Field 1837: 3e.

¹³³⁵ Light Brief Journal: 63, 15 Sep.

¹³³⁶ Light Brief Journal: 63, 15 Sep; Light to Commissioners 15 Sep (SA Record 3: 20a).

¹³³⁷ A CORROBOREE ON 15 SEPTEMBER? Pullen says, “Cooper returned with about a dozen of the tribe... In the evening by way of expressing their joy at the white [man’s] arrival they danced a corrobory” (Pullen MSS Journal: 31/15). He then continues – obviously for readers and after the event – with a florid “*brief but imperfect sketch*” of a generalized ‘corrobory,’ written explicitly for “*the Colonial Cadet*.” This part of his journal has no dates and may contain confusions, having been written in 1842 from memory up to the date 27 Sep. After that date he is quoting “*nearly word for word*” from his old diary written on the spot with dates (see p.31/17).

Woodforde *may* have written about a corroboree in his journal of 15 Sep, but unfortunately the pages on which it would occur were missing from the original manuscript when it was copied. It is rather unlikely that Pullen’s implied date is correct, and more likely that he was referring to a corroboree which is dated and described in Woodforde’s diary of 14 October (<https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-14-october-1836-3/>). In most public corroborees witnessed by colonists, male dancers were normally accompanied by an ‘orchestra’ of women singing and beating possum-skin pads (see my essay ‘Kurna Songs, Music and Dance,’ in Schultz et al 1999: 81ff). But at Rapid Bay on 15 Sep 1836 there were only eight *men* to perform all functions (and conceivably Doughboy, if she knew the songs and was allowed to sing them). Yet it is strange that Pullen did not note the verified corroboree of 14 Oct, as his journal describes a visit by Aboriginal people on that day. When re-writing that part in 1842, perhaps he omitted the dance because he felt he had already covered the subject earlier.

¹³³⁸ On the 16th “*We did not get all on board before two p.m.,*” but uncertain weather delayed the departure of the *Rapid* until the 17th (Light Brief Journal: 63-4, 16-17 Sep).

¹³³⁹ We do not know exactly when Martin’s expedition departed for Kingscote in their whaleboat. They arrived in Kingscote before noon on the 18th (StephenS 1836, 18 Sep). It is unlikely that the trip across would have taken two days.

¹³⁴⁰ Light Brief Journal: 63, 15 Sep. This group of men may perhaps have “*danced a corrobory*” on that night, as Pullen wrote later. But if so, it would have been a truncated one with few of the usual participants; nor would it have been unequivocally “*expressing their joy at the white [man’s] arrival*” (Pullen MSS Journal: 31/16). This early part of Pullen’s ‘MSS Journal’ was written from memory in 1842, and he may have confused this night with October 15th, when there certainly was a corroboree noted by Woodforde (see section 3.6.2.2 ‘Dancing the deal’).

¹³⁴¹ Field 1837: 3e.

¹³⁴² Woodforde also said that “*the natives... promised to take care of our garden*” (Woodforde 15 Sep, my emphasis). ‘Take care’ is ambiguous. We are not told how specific this ‘care’ was to be, or whether Light’s gardeners gave these

With an indefinite timespan – nearly a month, as it turned out – it was not a small request. Coming so early in spring, it may have affected their seasonal travel routines. But we shall see that their whole wider group took on the relationship enthusiastically for as long as they were in contact. In view of their previous fraught experience with Europeans, it is unlikely that this arose from naive natural friendliness. More likely it was an open-eyed attempt to draw the colonists into mutuality and gain some chance of influencing the course of events.

What transpired during those two days when five key mediators were thrown together at Rapid Bay with eight other ambassadors from the mainland? It is hard to resist the thought that there must have been some kind of conference.¹³⁴³ Probably they regarded Light as an ambassador for the colonists as a whole, and saw this meeting and this deal as the appropriate beginning of *parnaparnpalya* and a significant social compact.

Textbox16: A CONFERENCE AT RAPID BAY?

Cooper, ‘Doughboy’ and eight mainland men (including two of her sons) shared space with Condo, Kalinga and Walker at Rapid Bay for most of one day, a night and much of the next day. Condo and the mainlanders were probably together for another whole day after that.

It is possible that Condo had initiated the process a few days earlier (probably at Yankalilla Plain), and sent word to whatever warriors and elders were available in haste; perhaps even to Encounter Bay. Even if this was not so, the eight may have included men from the whole region who happened to be in the vicinity and were either leaders or spoke some English: such as Lami-raikongka (‘Peter’) and Tamuruwi (‘Encounter Bay Bob’).¹³⁴⁴

It is virtually certain that in these three days there were major briefings and discussions both within Aboriginal ranks and externally with Light. Probably Condo was one of the leading voices. He, Kalinga and ‘Doughboy’, with Walker’s help and using Pidgin English as well as both the local languages, could give first-hand accounts of Kingscote, the colonists, the two voyages so far, and what they had heard on KI: that hundreds had already arrived in ships, with many more already on the way, all intending to stay.¹³⁴⁵ Kalinga and Magalidi, Cooper and Walker had seen something of the heavily-colonized eastern ports. All had their first impressions of Light and his party, including a few women and very young lads: signs of peaceful intent;¹³⁴⁶ They would compare all this with their previous experience of Islanders.

A key factor was probably Light’s prompt offer of a mutual deal about the garden. The management of food plants was not a total novelty to these locals. Aboriginal people in many parts of Australia had intimate knowledge of plant ecologies and their own sophisticated

eight men any horticultural instructions. When he sailed on the 17th the seeds had been only seven days in the ground. They were of wheat, Indian corn, potatoes, beans, peas, onions, lettuce, cabbage, marrow, radishes and cress. A month later “*nearly all*” had sprouted when Light returned (Field 1837: 3e; Woodforde 24 Nov, 12 Oct); and he then remembered his previous request in the negative: “*I promised the natives, if they would not disturb our garden, that I would reward them*” (Light to Commissioners, 14 Oct 1836, *SA Record* 7: 51a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883825>, my emphasis). Had Light merely been hoping to see what would manage to survive untended if it was not disturbed? Or was there much more than this in the responsibility which the Rapid Bay Eight accepted? For more on this, see my footnote on Aboriginal plant food management in Textbox16 below, ‘A conference at Rapid Bay?’

¹³⁴³ See also the Textbox16 below, ‘A conference at Rapid Bay?’

¹³⁴⁴ See also Textbox18 ‘Group affiliations of Doughboy and the Rapid Bay Eight,’ below.

¹³⁴⁵ By the time Martin’s whaleboat and Light’s brig left KI on 7 Sep, they all knew (in general terms) of the 123 colonists who had arrived on the *Duke of York*, *Lady Mary Pelham*, *John Pirie* and *Rapid*, excluding transient crew (see StephensJ 1839: 116); and they would all have heard that many more were expected soon. Walker and Cooper had spoken at length with Stephens and Light, and (if asked) could convey much about what the four new ship arrivals represented.

¹³⁴⁶ e.g. Light’s nurse and mistress Maria Gandy (discreetly unpublicized and not mentioned until Oct 13 by Woodforde); Sarah Bradley (wife of the boatswain); later two pregnant wives (Finniss’s and James Hoare’s).

systems for managing them.¹³⁴⁷ Moreover, some of the ‘Cape Jervis’ people had visited KI farms and already knew about European gardens from experience.¹³⁴⁸ The visitors were asking the proprietors to look after an aspect of their own land, offering appropriate rewards and a share in the produce. Good signs (the locals might think), despite the other challenges.

No doubt the leaders saw that new circumstances demanded a new response. Hot-headed action, such as the murder of Meredith and Tamuruwi’s recent plan, would risk total destruction. Was this a moment to seize, a chance to organize negotiations with leaders of the interlopers, to draw them into binding relationships? There were models from previous experience, such as the ‘ten families’ with Captain Jones, and Walker and Cooper. Clearly decisions were needed immediately. Events of the next few months suggest that the mainlanders chose the path of compromise and cooperation – ‘friendship’ – and pursued it strenuously.

Again I remind the reader that we can only ‘join the dots’ of a fragmentary record; i.e. intelligently deduce, reflect, empathize, imagine. History is interpretation, always a work in progress, always debatable.

When the two visiting teams sailed away on 17th September, negotiations were incomplete. They would be sealed when Light returned and gave the promised ‘rewards.’ Then, if both sides continued to reciprocate appropriately and reliably, they might reach some kind of longer-term accommodation. Perhaps the newcomers would respect occupation and hunting rights. Perhaps, like Walker and Cooper, they might be drawn into commitment, even kinship. Trade might flourish; the people might survive. This could not happen automatically, nor as a result of the benevolence of the Commissioners, nor the mild actions of Light. Perhaps some such action was planned by the unusual group of Aboriginal people gathered on those few days at Rapid Bay / *Yartakurlangga*.

With fine weather on the 17th, Light was able to move north to examine “the next bay, which appears much deeper and wider than this.”¹³⁴⁹ He already knew that its name was ‘Yanky-lilly’ or ‘Yankalilla’.¹³⁵⁰ And as we shall see, some of his party carried with them the Aboriginal name of Rapid Bay.

¹³⁴⁷ If the Rapid Bay Eight were indeed actively managing this garden, then the deal was a European recognition of Aboriginal skill and agency; while the Eight may have seen the reciprocal deal as an acknowledgment of their ownership of the land. Green-fingered historians of Aboriginal land use might be able to discover whether these men would have needed specific instructions from Light’s gardener, or whether they already had long traditional experience in something which we might call horticulture, or such a minute knowledge of native botany that it could be readily and successfully applied to a range of new foreign plants. This question lies at the heart of the debate sparked since 2014 by Bruce Pascoe’s best-selling book *Dark Emu* (Pascoe 2018 [Bruce Pascoe 2014, *Dark Emu, Black Seeds: agriculture or accident?*; expanded edition 2018, *Dark Emu: Aboriginal Australia and the birth of agriculture*]). Sutton & Walshe question its basic premises, arguing that Aboriginal societies were neither ‘simple hunter-gatherer nomads’ nor sedentary farmer-gardeners, but something uniquely different from both clichés: a system religiously based in the Dreaming Law, sophisticated, sustainable and satisfying; its practitioners felt no need for ‘improvements’ such as those available to them from Torres Strait and Macassan gardeners ([Sutton & Walshe 2022] Peter Sutton & Keryn Walshe 2022, *Farmers or Hunter-gatherers? The Dark Emu Debate*). I look forward to ongoing regional application and refinement of this debate. We have only *begun* to explore the nature and significance of the management of the ‘park-like’ land and other local ecosystems by the First Peoples of this Gulf.

¹³⁴⁸ e.g. Woodforde later had dealings with a man of this ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ who had lived with Wallan on Kangaroo Island (Woodforde 16 Oct), and we know that Wallan had a flourishing garden. Probably there were others with similar experience. No doubt Kalinga, Magalidi and Doughboy had also helped in managing the gardens at Hog Bay and Emu Bay, and in using and trading the produce.

¹³⁴⁹ Light to Commissioners 15 Sep, *SA Record* 3: 19c.

¹³⁵⁰ See Textbox20 on the name ‘Yankalilla’.

3.4.7.4 – THE PLACE AND ‘THE TRIBE OF THE PLACE’.

Textbox17: YARTAKURLANGGA: THE PLACE AND THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF ITS NAME.

Woodforde made the earliest known record of the Aboriginal name of Rapid Bay, in his diary on 10 Oct 1836. His original MS was lost, and the only surviving copy was a manuscript made by his sister Harriet Woodforde in 1867.¹³⁵¹ She transcribed the name as “Yallagolanga (or Rapid Bay).”¹³⁵² However, *every* other record of this name uses ‘t’ or ‘tt’ instead of the ‘ll.’ Although ‘yalla’ could also have a ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* etymology, we can take it as certain that either the copyist or Woodforde himself neglected to cross an intended ‘tt;’ he meant “Yattagolanga.”

Woodforde’s shipmate William Field also remembered the name seven months later: “[Light] anchored first, in a little Bay, called by the natives Yatagolanga and by us Rapid Bay.”¹³⁵³

The earliest maps follow Light’s team in showing it as the name of the valley, not using the word ‘river.’¹³⁵⁴

‘Yatagolanga’ is clearly a *Miyurna* compound word, not hard to decipher as *Yarta-kurlangga*, ‘place of the remote, lonely or separate country.’ It probably refers to the position of this southern ‘country’ (the whole valley) as a cul-de-sac, away from the main trade routes across the range between Encounter Bay to the southeast and the plains to the northwest.¹³⁵⁵

The original informant must have given the name before 10th October, either at Rapid Bay or on the *Rapid*.

The spelling and implied pronunciation are linguistically coherent, so it is not likely that an Islander gave either.¹³⁵⁶ Indeed, there is no evidence that they knew a name for Rapid Bay at all. So the informant must have been a person of the *Miyurna* language group: either one of the Rapid Bay Eight, or Doughboy. Field’s account says it was called this name “by the natives,” which might favour the local men as the source.

A historical English version of the name has been gazetted as the ‘Yattagolanga River’, which reaches the sea in this valley.

The *Rapid* left at *Yartakurlangga* an Aboriginal group of eight including two sons of ‘Doughboy’. It is worth pausing to consider in more detail who they were that had come in embassy on September 15th, and what cultural identity or identities encompassed their extended families who would later join them, their kinswoman Doughboy, and her two

¹³⁵¹ PRG 502/1/1. A typescript made from it is PRG 502/1/2.

¹³⁵² Woodforde diary 10 Oct 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/monday-10-october-1836-2/>, and see manuscript.

¹³⁵³ Field 1837: 3d

¹³⁵⁴ e.g. Arrowsmith 1840, ‘Part of South Australia to the eastward of the Gulf of St. Vincent... from documents in the Survey Office Adelaide,’ London 1/9/1840, C 218, SLISA; cp. Plan 6/16A, Aug 1840, SA Geographical Names Unit).

¹³⁵⁵ Yarnkalyilla was the main junction of wider trade movements between southeast and northwest, which bypassed the southwestern bulk of Fleurieu Peninsula proper. People from Yartakurlangga travelled north to Yarnkalyilla when joining those movements; for other ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* ‘tribes’ to the north, this region was either the ‘south end of the line’ or a detour. (See Berndt and Berndt 1993: 20, 330; this information came from the ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* man Karlowan in the 20th century, remembering the 1880s; but the routes would have been similar in traditional times. See also Schultz PNS 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga). It was also said (many decades later) that the occupants of Yartakurlangga tended to keep to themselves: “*Rapid Bay people only lived there never went elsewhere; visited north*” (annotation on Tindale Map ‘Tindale S Map’, AA 338/16/8).

¹³⁵⁶ The Islanders were not good linguists. They knew their most familiar ‘Cape Jervis’ landing inaccurately as ‘Yanky-lilly.’

sons. We have here another example of the same dual affiliation which we noted in Chapter 2 about Condoy and Kalinga.

Textbox18: GROUP AFFILIATIONS OF ‘DOUGHBOY’ AND THE RAPID BAY EIGHT.

GEOGRAPHICAL IDENTITIES OR AFFILIATIONS:

In recent debates about these men, and about ‘Doughboy’ the mother of two of them, stakeholders have focused on the identity question: were they ‘Kaurna people’ or ‘Ramindjeri people’? The question is unanswerable and not even useful, as long as we assume that these identities existed then in their modern form, and were mutually exclusive, and that all nine people must have had the same identity. These ideas – derived from ethnographers such as Tindale, and Native Title legislation derived from them – are discussed briefly in Appendix 12 ‘Aboriginal Territories, Borders and Identity Labels around the Fleurieu’.

IN THIS CASE, DID THEY ALL ‘COME FROM’ ENCOUNTER BAY?

Some first-hand accounts appear to say or imply that Cooper and his wives had been sent specifically to Encounter Bay; also that they had in fact been there, and fetched the eight men from there to Rapid Bay.¹³⁵⁷ This is possible but unlikely, for the following reasons:¹³⁵⁸

Firstly, the orders: The party were told to bring in whoever they could find and persuade. For that purpose they should go “to the east... as far as Encounter Bay”¹³⁵⁹ – that is, *if they needed to*; not as a targeted or even preferred destination, but as the limit of their journey under pressure of time.¹³⁶⁰

Secondly, the terrain: There possibly was an eastward route more direct as the crow flies than the one through Inman Valley.¹³⁶¹ But Doughboy and Cooper probably began by heading north-east for Yankalilla where they were much more likely to meet people. In any case this was the easiest route to Encounter Bay, far more familiar, and in uncertain weather probably quicker. And they may have heard from Condoy that he had met eight people on the Gulf coast in that direction.

Thirdly, the time-scale: It is doubtful whether they could have done the journey and the job in the recorded time. From Yankalilla Plain the easy route to Encounter Bay down the Inman valley was a return trip of at least four days including travel time of more than 28 hours each way.¹³⁶² From Rapid Bay this would be even longer. During two of Cooper’s days absent there was bad weather to slow them down. Time would be needed to sleep, round people up,

¹³⁵⁷ Woodforde 11 Sep, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-11-september-1836-4/>; cp. Finniss (who was not present at the time): “a tribe of natives who came from Encounter Bay” (Finniss to Sir Willoughby Gordon, in Finniss Diary & Letters: 9); Light Brief Journal: 63, 15 Sep. ‘Came from’ is of course ambiguous.

¹³⁵⁸ For a briefer summary of the reasons, see section 3.4.7.2 ‘The Rapid Bay Eight’.

¹³⁵⁹ Field 1837: 3e. His sentence reads: “The sealer volunteered to go to the east with the women, as far as Encounter Bay.” Field – who was Light’s First Officer and therefore his closest associate on the spot – is the most exact and revealing of the sources, writing a few months after the event. Pullen (Light’s Second Officer) seems never to have questioned that there was more than one ‘tribe’ or any significant distinction of places; he wrote in his edited journal (this section written from memory five years after the event) that they had gone “to bring in the tribe of the place” (Pullen MSS Journal: 31/15).

¹³⁶⁰ This is so even if Doughboy told them that Encounter Bay was probably the nearest place where people might be found (and in context this is very unlikely).

¹³⁶¹ i.e. from Rapid Bay, due east around Bullaparinga Hill, and via the top of the range at Parawa and Mt Robinson to Encounter Bay. But much of this was very high, steep, scrubby country.

¹³⁶² For foot-travel times between Yankalilla and Encounter Bay, see the timings of Bates and other sealers (footnote ‘Geography of discovery of Lake Alexandrina’, in Chapter 2.3.2.3 ‘Forbes-Bates excursion’); and of Barker’s team (footnote in Chapter 2.3.4.1.2 ‘Enlisting help’: Barker’s team took 28 hours from the Murray Mouth to Carrickalinga at the pace of an urgent forced march with little or no sleep on the way).

negotiate, and choose the delegates.¹³⁶³ But the entire expedition took only about 3½ days (85-90 hours). Thus it is very unlikely they had been to Encounter Bay and back, and very likely that they found people somewhere much closer: perhaps near Yankalilla, perhaps at an inland winter camp such as *Warda-paringga* near Hay Flat

Fourthly, in any case the men's *identity* is not determined by the place where they were found.¹³⁶⁴ But some writers then and now, believing they were found at Encounter Bay, have also assumed that Encounter Bay was their *identity*; and by extension, that Doughboy herself was one of the 'Encounter Bay tribe.'¹³⁶⁵

Fifthly, not every literal reference to 'Encounter Bay' in 1836 need be taken at face value. The *Rapid* party had no clear mental picture of it, having seen it only in the distance briefly on 18th August. Speaking from a Gulf viewpoint and thinking of 'the interior' as one place 'over there' eastward, they sometimes merged Encounter Bay with 'Cape Jervis,' referring simply to "*the tribe of the place.*"¹³⁶⁶ Later in 1836 they did become aware that the 'tribe' at Encounter Bay was different from the local 'Cape Jervis tribe'.¹³⁶⁷ But not until a year later did any of them – even Cooper or Walker – realize that the people of Encounter Bay had a completely different language from that of Rapid Bay.¹³⁶⁸

The most detailed observations come from Woodforde, though his description is cut off after a couple of paragraphs.¹³⁶⁹ He wrote that the 'tribe' of the Rapid Bay Eight was "a very small one." From other sources we know that this was true of the 'Cape Jervis' people, while Encounter Bay was populous.¹³⁷⁰

PHYSICAL IDENTITIES:

Woodforde wrote that the Eight were "much the same in appearance and belong to the same tribe as the two we saw on the Island:" i.e. Condoy and his brother Natalla. On that occasion (31st August) he had noted "their limbs very small," and their "emaciated appearance." Neither of these features seems typical of the 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* people, whose solid build was often mentioned by later colonists.

On the other hand Pullen remembered five years later that "some of them [were] fine looking fellows."¹³⁷¹ This phrase *might* refer to tall, muscular and solidly-built Raminyeri men who

¹³⁶³ Time for communication and preparation would have been even longer if nobody had been briefed already by Condoy on the Gulf coast during his trip with Martin.

¹³⁶⁴ European outsiders often attributed identities according to the place where they happened to observe people camping, especially if they were observed there repeatedly over a period of time. This 'residence as identity' – the most common kind of identity record in colonial literature – is *at best* only one part of the layered identity of Aboriginal families and individuals (see J Knight 2003: 401-3, cp. the rest of his Chapter 11). Sutton adds an Australia-wide perspective: "*Band membership was never a constant even if band leadership was steadily that of a couple of senior men – sometimes men married to each other's sister, or men who married two sisters*" (Peter Sutton p.c. email attachment 16/4/19). Moreover, in this case the attributed 'Encounter Bay' identity, and even the location, *could not* be a result of observation by the people who recorded it. It could be a report of a report by Cooper, possibly based on information from Doughboy; or it could be a mere assumption based on Light's original instructions to go 'east as far as Encounter Bay.'

¹³⁶⁵ This is my reading of the claim by William Hodges that Doughboy ("*the woman*") spoke of "*her tribe (Encounter Bay)*" ('A Fine Old Pioneer,' *Adelaide Observer* 26/4/1902: 4b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/162353403>). We must treat this claim with some caution. In 1836 Hodges was Light's personal attendant and only 15 years old; his interview was given 66 years later.

¹³⁶⁶ Pullen MSS Journal: 31/15.

¹³⁶⁷ e.g. Woodforde 16 Oct, 21 Nov,

<https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/dr-john-woodforde>.

¹³⁶⁸ Book 2 will tell the story of Cooper at Encounter Bay in September 1837.

¹³⁶⁹ See section 3.4.7.2 'The Rapid Bay Eight'.

¹³⁷⁰ See Textbox07 'Aboriginal populations'.

¹³⁷¹ Pullen MSS Journal: 31/15. This part of Pullen's journal was written from memory in 1842.

fitted his English navy man's ideal better than the lightly-built men typical of the Gulf;¹³⁷² it is hard to tell.

Woodforde and Pullen focused on different members of the group. With clinical eye the doctor also described the "great ravages" of smallpox, and two with "congenital malformations;" while Pullen, a man of action, looked for big heroic figures. With intermarriage frequent, we may reasonably guess that both physical types were present among the Eight, and generally in both 'Cape Jervis' and 'Encounter Bay' tribes.

LINGUISTIC IDENTITIES:

What language(s) did these men speak?

For September the only linguistic records are indirect.

Firstly the place-names. "Yatagolanga," given at this time, is clearly in 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* language regardless of who gave it, with a very strong implication that this was the normative language of the place and of the 'Cape Jervis tribe' around it. Likewise "Yankalillah" a few days later was the *Miyurna* name as used by the local Eight.¹³⁷³

Secondly, Doughboy. She spoke *Miyurna* language with Cooper and the Adelaide people in 1837,¹³⁷⁴ and two of the Eight were her sons.

Of course all nine probably *also* spoke Raminyeri. But if so, Doughboy had not taught it to Cooper, since a year later Cooper was unable to interpret at Encounter Bay.¹³⁷⁵

For more on the language of the 'Cape Jervis tribe,' see later in this chapter.¹³⁷⁶

Remarkably, Cooper's September scouting trip is his last recorded appearance in the four-week voyage. Typical of the positive glimpses of him, it was an active episode in the bush. But after he returned with the 'tribe of the place,' nobody refers to him again, though he must have been on board.

However, the women continue to attract attention from time to time, not only as hunters but as sources of information.

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¹³⁷² See my footnote on physical types in Chapter 1.1.6.5 'Beliefs, language identities, place-names'.

¹³⁷³ Field 1837: 3e; cp. "*the Native name was Yankalila which the Colonel retained*" (Pullen MSS Journal: 16, 23). Coming from Pullen and Field as a recent memory of September 1836, these references to 'the natives' could only have meant the Rapid Bay Eight or their wider family a few months later.

¹³⁷⁴ See Book 2.

¹³⁷⁵ See Book 2.

¹³⁷⁶ See Textbox23 'Languages and interpreters at Rapid Bay'.

3.4.8 – September 11-25: MEANWHILE ON KANGAROO ISLAND: NEW CUSTOMERS AND ANOTHER SETTLEMENT.

When Condoy, Kalinga, Walker, Thompson and Seaman arrived back at Kingscote on September 18th, they had to decide immediately about an equally demanding job offer from new customers. Another ship had arrived while they were away. It was the long-delayed *Cygnét*, carrying 84 more colonists including the Deputy Surveyor-General and the rest of the survey team.

3.4.8.1 – KINGSCOTE AND THE *CYGNÉT*: THOMAS, THOMPSON, SURVEYORS, LAND AGENT.

The *Cygnét* came in on the 11th, overdue after a long and unhappy voyage with quarrels between leaders and a mutinous crew. As they approached Kingscote, the men were all firing off rifles in a military *feu de joie*.¹³⁷⁷

On board were three young men in their late 20s whose names will loom large in this part of our story. Two of them immediately hired the Hog Bay team, while the third would lead a temporary colony at Rapid Bay. All three would become leading public figures in colonial SA.

George Strickland Kingston was the official Deputy Surveyor-General: “a young Irishman... with a smattering of education in architecture and engineering, little or no knowledge of surveying, and an obtusely quick temper.”¹³⁷⁸ Having made himself unpopular during the voyage, he would continue to do so, especially with another passenger who had been bypassed for his position.¹³⁷⁹

This was Boyle Travers Finniss, an ex-army officer “as modest and amiable as Kingston was overbearing,”¹³⁸⁰ a close friend of Light. Only 28 years old, he had resigned his commission in 1835 to join Light in surveying the new colony, and supported him loyally to the end. But the Commissioners had chosen Kingston as Deputy, appointing Finniss merely as one of the Assistant Surveyors. He it was who now led the rifle volley. At the request of the Commissioners he had drilled all the surveyors on board in the use of arms “in order that they might be able to defend themselves in case of conflict with the Aboriginal natives who were known to be numerous and warlike in the neighbourhood of the River Murray.”¹³⁸¹ The new province was already burdened with a legacy of fear from the violent past on both sides.

The third passenger of note was John Morphett, an energetic and ambitious man of capital, a leading advocate of Wakefield’s scheme. On the way to making himself even richer, he was now acting as land agent for other buyers.¹³⁸²

¹³⁷⁷ French: ‘fire of joy,’ i.e. a volley for celebration.

¹³⁷⁸ G Dutton 1960: 155. Kingston later became a well-known figure in SA surveying, mining and politics (see Jean Prest 1967 in *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kingston-sir-george-strickland-2311/text2995> [19/10/2017])

¹³⁷⁹ Kingston was “a mere ignorant pretender” in the eyes of Finniss (Finniss to Jacob Montefiore Aug 1838, in Finniss Diary & Letters: 26-7). According to Woodforde “his behaviour is censured by high and low. He is universally disliked for his despotism and upstart tyranny” (Woodforde diary 8 Nov 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-8-november-1836-2/>).

¹³⁸⁰ Dutton *ibid*: 155.

¹³⁸¹ Finniss 1892: 2.

¹³⁸² Morphett would later have a long and distinguished career in SA politics, and (like Kingston) receive a knighthood. See *Australian Dictionary of Biography* 1967, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/morphett-sir-john-2483>.

During the voyage Kingston and Morphett had formed a clique, excluding Finniss.¹³⁸³

On the 9th, before they reached Kingscote, the officers on the *Cygnét* had met Nat Thomas and become aware of the Hog Bay camp and its food supply. As the ship worked its way eastward from Investigator Strait outside Nepean Bay, they had almost reached the far end of the shoals when they were met by a whaleboat. In it were Captain Morgan and an Islander, both of whom came aboard and “conducted our ship round the reef... to a safe anchorage within.”¹³⁸⁴ The Islander was Nat Thomas,¹³⁸⁵ a trained pilot who by now was using his skills to guide colonial ships into harbour, as Hart had recommended.¹³⁸⁶

Morgan had been at Hog Bay buying vegetables for Kingscote. He was not impressed with Walker’s establishment:

*we rowed about 13 miles and landed at the farm a most miseryable place We began to dig pertatoes and percured about half a sack we got a few turnips and some cabages.*¹³⁸⁷

The incident shows that Stephens and the captains were now doing business with Hog Bay in addition to Three Wells, even though it was across the Bay and further away. The Islanders’ whaleboats had become a daily necessity. In this meeting Finniss “learnt many interesting particulars from the captain.”¹³⁸⁸ Doubtless Morgan told the officers how useful the Islanders were in matters of food, and gave an account of Hog Bay and its people. Though his private diary was disparaging about the ‘miserable’ place and ‘few’ fresh vegetables, they would still have been a very welcome sight to people who had just endured a voyage of nearly six months on ship’s rations.

Hog Bay’s senior team were still away with Captain Martin when Morgan visited; but in the light of what followed, it was they who benefited most from the meeting with the *Cygnét*. Morgan gives no hint that anyone else was at the camp. Walker and Thompson must have made an arrangement, *in absentia* trusting Thomas and Morgan to do their own digging honestly.¹³⁸⁹ But Thompson of Hog Bay would soon be dealing directly with Finniss and Kingston, instead of remotely with Kingscote.

.....

¹³⁸³ “It appeared to me that Kingston, instead of taking the advice of those who were selected as his assistants, preferred that of Mr. Morphett on most occasions” (Finniss diary 19 June 1836, cp. 21, 24 June, 12 Aug, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/boyle-travers-finniss/>).

¹³⁸⁴ Finniss diary 9 Sep “about 14 miles from point Marsden”; Finniss 1837: 54b “outside the bay”. Finniss thought the whaleboat belonged to Morgan’s ship, the *Duke of York*. If the ship was anchored a couple of miles off Kingscote, this would account for them rowing only “about 13 miles” to Hog Bay (see below) rather than the full distance which is 17 miles or more.

¹³⁸⁵ Thomas is not named, but all the other Dudley Peninsula Islanders were employed elsewhere at this time.

¹³⁸⁶ Kingston and Finniss on board had probably seen Hart’s note and were looking out for him. However, Stephens had probably not, and must have worked out Thomas’s particular usefulness for himself. Thomas would feature by name in a similar role at Kingscote on December 3rd (see section 3.5.1 ‘Nat Thomas in Kingscote’).

¹³⁸⁷ Morgan Journal 9 Sep 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-9-september-1836-3/>.

¹³⁸⁸ Finniss 1837: 54b.

¹³⁸⁹ Morgan and Stephens were now probably desperate for supplies. Perhaps one of the young Walker children, or an Aboriginal member of the farm, was still onsite and trusted to manage the transaction. But the two visitors got no help.

3.4.8.2 – THE SETTLEMENT AT ‘FRESHWATER RIVER’.¹³⁹⁰

At Kingscote on the 11th Kingston received Light’s letters of instruction. He was to begin a settlement for the Commissioners at ‘Freshwater River’, land the stores there, then proceed in the *Cygnets* to examine Port Lincoln.¹³⁹¹

Stephens knew that Light was somewhere up the Gulf, but could not easily contact him. Light, of course, did not know that the rest of his team had arrived. Kingston seems to have left the settlement largely to Finniss and Colonial Storeman Thomas Gilbert (another passenger on the *Cygnets*),¹³⁹² and made no attempt to go to Port Lincoln. Nor did he seriously try to find Light, who would not see him for another whole month. This must have confirmed Light’s colleagues in their low opinion of him.

The place temporarily dubbed ‘Freshwater River’ was some higher land on the north side of the swampy mouth of the *Cygnets* or Morgan River, 4.5 km south of Kingscote.¹³⁹³ The Mouth was good for drinking water, but only at low tide, and only at this time of the year.¹³⁹⁴ Not ideal; but at least it was away from Kingscote. The whole party got to work pitching tents and building huts for families and stores.¹³⁹⁵

This Government camp has received very little attention, overshadowed by the skin-clad ‘Crusoes’ and yarnable antics at Kingscote. As a result, the contributions of Finniss and the Hog Bay team – black and white – have been neglected in all the previous histories I have seen.

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3.4.8.3 – September 11-20: HOG BAY AND KINGSTON, FINNISS, MORPHETT.

Islanders were essential at Freshwater too, though their names are much less known and their garb unrecorded. It was probably Jacob Seaman who first piloted the *Cygnets* to Freshwater.¹³⁹⁶ And when Kingston and Finniss landed the colonists and stores there, it

¹³⁹⁰ For the location of the ‘Freshwater River’ settlement, see Map03 ‘Kangaroo Island’ and Map04 ‘The area’. Most of what we know about the Freshwater River settlement comes from Finniss: a few snippets in his diary, a few early letters, and an extended account (from memory without notes) in his long memoir written in 1892 (BT Finniss 1892, manuscript ‘Some Early Recollections,’ transcribed by Gillian Dooley, Flinders University Library, https://dspace.flinders.edu.au/xmlui/bitstream/handle/2328/25020/Some_Early_Recollections.pdf?sequence=4. Many thanks to Ms Dooley for providing me with an advance copy of her transcription before it was available online).

¹³⁹¹ Finniss Diary 11 Sep (Finniss Diary & Letters: 8); cp. Light to Commissioners 29 Aug, SA Record 3: 19c.

¹³⁹² Finniss’s late ‘Recollections’ are our main source for details of the Freshwater settlement. His only mention of Kingston in connection with it occurs in the following: “*I was landed with twelve men to form the first encampment at Cygnets River flowing into Nepean Bay... There were married ladies & women and children attached to the expedition, and their health and comfort had to be attended to. Hence I erected a few huts for them, thatched with the foliage of the ti tree scrub, which grew abundantly all around us. I had learnt the art of thatching with this material at the Mauritius... A large hut was soon built in this manner and Mr Kingston with the Storekeeper (Mr Thomas Gilbert) commenced unloading the ‘Cygnets’ to some extent.*” Nevertheless, no doubt because Kingston was the appointed commander of the *Cygnets*’ expedition, Finniss generously describes the settlement as “*Mr Kingston’s camp*,” even though he was dead before this was written (Finniss 1892: 2-3).

¹³⁹³ Like “*the second valley*,” Light’s casual phrase “*a fresh water river*” now became a place-name. Eventually the whole course of the ‘Morgan River’ would be re-named ‘*Cygnets River*,’ after the ship and the settlement.

¹³⁹⁴ Woodforde had found the water brackish in the vicinity of the mouth, but correctly attributed this to the tide being high. Islanders had told Finniss, on his first day ashore, that “*in summer no fresh water reaches the mouth*” (Finniss “*journal*” 12 Sep 1836, in Finniss 1836: [34-5]). However, Light must have found out more details, and decided that camping here with some water at low tide was a better package than camping at Kingscote with Stephens’ chaos and distant water. At the time Finniss did not give the name of the river; indeed it had no official name yet: “*In the bight of the bay a small river empties itself from May to November, its course is then about twenty miles, and the water is sweet at the mouth at low tide*” (Finniss 1837: 54b).

¹³⁹⁵ Finniss 1837: 54b.

¹³⁹⁶ Seaman’s obituary contains the puzzling claim, “*It was he who pointed out to the gentlemen at the*

was Seaman's friend Thompson who took charge of landing them and supplying them with water.¹³⁹⁷

The Morphett-Kingston clique divided their first week between setting up at Freshwater along with the others, and checking out the situation with Stephens at Kingscote. On the 14th Morphett wrote to Angas with his first impressions of the Islanders. They – no doubt anxious to maximize their prospects of employment – had “all expressed pleasure at the opportunity of entering into the relations of civilised life.”¹³⁹⁸ They also told him the ‘natives’ were “generally peaceable, and well inclined.”¹³⁹⁹ Kingston had hired one of the Islanders – probably Thompson¹⁴⁰⁰ – who “speaks most favourably of the mainland, giving it a decided preference to the island; in which statement I understand he is supported by all the rest.”

During their second week at Kingscote the two gentlemen travelled upriver together and visited Three Wells, where they were impressed with both land and farm.¹⁴⁰¹

3.4.8.4 – September 19-24: WATER AND FOOD: THREE WELLS, HOG BAY, ANTECHAMBER.

The Commissioners' storeman Thomas Gilbert was officially employed by Deputy Surveyor-General Kingston. But he remained at Freshwater River where in practice he worked for Finniss. Briefed no doubt by Stephens, he had begun to barter provisions with Wallan and Day on the day he arrived, September 12.¹⁴⁰² But this deal would have a very short life. We infer that after Walker and Martin arrived back on the 18th, he quickly added Hog Bay as a supplier; ‘miserable’ or not, its men were probably more reliable than those at Three Wells, and their service quicker across the Bay. It was Thompson of Hog Bay

commencement of the colony a river where to establish a harbor” (SA Register 12/9/1846: 2d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27453700/2103214>). This ‘harbor’ could not have been the Port River (which was not ‘pointed out’ to Light by any Islander), and Kingscote is not on a river. The only harbor it could be is Freshwater.¹³⁹⁷

¹³⁹⁷ ‘Death of an Old Colonist,’ Register 27/3/1882: 5a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/47110451/4015154>. His importance at Freshwater River was indirectly confirmed by Finniss, who in his old age remembered the names of only three Islanders, “Wally, Thompson and Day” (Finniss 1892: 3). Wallan was inescapably prominent; Finniss visited Three Wells, and on his own block later in Adelaide “engaged” Day; but he is the only pioneer who mentions Thompson.

¹³⁹⁸ Morphett to Angas 14 Sep 1836, in SACo First Supp: 29. All four letters quoted in this section were soon published in the SA Company's First Supplement to its First Report (pp.27-33). Morphett was writing letters to Angas at every opportunity, sending them back on the earliest ships he could catch. He was already experienced in judging real estate; his letters, focused on the qualities of the land, were intended as propaganda for the colony and Company. But they are also a valuable source of information for our purposes.

¹³⁹⁹ This is the first recorded example of a number of such descriptions of ‘peaceable’ or ‘friendly’ local people given by Islanders to the first colonists. On the ambiguity of these descriptions, see section 3.4.4 ‘Bates at Salt Lagoon’.

¹⁴⁰⁰ This employee of Kingston is never named, but was probably Thompson. It was probably Thompson who landed settlers at the Freshwater settlement and supplied them with water (see below). For this work his employer would have to be Kingston or Finniss.

¹⁴⁰¹ Morphett to Angas 21/9/1836, in SACo First Supp: 30.

¹⁴⁰² “On arriving at Kangaroo Island, on the twelfth day of September, the deponent [Gilbert] considered it a matter of the first importance that all the emigrants should be supplied with fresh provisions. The surveying officers having lived with two individuals residing on the island, Wallan... and Day his partner being men whom the deponent considered respectable which in the deponents future transactions he found to be the case... [Gilbert] entered into a negotiation with them for the supply of fresh provisions, vegetables &c, they could bring engaging to give them stores in return” (Thomas Gilbert's evidence to the ‘Commission of Inquiry into the Lawless State of Society on Kangaroo Island,’ GRG 24/90/342 SRO, quoted in Shueard 2013: 84). The ‘officers’ who visited the Three Wells establishment were Kingston and Morphett (Morphett to Angas 21/9/1836, in SACo First Supp: 30).

who was remembered as the *Cygnets* water supplier.¹⁴⁰³ But at Kingscote Stephens too, as on the 11th, could also make use his hired whaleboats and any available pilots such as Morgan and Thomas, to help sailors fetch water and food from across the Bay and distribute them, making a round trip to Thompson at Hog Bay, Freshwater River, Kingscote, ships anchored nearby, and Salt Lagoon at the western end.

On the 19th Captain Morgan visited the seven-day-old Freshwater settlement, and his critical eye found a shipshape efficiency which was much more congenial to him than Kingscote:

*I took a boat and went to the new settlement wher the Cignet landed her emegrants they have twelve military tents erected and all the emegrants emplyd some building a store house out of bussh and Captn Lipson building a bussh house for part of his large family some cooking and so on... all in this settlement seems to be carried on with expedition and order and serbordination.*¹⁴⁰⁴

But he gave no credit to the white and black occupants of Three Wells and the ‘miseryble place’ Hog Bay – Thompson, Walker, Kalinga, possibly Seaman – who were part of the underpinning of that ‘order.’

Five days later (the 24th) Gilbert wrote that he had “opened an account with two of the sealers, for a supply of vegetables, and of the Wallaby (a small Kangaroo)”.¹⁴⁰⁵ “One of these settlers” had “formerly corresponded with our house”, i.e. Gilbert’s previous very successful optical business in London.¹⁴⁰⁶ He recognized Gilbert, and soon they were talking old shop: “he has in his possession Brewster’s optics, and we discussed its merits over a glass of grog in my tent.”¹⁴⁰⁷

Was this the trained pilot Nat Thomas, adding to his other Company jobs at Kingscote the supply of food from distant Creek Bay (Antechamber)? Or does the incident reveal yet another of the unsung talents of Walker or Thompson at Hog Bay?¹⁴⁰⁸

¹⁴⁰³ Thompson’s obituary: he “supplied water from the island to the barque *Cygnets*, which brought to the colony Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Morphet, Mr. (afterwards Sir) G. S. Kingston, and Captain Lipson in September, 1836, and he landed them on these shores” (Register 27/3/1882: 5a). Some of the water may have come by boat from Hog Bay. The local supply at Freshwater was probably intermittent and inadequate, while water from Three Wells would have to come 5 miles overland and therefore was probably out of the question.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Morgan Journal 19 Sep. Finniss in old age had equally positive memories of Freshwater, “the first settlement”: they “had no panic of the aborigines and avoided unseemly disputes amongst themselves. This was because they were well fed and were buoyed up with high hopes in the future, and had nothing to do but amuse themselves” (Finniss 1892: 5).

¹⁴⁰⁵ ‘Extract of a letter from the Government Storekeeper’ [Thomas Gilbert], 24 Sep, in Capper 1837: 11. The wallaby “are most excellent eating – the hind quarters weigh from 4 to 6 lbs. for which I pay about the value of 1s. 6d. in beef and pork, at our prices”.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Gilbert and his brother had been opticians to the East India Company (SA Register 17/6/1873: 7e, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/39305199/3987402>; and [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Gilbert_\(pioneer\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Gilbert_(pioneer)) [6/10/16]).

¹⁴⁰⁷ This Islander was up-to-date: David Brewster’s *Treatise On Optics* had been published only in 1831 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Brewster [6/10/16]).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Gilbert’s ‘two of the sealers’ were presumably not Wallan and Day, with whom he had already contracted 12 days before. This was clearly a *second* account with another Islander camp. Who were they? Of the likely candidates – Thomas, Walker and Thompson – which was the most likely to have corresponded with an optics company in London before coming to Australia, and on Kangaroo Island to own a recent textbook and pursue a serious interest in the science of optics? The evidence is inconclusive:

1. As a matter of survival, any 19th-century seaman would have a professional interest in the quality of the ‘glasses’ he used (i.e. spyglasses or telescopes; binoculars were rare and impractical until late in the century, <https://wp.optics.arizona.edu/jgreivenkamp/wp-content/uploads/sites/11/2015/01/Binoculars-and-Telescopes->

Whoever these unspecified ‘sealers’ were, Finniss remembered learning much more from his providers – and from their women workers – than the mere supply of raw game:

*The Wallaby were trapped by the women who were very clever and successful in their capture... when baked and piqued with small bits of ships pork they formed a very enticing dish, which the sealers showed us how to cook. They also taught us to make damper.*¹⁴⁰⁹

3.4.8.5 – September 25: THE DISPOSSESSION OF WALLAN.

The barter between Three Wells and Freshwater included rum – intended presumably for James Allen and the English youth or ‘servant,’ for Day and Wallan were both teetotalers.¹⁴¹⁰ It continued right up to Sep 23rd, when Gilbert’s casual worker sent off a normal consignment. But among these Spartan settlements, Kingscote counted as the ‘bright lights of town’. Wallan took the rum there two days later, handed it out, and joined in drinking it. On that day many labourers were drunk and rioting against the Company in general and Stephens in particular, the final fruits of his pompous mismanagement.¹⁴¹¹ Wallan continued a drunken rampage through Kingscote for several days, threatening the life of any Company employee he met.¹⁴¹²

[Proceedings-8129.pdf](#) [24/5/23]). But *perhaps* a trained pilot like Nat Thomas would be more likely than most to have acquired a technical interest in the related optical science.

2. If the optics man was Thomas, who was his companion sealer? At this date it could not have been Bates, who was still working at Salt Lagoon.

3. Thomas’s Creek Bay was much further from Kingscote than Thompson and Walker’s Hog Bay. In July 1837, under much less urgent circumstances, wallaby meat was still brought to Kingscote “at intervals” by Islanders “who live some twenty miles from us” (Leigh 1839: 114). This probably meant Hog Bay (20 miles by sea 38 by land); probably not Antechamber (30 miles by sea, 40 by land), and certainly not Three Wells (8 miles). This tends to confirm that it was Thompson and Walker rather than Thomas who most often supplied food to Freshwater and Kingscote.

4. In September 1836 Thomas was working as a ferryman and pilot at Kingscote. Did this exclude him from direct involvement in the food supply business? But his marine jobs were probably part-time, and so could be combined or alternated with food and water supply to Kingscote and Freshwater (their top-priority needs). Nat Thomas’s renowned trails of wallaby snares were routinely managed by the women such as Betty, and probably they managed the whole farm when Nat was away (at this date their two children were still toddlers).

5. Thompson could have bought the 1831 Brewster book in Sydney sometime after 1832 and brought it with him to KI in 1835 (see his contested itinerary in Section 2.5.2.4). But Thomas or Walker would have had to buy it from a visiting sealer ship, either as a personal order from Launceston or because the captain happened to have it and was willing to part with it.

6. Thompson, older than Walker, seems to have come to KI already intending to settle in the approaching colony. He could more likely anticipate having time and use for the book.

7. It was Thompson, not Thomas, whom Finniss would later remember from Freshwater, and who would be remembered in his own obituary as supplier to the *Cygnets*.

8. On balance of probabilities, Gilbert’s optical sealer was most likely Thompson; but the other two can’t be ruled out.
¹⁴⁰⁹ Finniss 1892: 3.

¹⁴¹⁰ They were still asserting their teetotalism a month later while giving hospitality to two visiting colonists and serving them tea-tree tea (see the footnote about this in Chapter 1.1.2.1 ‘What were they like?’).

¹⁴¹¹ The riots were officially investigated by George Stevenson and TB Strangways in the following January (see Stevenson 1837, ‘Minutes of the Proceedings of the Commissioners Inquiry at Kangaroo Island’, GRG 24/90/342, SRSA). The two magistrates determined that the problems were almost entirely the fruit of Stephens’ mismanagement, especially his failure to control the availability of grog and his punitive manipulation of wages and prices (see Stevenson’s final summary report to Angas, PRG 174/7: 130-1; cp. Shueard 2013: 292-3). Captain Martin, despite his helpful actions, agreed in private later that “Mr Stephens had himself committed an error, by which he both lost his respect and command, and... spirits was the sole cause of it” (Shueard 2013: 293).

¹⁴¹² John Day evidence in Stevenson 1837 ‘Inquiry’: 13; cp. H Mitchell evidence p.4; Thomas Beare evidence, p.9; CS Hare evidence p.17. Cp. Shueard 2013: 85-7.

Why this sudden uncharacteristic outbreak by Wallan? Shueard is probably right in deducing that in the preceding week Three Wells had been ‘sold’.¹⁴¹³

Forty years later Thompson gave a bland summary: “At a meeting of the few scattered inhabitants Mr. S. Stephens called on the self-elected primitive Governor Waller to abdicate, which he did magnanimously.”¹⁴¹⁴ But in mid-1837 the local story was that Wallan had been “ordered” to give up his estate. Stephens (it was said) sent down a man to enforce a sale to the Company (by means unnamed), paying a tiny pittance for the whole property and stock.

Wallan stayed on for a while as a labourer,¹⁴¹⁵ but by mid-1837 he had gone to live in another part of the island,¹⁴¹⁶ cultivating a piece of land but too poor to buy back one pair of his own fowls.¹⁴¹⁷

Though Leigh described Wallan at that time as “a ruined outcast, and a wandering drunkard,” this was premature. He avoided bitterness and retained his genial and teetotal self, earning money as a successful wallaby hunter¹⁴¹⁸ – with the constant aid of his Aboriginal wives, of course, and with his part in early Islander violence relegated to the past.¹⁴¹⁹

This takeover revealed the colony’s power and their willingness to use it. As Taylor puts it, this was “their true arrival.”¹⁴²⁰ It was a sobering shock to any hopes which other Islanders may have expected from Light’s promise of land security.

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¹⁴¹³ Shueard 2013: 84-6.

¹⁴¹⁴ Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4e, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 10. The reporter (JW Bull) and the publishers may have edited this text carefully to avoid offence to the SA Company, even though in 1878 Stephens was long dead. Or perhaps it was Thompson who was being careful.

¹⁴¹⁵ His five acres became ‘The Farm’ of the Company, and Company men worked it (Leigh 1839: 124; cp. TaylorR 2002-8: 82-3).

¹⁴¹⁶ – possibly near Frenchman’s Rock at Hog Bay, according to settler lore (Kingscote CWA 1951: 23; Ruediger 1980: 45]. At the end of his life he was associated with Walker through one of his daughters (Coroner’s inquest into Wallan’s death, *SA Register* 30/4/1856: 3d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/49746165/4143344>).

¹⁴¹⁷ Leigh 1839: 124-5. Wallan’s “some hundred and odd” fowls were ‘sold’ for 20 shillings, it was said, and other livestock for “equally scandalous prices. For his land it was pretended he received the value.” He “became a ruined outcast, and a wandering drunkard, obliged to labour upon a spot of land,— his own by every law of possession.”

¹⁴¹⁸ Coroner’s inquest 1856 *ibid*.

¹⁴¹⁹ Wallan had helped Johnson to abduct Kalungku from Kangaroo Island to the Straits (see Chapter 1.3.2 ‘Kalungku’), and may have been the ‘Harry’ involved in violent raids near Port Lincoln (see Chapter 2.5.3.2 ‘Breakdown’).

¹⁴²⁰ TaylorR 2002-8: 82-3. She says that Wallan’s eviction “suggests the extent of [the colonists’] desperation. It also marks their true arrival” – they would henceforth control the land and its ownership.

3.4.9 – September 19-29: SECOND GULF VOYAGE:¹⁴²¹ THE HOG BAY TEAM, KINGSTON AND MORPHETT.

3.4.9.1 – KALINGA AND WALKER (PROBABLY), WITH KINGSTON AND MORPHETT.

Light's letter had instructed Kingston to sail west with his surveyors and examine Port Lincoln as soon as the Freshwater settlement was established. But he deferred this without attempting to contact his senior. He and Morphett had another priority: to explore the mainland coast for themselves. Prudently Morphett told Angas they were "in search of Colonel Light."¹⁴²² But other motives are clear: a passion to pre-empt the best land (for themselves and Morphett's other clients including the Company), and the personal glory of 'first discovery'.¹⁴²³

The Hog Bay team had little rest after their twelve hard days with Martin, for they were probably now the only people available for such a voyage. Within two days of their return Kingston and Morphett had them preparing hastily to sail again. Morphett's letters are almost our only source for his two whaleboat voyages; but he never names the 'sealers' and 'natives' who accompanied him. Nevertheless we can deduce clearly that on this first journey Walker & Co. were his hosts.

Textbox19: 'SEALERS' AND 'NATIVES' ON MORPHETT'S FIRST VOYAGE.

Morphett himself is the main source for his two voyages, almost the only source.¹⁴²⁴ He wrote two September letters about the first trip, and a November letter summarizing both trips.¹⁴²⁵ They tell us very little about our protagonists. He was a gentleman tightly focused on finding good land to buy, not on the lower classes who helped him do this.¹⁴²⁶ Yet he was also alert to anything they could tell him about the land, soil and climate.

He mentions some 'sealers,' 'natives' and 'sailors' a few times in passing, only as sources of information. Though we have only probabilities, once again they strongly favour Condoy, Kalinga and Walker for the first voyage.

Both trips must have used four or five oarsmen. During this September voyage, Wallan, Bates

¹⁴²¹ See Map04 'The area' and Map09 'Fleurieu mainland'.

¹⁴²² Morphett to Angas 21 Sep, in SACo First Supp: 30.

¹⁴²³ Morphett spelled out his capitalist motive in a private letter to Lloyds of London, 16 Nov: on these trips he was looking for 14,000 acres plus 440 square miles of pasturage (PRG 174/1: 549). But Kingston was a government appointee, and had no commercial clients to excuse his delay and pre-emptive individual exploration. A fierce and arrogant rival of Light, he probably hoped he could get the glory of being the first to 'discover' the final site for the capital, and Jones's Harbor on this coast was already thought to be the most likely candidate. The glory of being 'the first' – though usually questionable in relation to different facts and contexts – is obvious in their race to the beach (see below); it was a perennial obsession with colonists, and has carried through into commemorations today.

¹⁴²⁴ For Morphett's second trip (in October with Stephens), see section 3.4.11 'Fourth Gulf voyage'.

¹⁴²⁵ Morphett wrote to Angas during the voyage on 14, 22 and 28 Sep (PRG 239/16, cp. SACo First Supp: 29-32; Morphett GC 1936: 14-17), and on 25 Nov a long propaganda letter about both voyages, intended for publication in London as an up-to-the-moment, informed and weighty contribution to the flood of pamphlets promoting the colony ([MorphettJ 1837] John Morphett 1837, *South Australia: Latest Information from this colony... contained in a letter written by Mr Morphett*, London, Gliddon; copy in SLA).

¹⁴²⁶ Nine months later he would complain to the Protector that the 'natives' were trespassing on *his* private property (see Book 2 for this story of Bromley, Cooper and Morphett). To be fair, Morphett did join Cock and Backhouse's committee for Aboriginal rights in December 1837, though it came to nothing (StephensJ 1839: 84).

and Thomas were still doing their contracted work on Kangaroo Island;¹⁴²⁷ Seaman was working at Kingscote;¹⁴²⁸ and Thompson *may* have stayed behind to work at Freshwater.¹⁴²⁹ This leaves Walker as the only available and likely captain of Kingston's expedition; but he would have needed sailors to make up the oarsmen.

'Natives' are not mentioned in the September letters. But his November letter tells us that at the Cape he had in his company "sealers... and a couple of natives," all of whom were "well acquainted with that part."¹⁴³⁰ Because they are brought in as contributors to his detailed description of the landscape there, we infer that the conversation happened at landfall on the *first* voyage, when there was good-weather time and Walker was captain. This confirms the likelihood that Walker had Condoy and Kalinga with him.¹⁴³¹

Too impatient to wait until Walker finished his preparations, Kingston and Morphett left Kingscote before him, in dangerous weather on the morning of the 20th in a small boat bound for Hog Bay.¹⁴³² Here they expected to meet up with 'sealers' (unnamed) who would take them in a proper whaleboat across the treacherous currents of Backstairs Passage.

No doubt Walker was extremely busy with arrangements: with Stephens at Kingscote for hiring Walker's whaleboat¹⁴³³ and probably extra sailors; with Gilbert at Freshwater for the settlement's ongoing water supply and perhaps vegetables; and with either Stephens or Gilbert for boat provisions (which would become a bone of contention during the trip). He was delayed on the 20th and 21st by strong winds and high seas,¹⁴³⁴ and did not leave Kingscote until two days after the gentlemen.

3.4.9.2 – THE VOYAGE.¹⁴³⁵

Walker and his companions left Kingscote on the 22nd and took their whaleboat into the open sea across Nepean Bay, bound for the rendezvous at his home base. Rounding Kangaroo Head they probably felt some satisfaction that had made the gents wait at

¹⁴²⁷ Could the voyage have included Nat Thomas? There is no *direct* record of him on Kangaroo Island during the time of this voyage (21-28 Sep), but Stephens would have wanted him available at Kingscote for unpredictable ship arrivals. A collaboration between Walker and Thomas is conceivable but unlikely.

¹⁴²⁸ "J. Seaman" was manning a whaleboat at Kingscote on Sep 26th or 27th while Morphett and Kingston were still out: "At Nepean B. a letter dated 26 Sept was taken out to the Cygnet by J. Seaman in Stephens' whaleboat" (Sexton 1990: 29).

¹⁴²⁹ See section 3.4.8 'New customers & another settlement', *passim*.

¹⁴³⁰ MorphettJ 1837: 7.

¹⁴³¹ It is extremely unlikely that these 'natives' had been found on the mainland. Morphett would not have wasted time looking for them, but would have taken whoever happened to be available on the Island at the time.

¹⁴³² Kingston and Morphett, though well travelled, were gentlemen of business, not seamen. They must have been ferried by sailors, but these men were not mentioned by Morphett in his accounts of 'his' exploits: a typical class-based blind spot with 19th-century businessmen and even officers who worked every day with 'common seamen.' Neither the gents nor their crew wanted to head 15 miles straight across the bay in a dinghy in doubtful weather, but hugged the coast instead. Kingston and Morphett may have thought of this detour as a bonus item of exploration while they were waiting for Walker; but as we shall see, it all appears to have been rather ill-planned.

¹⁴³³ On the 21st Walker was paid £2 in advance by the Company for boat hire (Sexton 1990: 29).

¹⁴³⁴ Morphett to Angas 21 Sep (SACo First Supp: 30); cp. "*a fair wind*" (StephensS 1836, 20 Sep).

¹⁴³⁵ My account of Kingston and Morphett's journey to Hog Bay is deduced from the confusing information and time references in Morphett's letters dated 21 and 22 Sep. The first has some sentences which were probably written on the 20th and/or the 22nd, and the second letter has back-references. Perhaps under the pressure of circumstances he became confused in writing the information on his various 'scraps of paper.'

'miserable' Hog Bay but could not be blamed for it; for the arrangements had been rather loose.

At Hog Bay that morning Morphett was writing to Angas, "we are waiting in a very anxious state for their expected arrival, as our boat is almost too small to go across the Channel;" but if the trip fell through he would examine the neighbourhood instead.¹⁴³⁶

The "violence of the wind" on the 20th had forced them ashore on the coast, probably at Point Morrison,¹⁴³⁷ and kept them there for the night.¹⁴³⁸ Next day, in stages because of the rough seas, they had eventually reached American River. Here on the night of the 21st Morphett wrote a first letter to Angas. Beginning with an obsequious apology for being so "disrespectful" as to address him on "scraps of paper," he gave the latest news from Martin, and some self-congratulation: "It would astonish some of you Londoners, as it did my companions, to see the way in which we roughed it last night."¹⁴³⁹ They explored American River briefly before doing the final leg to Hog Bay. There while waiting they examined the land and Walker's garden, and Morphett wrote another letter from "West of Kangaroo Head" (in fact probably Christmas Cove).¹⁴⁴⁰ He was more complimentary than Morgan: the land was "excellent," there were "all kinds of vegetables," wheat "in the most flourishing condition," and behind it natural grassland on which he envisioned herds of grazing cattle.¹⁴⁴¹ Martin and Islanders had told him the country was even better on the mainland; combined with what he had already seen for himself, this was enough for Angas to "proceed ... with confidence" that "we shall find our expectations... fully realized."¹⁴⁴²

While writing this, "The boat is now coming towards us... I must therefore be ready to close my letter". Walker arrived about midday,¹⁴⁴³ and probably found Kingston's crew exhausted from the rough trip,¹⁴⁴⁴ but the gentlemen were still buoyant. We infer that he

¹⁴³⁶ Morphett to Angas 22 Sep (SACo First Supp: 32).

¹⁴³⁷ Morphett wrote that there was good soil at "the point at which we first stopped" on the 20th (letter 22 Sep).

¹⁴³⁸ Morphett to Angas 21 Sep (SACo First Supp: 31-2).

¹⁴³⁹ He was writing (he said) from "'American River' according to the sealers, 'Pelican Lagoon' according to Flinders": "We were all of us wet through, from the seas which came over us about every minute; we soon had a roaring fire, made of trunks of trees, and had a good supper off pancakes, and cold boiled pork, after which we wrapped ourselves in our blankets and cloaks, and slept comfortably all night" (Morphett to Angas 21 Sep, in SACo First Supp: 31-2).

¹⁴⁴⁰ Morphett's letter gave his address on the 22nd as "West of 'Kangaroo Head,' according to Flinders. 'Aux des Sources,' according to the French navigators. 'Hog Bay,' according to the sealers" (Morphett to Angas 22 Sep, in SACo First Supp: 32). These location referents seem ambiguous, and he gives no detail of his movements between American River and Hog Bay. Hog Bay is 3.5 km east of today's Kangaroo Head, and only Nepean Bay is west of it. Hog Bay is immediately east of Hog Point. Is Morphett's 'west' a careless error for 'east'? But Morphett's locations make sense if he was relying on an error in Flinders' chart. He appears to have camped on the previous night (21st) at Hog Bay in the immediate vicinity of Walker's farm: "The land in the immediate vicinity of the place, where we are now bivouacking, is most excellent. The Sealers... have a spot under cultivation". The location he gives on the 22nd matches his movements if he was camped at or near Christmas Cove on the west side of Hog Point – only half a km from Hog Bay on the east side. Perhaps he had both Freycinet's and Flinders' published charts with him, but I have not seen 'Aux des Sources'; it is not on Freycinet 1811

(https://maps.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/map/1685/1685954/map839_1685954rbr.pdf) but there were several editions. In fact what Flinders had charted as "Kangaroo H^d" was almost certainly Hog Point at the western end of Hog Bay, as Harold Cooper suspected in his study of Flinders' movements around this area (see HM Cooper 1953: 131-3; also the footnote in Chapter 1.1.1 'Views from the sea 1802').

¹⁴⁴¹ Morphett to Angas 22 Sep (SACo First Supp: 32).

¹⁴⁴² Morphett to Angas 22 Sep (SACo First Supp: 33).

¹⁴⁴³ Morphett to Angas 22 Sep (SACo First Supp: 32).

¹⁴⁴⁴ Morphett mentions the sailors only once, when the boat had to land in the middle of the second day to "refresh the men, in consequence of the roughness of the sea" (letter 21 Sep).

sent both of his notes back to Kingscote – presumably with the sailors in the dinghy – to go with the *John Pirie*.¹⁴⁴⁵

3.4.9.2.1 – THE CAPE.

Walker and his team finally got Morphett and Kingston into the whaleboat, and approached the mainland at Cape Jervis, the cape itself. The two gents were high with a boyish euphoria. At the landing “it is related that Kingston and Morphett jumped overboard in the shallow water, and had a race for the shore.”¹⁴⁴⁶ Although competition for the title was always a hot topic for old colonists later, nobody seems to have recorded who was ‘First’ on this occasion.

Describing this place for an eager audience in England, Morphett incidentally recorded another ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* place-name, a version of *Patpangga*, ‘south place’:

*There is a small and safe boat harbour, a little to the northwest of Cape Jervis, called by the natives ‘Pat Bungar.’ It was there I first landed on the main.*¹⁴⁴⁷

This was the place now called Fishery Beach, as we see from his description of the surrounding landscape:

Low hills slope down on all sides of the little bay, after crossing which there is level land... gradually sloping down into a valley... [which] winds... to the northward... and is open to the sea between high hills about two miles to the north of ‘Pat Bungar.’

Condoy, Kalinga and Walker knew the place and how to find water at the second site (now called Tea Tree Creek):

In the winter there must be a considerable stream flowing through it. I found there a deep hole with excellent water in it, which the sealers, who are well acquainted with that part, and a couple of natives who were with us, said preserved it all the year round.

*A couple or three miles further up another valley opens to the sea, with a small perennial stem trickling down it.*¹⁴⁴⁸

Though Morphett could not know it, ‘Pat Bungar’ referred to the whole southern region west of the watershed from Sellicks Hill to the cape. This was Kalinga’s and Condoy’s country; like Kalungku, they were *Patpa-miyurna*, ‘south people.’¹⁴⁴⁹

¹⁴⁴⁵ Morphett to Angas 21 Sep (SACo First Supp: 32-3).

¹⁴⁴⁶ MorphettGC 1936: 16. The author of that book (George Morphett, a descendant of John) does not say where he got this piece of information, but he probably had it as a family tradition. When John Morphett came to write up this landing for English readers, he prefaced the facts with a capitalist’s doxology: “*The heart of the emigrant is filled with joy in gazing on this long sought object of his wishes... and he feels that the beneficence of the great Creator of all things has here furnished him with the means of realizing his most cherished schemes for worldly aggrandizement, or personal comfort*” (MorphettJ 1837: 6). A year later he would be even more euphoric about the plains around Woodside, in an excursion which he proudly titled ‘First Ascent of Mount Barker’ (see Book 2).

¹⁴⁴⁷ MorphettJ 1837: 6-7.

¹⁴⁴⁸ The topography described in this paragraph is, firstly, the mouth of Tea Tree Creek; then secondly, New Salt Creek 6 km north of the Cape, probably the place known to Milerum in the 20th century as *Watpardungk* (spelt by Tindale as “*Watbardok*.” see Schultz PNS 5.04.02/02 *Watpardungk* [forthcoming]). As this cove is totally enclosed by steep cliffs, Morphett and Kingston must have come to it later in the whaleboat. Milerum described it as a good spot for fishing, and it is close to the cliff cave where (according to Karlowan) Tjilrbuki left the body of his nephew.

¹⁴⁴⁹ ‘PAT BUNGAR’ AND THE CAPE:

Fishery Beach and Teatree Creek are useable as campsites. Once again these two locals were identifying places on their group's land, and a name in the language of the place.¹⁴⁵⁰

As in 1831 when Kent found them in the same place, she and her father put their feet on the Fleurieu to help the white men, who once again got the pay.

3.4.9.2.2 – TO 'YANKY LILLY' AND BEYOND.

From here the trip lasted another six days and took them about twenty miles up the Gulf – as far as Carrickalinga or Myponga Beach¹⁴⁵¹ – visiting “every place within an available distance from our different temporary encampments.” Morphett's descriptions – supplemented by what his hosts told him – show a contagious delight in this landscape as well as the calculating eye of an astute land agent. They contain important evidence about the appearance of the country at that time.

For a few miles north of the Cape the hills were often well-wooded with scrub or forest; the most fertile valleys had “many small streams, and facilities for forming great water power at a comparatively trifling cost.”

Their next stop was at Rapid Bay: “a ship with good ground tackle might ride there all the year.”¹⁴⁵² If Morphett noticed the little garden or saw anyone tending it, he did not deem the fact worth recording. Instead he envisaged a dam across the mouth of the creek, creating a “pretty lake” incidental to water power. It seems that Condoy met no mainlanders with whom to pursue the possibilities which had opened up here in the previous week.

Cp. Schultz PNS 1/03 Patpangga, where I demonstrate in more detail the identity of Morphett's landing place from his topographical description.

There has been some confusion about how to classify the 'Kaurua'-*Miyurna* word *Patpangga* linguistically and geographically. Compass points as place-names are often problematic; but on this occasion, for once there can be little doubt that “the natives” were using *Patpangga* as some kind of place-name. A common error is that the inquirer points to something and the informant mistakes the request for the name of the *direction* indicated rather than the *place*. But on the shore of the cape south is only water and Kangaroo Island; so Morphett or Kingston must have been pointing in almost any direction *except* south.

Protector Wyatt listed the word (mistakenly) as a site name for Rapid Bay (“*Patparno, Patpungga: Rapid Bay*,” Wyatt 1879: 179). But Kalungku applied the same term to Yankalilla (see Chapter 1.3.2 ‘Kalungku’); and Moorhouse cited “*Patpunga*” as the name of the ‘*tribe*’ inhabiting the whole area south of Sellicks Hill (Moorhouse 1840a: 354).

Teichelmann and Schürmann noted the identity *Patpa-miyurna* (‘southern people’, OS *Patpa-meyunna*) for the southernmost people of the language group, whose dialect differed in small ways from that belonging to Adelaide. Morphett in 1836 was clearly referring to the cape and *not* Rapid Bay. He explicitly distinguished Rapid Bay as being “*eight miles up the gulf*” from ‘Pat Bungar.’ A survey of Morphett's uses of the name ‘Cape Jervis’ shows that *with him* (unlike many others) it consistently means the immediate vicinity of the actual cape. Fishery Beach is 4 km southeast of today's official cape site (the lighthouse), not “*northwest*” as in Morphett's letter; but at that time it was the only usable small-boat harbour in the vicinity. Morphett either remembered the direction wrongly or mistook where the cape was by a couple of miles.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Here ‘*Pat Bungar*,’ obtained from ‘Cape Jervis’ locals as the name of this place, is therefore an ‘insider’ name in the language bestowed upon this area in the Dreaming; all the more so if Condoy and Kalinga also had Raminyeri kin and spoke Raminyeri as well. There are only two ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* names on record for the cape itself, but both are dubiously applied here. Meyer recorded “*Parrewar-añgg, Cape Jervis*” (Meyer 1843: 50); but his gloss was almost certainly the standard 19th-century usage referring to Fleurieu Peninsula as a whole. In the 1930s Tindale recorded from Karlowan “*Nutarangg*” for Lands End (Tindale Map Hundred of Waitpinga, AA 338/24/93); this *may* be an ancient name, but is out of Karlowan's country, and suspiciously similar to Meyer's “*Ngutarangk*” at Rapid Bay.

¹⁴⁵¹ MorphettJ 1837: 5-6. They reached Carrickalinga if these miles were Standard, Myponga Beach if they were Nautical. The later part of the voyage must be deduced from Morphett's November write-up, which has mainly generalizations covering both of his trips. In his letter of 28 September he said the first trip was “*30 miles*,” but this was probably an overestimate which he corrected from later experience.

¹⁴⁵² ‘N.W. High Bluff’ is Rapid Head (as charted by Flinders). He wrote this in November, by which time he knew the names Light had bestowed in September.

During his two voyages Morphett obtained three place-names: "Pat Bungar" and "Aldinghi" from "the natives," and from "the sealers" 'Yanky Lilly.' He gave one of the first detailed descriptions of the fire-managed landscape of Yankalilla Plain:

'Yanky Lilly,' according to the sealers, is a valley about eight miles to the north of Rapid Bay. The hills commencing at Cape Jervis terminate here, and the level land extends between them and the southern point of a range from the north, as far as Encounter Bay. This, according to the sealers, is fifteen miles.¹⁴⁵³ It is six or seven miles wide on the sea coast, and I learn from the same authority, that on the other side of the range of hills it extends to the north as far as the eye can reach, watered by several streams.¹⁴⁵⁴ There are three small streams¹⁴⁵⁵ ... all of which, I believe, last the whole year. The portion of this which I have explored consists of a fine rich soil and abundant herbage, and some very fine trees. These are principally blue-gum, which is a most elegant tree of great magnitude, growing only in rich land. When I visited it with Mr. Kingston we measured one of these lords of the Australian forest, and found it twenty-one feet in girth. Fourteen and fifteen feet is a very common size, with a straight trunk in many instances 60 feet high... Generally speaking it would not be advisable to fell a single tree for sheep-feeding; and in most cases it would not be necessary for agricultural purposes.

3.4.9.2.3 – CONDOY AND WALLAN: DOUBLE DISILLUSION.

In the spaces between Morphett's words we read the paradoxical roles played here by Condoy and Kalinga, and the tragic irony of dispossession. Could they understand the implications of their courtesy in showing their land to these premeditating looters?¹⁴⁵⁶ Could this voyage advance the negotiations of *Yartakurlangga* towards any acceptable deal? Walker must have intuited what it signified to Morphett and Kingston; he and Kalinga probably heard them gushing about it. Clearly invaders like Morphett and Kingston would not negotiate the future with the people of the land. It is unlikely that Condoy could explain to his relatives that this land now suddenly belonged to a powerful abstraction called 'the Crown,' and that these voyages were the first steps on the way to land sales, eviction of Aboriginal 'trespassers,' and the destruction of the ecology. But Kalinga must have had a fair picture what large-scale colonization would mean. At this point did disillusionment set in for Condoy, the bleak realization that they were powerless to stop the tide and must concern themselves with staying afloat?

¹⁴⁵³ Morphett here reads as though 'Yanky Lilly' was part of a valley continuous between Yankalilla Bay and Encounter Bay – like Sturt's map, and feeding the same illusion. When his hosts told him of Encounter Bay and the Lake plains, far away behind the range, he misunderstood them. He gives the distance between Yankalilla Bay and Encounter Bay as '15 miles.' Martin, from the same informants, had given the distance to Lake Alexandrina as 'about 22 miles.' Both of these seem to be understated by at least five miles, even allowing Goolwa to represent the Lake. Naturally, neither Martin nor Morphett always understood what they were being told about landscapes which they had never seen.

¹⁴⁵⁴ This last sentence – about 'the sealers' as the 'authority' for very extensive plains 'to the north' – could be read as though it refers to the Adelaide Plains. However, by the date of this letter Morphett had seen these plains for himself and did not need the sealers' authority. It must refer to the other side of the whole South Mt Lofty Range, and suggests that Walker had glimpsed from afar the plains of the Angas and Bremer Rivers, perhaps even visited them. But there is no other evidence to confirm this.

¹⁴⁵⁵ The Yankalilla, Bungala and Carrickalinga Rivers.

¹⁴⁵⁶ If Condoy knew the term 'looter,' he would certainly have applied it a few years later to the likes of Morphett and Kingston. "*The spoilers came not to make country but to loot it*" (Bill Gammage 2012: 19).

They returned to Backstairs Passage on the 28th, just in time for Morphett to hail the *John Pirie* as it was departing for Hobart *en route* to England. He sent another letter to Angas:

I have not seen the Colonel, but... am very much pleased with the land... I shall continue these expeditions, and fully expect to know every part of the Colony by the time of the selection.

This quick note also reveals that their greedy haste for land had exceeded the planning of their food supply, and they had not allowed for living off the land:

*Nothing short of absolute starvation made Kingston and me return as we did, having expended the stores we took with us.*¹⁴⁵⁷

The implications are clear. We may imagine in the vicinity of Carrickalinga some gritty exchanges between quick-tempered Kingston on one side and the captain and crew on the other. The need to survive highlighted the difference between these pushy capitalists and seadog Martin or the meticulous forethought of Light.

On the 28th or 29th they arrived back at Kingscote. Doubtless they were greeted eagerly with news of riots a few days ago, and in particular Wallan's drunken rampage. Walker would have understood immediately what had happened, and its implications for other Islanders, added to his insights from their trip with Morphett and Kingston. If the demanding landlubbers of Kingscote wanted another voyage, it would probably not be hosted by the Hog Bay team.¹⁴⁵⁸ They did, and it was not. We may guess it was a Hog Bay decision.

.....

On the same day, 28th September, Doughboy, Magalidi and Cooper were in the *Rapid* at the Port River estuary, just back from the head of the Gulf. Light had not found Jones's Harbour, and still did not know that the *Cygnets* had arrived. They had not met any other mainlanders; Doughboy's intercultural functions were in abeyance; she did not know this part of the country; and the company were eating not kangaroo but stingray.

.....

¹⁴⁵⁷ Morphett to Angas 28 Sep (original manuscript version, MorphettJ Letters PRG 239/16). "Starvation" was watered down to "necessity" when the letter was published by the Company (SACo First Supp: 33), and by Morphett's descendant (MorphettGC 1936: 17).

¹⁴⁵⁸ See section 3.4.11 'Fourth Gulf voyage'.

3.4.10 – September 17 to October 10: THIRD GULF VOYAGE: DOUGHBOY AND THE ‘DISCOVERIES’ IN THE *RAPID*.

This voyage of Light – his first survey of the eastern coast of Gulf St Vincent – is very familiar as the beginning of the Foundation of Adelaide.¹⁴⁵⁹ Let us see what it looks like when seen from the underside as the voyage of ‘Doughboy’, Magalidi and Cooper.

It marked a major transition in their lives, and their first foot in the colonial door, with the hope of more because Cooper was now Light’s ‘servant.’ For Cooper – unmentioned during those three weeks – this may have been a holiday, apart from the poor rations. For ‘Doughboy’, it was an interruption of her family reunions, and perhaps also of the negotiations which she had helped to begin. Despite several excursions ashore, she saw no other Aboriginal people except Magalidi. Yet this trip north reveals some more about Doughboy, her community, and Cooper; for the *Rapid* soon passed beyond the territory which they knew from personal experience.

.....

3.4.10.1 – *YARNKALYILLA*, ‘YANKY-LILLY’.

Anchored at Rapid Bay, Light already knew that the sealers called the next bay northward ‘Yanky-lilly.’ Doubtless Martin had told Light some more about it: bigger, with a plain, a good place for Stephens’ Agricultural Establishment. Before the *Rapid* sailed, some of the team went ashore again to walk to it, only a few miles northeast. Telling Field to anchor the ship at the destination, Light was dropped off at “the second valley” about a mile north,¹⁴⁶⁰ and joined the others in approaching “Yanky-lilly-valley” on foot.¹⁴⁶¹

There the three Island employees seem to have taken little part in the proceedings. They met no other mainlanders. Light set up camp at the mouth of the Yankalilla River, and for four days from the 18th to the 22nd he examined the river, the rich plains, the Gorge, and Hay Flat upstream. He sketched the campsite, and was delighted with the quality of the land.¹⁴⁶²

Magalidi held traumatic recent memories of this place. Hereabouts her young and fondly-remembered ‘Captain Marion’ was murdered; here she nearly lost her life, was abducted again, led rescuers to the body, probably helped them bury it, and perhaps mourned him in Palawa style. Doubtless Kalinga and Walker had told her how they had found the fatal tomahawk a few weeks ago. In those spring days of 1836, perhaps Magalidi hunted and passed near Meredith’s grave somewhere around *Yarnkalyilla* or Haycock Point, though she would probably avoid the spot. The many records of Light’s voyage are silent about the matter, and nobody asked Magalidi. She did her job.

¹⁴⁵⁹ There is a very readable account of Light’s Gulf survey from this viewpoint in Geoffrey Dutton’s biography of Light (Dutton 1960, *Founder of a City: the life of Colonel William Light*: 174-180, 189-90).

¹⁴⁶⁰ i.e. ‘Second’ after the first at ‘Rapid Valley.’ ‘Second Valley’ remains its name today.

¹⁴⁶¹ Light to Commissioners 18 Sep 1836, *SA Record* 4: 27b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883801>.

¹⁴⁶² Light Brief Journal: 63-4, 16-17 Sep; Woodforde 16-17 Sep. With Hay Flat Light “*was enchanted... it put me in mind of some of the orchards in Devonshire*” (Light Brief Journal: 64, 20 Sep).

Perhaps it was here at this time that the men of the *Rapid* all learned the name “Yankalilla” (an English version of the original), “which the Colonel retained”;¹⁴⁶³ maybe they heard it from Martin. Or perhaps it remained ‘Yanky-lilly’ until they heard the more accurate form later in Adelaide.

Textbox20: EARLIEST RECORDS OF THE PLACE-NAME YARNKALYILLA.

The original ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* name *Yarnkalyilla* applied to a well-used camping area at the mouth of the Yankalilla River at Lady Bay, watered by a spring in the Big Gorge, with abundant fishing in the Bay and plentiful game nearby on the fire-managed Plains; and not far from a little reef with a fish-trap, under the hill which the name probably describes.¹⁴⁶⁴ It means ‘the place where it keeps hanging down’, and probably refers to the overhanging rock strata on the seaward side of Yankalilla Hill on Main South Road.

The Islanders anglicized the name to ‘Yanky Lilly,’ as recorded by Morphet¹⁴⁶⁵ and Light.¹⁴⁶⁶

The spelling ‘Yankalilla’ (sometimes ‘Yankalillah’) – which very quickly became standard – is more accurate linguistically, and was clearly based on a new oral source. But it is not quite clear who first obtained it, nor from which Aboriginal person.

Its earliest known record – apart from doubtful ones in Light and his team¹⁴⁶⁷ – occurs in a letter from Stephens to Angas on 27 Sep 1836: “I shall go over to Cape Jervis with the view of Discharging the ‘Emma’ on her arrival at ‘Yankalilla’ & there forming forthwith our Agricultural Establishment.”¹⁴⁶⁸

The *most likely* source for Stephens is Captain Martin, after his return from the Gulf on 18 Sep; and Martin would *probably* have heard it from Condoy and Kalinga. Other possibilities include Light or his team at about the same time, from Doughboy and/or the ‘Cape Jervis’ men.

These informants were either ‘Cape Jervis’ locals or perhaps relatives visiting from Encounter Bay. It is therefore an ‘insider’ name in the language of the place, which is unmistakably *Miyurna* (e.g. the common Locative suffix *illa*, ‘place of’).¹⁴⁶⁹

The Yankalilla Plains were good land, but without a safe harbour they could not serve Light’s present purpose. On the 22nd he re-embarked, and next day they continued northward up the coast. Liking the look of the plains at what is now Aldinga Bay, he anchored off The Washpool.¹⁴⁷⁰ Ashore they were disappointed with the lack of surface

¹⁴⁶³ Pullen MSS Journal: 16, 23.

¹⁴⁶⁴ See Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla.

¹⁴⁶⁵ See section 3.4.9.2.2 ‘To Yanky-lilly & beyond’.

¹⁴⁶⁶ See above, and section 3.6.2.5 ‘Maps & movements’.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Records of the spelling ‘Yankalilla’ (or close variants) are found in Light, Pullen and Field. But none of them unequivocally date from 1836; e.g. we do not have Light’s original journal, but only the version he edited later for publication (see Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla).

¹⁴⁶⁸ Samuel Stephens to GF Angas 27 Sep 1836, PRG 174/1: 462; this is a “Duplicate” version. “*Yankalilla*” is spelled the same in the original manuscript of the same version (PRG 174/7: 61), and also in a manuscript “*Copy*” of what appears to be a first draft with different wording (PRG 174/7: 57). The latter tells us that Stephens requested Martin to send Angas an account of Yankalilla. This presumably prompted Martin’s Hobart letter to Angas, from which extracts were subsequently published in various versions (see also footnotes in sections 3.4.6.2 ‘To the mangroves’ and 3.4.6.3 ‘Eight natives’).

¹⁴⁶⁹ The Raminyeri version *Yangkalyawangk* was not recorded until 1840-3, from Raminyeri people at Encounter Bay (Meyer 1843: 50), and is therefore an ‘outsider’ version.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Immediately north of Sellick’s Beach.

water, and he named it ‘Deception Bay’; but they were in a hurry and stayed only for few hours.¹⁴⁷¹ If Doughboy or Cooper knew a name for this place, nobody recorded it.

Then they continued the search for Captain Jones’ elusive Harbour, Sturt’s ‘Sixteen Mile Creek,’ and any substantial river which might lead to them. They missed the Onkaparinga, and found the Port River estuary – Martin had no doubt told Light of it – but not the harbour described by Jones.

As they searched north to the head of the Gulf, the shallow waters prevented them from landing the women and dogs to hunt. The disgruntled officers, unable even to catch a palatable fish, were forced to eat “dog-fish” and stingray.¹⁴⁷²

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3.4.10.2 – DOUGHBOY AND THE ‘FIERCE SET’ ON THE ADELAIDE PLAINS.

On 28th September the *Rapid* returned southward to re-examine the Port River estuary. Still finding no ‘fine harbour’ there, they moved a few miles further south on October 1st to check out the other small estuary (now known as the Patawalonga)¹⁴⁷³ and behind it the Sturt River. Gales blew up, but the anchorage held well and Third Officer RK Hill¹⁴⁷⁴ accordingly named it ‘Holdfast Bay.’

In several days of intermittent fine weather the officers walked around the well-watered flood plain of the Sturt River, and were much impressed. A party going upriver on the 4th “now for the first time saw the Native fires” in the distance, “so they cannot be far off.”¹⁴⁷⁵ The officers asked “the women” about the locals, hoping no doubt to make some more communication as required by the instructions. ‘The women’ – or (almost certainly) one of them – did know a couple of things about this country; but both items imply that for Doughboy as well as Magalidi this was foreign land.

The first item was a caution about the local ‘tribe’. Writing of those ‘Native fires,’ Pullen added, “It is reported by the women accompanying us they are rather a fierce set about here.” In the light of Doughboy’s second item below – showing that she had never been so far north – this opinion most likely came from the years before KI, among her family group: a stereotype of these northern plains people as dangerous strangers, perhaps

¹⁴⁷¹ Light called it “*Deception Bay*” on his first chart, and mapped The Washpool as “*Salt Lake*” (Light 1836 ‘S. Australia N^o. 1’, <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/C+231>). On this chart (completed on 3rd November 1836), Light noted that this place was “*a beautiful looking Country from the Ship but on landing we found the Soil very inferior to the rest, but I am told about 3 Miles from the shore the rest is excellent*”. Who ‘told’ him this? It could have been Cooper or Doughboy; but more likely Captain Martin had told him something at Rapid Bay on 14-15 September (see section 3.4.6.2 ‘To the mangroves’). The name ‘Aldinga Bay’ began to appear on his maps a year or so later (n.d. [late 1837?], [no credit], ‘The maritime portion of SA,’ C1023; cp. Arrowsmith 11/5/1838, ‘A new map of South Australia,’ C929, SLA). See Schultz PNS 4.04.01/01 Ngalingga and 4.04.01/03 Wakuntilla.

¹⁴⁷² “*Anything in the shape of fresh provisions is so acceptable that, uninviting as these fish are, we intend having some fried for breakfast tomorrow. We have had no kangaroo for some time not having had an opportunity of landing our women and dogs*” (Woodforde 27 Sep, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-27-september-1836/>).

¹⁴⁷³ ‘Patawalonga’ is derived from a ‘Kurna’-Miyurna place-name *Patha-wilyangga*, ‘place of Swamp Gum foliage’ (OS *Pattawilyangga*; Amery et al 2000, in 2001 in Allen, Williams et al 2001: 38); but no form of this was recorded until a few years later.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Light also described RK Hill as “*second mate*” of the *Rapid* (Light Brief Journal: 66, 25 Sep).

¹⁴⁷⁵ Pullen MSS Journal: 31/22, 4 Oct 1836.

remembering some pre-colonial feud. But after 1836 there would be no sign of this suspicion between Adelaide and the south.¹⁴⁷⁶

Place-names obtained in the first year of contact suggest that the people of the southern region saw the Adelaide Plains as a ‘North Place’ (*Kawantilla*),¹⁴⁷⁷ distinguished from the Fleurieu ‘South Place’ (*Patpangga*). *Kawantilla* must reflect either an ‘outsider’ view from the south (such as Doughboy’s), or the northern part of a locally-recognized geographical entity: a set of loosely connected regions and groups identified by compass points, *Kawantilla* being the northernmost and *Patpangga* the southernmost – labels accepted by ‘insiders’ of a larger cultural bloc for which they probably had no general name.¹⁴⁷⁸

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3.4.10.3 – DOUGHBOY, COOPER, AND THE ‘LARGE RIVER’.

Doughboy’s second item is a useful negative. It confirms that this ‘north country’ was foreign to her personally though known to men of her group. “The woman” said that somewhere a few miles south of Holdfast Bay there was a “large river... which we had passed in coming up.”¹⁴⁷⁹

¹⁴⁷⁶ In the colonial period there is no sign of serious tension between Adelaide and either Encounter Bay or the Fleurieu. Yet Doughboy’s opinion does suggest that the *alliance* between the Fleurieu and Encounter Bay peoples was extended to the ‘Adelaide tribe’ only after the settlement at Adelaide attracted the latter to share in the colonial rations there (cp. Appendix 14 ‘Alleged chronic enmity’). There are few if any records of Encounter Bay people visiting Adelaide until 1838 (see Book 2, in progress). *If* the hearers really thought that *both* women had this fear of Adelaide ferocity, we may wonder whether had they unwittingly mixed it with allusions about Magalidi’s recent abuse on the Fleurieu.

Perhaps this report of this ‘fierce’ local group was later circulated among the settlers. On December 1st at the embryonic Holdfast Bay colony, Gouger was still worrying that he had “*heard much of their ferocity*” (Gouger Journals, Dec 1). Or perhaps this was simply their geographical ignorance; they had all imbibed Sturt’s reports of ferocity at the Murray Mouth, which they regarded as nearby.

¹⁴⁷⁷ KAWANTILLA (OS KAWANDILLA): See Schultz PNS 1/02 Kawantilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/1-02Kawandilla.pdf>; also Textbox26 ‘Place-names to the end of 1836’.

The ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* name *Kawantilla*, ‘north place,’ seems to have applied to the plains in the general vicinity of Adelaide. It is the original of ‘Cowandilla,’ an English spelling which was attached to an Adelaide village, now a suburb. There were of course more ‘north places’ immediately north of Adelaide; also a designated “North *people*” nearby who were also part of the *Miyurna* Language Group, like others who lived even further north as far as Crystal Brook. It is not clear who first passed on the name ‘Cowandilla’ to the colonists in the early months. A few years later its validity was asserted with indignant emphasis by an ‘insider,’ the local ‘king of the Adelaide tribe’ – probably either Ityamaitpina (‘Rodney’) or Murlawirrapurka (OS *Mullawirraburka*: ‘King John’): “*no Adelaide: Cow-an-dilla*” (Register 13/1/1899: 6h). Yet both of these men held territory south of Adelaide, as well as local. See also my essay ‘Ask the right question...’ (Schultz 2017a). For preliminary information about the other ‘northern tribe’ see Schultz PNS 8/18 Kadlitiya, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/8-18Kadlitiya.pdf>. See also Schultz PNS 1/03 Patpangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/1-03Patpangga.pdf>.

¹⁴⁷⁸ This interpretation of the situation at first contact is contested by data from some ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* informants in the early 20th century, who sometimes asserted a major ‘tribal’ boundary at either the Onkaparinga or Brighton. For them all the territory south of that was said to be ‘Ramindjeri’ – *if* the ethnologists reporting them had not imposed their own modern categories onto what was actually said. This book shows that although this remembered social situation did not pertain under those identities in the 1830s, we shall also see later in this chapter that the early evidence includes hints of a ‘tribal’ discontinuity between *Kawantilla* and the south. See sections 3.4.10.2 ‘Doughboy & the fierce set’ and 3.7.2.2 ‘Cultural geography of the Fleurieu in 1836’; also Textbox27 ‘Identities north and south of Rapid Bay’; and Appendix 12, ‘Aboriginal territories, borders and identity labels’. In 1838-40 the linguists (unsurprisingly) recorded no name which the Adelaide locals used for themselves, though “*formerly they were called Wito Meyunna = reed men*” by others (Klose 2002: 35 [SG Klose, tr. Meier, Krieg, Zweck *et al*, *Missionary to the Kaurna: The Klose Letters*, North Adelaide: Friends of Lutheran Archives, 2002). They used the term ‘south people’ (*Patpa-miyurna*) for the inhabitants of *Patpangga* (OS *Patpa-meyunna*, Schürmann Diary *passim*).

¹⁴⁷⁹ Light Brief Journal: 71, 6 Oct; cp. p.71, 10 Oct: “*we proceeded down the coast in search of the river the native woman had mentioned.*” It is not surprising that they had failed to notice the river; from a low elevation it is hidden behind high dunes. The casual references to *one* ‘woman’ probably show that Light and his officers were aware that only one of Cooper’s women had local knowledge.

On the 6th the *Rapid* sailed further south and this time found it. Pullen visited the mouth of what we now call the River Onkaparinga; but, significantly, they obtained no Aboriginal name;¹⁴⁸⁰ presumably Doughboy did not know it. Though she knew the ‘large river’ was somewhere in the general vicinity, “she had not visited it herself, but had heard of it from the men belonging to her tribe, Encounter Bay.”¹⁴⁸¹ She apparently told the officers about this river several times – she “had always mentioned” it – no doubt because the men of her family had spoken of *Ngangkipari* and its ford as an important landmark for travellers.¹⁴⁸² But we infer that in her group the women and children had not normally visited this far north;¹⁴⁸³ she was not as well-travelled as Kalinga and Condoy.

Clearly Cooper was no more helpful than anyone else in finding either of the inlets Onkaparinga and Port. He too could not have been there before; because unlike the southerners he would have approached by sea in the past, and would surely recognize them now.¹⁴⁸⁴ Light and Finniss praised Cooper’s ‘usefulness’: his advice about weather and conditions around the southern coast; as a ‘proprietor’ of huntswomen and dogs; and for bringing in the eight local men. But this last was probably more Doughboy’s work than his; and while Cooper needed the women for the hunting – they were faster than he – they did not need him, either for that or (as we will see) for a 70-km trek to Yankalilla. As for Cooper the putative ‘pilot’ of the local coasts, it seems that his knowledge of this Gulf ran out soon after they sailed north from Rapid Bay. Bates or Thomas would have sooner

A few more hints arise in Light’s letter to the Commissioners written on that date: “Oct. 6.– At 6 A.M. weighed and stood for the next river, about nine miles to the southward, where we were in hopes of procuring a supply of water, as the native women had always mentioned the next river as a large one” (Light to Commissioners 6 Oct, in SA Record 4: 28a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883802>; my emphases). Here,

(1) The plural ‘women’ is probably due to mis-transcription by the editor; or possibly in his *Brief Journal* Light corrected the fact in hindsight. It is extremely unlikely that Magalidi passed any opinions about rivers in this country, and Hodges (see footnote below) also attributes the story to only “one of the black women.”

(2) The word ‘always’ tells us that Doughboy had mentioned it a number of times.

(3) “*The next river*.” Since the surveyors had been exploring the Port River estuary and Sturt River for several days and the *Rapid* was heading south, Doughboy must have meant ‘the next river south from one or both of those landmarks’ (presumably not counting small streams like Field River and Christie Creek). Therefore either the Port estuary or the Sturt floodplain, or both, must have been known to the menfolk on whose knowledge she was relying.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Light named it ‘Field River’ (after the *Rapid*’s First Officer) at some stage between this first sighting and his visit to it on his journey south from Adelaide in June 1837, where the name was first recorded on a sketch (‘Camp at Field’s River,’ in Light’s sketchbooks, PRG 1/4). It reappeared on several of his early published maps. When it was re-named ‘Onkaparinga’ at Gawler’s behest in 1838, the name ‘Field River’ was transferred to its modern referent, the little creek which emerges at Hallett Cove. See also Schultz PNS 4.02/04 Ngangkiparingga.

¹⁴⁸¹ William Hodges 1902, in ‘Old-time Memories: A Fine Old pioneer,’ *Observer*, 26/4/1902: 4b. I am indebted to Max Raupach, a descendant of Hodges, for this reference. This late recollection says in full, “One of the black women told us that there was a large river up the gulf. She had not visited it herself, but had heard of it from the men belonging to her tribe, Encounter Bay. We found it after some difficulty, and it is the present Port.” His Port River identification seems to contradict the contemporary reports by Light. Hodges (then only 15 years old) would have heard talk about the ‘river to the south’ reported by the woman, as well as the desired ‘16-mile inlet’ and ‘Jones’ Harbour;’ and Light wanted to see the former because it might turn out to be the latter. By 1902, aged 81, Hodges may have confused his memories of the two concurrent searches. Or perhaps Doughboy had told them of two ‘large rivers’ up the coast; and by 6 Oct, having seen the Port estuary and identified it from her men’s descriptions, knew that they had missed the southern one. But the second option is less likely. It is also doubtful whether a large system of inlets and islands like the Port River Estuary, containing no fresh water except in the upper reaches of its creeks after rains, would have been thought of by Aboriginal people as a ‘river’ (*pari*). By contrast, the Onkaparinga has on its flood plain not only a small estuary but also a true river (‘large’ by the local standards), which in those times before dams and reservoirs was “at ebb tide fresh to within a mile of the sea” (Light Brief Journal: 121, 20 June 1837).

Elsewhere in this chapter I examine Hodges’ claim that “her tribe” was “Encounter Bay.”

¹⁴⁸² See Schultz PNS 4.02/04 Ngangkiparingga.

¹⁴⁸³ However, against this we must set Nat Thomas’s knowledge in Feb 1837 that there were sometimes large-scale gatherings at Port Noarlunga for ceremony and fishing, which included parties (and perhaps families) from Encounter Bay (see Book 2; also Schultz PNS 4.02/01 Pirranga, <https://www.kaunawarra.org.au/s/4-02-01Pirranga.pdf>).

¹⁴⁸⁴ This implies that Cooper was probably not one of those employed by Captain Jones on his Gulf voyages.

found the Onkaparinga, both having been there before.¹⁴⁸⁵ And Cooper's language skills (such as they might be) were not in demand while they were meeting no Aboriginal people on the mainland.

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3.4.10.4 – DOUGHBOY AND MAGALIDI AT HOLDFAST BAY.

In spite of Doughboy's warning about the 'fierce set', next day (October 5th) Light landed both women at Holdfast Bay, with an astonishing plan. She and Magalidi would walk south to Yankalilla 70 km away, living off the land, and he would pick them up there in the *Rapid* while taking in water supplies later.¹⁴⁸⁶ This would be an excursion much longer than even their two-day hunt at Rapid Bay. They presumably expressed confidence that they could be safe both at the Sturt River and finding their way south over the coastal ranges.

It is a mystery what anyone would gain from this. Perhaps the women proposed it themselves, alienated and bored from three weeks on a cramped ship with no decent food. Perhaps Doughboy wanted to get back in touch with her family – and perhaps their political debates – rather than waste all this time with the new lot.

But next day another gale arose. Having sailed south already, the *Rapid* was forced to return and anchor again at Holdfast Bay. On the 7th Woodforde was concerned for the two valiant hunters:

*This evening they made their appearance on the beach when four volunteers started in the gig to bring them off but from the height of the rollers were unable to reach the shore. We fear the poor women may be suffering from hunger as they were scantily provided with provisions and we were to have picked them up at Yankalillah, but provided they have been successful in hunting which I hope to God they have they will not be so badly off always having the means of kindling a fire.*¹⁴⁸⁷

On the 8th his fears were shown to be well founded:

*7 p.m... The wind having moderated a boat was sent off for the women – they had caught no game as they and the dogs were too hungry to hunt – a few roots were the only food they had had.*¹⁴⁸⁸

We can be sure the 'fierce' locals were watching nearby, but still the party had not seen them.

Most people on the *Rapid* were suffering from the scarcity of fresh food; so in calmer weather on the 9th, Dr Woodforde walked a short way upriver with surveyor Claughton, shooting birds. As they returned with all their ammunition used up, they had a nasty

¹⁴⁸⁵ Bates or Thomas are also the only Islanders who *might perhaps* have known something about the elusive place which made Jones' Harbour so desirable: the wide, sheltered Inner Harbour (as it is known today: i.e. the Lipson, Gawler and Old Port Reaches). But even that is unlikely; their travels probably did not include the swamps of the Port River Estuary.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Woodforde, 6 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-6-october-1836/>, and 7 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-7-october-1836-2/>.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Woodforde 7 Oct.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Woodforde 8 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/saturday-8-october-1836/>.

scare when they came across five empty “native huts,” presumably intact and recently used.¹⁴⁸⁹

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3.4.10.5 – BACK TO YARTAKURLANGGA: BEACH-HEAD AND CHOICES.

By the evening of the 10th, having found Doughboy’s ‘large river’ to be another disappointment, Light despaired of Jones’s Harbour; nothing like it seemed to exist on this coast. They prepared to sail south again “with the intention of going to Yallagolanga (or Rapid Bay)” for water.¹⁴⁹⁰ With the weather uncertain, and no more stops contemplated, hunting was still off the agenda. After this Light’s journal never mentioned the women again.

As they entered Yankalilla Bay on the 11th, they hailed a whaleboat going north. The occupants included “little Stephens (our Nepean Bay friend)” and John Morphett; also George Bates and Nat Thomas (though not mentioned). After being out exploring for the last week, they were now intending more.¹⁴⁹¹

They had been at Rapid Bay, and reported that the Garden was doing well.¹⁴⁹² The company of the *Rapid* now learned for the first time that the *Cygnat* had arrived with Light’s close friend Finniss, his Deputy Kingston, and the rest of the surveyors and labourers – a month ago. Progress had been made with the stores and huts at Freshwater River. Whatever Light may have felt about Kingston – still lingering at KI – he did not put it in writing.

Light sailed on to anchor in Rapid Bay, ready to set up a depot and make his next moves. He had been contemplating a wholesale move away from KI ever since his first few days there, “the conduct of Mr Stephens being his chief motive,” even compared with his enthusiasm about ‘Cape Jervis’.¹⁴⁹³ First he would land his own stores there and leave a group onsite to build huts; then the entire survey establishment would move there while he examined Port Lincoln himself.¹⁴⁹⁴

It would be the first beach-head of an invasion. But in cross-cultural diplomacy there had been no progress for a month. Nobody had seen any of the locals, not even at Rapid Bay: not Kingston and Morphett in September; nor the *Rapid*; nor Stephens and Morphett on their current October voyage. If Doughboy met any people at Yankalilla Plain in September, it happened out of sight and we have no record of it. On the Kawantilla plain, even if she had wanted to meet the ‘fierce set,’ her time ashore was rendered useless by severe weather. Any plans she may have had for communication during the proposed

¹⁴⁸⁹ Woodforde, 9 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-9-october-1836-3/>.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Woodforde 10 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/monday-10-october-1836-2/>; cp. Light 10-11 Oct in *SA Record* 4: 27c. Woodforde’s ‘ll’ must be his sister’s mistranscription of ‘tt’ in “Yattagolanga” (see Textbox17 ‘Yartakurlangga’).

¹⁴⁹¹ Woodforde 11 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-11-october-1836-3/>. For the voyage of Stephens and Morphett see section 3.4.11 ‘Fourth Gulf voyage’.

¹⁴⁹² Pullen MSS Journal: 31/24.

¹⁴⁹³ The reasons were communicated privately by Lipson to the Colonial Secretary Gouger when he arrived (Gouger Journals, 3 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-3-november-1836-3/>).

¹⁴⁹⁴ Woodforde 12 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-12-october-1836-4/>; cp. Light 11-13 Oct in *SA Record* 7: 51a; Light Brief Journal: 72, 11 Oct.

trek to Yankalilla ended when she had to be rescued. Yet we may be sure that unseen locals had spent that time observing the coastal flurry closely, and thinking about it.¹⁴⁹⁵

The next three months, from a ‘Cape Jervis’ view, would be the final embassy of *Yartakurlangga*, a pivotal episode in these people’s first contact with the colony. For the guardians of the garden, this quiet interlude would be their opportunity to complete what they had begun in September.

Our protagonists of the voyage now also had to make personal life choices. We almost have to guess what they chose, because having served their purpose the three are scarcely mentioned again in 1836.

Cooper appears to have stayed with Colonel Light, who described him as ‘my man’ and ‘my servant.’ We don’t know how close and continuous this relationship was, but it endured in some form at least until mid-1837.¹⁴⁹⁶ The ex-convict sailor and the practical captain (officer-class but marginally respectable) may have developed a mutual respect. After a month languishing as a passenger, was Cooper now able to work to his strengths again as a sailor who knew the local weather and tides? During the whole three months at Rapid Bay he is mentioned there only on a few dates in November and January. It seems that he spent a significant part of those months working with Light’s marine surveyor William Pullen, and perhaps (we may guess) also with the Naval Officer and Harbour-master Captain Thomas Lipson, RN.¹⁴⁹⁷ These men spent these months busily sailing as needed between Kingscote, Holdfast Bay, Port Adelaide and occasionally Rapid Bay. Cooper had made his choice. Despite some visits to buy spirits at the store in Kingscote, his identity as a Kangaroo Islander was behind him – perhaps permanently in aspiration, and for a while at least in fact.¹⁴⁹⁸

¹⁴⁹⁵ Likewise later, the Adelaide people said that when colonists arrived at Holdfast Bay in November “they had seen and observed our landing, but kept aloof” (Mary Thomas diary, 1 Dec 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-1-december-1836-4/>), and we may fairly extrapolate the strategy back to October.

¹⁴⁹⁶ For instance, it is unlikely that Cooper was as close to Light as young Hodges, who was Light’s personal servant or chamberlain (Max Raupach p.c. 16/8/2010; Max is a Hodges’ great-grandson). At 14 he was “articled to serve under Col. Light for three years” (Hodges 1902: 4b). In June 1837 Cooper guided Light to Encounter Bay for a fortnight rather than do his official job with Bromley at the old Native Location (see Book 2).

¹⁴⁹⁷ Lipson was a seaman whom Cooper would probably have found very congenial. He was remembered as being remarkably friendly with tradesmen and other “persons of inferior rank”, “Open-hearted, candid, and outspoken himself, he sought and felt delight in association with similar minds, wherever he found them” (‘The Late Captain Lipson’, SA Register 27/10/1863: 3a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/50179884>). Like Pullen, Finniss and Light, he had seen active service in the recent Napoleonic Wars. He was appointed Harbour-master of Port Adelaide as soon as the location was decided. His family came out on the *Cygnets*. See also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Lipson [4/3/19].

¹⁴⁹⁸ COOPER AT RAPID BAY AND KANGAROO ISLAND, OCTOBER-JANUARY: In 1837 Cooper would give evidence that he had been “with Col. Light” ever since September 1836 (Cooper evidence in Mann 1837a: 20): i.e. he had burned his bridges and was not planning a return to live on the Island.

(1) Though his name is rarely mentioned in the accounts of these months at Rapid Bay, it is clear that he was there sometimes (Woodforde 8 & 21 Nov; Jacob journal 6 & 21 Jan).

(2) We can be fairly sure he would have been at Kingscote with Pullen before bringing his dinghy over to Rapid Bay on 8 Nov (see section 3.6.3.2 ‘Hazards’). Probably he had either gone to Kingscote with the *Rapid* on 26 Oct, or accompanied Pullen’s return to Kingscote in the hatchboat on 30 Oct (Woodforde 26 Oct; Light Brief Journal: 74 [26 & 30 Oct]). Probably he had been working with Pullen through those weeks (26 Oct to 8 Nov), moving between KI and Rapid Bay, and possibly also at Holdfast Bay from 9 Nov when Pullen went there (Woodforde 9 Nov).

(3) We know that between about 19 August and early January, Cooper was in Kingscote often enough to be one of the four chief customers for spirits from the Stephens’ Company store. John Nash was put in charge of liquor sales to Company ‘servants’ at the Kingscote store “a few days” after his arrival on KI in the *John Pirie* on 16 Aug, and was discharged sometime before giving evidence on 9 Jan (Nash evidence in ‘Minutes of the Proceedings of the Commissioners Enquiry at Kangaroo Island,’ GRG 24/90/342, State Records of SA: 5; *John Pirie* passenger list, <https://bound-for-south-australia.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/1836JohnPirie.htm>). According to him, Cooper was one of

For ‘Doughboy’, was the return to *Yartakurlangga* good news? Could she now resume her family reunion? Perhaps; the gaps in the records allow time for this. But she would stay with Cooper and next year accompany him to Adelaide.¹⁴⁹⁹ Though already a married woman with two sons before going to KI, she now had other children there with Cooper, two daughters at least; and in the eyes of her clan she was lawfully married to him. They were a family. Would she and the children follow Cooper?¹⁵⁰⁰

For Magalidi the Tasmanian, this could only be a minor episode in her long and lonely exile. If she had a choice (and there seems little reason to doubt it), probably Kangaroo Island looked more like a home than ‘Cape Jervis’ with its foreigners who had threatened her life. Probably she went back on the first available boat. We hear no more of her for three years. There is no record of her having (or keeping) any children. She did not need Cooper or his farm at Emu Bay; she was alone and she would endure.

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four Islanders whom he had “*frequently*” served with spirits. This must have been either in the fortnight before he embarked with Light, or in the period after 11 Oct, or both.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Doughboy is not recorded again by anyone anywhere until 6 January at Rapid Bay with Cooper (Jacob journal 6 Jan). With ample opportunity for change if she wanted it, she had decided to stay with Cooper. After that she is found in Adelaide, still as ‘Cooper’s woman Sarah’ (see Book 2).

¹⁵⁰⁰ James Hawker, who knew Cooper in 1838-9 in the workforce of the Country Surveys, later wrote that “*Billy Cooper... had two daughters, called Dumpling and Doughboy, by a native wife*” (Hawker 1899: 39a). By 1837 the ‘native wife’ was known in the colony as ‘Sarah’ and ‘Sally;’ so *if* Hawker was not simply confused and mis-remembering, perhaps Cooper had recycled the old nickname for their child. I have found nothing else about these daughters. While children were alone a sufficient reason for her to stay with Cooper, a return to her clan under the circumstances would be unlikely to improve her own welfare. Hawker’s memory confirms that all four of them eventually came to Adelaide.

3.4.11 – Oct 1-18: FOURTH GULF VOYAGE: BATES AND THOMAS WITH THE SA COMPANY.

Back on Kangaroo Island, Stephens married one of his fellow-passengers, the ceremony conducted by Captain Martin aboard the *John Pirie*. Despite the riot on the same day, Stephens must have felt that his problems were more settled. Much less comfortable running a colony than out exploring and assessing land, he finally got his chance (or made the time) to go and do it. He wanted to assess Martin's 'Yankalilla' for himself.

3.4.11.1 – A NEW COMPANY JOB FOR BATES AND THOMAS.

On September 27th Captain Martin sailed for Launceston in the *John Pirie*, bound. For Angas in England he carried a copy of Stephens' journal and covering letter,¹⁵⁰¹ declaring his intention to cross over to the mainland in a few days' time. He would also use the Company's small brig *Emma* (due soon) to land stores at 'Yankalilla' and form a new "Agricultural Establishment" there. Stephens was pushing the business on for the Company; Salt Lagoon, with its inferior conditions for stock, could never fulfil the needs of the colony.¹⁵⁰² He was also urging plans for a bay-whaling fishery.

Martin's account of Yankalilla's virtues would be amply confirmed within a day or so by the return of Kingston and Morphett. But Morphett wasted no time at Kingscote; within three days he was off again on another voyage. This time he went with Stephens,¹⁵⁰³ who on October 1st took George Bates with them straight from Salt Lagoon into this new job. Bates' supervisor Brown wrote:

*G. Bates has been employ'd among the Stock and sometimes at the Fence, during all the Week, but this Eveng left us to accompany Mr Stephens, on a visit to the Main-Land with which he is well acquainted.*¹⁵⁰⁴

With him in the whaleboat was his long-time companion Nat Thomas, who as pilot and ferryman for Kingscote was also available at hand for Stephens.¹⁵⁰⁵ At Salt Lagoon, Bates had told Brown how well he knew the mainland. Probably he and Thomas had

¹⁵⁰¹ Stephens to Angas 27 Sep 1836, PRG 174/1: 460-1 and PRG 174/7, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-27-september-1836-4/>. Next day (28th) as the *John Pirie* was tacking across Backstairs Passage, Morphett (returning from the Gulf) would also hand over to Martin his note for Angas.

¹⁵⁰² The operation at Salt Lagoon was already obsolescent only four weeks after it began. But the outpost would hang on for another nine weeks, cruel on both men and animals. Many of the latter were dying slowly from poor-quality feed and poison plants, and all the wells were salty. The sad details of the fade-out and transfer in December – to Adelaide, not Yankalilla – may be read in manager John Brown's diary (Brown-Pirie journal 7 Oct to 9 Dec).

¹⁵⁰³ It was very much Stephens' affair. The boat they used was one of those hired by him from Cooper or Seaman or Thompson. I do not base this, as Sexton does (Sexton 1990: 30), on the fact that the Company paid Seaman on 22 October to hire his boat; this record was probably not of a retrospective payment for Stephens' Gulf trip but of an advance for another period of Seaman's work at Kingscote harbour. Here are a few probabilities: (1) Whaleboats owned by Bates and Thomas would be back at Antechamber Bay, unavailable. (2) Cooper's boat would still be available under long-term contract at Kingscote. (3) It is likely that another boat at Kingscote was still under contract at this date: Stephens' second boat, hired for £3 on September 3rd from an unidentified person, possibly either Thompson (whose first boat contract had probably just expired then), or Seaman (Sexton 1990: 29).

¹⁵⁰⁴ Brown-Pirie Journal, 1 Oct; cp. MorphettJ 1837. There is more about this journey in Schultz PNS 1/03 Patpangga.

¹⁵⁰⁵ We know of Thomas's presence on this voyage only because the SA Company left a record that it had paid him £2.10 on October 21st "for accompanying Stephens up the gulf" (Sexton 1990: 30). It is not recorded whether or what Bates was paid; nor that either of them were paid for hire of a boat. Bates was still under his three-months contract with the Company, and Stephens may have regarded the Bible (see below) as enough extra recognition above his contracted wage.

spruiked the same product with Stephens too, back in August.¹⁵⁰⁶ But a voyage onto the mainland could involve these two in personally-targeted risk.¹⁵⁰⁷

Had they now decided that those problems were also settling down? Had Bates hoped for a less menial job than Salt Lagoon? Maybe they had begun to see safety in the colonial presence, its numbers, and its large armed and disciplined party somewhere in the Gulf with Light. Maybe they noted that already two expeditions had made contact and found no hostility, while a third saw nobody. Or was it something they had both hoped to avoid, and did Stephens have to persuade them?

Probably the bottom line was that they were both ‘Company servants’ under compulsion from contracts similar to Wallan’s, “to give me his service and advice in any way I wished” for a period of some months – unlike the Hog Bay team who were free workers undertaking a couple of specific jobs. Probably Stephens, having lost Walker, now leaned on these two. We don’t know for sure, and they never told; perhaps their reluctant capitulation was an embarrassing memory later.¹⁵⁰⁸

It is unclear whether they took any ‘natives’ with them this time, or whether perhaps Aboriginal knowledge and mediation was already felt to be unnecessary. There were no doubt a few unnamed sailors aboard,¹⁵⁰⁹ and *may* also have been one or two Aboriginal people; we can only guess from very slim evidence in Morphett’s November letter.¹⁵¹⁰ If there were any, perhaps they were locals preferred for their experience with whaleboats or knowledge of the coast; probably wives of Thomas (perhaps Betty pulled one of the oars), or of Bates (such as the two women who worked with him at Salt Lagoon); or perhaps one of Wallan’s ‘Fridays’.¹⁵¹¹

At Kingscote next day, ready to go, Bates was presented with a Bible inscribed “from S. Stephens, Esq., Kingscote, October 2, 1836.” Perhaps this was one of the inducements, the nearest he would ever get to a medal. But it is said that he actually “treasured” it and used it, if not during the voyage then in later years when he became religious.¹⁵¹²

¹⁵⁰⁶ Brown-Pirie journal 1 Oct (see above); cp. StephensS 1836, 15 Aug.

¹⁵⁰⁷ See section 3.4.5.2.4 ‘Invisible connections’.

¹⁵⁰⁸ In old age Bates was (unusually for him) silent about this voyage. He did once claim that he had accompanied Colonel Light on the *Rapid* (Bates 1886b: 6e). But this cannot be true, as this chapter shows. If reported correctly, it can only be his self-aggrandizing spin on the trip with Stephens and Morphett – who were *also* very important men!

¹⁵⁰⁹ Handling of the whaleboat must have required a few other oarsmen, probably sailors from the current ships whom nobody bothered to mention.

¹⁵¹⁰ – notably, that it was “*the natives*” who called the place “*Aldinghi Plains*,” which they did not visit on the first voyage. This statement on its own *suggests* that ‘the natives’ were present at the time, but does not prove it. There is a slim possibility that the ‘the natives’ refers to some mainlanders they met, rather than the boat crew; or this might have been secondhand reportage originating from Martin’s voyage.

¹⁵¹¹ Very little is known of Bates’s Aboriginal wives or what became of them. In 1831 a Tasmanian woman “*Woor.rart.te.yer*” was living with him (Robinson in PlomleyN 1966: 336). Bates was probably the ‘old islander’ at Hog Bay who had four wives in December 1852 (Cawthorne] 1853: 162). One was possibly ‘Puss,’ who probably also lived with Wallan and was certainly a local (*Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6d [Bates 1886b]; see Textbox09 on ‘The young girl captured at the Murray Mouth’); but if so, she was abducted from the Mouth in 1831 and it is unlikely that she knew the Gulf coast.

At the time of the same visit in 1852, Nat Thomas was keeping “*a couple*” of women, not just Betty. The other might have been one of the Tasmanians nicknamed ‘Old Wab’ and ‘Long-un,’ whom Cawthorne found at the house of Nat’s daughter Mary and her husband William Seymour (Cawthorne 1853: 162, 165).

¹⁵¹² Whatever the state of his religious feelings in 1836, in the long run Bates may have actually used this Bible: “*In his declining years, George Bates was said to have become very religious... He treasured a bible given to him by Samuel Stephens... George sewed linen over the leather cover and wrote this prayer on the flyleaf: ‘Blessed Lord, who caused all Holy Scripture to be written for our learning, grant that we may in like wise hear them, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of Thy Holy Word we may embrace... the blessed hope of everlasting life...’*” (W Ruediger 1980: 37). Was this written by Bates or by Stephens? We don’t know; and it is well to take Shueard’s advice and allow the possibility that decades later the destitute old man with his Bible “*maybe, had reflected deeply upon his past and was seeking redemption*” (Shueard 2013: 51). Cp. Kingscote CWA 1951: 36; this account tells that

3.4.11.2 – TO ‘ALDINGHI’ AND BACK: A LAND AGENT’S PARADISE.¹⁵¹³

To describe this whaleboat exploration, the last for 1836, we have to cull details particular to it by deduction from Morphett’s composite letter and other parallel data. But it is clear that Stephens began to prove himself Morphett’s equal in an exploring energy which they would both maintain over the next several years.

Delayed by a gale on the 2nd,¹⁵¹⁴ they did not leave until the 4th, on a long trip of fourteen days¹⁵¹⁵ with more bad weather continuing to hamper them. They would go only 10 miles further than before, up to the vicinity of Port Willunga at the northern end of the Aldinga Plain.¹⁵¹⁶ Morphett added the place-name “Aldinghi” to his little catalogue.

Once again they started at the Cape,¹⁵¹⁷ probably at the request of Stephens who had not seen it. But they cannot have got far before the same storms that were holding up Light near Adelaide forced them into shelter. There was a fierce gale from the afternoon of the 6th to the night of the 7th, followed by “very unsettled weather” throughout the 8th and the morning of the 9th.¹⁵¹⁸ This would have been more than enough to keep a whaleboat on the beach, and they had no shipboard shelter. For this whole time they must have been stuck somewhere on the southern Fleurieu, probably Rapid Bay or *Yarnkalyilla*. There is no record that they saw any of the occupants of Rapid Bay. In such bad weather the garden team were probably also sheltering nearby in places less exposed than the foreshore, such as *Ityikauwingga*.¹⁵¹⁹

On the 11th they were sailing northward in Yankalilla Bay at about 1 p.m. when they met the *Rapid* as it was heading back to Rapid Bay. Pullen noted that the whaleboat party had been at Rapid Bay, where “the Garden we had made... was doing well”¹⁵²⁰ – lending weight to the likelihood that they had been sheltering there.

Already the delays must have depleted their stores. Pushing past Morphett’s previous northern limit (Carrickalinga), they would have been in some haste rounding the precipitous cliffs of Myponga Beach and Sellicks Hill between the 10th and 12th. Then on the afternoon of the 12th, thunder, lightning and heavy rain led to more gales lasting until late on the following day.¹⁵²¹ This weather probably kept them all that time at Aldinga

the Bible passed into the possession of ‘Tiger’ Simpson, who married the daughter of Betty and Nat Thomas. We don’t know whether Bates gave it to the Thomas family before or after his death.

¹⁵¹³ See Map11 ‘Routes’.

¹⁵¹⁴ See Light Brief Journal: 69, 1-2 Oct.

¹⁵¹⁵ Morphett said he was away for 18 days (MorphettJ 1837: 5); Stephens said he was in the boat 14 days (Stephens to Angas 23 Dec 1836, quoted in Durrant 2014a: 4). On the return journey they left Rapid Bay for Kingscote on the morning of the 18th (Woodforde 18 Oct). So Morphett must be referring to a whole period beginning on the 1st when arrangements were being made at Kingscote, and Stephens must be referring to the actual voyage, which must therefore have begun on the 4th.

¹⁵¹⁶ MorphettJ 1837: 9. If the “*thirty miles*” (MorphettJ 1837: 5) were normal land miles, this would take them to Port Willunga; or to Maslin Beach if the miles were nautical.

¹⁵¹⁷ “*In both instances I landed at Cape Jervis*” (MorphettJ 1837: 5); and see my comment above on Morphett’s use of the term ‘Cape Jervis.’

¹⁵¹⁸ Light Brief Journal: 71, 6-9 Oct.

¹⁵¹⁹ *Ityikauwingga* (‘the *Ityi* water-place’) is a small wetland on Nowhere Else Creek, sheltered by ridges on east and west (see Schultz PNS 5.04.01/12 *Ityikauwingga*, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-12Ityikau.pdf>).

¹⁵²⁰ Pullen MSS Journal: 31/24.

¹⁵²¹ Light Brief Journal: 72-3, 12-13 Oct.

Plain.¹⁵²² After the delays in the south, probably time and stores did not allow them to go any further, and they turned back just in time to avoid a fiasco like the September voyage with Kingston.

A brief chance to sail, then they were detained again – this time at Yankalilla Bay – by “contrary and strong winds” which blew on the 15th.¹⁵²³ What were Bates and Thomas thinking and feeling while camping here in the wind and rain for days? – at this place of so many abductions, where at times walked the relatives of Thomas’s woman who “were not pleased at her absence,” and only a few miles from where Bates had been speared in the foot a year or two before.¹⁵²⁴ Perhaps they were thankful that the weather made an unwelcome visit from the locals much less likely.

3.4.11.3 – WHAT THEY SAW AND WHAT THEY MISSED.

The two gentlemen were “much pleased with the country,”¹⁵²⁵ and Morphett’s eulogy of it is a historically valuable description. Let us dwell for a moment on this ‘tribute to Country’ as it was in 1836 under Aboriginal management.

Between Carrickalinga Head and Sellicks Beach the bold coastal cliffs and plateau terrace were “much more bare of trees” than the hills further south. Then,

*This portion of the coast terminates to the northward in a gentle slope, called by the natives ‘Aldinghi Plains.’*¹⁵²⁶

Morphett makes no clear distinction between Aldinga Plain and the adjacent downs north of Willunga Creek around Maslin Creek; both are part of the region now called the Willunga Basin. Their excursions here must have been hasty, between the 11th and 14th and perhaps interrupted by the gale on the 12th and 13th; but his euphoria was elevated by features like the lush vista of kangaroo grass. Again he combines what he saw with what he could only have heard from his Islander hosts – probably Bates, who had been there in other seasons and seen more of it than Morphett could have had time for.

Around today’s Silver Sands, where lay (until the 20th century) the permanent salt lake called The Washpool,

The upper part consists of the same sort of land as the hills, and would do admirably for sheep-runs in winter... This place has a very singular and interesting aspect from the sea. The sloping grassland in front, without a single tree for three or four miles square, of a beautifully bright green in winter and spring, and a golden colour during the hotter months, is surrounded by finely wooded eminences, and a bold range of hills beyond.

¹⁵²² Most likely they sheltered in the creek mouth at Port Willunga on the northern edge of the plain.

¹⁵²³ Cp. “*The Brig being detained till today by contrary and strong winds got under weigh at daybreak..., the wind being having moderated*” (Woodforde 16 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-16-october-1836-4/>; cp. Pullen MSS Journal: 31/24.

¹⁵²⁴ For the relatives of Thomas’s see the incident at Port Noarlunga in February 1837 (in Book 2). For the spearing of Bates see Chapter 2.3.5 ‘Bates and raids.’

¹⁵²⁵ Pullen MSS Journal: 31/24 *ibid*.

¹⁵²⁶ MorphettJ 1837: 9.

The downs were a land agent's paradise; but Morphett did not realize that he was describing country formed by centuries of meticulous fire management:¹⁵²⁷

*To the north the level country stretches for miles; it is of the richest character, and is covered with so long and thick an herbage that it is quite laborious to walk through it. There are numerous woods, or what might be termed groves, of a very open description, and some spots where the scenery resembles an English gentleman's park, or is even more beautiful. Here was a most luxuriant soil, in some places level and commanding an extensive view; in others having vistas through rows of elegant trees. Sometimes the country is undulating; at others the view is bounded by boldly shaped hills intersected by deep ravines, which, had they been in Germany, would have had thousands of interesting and romantic legends attached to them. It wants but water in its varieties of torrent, stream, and lake, to make this part for many miles in extent the most beautiful that nature has created, or that art could improve. I have seen a greater number of kangaroos and emus here than in any spot along the coast.*¹⁵²⁸

This landscape certainly did have 'interesting legends' attached to it; but Morphett's romantic rapture did not conceive the stories which 'sealers' or 'natives' could have told him during their days sharing close quarters on country.¹⁵²⁹

Even if the crew included no local First People, Bates could perhaps have told a little, having travelled this country on his way north to the Onkaparinga and gleaned some pieces of lore. But Morphett and Stephens did not ask, busily envisioning a European landscape of grain-fields and sheep-runs from which kangaroos and emus and ancient stories were absent.

Nevertheless they did preserve one more fragment of cultural knowledge, the place-name "Aldinghi Plains." Morphett's is the earliest record of it. Though we do not know its meaning (if any), the original form is certainly in 'Kurna'-*Miyurna* language, *Ngaltingga*. Morphett's suffix "ngi" is incorrect in *Miyurna*. This error or adaptation could have come from 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* informants – 'the natives' – or indirectly via Bates, which is more likely. In Aboriginal mapping the name referred to the whole Aldinga Plain south of Willunga Creek (a geological and landscape entity), not to the site of the colonial township on the creek.¹⁵³⁰

Textbox21: WHO GAVE THE NAME 'ALDINGHI,' AND WHAT LANGUAGE IS IT?

The correct 'Kurna'-*Miyurna* form is *Ngaltingga* ('place of *ngalti*'), as recorded by the German linguists.¹⁵³¹ *Ngalti* has no known meaning in either *Miyurna* or 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar*; but place-names need not have one. Like Morphett, other educated settlers also

¹⁵²⁷ See Bill Gammage 2011, *The Biggest Estate on Earth: how Aborigines made Australia*, Allen & Unwin: 40-3.

¹⁵²⁸ MorphettJ 1837: 9-10.

¹⁵²⁹ Among other possibilities, this country features in part of the Tjirbuki/Tjilbruki story; and the important quarry, trade and ceremony site, Ochre Cove, lies about 5 km north of the Aldinga Plains, just north of Maslin Creek.

¹⁵³⁰ The name was not applied to Aldinga township until 1857, at a place whose true name was *Tatatyilla* (see Schultz PNS 4.04.01/01, <https://www.karnawarra.org.au/s/4-03-02-04Tatatyilla.pdf>).

¹⁵³¹ T&S 1840, 2: 75.

missed the first sound *ng* in many Aboriginal words; but in this name most others over the next year or two heard the last vowel *a* correctly as “Aldinga”.¹⁵³²

Morphett’s “Aldinghi” seems to represent a different form. Was it a ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* version? and what might it tell us about his informant?

Morphett credited the name to ‘the natives,’ rather than ‘the sealers’ as he did with “Yanky Lilly.” Perhaps this means there *were* Aboriginal crew members on this voyage. As noted above, it is unlikely they were Condoy and Sally; probably they would be wives of Bates or Thomas, or conceivably men from Wallan’s Three Wells. Any of these could have been local people, speaking either Miyurna (in which the correct pronunciation was *Ngaltingga*) or Kornar (in which it *could have* been adapted as *Ngaltinggi*);¹⁵³³ or they could be Tasmanians such as Betty, who would not know any local name except by learning it from the others.

The spelling is reminiscent of ‘dinghy’ (originally a Hindi word) and other exotic words used by the British Raj in India, such as ‘ghi,’ ‘Afghan,’ etc. These were familiar to readers of books and magazines circulated throughout the Empire. ‘Aldinghi’ might contain this casual assimilation to English usage – like the sealers’ “Yanky-lilly.” Perhaps the name was given to Morphett by Bates or Thomas, citing what *they* had learned from ‘the natives’. We remember that Bates had travelled this coast with a local group. This guess seems a little more likely.

For more detail of these arguments, see my essay on Ngaltingga.¹⁵³⁴

3.4.11.4 – BACK TO KINGSCOTE.

On the 17th Pullen and Woodforde noted their return to Rapid Bay “just at dinner-time,”¹⁵³⁵ and no doubt Stephens and Morphett enjoyed sleeping under a survey tent instead of a whaleboat sail.¹⁵³⁶

Here the intercultural diplomacy had been resumed for nearly a week. How it was turning out, we shall pursue later in this chapter. Internal diplomacy was faring worse. Not for another six days would Light’s wandering Deputy meet up with him, for the first time since they left England. Not for more than a fortnight would his full team be with him.¹⁵³⁷ Light was suffering from “a mind worn down with anxiety in consequence of such repeated bad weather checking our work, and the dread of having a host of emigrants out before I knew where to land them”.¹⁵³⁸

¹⁵³² In 1837 Wyatt gave it as “*Auldingga*” (Wyatt 1879: 179).

¹⁵³³ In ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna*, *ngga* is a Locative suffix ‘at, place of.’ In ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar*, the suffix *ngga* does not occur at all, while *nggi* occurs commonly as an ending but not as a Locative suffix. While there is no unequivocal record of a Kornar form of this name, there are other examples of Kornar borrowings which adapt the Miyurna Locative to *nggi* (see Schultz PNS 4.04.01/01 Ngaltingga). After Morphett’s first record, the Kornar-looking final *i* was given – along with standard *a*-versions – only by his associate Stephen Hack.

¹⁵³⁴ Schultz PNS 4.04.01/01 Ngaltingga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-01-01Ngalti.pdf>.

¹⁵³⁵ “*The Whale boat with Mr Stevens and Morphett arrived having been detained at Yankalila by bad weather*” (Pullen MSS Journal: 31/24); Woodforde diary 17 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/monday-17-october-1836-3/>.

¹⁵³⁶ The *Rapid* was unavailable, having sailed for Freshwater River on the previous day (Light Brief Journal: 73, 16 Oct).

¹⁵³⁷ See Woodforde 5 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/saturday-5-november-1836-4/>.

¹⁵³⁸ Light Brief Journal: 73, 15 Oct.

The whaleboat party left next morning and presumably arrived at Kingscote later that day, 18th October – perhaps to the relief of Bates and Thomas; for as far as we know they did not visit the mainland again until 1837.

Meanwhile, the *Emma* had arrived on October 5th, carrying another 22 immigrants to stretch the resources of Kingscote.¹⁵³⁹

.....

¹⁵³⁹ StephensJ 1839: 116.

3.5 – November 2 to December 16: ON THE ISLAND: WOMEN AND ISLANDERS AS SEARCH-AND-RESCUE TEAMS

The last half of October was uneventful on Kangaroo Island except for the traffic of survey stores and men from Freshwater River to Rapid Bay. On November 2nd – following Kingston and Finniss eight days earlier – the *Rapid* took the last of the surveyors and their families, leaving behind only the *Cygnets*' other private colonists.¹⁵⁴⁰ But then came a high drama which quickly pushed many of the Islanders and Aboriginal women onto centre stage.

3.5.1 – OFFICIALS, DIARISTS AND NAT THOMAS IN KINGSCOTE.

On November 3rd Condoy and Kalinga were at Kingscote again, probably with Walker. Maybe they had been living at Hog Bay for a while before that, perhaps both before and after their September voyages.¹⁵⁴¹ It seems likely that Condoy was now visiting Hog Bay often, perhaps living there for extended periods. He was well known on the Island as 'King Con, a chief,' though on this occasion not taking a direct role in the action. Was he recognized by the Islanders as a leader because of past actions, or because he was still pursuing some kind of political agenda? If the latter, its nature can only be surmised. Was he still advocating for his people on the mainland, trying to draw other parts of the colonial system into mutual deal? Or was he now merely trying to survive under the new regime?¹⁵⁴²

We know he was there that day only because the family suddenly became part of the 'Foundation story'. On the day the *Rapid* left, the barque *Africaine* was approaching the opposite end of the Island, carrying 73 new immigrants¹⁵⁴³ eastward from Cape Borda along the north coast. At about midday on the 3rd they anchored at Kingscote.¹⁵⁴⁴ Among the newcomers were the government printer Robert Thomas (senior) and his wife Mary, a poet and prolific diarist. Also aboard were two more of the government's highest public servants, Robert Gouger and John Brown.

Colonial Secretary Gouger was one of the earliest and most active promoters of the colony.¹⁵⁴⁵ Brown was the Emigration Agent, a republican Dissenter,¹⁵⁴⁶ his servant

¹⁵⁴⁰ Woodforde 5 Nov; Light 24-5 Oct, 2 Nov, in *SA Record* 7: 51a.

¹⁵⁴¹ Both of them were in Kingscote nine weeks earlier on August 31st along with Natalla.

¹⁵⁴² Mary Thomas's phrasing – King Con "*was at that time on Kangaroo Island*" (my emphasis: Mary Thomas Diary, 3 Nov 1836) – suggests that the arrangement of which she heard was *not* a continuous residence but rather a frequent or intermittent movement between Kangaroo Island and the mainland. This would tend to imply some political intention beyond leisurely family visits.

¹⁵⁴³ StephensJ 1839: 116.

¹⁵⁴⁴ The dates in this November week are confused and contradictory in the Gouger and Mary Thomas diaries. Both include sentences which must have been interpolated later. In their entries for November 2nd both accounts include events from the 1st, and Mary's includes events from the 3rd. Neither of them has a separate entry for the 4th or 5th. Gouger's dates are otherwise more accurate. My assessments are based on the dates in Robert Fisher's detailed journal of his experiences as one of the lost men (R Fisher 1837, 'Journal Of An Excursion Into The Interior Of Kangaroo Island,' *SA Gazette and Colonial Register* 8/7/1837: 3b-4a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31749656/2052347>).

¹⁵⁴⁵ Of the Wakefield scheme's theorists, Gouger was "*the most single-minded and devoted*"; "*thirty-three years old... a civilized intellectual of great integrity*" (G Dutton 1960: 147-8, 154). He was an earnest man who was already shocked at what had happened to the Tasmanian people and within 18 months would write (though not with reference to South Australia) that "*the progress of English colonization is marked by a trail of blood*" (Gouger 1838, *South Australia in* 1837, London: Harvey and Darton: 49).

¹⁵⁴⁶ Find John Brown the Emigration Agent in <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/people/>; see also <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/brown-john-1834>. Brown was also an explicit and articulate opponent of Aboriginal

James Cronk was also on board; and another cabin passenger William Williams.¹⁵⁴⁷ These last three men would soon play a significant part in negotiating the process of first contact in Adelaide.¹⁵⁴⁸

Nat Thomas was among the four oarsmen who rowed Stephens out to meet the *Africaine*, and no doubt was there to pilot the ship into the anchorage. He was regarded as “a valuable man.”¹⁵⁴⁹ For the passengers this too was a ‘first contact’, and Mary Thomas recorded a typical observation: “His appearance, I thought, was more like that of a savage than an Englishman”.¹⁵⁵⁰ For some reason he fell overboard from the ship but was soon rescued:

Although he could swim well enough, he was watched by those on board with considerable anxiety on account of the sharks, which were known to be numerous. An oar, however, was thrown to him, on which he got astride till the boat reached him, and when he came again on the deck he shook himself as a dog does when just out of the water, and took no more notice of the matter.

Gouger and Brown wanted to be briefed about how the colony was getting on. They called an urgent conference with the only available confidante of Light, Captain Lipson, and heard the worst. Light was moving the Freshwater depot to ‘Cape Jervis’, mainly because of Stephens’s conduct.¹⁵⁵¹

3.5.2 – CALL THE TRACKERS: WHITEFELLAS LOST.¹⁵⁵²

But the *Africaine* had brought with her a crisis more urgent than this. Six of her gentleman passengers were lost somewhere in the rugged and uninhabited scrub of the Island’s west. Near Cape Borda seven young gents, chafing after four months of shipboard confinement, asked to be put ashore for a 60-mile cross-country ramble to rejoin everyone at Nepean Bay. They would take guns, provisions for two days, six bottles of rum – and as their only guide, Sutherland’s old account of KI’s open grassland, “often hundreds of acres without a tree”.¹⁵⁵³ When the ship’s boat found no place to land on the forbidding west coast, one of them was wise enough to opt out. At 7 pm the other six landed at “Morrel’s boat harbour”, declining to take the water which had been brought for them.¹⁵⁵⁴

land rights during the planning of the colony (Reynolds 1992, *The Law of the Land*, 2nd ed: 113-9). He was of course a different man from his namesake who managed the stock at Salt Lagoon.

¹⁵⁴⁷ In Adelaide William Williams would become Deputy Storeman. He and Cronk would become two of the earliest interpreters of ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language (see Book 2).

¹⁵⁴⁸ Both Cronk and Williams would learn a little of the *Miyurna* language, and Williams would publish two wordlists (WilliamsW 1839, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-85177678/view?partId=nla.obj-85178502#page/n6/mode/1up>; WilliamsW 1840, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/228133230/22333444>; and see Book 2).

¹⁵⁴⁹ Gouger Journals, 3 Nov 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-3-november-1836-3/>.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Mary Thomas Diary, 2 Nov (in Hope 1968: 89; also <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-3-november-1836-3/>).

¹⁵⁵¹ Gouger Journals, 3 Nov. By this time there were probably personal reasons as well. The young army officer Finnis had been “*accosted by a high official*” (probably Stephens, possibly Kingston) and in reply sent a message by one of his young surveyors, threatening a duel. Finnis in those years used this tactic several times, and he was not the only one (Finniss 1892: 12).

¹⁵⁵² For the locations in this story see Map03 Kangaroo Island.

¹⁵⁵³ See Chapter 2.2.3 ‘Final steps to a systematic colony’.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Mary Thomas diary 2 Nov; Robert Fisher in Hope 1968: 101; Gouger Journals. “*Morrel’s boat harbour*” is now Murrell Landing, on the north coast near Cape Borda, named after the very early sealer; also known as Harvey’s Return.

But this was not ‘England’s green and pleasant land’, nor even the fire-managed ‘parkland’ of similar country on the Fleurieu; it was thick wild scrub in early summer.¹⁵⁵⁵ At Kingscote, Islanders told Gouger the rambles would find no water except maybe in small pools left over from winter;¹⁵⁵⁶ that the journey was “utterly impossible;” they would certainly lose their way and “might never be found again, either alive or dead”.¹⁵⁵⁷

Gouger must have been painfully aware that a tragedy now could seriously damage the whole South Australian project, contradicting so early and so dramatically the propaganda which his group had pushed. In a stronger position than Stephens to command action, he promptly called on the only expert help available: the Islanders and the Aboriginal women. The women’s traditional skills of tracking and bushcraft were suddenly crucial. With Walker, Wallan, Bates, Nat Thomas and probably others, they could earn money by doing what they were good at: search and rescue. They alone knew how to tackle this terrain; even if the western interior was not their usual haunt, its nature and geographical context were familiar.¹⁵⁵⁸ This was the only positive work for which the colony would ever seek them out and remember them. Gouger, Robert Thomas and John Hallett – a merchant and part-owner of the ship¹⁵⁵⁹ – coordinated whoever of these were around Kingscote at the time, as search parties with the promise of pay; probably many of them were quick to offer their services.

3.5.3 – THE SAGACITY OF ‘PRINCESS CON’.

The first responders were “3 sealers and a native woman.”¹⁵⁶⁰ The woman was Kalinga, and it is clear that she was the acknowledged hero of the day. The men with her no doubt included Walker and Thompson, the third was perhaps Seaman.¹⁵⁶¹ On the *Africaine*, close to the action involving her husband, Mary Thomas wrote, “This morning a boat containing some white men and one black woman, an aboriginal native, arrived to concert¹⁵⁶² measures for discovering the rambles”.¹⁵⁶³ This team had words more encouraging than the previous Islander opinion; they “seemed to be under no apprehension as to [the young men’s] final safety”. Kalinga articulated the reason:

¹⁵⁵⁵ See Bill Gammage 2012: 8. In 1836 most of Kangaroo Island was covered by almost impenetrable scrub. No Aboriginal owners had been there to tend it for many centuries. Possibly new scrub and underbrush had grown up since 1819 as a result of a huge bushfire and the depopulation of the kangaroos by sealers with hunting dogs. See Hope 1968: 108-9, citing AA Lendon 1924. On KI bushfires, cp. Bates 1887b: “*When I went there first there were herds of kangaroos — big boomers — but bush fires and we with dogs soon cleared them off. I remember one bush fire that swept the island... Me and a person named Walker set fire to American River, and the fire went right across to Cape Willoughby*” (Register 6/10/1887: 7b). In 1836 much or most of the island would have been a pervasive dark green, inscrutable and almost impenetrable to newcomers, as Fisher’s account shows.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Gouger Journals, 3 Nov.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Mary Thomas Diary, 3 Nov. According to Gouger, “*the men resident in the Island assert that Sutherland never was across the island at all*” (Gouger Journals, 2 Nov).

¹⁵⁵⁸ It was said of Nat Thomas that “*he possesses all the resources of the sailor, combined with the instincts of the aboriginal native. Place him on the western end of Kangaroo Island, with only a dog and a knife, and he will find his way out at the other — a feat that he has done, I believe, more than once*” (Cawthorne 1853: 160). But we might guess that he did it alongside one or more of the women.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Two of the missing young gents were employees of Hallett.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Gouger Journals, 3 Nov.

¹⁵⁶¹ Seaman’s advanced age would probably preclude him from the search party except as backup.

¹⁵⁶² i.e. to coordinate.

¹⁵⁶³ Mary Thomas Diary, ‘Nov 3’ (in Hope 1968: 96-7; also <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-3-november-1836-3/>). The date of the 3rd in both Thomas and Gouger should probably be the 4th or even 5th for this event: it gives Hallett time to have erected a tent and taken his family ashore, as noted by Mary later in this diary entry.

She talked with great confidence as to being able to trace the young men, as she knew every part of the island. She added that there was no fear of their perishing, especially as they were provided with guns.

We may believe her claim to know ‘every part of the island’. By this date she had spent many long periods on it over the past 11 years or more, no doubt both hunting and sealing. Nevertheless, her party’s confidence seems misplaced in view of the dire facts and the ultimate failure of the search. Was this their professional method: hype for the employers and optimism to sustain their own spirits? Or was it professional competition: asserting their local competence against the Tasmanians such as Betty who would soon join the search efforts and regarded themselves as superior?¹⁵⁶⁴ Kalinga “was taken into the steerage¹⁵⁶⁵ and regaled with biscuit and beef,¹⁵⁶⁶ which she seemed to relish exceedingly”.

Later in the day Hallett, Thomas and Gouger added another woman and a man, probably Betty and Nat.¹⁵⁶⁷ For the sum of £6,¹⁵⁶⁸ the whole party of six – four men and two women – would land at ‘Morrel’s’ and follow the tracks. They set out immediately. Gouger saw Kalinga as the leader: “Reliance is chiefly placed on the sagacity of the native woman, who is distinguished for her skill in tracking.”¹⁵⁶⁹

She received more recognition that day. When Robert Thomas returned on board, Mary and the others learned that she was the “the Princess Con, daughter of King Con, a chief”, who was on the Island with her again.¹⁵⁷⁰

Textbox22: KALINGA IN 1836: MARY THOMAS’S ‘PRINCESS CON’.

This time the recording observer was for once not a busy male leader, focused only on getting the job done. It was a colonial woman with keen powers of observation, some literary skill, and a diary habit.¹⁵⁷¹

So different in almost every way, she and they met that day on the working-class deck of the floating junction of three worlds: caste-ridden England, Aboriginal *Patpangga*, and ambivalent Kangaroo Island; Mary and ‘the black woman’ Sally; government printer’s wife

¹⁵⁶⁴ See the footnote on competition between Island women at the end of Textbox15 ‘Personal identities of Doughboy and Sall’.

¹⁵⁶⁵ The ‘steerage’ was a lower deck where passengers travelling at the cheapest rates lived and slept in very cramped conditions; but gentlefolk like the Gougers and Thomases had Cabin Class accommodation (see <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/1404>;

<https://www.sl.nsw.gov.au/stories/shipboard-19th-century-emigrant-experience-0>;

also found in <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/index-of-terms/>.

¹⁵⁶⁶ i.e. salt junk.

¹⁵⁶⁷ Nat Thomas was already at Kingscote on the day when the dangerous trek was first announced there. He was probably among the first searchers by whaleboat, possibly the one ‘about the coast’ (if it was different from Walker’s; see Fisher footnote below). Nat was paid for his part in the search (see below), and in view of Betty’s later fame as a tracker, there can be little doubt that she accompanied him.

¹⁵⁶⁸ It was William Walker who eventually received the £6, paid by Stephens from Company funds. Walker’s signature appears on a receipt for his pay five weeks later: “Kingscote, 12th December 1836. Received from Sam^l Stephens Esq the amount of six pounds as p Agreement searching for six persons landed from Africaine of London. William Walker. £6.=.” (attachment to letter Hallett to Gouger 3/1/1837, GRG 24/1/1837/23).

¹⁵⁶⁹ Gouger Journals, *ibid*; cp. Mary Thomas *ibid*; R Fisher 1837: 3b. In Gouger’s journal here, ‘the native woman’ does not refer to Betty, since it was Kalinga in the group which Mary identified as coordinators.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Mary Thomas diary *ibid*.

¹⁵⁷¹ This was Mary Thomas Senior, who had already published a book of poems; see <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/thomas-mary-13216>. Later her daughter Mary Thomas Junior also left some other informative colonial letters.

and sailor's wife; amateur British poet and Aboriginal tracker. Mary left us a rare detailed description of Kalinga, so here is her complete text of the occasion:¹⁵⁷²

"I must give some account of the black woman, who, being the first native we had seen, excited our curiosity. Her clothing consisted of a red woollen cap, such as sailors often wear, and a shirt of the same material under a coat of thick leather, such as in England is used for harness and to cover trunks. Her countenance was pleasing, though perfectly black, and her hair not woolly, like that of African natives, but long and straight on the forehead.¹⁵⁷³ Her legs and feet were bare, and round her neck hung several rows of glass beads.¹⁵⁷⁴ Her chin was also ornamented with a kind of beard, and whiskers grew at the sides of her face.¹⁵⁷⁵ But what most surprised us was her musical voice, and the pleasing intonation with which she spoke the English language, for what she said she uttered with a proper accent and almost with fluency.¹⁵⁷⁶ Her height was about five feet six inches,¹⁵⁷⁷ and her age apparently about twenty-five years,¹⁵⁷⁸ but on being asked how old she was she replied, "I cannot tell," and this is the case with them all.¹⁵⁷⁹

"She was taken into the steerage and regaled with biscuit and beef, which she seemed to relish exceedingly. She talked with great confidence as to being able to trace the young men, as she knew every part of the island. She added that there was no fear of their perishing, especially as they were provided with guns.

"As soon, therefore, as it had been pointed out by the map on what part of the island the missing passengers had landed, the men, with the black woman, departed in the boat and Mr. Thomas accompanied them.¹⁵⁸⁰ He went to arrange with Mr. Hallett, who, with his family, had landed on the island and erected a tent there, as to what remuneration should be given for the search and how it should be conducted. At length it was agreed that four men and two women should set out immediately, with a sufficient supply of provisions and water, in a boat

¹⁵⁷² Mary Thomas Diary, 3 Nov 1836, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-3-november-1836-4/>. A few phrases here and there (such as "at that time") remind us that we have her diary only in a version which she edited and expanded many years later (see Hope 1968: 144; also (now unavailable) <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/using-this-site/source-material/source-notes-for-the-diary-of-mary-thomas.html> [2014]).

¹⁵⁷³ Like many others, Mary saw Kalinga through eyes which had recently seen other 'natives' at the Cape of Good Hope during the voyage from England (see P Hope 1968: 77).

¹⁵⁷⁴ Did Kalinga make her bead necklace herself, or did Walker make it for her? Cp. his lavish expenditure on clothes and hairdressing for her in Adelaide a year or two later (John Adams 1902, 'My early days in the colony', Balaklava: 7).

¹⁵⁷⁵ As with Gaimard's officers in 1826, Mary found Kalinga good to look at ('*Her countenance was pleasing*'), and this is the more telling because some aspects of her appearance were far from English norms. Part of the impression no doubt came from Kalinga's confidence and force of personality; it seems she knew her own worth and showed none of the timid self-effacement which observers found in many other sealers' wives. There is no sign of the 'beard and whiskers' in the 1826 portrait (Amery 1998: 54) or Snell's sketch (Edward Snell, ed. Griffiths 1988: 196), both of which may be Kalinga.

¹⁵⁷⁶ Kalinga had an unusual command of both the English language – perhaps her third or fourth, as we can surmise today – and how to speak it correctly and with beauty.

¹⁵⁷⁷ She was the same height as her father and uncle (Woodforde 31 Aug 1836; cp. Chapter 3.4.4.1.2 Observations (2)). According to other records this is relatively tall by the local standards for females.

¹⁵⁷⁸ See Chapter 1.3.4 'Kalinga (Sally)'.

¹⁵⁷⁹ 'I CANNOT TELL':

1. Records of the actual words of an Aboriginal woman are extremely rare in this era. Linguist Peter Mühlhäusler wondered whether Kalinga understood and created this utterance for herself, or just 'parroted' the set of sounds ('holophrase') which she had picked up for a wide range of uses, like 'plenty' and 'very good' in other mouths (Amery 1998: 65). But from Mary's comments about Kalinga's 'proper accent' and 'near fluency', I think the former is much more likely.

2. Numbers, and the exact numerical assessment of one's age, are a very European preoccupation. Such questions are very likely to elicit from much of the world's population a reply which makes the informant seem ignorant. Ironically, Kalinga's reply here was the same in content as Doughboy's in 1837, saying she "*did not know*" the answer to a religious inquiry 'who made the sun?' (see McLaren 1837: 180). In both cases, what might we all have learned if the questioner had thought of a more culturally-relevant question about the many other things she *did* know?

¹⁵⁸⁰ Mary's husband Robert Thomas.

*to that part where the young men had landed and follow them through the bush until they came up with them. For this service they were to receive six pounds. Accordingly they set off. Mr. Thomas returned on board, and we then learnt that royalty itself had condescended to pay us a visit in the person of the black woman, for she was no other than the Princess Con, daughter of King Con, a chief of one of the native tribes.*¹⁵⁸¹ *Her father was at that time on Kangaroo Island."*

3.5.4 – WOMEN AND SEALERS ON THE TRACK.

Stephens quickly joined with Hallett and ship's doctor Wright to recruit even more of the Islanders into the search, including Wallan and his wives; but there is no evidence that the search involved Bates, Cooper or their wives.¹⁵⁸² A boat was sent off to search "about the coast", and "the Islanders with their wives [were] despatched in various directions over the Island".¹⁵⁸³

According to a later account, Stephens began with Wallan: "Orders [were] forwarded in particular to Old Whalley to take his black wives and his dogs, and cut right across the island, in the hope of intercepting the travellers in their line of march".¹⁵⁸⁴ In view of Wallan's treatment by Stephens and the Company, his energetic participation probably came less from "orders" than from his own seaman's ethics, overcoming bitter resentment. The same source claims that these two women were nicknamed 'Puss' and 'Polecat'. 'Puss' was probably Wallan's long-term companion, the girl from the Murray Mouth; 'Polecat' is unknown, in spite of guesses by some authors.¹⁵⁸⁵ They had to search

¹⁵⁸¹ Despite Mary's close observations, in the end she is content to remove Kalinga back into the framed theatre of Empire imagination which was labelled 'Things Native'. In a politely condescending conclusion – English readership in her sights, tongue firmly in cheek, and probably children's fairytales in mind – she grants this 'native' a pretend royalty. There is no record of any other colonist attributing a high status to Kalinga, either real or pretended.

¹⁵⁸² Though Bates was then still under his three-month contract, the search for the *Africaine* wanderers did not feature at all in his old-age yarns. If he had been involved in something so praiseworthy, this would be a modesty very untypical. Perhaps his wives then were not good trackers. Perhaps he was still wanted at Salt Lagoon for the last weeks there. Perhaps Cooper was wanted by Pullen or Light; he and his dinghy were heading for Rapid Bay on 8th November (see section 3.6.3.2 'Hazards'). Magalidi had lived in the west of the Island with Meredith and probably knew it as well as anybody; but there was no record of her searching either, unless perhaps she was Wallan's 'Polecat' (see footnote below).

¹⁵⁸³ Fisher 1837: 4a. It is unclear whether 'about the coast' means the entire coast of the Island, or just the northern coast with stops on the way at "*the only two places on the direct sea-coast line of march [from Harvey's Return], where fresh water could be obtained*" (as Jane Watts heard later [Watts 1890: 29]; but Mrs. Watts is a later and unreliable source for 1836; see footnote below). The water sources would probably have been Western River and Stokes Bay. These two items may perhaps refer to the original Walker party which sailed directly along the north coast.

¹⁵⁸⁴ JANE WATTS AND WILLIAM DEACON: The detail about Wallan's part in the search was one of many remembered – and often partly invented – by *Africaine* passenger William Deacon, who had been present on Kangaroo Island during those events, and – if we can believe him – was delegated by Stephens on 12 Dec 1836 to take charge of Company operations at Kingscote [William Deacon diary 12 Dec 1836]. He committed his version to writing only in 1859, for Jane Watts and her husband Alfred. In the 1880s for her book Jane recast this story from Deacon's manuscript, using for him the pseudonym 'Bombastes' and checking the details with Alfred, who then further edited the effort. Today we have only the final version.

Jane (then aged 13) arrived at Kingscote in October 1837 with her father William Giles who became the third Manager of the Company station. Deacon took the Giles family into a house loaned to him by Samuel Stephens.

Alfred himself had heard some of the stories of the search, 11 months after the events. But they both remembered Deacon as a compulsive boaster whose stories about himself had to be taken "*with a grain of salt*". Some details in the Watts account are demonstrably wrong. However, because the Wallan detail does not incorporate Bombastes himself as an actor, we can hope that it is reasonably reliable, especially since it matches Fisher.

See Watts 1890: 29-30 for the story; p.17 for the names of Wallan's wives. For the identity and role of 'Bombastes' (Deacon), the 'Chief Manager' (David McLaren), and the 'superintendent' (Samuel Stephens) see pp.13, 213-4, 219.

¹⁵⁸⁵ JANE WATTS, 'PUSS' AND 'POLECAT':

The identities of Wallan's wives in late 1836 are doubtful. Jane Watts is the only primary source for the name 'Polecat', and she is third-hand and unreliable; cp. TaylorR 2002-8: 34; e.g. the tale that these two women and "*Whalley*" had come to KI from Van Diemen's Land in an open boat is an obvious confusion with the story of Meredith and Magalidi.

the entire Island west of Nepean Bay: about 1550 square miles (4015 km²) of very difficult and often waterless country.

Days without result dragged into a second week. Though they did not know it, Wallan, 'Puss' and 'Polecat' were very nearly successful, for the lost men actually heard them not far off.

As recounted by one of the survivors, Fisher, when the strays were at Murrell's Lagoon in the far interior they saw footprints of "two persons, (one without shoes) and a dog," and heard a gunshot "which we supposed to be from the Africaine".¹⁵⁸⁶ Historian JS Cumpston says it must have been Wallan who fired that gun, and Fisher's party also had guns; "Had they replied with a shot the whole party would have reached Kingscote in safety".¹⁵⁸⁷ But a speculation by researcher Shueard is also credible: perhaps they became *afraid* to reveal themselves because, like other colonists that year, they had mulled over the Commissioners' First Report, including Light's Instruction No.11 with its warnings about the "danger of attack from runaway convicts, whalers and other inhabitants of the island".¹⁵⁸⁸ By demonizing the white and black 'savages' of the province, perhaps the Commissioners contributed to the horrible death of some of their own 'civilized' British.

On 10th November three starved and shoeless men staggered into Kingscote. Wandering right across the island to the south coast,¹⁵⁸⁹ they had to leave two of their number (Osborne and Slater) at Murrell's Lagoon. Another (Nantes) was waiting ill and exhausted at Freshwater River. Shortly after leaving him, the remaining three had passed the Freshwater settlement without stopping, for it was abandoned, its last occupants shipped off to Holdfast Bay only two days before.¹⁵⁹⁰ Nantes was rescued by boat next day.¹⁵⁹¹

The *name* 'Polecat' was probably a casual invention of settler gossip, most likely a 'one-off' by Deacon (see footnote above): a satirical companion-piece for the name 'Puss' (like Hawker's 'Dumpling' to go with 'Doughboy').

Tindale thought that 'Puss' was a Tasmanian (Tindale 1937a: 31). In his catalogue of Kangaroo Island women, Philip Clarke (following Tindale who both relied on Watts for these items) wrote

1. that "*the Puss that Wallen brought to Kangaroo Island from Tasmania, along with Polecat, was a different person*" (ClarkeP 1998: 40).

2. that 'Polecat' was Betty Thomas (ClarkeP 1998: 35-6).

In my view:

1. It is very unlikely there ever were two Pusses or a 'Puss' from Tasmania. 'Puss' seems to have been a local woman, possibly the one whom Bates said he had abducted from Lake Alexandrina: a "*girl, whom [he] named 'Puss,' from her propensity to scratch the face of her owner when in a rage*", and who "*lived for years afterwards at Hog Bay*" (Bates 1886b: 6d; but this report contains a number of other known confusions and inaccuracies). She was still with Wallan when he died in 1856 ("*Old Puss... a native of this colony*", in Wallan's obituary, *Register* 30/4/1856: 3d).

2. There is no evidence for Clarke's claim that 'Polecat' was Betty Thomas. During the Kangaroo Island search when she was allegedly with Wallan, Betty was with Kalinga's tracking party at Harvey's Return. We don't know who this 1836 tracker 'Polecat' was. She could have been any of the experts: conceivably Magalidi, who is not in the records of 1836 after being rescued at Holdfast Bay on 8th October. But there is no real evidence for this identification either.

¹⁵⁸⁶ Fisher 1837: 3d.

¹⁵⁸⁷ Cumpston 1986: 153.

¹⁵⁸⁸ Light's Instruction No.11, in Appendix 9 of *First Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners of South Australia* (Colonization Commissioners Reports: 33,

<https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-1126497737/view?partId=nla.obj-1126500076#page/n33/mode/1up>). Cp. Shueard 2013: 78.

¹⁵⁸⁹ For their route see the map in Cumpston 1986: 125 (reprinted from the article by AA Lendon in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, SA Branch* 26 (1924-5): 84). They unintentionally crossed over to touch the south coast at Vivonne Bay, then went cross-country via Murrell's Lagoon to the coast again at D'Estree Bay, before turning north at the isthmus below American River.

¹⁵⁹⁰ "*We crossed over [the Three-well River] opposite to a Settlement formed by the Surveying party*" (Fisher 1837:

3d). The population at Freshwater had already been diminished by the departure of survey staff and labourers to Rapid Bay on 23rd October (Woodforde 23 Oct; Light Brief Journal: 74, 23 Oct), and the rest followed on 2nd November (Woodforde 22-?30 Oct, 5 Nov; Light Brief Journal: 74-5, 26 Oct & 2 Nov). On the 8th the *Cygnets* had passed Rapid Bay (Woodforde 8 Nov), heading for Holdfast Bay and probably carrying settlers there; they arrived at Holdfast Bay the day before Light (Light Brief Journal: 76, 9 Nov). With summer coming on they were doubtless keen to leave, since

Then a protracted search began for the unfortunate Osborne and Slater, ultimately unsuccessful. It was “Thomas’ women” who found Slater’s tracks leading away from Murrell’s Lagoon.¹⁵⁹² No record tells us who these women were, or whether Nat accompanied them,¹⁵⁹³ but we can be fairly sure they were led by Betty. They followed the track “some considerable distance”.¹⁵⁹⁴ By the 16th everyone had given up hope of finding Slater and Osborne alive.¹⁵⁹⁵ “One black woman was out sixteen days” according to Fisher, i.e. to November 19th.¹⁵⁹⁶ Hosking thinks this too was Betty, and possibly he is right, since “she and Nat earned £6/10/- for their efforts”,¹⁵⁹⁷ 10 shillings more than Walker. But on December 8th “search parties” – led no doubt by women: Betty, Kalinga, ‘Puss’, Magalidi? – were still out looking for the bodies of Slater and Osborne, over a month after they disappeared.¹⁵⁹⁸

The land proved merciless to the ignorant, and the newcomers were shocked by its harsh dangers. However, for the old ‘savages’ the dangers were old news. Ready compassion for the lost was a built-in component of their regime even more than of the new ‘civilized’ regime¹⁵⁹⁹ – ‘poor thing’¹⁶⁰⁰, ‘poor bugger whitefella’¹⁶⁰¹. The colonists admired the skill and endurance of the black women – momentarily. They saw black-white solidarity demonstrated – and did not see it. They quickly forgot both the women and their husbands except as stage-props for the Pioneers of Foundation. A fundamental item of baggage which they brought was the money economy. Human exchange with those pre-colonial pioneers would henceforth mean labour for cash and usually little else.

“Residents on the Island say that in summer no fresh water reaches the mouth” (Finniss “journal” 12 Sep 1836, in BT Finniss 1836: [34-5]).

¹⁵⁹¹ Hallett sent to Stephens a receipt for 10 shillings which he had paid to “the men who were sent to bring up Mr Nantes from Freshwater River” (Hallett to Gouger 3/2/1837, GRG 24/1/1837/23). This receipt is missing and these men were not identified. The party was sent off immediately but had to stay overnight before they could find him (Fisher 1837: 4a).

¹⁵⁹² Walker told this to surveyor William Jacob in January 1837 (Jacob journal 3-4 Jan).

¹⁵⁹³ Settler folklore says that it was Nat himself and Bates who “ran the tracks back”, failing to mention the women (W Ruediger 1980: 88).

¹⁵⁹⁴ Fisher 1837: 4a; he too attributes this only to “the islanders”.

¹⁵⁹⁵ William Deacon diary 16 Nov (in P Hope: 112; online

<https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/william-deacon/>.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Fisher 1837: 4a.

¹⁵⁹⁷ Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 146 n200 – a long footnote to a passage in Cawthorne’s Chapter 9 (p.52) referring to the lost men of 1836. Hosking does not name his source, and I have not found it.

¹⁵⁹⁸ This was the situation “when the ‘Emma’ left” from Kingscote (Gouger Journals, 11 Dec), i.e. on the 8th.

¹⁵⁹⁹ To the colony now in 1836, the young gents were not as valuable as Barker had been to his regiment. In 1831 Nat and George got a dinghy, £6 each, and an official work reference, by searching seven days for one man (see Chapter 2.3.4.1 ‘The search for Barker, officially’). Perhaps now Nat reflected that he and Betty got only about the same amount, without any official reference, by searching for two men over sixteen days – or was it a month?

¹⁶⁰⁰ The expression ‘poor thing’ is used in Aboriginal English throughout Central Australia today to signify empathy and pity for the unfortunate and even the ignorant, and it has equivalents in their languages e.g. Jane Simpson on the Warlpiri word *wiyarrpa* (25 July 2010, <https://www.paradisec.org.au/blog/2010/07/life-among-the-warlpiri/>; and 10 Aug 2010, <https://www.paradisec.org.au/blog/2010/08/another-life-gone-wiyarrpa/> [8/10/23]); also <https://callprojects.org.au/film/ngaltutjarra-poor-thing> [8/10/23].

It was well-known in England before the 19th century, e.g. in the nursery rhyme ‘The north wind doth blow... And what will poor robin do then, poor thing?’, published in 1805 (*Oxford Book of Quotations*, 199: 549) but dating back centuries earlier (http://www.rhymes.org.uk/the_north_wind_dothe_blow.htm [8/2/19]). Sealers and sailors would certainly have known it. Probably in situations like this one the Aboriginal women learned it from them as a holophrase, but they would all have had a word for it in their own language.

¹⁶⁰¹ An Aboriginal-English equivalent in Central Australia: see MaryAnne Gale 2000, ‘Poor Bugger Whitefella Got No Dreaming’, Ph.D. thesis, Adelaide University Dept of Linguistics & English, Vol.1: 8-9.

3.6 – October 11 to January 22 (1837): OUTPOST AT FIRST BEACH-HEAD: THE ‘CAPE JERVIS TRIBE’ WITH GUESTS AT RAPID BAY

3.6.1 – GOODBYE TO KI.

The fourteen weeks from mid-October to late January were a period of transition. The settlements on Kangaroo Island co-existed with the establishment of a temporary mainland beachhead at Rapid Bay and the beginning of a permanent one at Holdfast Bay. The front line of invasion gradually moved on as many began to leave Kingscote and Freshwater for Holdfast Bay in November and December.

Yet KI did see one more new beginning; while from its old regime some traditions clung on.

Sometime in December at Kingscote, “under the shade of a large beautiful currant tree” in the summer heat, an aging retired army officer gathered 24 colonial children and began “the first British School in South Australia”.¹⁶⁰² He was Captain Walter Bromley, a veteran pioneer of education in Nova Scotia 20 years earlier.¹⁶⁰³ He arrived from England on the *Tam O’Shanter*,¹⁶⁰⁴ keen to lead the establishment of education for both colonists and ‘natives’, and willing to support himself partially while doing so. We shall hear more of him in Book 2.

Meanwhile, the hospitality of Wallan and Day continued at Three Wells unabated by their dispossession, as they welcomed five unexpected colonists to their house in early December and shouted them a good lunch.¹⁶⁰⁵

The *Africaine*, after precipitating the colony’s first official tragedy and leaving the ‘savages’ to salvage it, sailed on November 6th with its new immigrants to meet Light at Rapid Bay. He had already spent nearly four weeks there landing stores, writing his journal and letters, briefly examining the immediate area on foot, and making his first chart of the Gulf coast.¹⁶⁰⁶ Kingston had finally come to him on October 23rd.

¹⁶⁰² Bromley to Angas 4 June 1838, PRG 174/1: 820; *Advertiser* 29/1/1952: 4j, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/47377498>. The ‘currant tree’ was a Boobialla (*Myoporum* or ‘native juniper’): (http://vro.agriculture.vic.gov.au/dpi/vro/vrosite.nsf/0d08cd6930912d1e4a2567d2002579cb/water_sss_common_boobialla [12/1/19]).

¹⁶⁰³ J Fingard 1988, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/bromley_walter_7E.html [12/1/19]; Bromley to Angas 4 June 1837, PRG 174/1: 820.

¹⁶⁰⁴ There are conflicting reports of the date when the *Tam O’Shanter* arrived at Nepean Bay, varying from 5 Oct (StephensJ 1839: 116) to 20 Nov (EAD Opie 1917, *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*, Adelaide, Hussey & Gillingham: facsimile edition 1981: 17), to 5-6 Dec (Sexton 1990: 29): all sources unspecified. The last date is impossible if Bromley started his school on 5 Dec as claimed by Beare (as reported in *Advertiser* 29/1/1952: 4j, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/47377498>). In his letter to Angas (see footnote above), Bromley says he “remained on Kangaroo Island from the 5th Dec^r to the 19th May, and had the honor of establishing the first British School in South Australia”; so Sexton’s date for the arrival of the *Tam O’Shanter* is probably correct, but Beare (if he read the letter) probably mistook the meaning of Bromley’s reference to that date.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Wallan and Day “without delay produced a leg of pork and some remarkably nice home-baked bread. After spreading a wallaby tablecloth and offering each of us a skin of the same kind as a seat, they requested us to sit down and make ourselves at home” (‘A Private Settler’ 10/12/1836, in Cumpston 1986: 140-1, where ‘Private Settler’s complete account is reproduced). The original source is the Second supplement to the *First Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company 1837* (in South Australian Company, *Miscellaneous reports 1837-1881*, SLSA).

¹⁶⁰⁶ Light Brief Journal: 73-5 (13-16, 19, 21-25 & 31 Oct; 1 & 5 Nov). For his chart see section 3.6.2.5 ‘Maps & movements’.

He now delegated and planned his next moves. Dividing the team in two, he sent Kingston, Field and storeman Gilbert to Holdfast Bay, and they departed thence in the *Rapid* on November 4th. Finniss was to remain in charge of a small outpost at Rapid Bay, with young Jacob in charge of stores.¹⁶⁰⁷ On the 5th the *Rapid* brought the last of the surveyors over from Freshwater.¹⁶⁰⁸

Next day the *Africaine* arrived, adding to his worries with 73 new colonists, all refusing to set up on KI if it was not their final destination.¹⁶⁰⁹ With those from Freshwater and Kingscote, the total waiting list was now more than 300;¹⁶¹⁰ and Light had still not found Jones's Harbour. But by now he expected that Holdfast Bay would be the site whether or not the 'fine harbour' existed, and regardless of anything he might find at Port Lincoln.¹⁶¹¹

After sending off two local mainlanders as messengers to the 'tribes' around Holdfast Bay,¹⁶¹² Light went there himself on November 7th. Adelaide now became the target of the flurry, and most of the colonists on KI would soon follow. But Adelaide is another story, reserved for the next chapter.¹⁶¹³

At *Yartakurlangga* (Rapid Bay), cultural exchange would continue for another ten weeks, invisible to other colonists. For the mainstream of Foundation, Rapid Bay was merely a fleeting sideshow. For the 'Cape Jervis' and Encounter Bay peoples, however, it was a crucial time, never to be repeated, which could determine their place in the new regime. Their freedom was at stake. Could they, as before, force or entice the newcomers into negotiation? In Finniss's little settlement they would make their final attempts at *parnpaparnpalya*, diplomacy.

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¹⁶⁰⁷ Light Brief Journal: 75, 2 & 4 Nov.

¹⁶⁰⁸ Woodforde 5 Nov.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Light Brief Journal: 75, 6 Nov.

¹⁶¹⁰ For the numbers see StephensJ 1839: 116. These numbers exclude the *Tam O'Shanter*, whose arrival Stephens dates at 5th October, incorrectly.

¹⁶¹¹ Light to Commissioners 12 Nov, in Light Brief Journal: 77-8.

¹⁶¹² See section 3.6.2.7 'Messengers'.

¹⁶¹³ See Book 2.

3.6.2 – October 11 to November 7: EARLY DAYS WITH LIGHT: THE ‘CAPE JERVIS TRIBE’, ABORIGINAL ‘MARINES’.

For the story of the outpost at Yartakurlangga we are fortunate to have the contemporary diary of their doctor John Woodforde for almost the whole period;¹⁶¹⁴ that of their young storeman William Jacob for the last three weeks;¹⁶¹⁵ and, much later, ‘Recollections’ by their leader, Lieutenant BT Finniss.¹⁶¹⁶

3.6.2.1 – GARDENERS AND HUNTERS.

At this beachhead, in this moment of possibilities, the locals apparently welcomed the invaders. Returning from the upper Gulf on the evening of October 11th, the *Rapid* anchored at Yartakurlangga. At eight next morning Light’s local garden caretakers greeted his team enthusiastically:

*As soon as they saw our boats approaching the shore, they ran down to the beach and into the water immediately, to assist in landing, and were very useful.*¹⁶¹⁷

They were – as far as we can tell – the same group whom Light had left there over three weeks before. They had fulfilled their part of the deal and were expecting the next appropriate response:

*The natives we left in care of the garden have proved honest and are here to welcome our return and claim their reward. Our garden is looking well the seeds having nearly all come up.*¹⁶¹⁸

“Even the wheat”, added Light, “which, from the lateness of the season, I did not expect would thrive, is now, in one month, more than six inches out of the ground”.¹⁶¹⁹

Doughboy, Magalidi and Cooper had served the purposes for which Light needed them. Now he had other hunters much cheaper. Cooper’s dogs were set to work at once by two of the resident ‘Cape Jervis tribe.’ Thunderstorms, heavy rain and gales held up the work for a day, the same which were marooning Stephens at Aldinga. On the 13th Woodforde “sent” two Aboriginal men out to hunt with “our” dogs.¹⁶²⁰ Apparently Cooper did not go, and the hunters already knew how to work with them.¹⁶²¹ Woodforde wrote, “They have

¹⁶¹⁴ John Woodforde, ‘Abstracts of a Voyage to South Australia’, PRG 502/1/2, State Library of SA (manuscript copy by Harriet Woodforde, from the lost original); PRG 502/1/1 (library typescript from the manuscript); extracts online at <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/bfsa-characters/dr-john-woodforde>.

¹⁶¹⁵ ‘Journal of William Jacob 1837-1838’, PRG 558/23, SLSA.

¹⁶¹⁶ BT Finniss 1892, ‘Some Early Recollections’, KT Borrow Collection, Flinders University Library, https://dspace.flinders.edu.au/xmlui/bitstream/handle/2328/25020/Some_Early_Recollections.pdf?sequence=4; transcription by Gillian Dooley.

¹⁶¹⁷ Light to Commissioners 14 Oct, *SA Record* 7: 51a; Light Brief Journal: 72-3, 12 Oct.

¹⁶¹⁸ Woodforde 12 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-12-october-1836-4/>. A few weeks later Gouger judged that in this garden “all seeds [were] far more advanced than any I had seen at Kangaroo Island”, though he was probably commenting on the soil rather than the efficacy of the Aboriginal care (Gouger Journals, 7 Nov).

¹⁶¹⁹ Light to Commissioners 14 Oct, *ibid*.

¹⁶²⁰ They could only have been Cooper’s dogs, but the officers thought of them as ‘ours,’ just as Cooper was ‘our sealer’ (Woodforde 21 Nov).

¹⁶²¹ We know that at least one of the men at Rapid Bay had lived with Wallan on KI and knew about hunting with dogs (see below). Cooper’s dogs were at Rapid Bay until 18 Oct at least, but are not mentioned after that. We don’t know

captured a fine kangaroo which will be sufficient to feed all hands for four days.”¹⁶²² Perhaps, after the *Rapid* had sailed north from Yankalilla, Cooper’s main function had been as keeper of his dogs. But now it seems Light soon directed him to KI with Pullen.

Doubtless the hunters were two of the original eight whom Light had promised to reward. A few weeks later, Gouger heard that Light had “selected” these men.¹⁶²³ But it is likely they had already selected themselves – or been selected by their people – when they arrived in September. They were now continuing the transaction even before Light had caught up with his side of it. For only on the next day, the 14th, did he fulfill his bargain with these individuals, distributing “eight pair of trowsers, eight waistcoats, and eight foraging caps, for their good conduct.”¹⁶²⁴ The eight were “strong & well disposed men”; in return for jobs they could also get a piece of ship’s biscuit¹⁶²⁵ – a ration which Kalinga had appreciated on the *Africaine*. Light promised them a new cap each “if they remain faithful.”¹⁶²⁶ The recipients “were very much pleased”.¹⁶²⁷

Light “dignified [these eight] with the title of ‘Marines’”¹⁶²⁸ and also gave to each “an English name of which they are remarkably proud.”¹⁶²⁹ These nicknames may have given amusement to the Europeans who bestowed and used them, but the recipients obviously saw them as a serious part of the relationship. There was a practice among the ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language group called *nari-yungkurri*, glossed as ‘one who has the same name as you, a name-brother’.¹⁶³⁰ Perhaps ‘brother-naming’ was an important part of the process to which the ‘Cape Jervis’ people had willingly committed themselves, hoping for commitment in return.¹⁶³¹

what became of them over these months, but they were valuable and he had them again in Adelaide next year (see Book 2).

¹⁶²² Woodforde 13 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-12-october-1836-4/>.

¹⁶²³ It is necessary to remember that although Gouger was intensely interested in all aspects of the welfare of the colony which he had done so much to promote, here at Rapid Bay he was only a passing visitor. The same caution applies even more strongly to Mary Thomas.

¹⁶²⁴ Light to Commissioners 14 Oct. These were colourful military castoffs, purposely stocked in advance: “*Old ordinance stores which we were furnished with for that purpose*” (Pullen MSS Journal: 31/24, 14 Oct). The coats and perhaps the trousers were red (Finniss 1892: 3).

¹⁶²⁵ Gouger Journals, 7 Nov.

¹⁶²⁶ Woodforde 16 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-16-october-1836-4/>.

¹⁶²⁷ Pullen MSS Journal: 31/24, 14 Oct.

¹⁶²⁸ Gouger Journals, 7 Nov.

¹⁶²⁹ Gouger Journals, 7 Nov.

¹⁶³⁰ OS *narri-yungori* or *nari-yungkurri* (Teichelmann MS 1857). The same was true among the Raminyeri at Encounter Bay (Meyer 1846: 2). The Mt Barker people in the 1840s “*considered it a compliment to take your name. It established a sort of relationship and claim on you. They were fond of adopting the whites as their brothers*” (Jane Sanders memoirs, n.d., quoted in Simpson 1998: 222).

¹⁶³¹ Had the Aboriginal ‘marines’ suggested – or had Light guessed – that they should include name-sharing with members of his party as part of the deal in order to strengthen their mutual bonds? The Aboriginal nicknames we know from these times at Rapid Bay were ‘Peter’, ‘Jim’, ‘Tom’ and ‘Bob’ (see later). Among Light’s team were a fair number of Jims, Toms and Bobs, though no Peters. Those who are known to have stayed at Rapid Bay at some stage include: Third Officer *Robert* Hill; seamen *Robert* Buck Senior and Junior; survey labourers *Robert* Bristow, *James* Freemantle, *James* Hoare and *James* Stubbington; and colonist *Thomas* Powys. Among those who came on the *Rapid* and the *Cygnat* and *might* have spent time at Rapid Bay before Nov 6 (even if briefly) were: storeman *Thomas* Gilbert; passengers ‘Captain’ *Thomas* Lipson Senior and *Thomas* Lipson Junior; emigrants or labourers *James* Adams, *Thomas* Bell, *James* Brennan, *James* Brown, *James* Marshall, *Thomas* Rogers, *James* Stone, *Robert* Wright and *Thomas* Wright. See Diane Cummings’ passenger lists for the *Rapid* and the *Cygnat*, <https://bound-for-south-australia.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/1836Rapid.htm>; and <https://bound-for-south-australia.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/1836Cygnat.htm>.

These proceedings followed a strategy predetermined by Light and the Commissioners. Eight ‘rewards’ for eight men; a work deal. If other ‘natives’ were present at this stage, Light was giving no general handouts. These were marks of privilege to a few chosen for their willingness to cooperate in the labour force: an Aboriginal elite created at least partly by the colony at the bottom of its social ladder. Unless followed by real negotiation, the strategy could co-opt these ‘Marines’ as ‘collaborators’ or ‘Uncle Toms’, and subvert then from any diplomatic function.

Yet from the perspective of the mainlanders, these delegates were now established in embassy and working to build a cooperative peace out of this fluid situation. This “Cape Jervis tribe”, wrote Woodforde, “evinced... not the slightest disposition to thief”, made themselves “very useful... working in any way with great cheerfulness”.¹⁶³² They could even forgo some of the rights of a hunter in favour of a family approach. According to Light on the day after the kangaroo hunt, “They cut wood for us, and when they kill a kangaroo, bring it to us to divide as we think fit, and take whatever is offered to them with the greatest good nature”. Their conduct had the desired effect in the short term: “The willingness with which these natives assist us makes me anxious to retain their goodwill”.¹⁶³³

3.6.2.2 – DANCING THE DEAL.

On the evening of the gifts, the Cape Jervis Eight performed a corroboree, which probably sealed the pact and celebrated it. Although none of the survey company joined in, this was probably offered as the ‘dancing with strangers’ which throughout Australia was an essential part of meeting visitors to the land,¹⁶³⁴ of wrapping up serious negotiations, of limiting disputes. For traditional minds it was resonant with hope for the future. “We... have just returned from our native’s fire where they entertained us with their native dance called by them ‘Corroborey’”, wrote Woodforde that night.¹⁶³⁵ Though an amateur musician, he was no connoisseur of ‘multicultural arts’:

It is chiefly characterized by feats of activity and violent contortions of muscle having nothing of grace in its composition. They dance it to a very monotonous harsh kind of vocal music, constantly repeating the same words.

Usually such a public ceremony would include women and children; and if they were present on this occasion it would confirm that the mainlanders now regarded the situation as normalized. But only Pullen’s account mentions women, and they were almost certainly introduced into his journal from later experience elsewhere.¹⁶³⁶ At this date –

¹⁶³² Woodforde 16 Oct; Gouger described them as “*honest and obliging*” (Gouger Journals, 7 Nov).

¹⁶³³ Light to Commissioners 14 Oct.

¹⁶³⁴ See Clendinnen 2003 (Inga Clendinnen, *Dancing With Strangers*, Melbourne: The Text Publishing Company). She tells how exchanges of music and dance were features of many first encounters with First Peoples on the east coast of Australia. Cp. ‘Ootinaï’, Hutchinson and Margaret Stevenson on the *Buffalo* (see Book 2).

¹⁶³⁵ Woodforde 14 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-14-october-1836-3/>. Peter Sutton pointed out what I missed: newcomer Woodforde says on the spot that it was *the Eight themselves* who called it “corroborey” – a Dharuk word imported from Sydney; and this is further evidence that they knew Pidgin English (Sutton p.c. email 16/4/19: 2). They used a word which their guests would understand.

¹⁶³⁶ In Pullen’s corroboree women feed the fire and beat the *tapurru* ‘drum’ (in this case their skin cloaks). This account was written in 1842 without his old journal. It is dated incorrectly 15th September, when women were definitely not present. It generalizes, using the present tense, and is obviously expanded for reading by others as an exotic traveller’s tale. He is therefore probably summarizing corroborees which he saw in Adelaide later: “Ye ladies could you see a corrobory you’d blush but now in the colony it is gone out of fashion so I shall imagine. In speaking to the Colonial ladies I give a brief but imperfect sketch of the above dance. The men some supplied with

only three days after the *Rapid* had returned – probably only the eight men were present.¹⁶³⁷ Women and children would come in later.

When it was over Woodforde “played them an air on the flute” – probably something slow and sentimental like ‘The Last Rose of Summer.’¹⁶³⁸ “They seemed very much pleased,” he wrote, “but did not evince any great surprise.”¹⁶³⁹ The eight would have appreciated his gesture, an appropriate response in kind. As for ‘surprise’, European pride expected this response when displaying their artifacts, and often got it, tending to see it as confirmation of their superiority; and certainly flutes were a novelty among Australian First Nations.¹⁶⁴⁰ But perhaps *these* mainlanders had heard tin whistles before, either on KI or among a ship’s crew. Or was it simply that overt surprise was a bad protocol in this situation?

On the 16th, two days later, Woodforde echoed Light’s appreciations, adding the common back-handed compliment: “with kind treatment they may be as easily civilized as any

*a couple of sticks are ranged near a few small embers which is sparingly fed by one of the women who are generally seated on the ground with their legs tucked under their [towels?] All’a Turk resting on their knees a skin (of some sort chiefly kangaroo) which they beat with their hands... to a New comer it excites almost a degree of terror I might imagine a few of the inhabitants of Pandemonium had broken loose. In some case [sic] they work themselves up to such a state of excitement that the countenance is truly terrific”, etc (Pullen MSS Journal: 31/16, my transcription). “All’a Turk” (for ‘A la Turk’) was a musical term meaning ‘in Turkish style’: a European fad of that period for so-called ‘Turkish music’ in march rhythm with bass drum and cymbals. This was familiar to the middle class since Mozart’s famous ‘Rondo Alla Turca’ in the 1780s, and other references in classical music (e.g. the last movement of Beethoven’s 9th Symphony [1824]). The ‘towels’ were the women’s cloaks – which were made of possum skins according to most other observers. See my summary of the evidence for various forms of *tapurru* in Schultz et al 1999: 87-8.*

¹⁶³⁷ ABORIGINAL MEN AND WOMEN AT RAPID BAY ON 14 OCT 1836: There is no clear evidence that any mainlanders were present at this corroboree in 1836 other than the eight men who had either stayed on at Rapid Bay since September or returned by 12th October. This is so despite Pullen’s ‘MSS Journal’, which also gives a description of a corroboree in the context of the survey team at Rapid Bay in 1836 (Pullen MSS Journal: 31/15-16, 15 Sep). But Pullen, writing from memory in 1842 without his original journal, places the corroboree on 15 September, the evening of Cooper’s return with the mainland men, where his entry also includes the gifts of “*biscuit & soldiers old clothes of which they were very proud*”. Woodforde’s on-the-spot diary places both the handouts of clothing and the corroboree on 14 October, and we cannot consider Pullen as evidence that either of these happened on Light’s urgently hurried night of 15 Sep. In 1842, after writing the entry for Sep 27th, Pullen rediscovered his original journal, and wrote his entry for 14 October with its aid; but here he omits the corroboree, and includes *another* account of how the locals were “*very pleased*” with “*jackets & trousers*”. The most likely explanation of all this is that Pullen (a busy man) decided not to correct the 15 Sep entry, and not to re-visit the corroboree when writing his new account of 14 Oct. His description of it, quoted above in part, was clearly written later, drawing upon other ceremonies he had witnessed in Adelaide (most of the details match many other accounts). He begins with a typical early assumption: “*by way of expressing their joy at the white mas [man’s] arrival they danced a corrobory*”, and continues with a literary flourish possibly aimed at publication: “*Ye ladies could you see a corrobory you’d blush but now in the colony it is gone out of fashion so I shall imagine. In speaking to the Colonial ladies I give a brief but imperfect sketch of the above dance*” (my emphasis).

¹⁶³⁸ From Thomas Moore’s very popular ‘Irish Melodies’: see e.g. <http://www.contemplator.com/history/tmoore.html> [13/10/16]. Or perhaps Woodforde’s ‘air’ was Bach’s famous ‘Air on the G String’ (i.e. of a violin; but the piece was often played on any available instrument). ‘Air’ was a familiar musical term for any song-like tune, and collections of ‘airs’ (especially ‘national airs’ of the Empire) sold widely to amateur players and singers throughout England in the 19th century.

¹⁶³⁹ Woodforde 14 Oct.

¹⁶⁴⁰ In all Aboriginal societies, the overwhelmingly dominant form of sound art was *singing*. In societies of southeastern Australia, wind instruments (i.e. breath-blown) were unknown, including the didjeridu but with the *possible* exception of the gumleaf ‘whistle’. So was the whole idea of instrumental music, and the idea of ‘music’ itself, in our sense abstracted from singing, dancing and ceremonial theatre. My own musical researches have revealed not a single reference to any kind of wind instrument at first contact in the whole region from Flinders Ranges to Yorke Peninsula, Adelaide, Fleurieu and Lakes. For cultures of Victoria see e.g. Barwick & Marrett ‘Aboriginal Traditions’; R Ryan ‘Voices and Instruments’; McDonald & Ryan ‘Peoples of the southeast’; all in J Whiteoak & A Scott-Maxwell 2003, *Currency Companion to Music and Dance in Australia*, Sydney: Currency Press: 26a, 27-8, 33-4. At Glenelg on the *Buffalo* ten weeks later ‘Ootiniai’ did show “*astonishment*” when “*music*” was played, though not for anything else (see Book 2; Journal of YB Hutchinson 8/1/1837, PRG 1013/1/1, SLSA; cp. Stevenson journal: 56-7, 1/1/1837). He heard Hutchinson on the flute and Mary Hindmarsh on the piano, and was certainly hearing a wind instrument for the first time.

other race of savages.” That afternoon, as the weather abated, he was impressed by their fishing genius and continued protocol of sharing the catch:¹⁶⁴¹

*Some of the natives showed much ingenuity this afternoon capturing several very fine fish of the salmon species. They descried the shoal from their huts – a distance of half a mile and upon a signal given each man dashed into the water with a small net under his arm and each succeeded in bringing out 2, 3 or 4 enclosed in it in an incredibly short space of time.*¹⁶⁴² *They immediately brought them to our tents and gave them to us, but we only took three from them, in return for which Colonel Light intends to give them a meal of beef.*¹⁶⁴³

3.6.2.3 – LANGUAGE, COMMUNICATION, FEET ON THE GROUND.

By this fifth day of this colony, one of the eight was already forming a closer relationship with the doctor through shared experiences of feet on the ground. He was going out with the daily excursions in which Woodforde kept up the supply of fresh meat by shooting birds:

*He generally accompanies me out shooting and fetches the game out of the water as well as any dog. He is much pleased when I kill a bird on the wing and expresses his surprise by the exclamation ‘Wurra-dourra.’*¹⁶⁴⁴

It is probably one of these morning excursions which is depicted in Light’s painting ‘Rapid Valley,’ and Woodforde’s helpful companion is probably one of those depicted.¹⁶⁴⁵

This unnamed man was not a newcomer to Englishmen and their ways. He “has lived with Wallend,¹⁶⁴⁶ the Chief Sealer, on the Island speaks a little English and understands

¹⁶⁴¹ Woodforde 16 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-16-october-1836-4/>.

¹⁶⁴² This salmon-fishing with small individual nets is a different technology from the large seine net operated jointly by two men as depicted in Angas’s well-known painting of Second Valley, which is a shallower and more sheltered venue (Giles lithograph ‘Coast Scene Near Rapid Bay’ in Angas 1847a, *SA Illustrated* Plate 21). Two watercolours by Cawthorne show the difference: (1) His view of two men seine-fishing in the same cove at Second Valley, but looking northeast instead of southwest as in Angas (‘Second Valley’, Mitchell Library, in Cawthorne 1854/2020: [182-3]); (2) A team driving fish in the shallows of a reef, probably at *Yarnkalyilla* (Lady Bay): two men are at the water’s edge and 11 more in a line several metres out, each wielding a small net with a handle (‘Fishing’, Mitchell Library, in *ibid*: [193]).

¹⁶⁴³ Salt junk.

¹⁶⁴⁴ Woodforde 16 Oct. Woodforde assumed that ‘surprise’ was the cause of the ‘exclamation’, but this probably reflected his own expectations; more likely it was simply exuberance over a successful hit. Attributing surprise is just as culturally conditioned as an attributing a lack of it, and just as likely to be wrong. Why would a man who had lived with Wallan be audibly surprised when he saw Woodforde do what he had often seen Wallan do? And why do this ‘generally’, i.e. on successive occasions when the same thing happens? Woodforde’s use of the Continuous Present tense –the man ‘generally accompanies’, ‘fetches’, ‘is pleased’ and ‘expresses’ – carries an implication that it all these things *keep on* happening.

¹⁶⁴⁵ W Light, ‘Rapid Valley, South Australia, view looking up the Valley from the spot called The Garden.’ This work is available to us only in the form of a coloured engraving by William Walton based on it (B7285, SLISA, <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+7285> [21/12/17]; 645G19, Art Gallery of SA, www.artgallery.sa.gov.au/agsa/home/Collection/detail.jsp?accNo=645G19 [21/12/17]). The original would have been sketched in October 1836. Some (including me) have thought it looks more like Second Valley; but after consultation with Rapid Bay resident John Croser (p.c., email 24/12/2017) and my own careful viewing on the spot, it is clearly Rapid Bay seen from the bank above the lowest river flats. It shows Woodforde in the foreground with his gun, and two groups of men further up. In a seated group of two, the left figure is probably an Aboriginal man with a spear; the right figure wears a hat. In a group of three, two are standing: the central figure is an Aboriginal man wearing trousers and carrying spear (?& shield). He is taller than the right figure who wears a hat and holds a fishing rod. The seated figure at left is unclear. The two Aboriginal men are probably members of the ‘Marines,’ though it is unclear whether they are wearing their ‘uniforms.’ It is possible that they are ‘Peter’ and ‘Jim,’ the well-remembered friends of Finnis (see below).

much more, so he is a good interpreter.”¹⁶⁴⁷ Four revealing implications arise from this incident.

Firstly, this man had probably learned from Wallan how to use dogs to hunt both birds and animals. Probably others who had been on KI were likewise equipped, just as ready as Doughboy and Magalidi to work with dogs when they got the chance. Quite possibly this man was one of the two whom Woodforde sent out with the dogs on the 13th and again on the 18th and 22nd.¹⁶⁴⁸

Secondly, it gives a clearer perspective of the reality on the ground following Light’s anticipated need for an interpreter. One of the eight men spoke ‘a little English;’ one visitor claimed that “most of them” did so.¹⁶⁴⁹

Thirdly, Cooper, Doughboy and Magalidi were now redundant in two of their three employable functions. Cooper might still be useful for his knowledge of local conditions, but none of them were needed at Yartakurlangga for either hunting or interpreting.

Fourthly, the language which this man used was ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna*. “Wurra dourra” was almost certainly *warra tauara*, ‘big noise’.¹⁶⁵⁰

Textbox23: LANGUAGES AND INTERPRETERS AT RAPID BAY IN 1836-7.

It is almost certain that in these three months at Rapid Bay conversation between Aboriginal people and whites relied heavily on the pre-existing ability of the locals to speak Pidgin English.

Woodforde tells us that his Aboriginal shooting companion is “a good interpreter” *because* he speaks English.¹⁶⁵¹ Finniss’s recollections of his friends Peter and Jim use no Aboriginal words except the place-name “Yankallyilla”. According to Mary Thomas “most of them” spoke English, i.e. most of those who had “introduced themselves” using their new nicknames.¹⁶⁵²

It was the mainland ‘natives’ whom the Commissioners wanted Light to cultivate. He and his

¹⁶⁴⁶ Henry Wallan.

¹⁶⁴⁷ It is unlikely that Woodforde’s man was one of Doughboy’s sons, whom she had not seen ‘for many years’ (Field 1837). If he had been with Wallan not far away from Emu Bay, he surely would have met her fairly often. But it is possible that the man was Finniss’s friend ‘Peter.’ Peter had probably been on Kangaroo Island in the recent past, since his wife had a ‘halfcaste’ baby who must have been fathered by an Islander. See section 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter.’

¹⁶⁴⁸ See section 3.6.2.4 ‘Food & families’.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Mary Thomas Diary, under ‘6 Nov’, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-6-november-1836-3/>; but she could not have heard the information until the following day). See Textbox23 below on ‘Languages at Rapid Bay’.

¹⁶⁵⁰ 1. ‘Wurra’: The first vowel must be pronounced as in English ‘burrow’ or ‘Burra’, i.e. phonetic *a*. The typescript copy of Woodforde’s diary mis-transcribes manuscript ‘Wurra’ as ‘Nurra’. But there is no *nara* in either ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* or ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar*, while *ngarra* makes no sense here in Kornar (‘daughter’) and probably not in Miyurna (‘burnt stick’).

2. Amery is inclined to see the phrase as *warra* ‘word, voice, noise’ + *tuurra* (onomatopoeic imitation of the sound of a gunshot), while noting that “*the possible range of meanings for an exclamation uttered in this context is wide*” (Amery 1998: 62 n57).

3. ‘Dourra’: The translation is simpler when we consider the ‘ou’ in ‘dourra’ to be pronounced as in ‘flour’, ‘our’, ‘hour’; cp. Wyatt’s spelling “*touara*” = T&S 1840 *tauara*. *tawarra* ‘big, tall, large; very, much; great in general’. Wyatt used this digraph for the same sound in ‘Wouwe’ (*wauwi*), ‘Koue’ (*kauwi*), ‘Kouano’ (*kawanu*), ‘Kouandilla’ (*Kawantilla*). See Wyatt 1879: 176, cp. 178, 171.

¹⁶⁵¹ Woodforde 16 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-16-october-1836-4/>; he “*speaks a little English and understands much more, so he is a good interpreter*” (my emphasis).

¹⁶⁵² Mary Thomas diary under 6 Nov. She must have got this information at second-hand from the shore party, but not until the following day.

officers now had the ‘real thing’, and when the real thing spoke Pidgin English, Cooper was not needed as an interpreter. Nor was Doughboy, a half-way woman, a white man’s wife clad in half-European clothes, who also did not count for this purpose although they were talking to her sons (among others).

Records of Aboriginal languages on the southern Fleurieu coast from 1836 to January 1837 are very limited. This book uses all of them that are currently known from that period.

Four place-names were recorded there during that time, all in ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* language. All must have been obtained from either Condoy, Kalinga, Doughboy or the unnamed tribesmen at Rapid Bay.¹⁶⁵³ No place-names in ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* language were recorded anywhere until September 1837 around Encounter Bay.

There are also three known first-hand records of Aboriginal language spoken by the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ in this period:¹⁶⁵⁴

1. “Wurra dourra”:

Beyond reasonable doubt, this is *Miyurna* language: *warra tauara*, ‘big noise’.¹⁶⁵⁵

2. “Wongo” or “wonga”:

In January 1837 the locals caught a “smaller species” of possum, recorded by Woodforde as “wongo”, and by Jacob as “wonga”.¹⁶⁵⁶ This two-syllable word is almost certainly *Miyurna*: *wangku*. The corresponding Raminyeri term is related to it but has three syllables, *wongguri*. The species may have been a Ringtail, or perhaps Feathertail Glider or Western Pygmy Possum.¹⁶⁵⁷

3. “Welta”:

Also in January 1837, Jacob wrote that the locals hunt only in the morning, and say that they catch nothing in the afternoon because it is “*welta* (very hot)”.¹⁶⁵⁸ This is a rare case where the terms are essentially identical in both languages, making it impossible to decide which it is. It could be *Miyurna*, *warlta* ‘hot’; or in Raminyeri, *werlti* (also recorded as “*werlta*”) or *waldi*, both meaning ‘hot’.¹⁶⁵⁹

From other sources in the years of first contact, it is clear that a dialect of *Miyurna* language was then the ‘proper language’ at Yankalilla and Rapid Bay. Wyatt was the first to make a short list of Rapid Bay vocabulary, in which almost every word is clearly a variant of known *Miyurna* vocabulary; then Teichelmann and Schürmann recorded a few of its distinctive words.¹⁶⁶⁰

One Aboriginal man was teaching language to Woodforde and learning some more English in

¹⁶⁵³ i.e. *Yarnkalyilla*, *Patpangga*, *Ngaltingga* and *Yartakurlangga*. See their individual write-ups in the body of this chapter; also Textbox26 ‘Place-names to the end of 1836’. For those recorded before 1836, see Textbox11 on ‘The evidence of earliest place-names’.

¹⁶⁵⁴ Amery also discusses these three items (Amery 1998: 62-3).

¹⁶⁵⁵ See above, main text and footnote.

¹⁶⁵⁶ Woodforde 13 Jan 1837; Jacob journal 14 Jan 1837.

¹⁶⁵⁷ These possum species and their names are discussed in Schultz PNS 4.04.01/03 Wakuntilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-01-03Wakunth.pdf>.

¹⁶⁵⁸ Jacob journal 17 Jan 1837.

¹⁶⁵⁹ See Gale 2009: 160, 166.

¹⁶⁶⁰ The closely-related southern dialect of ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* language was distinguishable mainly by a few different words and pronunciations: see Wyatt’s wordlist (in Wyatt 1879), which distinguishes several words from it by the prefix *r*. We do not know how or from whom Wyatt obtained these words; it could have been any of the people he met at Encounter Bay or on the way to it in September 1837, or any visitor to Adelaide during his protectorship 1837-9 when the wordlist was no doubt compiled (though not published until 1879). See also comments on *padnendi* and *wenendi* in T&S 1840 (OS; RS *padninthi* and *wininthi*). The evidence is summarized in Amery 1998: 83-4; cp. Amery 1996: 47-9; Amery 2016: 92.

return, probably the same one who said ‘*Warra tauara*’.¹⁶⁶¹ It is a great pity that we do not have Woodforde’s notes of these lessons, though it seems they did not continue. If the teacher was ‘Peter’, the language of the lessons could have been either *Miyurna* or *Raminyeri*. But perhaps he decided to camp out with Finnis on his surveying¹⁶⁶² rather than hang around the settlement with Woodforde.

Though Magalidi could speak English probably better than any of them, very likely she took the first available boat back to KI, perhaps on the same day as Woodforde’s diary entry above, October 16th. On that day Light sent the *Rapid* to bring more of the survey team and stores from Freshwater River.¹⁶⁶³ But Magalidi was an alien here. Now an unnecessary expense, probably she asked to go back on the brig because she felt safer on the Island. But we don’t know. A few years later she too would be found in the new colony for a while, perhaps after first going to Adelaide with Doughboy and Cooper.¹⁶⁶⁴

3.6.2.4 – FOOD AND FAMILIES: FOOD RIGHTS.

Over the next two days Woodforde notes briefly the visit of Morphett and Stephens, returning to Kingscote from their Gulf voyage. But more importantly as the doctor responsible for the colony’s health, on the 18th he ordered another kangaroo hunt exactly like the one five days earlier:

*We sent our dogs out with two of the native men this morning and they have just returned with a fine kangaroo. This is the third we have had since we encamped here.*¹⁶⁶⁵

“*We sent our dogs out*” again on the 22nd.¹⁶⁶⁶

For the settlement inherited from the *Rapid* an urgent health problem. The labourers in particular were still suffering from a lack of fresh food; for seven months their main

¹⁶⁶¹ “I have been engaged with one of the natives this evening learning the language and teaching him in return words of English”. He and perhaps others made some attempt to teach English to the whole group, for he generalized about them: “They are very apt at pronouncing words but forget them the next minute” (Woodforde 20 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-20-october-1836-4/>).

¹⁶⁶² See Section 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter’, below.

¹⁶⁶³ Woodforde 16 Oct; Light Brief Journal: 73-4, 16 & 23 Oct; Light 15-23 Oct in *SA Record* 7: 51.

¹⁶⁶⁴ “Sally, a native of Van Diemen’s Land” is next heard of at Port Lincoln in 1840 (*Southern Australian* 26/3/1840: 4c, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71619080/6245008>); then as “Sally Cooper” at Encounter Bay (*SA Register* 21/11/1840: 4a-b, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article27442038>).

¹⁶⁶⁵ Woodforde 18 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-18-october-1836-3/>. Did these three kangaroos include the one caught by Doughboy and Magalidi on 9-10 Sep? If so, it means that they had caught none at all during the Gulf voyage, confirming the impression given by the lack of reference to their hunting in the journals during that time.

¹⁶⁶⁶ The hunters are not mentioned, but presumably were Aboriginal. One of the dogs was “*dreadfully torn*” by a kangaroo but no catch was recorded (Woodforde 22 Oct).

source of protein had been “salt junk.”¹⁶⁶⁷ Light was worried by scurvy continuing among them.¹⁶⁶⁸

It would worsen over the next six weeks, until nine out of fifteen were “hardly able to do any thing from scorbutic sores on their feet and ankles.”¹⁶⁶⁹ The vegetable garden did not begin substantial production until late November.¹⁶⁷⁰ Sea fishing was difficult and mostly unsuccessful for the newcomers, even after Light left a whaleboat for them to use; creek fishing was good but insufficient; the net-fishing of the ‘Cape Jervis’ men in the first week was an abundant and most welcome gift.¹⁶⁷¹ Woodforde’s tireless bird-shooting expeditions were an important supplement, and became indispensable when other meat supplies ran out in January.¹⁶⁷²

By contrast, the eight tribesmen seemed very healthy, even though some had scars from old smallpox.¹⁶⁷³ They were rescuing their much less healthy guests. In order to coexist peacefully for an unknown period, the two groups had to address the issue of subsistence. Since the newcomers’ own food supplies were limited in quantity and inadequate in nutrition, they depended on Aboriginal cooperation for a reliable supply of fresh meat: mainly kangaroo, with an occasional supplement of emu or possum.¹⁶⁷⁴ Had

¹⁶⁶⁷ Woodforde 17 Dec, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/saturday-17-december-1836-3/>. ‘Salt junk’ was dried beef preserved with salt. Later, in Adelaide away from the help of his ‘Cape Jervis’ friends, not even Finniss or his pregnant wife had access to fresh meat. Finniss remembered later that by late January 1837 in Adelaide, his “health was giving way owing to the fatigues of the survey... The intense heat of the sun was causing nausea and weakness, induced probably by the salt diet on which we were subsisting at the time. Dr Woodforde attended us and ordered me to get fresh meat from the store a privilege in which I had not hitherto participated. The sole fresh meat I could get for my sick wife was obtained by my gun... fresh meat... was very scarce and supplied only to the Seniors of the expedition and the hard working men.” (Finniss 1892: 9-10).

¹⁶⁶⁸ Light to Commissioners 19 Nov, quoted in Light Brief Journal: 78, 19 Nov.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Woodforde 4 Dec, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-4-december-1836-4/>; Light to Commissioners 5 Dec (in Light Brief Journal: 84, following 4 Dec).

¹⁶⁷⁰ The garden produced only radishes and cress until French beans became useable in the last week of November, and peas a week later (Woodforde 24 Nov, 2 Dec).

¹⁶⁷¹ FISHING AT RAPID BAY IN 1836: Woodforde and others went fishing in “the stream” (which we now call Yattagolinga Creek) (Woodforde 18, 19, 21, 22 Oct) and in Second Valley (Woodforde 16 Nov), and got small fish, but not enough to feed the whole party. The *Rapid* had departed with all the boats which Woodforde had previously used to catch enough fish for all hands (Woodforde 12, 13 Sep), and Cooper’s dinghy was lost. But without a boat and without the jetty which we now take for granted, sea fishing with rod and line was almost impossible in that precipitous landscape. Aboriginal net-fishing is mentioned only once during the colony here, in the first week. The ‘Cape Jervis’ tribesmen had netted salmon and shared them with the colonists on one occasion (Woodforde 16 Oct); but this very labour-intensive gift may have been one of the special diplomatic actions of that first week sealing the deal, as it seems not to have been repeated. Second Valley is a good site for seine net fishing, but there is no record that the hosts were doing it during these months. In December Light left a whaleboat for fishing, but on the unfamiliar ground inshore they had no luck (Woodforde 17, 25 Dec).

¹⁶⁷² Jacob considered Woodforde’s shooting excursions to be their mainstay: “Doctor out shooting again today indeed he has kept us in fresh meat nearly ever since we have been here” (Jacob journal 19 Jan). But Woodforde’s daily birds could provide only a small fraction of the fresh meat needed to sustain even such a small population.

¹⁶⁷³ See Textbox18 ‘Group affiliations’.

¹⁶⁷⁴ The onsite diaries explicitly record five kangaroos used for food by the survey colony. The first was hunted by Doughboy and Maglite on 9-10 Sep; on 18 Oct was “the third we have had since we encamped here” (Woodforde’s count) – which tells us that the one on 13 Oct was the second, and (perhaps) that none had been caught during the voyage north. A fourth tore a dog on 22 Oct and was probably also caught; and Woodforde shot a fifth on 1 Jan (Woodforde 22 Oct, 1 Jan). The doctor noted that one large kangaroo “will be sufficient to feed all hands for four days” (Woodforde 13 Oct). There may have been others; but since they were always good news to the hungry camp, Woodforde’s silence about them makes it doubtful that there were many. By mid-November, “we are getting tired of kangaroo which as the heat of the weather increases gets poor and rank” (Woodforde 18 Nov). Towards the end of the colony, the tribesmen were “very seldom” bringing them in (Woodforde 19 Jan), possibly for reasons of seasonal movement by both the kangaroos and the ‘tribe’. Woodforde recorded a traditional Aboriginal hunt for small possums; his companion Powys once shot an emu; Woodforde and Jacob both record eating the results (Woodforde 1 & 13 Jan 1837; Jacob journal 1 & 14 Jan 1837). Emus were probably scarce in this very hilly country.

the guests communicated with Aboriginal women later, the aid might have included native fruits and vegetables as well as fresh meat; but there is no sign that they were aware of such bush tucker or medicine.¹⁶⁷⁵

The ‘Cape Jervis’ people cooperated generously: a sign that they felt the little colony was respecting their rights as proprietors of the land’s resources. And indeed the Commissioners had instructed Light to *buy* game from them rather than merely take it.¹⁶⁷⁶ The joint hunting may imply that Light had instructed his officers to fulfil this instruction by working with the locals. Even if not, the hunters may have regarded the white man’s permission to use the dogs as a routine reciprocation of their own rights. They did not *need* the daily rations of biscuit and salt beef, no doubt perceiving them as part of their due and the settlers’ obligation. But Light and his officers saw them as ‘gifts’ or ‘rewards.’¹⁶⁷⁷ The privileging of eight ‘marines’ was not an acknowledgment of First-Nation rights in general, not even food rights.¹⁶⁷⁸

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Thus within the first week of the settlement a liveable situation had been set up by each side. It remained only for the mainlanders to normalize life by bringing in their women and children. Though there is no record of them first appearing, it must have happened in the next couple of weeks. By November 7th there were “about 30 [natives] resident in Rapid Bay”.¹⁶⁷⁹ Jacob reported the same number in mid-January.¹⁶⁸⁰ We may infer that this number – fairly stable though ‘floating’ – was the part of the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ which committed itself to Yartarlurangga in those three months: probably three or four of

¹⁶⁷⁵ Nobody, not even Dr Woodforde, mentions bush-tucker vegetables and fruits; and foraging could never have provided enough for all the dependents in the white colony even if they had been willing and able to eat what was found. Jacob the storeman, unaware of the importance of bush tucker in the economy of the locals, thought the women “*lead a [sic] easy life. The men doing all the work*” (Jacob journal 16 Jan). This was probably an honest mistake, based on his limited view from the storehouse – the men were helping him shift the stores to the beach (Finniss 1892: 7, 8) – and on his ignorance of the women’s enormous workload in daily foraging and preparing staple vegetable food, manufacturing fibres, and the like. In early New South Wales an “*acid berry*” (probably the Sour currant bush, *Leptomeria acida*) was used to treat convicts who arrived suffering from scurvy (ClarkeP 2008, ‘Aboriginal healing practices and Australian bush medicine,’ *Journal of Anthropological Society of SA* 33: 16). No doubt similar bush medicines were known and available at Rapid Bay.

¹⁶⁷⁶ See the footnote on food rights in section 3.4.5.2.2 ‘Light’s instructions.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Light and Woodforde speak of the rations to the ‘Marines’ as “*rewards*” rather than payment (*SA Record* 7: 51a; Woodforde 12 Oct). The group were still self-sufficient and in control of their land, while their visitors made up only a small number equivalent to about two of their own family groups. This situation here was quite different from Adelaide, where the sheer *numbers* of newcomers very quickly overwhelmed the local resources of the land and took control away from the locals. There the European assumption of individual paid work would immediately replace Light’s brief and half-baked foray into communal ‘conciliation’ and reciprocation.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Much like land rights, food rights were known in theory but not backed by either legislation or planning, nor by substantial sentiment among the colonists in SA, and in any case were unenforceable. Light and Finniss had nothing to say about these matters, and in parliament later Finniss was a conservative. What I call ‘food rights’ here are part of the right to ‘occupy and enjoy’ the land, to hunt, gather and fish (the legal term is ‘usufructuary rights’). As shown in the Commissioners’ instruction about animals, the British and Australian governments of the 1830s-40s believed that these native rights existed, and should continue even after land was ceded or purchased; however, colonists resolutely and illegally ignored them (see Henry Reynolds 1992, *The Law of the Land*, 2nd Edition: 146-8, 160). As Parsons says of the cutting of firewood by Aboriginal people in Adelaide 1837-44: “*The common law rights of indigenous inhabitants were clearly understood at the time... Despite the attempt in South Australian settlement to declare all land as Crown land, the right of the Aborigines to the fruits of the land, including timber, was accepted*” (ParsonsM 1997: 48, n12 [Michael Parsons 1997, ‘The tourist corroborree in South Australia to 1911,’ *Aboriginal History* 21, Canberra: Australian National University, <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p72631/pdf/article0415.pdf>]).

¹⁶⁷⁹ Gouger Journals, 7 Nov.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Jacob journal 16 Jan 1837.

Jones's 'ten families', maybe a quarter or a third of the entire population of the Peninsula.¹⁶⁸¹

Such a situation would be halfway between that of an Islander like Bates living with a 'tribe' – possibly this very one – and that of colonial Adelaide; but different again from the KI camps ruled by Islanders. The Bates situation was 'family', white men a very small minority but fellows in subsistence and probably kin by marriage. In Adelaide, weight of invader numbers took over the land immediately, made personal relationships almost impossible, and quickly forced the First People to be fringe dwellers every time they came to the settlement.

At Yartakurlangga for three months, the 'Cape Jervis' people were still in control of their lives and their land. The relationships were no longer defined and limited by male transactions about women. Even racial dominance played a more muted role. The issue of food loomed large, so that the locals were needed and not ignored. As in the Straits and KI, mutual exchange became necessary. We shall see how (up to a point) men from both sides hunted together, and women from both sides jointly attended to births and babies.

3.6.2.5 – MAPS AND MOVEMENTS.

In changeable weather over those weeks, as very high temperatures alternated with heavy rain, the workers built huts and storehouse, Light did his paperwork, and on a few desultory excursions he and Pullen with Woodforde took a few survey angles, northward in Second Valley and southward in the hills towards the Cape.¹⁶⁸² Probably some of the Aboriginal men were already involved in these trips.¹⁶⁸³

On the 23rd Kingston and some of the surveyors arrived at last in the *Rapid* from Freshwater,¹⁶⁸⁴ and three days later the *Rapid* sailed again for Freshwater "to bring the rest of the Surveyors and some of the females".¹⁶⁸⁵ With the *Buffalo* and Governor Hindmarsh expected at any moment, Lipson was sent off in the *Cygnets* to meet them at Port Lincoln when they arrived.¹⁶⁸⁶ Finally the *Rapid* came back on November 2nd with the remainder of his team and some of their families.

On November 3rd Light finished his famous first chart – showing "Yanky lilly Bay," "Yanky Point," "2nd Valley", "Deception Bay" and other main features of the eastern Gulf coast¹⁶⁸⁷

¹⁶⁸¹ Woodforde described the 'Cape Jervis tribe' as "very small" (Woodforde 15 Sep). Thirty people was about one-third of the population of the whole 'Patpunga Tribe' of 90 as estimated by Moorhouse in 1840 (see Textbox07 'Aboriginal populations'), but the total may have been more in 1836.

¹⁶⁸² Light Brief Journal: 73-4 (20-23 Oct); Woodforde 23 Oct, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-23-october-1836-5/>; Light 26 Oct – 2 Nov, in *SA Record* 7: 51.

¹⁶⁸³ Cp. Finnis's Recollections below.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Light Brief Journal: 74, 23 Oct.

¹⁶⁸⁵ Woodforde under 23 Oct; cp. Light Brief Journal: 74, 26 Oct. 'The females' included Light's mistress Maria Gandy.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Light Brief Journal: 74, 29-30 Oct.

¹⁶⁸⁷ Light 1836, 'S. Australia N^o. 1'. Editions of this chart were published as 'South Australia: A Survey of the Coast on the East Side of St Vincents Gulf made by Colonel Light, Surveyor General' (Gliddon edition, <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/C+231> and <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-229966862/view>; and an Arrowsmith edition 1838, as Appendix 9 of the *Second Report of the Colonization Commissioners 1837* (BPP, *Colonies, Australia* Vol. 5: 196); and there is another version at <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2005472983/view>.

The original copy of this chart is dated "Nov 3rd 1836" (negative copy C255, SLA). It shows the two Aboriginal place-names of which he was aware, in Islander versions no doubt obtained from Cooper: "Yanky lilly Bay," and (in an inset sketch) "Yanky Point" at what is still called Yankalilla Hill above Lady Bay. He also included his own creations "2nd

– and began packing up for his obligatory voyage to examine Port Lincoln. The rest of the survey party would divide in two: Kingston to Holdfast Bay with most of the surveyors, and the last colonists at Freshwater to follow them a few days later; and Finniss to remain in charge of Rapid Bay.¹⁶⁸⁸ Finniss should do as much preliminary surveying as he could without decent equipment. On the 4th Kingston departed in the *Rapid*, but Light gave up his cabin to the ladies and waited for the next vessel.

3.6.2.6 – YARTAKURLANGGA ‘NATIVES’ AND AFRICAINE DIARISTS.

Light planned to follow in the hatchboat with Pullen, expected soon from KI.¹⁶⁸⁹ But the next vessel proved to be the *Africaine* in the late afternoon of the 6th, carrying the Colonial Secretary and the Emigration Agent. They brought more worries: news of passengers lost in the scrub, and inquiries from Gouger and Brown asking why he had moved to the mainland contrary to instructions, and wondering where they could disembark and settle.

After dining on board the *Africaine*, Light took a party ashore for their first brief steps on the mainland, and (as they thought) their first meeting with mainlanders. Gouger wrote that “it is impossible to imagine a more lovely valley” than this place, and – still vague in his geography – that “the splendid description of country extends inland to Cape Alexandrina [*sic*]”. Light acknowledged the part played by Cooper and Doughboy, for Gouger learned that it was “through the medium of a Sealer & his native woman” that the Colonel had contrived to conciliate the natives”. About 30 were in residence, among them the ‘Marines’, each with an English name bestowed by Light.¹⁶⁹⁰

Returning to an eager audience on the *Africaine*, they gave “a most enchanting account of the country which everywhere resembled a gentleman’s park – grass growing in the greatest luxuriance, the most beautiful flowers in abundance, and the birds of splendid plumage”. The ‘natives’ (they said) “were of great service,... introduced themselves by the names which had been given them, as Peter and Tom, and most of them spoke English”.¹⁶⁹¹

All this was certainly encouraging after the dismal scrub and disorganization of Kingscote; they wanted the capital built here; hay from the kangaroo grass would fetch £10 a ton in Sydney.¹⁶⁹² But on Light’s recommendation they “left this delightful spot” next morning for the even better location at Holdfast Bay.

Valley” and “*Deception Bay*” (later Aldinga Bay). Of his 1836 charts Light wrote in his published journal (with his eye on the Commissioners), “*All my plans hitherto have been done from hasty angles by theodolites, bearings by pocket compass, and in many cases estimated distances, for I have done them frequently alone and with interruption of bad weather; but I am quite sure they are more than sufficiently accurate to give you a better idea of the coast than any former chart, and quite enough for any ship to sail by*” (Light Brief Journal: 80, 23 Nov).

¹⁶⁸⁸ Light Brief Journal: 75, 2 Nov.

¹⁶⁸⁹ The ‘hatchboat’ or ‘surveying boat’ was one of three smallish workboats which came out on the *Rapid*. Larger than a dinghy, they could be sailed or rowed (Elder 1984: 180).

¹⁶⁹⁰ Gouger Journals, “7 Nov” (the information actually belongs to the 6th).

¹⁶⁹¹ Mary Thomas 6 Nov. We shall hear much more about ‘Peter’ below. ‘Tom’ does not reappear in this chapter, but he was probably the same man as the ‘Big Tom’ who reaped for Ridgway Newland at Encounter Bay annually for several years; and possibly was the “*Wauwitpinna*” or ‘Tommy’ whom Moorhouse suggested as one of the candidates for mounted police in February 1840. We might ask whether these men had learned English only in the previous three weeks, from the colonists; but this would be to ignore the earlier decades of contact examined throughout Chapters 1 and 2.

¹⁶⁹² Gouger Journals, “8 Nov” (the information actually belongs to the 7th).

3.6.2.7 – MESSENGERS OF ‘A FRIENDLY UNDERSTANDING’.

For one last time the ‘Cape Jervis’ people collaborated with Light in person. On the 5th two locals agreed to go on foot to Holdfast Bay so that Kingston could use them there as messengers and ambassadors to the locals.¹⁶⁹³ Perhaps Light forgot that from their viewpoint the Holdfast proprietors were Doughboy’s ‘fierce set’. He wrote a brief note to his deputy.¹⁶⁹⁴

I have sent two of our natives to you to establish a friendly understanding between your party and the tribe in your neighbourhood... I will thank you to give our natives a little biscuit every day, and you will find them useful in many ways.

The ‘friendly understanding’ would in practice be the same as at Rapid Bay, ‘useful’. Following the double-sided letter and spirit of the Commissioners’ instructions,¹⁶⁹⁵ he also included a second piece of advice:

You had better have the men divided into watches, so that one at least should be on the lookout. I think two hours each better than four. Don’t let any straggle by themselves.

There can be little doubt that the two emissaries came from the eight ‘Marines.’ They could even have been Doughboy’s sons. But three weeks later the officials in Adelaide were still waiting for them.¹⁶⁹⁶ Probably in the end Light delivered the message verbally and his letter never reached Kingston. For on the morning of the 7th when he sailed for Holdfast Bay on the *Africaine*, the note apparently stayed with young Hiram Mildred.¹⁶⁹⁷

Now the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ had as guests on their land only Finniss and his tiny remnant.

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¹⁶⁹³ Gouger’s diary later confirms that they were sent “by land” (Gouger Journals, 1 Dec). This thoughtful ploy may have been inspired by Sturt’s similar tactic which was successful during his voyage down the Murray River: he gave gifts to Aboriginal “ambassadors” whom the ‘tribes’ then sent on ahead (see Sturt 1833, Vol. 2, Chapter 5, 24-28 Jan 1830, <http://gutenberg.net.au/ebooks/e00059.html>).

¹⁶⁹⁴ The only surviving record of this incident is found in newspapers many years later (‘Colonel Light and the Aborigines,’ *Evening Journal* 4/10/1890: 6h, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/202809586/22423171>). Here it is said the letter “was written at Rapid Valley” and the date of is given as “October 5, 1836.” But this date is impossible, as Light was then in the middle of his Gulf journey and Kingston was still on KI. It has to be after the survey team was divided on 2 Nov, and must be Nov 5th, a day when Light was “employed in writing, drawing, etc” (Light Brief Journal: 75).

¹⁶⁹⁵ The editor of the column in which the note was published believed that “This letter shows how very carefully the first Surveyor-General of the colony desired his party to be in their treatment of the aborigines” (grammar sic). But ‘careful’ is a word which can mean fear and prudence as well as justice.

¹⁶⁹⁶ See also section 3.6.3.4 ‘Hospitality & work’.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Perhaps deeming this brief letter no longer needed by anyone, and harmless, Light probably gave it to Hiram Mildred, a survey assistant who stayed on at Rapid Bay and collected mementoes such as a kangaroo tooth (see section 3.4.7.2 ‘The Rapid Bay Eight’ 3.4.7.1 ‘On the land’). For in 1890, as secretary of the Old Colonists’ Association, it was he who produced the letter and had it published in the newspapers (*Evening Journal*, *ibid*).

3.6.3 – November 7 to December 31: SETTLED IN: GUESTS AND PROTOCOLS.

3.6.3.1 – A FAMILY SETTLEMENT: ‘CAPE JERVIS’ PEOPLE WITH FINNISS’S COLONY.

About 30 mainlanders were living at Yartakurlangga on the day Light sailed,¹⁶⁹⁸ confidently leaving with them about 25 colonists, isolated and outnumbered. But this outpost was not like the hard male tyrannies of some Island camps. The colonists included a few trained surveyors, a labour force in poor health, some young apprentices, three whole families, a few ordinary immigrants, at least four women at the outset, and at least three children.¹⁶⁹⁹ Two of the women were pregnant, Finniss’s wife Anne and the wife of labourer James Hoare. On the day of Light’s departure, within five days of her arrival at Yartakurlangga, Mrs Hoare gave birth to a son, John Rapid Hoare.¹⁷⁰⁰

In one side it was like a modern ‘overseas immersion experience.’ On the other side, the presence of white women and children would have helped the ‘Cape Jervis’ folk to believe that *this* party intended peaceful coexistence. The gender balance and dynamic was different from anything the mainlanders had experienced from sealers or Islanders. In fourteen weeks there is no hint of women being traded or exploited, nor even of the old wariness of trading in a potentially hostile environment. The milieu seems to have been more like the bi-cultural families set up in the Straits by people like Munro and Anderson,¹⁷⁰¹ or by Wallan, Thomas and Walker on Kangaroo Island, but a little larger and more diverse. This particular group of whitefellas was committed to non-aggression, and the situation did not have time to develop into a full invasion. The playing field was *almost* level, the power dynamic *almost* equal.

No doubt the presence of the outpost during that spring and summer made Yartakurlangga a magnet for ‘Cape Jervis’ and Encounter Bay people, more so than usual.¹⁷⁰² There was the attraction of novelty and potential handouts. And they needed to keep on assessing the nature and scale of potential threats and benefits.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Gouger Journals, 7 Nov.

¹⁶⁹⁹ THE POPULATION OF FINNISS’S CAMP:

We cannot be complete and definitive about the numbers and composition of the outpost at Rapid Bay under Finniss. Hodges (who remained with Light) remembered that “*We left several men, together with their wives, there*” (Hodges 1902). Finniss wrote later, “*I was left with the surgeon of the Rapid [Woodforde], some of the gentlemen, and fifteen men*” (Finniss 1837: 54b; cp. Finniss 1892: 8); these ‘men’ were official employees of Light, who mentioned fifteen “*labourers*” (Light to Commissioners 5 Dec, in Light Brief Journal: 84). The 15 included Jacob and Cannan (Junior Assistant Surveyors); survey labourers Alfred Hardy, James Hoare, Joseph Finch, George Heath, Robert Bristow and William Lawes; probably Pullen (but he did not stay long); and perhaps Hiram Mildred, Samuel Chapman and James Stubbington (if they were counted as ‘men’ and not as passengers). All these are mentioned by name in accounts of the outpost, but there must have been three or four other ‘men,’ perhaps Cooper was also considered to be one. The additional ‘gentlemen’ certainly included Thomas Powys. See Diane Cummings’ passenger lists for the *Rapid* and the *Cygnets*, <https://bound-for-south-australia.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/1836Rapid.htm>; and <https://bound-for-south-australia.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/1836Cygnets.htm>. Light even left his faithful nurse and *de facto* wife Maria Gandy at Yartakurlangga for a while under Woodforde’s care (Woodforde 5 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/saturday-5-november-1836-4/>). The Hoares had two children with them in addition to the new baby (*Cygnets* passenger list, above). There was also Mrs Chapman with one child, and Mrs Bristow with two. Hiram Mildred was only 13 years old.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Woodforde 7 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/monday-7-november-1836/>.

¹⁷⁰¹ See Chapter 1.

¹⁷⁰² Yartakurlangga was located away from the main routes of trade and family visits. Yarnkalyilla was the junction of trade movements between southeast and northwest, and people from Yartakurlangga usually travelled north to Yarnkalyilla if they wanted to join these seasonal movements (Berndt & Berndt 1993: 20; cp. “*Rapid Bay people only lived there never went elsewhere; visited north*” (Tindale Map ‘Tindale S Map’, AA 338/16/8).

The outcome of this situation would depend heavily on the character of the delegated leader, Boyle Travers Finniss. He was not another Barker; yet his qualities boded fairly well. Like Light, Finniss came from the colonies and had some multicultural experience. He spent his childhood in Madras, India, before studying in England with the army. A promising lieutenant but not a bigoted Empire militarist, he worked in civilian projects in Mauritius and Ireland. Within limits these were a fair preparation for the abrupt shift to his present task, surveying a new colony for a reformist Colonization Commission. According to one biographer he was “industrious, honest and self-righteous”, ambitious, and “an acute observer of his fellows”.¹⁷⁰³ But he was also a pragmatic and conservative man who inscribed the cover of his letterbook with the maxim, “The Rights of Man are limited to what is expedient for the good of society”¹⁷⁰⁴ – and obviously this ‘Society’ paradigm was neither multicultural nor Aboriginal.

3.6.3.2 – HAZARDS: WATER, FOOD, FIRE.

On November 8th, the day after Light’s departure, the outpost faced a dramatic inaugural test of Finniss’s leadership. Pullen and two sailors in a boating crisis owed their lives to the skill, courage and ready cooperation of the ‘Cape Jervis’ men.

Pullen and the hatchboat had been delayed in Kingscote. After a “very boisterous and dangerous” voyage across Backstairs Passage, they finally arrived at Yartakurlangga in the evening.¹⁷⁰⁵ This is how Finniss remembered it many years later:

*Pullen was a thorough seaman and accomplished the voyage safely, though with much risk and inconveniences, for he arrived thoroughly drenched and much exhausted. Not having a dingey he dropped anchor during rather a stiff breeze, which raised an awkward surf... At this time I had made friends of a tribe of natives, who were collected about and in the camp, and observing signals made from the hatchboat I collected a number of these natives and moved down to the shore with them. On seeing this Pullen jumped overboard, as did two men who formed his crew. The natives dived through the rollers and swiftly swam to the assistance of Pullen and his men; and not too soon, for already Pullen held up his hand in distress, and one of the two men could not swim at all, and therefore wisely was the last to plunge overboard. I had encouraged the blacks by promises of reward to help the swimmers, which they did most effectually, two blacks taking possession of each man and supporting them with one arm while they swam with the other. In this way the party reached the shore of Rapid Bay, and received the congratulations of their white friends, accompanied with cheers for their bold adventure.*¹⁷⁰⁶

¹⁷⁰³ For the biographical details see <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/finniss-boyle-travers-2044> [3/11/14].

¹⁷⁰⁴ PRG 527/4, inside front cover. The French Revolution of 1789 put ‘the Rights of Man’ at the forefront of ideological debate, and the Napoleonic wars against France sharpened the international edge of it in the following decades. As an officer Finniss must have debated questions of human rights, like most people across Europe. He remained a conservative through his later political career in SA.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Finniss 1892: 6.

¹⁷⁰⁶ Finniss letter 19/1/1883, *South Australian Register* 23/1/1883: 6d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/43470455/4006147>; cp. Finniss 1892: 6-7; Woodforde 8 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/tuesday-8-november-1836-2/>, and Woodforde 9 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-9-november-1836-3/>; and Pullen’s own reminiscence. Pullen remembered three men coming to his rescue: “my strength began to fail me... I saw three take the water, and come towards me thus one on each side and one in front and thus affording me a good support in to the beach” (Pullen MSS Narrative, typescript version D7489(L): 3; NB. this is a different source from Pullen MSS Journal).

Finniss gives himself credit for organizing the rescue – with “some twenty natives,” according to another account by him¹⁷⁰⁷ – and for having ‘made friends’ with the ‘tribe’ (though he had first met them 12 days after Light’s second contact). But on that day the main credit goes to the tribesmen who, taking their commitment seriously, did not balk at the risky deep-water shoreline, and clearly knew what they were doing.

Cooper was almost certainly one of the rescued sailors. He had already suffered loss on the way. They had towed his dinghy into notorious Backstairs Passage, apparently intending it for fishing at Rapid Bay, and incidentally to get them over the surf there; but in such conditions it broke adrift and was lost.¹⁷⁰⁸ The dinghy was probably suggested by Woodforde in his concern about scurvy. This accident was “a great disappointment to all hands as we have now no means of procuring fish”.¹⁷⁰⁹ But we might also reflect on the disappointment of Cooper. Was he compensated for his boat?

Life went on, the hard work of setup amid new hazards and new helps. Fully recovered by the next day, Pullen sailed for Holdfast Bay in the hatchboat. Local survey work began immediately on November 10th and would continue until the whole outpost was recalled to Adelaide in January.¹⁷¹⁰ They built reed huts¹⁷¹¹ and landed stores, hampered by changeable squally weather. Almost every day Woodforde continued his bird-shooting excursions “for the pot” in both Rapid Valley and Second Valley. This was pushing the margins of the Commissioners’ veto on sport shooting in inhabited areas, but if he ever thought about it he probably justified it as ‘necessary’.

They became acquainted with Australia’s “torturing” bush flies and the ophthalmia they caused;¹⁷¹² with mosquitoes, dingoes, and other hazards for newcomers – for example sharks. Finniss was impressed by the care of his hosts:

*The friendliness of the blacks was evinced in various ways. They took post on the cliffs when my men were bathing and warned them of the approach of sharks in time, thus allowing the men to bathe with the confidence of safety.*¹⁷¹³

The English colonists were quite ignorant of what could happen to summer grass and trees. On the 15th a labourer set fire to some grass, and the wind quickly spread it

¹⁷⁰⁷ Finniss 1892: 7. With about 20 men in the rescue, clearly the whole ‘tribe’ of 30 or so were still present (cp. Nov 7).

¹⁷⁰⁸ It is not *completely* certain that the dinghy belonged to Cooper. The grammar of Woodforde’s sentence is unclear: “It blew so hard... that one of our Sealer’s dingy that [Pullen] was towing over for us to fish with broke adrift and was lost” (Woodforde 9 Nov). He may have been correcting as he wrote. Did he mean ‘the dinghy belonging to one of our Sealers [plural]’? If so, who were the other sealers who were also ‘ours’? Or did he mean ‘one of the dinghies [plural] belonging to our Sealer [Cooper]’? Or did he mean to correct it to a simple ‘our Sealer’s dinghy,’ but he (or his sister who copied it) forgot to cross out ‘one of’? Elsewhere in his diary Woodforde uses ‘our sealer’ only for Cooper, while the others are always ‘the sealers.’ Far the most likely interpretation is that the dinghy belonged to Cooper, and that Cooper had returned to Kangaroo Island for a while to work with Pullen, perhaps on October 30th in the hatchboat with Lipson and Pullen (cf. Light Brief Journal: 74, 30 Oct).

¹⁷⁰⁹ Woodforde 9 Nov. Woodforde had often been out fishing as another supplement to the birds he shot (Woodforde 18, 19, 21, 22 Oct), but was no doubt hoping for much more when others could use the dinghy in the Bay.

¹⁷¹⁰ See sections 3.6.4.3 ‘Feet on the land (2)’ and 3.6.5.4 ‘A final gift’.

¹⁷¹¹ JB Hack saw the huts in January 1837 after they had been abandoned: “the sides of long reeds & thatched with grass” (JB Hack, ‘Early Settlement in SA: Experiences of a Pioneer,’ *Adelaide Observer* 12/7/1884: 43e).

¹⁷¹² cf. Woodforde 25 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-25-november-1836-5/>. They were all suffering from ophthalmia by that date, and Woodforde attributed it to heat, cold and sun glare; but flies were probably the culprits (<https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/for-schools/week-40/>).

¹⁷¹³ Finniss 1892: 6.

through more than two miles of the valley towards their tents, which were saved only by the wind subsiding.¹⁷¹⁴

3.6.3.3 – VISITORS FROM ENCOUNTER BAY.

Woodforde often went out shooting alone, noting details of exotic birds, confident from six weeks of local goodwill. But on November 21st, taking a shortcut among the precipitous gullies just south of Rapid Head, he suddenly reverted – even with a gun in his hands – to the old bogey of cannibal savages:

Being very much fatigued about mid-day, and thirsty in proportion to the heat, I was lothe to leave a stream that I found between N.W. High Bluff¹⁷¹⁵ and Cape Jervis and consequently determined on shooting my way along it to a small beach¹⁷¹⁶ where it emptied itself. The cliffs each side were so perpendicular that I was obliged to walk in the bed of the stream for more than a mile knee deep in mud and water. I was weary and well nigh exhausted and just had the little beach with the fresh sea breeze within my grasp where I intended resting until the cool of the evening when lo I found the very haven of my repose occupied by a tribe of strange natives. Being solus¹⁷¹⁷ and not at all inclined to be eaten I quickly retraced my steps and as good luck would have it, unperceived by the black gentry... I arrived at our camp at 4 p.m. more dead than alive but am now considerably¹⁷¹⁸ by my tea of which I have swallowed six cups.

This new group presumably included none of the 20 or 30 faces familiar to Woodforde. Back at camp later, Cooper set him straight: “I have learnt from our Sealer, [they] belong to Encounter Bay.”¹⁷¹⁹

Why this sudden highlighting of a distinction between locals and foreigners? Several of the survey team (including Woodforde) believed that the original Eight in September had all travelled from Encounter Bay and therefore were ‘Encounter Bay’ men. This was probably true of some. But the team had not learned to distinguish routinely between different local groups.¹⁷²⁰ Previous visitors from Encounter Bay had probably been the usual family members; perhaps the newcomers were a different family group with fewer ties to Yartakurlangga.¹⁷²¹ Unless ‘gentry’ is taken to signify that only men were present (a hunting or fishing party), this visit was probably a normal part of seasonal movements.¹⁷²²

¹⁷¹⁴ Woodforde 16 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-16-november-1836-4/>.

¹⁷¹⁵ Rapid Head.

¹⁷¹⁶ Probably Yohoe Beach. Here a burial place was discovered in 2000 (Blum 2002: 120).

¹⁷¹⁷ Latin for ‘alone’.

¹⁷¹⁸ Word omitted: perhaps ‘refreshed’.

¹⁷¹⁹ Woodforde 21 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/monday-21-november-1836-4/>.

¹⁷²⁰ From the ambiguities in their writings, it seems that (with the exception of this incident) all or most of the survey team at the time did not register any distinction between the two ‘tribes’. Hodges was perhaps the only one who – at least in retrospect – understood this when he from his Rapid Bay viewpoint identified Doughboy’s ‘tribe’ as “*Encounter Bay*” (*Observer*, 26/4/1902: 4b).

¹⁷²¹ Cooper, as an adopted relative, would have known something about these nuances of the family and social situation, which Woodforde could interpret only as a difference in ‘tribes’, geographically defined (even though he did not use the word this time). But he did not realize that the Encounter Bay people also had a second and quite different language, even though he must have heard both spoken.

¹⁷²² There is at least one record (secondhand) of “*traditional camping grounds*” at Yoho Beach used in post-contact times by Aboriginal people who were very old in 1915; and of an associated burial ground there (see Blum 2002: 120-1).

Encounter Bay! – Cooper must have remembered Meredith’s whaleboat and the recent threats. But he did not confirm Woodforde’s fear even slightly, he allayed it. Encounter Bay men now were uttering no threats, and it seems he did not anticipate any. Perhaps his kinship was protection. No doubt by now these visitors (probably Raminyeri) had heard about the differences between the colonists at Yartakurlangga and the old fraught Islander regime, and probably they knew about any diplomatic policy on this coast. But perhaps they headed for Yoho Beach because they did not have the same trading rights at Yartakurlangga as the other families.

The extreme temperatures of an Australian summer were beginning to shock people accustomed to the weather of England.¹⁷²³ It would continue with short intermissions throughout November, December and January. It affected their food supply: “we are getting tired of kangaroo which as the heat of the weather increases gets poor and rank.”¹⁷²⁴

But the garden was producing more substantially. On the 24th, “We have had for dinner today a mass of beautiful French beans”; and peas followed a week later.¹⁷²⁵

The month ended with another frightening new experience: “we have had fires on all sides of us.” But it was the ‘Cape Jervis’ proprietors doing their customary burn-off. The controlled grass fires burned continuously from 28 Nov for at least a week to December 4th. Woodforde made enough inquiries to learn that this was a regular practice, “the season at which the natives set fire to the grass”.¹⁷²⁶

3.6.3.4 – HOSPITALITY AND WORK: THE NORMAL BUSINESS OF LIFE.

On December 2nd, amid this burn-off, Woodforde complained that all the local men “have taken it into their heads to leave us for a while, leaving their women behind.”¹⁷²⁷ A men-only excursion was not a part of the normal family travels with the fish runs.¹⁷²⁸ Though Woodforde saw it as a sudden capricious ‘walkabout,’ certainly it was purposeful. Most likely they were simply continuing the burn-offs in the districts further away.¹⁷²⁹ Did the reasons include political debate?¹⁷³⁰ If so, the agenda apparently did not include the promised delivery of Light’s month-old message to the ‘Adelaide tribe’; or else they found cultural or political obstacles to carrying it out. For on December 1st in Holdfast Bay, where some contact with the locals was already beginning independently, Gouger

¹⁷²³ The temperatures – extreme for north European newcomers – were noted clinically by the doctor (see Woodforde 18, 19, 23 Oct; 5, 16, 18, 21 Nov; 4, 11, 25 Dec; 8 Jan). He recorded 118°F (47.8°C) and 123°F (50.5°C) in the tents during Nov (Woodforde 16, 21 Nov).

¹⁷²⁴ Woodforde 18 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-18-november-1836-4/>.

¹⁷²⁵ Woodforde 24 Nov, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-24-november-1836-4/>; 2 Dec, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-2-december-1836-3/>. Hitherto the garden had produced only radishes and cress. They had also planted “a little wheat” (Field 1837: 3d), which sprouted (Light, 14 Oct, in SA Record 7: 51a); but nothing more is heard of it. Perhaps only the vegetables survived long enough to eat.

¹⁷²⁶ Woodforde 4 Dec, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-4-december-1836-4/>.

¹⁷²⁷ Woodforde 2 Dec.

¹⁷²⁸ For fish runs, see also the note in section 3.6.5.1 ‘Waiting for the call.’

¹⁷²⁹ Cp. “Fires on all sides of us,” as Woodforde himself soon noted without making the connection (Woodforde 4 Dec).

¹⁷³⁰ They might have wished to confer with the senior men of other families, evaluating their past responses, reviewing the situation, and planning the next steps.

was still expecting the two messengers and worrying because they had not arrived.¹⁷³¹ In fact they *never* arrived.¹⁷³²

The men who left Yartakurlangga did not return probably for over five weeks.¹⁷³³ Whatever the reasons for their absence, it tells us one thing clearly: they thought the embassy there was going well. Women and children of both parties were there. By the end of November, relationships were normalized and safe. More than that, their long stay – unusual and unseasonal¹⁷³⁴ – suggests that this was a planned and sustained response to the opportunity provided by Light. Part of the effort was to carry on together with the normal business of life.

The men had been helping Woodforde to build his hut; but now (he wrote on the same date) the work “progresses slowly, having lost [their] services.” Almost immediately he employed three of the women “and found them very useful in carrying reeds for my thatch.”¹⁷³⁵ Mutual help was part of normal business in a shared camp. For by now the tribespeople were close neighbours, living not only around the colonists but *amongst* them in a bi-cultural village.¹⁷³⁶ The women participated in the general deal. Jacob, summarizing the *status quo* as he saw it in January towards the end, wrote that “there [sic] women and children are included” in the handouts, and the ‘natives’ “always have bread given them every night in return for which they fetch water, wood and accompany you wherever you want to go besides which if they ever catch any fish they always come

¹⁷³¹ “We have long been anxiously expecting a visit from the natives, & have been somewhat uneasy at their lengthened absence, more particularly as 2 natives had been sent by land from Rapid Bay to inform the other tribes of our pacific intentions” (Gouger Journals, 1 Dec).

¹⁷³² What happened to the two messengers and their mission? Perhaps someone died and ‘sorry business’ intervened. Perhaps the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ wanted to keep the benefits of the *Yartakurlangga* camp in their own hands if possible – as they and the Encounter Bay people had done with the Lake people earlier. They, like Doughboy, regarded the *Kawantilla* people with long-standing suspicion as ‘fierce’ and dangerous (see Textbox27 ‘Identities & relationships north and south of Rapid Bay’). Perhaps they thought the embassy at *Yartakurlangga* would paint them in *Kawantilla* eyes as quislings for an invading force, and decided to let discretion be the better part of valour. Perhaps their peers or elders vetoed the action at this moment under these conditions, at such short notice, with only two men – appointed by outsiders – as the new embassy.

Perhaps one of the problems was the man to whom Light had specifically directed them: Kingston. They could not have known him well. He was at Rapid Bay for only five busy days or so in total (Oct 23-6 and Nov 2-4), and there is no record that he ever met any Aboriginal people. Would they recognize him again? How would they find him in Adelaide? And even if they *had* met him at Yartakurlangga, did they trust him, given his known character and behaviour and the strong antipathy to him among Light’s team?

Perhaps they decided that, all things considered, the difficulties and risks outweighed the benefits to them. After all guesses, it is not clear why this ploy worked for Sturt on the Murray in 1829 and not for Light here in 1836. However, it is *possible* that the two messengers did arrive in Adelaide very belatedly in early-to-mid-February 1837 – attracting scarcely any attention with a message that was already out of date, and perhaps confirming an assumption by some settlers that they and the Adelaide people were the ‘same tribe’ (see the footnote from Smillie about Rapid Bay people and Adelaide, in Chapter 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter’).

¹⁷³³ The Aboriginal men departed before 2 Dec, possibly before Wednesday 30 Nov when Woodforde employed the three women. They had almost certainly returned by 7 Jan when “*Natives*” sighted the *Cygnets* and “*Stubbing out all day with a native hunting for a sheep*” (Jacob journal 7 Jan), and over the next several days the locals were helping to shift the stores and gear to the beach in preparation for the return of the *Cygnets* (Finiss 1892: 7, 8). However, some of the men may have returned before that; e.g. Finiss was surveying at Yankalilla on Dec 26 and 28 (Field Book 73: 26), and this may have been the time he was living there with ‘Peter’ (see later in this chapter).

¹⁷³⁴ By December 2nd when Woodforde noted their departure, some of the men had been at Yartakurlangga for up to 11 weeks, fulfilling the deal they made originally in mid-September and renewed in mid-October. They and a large number of their extended family had spent two moons (eight weeks) living in the company of the foreign family group, with the place carrying 40 or 50 people. By their standards this was already an unusually long time for a large group to spend in one place, even at a prime campsite in the right season.

¹⁷³⁵ “I enlisted three of the [women] on Wednesday,” i.e. 30 Nov (Woodforde, Friday 2 Dec).

¹⁷³⁶ The locals were “collected about and in the camp” (Finiss 1892: 7).

& offer you some”.¹⁷³⁷ Like Finniss (whose memories we shall examine in detail), Jacob seems less clinical in his responses than Woodforde, warmer in appreciation of their sharing, their help, even their appearance. But he concludes with a typical back-handed compliment:

*they are a much finer race of men than I had anticipated some of there women would pass in a crowd if they were regularly fed and clothed.*¹⁷³⁸

3.6.3.5 – FOOD, SCURVY, SHEEP.

It was still possible for Jacob to make a surprisingly ignorant generalization about the women: “In this tribe they lead a easy life. The men doing all the work.”¹⁷³⁹ He had not noticed the women’s enormous workload in daily foraging and preparation of staple vegetable food, manufacturing fibres, and the like. Neither had anyone else, it seems. They could not imagine the benefits obtainable from this women’s knowledge, nor the deeper entry into Aboriginal life which they were being offered.

Now with no Aboriginal men to hunt or fish, there was less meat for Finniss’s colony. Light had ordered supplies for them weeks ago.¹⁷⁴⁰ They were slow in coming but eventually included livestock. On December 4th Woodforde noted that the labourers were “showing a disposition to scurvy”.¹⁷⁴¹ But on the same day a cutter from Hobart Town brought a large cargo of potatoes, cheese, mutton and birds’ eggs.¹⁷⁴² The *Emma*, transferring Brown and his suffering animals from Salt Lagoon to Holdfast Bay, called in on the 9th to land “9 Wedder Sheep,”¹⁷⁴³ and the news that two of the lost gentlemen on KI were now presumed dead.¹⁷⁴⁴

Storeman Jacob – and in the context, also his hosts – now had the additional responsibility of domestic animals. The sheep would reduce the colony’s dependence on hunting. It does not seem that the locals got a share in this fresh meat.¹⁷⁴⁵ Sheep were new to them.¹⁷⁴⁶ They would certainly have observed with concern how they ate the

¹⁷³⁷ Jacob journal 16 Jan 1837.

¹⁷³⁸ Perhaps Jacob, like Woodforde, saw the women’s appearance as ‘emaciated’, and thought they lacked regular food.

¹⁷³⁹ Jacob journal 16 Jan. This was probably Jacob’s honest mistake, based also on his limited view from the storehouse – at that time in January the men were helping him shift the stores to the beach (Finniss 1892: 7, 8).

¹⁷⁴⁰ Light had been worried about dwindling fresh provisions at Rapid Bay, and – while preparing to head for Port Lincoln – tried to make arrangements for more to be delivered there (see Light Brief Journal: 78 [19 Nov], 82 [25 Nov]; Light to Commissioners 5 Dec (Light Brief Journal: 84).

¹⁷⁴¹ This was an understatement, as Light had found that “*nine labourers out of fifteen are hardly able to do any thing from scorbutic sores on their feet and ankles*” (Light to Commissioners 5 Dec, in Light Brief Journal: 84). He had probably learned this during his last visit to Rapid Bay on Nov 27th.

¹⁷⁴² Woodforde 4 Dec. The cutter was probably the *William* with Captain Wright, no doubt sent to help fulfil Light’s requests.

¹⁷⁴³ Brown-Pirie journal 9 Dec. “*Wedder*” = ‘wether’.

¹⁷⁴⁴ Woodforde 11 Dec (<https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-11-december-1836-5/>), where he misnames the ship as “*Emu*”. Possibly the news was conveyed by the familiar Captain Martin who was travelling in the *Emma* as a passenger (see Durrant 2014a: 4-5).

¹⁷⁴⁵ Among the food handouts to the ‘tribe’, only bread, biscuit and “*beef*” (i.e. salt junk) are recorded.

¹⁷⁴⁶ Not even those mainlanders who had visited Kangaroo Island would have seen live sheep; there is no record of sheep being kept on KI before colonization. Possibly they heard about them from Bates’ wives who tended them at Salt Lagoon. But they would have seen other ungulates. Pigs had been feral on Dudley Peninsula since Baudin’s visit in 1803 (Cumpston 1986: 22, 26), and Wallan had some. Any mainlanders who had been with sealers to Thistle Island or others near Port Lincoln would probably have seen goats (Hart 1854: 52-3).

native crop grasses right down to the basal leaves, and dug up and compacted the friable soil with their hard sharp hoofs. However, at this moment the proprietors still had control over most of their land, management of its grasses, and free access to their usual food. Though they would have had traditional rights in the sheep, they respected ownership and sometimes helped to shepherd them.¹⁷⁴⁷ They could not foresee that in about four years' time sheep would be herded in a nearby valley,¹⁷⁴⁸ and thousands of the animals would quickly destroy the entire native crop habitat of the region.¹⁷⁴⁹

3.6.3.6 – HANKERING AFTER CIVILIZATION.

For the rest of the year Woodforde never mentions the 'natives,' and it seems the men were still absent.¹⁷⁵⁰ By the 11th he finished his hut and with great relief moved into it.¹⁷⁵¹ Noteworthy novelties were now replaced by reading and boredom,¹⁷⁵² broken only when the *Rapid* made a day visit and brought them a whaleboat. Light arrived back from Port Lincoln on the night of the 14th. He had decided finally on Holdfast Bay for the capital, having found Jones's Harbour there three weeks ago.¹⁷⁵³ He also brought two items of comfort: letters from home, and a whaleboat (probably picked up at Kingscote on the 13th), which he left with them for sea fishing.

Christmas Day was a brutal reminder of the conditions and the food. "Broiling under a sun nearly vertical," Woodforde vented his frustration: ophthalmia,¹⁷⁵⁴ bush flies; their maggots in the Christmas mutton from the first slaughtered sheep; and in spite of the new boat, no fish to vary the diet. The whaleboat "created disappointment" instead of comfort, for "not knowing the ground" their efforts were largely unsuccessful.¹⁷⁵⁵ Dismal and homesick after dinner with Jacob, he wrote, "I sincerely hope my dear friends at home are spending a Merrier Christmas than we are here".

Important things were heard happening in the distance without them. On the 27th a large ship in the distance; next day big guns far off; perhaps Governor Hindmarsh had arrived in the *Buffalo*. The guess was small comfort: "we are completely debarred from news".¹⁷⁵⁶

Boredom was alleviated – when the heat allowed it – only by an occasional day's shooting, not always successful. A second sheep ("better") with "tolerable" Hobart

¹⁷⁴⁷ See section 3.6.5.2 'Food, lost sheep'.

¹⁷⁴⁸ 'The Stockyards', the place now named Delamere (Manning 2010: 232).

¹⁷⁴⁹ For the immediate and very destructive effect of sheep on Australian native crop grasses and soils, see Gammage 2011: 308, 313-4; and Pascoe 2018: 10-11, 21, 23-6.

¹⁷⁵⁰ In this context of dietary boredom and precarious health, they would surely have been asked to do some net fishing and the doctor would surely have mentioned the fact.

¹⁷⁵¹ Woodforde 11 Dec.

¹⁷⁵² Woodforde 25, 28 Dec.

¹⁷⁵³ Woodforde 15 Dec.

¹⁷⁵⁴ "Half of us nearly blind with Ophthalmia which I hear from the Sealers who visit this Coast always prevails during the Summer months. It is very distressing and of the purulent kind" (Woodforde 25 Dec, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/sunday-25-december-1836-5/>). This entry might suggest that Islanders had been visiting Rapid Bay recently; but if so Woodforde would almost certainly have mentioned it in his diary. More likely he was thinking of conversations earlier on Kangaroo Island.

¹⁷⁵⁵ Woodforde 15, 17 and 25 Dec.

¹⁷⁵⁶ Woodforde 28 Dec, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/wednesday-28-december-1836-7/>; cp. Jacob journal 2 Jan 1837.

potatoes and an “excellent salad” from the garden.¹⁷⁵⁷ On the 31st Woodforde’s “good day’s sport” with Powys (a young passenger from the *Cygnet*) produced roast emu on New Year’s Day for them and Jacob, “far superior to kangaroo”.¹⁷⁵⁸

All of them were “very anxious to remove to Holdfast Bay”.¹⁷⁵⁹ By now it must have become plain to their ‘Cape Jervis’ hosts that the colonists were only marking time in this southern halfway camp until their chiefs would summon them to their chosen future, up the Gulf in the ‘North place’ *Kawantilla*.

.....

¹⁷⁵⁷ Woodforde failed to get within shot of a flock of Cape Barren geese which “*have learnt a wholesome fear of man*” (Woodforde 29 Dec, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/thursday-29-december-1836-3/>).

¹⁷⁵⁸ Woodforde 1 Jan 1837; Jacob journal 1 Jan 1837. Thomas Powys was born in 1817, according to <https://oldcolonists.weebly.com/1836-cygnet.html> (10/1/18).

¹⁷⁵⁹ Woodforde 28 Dec.

3.6.4 – FRIENDSHIP? THE ‘CAPE JERVIS TRIBE’ WITH BOYLE AND ANNE FINNISS: A PERSONAL STORY.

3.6.4.1 – FEET ON THE LAND (1).

During these months the trained surveyors of the settlement were not marking time. They were putting their feet on the Fleurieu alongside Aboriginal men – like the Country Surveyors around Adelaide and the Fleurieu a few years later, who spent time travelling and camping out for days or weeks at a time, often with Aboriginal companions in a situation much more intimate than was usually possible in the colony. At this Yartakurlangga colony there were three, the first of their line: Finniss, Cannan and Hardy.¹⁷⁶⁰ None of them left any substantial diaries of this period,¹⁷⁶¹ but Finniss left lengthy recollections 50 years later.

In his late writings Boyle Travers Finniss with considerable warmth remembered some of his Rapid Bay hosts as his friends. For him and his wife Anne, the responsibility of the outpost came at a particularly vivid and formative moment. How close did they come to their hosts? How much can we learn of those ‘friends’? Finniss and Anne in their reed hut were young and married for a little over a year. When they landed there she was about seven months pregnant with their first child. In that intense and anxious time the couple found that their Aboriginal neighbours – both male and female – became neighbours indeed. Finniss would remember it vividly for the rest of his life.

The primary work delegated to Finniss here was to survey the surrounding land, to “make as many observations on this side the gulf as possible.”¹⁷⁶² Some of his field notebooks survive, and show that he began the work formally on 10th November.¹⁷⁶³ His team faced formidable difficulties, lacking any form of transport for equipment and stores: “we had no

¹⁷⁶⁰ Finniss did his surveying “*with generally two men*” (Finniss 1892: 6). No doubt these two were usually John Cannan and Alfred Hardy, Junior Assistant Surveyors, the only others resident at Rapid Bay other than Finniss himself who were qualified to help him with the professional work (see Elder 1984: 27-8; also passenger lists, <https://bound-for-south-australia.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/1836Rapid.htm>; and <https://bound-for-south-australia.collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/1836Cygnet.htm>).

At first he also had William Pullen, an Assistant Surveyor (higher in rank than the other two and theoretically equal with himself). But Pullen was appointed Marine Surveyor (i.e. coasts rather than lands), and after 26 Oct he was rarely present, travelling to and from Kangaroo Island and then departing for Holdfast Bay on 9 Nov (Woodforde 9 Nov). William Jacob was also an Assistant Surveyor, but his temporary job usually tied him to the storehouse at Rapid Bay (except on Dec 1 and 2 [Woodforde]). Woodforde sometimes joined their excursions, but presumably not in a surveying capacity (Woodforde 20, 23 Oct, 21 Nov, 1-2 Dec, 17 Jan). Finniss’s main reminiscences of this period occur in his ‘Some Early Recollections,’ 1892 (KT Borrow Collection, Flinders University Library). In the contemporary records of Rapid Bay none of the labourers are ever mentioned in the context of the survey work.

¹⁷⁶¹ Some contemporary notes by Finniss at Rapid Bay survive (Finniss 1836, ‘Survey of Rapid Valley & adjoining country by Boyle Travers Finniss,’ in Field Book 73 ‘Rapid & Encounter Bays’: [1-29], GNU), but they are very sketchy, mainly survey observations and figures. His ‘Diary... during the voyage of the Cygnet’ ends at Kangaroo Island on 11 Sep 1836 (Finniss Diary & Letters, PRG 527/2). Another set of field notes and a “*journal*” begin only at May 1837 (Field Book 76 ‘Bases & Angles, Journal by BT Finniss’, GNU; front and back pages respectively). Careful examination of these field books could reveal new details about the team and its relationship with the land. There is also a large collection of Finniss papers which may contain new and interesting material from this period, possibly including his maps from 1836-7 (see the Keith Travers Borrow Collection in Special Collections, Flinders University Library, <http://library.flinders.edu.au/resources/collection/special/borrow/index.html>).

¹⁷⁶² Light Brief Journal: 75, 2 Nov. Finniss described his job as a general “*topographical survey of Rapid Bay and the country to the north as far as Yankallyilla, and the valley of the Inman;*” and to “*examine the country inland in the direction of Encounter Bay, and Yankallyilla*” (Finniss 1892: 6, 5 respectively). This did not include laying out Sections for sale, which had to be located adjacent to the capital and so would have to wait until its location was fixed.

¹⁷⁶³ Finniss 1836: [1]. Before this Light and Pullen, sometimes accompanied by Woodforde, had made a few hasty examinations of the country northward in Second Valley and a short distance to the south (Woodforde 20, 23 Oct; Light Brief Journal: 73, 20 Oct).

horses, or donkeys, and... therefore all our excursions were on foot during the hottest period of the year.”¹⁷⁶⁴ Even a short trip into the steep range behind or 15 km to Yankalilla could carry only the smallest and lightest of gear. And three-quarters of his labourers were disabled with scurvy.

This work was to continue until Light officially confirmed that the capital would be at Holdfast Bay and that he needed them there for the Town Surveys. At that point they would have to abandon Yartakurlangga and move everything to Adelaide. Thus the embassy of the ‘Cape Jervis’ people was doomed almost from the start: a unilateral long-term measure in which the other side had reciprocal intentions only in the very short term.

3.6.4.2 – ‘JIM’ AND ‘ALLAURI’.

When he went out surveying, Finniss always took at least one of two Aboriginal men: not just any available ‘Marines’ but named individuals, who became his personal friends ‘Jim’ and ‘Peter’:

I took walks into the country with generally two men,¹⁷⁶⁵ and one or two black fellows, who were useful as guides in finding water and in keeping us 'en rapport' with strange natives. My two sable friends (one of whom always attended me) were called, respectively, Jim and Peter.

These men – protectors of the colony – had lives of their own, some of which he noted. Though viewing them through European eyes, his descriptions present them not as specimens of a race but as fellow humans, appreciated for their individuality and in a family context. Of Jim he wrote,¹⁷⁶⁶

Jim was an athletic young man who had recently abducted a pretty young girl from the Encounter Bay tribe for which act of violence he lost his life soon after in a fight with another tribe. His lubra always accompanied him, and their affection for each other was quite romantic... My black friend Jim was a splendid sportsman and kept himself in food while he was with us... and in this way supplied himself and ‘Allauri’... his young bride.¹⁷⁶⁷

We hear more about the way Jim had acquired his wife “Allauri:”

‘Allauri’... was the euphonious name of his young bride, whom he had stolen from her tribe, evidently with her own connivance whilst in the camp and, perhaps, under our protection from hostile reprisals.”¹⁷⁶⁸

But Finniss may have misunderstood the alleged ‘abduction’ and its connection with Jim’s death; and in old age his memory may have exaggerated the earliness of the death.¹⁷⁶⁹

¹⁷⁶⁴ Light complained to the Commissioners at the time about his lack of “oxen, with cars complete... no work can be carried on inland without them, they are indispensable” (Light to Commissioners 19 Nov, Light Brief Journal: 78-9). It would be another seven months before he had brief access to any, and these were a very few privately-owned bullocks which got only halfway on his journey to Encounter Bay (*ibid*: 35, 37-8, and see my Chapter 4).

¹⁷⁶⁵ i.e. Cannan and/or Hardy.

¹⁷⁶⁶ But see also Finniss’s strange and sudden distancing at the end of his account of ‘Peter’ (below).

¹⁷⁶⁷ Finniss 1892: 6. During their travels together Jim would stop suddenly, examine a tree “very minutely,” and climb it to catch an “opussum” – processes which Finniss describes in some detail.

¹⁷⁶⁸ Finniss 1892: 6.

Sixteen months later In his capacity as Assistant Surveyor, Finniss met this couple again by chance during a foot journey to Encounter Bay.¹⁷⁷⁰ It appears that over the next ten years ‘Jim’ continued to base himself at Yartakurlangga but also travelled widely. A man of considerable linguistic ability, he worked for Rapid Bay farmers and later became one of the prominent few ‘natives’ in government service. He was hired for a high-profile Coorong expedition, and possibly in Adelaide as well (see the textbox below).

Textbox24: ‘JIM’ OF RAPID BAY AND ‘ALLAURI’ OF ENCOUNTER BAY.

Who was this ‘Jim’? I have found five references to an Aboriginal man with a nickname like ‘Jim’ in times of first contact.

1. Finniss’s friend ‘Jim’ in the surveys at Rapid Bay in 1836.

There is no known record of his real name. His wife was a young Encounter Bay woman “Allauri”.¹⁷⁷¹ Since Finniss distinguishes between “her tribe” and Jim’s, he was presumably seen as one of the local ‘Cape Jervis’ people.

He had ‘abducted’ her while she was visiting “in our camp”,¹⁷⁷² i.e. the main survey colony at Yartakurlangga where the ‘tribe’ was living ‘about and in’ it. No doubt she was with some of her family who may have included people from both Encounter Bay and the Gulf coast. Some puzzling features in the minimal account of this ‘abduction’ suggest that perhaps it was merely an elopement (perhaps slightly premature) of a normal pre-arranged marriage.¹⁷⁷³

They were both still alive in April 1838 when Finniss met them again. Finniss says that this Jim

¹⁷⁶⁹ See Textbox24 ‘Jim’ below. To a man of 85 in 1892, the year 1846 might well seem ‘soon after’ 1836, all ‘early days’.

¹⁷⁷⁰ In April 1838 on his way south from Adelaide to survey Encounter Bay, Finniss met his old friends Jim and Allauri again on the track south of Myponga, probably in the Hindmarsh Tiers. They were with a large group heading for Adelaide, presumably from Encounter Bay where no doubt they had been visiting her relatives: *“In passing through a scrubby part of the road we met a whole tribe of blacks moving towards Adelaide. I recognised my young friend Jim amongst them and asked immediately for Allauri. He smiled and pointed to a bush about thirty yards before me; and there she appeared stepping out from her concealment with all the shyness of a white woman. She was not afraid to approach us now that she was assured we were old friends, and after a short conversation each party resumed its march in opposite directions, Jim’s tribe moving on towards Adelaide”* (Finniss 1892: 15; cp. his official account of this trip, Finniss to Light, 5 May 1838, *Southern Australian* 2 June 1838: 4b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71684561/6244583>; original manuscript letter in SA Company papers, BRG 42/53, SL5A). This is another example of how much the social dynamics between Encounter Bay, the southern Fleurieu and Adelaide had changed by early 1838. No longer was Adelaide a foreign territory, inhabited by a ‘rather fierce’ mob and relevant to the politics of the south only on special occasions, but part of a pilgrimage (for rations or other attractions) which would very soon become regular and even ‘traditional.’

¹⁷⁷¹ In ‘Ngarrindjeri’-Kornar language ‘Allauri’ might represent *Aluri*, *Alari*, *Ngaluri* or *Ngalari* (English speakers rarely heard initial *ng* as a meaningful sound until after the German linguists arrived in 1838 and taught it). There is no known meaning for any of these versions.

¹⁷⁷² Gillian Dooley’s transcription has *“the camp”*, but this is transcribed *“our camp”* in the ‘Extracts’ in the State Library of SA (p.5; transcription probably by Travers C Borrow). Dooley now agrees that ‘our camp’ is correct (p.c. email 4/10/2012, 9/1/18).

¹⁷⁷³ The alleged ‘abduction’ had happened ‘recently’ in ‘our camp’, i.e. in Finniss’s time there. But why is it, in this well-integrated bi-cultural settlement that, we do not find even in Woodforde’s diary or Finniss’s ‘Recollections’ any hint of the commotion – or even all-out battle of reprisal – which would certainly have occurred if a real abduction had been carried out against or without prior agreements? According to a Rapid Bay Aboriginal man ‘Larry’ much later, a very similar incident, around first contact times between the same two groups, sparked *“a real Donnybrook”* in which *“a good many were killed on both sides and the Rapid Bay chaps were victorious over their Encounter Bay counterparts and retained their ill-gotten brides”* (Bernie Williss letter, *Victor Harbour Times* 29/3/1968: 5b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/187365818/21130904>. I owe this reference to Liz Schultz). But this was probably a separate event, before Finniss’s arrival and hence unrecorded at the time. It is most unlikely that the ‘protection’ of the little colony would have saved Jim from ‘reprisals’ if any were deemed necessary. Even Finniss guessed that it had happened not as an *“act of violence”* but *“evidently with her own connivance”*. Was he quite wrong in believing this was an ‘abduction’? Traditional marriage arrangements did not include any formalities at the point where the promised wife went at puberty to her arranged husband’s wurlie. Perhaps Jim was merely bragging about a consensual but slightly irregular haste in the acquisition of his wife, and Finniss had mistaken what he meant by it.

died a few years later in battle with “another tribe”, allegedly as payback for his ‘act of violence’ in the abduction. But there is another puzzle here. In context, the sentence clearly implies a third ‘tribe’ other than the Encounter Bay and ‘Cape Jervis’; but it makes no sense for Finniss to connect any such third ‘tribe’ with the abduction. Perhaps he is referring to the battles against the mid-Murray people in Adelaide in the 1840s;¹⁷⁷⁴ but this does not tally with the dates of the other Jims (below), since the Adelaide battles were halted by Mounted Police in 1844. Jim must have been killed in some other fray in the late 1840s.

What happened to Allauri later is not recorded. In the light of other material here below, we can speculate that after January 1837 Jim might soon have decided to follow Finniss to Adelaide, on the chance of congenial work similar to what he had experienced at Rapid Bay.

2. There was a “Jim” among the men proposed by Moorhouse for potential Mounted Police in February 1840.¹⁷⁷⁵

He was then 23 years old. His birth-order name was “Ker-ta-mi-ru” (= ‘Kaurna’-Miyurna *Kartamiru*, ‘third-born, male’), which identifies his mother as a woman of *Miyurna* language country.¹⁷⁷⁶ So far he could be Finniss’s Jim. But according to Moorhouse he was “from the Adelaide tribe”, and Moorhouse was aware of the existence of the “Patpunga tribe” of the south. Either this police-candidate is disqualified from a Rapid Bay identity, or Moorhouse identified him wrongly, which is quite possible. If he had begun to spend a lot of time in Adelaide mingling with other locals in search of jobs and status with the colony, Moorhouse would be unlikely to distinguish his origin from theirs except by more personal contact than he probably had time for.

3. A “Jemmy” was among the Aboriginal men familiar between 1842 and 1846 around Denton and Wilkinson’s ‘Bullaparinga’ farm at Rapid Bay.¹⁷⁷⁷

This man was working on very friendly terms with settler farms from the Upper Inman to Rapid Bay. There can be little doubt that he was the same as Finniss’s friend.

4 & 5. There are two references to a “Jimmy” or “Jemmy” of the “Rapid Bay tribe” who accompanied an official expedition to the Coorong in April-May 1844.

Deputy Surveyor-General Thomas Burr and the artist George French Angas were among the party. Angas wrote that “Jimmy... had accompanied the Governor [Grey] from Rapid Bay on a former journey”.¹⁷⁷⁸ Burr recorded that “Jemmy” was able to interpret at McGrath’s Flat on the Coorong: “We... met an old native... I therefore sent for Jemmy, the native who accompanied us, and although Jemmy belonged to the Rapid Bay ‘tribe’, he was able to understand a great portion of what the old man said”.¹⁷⁷⁹ It is possible (though far from certain) that this was the same man as the other two Jims. If so, then he did not die in the Adelaide battles against the Moorunde invasion, but sometime later; and he was also a man of ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language country who was capable of communicating even beyond the ‘Big Murray’ at the eastern far end of *Kornar* territory: a man with a multi-lingual talent almost the equal of Peter’s.¹⁷⁸⁰

¹⁷⁷⁴ See below in Textbox25 about ‘Peter’.

¹⁷⁷⁵ Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary 11 Feb 1840, GRG 24/1/1840/381.

¹⁷⁷⁶ See the footnote on ‘Birth-Order Names’ in Chapter 1.3.2.4 ‘With the whalers and Straitsmen’.

¹⁷⁷⁷ This ‘Jemmy’, a faithful messenger with letters to Adelaide, was mentioned by “*WP James*” (probably William Rhodes James, pioneer settler of upper Inman Valley) in the book by Wilkinson of ‘Bullaparinga’ farm (GB Wilkinson 1848, *South Australia: Its Advantages and Its Resources*, London, John Murray: 349-350, cp. 354).

¹⁷⁷⁸ Angas 1847b, *Savage Life and Scenes* Vol. 1: 129-130, download at https://www.forgottenbooks.com/en/readbook/SavageLifeandScenesinAustraliaandNewZealand_10032745#0. Perhaps this other journey with Grey was the trip to Goolwa and back via Rapid Bay escorted by McLean of the Mounted Police (James McLean 1903: 74, <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/15091>).

¹⁷⁷⁹ Thomas Burr 1844, ‘Report of an Expedition to the South Eastern District of South Australia’, *Southern Australian* 18/6/1844: 3-4, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/71629335>.

¹⁷⁸⁰ See below for more about Peter.

3.6.4.3 – FEET ON THE LAND (2).

Finniss and the other travelling surveyors – Cannan, Hardy, Jim and Peter – first examined the immediate surroundings of Rapid Bay. Intriguingly, in applying ad-hoc English names to local features including many hills for the purpose of bearings, Finniss noted a “Ritual River” and a “Ritual Bay” somewhere in the nearby coast.¹⁷⁸¹ What ceremonies had he observed, or what had Peter and Jim told him?

By late November they were surveying much further inland, and by late December at Yarnkalyilla. On November 27th Light – on his way to Port Lincoln at last – visited the outpost for two nights, bringing supplies of bread. He took an evening walk with Finniss and Woodforde to examine what had been surveyed, to the “third range of hills” behind Yartakurlangga.¹⁷⁸² By December 2nd the surveyors were walking “further inland” from there, probably the stringybark country at the top of the range.¹⁷⁸³

By the beginning of January, Finniss and Cannan had a separate “station” of their own. It was probably set up at *Yarnkayilla*, the well-favoured traditional site where Light camped in September near the mouth of Yankalilla Gorge, below the ridged cliffs of Yankalilla Hill.¹⁷⁸⁴ His field notebooks show that he took bearings “above Yankally” on Boxing Day, and of “North nob Yankally Hill” on December 28th.¹⁷⁸⁵ This, we find (below), was part of Peter’s country. Though he rarely used linguistic skills at Rapid Bay, it seems Finniss was capable of good phonemic listening,¹⁷⁸⁶ for much later he was still spelling the name

¹⁷⁸¹ Finniss 1836, ‘Survey of Rapid Valley & adjoining country’, in Field Book 73: [2-16].

¹⁷⁸² Light Brief Journal: 82, 27 Nov; cp. Woodforde 27 Nov. This ‘third range’ was possibly around Bullaparinga Hill, as Light thought they had reached “*the tops of the highest hills*.”

¹⁷⁸³ Woodforde’s account of an all-day trip: “*We travelled further inland than I have yet been and the country, especially on the hills, is much more wooded than in our immediate neighbourhood. The Gum trees are of an immense size and would make abundance of fine timber. The common diameter of the full-grown trees is from three to four feet. The soil on these hills is bad, being very dry and filled with stones, most of which are strongly impregnated with iron*” (Woodforde 2 Dec, <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/friday-2-december-1836-3/>, writing about 1 Dec; my emphasis). This all-day trip probably went southeast perhaps as far as today’s Range Road (10 km). Unlike most gumtrees, forest stringybarks have straight trunks usable for building. Finniss also reported that the stringybark forest began “*3 miles from the shore*” (Finniss to Sir Willoughby Gordon [“before Apr 1837”], in Finniss Diary & Letters: 9): i.e. at about the main South Road. They did not take the alternative southwest route until their “*exploring walk towards Cape Jervis*” on 17 Jan (Woodforde), when they would have found more Messmate Stringybark country around the high point at the junction of today’s Main South Rd and Range Rd West. For distribution of stringybarks see <http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps> and select ‘Flora Tools.’ Much of the stringybark country here has now been replaced with timber plantations of pine or bluegum.

¹⁷⁸⁴ Jacob journal 3 Jan. Longer excursions on the Yankalilla plains towards the Inman could not be done in day-trips from Rapid Bay, but would require a base camp and depot for longer stopovers.

¹⁷⁸⁵ Finniss 1836, ‘Survey of Rapid Valley’, in Field Book 73, GNU: [26]. It is not clear whether these spellings represent in full what he heard in 1836, e.g. the root word only, “*Yankalya*” / “*Yangkalya*” as in T&S 1840; or whether they are abbreviations of the full name which he spelled “*Yankallyilla*” (Finniss 1892, *passim*). Nor is it clear whether he picked up the latter spelling in 1836, or during the first Country Surveys in 1839-40, when he was producing maps from other men’s work which spelled it “*Yankalyilla*” (e.g. Kentish & Poole, Plans 6/32 and 6/16B, GNU); or whether the 1839 spellings were his own editorial work, remembering what he had learned onsite in 1836-7. His spelling was not consistent in the early years. In a manuscript letter of 1838 he spelled it “*Yanka Lilla*” (Finniss to Light 5/5/1838: manuscript BRG 42/53: 2, 4; *Southern Australian* 2/6/1838: 4b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71684561/6244583>). By 1840 he was giving it conventionally as “*Yankalilla*” (Finniss journal 15 April 1840, in Field Book 75 ‘Memorandum Book: BT Finniss 1839 to 1841 Journal’: [31], Geographical Names Unit).

¹⁷⁸⁶ It is a little surprising that during this period he recorded no Aboriginal names for Peter and Jim, and no other Aboriginal words or place-names (not even a version of *Yartakurlangga*), apart from the name of Jim’s wife “*Allauri*.”

of his ‘station’ as “Yankallyilla”¹⁷⁸⁷ – more accurate than Light, and no doubt representing Peter and Jim’s pronunciation.¹⁷⁸⁸

3.6.4.4 – ‘PETER’ AND HIS FAMILY.

Here Finniss gained a lasting impression of Peter’s domestic situation, at a time when his own was under stress. On this occasion his friend had brought along his immediate family:¹⁷⁸⁹

Peter had also a lubra, rather an old woman, with a half-caste child – on one occasion at Yankallyilla I encamped for the night near Peter’s wurley, for it was his district,

– “the night was very rough” (as Finniss explained elsewhere)¹⁷⁹⁰ –

and my black friend woke me in the night by walking up and down carrying the infant (who was screaming as only babies can scream). He rocked her in his arms and tried to soothe her by singing – ‘hush’ – ‘hush’ – with all the tenderness of a practised mother, while his better half was sleeping comfortably in their wurley, tired out probably by the restlessness of the child.

Finniss must have been anxiously aware of his young wife Anne, tired by advanced pregnancy and trying to sleep in their reed hut 15 km away at a place where temperatures went up to 50°C in the tents at noon¹⁷⁹¹ and fires burned for a week in the hills close around her. He and Anne would be very *un-*‘practised’ parents. What lullaby would he sing to soothe his own first little one? Could he care for his ‘better half’ like a ‘practised mother’ as Peter did? And when Anne became ‘rather old,’ would their family fare as well as Peter’s?

There was another side to the virtues of that little family. The little girl was not Peter’s own daughter but a ‘half-caste’. Presumably her father was an Islander, yet Peter loved her as his own. Within the previous year or two Peter’s ‘rather old’ wife must have been either abducted by KI men, or loaned to them, or traded by them to Peter (perhaps because she was no longer attractive enough). But Peter accepted both the woman and the resulting baby as his own family: an example of hospitable family traditions where adoption can be a bond as strong as blood – a scenario enacted countless times on all the Australian frontiers. Thirteen years before writing his ‘Recollections,’ it was with this story and this issue that Finniss defended his old friends, and by implication all their peers, reclaiming their place among the compassionate of the world.¹⁷⁹²

¹⁷⁸⁷ Finniss 1892: 5, 6.

¹⁷⁸⁸ Finniss’s spelling here is more accurate than Light’s ‘Yankalillah,’ and the same as on early maps of the Country Surveys three years later. These were the only sources which heard both of the *l-y-* sounds, apart from the German linguists who gave it as *Yankalya*, *Yangkalya*, *Yangkalyilla* and *Yankalya-illa* (‘in *Yankalya*’) (T&S 1840, 1:21; 2:55, 76). For a consideration of the variant spellings and pronunciations *yangk-* and *yarnk-*, and for its etymology, see Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 *Yarnkalyilla*; also Amery 2002: 170-2).

¹⁷⁸⁹ Finniss 1892: 6.

¹⁷⁹⁰ See Philosophical Society 1879: 22, below, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/107422#page/28/mode/1up>.

¹⁷⁹¹ See the footnote on temperatures in section 3.6.3.3 ‘Visitors from Encounter Bay’.

¹⁷⁹² In a meeting of the Philosophical Society on 4 Feb 1879, Finniss cited the same incident, apparently without the dismissive twist. There had been discussion of JD Woods’ new paper on ‘Aborigines of South Australia,’ and armchair generalizations about ‘half-castes’ – by then a much-maligned social ‘nuisance’ in SA – and whether ‘the blacks’ disliked them. Finniss, in responding, used his story as first-hand evidence: “*Several theories had been advanced...* [Finniss] *remembered being at Rapid Bay in 1838 [sic], and being camped with a small party, including a few friendly*

Yet even his longer 1892 account ends on a joltingly paternalistic note: “I was much amused and gratified by this display of human feeling in a blackfellow.”¹⁷⁹³

Peter was no doubt one of Light’s ‘marines.’¹⁷⁹⁴ He would become a leading character at Encounter Bay, prominent among the seasonal whalers. During the conflicts along the Coorong in 1840-1 (following the *Maria* massacre), he would play an important part with both the police expedition and the peace-making health professional Richard Penney. An impressive man physically and mentally, he had language skills which may have surpassed even Jim’s. He epitomizes the nuanced identities and ambiguous territories of our ‘Cape Jervis’ protagonists.

His real name was recorded as “Lāme raikongga” (RS. *Lamiraikongka*) which must be Raminyeri,¹⁷⁹⁵ and most of what we know about him identifies him as an Encounter Bay man. Yet, as far as we can tell, he fully accepted the ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* name “Yankallyilla” (*Yarnkalyilla*) as the proper name of ‘his district.’

Textbox25: LAMIRAIKONGKA (‘PETER’) OF ENCOUNTER BAY AND ‘YANKALLYILLA’.

It is relatively easy to distinguish Finnis’s friend ‘Peter’ from two other contemporary Peters,¹⁷⁹⁶ and once a few connections are drawn, we know quite a lot about ‘Peter of Yankallyilla’. He was also called ‘Encounter Bay Peter’.

His real name was listed by Wyatt – probably after meeting him at Encounter Bay in September 1837 – as “Lāme raikongga” (?*Lami-raikongka*). Although the word-ending here resembles the ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* Locative suffix *ngga* – a very unusual thing in ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* language – the name as a whole cannot be *Miyurna*, which never uses the sounds *l* and *r* at the beginning of a word. This observation confirms Wyatt’s classification of him with others under the heading “All of Encounter Bay”, i.e. *Kornar*;¹⁷⁹⁷ and this identity

black [sic], among whom were a native and his lubra and a half-caste child. The night was very rough, and the child cried a great deal. The black man, however, got up and attended to it, and treated it entirely as his own, and showed anything but dislike to it” (Philosophical Society 1879: 22,

<https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/107422#page/28/mode/1up> [Ordinary Meeting Feb 4, 1879, *Transactions & Proceedings & Report of the Philosophical Society of Adelaide, SA, for 1878-9*]).

¹⁷⁹³ Finnis 1892: 6. ‘Gratified’ (i.e. pleased) is understandable; Finnis felt instinctively the emotional support of a common understanding with this other father, especially at that moment when both had their anxieties. But why ‘amused’? In an 1836 context the word need not have the narrow modern meaning, ‘found it funny;’ more likely he would mean ‘entertained, interested,’ which changes the tone to something more ‘scientific.’ Even so, the sudden distancing suggests that, as he wrote in 1891-2 for his late-Victorian audience of family, history buffs and ‘old colonists,’ Finnis was beginning to be slightly embarrassed by these old friendships with ‘blackfellows’ and was half apologizing for them. By then the Social Darwinists had turned the tide against the reforming debates of the 1830s; a self-serving racial determinism had taken pervasive hold in Australia, and the science of the Royal Society was often used in service to it (see e.g. Henry Reynolds 1987, *Frontier: Aborigines, Settlers and Land*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin: 115-6, 118-120, 122, 127-9).

¹⁷⁹⁴ It is likely that Peter is one of the two Aboriginal figures in Light’s painting of ‘Rapid Valley’ (see section 3.6.2.3 ‘Language, communication’).

¹⁷⁹⁵ Wyatt 1879: 180; see Textbox25 ‘Peter’ below.

¹⁷⁹⁶ 1. Finnis’s Peter was certainly not the ‘Peter’ who was “*Wira Maldira*”. This was a younger man: in 1840 a teenage “boy” who came “*from the Murray*” (which in this case meant Lake Alexandrina), and had been contacted there by Moorhouse and Teichelmann in Dec 1840. He lived with surveyors for 14 months, became expert with guns, killed McGrath on the Coorong, became a notorious bushranger, and was hung in March 1845 (Moorhouse to Hall 18 Dec 1840, GRG 52/7/5; Moorhouse 1843a: 343; and various histories of the Coorong).

2. Finnis’s Peter was almost certainly not ‘King Peter’ Pulami (‘Pullum’) of the Lake Albert group, in Taplin’s time the last Rupulli (leader) of the Ngarrindjeri *tendi* (traditional council) (see e.g. Gara 1998: 131; Jenkin 1979: 182; Taplin Diary 9-10 Nov 1859, 13 Aug 1861, 21 July 1874, 20 Jan 1875). There is no hint that this man had an earlier career in the whaling industry, or anything to do with the Gulf coast.

¹⁷⁹⁷ Wyatt 1879: 180.

is confirmed by Henry Kemmis of Yankalilla, who knew him as one of “the Encounter Bay blacks” in the 1840s.¹⁷⁹⁸

He was older than ‘Jim’¹⁷⁹⁹ but probably not by much, still in the prime of life. In the 1840s he was employed for years as a whaler at Encounter Bay, where he was one of a select group of five whaleboat crewmen employed by Penney.¹⁸⁰⁰ He had considerable skills in language and diplomacy, and used them extensively in the service of the government, sometimes with the police and sometimes with peacemakers such as Moorhouse and Dr Penney. After the *Maria* massacre Peter, Bob and Charley were hired by Pullen in 1840 for his first investigative voyage down the Coorong; all of them manned the whaleboat but Peter was the leading interpreter. Further southeast than the ‘Milmenrura’ (the alleged culprits), he had friends with whom his brother sometimes stayed, and he was the only one of the three who could interpret and mediate with this “Tenkinyra” group.¹⁸⁰¹ When Police Commissioner O’Halloran took his terror campaign to the Coorong, it was “Encounter Bay Peter” who delivered his first two reports to Adelaide.¹⁸⁰² Next year Peter, Solomon, Bob and Joe gave their services to another police hunt under James McLean.¹⁸⁰³ In the same year 1841, Moorhouse and Meyer used a whaleboat crew of ‘natives’ in an excursion attempting to make peace around the Bay, estuary and Coorong.¹⁸⁰⁴ Dr Richard Penney in his medical excursions of the early 1840s “constantly had five natives in [his] employment” in a whaleboat,¹⁸⁰⁵ and sometimes up to eight,¹⁸⁰⁶ all members of “the Encounter Bay tribe”.¹⁸⁰⁷ There can be no doubt that Lamiraikongka served all these expeditions as one of these energetic whalers, guides, interpreters, intermediaries. Mentioned most often by far in the accounts, he appears to be the leading man, the real Australian ‘Peter the Whaler’.¹⁸⁰⁸

In the same years, like many other Encounter Bay people, Lamiraikongka alternated whaling with regular summer journeys across the range to Yankalilla. There he was well known to some of the first settlers, though he probably did not seek employment in harvesting.¹⁸⁰⁹ He seems to have had a gift for friendship, and was regarded as an exceptional man by both Finniss and the aristocratic Yankalilla pioneer, Henry Kemmis of ‘Manna Farm’, who had this to say about “lean Peter” and his peers:¹⁸¹⁰

¹⁷⁹⁸ Kemmis 1889, digital archive No.1309.

¹⁷⁹⁹ Only Jim is described by Finniss as ‘young’.

¹⁸⁰⁰ The other four of the whaleboat elite were Tamuruwi (‘Encounter Bay Bob’), Bob’s brother ‘One-arm Charley’, ‘Solomon’ (‘*Salomo*’ in Meyer Correspondence), and ‘Joe’.

¹⁸⁰¹ Pullen’s report 12/8/1840 (*Southern Australian* 14/8/1840: 2d-e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/6245156>); Moorhouse to George Hall 13 March 1841, GRG 24/1/1841/106: 3; Penney to George Hall 19 April 1841 (*SA Register* 24/4/1841: 3d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27442414/2050066>).

¹⁸⁰² O’Halloran First Report 26 Aug 1840, and Second Report 4 Sep 1840, *Register* 12/9/1840: 2a, 2c.

¹⁸⁰³ McLean 1903: 67.

¹⁸⁰⁴ Moorhouse to George Hall 13 March 1841, GRG 24/1/1841/106: 3.

¹⁸⁰⁵ Penney to Grey (July 1841), GRG 1841/363, quoted in Ballantyne: 79-80.

¹⁸⁰⁶ Penney to Hall 19 April 1841 (*SA Register* 24/4/1841: 3d).

¹⁸⁰⁷ Penney report to Grey 7 Jan 1841, GRG 24/1/1841/8. An account of Penney’s expeditions can be found in Rob Foster 1991, ‘The Spirit of Penney, a biographical sketch’, *Journal of the Anthropological Society of SA* 29: 2-10.

¹⁸⁰⁸ Cp. the very popular boys’ adventure stories of ‘Peter the Whaler’ by English novelist William HG Kingston in the 19th century; and Max Colwell’s Australian follow-up *Peter the Whaler in Southern Seas*, Melbourne: Macmillan 1964.

¹⁸⁰⁹ Several prominent Encounter Bay men refused to reap with Newland at Encounter Bay (Newland 1926, Chapter 3), and others refused Meyer’s pressure to settle as farmers (Meyer to Dresden 27 Aug 1844, 9 Oct 1844, 27 Oct 1845 [Meyer Correspondence: 102-3, 106, 125-6]). Peter seems to have avoided farming (and missions) so thoroughly that his name is never mentioned in the Newland and Meyer literature.

¹⁸¹⁰ Kemmis 1889, digital archive No.1309.

“I had constant intercourse with the local aborigines - the Encounter Bay Blacks,¹⁸¹¹ 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.... Peter the fisherman, I positively assert these people were honest and trustworthy to the backbone... The camp was frequently held in my valley 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 hunter and the gins with their capacious nets filled with fresh waterfish [sic for ‘freshwater fish’] and abundance of vegetables and nuts... [H]ow formidable, I recolect [sic] this tribe when war was declared between them and some Murray Blacks¹⁸¹² 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...”

Nothing more is known of Lamiraikongka after Kemmis’s Manna Farm years.

FAMILY AND AFFILIATIONS:

He also had a son, who came to Wyatt’s notice during an intensive murder investigation at Encounter Bay in 1837 and so was probably older than the little girl. The boy had the Miyurna birth-order name “Warreecha”: *Warritya*, ‘second-born (male)’.¹⁸¹³ *Warritya*’s mother must therefore have been a woman of Miyurna Language Country, no doubt ‘Cape Jervis’.¹⁸¹⁴ She may have been either a second wife, or the same ‘rather old’ woman whom Finniss met.

Lamiraikongka clearly had complex affiliations with at least two language groups and two territories.¹⁸¹⁵ On one hand his name is probably Raminyeri; Wyatt, O’Halloran, Penney, Moorhouse and Kemmis all identified him as an ‘Encounter Bay’ man; most of what we know about him happened at Encounter Bay and the Coorong; and his “friends” included a group at the southern end of the Coorong into which his brother had probably married.¹⁸¹⁶ On the other hand, Finniss at Yarnkalyilla remembered him as a man of “this tribe” – i.e. the friendly Rapid Bay ‘tribe’ – and distinguished it from the ‘Encounter Bay tribe’: “this tribe afterwards on the banks of the Torrens... with the Encounter Bay tribe... went to fight the Northern blacks”;¹⁸¹⁷

¹⁸¹¹ The travellers on the Fleurieu after the 1840s were usually perceived by settlers as monolithically ‘Encounter Bay’ people (i.e. all Raminyeri or at least *Kornar*). But almost certainly this was not completely true. In the same sentence Kemmis also describes them as ‘the locals’, i.e. local to his farm at Yankalilla town. Some settlers formed relationships with prominent whalers like ‘Bob’ and ‘Peter’, but they would rarely have become sufficiently close or knowledgeable to identify family members including ‘Kurna’-*Myrna* relatives who were also present though no longer dominant as in 1836. See also Section 3.7.4 ‘*Yartakurlangga* & *Patpangga* become invisible’. No doubt future genealogical work will uncover more of those invisible *Miyurna* travellers.

¹⁸¹² These ‘Murray Blacks’ were not from the Lower Murray but northern foreigners from Moorunde, north of Blanchetown 130 km northeast of Adelaide. They were invading Adelaide, and on several occasions from 1842 to 1844 contingents of men from Encounter Bay and the Murray estuary went to Adelaide “expressly invited” as allies to aid the locals in repelling them (Moorhouse to Colonial Sec 6 Apr 1843, GRG 52/7/94; *Southern Australian* 7/4/1843: 2e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71616591>; see Schultz 2023a). It was probably in the aftermath of the second skirmish on 23 December 1842 that Kemmis saw wounded men returning: he had moved onto his block (Manna Farm) earlier that year. It is inherently likely that Peter would have been among those who answered the call to Adelaide each time, and a late reminiscence by Finniss suggests that he was a prominent warrior and even a military “general” in at least one of these battles (Finniss 1892: 13).

¹⁸¹³ See Wyatt 1879: 180. Wyatt glossed the name incorrectly as “Fourth son”.

¹⁸¹⁴ Peter’s wife would have bestowed the birth-order name, and used her own ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* language to do so. Klynton Wanganeen also suggested this inference (p.c. 30/8/16).

¹⁸¹⁵ His knowledge of the Coorong makes it likely that he had other identities there as well.

¹⁸¹⁶ The “*Tenkinrya* tribe”: see Pullen’s report on the *Maria* investigation, *Register* 15/8/1840: 6b; and Moorhouse to George Hall 13 March 1841, GRG 24/1/1841/106: 3. Marriages negotiated over long distances were routine, not rare; e.g. a Coorong man Kaltanganuru who married a woman from “*Cape Jervis near Yankalilla*” (see Appendix 13 ‘Intermarriage across language boundaries’).

¹⁸¹⁷ Finniss 1892: 8 (my emphasis).

and Peter called *Yarnkalyilla* “his [own] district”. As far as we can tell, he simultaneously accepted its *Miyurna* name as the valid language for that place¹⁸¹⁸ and asserted personal rights within it.

Perhaps his own mother was a Gulf woman from whom he *inherited* some secondary land rights at Yankalilla;¹⁸¹⁹ or perhaps he had *acquired* them by marrying Warritya’s mother.¹⁸²⁰ In either case we may infer one reason he was spending so much time and diplomatic energy there: probably he wanted to look after ‘his district’, monitor how the newcomers were using it, and influence the protocols.

There at Yarnkalyilla, Peter was on his own country, at ease with visitors who had asked permission. Finnis was at this station for several weeks, including part of the time when the Aboriginal men were still absent from Yartakurlangga. Were Peter and his family part of a larger party camped there to hunt, confer, and perhaps monitor Finnis’s actions?

Like Peter, some of the other ‘marines’ of Yartakurlangga relished the experience and later visited either Adelaide or Encounter Bay to look for work;¹⁸²¹ and some of them came to Adelaide for war. Certainly Peter became a whaler; and ‘Jim’ guided a Coorong expedition.¹⁸²² And in Adelaide, when there was war against the invading ‘Murray Blacks’ in the early 1840s, Finnis met Peter there as a warrior ‘captain’ and had a brief chance to reaffirm his friendship.¹⁸²³

¹⁸¹⁸ In Raminyeri-Kornar it was called *Yangkalyawangk* (see Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla).

¹⁸¹⁹ I owe this suggestion to both Rob Amery (Amery 1998: 85-6) and Klynton Wanganeen (p.c. 30/8/16). Peter Sutton adds a general perspective: “A man normally acquired untrammelled usufructuary rights in his wife’s country and vice versa, but this of course did not extend to rights of say-so or spiritual identification with the spousal country. This is not the same ‘secondary’ right as that of a person in their maternal estate” (Sutton p.c. email attachment 16/4/19: 3).

¹⁸²⁰ Cp. the reverse case where Keinindjeri’s Rapid Bay wife had acquired from her late husband some rights in Raminyeri land at King’s Point near Encounter Bay (Tindale 1941: 241-2). See Appendix 13 ‘Intermarriage across language boundaries’.

¹⁸²¹ It is possible that some of them visited Adelaide by February 1837, and this possibility will be examined again in Book 2. In about February 1837 “a private settler writes from Holdfast Bay thus:— ‘... *The Colonel employed the whole tribe at Rapid Bay and they continue with him. They are clothed and fed daily with biscuit and sugar and occasionally tea, and when inclined for meat, they obtain it by hunting...*’” (Anon. [William Smillie] 1838, *The Great South Land: four articles on emigration, designed to exhibit the principles and progress of the new colony of South Australia*, Stirling (Scotland), Stirling Observer Office: 17, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-29326248/view?partId=nla.obj-29328882#page/n19/mode/1up>; my emphasis). But how did this settler know that the people in Adelaide were the same ‘tribe’ as those at Rapid Bay? Did he merely assume this? Light came to have a quite different view; he contrasted the local people in Adelaide very sharply with those of Yartakurlangga: “*The tribe I first met with at Rapid Bay were very superior*” (Light letter to Palmer 14/3/1839, quoted in Dutton 1960: 283). He wrote this in his last months at Thebarton, dying and distressed by Aboriginal people attacking his property (*ibid*). By that date the ‘Adelaide tribe’ had suffered 30 months of breakdown and deprivation; direct conflict was imminent in the colony (fatal attacks on shepherds in Adelaide and on the Gawler River); and we cannot be sure whether Light’s tormentors were locals or visitors. But if Rapid Bay people were among them, he would probably have identified any with Raminyeri ancestry, by their physical appearance.

¹⁸²² See Textbox25 on ‘Peter,’ above.

¹⁸²³ ‘CAPTAIN PETER’ AT THE TORRENS:

In old age Finnis wrote, “*I met this tribe afterwards on the banks of the Torrens where, with the Encounter Bay tribe, they went to fight the Northern blacks who had assembled [sic] from a long distance to attack them... At this time I was a witness of a fight on the banks of the Torrens in front of Morphet street. Seeing a number of blacks assembling at that point, I repaired to the spot and was met by my old friend Peter of Rapid Bay, and his tribe. The tribe were in their war paint, each man carrying shield and spear. Peter endeavoured to explain to me that they came to prevent the northern blacks entering their territory... Captain Peter warned me to retire as the enemy were about to throw their spears... My friend Peter was captain of the southern hosts, evidently the chosen warrior of his tribe... The northern blacks... were but a mob, while Peter’s army were powerful, well-fed blacks armed with shield and spear, and apparently well trained to use them*” (Finnis 1892: 8, 13).

On this occasion was Finnis was a casual onlooker, attracted momentarily during business hours in a busy life which now had little or nothing to do with ‘the natives’.* It is very doubtful that he understood what he was witnessing, though he had a soldierly appreciation of what he took to be “tactical movements” and phalanx formation. This account of

But Finniss's memories of Jim and Peter had their heart in the communal and domestic friendship of those peaceful summer weeks at Rapid Bay in 1836.

3.6.4.5 – FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN WOMEN.

"I found the tribe exceedingly kind and friendly," wrote Finniss in 1892; and his next few sentences suggest that he was remembering the women equally with the men: "They assisted me in building a hut for my wife by cutting the reeds and long grass." For it was almost certainly the women who performed these services, as they did for Woodforde.¹⁸²⁴ They had probably come into Yartakurlangga already in the early weeks of Finniss's regime, and possibly helped Mrs Hoare with her baby John Rapid.

Women's business continued through November and December with Anne Finniss's pregnancy, and one at least of the older Aboriginal children also helped. Anne endured her late term in the sweltering summer while her husband went out on foot in the untamed wilds, eventually for several days at a time once he had a station at Yankalilla. Aboriginal women and children were certainly there in the first weeks of January, for they tended a baby girl born on New Year's Day. Finniss continues:

... and when my first child (Fanny Lipson Finniss) was born, just after midnight of the 31 Dec. 1836, they used to take great care of her, nursing the baby with all the care of a practised nurse. One young boy who had acquired the name of Nathaniel was blind of one eye, but he was a useful and constant attendant upon the baby – for the married women of the camp rather shunned attendance upon anyone under any circumstances.

The refusal of midwifery by Anne's own people must have appeared to the 'Cape Jervis' women as a strange failure of community, for they themselves were 'practised nurses' routinely. We may imagine them saying to each other, 'Poor thing!' The Finnisses turned to them out of necessity, and they were not disappointed but full of praise and gratitude. In this most intimate of situations, they found there the compassion which they did not find among their English companions, except within the strict limits of Woodforde's clinical and male practice – perhaps (given the English proprieties around midwifery) not even from Boyle himself.¹⁸²⁵

Peter's alleged battle against 'Captain Jack' at the River Torrens – written 50 years after the event without reference to notes – contains a number of confusions similar to those about Jim's abduction and death. In the full text there are demonstrable errors of date, context and fact, and interpretations which are clearly speculative, so that it is hard to know or interpret what it was that he saw (Finniss 1892: 8, 13). Certainly he provides no convincing evidence for an invasion of Adelaide in 1837 by 'northerners' led by Captain Jack, pitted against 'Ramindjeri' southerners who were the previous owners up to the south bank of the Torrens – as asserted by the Ramindjeri Heritage Association (Karno Walker 2010, 'Media Release re Victoria Square/Tarndanyangga and Historically Recorded Ramindjeri Traditional Territory South of the River Torrens', p.2). For much more detail about the historical context of Finniss's original experience, see my separate essay Schultz 2023a, 'Adelaide as a battleground', <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>.

* Full-scale battles of the Moorunde invasion happened in March and December 1842, a time when Finniss was still trying to run a failing flour mill at his property 'Traversbrook' in Burnside. At least two other battles (in April 1843 and April 1844) were about to happen when stopped by mounted police; at that time he was Commissioner of Police and a police magistrate, working on North Terrace. For the battles see Foster 1990: 26-7; Gara 1998: 116-8; and my unpublished essay 'Adelaide as a battleground' as above. For Finniss's life see <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/finniss-boyle-travers-2044> [3/11/14].

¹⁸²⁴ The hut would have been built as early as possible in their stay, but may have taken a month or more (cp. Woodforde's hut which was not ready until 11 Dec, assisted by the women after the men had departed).

¹⁸²⁵ The outpost included at least three other married Englishwomen: Mrs Hoare, Mrs Chapman and Mrs Bristow, with one or two children each (including Mrs Hoare's newborn). No doubt they considered that they had come this far to be free colonists, not servants. Finniss politely refused to identify them – "Some of them, or their descendants, may be yet

3.6.4.6 – FRIENDSHIP AND ETHNOGRAPHY.

A considerable part of Finniss's 'Recollections' is devoted to his personal and social encounters at Rapid Bay and "Yankallyilla."¹⁸²⁶ He wrote from time spent living among the people and on the land with some of them. He observed not only 'exotica' but individual characters and relationships. The words he uses include not only the collective 'friendly' but the individual 'friend.'

His catalogue of 'friendliness' is interrupted several times by digressions into lay-scientific ethnography. Most of these are not casual generalities from Adelaide but specific to "this tribe... the Rapid Bay natives": a small but rare record.¹⁸²⁷

There are paragraphs dealing with religion, burial, cooking, fauna, Jim's method of finding and obtaining possums from a tree, and the battle in Adelaide.

But he does not write of Doughboy, her sons, her wider family, and their relationship with Cooper. Probably Cooper and Doughboy were not there often enough for him to observe their connection with two of his 'marines.'¹⁸²⁸ In this respect Finniss was like most other colonists, who dismissed 'sealer's wives' as not really 'the natives': uninteresting, inauthentic. This blind spot often continues today in attitudes toward urban First People.

.....

living and I should, therefore, be sorry to make any statements regarding them, or mention names" – but clearly the memory rankled, especially in hindsight of the dangerous complications which Anne subsequently suffered in Adelaide. Later in the 'Recollections' he wrote, "*I had no servant Mrs Hoare having her baby boy to nurse as there were but few single girls, and the married women declined service, generally, although some had been officially given a passage to the Colony under engagement*" (p.9).

¹⁸²⁶ Finniss 1892: 6-8.

¹⁸²⁷ Finniss 1892: 7, 8. The ethnographic passages of Finniss and others at Rapid Bay are found in full in Appendix 10, 'Aboriginal people at Rapid Bay in 1836-7: additional ethnographic source texts'.

¹⁸²⁸ But as we have noted, Field – with less opportunity onshore than Finniss, but much more on board the *Rapid* with Doughboy – did know about her sons (Field 1837: 3e).

3.6.5 – January 1-23: THE SETTLEMENT ABANDONS THE EMBASSY.

3.6.5.1 – WAITING FOR THE CALL OF CIVILIZATION.

Summer at Yartakurlangga. New Year's Day. The Aboriginal men still absent. It was the time for camping on the coast, following the runs of salmon, tommy ruffs and mullet up the Gulf coast.¹⁸²⁹ But some at least of the 'Cape Jervis' women were tending Anne Finniss and baby Fanny. Her husband took a brief time off from his Yankalilla survey.¹⁸³⁰ Young William Jacob began to keep a diary; served out the second sheep; ate his first emu at dinner with Woodforde and a colonist named Powys; and pined for news from Holdfast Bay.¹⁸³¹

On the morning of the 3rd the whaleboat dropped off Finniss and Cannan at Second Valley to walk to Yankalilla, "their station, which they hope to leave next week."¹⁸³² That afternoon another whaleboat arrived unexpectedly, containing William Walker. He was "on his way up the Gulf to try & engage with Captain Light."¹⁸³³ News! He told of Nat Thomas's women searching for Osborn and Slater, and the sad traces they found. But he was still doubtful whether the big ship they had all seen on December 27th was the *Buffalo*. Woodforde gave him a letter for Light about the welfare of "my little flock"; Mrs Finniss was doing well (but he did not mention the service of the Aboriginal women). They might all be ready to leave by the 16th.¹⁸³⁴

It appears that Condoy and Kalinga were not with Walker this time.¹⁸³⁵ There is no record of them, explicit or implied, since December 12th when Stephens paid Walker for his group's part in the Kangaroo Island searches.¹⁸³⁶ Condoy did not take the opportunity to visit the mainlanders at Yartakurlangga. Had he by this time given up hope of negotiating with the new regime? Were the negotiations now bypassing Condoy and Natalla, perhaps led by a new group centred on Encounter Bay families such as Tamuruwi and Yangarawi? And was Walker finally abandoning his independence and following the footsteps of Cooper with the colonial regime?

¹⁸²⁹ In the early 20th century the southern peoples followed the fish northward in summer as far as Port Willunga and Port Noarlunga, probably after an ancient pattern (see the reminiscences of Thomas Martin in Hemming 1985: 24-28). Cp. Karlowan's information for the story of Tjirbuki at Sellick's Beach: "*the beach at Sellick's Hill, where he noticed a fine bay, suitable for catching sea salmon at night-time*" (Tindale 1936: 501); "*a fine bay which would serve at night as a good netting place for sea salmon*" (Tindale 1987: 8b).

¹⁸³⁰ Finniss was out shooting with Woodforde in the afternoon of the 2nd (Woodforde 2 Jan).

¹⁸³¹ Woodforde 1 Jan; Jacob journal 1-2 Jan 1837. Thomas Powys, a young gentleman passenger from the *Cygnets*, had bagged the emu on the 31st during a shooting excursion with Woodforde.

¹⁸³² Jacob journal 3 Jan. It is unclear where the 'station' was, but on balance of data it is more likely that it was at Yankalilla and they were saving themselves the most rugged part of the time-wasting journey.

¹⁸³³ Woodforde 3 Jan.

¹⁸³⁴ Woodforde 3 Jan; Jacob journal 3 Jan.

¹⁸³⁵ Woodforde had met Condoy and Kalinga on Aug 31st (see section 3.4.5.1.2 'Condoy & his family make contact'). On January 3rd Walker's whaleboat must have been managed by a team of three or four, so it is likely that some of the other Hog Bay men were with him, even though the officers at Rapid Bay deemed them not worth mentioning. But Condoy and Kalinga were almost certainly absent, or Woodforde would certainly have recognized them and noted their presence.

¹⁸³⁶ See the footnote on Walker's pay, earlier in this chapter.

3.6.5.2 – FOOD, LOST SHEEP, AND ‘BOB’.

The absence of the ‘Cape Jervis’ men loomed large in Finniss’s food economy. Without their hunting and fishing, the hapless wethers from Salt Lagoon were the only fresh meat. But on the evening of the 5th the entire five remaining sheep were missing. Fortunately Cooper and Doughboy were present. They went out looking the next day, but did not find the sheep. Jacob took out the whaleboat and managed (for once) to get 15 fish.¹⁸³⁷

By the 7th the Aboriginal men were beginning to arrive back. In the very early morning “Natives” (probably meaning the men) were the first to spot the *Cygnet* approaching; and one of them went out all day searching for the sheep with labourer Stubbington.¹⁸³⁸ At last, the keenly-awaited ship to take them away! But it hove to off Rapid Bay and did not anchor; Finniss and Woodforde had to go out to it in the whaleboat. Precious news came back to eager ears: letters and newspapers from home; the Governor had indeed arrived; the town was to be called ‘Adelaide.’ Meanwhile the *Cygnet* would go first to KI, where magistrates would conduct an official inquiry into last year’s chaos there under Stephens;¹⁸³⁹ and when it returned, any one who was ready could embark.¹⁸⁴⁰

The sheep remained at large for several days. On the 9th three men – probably ‘natives,’ possibly including Cooper – went out searching, unsuccessfully; Jacob feared the livestock were “lost for good”.¹⁸⁴¹

But the morning of the 10th brought him more good news: “I was gratified at the sight of 2 of the Native Bob & his Picanini driving all the 5 Sheep back uninjured.”¹⁸⁴² Property was acknowledged, and Bob’s ‘bush school job’ with his young son or daughter became part of the protocols for their visitors. Very probably this man was one of the ‘Marines’, and quite possibly he was Tamuruwi (‘Encounter Bay Bob’).¹⁸⁴³ If so, his willing work at Yartakurlangga was his first experience of the colony, and may help to explain his very cooperative behaviour at Encounter Bay eight months later.¹⁸⁴⁴ It is also *possible* that the whaleboat saga and the Yartakurlangga embassy marked the beginning of a new era when he and his father Yangarawi tried for a while to lead negotiations with the invaders.

3.6.5.3 – ANSWERING THE CALL, DANCING A FAREWELL.

The visit of the *Cygnet* was followed by several days of bustle. Jacob and two of the labourers packed the stores and gear, and the locals helped them to move it all to the beach by the 12th.¹⁸⁴⁵ On that day the *Cygnet* returned, carrying the magistrates with damning evidence of the “sad business” on KI.¹⁸⁴⁶ One of these was George Stevenson,

¹⁸³⁷ Jacob journal 6 Jan.

¹⁸³⁸ Jacob journal 7 Jan.

¹⁸³⁹ See ‘Commission of Inquiry into the Lawless State of Society on Kangaroo Island’, Jan 1837 (GRG 24/90/342) in Shueard 2013.

¹⁸⁴⁰ See Elder 1984: 93-4; Stevenson journal: 58-61 (2, 4, 6-10 Jan); Woodforde 8 Jan; Jacob 7-8 Jan.

¹⁸⁴¹ Jacob journal 9 Jan.

¹⁸⁴² Jacob journal 10 Jan.

¹⁸⁴³ There were at least eight different sets of records of men given the nickname ‘Bob’ by colonists in the period of early contact around Adelaide and Encounter Bay. Of these, ‘Encounter Bay Bob’ is the most likely of these men to have been at Rapid Bay in January 1837. For more details see Appendix 11 ‘Eight Bobs’.

¹⁸⁴⁴ See Book 2 for the story of ‘Bob’ with Mann and Wyatt at Encounter Bay in September 1837.

¹⁸⁴⁵ Finniss 1892: 7; 8 Elder 1984: 93; Jacob journal 9-12 Jan.

¹⁸⁴⁶ “Nothing can be more hopeless than the affair altogether. There is no water, no land, nothing but drunkenness and demoralization” (Stevenson journal: 61, Jan 10). Though very judgmental about the Manager, Stevenson did

Hindmarsh's unpopular private secretary and – though it occupied little of his mind – first Interim Protector of the Aborigines. It was 6 pm; there would be bad news and more delay. They anchored four miles out and sent a boat ashore with the first mate and the magistrates' clerk, Henry Jickling,¹⁸⁴⁷ and an officious letter from Stevenson: "He would take us on board," wrote Woodforde (his emphasis; for the *Cygnets* was under Light's command, not Stevenson's) – but, ludicrously, the ship must leave within two hours because of "public service."¹⁸⁴⁸ Jickling also told them of bitter dissension in Adelaide between Governor and Commission, and a move by landowners to censure Light because the Sections were not ready.

Finniss called on his Aboriginal friends for entertainment. Probably he was trying to defuse the tension of the moment. In old age he framed these events not within those ego-wars of the powerful, but as part of the memorable period with his Aboriginal friends. They responded willingly:

*Our friends the blacks assisted us in moving a large array of goods to the beach and in the evening I amused Mr Jickling by getting up a corroborrie for which the blacks collected as many of their number as were obtainable.*¹⁸⁴⁹

Stevenson the Protector missed this event, which might be seen as the first 'command performance' or 'tourist corroborree' in South Australia.¹⁸⁵⁰ The 'Cape Jervis' people undertook it at extremely short notice, about an hour at most, in a personalized context of a mutual friendship, even though Finniss's party was obviously soon to leave. Did they still hope that he would return (as Light had) to continue the deal? Or did they know that it was all about to end?

Finniss sent poor mild Jickling back with letters insisting that they should follow Light's instructions and send boats ashore tomorrow. But instead, the *Cygnets* "disappeared in the dark."¹⁸⁵¹ The camp settled down to wait and pack – again.

On the 13th a whaleboat called in with three men, defecting from Stephens and on their way to find new work in Adelaide.¹⁸⁵²

Next morning all the sheep were missing again, but again the hosts maintained their solidarity. Soon after breakfast the energetic Woodforde set out "taking three of the

mention that Stephens was using a "*spick-and-span new whaleboat*" (Stevenson journal: 60, Jan 8), which presumably had been built at his order to serve his next project, the whale fishery (see Book 2).

¹⁸⁴⁷ Woodforde 12 Jan (the manuscript spells Jickling as "*Jenclin*," which was mis-transcribed as 'Jenchin' in the typescript). Jickling was a lawyer – "*a quiet learned man who had no hope of quelling the factional squabbles*" (<http://www.courts.sa.gov.au/OurCourts/SupremeCourt/Pages/History.aspx>) – but the other two 'magistrates' (Stevenson and TB Strangways) were not legal professionals but hastily appointed from the governor's stable of gentleman supporters. All three had arrived with Hindmarsh on the *Buffalo*.

¹⁸⁴⁸ Stevenson's letter quoted in Light Brief Journal: 94; cp. Woodforde 12 Jan.

¹⁸⁴⁹ Finniss 1892: 8. This sentence is placed immediately after his little ethnography and immediately before his account of the rescue of Joe Finch; and (as his covering letter notes) Finniss's Recollections avoid any hint of "*anything to the prejudice of anyone*" (p.1).

¹⁸⁵⁰ See ParsonsM 1997 (Michael Parsons 1997, 'The tourist corroborree in South Australia to 1911,' *Aboriginal History* 21, Canberra: Australian National University: 46-69, <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p72631/pdf/article0415.pdf>). Parsons distinguishes early 'peace corroborrees' from later and more events staged for money or goods.

¹⁸⁵¹ Woodforde 12 Jan; Light Brief Journal: 94-5 (where Light includes correspondence between Finniss and Stevenson at the time, and his own comments on this incident).

¹⁸⁵² Jacob journal 13 Jan; Woodforde 13 Jan.

natives with me to hunt the opossum which they do very cleverly.” He learned another ‘Kurna’-Miyurna word: “The opossum, with the wongo (a smaller species),¹⁸⁵³ are found in the hollow branches of the Gum tree... Our success was but moderate as we only caught six which is not considered a good day’s sport.¹⁸⁵⁴ Jacob had “wonga” for breakfast next day, “far better than Opossum.” Somebody must have found some of the sheep, for he killed another that evening.¹⁸⁵⁵

By the 16th the whole ‘tribe’ or kin group of 30 were in residence again, and Jacob wrote of their generous hospitality.¹⁸⁵⁶ On the evening of the 17th he “sent 2 natives out Kangaroo Hunting,” and recorded another Aboriginal word “welta,” ‘hot.’¹⁸⁵⁷ But they had no luck, and bird-shooter Woodforde complained (rather ungratefully), “I again went out with my gun to which I am entirely indebted for fresh meat as we have no more mutton and the blacks very seldom bring home any kangaroos.”¹⁸⁵⁸ However, Jacob also contributed a big catch of fish.¹⁸⁵⁹

The surveys wound up officially on the 15th,¹⁸⁶⁰ presumably by packing up and evacuating the Yankalilla station. But on the 17th Finniss, Cannan, Hardy and Woodforde

¹⁸⁵³ i.e. probably the Brushtail possum, contrasted with ‘Kurna’-Miyurna *wangku* (possibly the Ringtail, Feathertail Glider or Pygmy Possum).

¹⁸⁵⁴ Woodforde 13 Jan.

¹⁸⁵⁵ Jacob journal 14 Jan.

¹⁸⁵⁶ Jacob journal 16 Jan. For his comments on the local people, see earlier (section 3.6.3.4 ‘Hospitality & work’).

¹⁸⁵⁷ Jacob journal 17 Jan. Evening (he wrote) “*is a better time to send them than in the morning as they get to their hunting ground to sleep and catch the Kangaroo the first thing in the morning whereas if sent in the morning they go out, catch nothing because as they say welta (very hot) and I suppose lie down*”. In principle, ‘welta’ could represent either ‘Kurna’-Miyurna *warlta*, or ‘Ngarrindjeri’-Kornar *waldi / werlti / werlta*, all meaning ‘hot’ (Gale 2009: 160, 166), and so his informant could have been any of the ‘Cape Jervis’ men or Encounter Bay visitors. But the final *a* is a little more likely to be Miyurna.

¹⁸⁵⁸ Woodforde 19 Jan. Jacob agreed with the doctor, equally forgetful of Aboriginal efforts: “*he has kept us in fresh meat nearly ever since we have been here*” (Jacob journal 19 Jan). Perhaps in high summer the kangaroos had migrated and were harder to find in these parts, even to feed the local group itself.

¹⁸⁵⁹ Jacob journal 18 Jan.

¹⁸⁶⁰ Finniss 1836: [1].

RESULTS OF FINNISS’S SURVEYS:

Towards the end of his time there, Finniss made a map showing “*about 40 square miles*” of country: it “*has not yet been copied & is scarcely of sufficient importance to send you a tracing*” (Finniss letter “to an unknown address”, late March 1837, in Finniss Diary & Letters: 11). When Finniss had completed the map Jacob drew in the title for him (Jacob journal 17-18 Jan). I have not found the map. This has not been found, as far as I know. It is likely that Finniss’s surveys never got over the pass at Bald Hills into Sturt’s Inman valley route through ‘Cape Jervis.’ His efforts (like Light’s) drew no applause from government circles. Their minds were obsessed by the desired link with the Murray; and when Finniss finally moved on to Holdfast Bay, Hindmarsh’s private secretary George Stevenson dismissed both his and Light’s efforts to this point as “*scandalous trifling*.” “*We know nothing more of the Murray or lake Alexandrina here than we knew of them in England... The party... have been amusing themselves there [Rapid Bay] for the last three months. It will be scarcely credited at home, but the fact is that such has been the amount of the energy and enterprise of the surveyors that they have been for that period within sixteen miles of Lake Alexandrina, but not one of them has been within ten miles of it*” (Stevenson journal: 63-6 [Jan 16 & 23, 1837]). The Hindmarsh-Stevenson camp continued to make rabid attacks on Light and his choice of Holdfast Bay: “*Some order must be taken with these pig-headed gentry*.” This was an ignorant and partisan view. In fact Rapid Bay is 30 miles from Encounter Bay via Inman Valley, and another 25 miles from there to Lake Alexandrina: a foot journey of 3½ days one way, as we noted in Chapter 2.

Finniss’s friendships did not elicit any more place-names. I do not know any record that he bestowed an English name on that river or its ‘flat & beautiful valley’, or discovered an Aboriginal name for it. It would be named ‘Inman’ only after 1838. Its known English naming began a little later, when it was dubbed “*Kangaroo River*”, possibly by the Encounter Bay whalers first, then recorded there by Crozier in April 1838 (Max Slee 2010, *Inman: First Commander of the South Australia Police*, West Lakes, SA: Seaview Press: 81, 277 n109; cp. Crozier’s map, published in T Horton James 1838, *Six Months In South Australia*, London: J Cross: 99; and Insert 1 in Arrowsmith 1838, ‘The maritime portion of South Australia’, BRG 42/120/26). In the same month Finniss called it the “*Nixon*”, after his colleague in their brief survey of Encounter Bay (see the same Arrowsmith map as revised in 1839 with a new Insert 4, zpm00290920 and PRG 1336/5/1, SLISA). Finally it became the “*Inman*” sometime after an expedition by the first Inspector of Police, Henry

conscientiously explored new country towards the Cape: “a very fagging walk... repaid by the splendid views we enjoyed from the high land above Cape Jervis.”¹⁸⁶¹

Their hosts continued to offer small but significant gifts of knowledge. Finniss had seen a flint with some of them, who told him where it could be found “in abundance.”¹⁸⁶²

3.6.5.4 – A FINAL GIFT.

On the morning of the 20th the *Cygnets* anchored in the Bay, “come at last to remove us to Adelaide.”¹⁸⁶³

Now the ambassadors of Yartakurlangga gave one final proof of their commitment. For on the previous day labourer Joe Finch had gone out shooting and did not return.¹⁸⁶⁴ The ship’s guns were fired, lookouts were posted on the hills, but he did not show up on the 20th, nor on the 21st. While surveyors and colonists bustled again to get their gear aboard, some of the locals went out to follow his tracks; so did Cooper (and no doubt Doughboy). On the 22nd, almost ready to give him up for dead, Finniss was organizing a small party to stay behind for him. Hiram Mildred remembered:¹⁸⁶⁵

Up to the dispatch of the last of our plant on board all the search parties, Cooper, natives, and others, had been unsuccessful in finding him... At the last moment, when all were on board, anchor hove short ready for tripping, and topsails ready for swinging, signs from the shore were made by the natives, a boat was lowered, and lying on the beach we found our lost Joe.

Though Jacob’s contemporary account could suggest that Joe found his own way back – “the natives set up a Shout as they saw Finch coming down one of the Hills”¹⁸⁶⁶ – this seems rather unlikely in view of his injuries and the route he had taken.¹⁸⁶⁷ Finniss remembered that “the blacks... brought him back safely.”¹⁸⁶⁸

Inman, who captured a bushranger at its mouth in August 1838 (Arrowsmith 1841, ‘Part of South Australia to the eastward of the Gulf of St. Vincent’; and see Slee 2010, *Inman*: 74-5, 82). This name stuck, no doubt because of Inman’s very high-profile involvement in early policing.

¹⁸⁶¹ Woodforde 17 Jan; Jacob journal 17 Jan. This time ‘Cape Jervis’ means the actual cape. From the high junction of today’s Range Rd West and Main South Rd, the low land around the cape is spread out in a breathtaking panorama, with Backstairs Passage and the coast of Dudley Peninsula (KI) as a backdrop, and steep gullies on each side of the viewpoint.

¹⁸⁶² Jacob journal 19 Jan. Though this information might seem small to Englishmen, to people subsisting without iron it was a valuable item of trade, essential in their technology. Jacob adds that Finniss went out that day “on a mineralogical expedition... and brought home some very good specimens,” but only of slate and limestone. It would be interesting to know where this (presumably local) source of flint was. Twentieth-century Aboriginal informants around the region claimed that flints were traded from “*Ramindjeri hills people*,” i.e. those we would usually call Peramangk (Karloman in Berndt & Berndt 1993: 118), or from the Southeast (Milerum in Tindale 1987: 11b; Tindale ‘Fire making’ in AA338/2/66; ‘Strike-a-lights’ in AA338/14); see also Schultz PNS 6/23 Brukangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/6-23Brukangga.pdf>.

¹⁸⁶³ Woodforde 19-20 Jan; Jacob journal 19-20 Jan.

¹⁸⁶⁴ Woodforde 22 Jan; Jacob journal 19 Jan.

¹⁸⁶⁵ Mildred in *Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/37164792/2297821>; Finniss 1892: 8.

¹⁸⁶⁶ Jacob journal 22 Jan.

¹⁸⁶⁷ “After losing himself on the first day, he attempted to light a fire and throwing powder from the Cannister it blew up and lacerated him very much” (Jacob journal 22 Jan). “In trying to find his way back he followed the coast line to the South and East which would have taken him, ultimately, to Encounter Bay... He had subsisted on wattle gum and water which were plentiful at this season” (Finniss 1892: 8). Perhaps he had started in this direction as a result of observing or accompanying Finniss’s exploration towards the Cape on the 17th. Anyone familiar with the very rugged coastline

'Poor thing!' Receiving this unilateral gift of practical humanity, the visitors sailed away from *Yartakurlangga Patpangga* to their European colony 'Adelaide,' taking Cooper and Doughboy with them.

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around Blowhole Beach and Deep Creek will agree it is most unlikely that Finch, disoriented and heading well away from the right direction, could find his way back to Rapid Bay unaided.

¹⁸⁶⁸ Finnis 1892: 8.

3.7 – January 1837: THREE OR FOUR LOCAL CULTURES IN TRANSITION

3.7.1 – ON KANGAROO ISLAND.

At the turn of the year on Kangaroo Island, every Islander knows that Wallan's 'magnanimous abdication' has actually been a coup by Stephens and the Company,¹⁸⁶⁹ and that few if any of the new colonists, and none of their authorities, will recall the Surveyor-General's promise to these pioneer 'settlers'.¹⁸⁷⁰ It is now clear that their autonomy is already doomed. To continue as they are they must either claim ownership of their small 'squattings' under Crown law – not a realistic aim for most of them – or depend on the fragile mercy of their 'legitimate' colonial neighbours.¹⁸⁷¹

How then can the Islanders establish a living in the new regime? Though a number of Islanders have been eager to work for Company or government on KI or up the coast, it seems that at this stage only Cooper and Walker are eager for ongoing work on the mainland. Without special attachments such as Cooper's to Light, this is unlikely to be anything but manual labour.

What of the Aboriginal women (and some Aboriginal men) on the Island? From now on much less is recorded about our old protagonists. During 1837 we will hear occasionally of Nat Thomas, Doughboy and Cooper, Kalinga and Walker, but nothing of Magalidi until 1840, nor of Betty until 1844.¹⁸⁷² But the records of cultural exchange will involve other Aboriginal people, mostly from the 'fierce set' around Adelaide and (later) the people of Encounter Bay.

Will new options begin to open up some for the women? Can locals such as Doughboy hope now to resume life with their people independently of their Island 'masters'? Some women – notably Kalinga, Betty and the wives of Wallan – are already in stable relationships with English sailors, living in family-like establishments with children.¹⁸⁷³ Can exiled Tasmanians like Magalidi hope now for a better life, perhaps on the mainland?

3.7.2 – AROUND THE FLEURIEU.

At the turn of the year on 'Cape Jervis,' the several groups all face a common ultimate future. But their routes towards it will differ a little, and the timing will vary. Between the 'Cape Jervis tribe', the northerners around 'Adelaide,' the 'Encounter Bay' people, and their neighbours at the Murray estuary, we have noted both differences and relationships. Throughout the history of the next decade, we shall need to keep these in mind and note the changes which will quickly set in.

¹⁸⁶⁹ The takeover of Wallan's farm is outlined in section 3.4.8.5 'Dispossession of Wallan'.

¹⁸⁷⁰ See section 3.4.5.2.5 'Moving on from Kangaroo Island'.

¹⁸⁷¹ See TaylorR 2002-8 for much more about Islanders and their land ownership.

¹⁸⁷² See Book 2.

¹⁸⁷³ We know that Kalinga's life situation was stable by 1836. Her marriage to Walker had produced at least two children who were living with her on Kangaroo Island. Clarke identifies two children of Sally Walker whose father was probably William Walker: George Walker and Joe Walker, both born on KI in or before 1836. Another child of Sally's was a second Sally Walker, possibly born of an Aboriginal father on the mainland (ClarkeP 1998: 43, 46).

3.7.2.1 – THE ‘CAPE JERVIS’ AND ‘ENCOUNTER BAY’ TRIBES.

It is the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ who have laid the foundation for the colony’s oft-repeated claim that “we were received as friends.”¹⁸⁷⁴ At Yartakurlangga, very small numbers on both sides have co-existed in a family milieu, the Europeans under close official discipline, mediated by Aboriginal men who have been speaking Pidgin English for years. Gender – male competition for women – has no longer been the driving force. Power and racial dominance have taken benign forms. Subsistence imperatives have created a momentary power balance.

What has happened in the Aboriginal politics of the Fleurieu over the last half-year? There is very little in the records to tell us. But we may be sure that this ‘friendship’ has been hotly debated around campfires at Yartakurlangga, Yarnkalyilla and Ramong (Encounter Bay) during those three months. It has been a new development in an older story, for the embassy has included some of Captain Jones’s ‘ten families’ from a few years before; some who have worked on Kangaroo Island; and a few who are related as kin to at least two of the Island men.

But the privileged position of Yarnkalyilla and Yartakurlangga has now ended, and the story will change.

What of Condoy and Kalinga, and their earlier leading role as intercultural brokers? Condoy’s people had enough northern connections to enable them to hunt with Bates up to the Onkaparinga.¹⁸⁷⁵ Does he hope to continue the role now in Adelaide? Condoy and Kalinga have not been involved at Yartakurlangga after their visits in September. Now Walker is seeking work with Light, but Condoy does not accompany him. Has he given up diplomacy on the Fleurieu, perhaps under the influence of Walker’s disillusionment? Are foreign affairs now shifting to a different group of leaders based at Encounter Bay, such as Lamiraikongka-Peter and Tamuruwi-Bob?

Lawful control of the land has not been threatened by the small number of guests at Yartakurlangga, one of the most remote of the *Miyurna* campsites. Interference has been slight at Yarnkalyilla, and negligible at Encounter Bay. Perhaps considerations like these have brought ‘Encounter Bay Bob’ to the embassy at Yartakurlangga. From 1837 onward, the new leaders will take a leaf out of collaborator Condoy’s book. Firebrand ‘Bob’ has perhaps already begun to copy him. Ramong will become a separate story, though still with close links to ‘Cape Jervis’.

But Tamuruwi does not know that the colony has plans well advanced for a whale fishery at Encounter Bay,¹⁸⁷⁶ and that bay whalers will be far more devastating than sealers, Islanders or even the smallpox.

3.7.2.2 – THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE FLEURIEU IN 1836.

What do we learn for today from the fragments of culture left to us in these old records?

¹⁸⁷⁴ For examples of this claim see the footnote in section 3.2.2 ‘Commemorative themes’.

¹⁸⁷⁵ See Chapter 2.3.3 ‘Condoy, Kalinga, tribes & Bates’, and Textbox12 ‘Multiple identities of Condoy’.

¹⁸⁷⁶ Plans had been made in England, and were already being pursued by Stephens at Kingscote, for the colony to be supported by a substantial whaling industry, both on the high seas and in bay-whaling fisheries. But they had prepared only for the former, and the season was too late for the latter by the time the Company’s whaling ships *Duke of York* and *Lady Mary Pelham* sailed from England on 20 Sep 1836 (Durrant 2014a: 2-3).

By the end of 1836 the records have been enough for us to know that the ‘proper tongue’ of the Gulf coast from Cape Jervis to Adelaide is the language now called ‘Kaurna’, or better, *Miyurna*. The most persuasive items already recorded are very specific: the place-names.

Textbox26: PLACE-NAMES TO THE END OF 1836.

By the end of 1836 the first seven Aboriginal place-names in SA had been put on record by Europeans. All of them represent originals in ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* language. All refer to places on or near the Gulf coast, ranging from the cape itself (‘Pat Bungar’, *Patpangga*, ‘south place’) to the Onkaparinga River (‘Ponkepurringa’, probably *Purnkiparingga*, ‘red-brown river place’).¹⁸⁷⁷ All are ‘insider names’ obtained from the local southern people, and are therefore true names belonging to that country from the Dreaming.¹⁸⁷⁸

As well, by the end of 1836 or very early in 1837 the settlers *probably* knew that the plains around Holdfast Bay were called ‘Cowandilla’: this too in *Miyurna* language (*Kawantilla*, ‘north place’). However, it is not clear who first obtained the name, nor whether they obtained it from a ‘northerner’ or a ‘southerner’.¹⁸⁷⁹

Although some people from Encounter Bay were certainly present and actively involved in communicating with the colonists who obtained these names, *no* ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* words or place-names had been recorded – with the exception of three *Kornar* personal names of Barker’s killers, and the possible exceptions of ‘Aldinghi’ (which is best explained as an Islander adaptation of a *Miyurna* original)¹⁸⁸⁰ and ‘welta’ (which *could* be in either language). This presumably means that all these *Miyurna* names were accepted by all, even by known Encounter Bay men such as Lamiraikongka, and people of dual or ambiguous affiliation such as Kalinga and Condoy, as the proper names in the language used by the proprietors.

With help from slightly later colonial records, we have deduced what the colonists will not know until September 1837: that at Encounter Bay and the Lakes a quite different language belongs, *Kornar*, usually known today as ‘Ngarrindjeri’. Reading the earliest material with this in mind, it has become clear that relationships between the local groups have not depended on language but on family ties, culture and changeable politics.

Divisive issues have pitted peoples of *Kornar* Language Country against each other, the Murray estuary against Encounter Bay.¹⁸⁸¹ In 1836 peoples of *Miyurna* language regions

¹⁸⁷⁷ See Schultz PNS 4.02/05 Ponkepurringa, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-05Ponkepur.pdf>.

¹⁸⁷⁸ The other five place-names were: ‘Wacondilla’ (*Wakuntilla* [OS *Wakondilla*]), ‘Cutandilla’ (*Kurtantilla* [OS *Kurtandilla*]), ‘YankyLilly’ or ‘Yankalillah’ (*Yarnkalyilla* [OS *Yernkanyilla*]), ‘Yatagolanga’ (*Yartakurlangga* [OS *Yertakudlangga*]), and ‘Aldinghi’ (*Ngaltingga*). The details of their first record have been noted during the course of this book.

¹⁸⁷⁹ See Schultz PNS 1/02 Kawantilla. On balance it is more likely that the name ‘Cowandilla’ was communicated by a southerner, because Doughboy and possibly Kalinga – both southerners – were in Adelaide very early in 1837, and would have been much easier to ask than the locals who did not yet speak English. ‘North place’ sounds like an ‘outside’ view from further south; and though *Patpangga* ‘south Place’ was also volunteered by a southerner, we should not assume too readily that place-names which use a compass point are valid local names. However, several years later one of the men who was identified as ‘chief of the Adelaide tribe’ – perhaps Murlawirrapurka (OS *Mullawirraburka*: ‘King John’) or Ityamaitpina (‘King Rodney’) – insisted vehemently that “*Cow-an-dilla*” was the correct name for his own country ‘Adelaide’ (SA Register 13/1/1899: 6h, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/54427958/4109028>). Any credible solution to this cultural puzzle will require careful attention and more space than this book can afford. Perhaps the initial record of ‘Cowandilla’ was obtained from one of the first locals who came to Glenelg; the earliest known record was by Stephen Hack, who at that date (1 May 1837) had not explored more than a few miles south from Adelaide.

¹⁸⁸⁰ See Textbox21 ‘Who gave the name Aldinghi?’

¹⁸⁸¹ The hostilities were not language-based (Raminyeri versus Yaraldi or Tangani, etc). The issues before contact seem to have been access to Islander trade benefits and protection from Islander raids, based on Islanders using a

named *Kawantilla* ‘north place’ and *Patpangga* ‘south place’ have a distant and wary relationship¹⁸⁸² – though we must not exaggerate this; there is no sign that it has become a fighting issue so far.¹⁸⁸³

But there are many connections between *Miyurna* people of the southern Gulf and *Kornar* at Encounter Bay:¹⁸⁸⁴ so many that the first European contacts cannot easily distinguish the language differences, who ‘comes from’ where or who ‘belongs’ where, even among people familiar to them.

For these degrees of ‘otherness,’ part of the explanation is geographical. The northern plains are further away, separated by the barrier of Sellicks Hill, and the people there have marriage partners available amongst their own sub-groups around them; while ‘Cape Jervis’ has few options to the north or south, but is connected to Encounter Bay by an easy route along the Inman valley.

Geographical remoteness is probably amplified by cultural differences. Finniss is the first outsider to see that the southerners of the Gulf coast have adopted – or have kept, depending on which practices arrived first – some Raminyeri customs, notably in the rites of death.¹⁸⁸⁵ Linguists will also note linguistic influences.¹⁸⁸⁶ The same features that link relatives across the range help to differentiate the *Patpangga* people from the northern culture.

main route from the Gulf across the Fleurieu to Encounter Bay as their usual approach to ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* language country (see Chapter 2.3.5 ‘Bates & raids’ and 2.4.2.1 ‘Islander exploration’).

¹⁸⁸² Communications between the southerners and the land as far north as the Onkaparinga did happen sometimes, as in the visit of Bates with Condoys group, perhaps in an annual routine (see Textbox12 ‘Multiple identities of Condoys’); but it seems that relationships with *Kawantilla* up to 1836 were minimal and probably wary, the people there being regarded by the southerners as a ‘fierce set’ (see section 3.4.10.2 ‘Doughboy & the fierce set’).

¹⁸⁸³ See Appendix 14 ‘Alleged chronic enmity between Encounter Bay and Gulf coast’; and the footnote ‘Captain Peter at the Torrens’ (at the end of Chapter 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter’); also my separate essay Schultz 2023a, ‘Adelaide as a battleground’, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>.

¹⁸⁸⁴ e.g. the two-way connections and language affiliations of Condoys, Kalinga, Doughboy and Lamiraikongka-Peter; and the fact that even the Islanders most involved with the mainlanders did not know there were two completely different languages.

¹⁸⁸⁵ See Gara 1986: 6-9,

https://www.anthropologysociety.org.au/home/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/JASSA-Volume-24_8-Gara.pdf. For the ‘Adelaide tribe’ cp. Woods Intro 1879: xxix, in JD Woods 1879 (ed), *Native Tribes of SA*, in <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/15080/1/Narrinyeri.pdf>; Wyatt 1879: 164; and the accounts by Edward Stephens and John Adams, quoted in full in *Kaurna Palti Wonga* (Amery & Rigney et al 2006: 36-8). Gara describes the southern influence on burial rites, and points out that there is some doubt about how far north it extended, at what dates, and under what individual circumstances. In any case, an *influence* on the group practices of neighbours is not the same thing as an *identity* of one large and exclusive ‘tribe’ in the modern style promoted by Tindale (in the Fleurieu-Encounter Bay case); nor are differing practices the same thing as a *hostility* of two such ‘tribes’ (in the Fleurieu-Adelaide case). Such interpretations ignore some of the early evidence, and go well beyond the rest of it.

¹⁸⁸⁶ It seems also that Encounter Bay vocabulary had come to share a few words derived from *Miyurna* language (e.g. *kondoli*; and see the words for ‘island,’ Amery 1998: 83). According to my analysis, this process continued into some of the place-names given by Tindale’s 20th-century *Kornar* informants (see e.g. Schultz PNS 5.03/04 *Wataraparingga* / ‘Wataraberinggi’, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-03-04_Wataraparingga.pdf). There was a distinct ‘Rapid Bay dialect’ of *Miyurna*, and another feature of it was the infrequency of pre-stopped consonants (*dl*, *dn*, etc), which are common in the northern dialects of *Miyurna* but completely absent from *Kornar* language (see Amery 1996: 47; Amery 1998: 83). For example, in the place-name *Yartakurlangga* the word *kurla* (‘separate’) was the southern pronunciation, while in the north it was *kudla* (a word used by the Geographical Names Board to name Kudla railway station near Gawler, and later a surrounding suburb (see ‘Find / Place Names’ in SAPPa, <https://sappa.plan.sa.gov.au/>; also Nomenclature Committee Minutes Book 19/9/1947, Geographical Names Unit, SA Lands Dept). For the word *kurla/kudla* see T&S 1840, 1:3, and under entries for both spellings; also Teichelmann MS 1857 under ‘kudla.’

3.7.3 – KAWANTILLA ‘NORTH PLACE’ vs ‘ADELAIDE THE CAPITAL’.

3.7.3.1 – THE INHABITANTS OF KAWANTILLA.

The Yartakurlangga experience will not be replicated in Kawantilla. The people there are a different group, and nobody has yet recorded anything else about them. They have been visited very seldom and briefly by sealing ships. They do not know English. It is very doubtful that news of the peace at *Yartakurlangga* has reached their ears.¹⁸⁸⁷ Overwhelming numbers are already taking control there, and will stay; but in their negotiations with European invaders they are starting almost from scratch.

Kawantilla will quickly become the focus of colonial power, of the terraforming of the landscape, of rules and handouts, of any attempts at negotiation: a fascination and a dread for the surrounding peoples.

3.7.3.2 – THE INVADERS OF ‘GLENELG’.

Huddled on the sand dunes, they are painfully aware of being ‘strangers in a strange land’ – though the learning potential of this role-reversal will be ignored by most of them and soon forgotten by the rest, while the role of ‘stranger’ reverses again onto the estranged owners of the land.¹⁸⁸⁸ Many are afraid of the imagined hostility of the ‘savage’ Others. Compatriots further south know that they, although strangers, have been ‘received as friends’.¹⁸⁸⁹ At the turn of the year, more than 520 colonists are roughing it at a place which they have dubbed ‘Glenelg’.¹⁸⁹⁰ Their numbers may already be more than the Aboriginal population of the Fleurieu and Greater Adelaide regions combined.¹⁸⁹¹

The leading colonial explorers have only a tentative knowledge of the surrounding region. Most of the colonists have never met Aboriginal people before, and none have met ‘natives’ who do not know English. One of their first needs will be an interpreter. In a few weeks Doughboy and Cooper will join the Adelaide invaders and ride the tidal wave.

Textbox27: IDENTITIES AND RELATIONSHIPS NORTH AND SOUTH OF RAPID BAY.

How should we interpret the known facts about Doughboy’s people and their relationship with the ‘fierce set’ whom she identified on the Adelaide Plains in 1836?

This important southern cultural stereotype was cited by Doughboy presumably from her family’s experience or tradition. It tells us at least that the Adelaide Plains were home to groups which were then considered by the southerners to be different from them, ‘other’. The phrase probably implies that relationships between the ‘Adelaide tribe’ and Doughboy’s

¹⁸⁸⁷ In February Stevenson reported, “*The Surveyor General found the natives whom he met at Rapid Valley perfectly friendly, very tractable and ready to assist the surveyors in any work pointed out to them. I have since had an opportunity of seeing a party of the same tribe of natives at Glenelg*” (Stevenson to Hindmarsh 14 Feb 1837, ‘N^o. 1 The Aborigines,’ C.O. 13/6/53: 2-3, State Records of SA). But most likely it was a mere assumption that the Glenelg people were ‘the same tribe,’ probably based on Cooper and Doughboy (and perhaps Walker) being present in Adelaide and identifying their *language* as the same.

¹⁸⁸⁸ This is a sad irony for people brought up on the Bible. In Rabbi Sacks’ brilliant analysis of the book of Genesis, God constantly reminds the Jews that they were once ‘strangers in a strange land’, and uses role-reversals as key experiences by which the patriarchs learn to forsake violence and seek reconciliation (Jonathan Sacks 2015: 177-188).

¹⁸⁸⁹ Bull 1878b: 69.

¹⁸⁹⁰ i.e. the 552 total immigrants who had arrived in the nine ships by that date, minus the 25 or so still at Rapid Bay.

¹⁸⁹¹ Pre-colonial Aboriginal populations are necessarily conjectural. In 1840 Moorhouse gave the total Aboriginal population as 190 from the Gawler River to the southern Fleurieu (Moorhouse 1840a: 354; I exclude his ‘Wirra tribe’ of the Barossa). In 1843 he estimated a similar area (the “*Adelaide district*” locals) at 300 (Moorhouse 1843b, in *Aboriginal Adelaide*: 59). Over the intervening years there had probably been some decrease in population.

people were intermittent and typically suspicious. As we have seen in this chapter, Doughboy's 'tribe' were almost certainly a descent group involving people from both Rapid Bay-Yankalilla and Encounter Bay. Yet Adelaide people shared a common language with those of Rapid Bay and *not* with those of Encounter Bay. This historically-based interpretation contradicts some of Tindale's fundamental theories: that a Language Group was a large single 'tribe'; that marriages were usually within this 'tribe'; and that a common language automatically meant political unity within this large group.¹⁸⁹²

We must also take some account of evidence from Aboriginal men a century later, such as Reuben Walker (who identified himself as 'Ramindjeri'); also John 'Sustie' Wilson and Albert Karlowan. These informants did not always agree, and records of their statements are not always clear or consistent. Their view of cultural geography agrees with some aspects of my research but not with others. According to some of these men:

- 'Ramindjeri' territory extended up the Gulf to the Onkaparinga River (Port Noarlunga) at least.
- 'Ramindjeri' was the language all the way north to Brighton.
- The people from Brighton to Port Noarlunga (or perhaps to Rapid Bay) were strictly speaking not 'Ramindjeri' but the *tawuli* of the 'real Ramindjeri'; i.e. their hunting territory was adjacent to that of the 'Ramindjeri'.¹⁸⁹³
- There were six 'Ramindjeri-dialect clans' on the Gulf coast between the Cape and about Christie Creek. Their names are all in 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* language.

It is not entirely clear to me how these perceptions applied to marriage.

This view of the boundary between the 'Adelaide' and 'Ramindjeri' peoples seems similar to that expressed in Ramsay Smith's account of 'Chirr-bookie' (= *Tjirbuki*) in 1930. This account reads as if it came originally from a Ramindjeri-identifying informant. In it a boundary at the Onkaparinga River plays an important role.¹⁸⁹⁴

Aspects of these rather neglected later accounts were researched by the late Karno Walker and his wife Christine for the Ramindjeri Heritage Association (RHA).¹⁸⁹⁵ Debate must continue

¹⁸⁹² For a quick critique of Tindale's view of 'tribe', see J Knight 2003: Appendix 1.7.6: 91. Cp Tindale 1974: 30-32.

¹⁸⁹³ See my footnote on *tawuli* in Chapter 2.4.1.2 'Language & place (2)'.

¹⁸⁹⁴ Ramsay Smith 1930: 333, 334, 337. The essay was actually written by David Unaipon. Based on these similarities, I have wondered whether Unaipon's informant for 'Chirrbookie' was perhaps Reuben Walker. Another historian (I forget who) suspects it was Jacob Harris. For more about the alleged 'Onkaparinga boundary', see Schultz PNS 4.02/02 Tainbarangk, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-02Tainbarang.pdf>; 4.02/03 Witjalangk, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-03Witjalang.pdf>; and 4.02/01 Pirranga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-01Pirranga.pdf>.

¹⁸⁹⁵ I found many of these references during my own researches, but I thank Christine Walker (widow of Karno) for alerting me to the others. We must allow a due but cautious weight to them, and also to some ecological-cultural analyses of the region which were cited by RHA but which I have not yet seen. There is room for further debate about the significance of all this at different periods of history. But I think some of the RHA's more ambitious claims about language and Ramindjeri territory are inherently impossible; and in view of incompatible historical data presented in this book, where they rely on 20th-century primary sources in 'memory culture' they cannot necessarily be extrapolated back to 1836.

REFERENCES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH INTO HISTORICAL PERCEPTIONS OF 'RAMINDJERI' AND 'KAURNA' TERRITORY:

- Milerum (Clarence Long) in Tindale 'Murray River Notes' [Vol.1], AA 338/1/31/1: 62-3; Tindale SE of SA Journal Vol. 1, AA338/1/33/1: 165, 223-4; Tindale SE of SA Journal Vol. 2, AA338/1/33/2: 41.
- John Sustie Wilson in Tindale SE of SA Journal Vol. 2, AA338/1/33/2: 79, 81-2.
- Reuben Walker in Tindale SE of SA Journal Vol. 2, AA338/1/33/2: 87, 88, 149, 158, 161, 186; Tindale 'Murray River Notes' [Vol.1], AA 338/1/31/1: 121-3.
- For Albert Karlowan see Berndt & Berndt 1993: 16, 311-2, 330-1, and *passim*; RM Berndt 1940, 'Some Aspects of Jaralde Culture, South Australia', *Oceania* 11(2): 180-1; Tindale 1987: 8a.
- A David Unaipon manuscript which I have not seen refers to "*the Ruminyeri* tribes of Cape Jervis, South Australia*" (p.1 of Story 20, Unaipon 'Legendary Tales of the Australian Aborigines 1924-5', ML A1929, A1930, Mitchell Library; this reference is cited here as found by Christine Walker on p.273 of an early Draft of James Knight's thesis, held by her). This phrase *might* reflect a view of Fleurieu 'tribes' and territory similar to that of Karlowan,

about the significance of the details. However, as far as we know, the identity ‘Ramindjeri’ was not used in anything like this way before the late 19th or early 20th century. In Meyer at first contact, the *Raminyerar* were simply the ‘people who belonged to Ramong’, which was a small area around the Company whale fishery at the Bluff, Victor Harbor. Later usages of this identity have evolved and diversified through Taplin’s ‘federation of tribes’ to today’s ‘New Tribes’ (i.e. those newly defined according to urgent pragmatic political needs associated with Native Title legislation since the 1990s).

The boundaries expressed in the 1920s and 30s (if reported accurately) are features of a society as it was remembered from the informants’ youth in the 1870s-80s, i.e. a generation or two after first contact. Something like these features *may* have operated in certain aspects of society up to 1836 or so; there *may* be a hint of them in Bates hunting at the Onkaparinga (see Chapter 2), and *perhaps* in Nat Thomas’s experience at Port Noarlunga in 1837 (see Chapter 4), as well as in Doughboy’s ‘fierce set’. But the perceptions recorded a century later certainly did not exhaustively define or describe the language geography, political identity, marriage arrangements or land ownership *at the time of first contact*.¹⁸⁹⁶

3.7.4 – YARTAKURLANGGA AND PATPANGGA BECOME INVISIBLE.

The erstwhile guests have examined a little of the ‘south place’ *Patpangga*, measuring it for sale. They have planted a few foreign names on their embryonic new cultural map of this ancient country. Yartakurlangga, the ‘remote, lonely land,’ embodies its name again. Finnis’s outpost leaves foreign tucker in the soil, and perhaps, in the minds of their hosts, a fading memory of unfulfilled hopes.

The little garden will last a few more months. Arriving from England on 11th February, the Hack family will see “rush houses” at Rapid Bay and note their curious construction (“the sides of long reeds and thatched with grass”), and will take from the flourishing little gardens “a parcel of greens.”¹⁸⁹⁷ The garden, now superfluous, will probably die before the next spring.

The ‘Cape Jervis tribe’ are already forgotten; in colonial memory they are merged with the Adelaide people. The invaders will return in about three years to complete the job

Reuben Walker or the anonymous ‘Chirrbookie’ informant. This spelling and reference are not found anywhere in the final public version of the thesis (Knight 2003).

* Here the spelling ‘rum-’ *could* represent *Ram-*, making it a simple variant spelling of the usual group name. But what appears to be the same word – spelled ‘ruminjeri’ but certainly representing *ruminyeri* not *raminyeri* – was recorded by Tindale from Milerum as one of the Tangani (Coorong) words for ‘speech, language’ (Gale 2009: 129, from Tindale’s language cards; another Tangani word for ‘language’ was *ngala*). But if this was the word used in the Unaipon quotation, it would imply that somebody was claiming ‘Cape Jervis’ to be Tangani country, which is very unlikely. The words for ‘language’ in the Raminyeri dialect neighbouring the Fleurieu were *kaldi* and *thungari*. So the Tangani reference is probably not relevant to the Unaipon quotation.

¹⁸⁹⁶ There remains also a nagging doubt about how far the identities recorded from these informants by Tindale and others were *prompted* by the ethnographers themselves; i.e. were partly a product of the identity-words which decades of ethnographers had come up with and then used in asking their questions. For example: Did Karlowan, Milerum and Iparityi really *volunteer* the term ‘Kaurna’, or did Berndt and Tindale *suggest* it to them from their own knowledge of ethnographic theory dating back to Howitt? I have shown elsewhere that this did sometimes happen with Tindale’s place-names (e.g. Willyaroo-*Wiljauar*; see Schultz PNS 7.03/07 [forthcoming]). James Knight has shown – I think conclusively – that most of Tindale’s final ‘authorized tribal’ identities around this region (with the exception of ‘Ngadjuri’) scarcely feature at all in the old primary sources, while he often ignores those identities that do feature there (Knight 2003: 262, 456, 505). The current Native Title system based on Tindale therefore tends to exclude or marginalize any group which cannot either make itself fit Tindale’s categories, or successfully invent and promote a new purpose-made identity. In either case, some true stories will be left out, or else allowed in only as footnotes to the officially recognized stories.

¹⁸⁹⁷ JB Hack in *SA Register* 3/7/1884: 6e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/43815409/4045636>.

Likewise, in early March Captain Field, taking the *Rapid* to Sydney for survey supplies, will visit and note: “In the little garden in Rapid Valley, the wheat and Indian corn were in full ear, and looking extremely well. Beans, peas, onions, lettuce, cabbage, and vegetable marrow, were gathered; and on touching at Rapid Bay on our passage to Sydney, we landed and gathered potatoes which I had planted in October; they were excellent” (Field 1837: 3e, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/32155172/4259621>; cp. Elder 1984: 37-8).

which Finniss, Peter and Jim began. They will bring ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* guides – probably members of the ‘fierce set’ hired in Adelaide, perhaps some of Light’s southern ‘marines’ – and lay out Sections for eager buyers. A few more of the ancient place-names will be mapped.¹⁸⁹⁸ Even fewer will pass into currency with the new owners. Those who gave these final fragments will be un-named, un-recorded and immediately forgotten. A handful of settlers will live at Yartakurlangga in the early 1840s, running stock and mining copper. During a flying visit the artist Angas will paint some locals there with Bates, describing them as both “Encounter Bay women” and “Yankallillah tribe.”¹⁸⁹⁹ A couple of years later one Rapid Bay settler will record the recent demise of “a tribe of thirty or forty” at “the Tunkalilla and Wipinga district”, “reduced to twelve or fifteen, so that as a distinct tribe they were lost”; he will also observe the ‘tribe’ in his own locality beginning the same journey.¹⁹⁰⁰ From then on, most records of Aboriginal lore on the Fleurieu will be obtained from neighbours or outsiders.¹⁹⁰¹

In 1921 a fallen slab of schist rock will be discovered below a cliff at Rapid Bay, expertly engraved with the cryptic message “W L 1836.”¹⁹⁰² But not until late in the twentieth century will any public monument remember the ‘Cape Jervis’ people: first the work of the Tjilbruke Track Committee; and later still that of the Ramindjeri Heritage Association.¹⁹⁰³ A plaque at Yartakurlangga today reads: “Although Tjilbruke did not create a fresh water spring here, this was one of his summer camps... An Aboriginal body was found in a cave north of this cairn wrapped in a kangaroo skin.”¹⁹⁰⁴

..... **endChapter3**

¹⁸⁹⁸ These will not necessarily be local ‘insider’ names but perhaps northern ‘outsider’ equivalents in a different dialect of ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna*.

¹⁸⁹⁹ See Schultz PNS 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga.

¹⁹⁰⁰ Wilkinson 1848: 322.

¹⁹⁰¹ i.e. Iparrityi (OS *Ivaritji*) in Adelaide, or ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* men such as Albert Karlowan, Milerum (Clarence Long), or Reuben Walker (how was he related to William Walker? I leave this matter to the genealogists and family historians).

¹⁹⁰² *The Mail* (Adelaide) 18 Feb 1922: 3e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63943048/5315479>. ‘Water Line’ or ‘Water Level’? or perhaps ‘William Light’? A replica of the rock is now part of a memorial cairn to Light erected near the foreshore “at the eastern end of a known aboriginal burial ground” (WilliamsR 1991: 165). The cairn is on Essington Lewis Drive (see <https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+7142>). The original rock – which may possibly have once included a mark used as a waterline base for measurements – was removed and is held in the State Library by the History Trust of SA.

¹⁹⁰³ In the 21st century Aboriginal activists such as the late Georgina Williams and her son Karl Telfer have continued to promote and preserve their ancestral heritage on the Fleurieu. Likewise the late Karno Walker and his associates in the Ramindjeri Heritage Association, though some of their material interprets the historical data differently from me, and they dispute both the Kurna and the Ngarrindjeri Native Title claims. Aboriginal history on the Fleurieu has been little understood, and sidelined throughout the long process of the Kurna Native Title Claim 2000-2018 (for which see http://www.nntt.gov.au/searchRegApps/NativeTitleClaims/Pages/Determination_details.aspx?NNTT_FileNo=SCD2018/001; <https://www.nativetitlesa.org/aboriginalway/native-title-recognition-for-kurna-people-over-the-adelaide-area> [15/3/19]). The original Kurna Claim drew a southern boundary at Delamere, where the Ngarrindjeri claim abutted. Of this the senior Kurna elder Lewis Yerloburka O’Brien has said, “We gave away Cape Jervis to the Ngarrindjeri” [i.e. the cape itself] (p.c. in KWP meetings c.2007). The final Determination (March 2018) excised most of the remainder of Fleurieu Peninsula, south from Myponga Beach. As far as I know, there has been no public explanation for this decision. Thus the historical facts about language geography (as presented in this book) are denied, and most of the Peninsula is still (October 2023) in legal limbo with respect to Native Title. The situation illustrates well how Tindale-style identities, combined with the Native Title legislation, suppress family histories ‘in between,’ and cause unnecessary conflict. See the Textbox27 ‘Identities north and south of Rapid Bay’, especially the last footnote on contested identities on the Fleurieu as recorded by ethnographers from informants in the 1930s.

¹⁹⁰⁴ Text of the plaque (Tjilbruke Trail Site 9) at the mouth of the Yattagolinga River (designed and written by the Tjilbruke Track Committee 1986, for the SA Jubilee 150 Committee).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENTS IN THE FLEURIEU REGION IN THE EARLY 19TH CENTURY.

Geographical accuracy is important in this book; so we need to know what was meant *then* by the place-names which the records used. Some of these names have changed their reference in subtle ways.

‘OPPOSITE KANGAROO ISLAND’:

The vaguest of the old terms are some location referents in early writers who were unfamiliar with both Flinders’ map and the actual coast of SA. For them the only landmark was Kangaroo Island, the whole 145 km of it seen as one thing. Gaimard on the Albany coast in 1826; other early exploring captains; the shipping records through the 1820s; and Robinson in Bass Strait in the 1830s: all wrote of “a part of New Holland” (i.e. a mainland area) which was “opposite Kangaroo Island”.¹⁹⁰⁵ In every record using these terms the location has to be checked against other evidence; for in principle the referent locations might have included southern Yorke Peninsula and even the Port Lincoln area as well as ‘Cape Jervis’ and perhaps Encounter Bay.¹⁹⁰⁶

‘CAPE JERVIS’:

In accordance with the 1802 chart by Flinders, the name ‘Cape Jervis’ in normal 19th-century usage meant not the cape itself but what we call ‘the Southern Fleurieu’. This usually excluded Encounter Bay, which was seen as a separate area. ‘Cape Jervis’ might signify anywhere west and northwest of Encounter Bay as far round the coast as Yankalilla, together with all the hinterland as far as Carrickalinga at least.

‘ENCOUNTER BAY’:

Flinders’ chart showed ‘Encounter Bay’ as a very large open bay from Newland Head to an unnamed small Point on the coast far to the east near the Murray Mouth.¹⁹⁰⁷ If we stay strictly

¹⁹⁰⁵ Dumont d’Urville and Gaimard, both quoted in Amery 1998: 51; Robinson in PlomleyN 1987: 385; Cumpston 1986: 100.

¹⁹⁰⁶ Abductions in the Port Lincoln area are on record (see earlier in this chapter). There can be little doubt that the Islanders visited other places too which had both salt and women, including southern Yorke Peninsula (see Skye Krichauff 2011, *Nharangga Wargunni Bugi-buggillu: a journey through Narungga history*, Moonta, Narungga Aboriginal Progress Association: 23-8; Kühn & Fowler in Curr 1886, Vol. 2: 143, <https://ia902706.us.archive.org/34/items/cu31924026093827/cu31924026093827.pdf>). For Islander dealings with Encounter Bay see Chapter 2.

¹⁹⁰⁷ THE UNNAMED POINT: By measuring distances on the chart and comparing the results with modern maps, I calculate this Point to be at about 35.61° S, 139.03° E, in the vicinity of Pelican Point at the eastern end of the barrages, 14 km east of the Mouth, at the beginning of the Coorong. This Point does not exist; there is no significant bump in the seacoast anywhere between Port Elliot and Kingston. Moreover, according to my calculations it is inside the estuary. The charted course shows that Flinders sailed no nearer to this place than about 7 km. It appears that he mapped this part of the coast rather inaccurately. Therefore – conceived as Flinders conceived it but looking it today – Encounter Bay is geographically well-defined at its western extremity by Newland Head (not by Rosetta Head, locally called ‘The Bluff’), but in the east its boundary is actually undefined. Baudin and Freycinet’s charts are much worse here: see Baudin’s unpublished ‘Eighth Sheet’ (Baudin-Cornell 1974: xxi; Cornell notes that only the three names in capitals are certainly Baudin’s) and Freycinet’s published chart 1811. Sailing westward, they did not approach close to shore until the vicinity of Granite Island (Baudin Journal 9 April, in Cooper 1952: 74, 85). They gave no separate name to Flinders’ overall ‘Encounter Bay’. In the stretch east of Granite Island their maps are very inaccurate. They show four bays between Rosetta Head and the Coorong. The names (and the locations of one bay) vary in the two sources. The first bay, “Baie Le Gentil”, is intelligible: it extends from the Bluff to Commodore Point at Port Elliot (“Cap Kersaint” or “C. Cretet”). East from there the details seem largely imaginary from today’s viewpoint. The next bay is variously named “B. Cretet”, “BAIE DES MORNES” and “Baie Mollien”, ending at a cape named only on Baudin’s chart, “CAP DE LA RECONTRE”, crossed out and replaced by “Cap Fénelon” (the

with this definition, ‘Encounter Bay’ could mean anywhere in that 40 km of coastline. Possibly this usage persisted among sailors in the 19th century. Over the years since 1814 it has had a number of significantly different applications. After settlement the local usage ‘Encounter Bay’ quickly became more restricted, usually referring to the area where the first colonial South Australian whale fisheries lay, i.e. the immediate vicinity of the Bluff, extending to Blenkinsop’s fishery near the mouth of the Hindmarsh, and Granite Island. Locally, until recent decades it has meant an even smaller area between the Inman River and the Bluff, as distinct from the main town of Victor Harbour.¹⁹⁰⁸ Importantly for this book, until modern tourist promotions it has always been a different place from ‘Cape Jervis’ or ‘the Fleurieu’.

‘YANKALILLA’:

Likewise we shall have to be cautious when reading the name ‘Yankalilla’. In records of this period it did not mean the town of that name which today lies inland on the Bungala River. Originally in 1836-8 the name was applied to a small coastal area five km away at the southern extremity of the plains, around Yankalilla Hill and the Big Gorge of the Yankalilla River.¹⁹⁰⁹ Early surveyors, settlers and almanacs then used the name for the whole surrounding district including the adjacent hills, sometimes the entire ‘Cape Jervis’ and even ‘Encounter Bay’. It did not mean the location of today’s Yankalilla *town* until about 1857 when the school and town were laid out and given the district name;¹⁹¹⁰ and this is a clear error when assumed in interpreting ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* culture and precolonial history.

‘RIVER MURRAY’:

The terms ‘Murray River’ and ‘the Murray’ were also ambiguous when used by Adelaide-based colonists in the earliest period up to the mid-1840s.¹⁹¹¹ As the earliest exploration and settlement gradually expanded from Adelaide northward and (separately) from the vicinity of today’s Victor Harbor towards the estuary of the River Murray, the phrase ‘The Murray’ meant firstly the Goolwa area; then for a while the Wellington area was added to Goolwa in a district known as ‘Little Murray’; while the Coorong was ‘the Big Murray’. When in 1841 Eyre established the Aboriginal ration station at Moorunde near today’s Blanchetown, this was a quite separate ‘Murray’ location, reached by an entirely separate northerly route (roughly today’s Sturt Highway). Thus the phrase ‘The Murray’ became ambiguous; it could mean the Wellington-Lakes area as before, but it might also mean the Blanchetown area or anything for many miles around and beyond it, across to Overland Corner but short of the overlanders’ infamous ‘Rufus River’ area a short way past the New South Wales border. In this period, every South Australian reference to ‘the Murray’ has to be located by context.

.....

SAPPA website is clearly wrong to equate this one with the next cape). A short distance further east, “C. Mollien” begins *another* “B. Mollien” which ends at “C. Villars” (SAPPA locates these two capes a couple of km either side of the Murray Mouth). On from there an unnamed bay ends at “Cap Caffarelli”. SAPPA maps this at Lat. -35.62°, Long. 139.01°, on the coast almost opposite Paddy’s Lookout and Pelican Point – which appears to be much the same location as Flinders’ point.

Were there some particularly high dunes in 1802 at those four spurious ‘capes’?

¹⁹⁰⁸ In the past – in my childhood (1950s) and well into the 1970s – this area near the Bluff was a separate village called ‘Yilki’, after the Raminyeri word for ‘sea-water’ which Ridgway Newland adopted for his farm here in the 1840s. There were separate ‘Victor Harbour’ and ‘Encounter Bay’ football teams, with different colours and different fans.

¹⁹⁰⁹ See also Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla.

¹⁹¹⁰ Manning 2010: 954.

¹⁹¹¹ See footnote in Chapter 2.4.3.1 ‘Identities (2): Tribes of the estuary’.

APPENDIX 2: BRIEF VIGNETTES OF SOME KANGAROO ISLANDERS WHO ARRIVED THERE BEFORE 1827.

Despite his nickname, the **JOHN ‘Abyssinia Jack’ ANDERSON** who lived with ‘Emma’ (‘Emue’) was a white Englishman who came to Australia as a free sailor in 1813 or 1815.¹⁹¹² There is a carefully-researched account of his life and his Aboriginal wives written by one of his descendants, Patricia Grey.¹⁹¹³ Possibly pre-dating the well-known Wallan, Anderson spent some years living on Kangaroo Island from 1818 to at least 1826, or perhaps often visiting it from Bass Strait, where he spent “the greater part of this time” at the Kents Group. Known as ‘Abyssinia’, he was said to be “the senior individual” on KI (possibly some kind of leader), before going east to the Straits permanently with ‘Emma’ and their children sometime before 1831.¹⁹¹⁴ He seemed happy to make a signed statement for Robinson about the atrocities of his peers; but how did he find out about these things? Either he had witnessed and condoned them, or the perpetrators had bragged to him about them.¹⁹¹⁵

Seaman **HENRY WALLAN**,¹⁹¹⁶ born about 1794,¹⁹¹⁷ arrived on the island sometime between 1816 and 1821,¹⁹¹⁸ bringing with him two dogs,¹⁹¹⁹ and stayed on for the rest of his life except for occasional voyages on sealing or whaling ships. From his farm inland on Three Wells Creek (Cygnet River), Wallan possibly achieved (or at least claimed) some kind of recognized leadership among the scattered groups of precolonial Islanders. Its nature is not at all clear, but he famously asserted it when the first colonists arrived in 1836, styling himself ‘Governor’ of the island, and remembered as such by the colonists. Possibly (as Taylor speculates) it arose after Anderson departed at the end of this period.¹⁹²⁰ The SA Company dispossessed him in 1836-7.

¹⁹¹² PlomleyN 1966: 1010, Supplement: 25; Cumpston 1986: 183. This man was not the John Anderson who in November 1834 at Boston Bay near Port Lincoln murdered Aboriginal men while abducting their wives; that was a “black man” (Cumpston 1986: 132-3). There were three John Andersons moving round the south coast of Australia in those years (Ruediger 1980: 98). The most comprehensive research I have found so far on ‘Abyssinia Jack’ Anderson is by Robert Grauer, available at (<https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Anderson-63032> and <https://www.wikitree.com/photo/pdf/Anderson-62981> [18/6/23]).

¹⁹¹³ Grey 2021, *A Family Story*.

¹⁹¹⁴ See PlomleyN 1966: 327 (cp. 326), 1010, and Supplement p.25; Cumpston 1986: 45, 85, 86, 183; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 34-5 (cp. Black John Anderson p.132-3). It was reported in 1826-7 that he had “led this life for fourteen years” on KI (Cumpston 1986: 85, 86), but the date 1812 for his arrival there seems unlikely. Some authors list him as an ‘American’ or a ‘black’, no doubt misled by his nickname.

¹⁹¹⁵ Robinson journal 6 June 1831, in PlomleyN 1966: 360.

¹⁹¹⁶ Various sources spelled his name Wally, Warley, Whalley, Walland, Warland, etc, and even Walker; the name was probably pronounced like a slurred version of ‘Warland’. He himself signed his name as “Wallan” (Bauer 1959, Vol. 2: 670). Some sources (a small minority) claim that his first name was ‘Robert’ (SA Register 9/5/1856: 2e, <http://nla.gov.au/nla.news-article191248798>) or ‘Thomas’ (Walter Howchin 1917, *The geography of South Australia: historical, physical, political & commercial*, Auckland: Whitcomb & Tombs Ltd: 50, <https://archive.org/details/geographyofsouth00howciala>), but I do not know any supporting evidence for these claims.

¹⁹¹⁷ <https://boundforsouthaustralia.history.sa.gov.au/people/>.

¹⁹¹⁸ Various dates for Wallan’s arrival were given or implied by various sources:

- in 1816 (*Adelaide Observer* 31/7/1886: 7a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/160166613>; SA Register 27/12/1886, Supplement: 1a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/45851944>);
- or 1817 (“Warland 27 years” in 1844, Tolmer 1844a: 2d);
- or 1818 (“been here 18 years”, StephensS 1836, 2 Aug; “been on the island 18 years”, Morphett to Angas 14/9/1836 in SACo First Supp: 29; “living on the island for eighteen years”, ‘A Private Settler’ 1836 in Cumpston 1986: 140);
- or 1820-1 (“fourteen or fifteen years before Thompson became a resident” [in 1835], Bull 1878b: 7);
- or 1819 or 1821 (“Had heard from him often that he had been 35 or 37 years upon the island”, SA Register 30/4/1856: 3d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/49746165>).

The dates obtained from Wallan himself, or from people who met him in the 1830s, mostly agree on 1818.

¹⁹¹⁹ Leigh 1839: 81.

¹⁹²⁰ TaylorR 2002-8: 25.

His plaque at Reeves Point says that he “moved to Hog Bay and returned to hunting”.¹⁹²¹ In colonial times he was the best known of the Islanders until his death in 1856, and was remembered as a decent and pious man who had once run a farm in a half-legendary past. But he had not been a saint. It was “Harry Wally” who abetted Johnson in the second abduction of Kalungku from KI onto the schooner *Henry* in order to sell her while they were sealing in the Straits.¹⁹²² It is also possible that he was the ‘Harry’ in the murderous sealing crew at Boston Bay.¹⁹²³ See also <http://www.andrewwarland.com.au/australia/kangaroo.html> [15/12/17].

Within a few years Anderson and Wallan were joined by three men named James: ALLEN, KIRBY, AND EVERETT.

JAMES ALLEN was an Irishman, age unknown, who had run from the *Mary Ann* in 1816, but was “allowed to clear as a free sailor” on the *Jupiter* in 1817. He and a ‘J Day’ were both in the crew of the *General Gates* on a long sealing trip in 1820-2 during which it “seems also to have visited Kangaroo Island”.¹⁹²⁴ From indirect evidence, Allen probably settled on KI immediately in 1822.¹⁹²⁵ Captain Hart in early 1836 warned the colonists against Allen: the Kangaroo Islanders “may all be depended on but the man ‘James’ who is an Irish Convict”.¹⁹²⁶ Hart said that Allen was then living with Wallan and Day at “Pelican Lagoon” (Flinders’ name for American River); but all other accounts have Wallan living at Three Wells River (now Cygnet River). Convict or not, Allen was a vicious man. On record he had two Tasmanian women, and (according to John Anderson) when one of them tried to run away after a quarrel with the other, Allen punished her by tying her to a tree, cutting deep wounds in her buttocks and mutilating an ear.¹⁹²⁷

JOHN DAY (alias William or perhaps Joseph) was born about 1790.¹⁹²⁸ Possibly an ex-convict¹⁹²⁹ when he was on the *General Gates*, he may have visited KI then in 1822, but took up sealing in the Straits and did not settle permanently on the Island until 1832.¹⁹³⁰

Day and Wallan were of similar age and seem to have become the core of a long-term older group at Cygnet River (together with Allen). The three would be found there still in 1836, now in their forties.

Kirby and Everett had already arrived on the Island already when Bates jumped ship in 1824.¹⁹³¹ They continued to be engaged in sealing voyages to Western Australia, and it is with

¹⁹²¹ <https://sites.google.com/site/kipasigns/memorial-details/henry-wallen> [13/10/22].

¹⁹²² PlomleyN 1987: 445. See also the story of Kalungku in Chapter 1.3.2.

¹⁹²³ Cumpston 1986: 133. Wallan took time off the Island to go whaling at least once on record (Bates 1886: 6d).

¹⁹²⁴ Cumpston 1986: 44, 61-2; cp. PlomleyN 1966: 1010, Supplement: 25; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 34.

¹⁹²⁵ See Morphett in 1836, who cited two sealers as having been on the island 18 and 15 years; the 18-year man was Wallan, the 15-year probably Allen (Morphett to Angas 14 Sep 1836 in SACo First Supp: 29). Dr Leigh met an unnamed Islander in July 1837 who had arrived 15 years before then (Leigh 1839: 104). This man was probably Allen, since both he and Wallan’s farm had three women. The 1822 date is contradicted by Captain Jones, according to whom Allen arrived in 1827 (Jones 1835: 252). But Jones is unreliable: e.g. he gave the same date for Nat Thomas, who we know arrived in early 1825.

¹⁹²⁶ Hart 1836.

¹⁹²⁷ Plomley’s summary, PlomleyN 1966: 1010. Robinson’s original journal entry is even more dire: “Anderson told [Munro] that the sealers tied up a black woman to a tree and then cut the flesh off her thigh and cut off her ears and made her eat it (this was because she had run away; the cause of their going away from the sealers was on account of the wanton cruelty which had been inflicted upon them)... The woman that had been so barbarously treated was a hard-working woman” (28 May 1831, PlomleyN 1966: 357, cp. 360). From this account it would appear that Allen was not alone when he did it. It is not clear where Plomley got the modified version in his summary.

¹⁹²⁸ “Age 40-41” in 1831 (PlomleyN 1966: 1012).

¹⁹²⁹ There were several men named Day, and it is hard to deduce which of them were the same man. See PlomleyN 1966:1012, Supplement p.25-6; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 42.

¹⁹³⁰ Morgan Journal 2 Aug 1836. In attributing this date, Morgan was referring to the ‘Robinson cruso’ who was Day, not Wallan as supposed by some writers: cp. Samuel StephensS 1836, 2 Aug.

them we first meet the young woman Kalinga ('Sally'), one of our main characters. We know little else of **JAMES KIRBY**.

But we know quite a lot about **JAMES EVERETT**.¹⁹³² He had come to Australia on a whaler in 1819. Like his exact contemporary Johnson, he had been a sealer since about 1820 when he was 18. Over the next few years he went on a number of whaling and sealing voyages, and was shipwrecked twice. During this period he was on KI briefly in 1824 just before and after Bates arrived. He, Kirby and Randall went on a sealing trip to the far west in 1826, together with the Aboriginal locals 'Sally' and 'Harry'. There the gangs were detained and sent to Sydney in 1827. At some stage before 1830 he lived for a while on KI with the Tasmanian woman Magalidi, a sister of Truganini.¹⁹³³ Eventually he headed for the Straits, where he was found later on Woody Island in the Sisters Group in company with Anderson, Dutton, some women stolen from "their country adjacent to Kangaroo Island", and several children.¹⁹³⁴ Robinson considered his character to be "infamous". He shot and killed a woman on Woody Island because she did not clean mutton birds to his satisfaction.¹⁹³⁵ By the end of his life he had become patriarch of a large family in Bass Strait, and today his descendants are the considerable number of Aboriginal Everetts in Tasmania.

Two men who arrived in the last few years before 1827 would feature largely in the colonial history of Kangaroo Island:

GEORGE BATES jumped ship from the *Nereus* in May 1824 together with **JOHN RANDALL**.

They were followed next year by **NATHANIEL THOMAS**. At 23 he was about Bates' age. It was said, "*Nat belongs to a respectable family; his father having held a lucrative post in the victualling office at home. In his own euphonic language, out of a large family, he was the only 'scabby one'*".¹⁹³⁶ He was also a trained pilot. He sailed twice in the *Nereus*, though not to KI, and had been with Captain Philip King surveying the Straits and circumnavigating the continent. When he and other crew of the sealer *Belinda* were stranded on Middle Island on the south coast of Western Australia, it was the *Nereus* which picked them up. This time Nat deserted at KI on the return journey in early 1825.¹⁹³⁷ Rebe Taylor's very thorough book about 'Betty' and Nat Thomas gives much detail about them, their family histories and their descendants, including many who are alive today.¹⁹³⁸

Bates and Thomas would form the core of another long-term group, a decade younger than the Three Wells group and living on Dudley Peninsula at the eastern end of the Island.

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¹⁹³¹ Bates 1886: 6d.

¹⁹³² For a summary of his life see PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 43-4.

¹⁹³³ PlomleyN 1966: 246; Nunn 1989: 40. In this context Robinson called him "*Hepthernet*"; probably he had not recognized the name Everett in the pronunciation of his informant.

¹⁹³⁴ PlomleyN 1987: 366-7, 416.

¹⁹³⁵ Robinson journal 10 Nov 1830, PlomleyN 1966, cp. pp.1012-3; PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 44, 88; Nunn 1989: 40.

¹⁹³⁶ Cawthorne wrote this after visiting Nat Thomas in December 1852 (WA Cawthorne 1853: 160-1).

¹⁹³⁷ TaylorR 2002-8: 21, 32; Cumpston 1986: 72, 74; Nunn 1989: 39; Cawthorne 1853: 161; *Register* 21/2/1877. Cp. PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 66, which omits some crucial details.

¹⁹³⁸ TaylorR 2002-8.

APPENDIX 3: ISLANDER EXPLORATIONS AROUND THE FLEURIEU FROM ADELAIDE PLAINS TO ENCOUNTER BAY, 1820-35;¹⁹³⁹

(1) ON THE COAST: THE GEOGRAPHY OF COMMUNICATION BY WHALEBOAT BETWEEN KANGAROO ISLAND AND THE MAINLAND.

When dealing with journeys and camps around this extremely varied country, we have to be clearer about topographical details than most historians have been. The records of location are often ambiguous because the observers and participants had very few place-names for reference points. But we may be able to judge some places and routes as more likely than others if we know where the safe or easy access points are by sea or land for small parties of men coming from Kangaroo Island in whaleboats, and what the distances are.

For small boats without a parent ship, the southern Gulf coast was inherently more likely as a beachhead than the south coast, even when the men's destination was Encounter Bay. Even with the very manoeuvrable whaleboats, landfall was far easier and safer in the Gulf than at any place on the south coast.¹⁹⁴⁰ Sealers were used to walking long distances.

The safest close maritime access points to the whole peninsula and its surroundings were Rapid Bay, Second Valley and Yankalilla Bay, all in the Gulf. These were the keys to the whole region south of Sellicks Hill. In contrast, the mainland at Encounter Bay was much further from KI, and also much more dangerous to approach by sea. When we consider Islander raids on Aboriginal camps, these probabilities based on marine safety combine with social factors, especially the locations of well-used Aboriginal campsites (known or likely), and of places which enable a hidden approach.

Of the two key landings, Rapid Bay is closer and more hidden; but Yankalilla Bay, though a little further, seems to have been used more.

Rapid Bay was the southernmost frequently-used Aboriginal campsite: a relatively large anchorage sheltered well by high, steep and secret hills. From the nearest harbours on KI (Nepean Bay and Hog Bay), a boat voyage is only about 35 km, crossing waters which are protected by the Island from the Southern Ocean swells.

Only a mile further is Second Valley, an equally secret cove in the cliffs but smaller and less safe as a landing.

About 12 km northeast of Rapid Bay, the Yankalilla plains were in use by more Aboriginal people more frequently, much closer to the regular travel routes between the main centres of population to the northwest and southeast. Here people could walk across the high Bald Hills into the 'Flat & beautiful Valley'¹⁹⁴¹ of the Inman River leading east through the range: the most convenient path to Encounter Bay from the west. Yankalilla Bay is very shallow arc; most of its landings are on a low flat shore in almost open sea. But there is deeper water inshore at Haycock Point near Carrickalinga, with Carrickalinga Creek and some rising ground nearby: good for peaceful visits in calm weather.¹⁹⁴²

¹⁹³⁹ See Map04 'The Area'.

¹⁹⁴⁰ At Tunkalilla, Waitpinga, and from Middleton eastward, the beach is harbourless, open to the Southern Ocean and guarded by lines of big breakers. Most of the south coast of the Peninsula has rugged steep cliffs. Backstairs Passage has dangerous variable currents. Reefs offer some limited protection to the *beaches* – and hazards to any shipping – at today's Tunkalilla, Victor Harbor (Rosetta Cove and the lee of Granite Island), and Port Elliot (Horseshoe Bay). But in the Gulf, Rapid Bay is big and sheltered enough to be described as an 'anchorage': that is, it can accommodate fairly large ships. In most weathers Second Valley, Haycock Point (at Carrickalinga) and even the open Bay of Yankalilla off Normanville, are safer landfalls for a boat than anything on the south coast.

¹⁹⁴¹ Barker's description on Sturt's map 1833 (see Chapter 2.4.1.1 'Language and place (1): 1831', and Part 2 of Appendix 5 'The geography of Sturt's 1833 map'.

¹⁹⁴² See the account of a short-lived jetty and anchorage at Haycock Point in Collins 2005: 179.

Rapid Bay, closer and more sheltered, seems like the most likely spot for a whaleboat entry point into the Peninsula, especially for raids when secrecy was needed. However, two pieces of historical evidence throw doubt onto this assumption. Firstly, while several of the Islanders knew the 'Kaurna'-Miyurna name 'Yanky Lilly' (*Yarnkalyilla*),¹⁹⁴³ there is no certain record of *any* name that they used for Rapid Bay.¹⁹⁴⁴ Secondly, the documented actions of the Islanders refer to Yankalilla (i.e. the Bay) much more often than Rapid Bay.¹⁹⁴⁵ These are signals that Yankalilla Bay was probably their most used landing place. A logistical fact with social implications, therefore, is that a whaleboat cannot approach Yankalilla Bay by day without being visible for many miles around and for some time. In combination the data could imply that many of the Islanders' visits to this Bay were not surprise raids but overt and negotiated.¹⁹⁴⁶

Encounter Bay, with its rich resources of land, sea and lake, was even more densely and reliably populated. But compared with Rapid Bay it is double the distance from KI through the open Southern Ocean, and its three landing places¹⁹⁴⁷ all have dangerous reefs which made access a delicate matter by day and (without beacons) probably out of the question by night. The entire Bay was impossible to leave during winter westerlies, as Bates and Thomas told Davis.¹⁹⁴⁸ For boats coming from KI (as opposed to commercial ships), they were not favoured locations for landing, not even when working at populous but dangerous seal haunts like Seal Rock and Pullen Island.

From Encounter Bay all the way around to Rapid Bay, the parts of the seacoast nearest to KI are mostly steep cliffs with many reefs, and only a few very small landing coves ('boat harbours') such as Fishery Beach. The high scrubland was infrequently visited by Aboriginal people.¹⁹⁴⁹ The Cape itself has a dangerous reef, and was made relatively safe as a boat harbour only in the 20th century.

In the gulf to the north of Yankalilla, there are more cliffs for another 14 km, interrupted only by the small cove of Myponga Beach. Beyond that, an Islander would have to sail to double the distance of Rapid Bay before he found the next coastal plains (Aldinga). Here he would find no landing places that are either sheltered from bad weather or hidden from a landsman's view.¹⁹⁵⁰ Nor would he find any on the Onkaparinga-McLaren Plains (80 km from Nepean Bay). Nor on the Adelaide Plains¹⁹⁵¹ – which in any case are so much further away (120 km) that even if he knew

¹⁹⁴³ See Chapter 3 *passim*, and Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 *Yarnkalyilla*.

¹⁹⁴⁴ It was left to Light's team to obtain the 'Kaurna'-Miyurna name of Rapid Bay, "Yatagolanga" (*Yarta-kurlangga*), when they visited it in September 1836 (see Schultz PNS 5.04.01/07 *Yartakurlangga*). They said it was called this "by the natives", which probably implies that they had obtained it not from their employee Cooper or any of the other Islanders but from the local Aboriginal helpers at Rapid Bay, probably interpreted by their relative 'Doughboy'. See Chapter 3.

¹⁹⁴⁵ e.g. They seem to have taken Barker's team there again after his death in order to cross to the Murray Mouth (see Chapter 2.3.4.1.3 'The search'). Meredith was probably killed there (see Chapter 2.5.3.2 'Breakdown').

¹⁹⁴⁶ Rapid Bay was much safer as a sheltered anchorage for larger vessels (though when Light was there he had to ride out a gale at sea rather than inshore). But the Islanders, using whaleboats, probably tried to avoid stormy weather when travelling to the mainland, and may have preferred Yankalilla except when in need of water or secrecy. To complicate the analysis still more, a raid could be conducted during an ostensibly peaceful visit; Cawthorne's novel depicts such an event at Rapid Bay (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 95ff, Chapter 17).

¹⁹⁴⁷ 1. Rosetta Cove at the Bluff. 2. The site of Blenkinsop's fishery opposite Granite Island. 3. Horseshoe Bay at Port Elliot, the 'preferred harbour' of the Islanders.

¹⁹⁴⁸ See Chapter 2.3.4.1.3 'The search'.

¹⁹⁴⁹ This was so at least in post-contact times: see e.g. Tindale SESA2: 158 ('Notes from Reuben Walker 1934', in AA 338/1/33/2). But the reasons given were doubtless precolonial: it was not only scrubland but also a region of spirits of the dead, travelling after Ngurunduri to Kangaroo Island.

¹⁹⁵⁰ The small boat harbour at the mouth of Pedler Creek (Port Willunga) offers only the merest token of both, plus a dangerous reef.

¹⁹⁵¹ The Port River remained undiscovered by Europeans, as far as we know, until Captain Jones in 1833-4 (see Chapter 2.3.1.1 'The Cape Jervis Tribe and Captain John Jones').

of them or had visited them, he would certainly prefer the lush Yankalilla plains less than 50 km away.

(2) FEET ON THE HINTERLAND.

From the narrative of Bates and his doings before 1836¹⁹⁵² we gain a glimpse of some of the earliest European exploration of mainland SA. These contributions made by Islanders and their Aboriginal contacts, as they began to travel into the hinterland of the Fleurieu region, have been little recognized.

Previous authors writing about the Islanders have tried to assess the geography of their explorations in part indirectly, on the basis of cultural or language data.¹⁹⁵³ This book brings into the discussion a new swag of specific *geographical* data and deductions. These are culled from the narratives of Bates and from other data in the primary sources.

How much did the Islanders know about coastal regions of Gulf St Vincent?

How much did the Islanders before 1836 know about Encounter Bay?

How much did they know about the routes across the range between the two?

How much about the hinterlands to the north of the Fleurieu in 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* Language Country, or those to the east of it where various languages including 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* were spoken?

I summarize my conclusions as follows, with details in the footnotes:

THE GULF COASTAL REGIONS OF SOUTHERN FLEURIEU:

(1) The Islanders had certainly become familiar with the Yankalilla Plains, and begun raiding there, before or by 1820 (the date of Emma's abduction).¹⁹⁵⁴ They must have known the deeper anchorage at Haycock Point (Carrickalinga) long before Barker visited it.¹⁹⁵⁵ Raids continued there; Kalungku's was in about 1826, and involved travel inland.¹⁹⁵⁶

(2) By 1831 (and no doubt long before that) they certainly knew the 'good and safe anchorage'¹⁹⁵⁷ behind the 'NW High Bluff' of Flinders: i.e. today's Rapid Bay. This was by far the best of the local mainland harbours, and the nearest to middle and eastern KI. Yet it was located inconveniently for travel across the ranges, and so may not have been used as often as Yankalilla, especially after Encounter Bay became a more frequent destination.¹⁹⁵⁸

¹⁹⁵² See Chapter 2.

¹⁹⁵³ ClarkeP 1996 and 1998, Amery 1996 and 1998.

¹⁹⁵⁴ See also the abduction of Kalungku there in about 1826 (Chapter 1.3.2 'Kalungku').

¹⁹⁵⁵ They probably landed at Carrickalinga even when raiding Lake Alexandrina far to the east, for the reasons given previously (see section 2.2.1.2.1 'The search for Barker, officially').

¹⁹⁵⁶ e.g. the abduction of Kalungku by Allen and Johnson (see Chapter 1.3.2).

¹⁹⁵⁷ Sturt 1833: 236-7.

¹⁹⁵⁸ HOW OFTEN DID THEY USE RAPID BAY AS A BASE FOR TRAVEL INLAND? By sea Rapid Bay is 12 km closer to Kangaroo Island than the little anchorage at Haycock Point (Carrickalinga) at the north end of the Yankalilla plain. Rapid Bay is much safer as a sheltered anchorage for larger vessels; but the Islanders were using whaleboats, and doubtless usually visited the mainland only in calmer weather. There are steep highlands between Rapid Bay and Encounter Bay, and the main travel routes over the range lay further north to avoid them. Because of this, probably they did not use Rapid Bay as a base for cross-country trips even when the occasion was peaceful. If they were heading for Encounter Bay, this base would oblige them to walk an extra 12 km or so to the valley of the Inman; while the local alternatives, though a little more direct – over the scrubby hills around Mt Hayfield and Mt Robinson – are much higher and more rugged. All these considerations – added to the absence of an Islander name for Rapid Bay – suggest that the Islanders' most-used base for inland travel was also Yankalilla Bay, not Rapid Bay.

THE GULF COASTAL PLAINS NORTH OF YANKALILLA:

(3) It is very likely that most Islanders other than Bates, Thomas, and perhaps Walker and Wallan, were largely or completely ignorant of the Gulf coastlands north of Yankalilla until some of them (probably) joined the sealing voyages of Captain Jones (1832-4).¹⁹⁵⁹ It was a long voyage to these plains; and the prime Aboriginal sites there – Aldinga Scrub, the Onkaparinga estuary and the Adelaide plains – offered nothing of interest to the Islanders which nearer places such as Yankalilla did not also offer.¹⁹⁶⁰

From an incident in February 1837 it is clear that Nat Thomas was familiar with the topography and water springs immediately around today's Port Noarlunga. He most likely acquired this knowledge while working in sealing gangs for someone like Hart or Jones.¹⁹⁶¹ Despite this incident – which is often cited as evidence that he had also visited *Miyurna* land north of the Onkaparinga – it is very doubtful that he went to the Adelaide Plains until 1836-7, with the colonists.

Another record from early 1837 asserts that “men who have long resided on Kangaroo Island (Walker and Wallan in particular)... are well acquainted with the tribes bordering on Encounter bay and *those from Cape Jervis to the head of this Gulph*”, i.e. north to Port Wakefield.¹⁹⁶²

¹⁹⁵⁹ See Chapter 2.

¹⁹⁶⁰ ISLANDERS, RAPID BAY, YANKALILLA, AND THE COAST NORTHWARD:

The sheltered Gulf was less dangerous than the Southern Ocean and the nearby southern coasts. The northern coasts of the Gulf – beginning at Adelaide, 120 km from Hog Bay, 145 km from Kingscote – were certainly within reach of hardy whaleboat teams if urgent need or profit motivated them for long-distance travel. Those northern plains *might* have offered trade items such as salt (probably at the Port River estuary), seals (occasionally), or women (at places along the Adelaide coast). But the Islanders could get these things more easily, plentifully and reliably much closer to home: on their own Kangaroo Island coast, or around the Southern Fleurieu, or at richer marine sites such as Port Lincoln. Likewise water, game and wallaby skins. They had no need of the Adelaide Plains. When Walker and Wallan spoke to George Stevenson of ‘tribes’ they had met at “*the head of this Gulph*” (Stevenson to Hindmarsh 14 Feb 1837, C.O. 13/6/53: 2), it was probably either a misunderstanding by Stevenson or another of the famous ‘fictitious statements’, designed to maximize their chances of employment with the new colony.

A few such as Bates had visited the Onkaparinga by land from the south, and one or two had visited the Adelaide Plains (probably with a commercial sealing ship); but it is very unlikely that they were as familiar with these areas as with Yankalilla. Bates had travelled further north than most by about 1830, and claimed to know the Onkaparinga River and the plains of Adelaide (Bates 1886b: 6d; Bates 1895: 9c); but as we shall find, Cooper still did not know the Onkaparinga in 1836 (see Chapter 3.4.10.3 ‘Doughboy, Cooper & the large river’). Walker in 1837 “*has not seen much of the inhabitants near Adelaide and cannot himself say whether they have the same language or not*” as in ‘Cape Jervis’ and Encounter Bay (Mann 1837a: 12).

It was not until the 1850s that Nat Thomas ran a whaleboat ferry service between Adelaide and KI, and knew that the voyage could take “*one day or six, according to wind and weather*” (Cawthorne 1853: 160). But Islanders before 1836 could get plenty of water, skins, salt, game and women at half that distance or less. North of Sellicks Hill, on the lower and more accessible shores, seals have been and are still known to visit, but never many of them. Captain Jones may have been interested in the salt-fields north of Adelaide, but the Islanders had more than enough of it at Nepean Bay.

¹⁹⁶¹ Stuart 1875: 12b. Bull’s re-telling of the incident directly explains Nat’s knowledge of the Onkaparinga by saying that Nat “*had landed there when sealing*” (JW Bull 1878b: 14-15). We cannot be sure whether this was what Bull heard personally from Stuart (who had lent him his notes) or whether it was Bull’s own assumption. With whom was he sealing on that pre-colonial visit: Kangaroo Island sealers or a commercial ship? For the complete text of Stuart’s original 1875 account, annotated, see Schultz PNS 4.02/01 Pirrangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-01Pirrangga.pdf>. It will be analysed more closely in Book 2 of *Feet On the Fleurieu*.

¹⁹⁶² George Stevenson to Governor Hindmarsh 14 Feb 1837, Colonial Office, London C.O.13/6/53; my emphasis. I owe this reference to Christine Walker who alerted me to it. Stevenson (Hindmarsh’s personal secretary) is a low-quality source for Aboriginal data. He spoke to the Islanders only once in that period, during his short and only visit to Kingscote in January 1837 on quite different business (to investigate the riots there). He could only have heard this claim in passing. It forms part of his first report as Interim Protector of the Aborigines, which shows him using every bit of available evidence to prove to the Governor and Commissioners that all the local ‘tribes’ are ‘inoffensive’. Probably this sentence was his own generalization, exaggerating or mistaking what he had actually heard about the variety and geography of the Islanders’ experiences; or quite possibly they themselves were exaggerating their exploits. Perhaps Walker and Wallan had been as far north as ‘the head of this Gulph’ *in a sealing ship*; but it is most unlikely that they would have landed there and become ‘well acquainted’ with those locals.

However, I have seen no other record which supports this unlikely claim at all; and it is contradicted by other testimony from Walker himself.¹⁹⁶³

SOUTHEAST OF THE RANGE: ENCOUNTER BAY:

(4) As seamen, the Islanders certainly must have known Encounter Bay *from the sea* at a very early date. They may also have landed and explored some of its coastal flats long before their excursion from Forbes' ship in the summer of 1828-9,¹⁹⁶⁴ but we have no definite record of this. It is likely that after this they would have visited it again in summer, whether for seals on the rocky parts of the coast and perhaps Seal Rock and West Island, or to pursue business with Aboriginal contacts; but again we have no direct evidence for it.

(5) They did know Horseshoe Bay at Port Elliot as their preferred whaleboat 'anchorage' (i.e. landing place) on the Encounter Bay coast,¹⁹⁶⁵ perhaps even before the time of their recorded visit there in 1828-9.

(6) In 1831 (judging by Sturt's 1833 chart) Bates and Thomas knew the anchorage near (in the lee of) Granite Island, which makes it likely that the other Islanders did too. This is another fair landing place – but only in summer. In 1837 Crozier would name it 'Victor Harbour'.¹⁹⁶⁶

(7) And as we have seen in Chapter 2, after 1829 they often visited Encounter Bay overland from the Gulf, on their way to raid camps at 'Lake Alexandrina'.¹⁹⁶⁷

¹⁹⁶³ See footnote above.

¹⁹⁶⁴ See Chapter 2.3.2 'Kalinga and Condoy, Bates & Sturt'.

¹⁹⁶⁵ PREFERRED ANCHORAGES (1): Sometime between 1839 (when Sturt came to SA) and 1846 (when he wrote his 'Account of SA'), he spoke to "*an experienced seaman, one whose intimate knowledge of this part of the coast of South Australia is indisputable*", almost certainly an Islander, probably Nat Thomas. This man told him that the anchorage under Freeman's Nob was "*altogether preferable*" to Rosetta Harbour and Crozier's Victor Harbour, although it went deeper into the Bay, so that vessels had a harder time beating out of it against a head wind (Sturt 1847-9: 159).

A second anchorage at King's Beach was also favoured by the Islanders, but had the disadvantage of being even more open to the Southern Ocean. Captain Crozier in April 1837 recorded: "*As to the anchorage under Wrights Island*" – by which he meant today's West Island, sheltering King's Beach – "*and round Rocky Point,*" – which we know as Freemans Nob, sheltering Horseshoe Bay at Port Elliot – "*our stay being only 24 hours altogether, we had not time to examine them. But the information we received [from the whalers] about [?them] was very much in their favor and I have every reason to believe it correct*" (Richard Crozier 1837a, 'Remark Book of HMS Victor', manuscript in PRG 185, SLSA, as quoted in Durrant 2014a: 17). An anchorage under West Island could only be King's Beach.

¹⁹⁶⁶ PREFERRED ANCHORAGES (2): Crozier 1837b, 'Plan of the Anchorage in Encounter Bay and Victor Harbour' (C735, SLSA). At that time Blenkinsop was establishing his whale fishery there. Because Sturt had not seen it but nevertheless marked an anchorage nearby in his map, we may deduce that Kent reported it in 1831, probably from Bates and Thomas – though it is misplaced, either from ignorance or lack of space. It is marked south of "*Granite I*" (between Seal Rock and a reef, an exposed position at all seasons) instead of north as in Crozier (in clear water protected from southwesterlies). The two Islanders had advised Davis against anchoring the *Isabella* anywhere in Encounter Bay in autumn or winter. The anchorage sign implies that here was a place where he *could* anchor at other times of the year.

Doubtless they had also noted the tiny cove in the lee of The Bluff (later named Rosetta Cove and Rosetta Head respectively). But unlike the enthusiastic but inexperienced South Australian Company with its whale fishery begun there in 1837, they had apparently rejected it as unusable and never mentioned it in any known record.

There is a persistent myth or misunderstanding that whaling was carried out at Encounter Bay before 1836, but it seems to be quite unfounded. Perhaps it was Crozier's note (previous footnote above), confusing Wright Island and West Island, which decided landlubber Samuel Stephens to locate the SA Company fishery at Rosetta Cove 'under [the real] Wrights Island' a few months later.

¹⁹⁶⁷ See Chapter 2 *passim*; Appendix 5 'The geography of Sturt's map and three Aboriginal place-names'; and Appendix 6 'Some Aboriginal travel routes'.

NORTH AND EAST FROM ENCOUNTER BAY:

(8) Some of the Islanders visited the southwestern edge of Lake Alexandrina – the vicinity of Milang – from Forbes’ ship in that summer of 1828-9. Judging by their recorded comments, this appears to be their first time.¹⁹⁶⁸

(9) It was probably after that 1828-9 excursion that Bates and his friends began their private raids on what he said was “Lake Alexandrina”. This phrase from late memory must refer in part to the southwestern edge of the Murray Estuary, which some had visited by 1828. But as used in the *Advertiser*’s 1886 interview with Bates, the ‘Lake’ phrase probably referred especially to Currency Creek, whose real name was “Taltarruar... a favourite place of the numerous aborigines there”,¹⁹⁶⁹ and perhaps also to the adjoining estuary country of Finniss River, Goolwa, *perhaps* some way east of Goolwa along the dunes of Sir Richard Peninsula as well.¹⁹⁷⁰

(10) But we can deduce with some assurance that before 1831 none of the Islanders knew the Murray Mouth. Sir Richard Peninsula – 10 km of sand dunes along a very dangerous coastline of breakers like those on the Coorong, far from their landing place even if it was Port Elliot – would not have seemed likely to lead to anything they wanted. The Barker job in May 1831 was probably their introduction to the Mouth. And even after that not all of them knew it by experience.¹⁹⁷¹

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¹⁹⁶⁸ Bates and others in Captain Forbes’ sealing gang landed at or near Port Elliot (probably Horseshoe Bay), and from there visited the Lake by land somewhere around the Finniss River (see my footnote ‘Geography of the Discovery of Lake Alexandrina by Forbes’ sealing gang’ in Chapter 2.3.2.3 ‘Forbes-Bates excursion’).

¹⁹⁶⁹ Schürmann Correspondence: S69.

¹⁹⁷⁰ Davis in 1831 referred to the Mouth area within the same ‘lake’ generalization. He wrote that on 7th May Kent’s search party “*reached the lake*” and found their rescue package there untouched at “*the west side of the inlet*”, “*the place where they bivouacked on the night of the 29th*” [April], the “*sleeping place*” (Davis 1831: 25, cp.24, 23, my underlining). In fact this was on Sir Richard Peninsula within walking distance of the Mouth. See also Chapter 2.3.4.1 ‘Kalinga, Condoy, Natalla and Kent’.

¹⁹⁷¹ See Textbox08 ‘When did Islanders first visit the Murray Mouth?’

APPENDIX 4:

A TENTATIVE SKETCH OF WHAT PROBABLY HAPPENED DURING KENT'S FACT-FINDING TRIP TO THE MURRAY MOUTH IN 1831:

a supplement to Chapter 2.3.6 'Tribes', Condoy, Kalinga, Islanders, and Barker's regiment: What really happened in May 1831? (2)'

1. From the *Isabella* anchored probably off Haycock Point at Carrickalinga,¹⁹⁷² Kent's party landed on May 4th and walked to Encounter Bay, almost certainly via the Carrickalinga Gorge to Wattle Flat, up to the high range on the northern side of the Inman valley; then probably (from Sturt's description)¹⁹⁷³ above or through the Boundy River valley, over Strangways Hill, down to the lower hills above Hindmarsh Valley in the vicinity of Greenhills Rd, and so to the coast.
2. Somewhere during the outward journey Kent 'sent Sally forward', but we do not know where from or where to. She was almost certainly accompanied by Condoy (since he was 'chiefly instrumental' in the action), and probably by Bates too (who would have wanted to keep events on a tight rein). They might have gone ahead to Encounter Bay to pick up Natalla; or gone ahead from the Bay to the Mouth to spy out the situation.
3. At the Mouth, late on the 7th and all day on the 8th, Bates and some others – possibly all of them – saw that the people on the other side were a very large group and appeared 'warlike'. This was not a mistaken perception, for they had available the opinion of Condoy and Natalla. Peaceful dialogue was impossible, and other methods of obtaining information were urgently needed.
4. There can be little doubt that they built a reed raft on the 8th, as planned beforehand in the presence of Davis. Condoy and Natalla could direct where to get the materials and how to build it.¹⁹⁷⁴
5. Either now or perhaps beforehand while 'sent forward', some of them – certainly Bates and Thomas, and probably Condoy – hatched modifications to the plan. Kent may or may not have known about this.
Bates, Thomas and their Aboriginal colleagues would have known about the value of night attacks and the use of white.¹⁹⁷⁵ They would capture a woman from the targeted camp, which was about a kilometre away (either on Younghusband Peninsula or possibly Mundoo Island), just out of sight because their view was obstructed by the high sandhill. Bates once said that the standard method in other raids was to attack in mid-morning while the men were away hunting.¹⁹⁷⁶ But this time the cover of night was advisable because the target group was larger

¹⁹⁷² See footnote 'Where did Barker land?' in Chapter 2.3.4.1.1 'Up to Barker's disappearance'; also Appendix 5 'The geography of Sturt's map and three Aboriginal place-names'.

¹⁹⁷³ Sturt 1833: 238.

¹⁹⁷⁴ Barker's original party had wanted to cross the Mouth to look for him on May 1st, but, having neither Bates nor Condoy to advise them, had been "unable to obtain materials to form a raft" (*Sydney Gazette* 24 May 1831: 2c). They had no notion of using reeds, and "there was no possibility of procuring wood" (Davis 1831: 24, i.e. straight timber) in this place of low stunted vegetation on the windswept dunes.

¹⁹⁷⁵ At night Aboriginal people of this region preferred not to be away from campfires because of danger from
1. dark-coloured spirits called (in 'Ngarrindjeri'-Kornar) *Melapi* or *Muldarbi*, "All the natives entertain great dread of evil spirits, and those who lived in the neighbourhood of Adelaide never moved about at night. In other parts of the colony they would not do so without carrying firesticks with them, except on moonlight nights" (Woods Intro 1879: xxxi). Cp. 'Dlarbe' in Wyatt 1879: 167; Meyer 1846: 9; Taplin Narrinyeri 1879: 133, 140, 141-2; Taplin Folklore 1879: 50-1.
2. the spirits of dead humans which were probably white. See Taplin Narrinyeri 1879: 19. Because of a perceived resemblance to such corpses, white people were called *gringkarri* 'corpse' in 'Ngarrindjeri'-Kornar areas (Meyer 1846: 10). In 'Kaurna'-Miyurna areas where smoke-drying of corpses was not practised, white people were nevertheless called *Pinti-miyurna* 'people of the pit or grave' in reference to the white colour of spirits of the dead (OS *Pindi-meyunna*; see T&S 1840 under 'pindi'), and more recently 'Goonya' in Narungga (probably related to Miyurna *kuinyu* 'death, corpse').

¹⁹⁷⁶ See Chapter 2.3.5 'Bates and Raids'.

than usual and probably aware of their presence; perhaps also they wanted to hide the proceedings from Kent.

As we have already seen, Condoy and Bates had apparently made agreements about women before. The difference now was that it would be a deal not for trade but for a unilateral raid. As I argue later, even for that it may not have been a novelty.¹⁹⁷⁷

6. The woman would serve two convenient purposes: she would probably know the ‘particulars’ which Kent was after; and she would be a welcome addition to the ‘wives’ on KI.

6. They rafted across the Goolwa Channel (presumably, for safety, at a time when the current was setting inward), and perhaps the Coorong Channel as well;¹⁹⁷⁸ carried out the night raid; and brought back a ‘young girl’, no doubt intending that she should become a bonus for themselves or other Islanders.

7. From her – probably with Condoy ‘chiefly instrumental’ in understanding her language and questioning her – they got the ‘particulars’ which Kent was after, and perhaps more which they did not report. If this happened during the night away from Kent’s camp, they may also have planned how they would explain the girl and control the presentation of her story.

8. Possibly a few hours later on the morning on the 9th, it was Kalinga who “on her return” gave Kent “the details” as officially reported.¹⁹⁷⁹ No doubt Condoy was also present but he probably left most of the communication to Kalinga; accordingly Kent perceived her as the spokesperson, even though he also told Davis that it was Condoy who was ‘chiefly instrumental in gaining the information’.¹⁹⁸⁰ Most likely Kent used Kalinga to interrogate Condoy and (perhaps through him) the girl.

Perhaps Davis was also present at some later interview with these ‘natives’; in any case he counted all of them as the “three sources” from whom the “particulars were obtained” – who naturally “all... agreed”, because two of them had obtained everything they knew from the third.¹⁹⁸¹

9. The party would have left the area as promptly as possible on the same morning, while night fears prevailed among the outraged warriors and before they could make a raft of their own and come across to hunt the marauders.

10. The role of Bates remains quite unclear, both here and in many other aspects of the affair. Sturt says only that “one of the men agreed to accompany Mr Kent with a native woman”. Davis wrote of him: “I have much satisfaction in stating that G Bates, from the knowledge he possessed of the language and manners of the natives, proved of essential service in obtaining the above information”. But we should note that Davis had stayed on the ship, even further outside the main action than Kent. This passage looks suspiciously like a formal job reference, and one wonders whether it was part of a deal.

Bates claimed to know ‘the language’;¹⁹⁸² but to judge by all the reports – including Bates’ – none of the Europeans noticed that *two* languages were involved in the data here.¹⁹⁸³ Quite possibly

¹⁹⁷⁷ See Chapter 2.3.5 ‘Bates and Raids’.

¹⁹⁷⁸ As noted in Chapter 2.3.4.1, it is possible that the Mouth was then located nearer to Mundoo Island, and that one of the campsites in May 1831 was there.

¹⁹⁷⁹ Sturt 1833: 242.

¹⁹⁸⁰ Davis 1831: 25.

¹⁹⁸¹ Davis 1831: 25.

¹⁹⁸² My emphasis. For Bates and language, see Chapter 1.1.6.5 ‘Beliefs, language identities, place-names’; and Chapter 2.3.4 ‘Condoy, Kalinga, Natalla, Bates and Barker’, *passim*.

¹⁹⁸³ Who was speaking which language? How were the communications happening? It is clear that the captured girl spoke ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar*, from the location of her people’s camp and from the personal names she cited for the killers. Surprisingly, from these texts alone it is not clear which language was used by Condoy and Sally. But one or

Bates merely introduced the relevant people to each other, planned the raid, and carried it out. For these purposes Kalinga's 'tolerable' English alone would have been enough to communicate with him; perhaps he supplemented it with some Pidgin 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna*. Probably those who 'obtained the information' were Natalla and Condoy; Bates censored it; and Kalinga conveyed it to Kent. But to Davis on the outside, Bates looked impressive enough.

11. Predictably, and inconveniently for Bates and Thomas, Kent did ask why the people of the Mouth had killed Barker. Sturt recorded the response: "the natives... were influenced by no other motive than curiosity to ascertain if they had power to kill a white man".¹⁹⁸⁴ This was one of the 'details' which, according to Sturt, were given to Kent by Kalinga 'on her return'. While perhaps not completely unbelievable, it is also the kind of thing that Bates and Thomas would have told her to say in order to avoid bringing their previous raids to the attention of the authorities – regardless of what the captive girl might divulge in 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* language, or what Condoy and Kalinga might initially translate.

What some local First People actually said about the motive was told to Meyer perhaps a decade later and eventually communicated by him to Robinson. This version was simple, entirely understandable, and exactly what Bates and Thomas would not want their British employers to hear about them.¹⁹⁸⁵

My hypothesis about the Aboriginal background to these intrigues is the subject of several sections of Chapter 2.¹⁹⁸⁶

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both of them must have known 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna*, because three place-names in that language, unmodified, were also obtained during this adventure. See also Chapter 2.4.1.1 'Language & place (1): 1831 and Sturt's map'.

¹⁹⁸⁴ Sturt 1833: 243-4.

¹⁹⁸⁵ See the last paragraphs of Chapter 2.3.6 'Tribes, Condoy, Kalinga, Islanders, and Barker's regiment: What really happened in May 1831? (2)'.

¹⁹⁸⁶ See Chapter 2.4.2.4 'Hypothesis: an alliance or truce', and 2.4.4 'Political landscape'.

APPENDIX 5: THE GEOGRAPHY OF STURT'S 1833 MAP, AND THE THREE ABORIGINAL PLACE-NAMES ON IT.

Sturt's 'Chart of Cape Jervis'¹⁹⁸⁷ includes details of places which neither he nor Flinders had seen. Interpretations of data from this map are interlinked with interpretations of data in Sturt's account of Barker in the same book (interpreted from Kent and perhaps Barker's notes). What can we glean from it all? What geographic details did these people know, and did they represent them accurately? What did they guess, or pass on from second-hand reportage, and how accurately?

Careful comparison of the map with Sturt's text, and with the actual topography of the places, shows that Sturt sometimes misunderstood his sources (Kent and the sealers), and occasionally contradicted the account he wrote himself. For example, his confusion about two different 'rocky points';¹⁹⁸⁸ and, in the middle of his account of the Carrickalinga 'Anchorage', the very confusing insertion of a flashback about the Port River estuary, without paragraph breaks to signal its beginning and end.¹⁹⁸⁹ It seems unlikely that Kent proofread either Sturt's map or his text.

1. SOME OF THE REVEALING OR CONCEALING INACCURACIES ON THE MAP:

1A: The south end of the Gulf plains is completely misrepresented, making the "Fine Valley" ambiguous for us to identify now.

A major point of the coast, a 120° bend with rocks in the sea marked by crosses, forms the apparent southern end of the coastal plains of "Rich & Fertile Soil", and lies immediately north of the "Anchorage 10" (Haycock Point). This is presumably Carrickalinga Head. The lightly-marked spur of the range east of this might be Mt Jeffcott between Sellicks Hill and Myponga Beach, or the 'lateral ridge' mentioned in the text [i.e. the ridge containing what we call Carrickalinga Hill and Forktree Road]).

Kent must have known there were coastal cliffs all the way from just south of the Washpool ("Waccondilla Cr.") to Carrickalinga Head. But the map seems to show coastal flats continuing south from 'Waccondilla' all the way to a creek marked immediately north of the Head. This creek issues from a 'Fine Valley' which leads eastward deep into the range.

In the light of these details the 'Fine Valley' might represent (very inaccurately) one of the following:

(a) Is it the "watercourse" which Sturt-Kent mentions as flowing through the "centre" of the "valley which opened direct upon the bay"?¹⁹⁹⁰ If so, is it Carrickalinga Creek, from its mouth (2.4 km south of the Head and about 1 km south of the Haycock Point anchorage), to Wattle Flat and up Wild Dog Creek Road? This is the route which I deduce for Barker's journey to the Mouth. But on the map the mouth is north of the Head, not south.

Has the river been misplaced through Sturt misreading Kent's information, even the version he wrote himself?

(b) Or is the "watercourse" the Bungala River, from Normanville to the range? and is this conceivably the map's unnamed creek? But if so, it is out of context even more than option (a).

¹⁹⁸⁷ Sturt 1833, Vol.2: 228.

¹⁹⁸⁸ See the footnote 'A confusion of rocky points' in Chapter 2.3.4.1.3 'The search'.

¹⁹⁸⁹ Sturt 1833: 237.

¹⁹⁹⁰ Sturt 1833: 238.

(c) Is it the wetland at Myponga Beach, the mouth of Myponga River, as glimpsed by the party sailing past in the *Isabella*? This place, known to the ‘Kurna’-Miyurna as *Kauwayarlungga*, was an important site on the annual journeys of Aboriginal families following the fish up the coast.¹⁹⁹¹ But unlike Sturt’s markings, it has high hills on the *north* as well as the south, and does not have the considerable *length* of the valley shown. And it is rather unlikely that the small wetland and its very small associated flats at Myponga Beach could strike Barker as a ‘fine valley’, i.e. suitable for agriculture and grazing on a scale like the ‘beautiful valley’ of the Inman.

(d) Is it the *upper* Myponga valley (around today’s Myponga town), with the Myponga Beach wetland misrepresented because nobody took much notice of it during the voyage? This high valley later became a ‘fine’ large agricultural district around the town of Myponga. In Aboriginal life it was *Maitpangga*, a much-travelled transit area for journeys in all directions across this part of the range.¹⁹⁹² Sturt shows the head of the valley pointing towards and relatively close to his conjectured head of the River Hindmarsh, thus aligning the details with what we know in hindsight of the Aboriginal and colonial route from Aldinga plain over Sellicks Hill to Hindmarsh Tiers and Hindmarsh Valley. And if Kalinga and Condoy were giving Kent an outline of a main route over the range (as I guess below), the upper Myponga valley is an essential hub of it. But it is shown much too far south of “Cutandilla”.

(e) On balance, the most likely interpretation is that the unnamed creek and ‘Fine Valley’ represent both reaches, without acknowledgement of the gorge between them. The high valley of the upper Myponga would be hidden from the ship’s view, and this would explain why it is not shown in “Hay’s Range”; but perhaps Kalinga or Bates had told them about it.

(f) Alternatively, Sturt the cartographer was merely confused about the number and relationship of the valleys, rivers and ranges between ‘Waccondilla’ and the Anchorage. If so, we can glean little from this area of his map.

1B. The plains of Carrickalinga-Yankalilla are represented differently from how they are in Sturt’s text.

The text¹⁹⁹³ speaks of the “lateral ridge” which “declines towards” Carrickalinga Head. The “valley” there (it says) is “from nine to ten miles in length, and from three to four miles wide”, and contain a “lagoon... filled by a watercourse that came down its centre”. This appears to be describing the Yankalilla *plains* viewed from near the north end, not strictly a single river valley. In the bay south of the anchorage the map should therefore show at least Carrickalinga Creek and/or the Bungala; but it shows no river at all.

The gap shown between the first two ridges of the range is probably Wattle Flat (assuming that Carrickalinga Creek is *not* shown); the second gap could be the Boundy River. Kent would have seen these with Barker on their forward and more northerly crossing.

The map shows the flats as continuously wide from the Anchorage right across the peninsula: through the “Flat & beautiful Valley” of the Inman, all the way to the Hindmarsh River. In geographical fact they are a western plain and an eastern valley (the Inman), separated by the high Bald Hills watershed ridge. We know that Kent used this route on the way back from the Mouth. Here again Sturt did not represent all the topography which Kent saw and reported to him.

¹⁹⁹¹ See Schultz PNS 5.01/02 *Kauwayarlungga*, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-02Kauwayarlu.pdf>.

¹⁹⁹² See Schultz PNS 5.01/05 *Maitpangga*, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-05Maitpangga.pdf>.

¹⁹⁹³ Sturt 1833: 237-9.

1C. The *isabella*'s actual 'Anchorage 10' at Haycock Point is confused with the hearsay anchorage at Rapid Bay.

Sturt writes that "Immediately behind Cape Jervis there is a small bay" which the sealers said made a "good and safe anchorage for seven months in the year".¹⁹⁹⁴ They must surely have meant Rapid Bay. But the map shows that Kent and Sturt interpreted this information as the 'Anchorage 10' which Barker, Kent and Davis actually used, Haycock Point; while the 'NW High Bluff' of Flinders (Rapid Head) is shown (unnamed) many miles to the southwest of the 'Anchorage'.

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2. THE FIRST THREE RECORDED ABORIGINAL PLACE-NAMES IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA:

Sturt's maps in his 1833 book included only three Aboriginal place-names within SA: the first to be recorded there, all of them west of the Mt Lofty Ranges. But he did not visit this region until 1839 as interim Surveyor-General of the colony. Who gave him the information and the names? and where did they get it?

It seems that Sturt may have spoken to sealers whom he met while he was in Sydney. But if so, it is very unlikely that they were the source of South Australian hinterland information or *Miyurna* place-names, though they did pass opinions about the southern coasts of Yorke Peninsula and Port Lincoln.¹⁹⁹⁵ This leaves us with Barker's expedition: his own notes (which are unavailable as far as I know), and his communications to Sturt by Kent and possibly Davis (otherwise unrecorded).

The names are "Ponkepurringa Cr.",¹⁹⁹⁶ "Waccondilla Cr.",¹⁹⁹⁷ and "Cutandilla":¹⁹⁹⁸ all clearly *Miyurna* in form, with correct use of the standard *Miyurna* locatives *-ngga* and *-illa*.

Here "Cr." ('Creek') is seaman's code for 'inlet'. Sturt's text likewise classifies the Onkaparinga estuary as an 'inlet'; also the Port River estuary and the Murray Mouth. The map adds another 'inlet', the permanent salt lagoon known later as 'The Washpool'. By contrast, Barker "discovered" another watercourse which he named the "Sturt River".¹⁹⁹⁹ Since this includes the Patawalonga wetland, it is not clear why it was not also classified as a 'Cr.' inlet. Probably because he had approached this coast *overland* from the Onkaparinga and viewed it from the range.

The position of '**Ponkepurringa Cr**' on the map leaves no doubt that it is the Onkaparinga. It is marked up to and a little beyond the Horseshoe (Old Noarlunga) where Barker based his party for several days of exploration.

However, the name was almost certainly elicited far away at Encounter Bay, and probably not by asking about a river or ford. Although Barker had camped at the ford, he had not travelled south across it but northeast to Mt Lofty. He and Kent had approached the stream from the sea; to them it was not a river but a four-mile 'narrow inlet' of salt water ending at the scarp.²⁰⁰⁰ It is more likely that Kent and Davis asked about an 'inlet' or 'swamp' than a 'river' or 'ford'. It is not surprising that

¹⁹⁹⁴ Sturt 1833: 236-7.

¹⁹⁹⁵ Sturt wrote, "*I gathered from the sealers that neither the promontory separating St Vincent from Spencer's Gulf, nor the neighbourhood of Port Lincoln, are other than barren and sandy wastes. They all agree in describing Port Lincoln itself as a magnificent roadstead, but equally agree as to the sterility of its shores*" (Sturt 1833: 245; my emphasis).

¹⁹⁹⁶ See Schultz PNS 4.02/05 'Ponkepurringa'.

¹⁹⁹⁷ See Schultz PNS 4.04.01/03 Wakuntilla.

¹⁹⁹⁸ See Schultz PNS 4.04.03/03 Kurtantilla.

¹⁹⁹⁹ Sturt 1833: 237.

²⁰⁰⁰ See footnote in Chapter 2.3.4.1.1 'Up to Barker's disappearance'.

the name given to Kent was not the same as the familiar ‘Onkaparinga’, even though they both contained the common morpheme *paringga*, ‘river place’. While Europeans routinely give a single name to the entire length of a river, Aboriginal people traditionally have separate names for many sites along it. They would almost certainly have had a different name for the estuary wetlands near the mouth at Port Noarlunga, 3-4 km downstream from the short stretch of river around the fertile Horseshoe. ‘Onkaparinga’ (representing *Ngangki-parringga*, ‘women’s river place’) and its related forms were all obtained by land travellers as the name for the vicinity of the ford just outside the Onkaparinga Gorge. This ford was crucial to all travel along the plains between north and south. It and the campsites there were landmarks renowned for long distances around the region. There is little reason to assimilate ‘Ponke-purringa’ to this, on the very slim chance that *Ng* could somehow have a variant *P*.²⁰⁰¹ The *Miyurna* vocabulary and meaning of ‘Ponke’ are uncertain, though it could perhaps be *purnki*, ‘dark reddish-brown’, referring to the samphire in season.²⁰⁰²

‘**Waccondilla Cr**’ (*Wakuntilla* [OS *Wakondilla*]) was then an easily identifiable landmark. The Washpool was a permanent salt lagoon immediately south of the suburb now called Silver Sands. In winter it expanded to include the freshwater Blue Lagoon. Barker or his seamen aloft could easily have seen the Washpool from his *Isabella* on the way up and down the Gulf. Like ‘Ponkepurringa’ it is called a ‘creek’, no doubt because from the sea it looked like a similar ‘inlet’ with a bar. The northern margins of Blue Lagoon include a major workshop site for curing skins, and the neighbouring Aldinga Scrub contained springs and campsites.²⁰⁰³

‘**Cutandilla**’ (*Kurtantilla* [OS *Kurtandilla*]) is a secluded waterhole and campsite in one of many gullies on the uplands at the foot of the scarp of Sellick’s Hill, 2.5 km inland, overlooking Wakuntilla, the Aldinga plains and Aldinga Scrub. Kent could not have visited or (probably) even seen this place, as it is nowhere near the paths which he and Barker took. The mapping of it and its location must have been third-hand from his report of somebody else’s report. It is marked along a gully in the range, which must be the one reported in colonial times as a ‘native track’, followed later by Old Sellicks Hill Road.²⁰⁰⁴

The “**Flat & beautiful Valley**” is clearly the valley of the Inman River, which had been used by Kent’s party on their return journey to Carrickalinga from the Murray Mouth.²⁰⁰⁵

His mapping of the “**Fine Valley**” just north of this, with a creek leading due west to the sea, is problematic. As suggested above, *most likely* it represents a combination of Myponga Beach and the upper Myponga valley. But none of Barker’s party went anywhere near the upper valley, and it is completely invisible from the sea. Kent must have heard about it secondhand.

The unnamed “**Extensive Valley**” contains a creek which emerges near Granite Island and is clearly the Hindmarsh River. Barker had viewed this “extensive flat”, with its “strong and clear rivulet”, from the “summit” of the ranges,²⁰⁰⁶ and the party must have crossed it on their way both to and from the Murray Mouth.²⁰⁰⁷

²⁰⁰¹ The Velar Nasal *ng* is articulated at the back of the mouth, whereas *p* is a Bilabial Stop, articulated with closed lips. Rob Amery has told me that the transition from one to the other is possible and recorded, though rare (p.c. 2014).

²⁰⁰² For more on the Aboriginal relationship to the Port Noarlunga estuary, see Schultz PNS 4.02/02 Tainbarangk, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-02Tainbarang.pdf>.

²⁰⁰³ See Schultz PNS 4.04.01/03 Wakuntilla.

²⁰⁰⁴ See Schultz PNS 4.04.03/03 Kurtantilla.

²⁰⁰⁵ Sturt 1833: 244, 247.

²⁰⁰⁶ Somewhere near the highest point Spring Mount, probably Strangways Hill.

²⁰⁰⁷ Sturt 1833: 238. Sturt wrote that the [Hindmarsh] rivulet “fell into the sea at the rocky point, or a little to the southward of it”. Since the ‘rocky point’ was at Port Elliot, the mouth of the Hindmarsh is actually almost due west of it; but here the coast curves southwest and south to the Bluff, and someone viewing from Strangways Hill can easily merge the two directions.

An “**Anchorage**” is marked near the Bluff. Strictly speaking it is shown south of Granite Island, but it should be north, in the place identified later by Crozier as ‘Victor Harbour’.²⁰⁰⁸ My guess is that Sturt mapped it rather vaguely because at this scale there was not enough space when he included the names plus several crosses representing rocks.

The names “**Granite I.**” and “**Seal Rock**” are recorded here for the first time and no doubt from the same Islander source.

Of the Hindmarsh River, Kent saw only the agriculturally delicious lower valley, “an extensive flat” viewed from “the summit” of the range to the west.²⁰⁰⁹ Consequently its upper reaches are mapped very misleadingly; they have a northeast bend (the minor tributaries) instead of northwest (the major headwaters in the Tiers above Hindmarsh Falls).

IF the ‘Fine Valley’ includes the upper Myponga, the ‘Extensive Valley’ comes fairly close to it, appropriately for the northerly route. But this is probably not so; and moreover it is incorrectly shown a long way from ‘Cutandilla’.

Because all this information was second- or third-hand for Sturt, his mapping of the whole region involved much guesswork and is usually out of proportion.²⁰¹⁰

HOW DID THIS INFORMATION WEST OF THE RANGE COME TO BE ON STURT’S CHART?

While he was in Sydney preparing the material for this section of his book, his possible immediate sources were Kent; notes from Barker shown to him by Kent (if any); and the unnamed sealers whom Sturt consulted in Sydney.

Who gave Barker’s or Kent’s party these names and other information about places which the visitors had not seen?

Theoretically, local *Miyurna* at ‘Ponkepurringa’ could have told Barker the name of the ‘inlet’ there. Theoretically they could also have given him the travel directions in advance, assuming that he would proceed from his campsite on foot by the easiest and shortest way. Or other local inhabitants at Carrickalinga could have told him all the same things. In either case he could have asked them the name of features such as the Washpool which he had already seen.

But in fact it is extremely unlikely that Barker’s party *could* have obtained place-names before they met ‘Sally’. The available records show no hint that they either met or communicated with any Aboriginal people before the drama at the Mouth, nor that they had any interpreter until they found Bates, Kalinga and Condoy at the Cape. It is much more likely that the three names, the ‘Fine Valley’ and so on were all obtained after Barker’s death by Kent and Davis from the local members of the search party, communicating with the aid of Kalinga’s English.

For more on the ultimate sources of cultural and geographical information for Barker and Kent, see Chapter 2.3.6 ‘Tribes and Barker’s regiment’, and Appendix 4 ‘A tentative sketch of what probably happened’. My conclusions there can be summarized here as follows:

The local employees were George Bates, Nat Thomas, Kalinga-‘Sally’, Condoy, his blind brother, and another unnamed Encounter Bay man.

The language spoken by the ‘sources’ (actually one young girl) on the east of the Mouth must have been some form of ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar*.

In order to interrogate her, someone among the employees must have known *Kornar* language, and from the cultural context we can safely assume that Condoy and Kalinga both did.

²⁰⁰⁸ See the footnote ‘Preferred Anchorages (2)’ in Appendix 3 Part (2), ‘Feet on the hinterland’.

²⁰⁰⁹ Sturt 1833: 238.

²⁰¹⁰ This is probably the explanation of the puzzling ‘*Anchorage 10*’ in the Gulf. It is much too far north of Rapid Head to be Rapid Bay. No doubt it was a hasty attempt to represent the place where Barker had anchored the *Isabella* and set off for the Murray Mouth: i.e. (in my analysis) Haycock Point at the north end of Yankalilla Bay, 1 km south of the cliffs which begin at Carrickalinga Head. See the footnote ‘Where did Barker land?’ in Chapter 2.3.4.1.1 ‘Up to Barker’s disappearance’.

Someone among them knew enough of *Miyurna* language and country to result in credibly-spelled *Miyurna* versions of the place-names, correctly located north of Sellicks Hill. These places were out of the normal ambit of most Islanders, though possibly known to Bates from his travels with Condoy.

It looks as though somebody knew both *Miyurna* place-names and *Kornar* language.

In these matters we can discount Nat Thomas. He would certainly have contributed to the discussions about weather and anchorages in 1831; but he seems to have played little or no part in the cross-cultural communications, and there is no firm evidence that he had ever communicated directly with people north of Sellicks Hill.²⁰¹¹

Bates, during his travels with Condoy and Kalinga, *could* have visited all three of these places, though he did not necessarily hear their names, and if he did he would have remembered them only after a fashion. His own claims to language knowledge were very exaggerated.²⁰¹² The relative phonetic accuracy argues against him as the source. If we compare them with sealer adaptations such as “Aldinghi” (probably given by Bates in 1836) and “Yanky Lilly” (relayed to colonists in 1836 probably by both Bates and Cooper),²⁰¹³ then from Bates we might have expected ‘Wackondilly’ and ‘Cootandilly’. But he is still conceivable. In old age he quoted “kuma, parlaichi (one, two)”²⁰¹⁴ (*kuma, purlaityi*) – though by then he had had 50 years in which to read Tecihelmann and Schürmann’s ‘Adelaide’ wordlist.

The recorded spellings are good enough to have been heard from an accurate Miyurna speaker by a more literate reporter. The evidence therefore points most strongly to Kalinga-‘Sally’ and Condoy as the informants, especially Kalinga; and they probably gave the names directly to Kent and/or Davis.

WHY WAS THIS INFORMATION OBTAINED AND MAPPED?

There were two main Aboriginal land routes from the Gulf over the southern ranges to Encounter Bay.²⁰¹⁵ The information mapped from ‘Ponkepurringa’ to Encounter Bay reads like a visitor’s guide to the *northerly* route, with the major landmarks highlighted: i.e. from ‘Ponkepurringa’ on the northwestern plains, via Aldinga plains (‘Waccondilla’) and Sellicks Hill (‘Cutandilla’), then *eastward* across the upper Myponga valley (not mapped by Sturt), through Hindmarsh Tiers (not mapped), into the “Extensive Valley” (Hindmarsh Valley), and so to Encounter Bay.

This fact makes it unlikely that the sealers gave this information, for it is doubtful that would ever have had a use for this route. They used whaleboats and their land travels for raids would have been as short and direct as possible, i.e. from their sea landing in Yankalilla Bay through the “Flat & beautiful Valley” of the Inman, as we have seen in Chapter 2: a route even more southerly than the well-documented ‘middle’ one through Wattle Flat.

When the dramas were over, perhaps Kent – with an eye to the proposed colony – asked his local informants how one got over the range from one prime region (the Gulf plains) to the other (Encounter Bay). Perhaps they gave him the key names on the easier route through Hindmarsh Tiers, without the very high and steep climb up near Spring Mount. Apparently they did not name nor (it seems) speak of the places on the alternative tracks to Encounter Bay, i.e. Barker’s outward route: Wattle Flat, the upper Carrickalinga, the high track north of the Inman valley (possibly Spring Mount), and Kent’s return journey through Inman Valley. Perhaps they thought he did not need these details, having already traversed them.

²⁰¹¹ – despite the incident in 1837 which previous writers have taken as proof that Nat Thomas did know Onkaparinga people (see ‘Feet on the hinterland’, Part 2 of Appendix 3 ‘Islander explorations’).

²⁰¹² See Chapter 1.1.6.5 ‘Beliefs, language identities, place-names’.

²⁰¹³ See my discussion of ‘Aldinghi’ in Schultz PNS 4.04.01/01 Ngalingga; and of ‘Yanky Lilly’ in 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla.

²⁰¹⁴ The spelling was by the *Advertiser*’s reporter.

²⁰¹⁵ See Appendix 6 ‘Some Aboriginal Travel Routes’.

APPENDIX 6: SOME ABORIGINAL TRAVEL ROUTES FROM THE ADELAIDE PLAINS SOUTHWARD AND ACROSS THE RANGE TO ENCOUNTER BAY, NOTED AT FIRST CONTACT.

See Map11 ‘Travel Routes’.

Aboriginal people travelling from the northern plains could follow the plains and low rolling downs southward for about 40 km:²⁰¹⁶ from the ‘southern arrival’ campsite in the vicinity described as ‘Brighton’ by the 1930s informants, actually today’s Seaclyff Park (a campsite called *Witawartingga*),²⁰¹⁷ past the important campsite *Parnangga* at Morphett Vale,²⁰¹⁸ across the ford at Old Noarlunga (*Ngangkiparingga*),²⁰¹⁹ across Pedler’s Creek at *Tarniyandingga* just west of McLaren Vale,²⁰²⁰ over the Aldinga plains, past The Washpool (*Wakuntilla* [OS *Wakondilla*], Sturt’s “Waccondilla”, a permanent salt lagoon south of today’s suburb Silver Sands),²⁰²¹ as far as the steep scarp of the Sellicks Hill Range which meets the sea immediately south of Sellicks Beach township.

To go any further south they first had to turn inland (like Tjirbuki) in order to avoid the precipitous Mt Terrible gorge. This would take them through or past *Kurtantilla* (Sturt’s “Cutandilla”) on the lower scarp at the mouth of Old Sellicks Hill Road.²⁰²²

Then they could choose from several options:

1. return to the cliff coast (like Tjirbuki) and go southwest to Myponga Beach,²⁰²³ and thence to Carrickalinga.
2. or eastward over the Range via Old Sellicks Hill Road, into the high border country of the upper Myponga valley, a transit area.²⁰²⁴
From here they had several alternative routes, some to Encounter Bay, others continuing south in ‘Kurna’-Miyurna country:
3. A ‘northern route’ was the most direct to Encounter Bay. It led from Sellicks Hill eastward across the upper Myponga valley, followed today’s Hindmarsh Tiers Road over a low pass and

²⁰¹⁶ This whole route was actually mapped as a “Native Track” (along with parts of some others) on the early charts produced by the first surveys of the area in 1839 (e.g. John McLaren 1840, ‘Country South of Adelaide from O’Halloran Hill to Mt Terrible’, London, Arrowsmith (SLSA C274 and BRG 42/120/28). The ford at the Onkaparinga ‘Horseshoe’ is shown as the hub of three such tracks. The original field sketches by Counsel contain the same information (Richard Counsel 1839, Field Books 94 and 102, SA Geographical Names Unit [GNU], now subsumed under the Land Services Group).

²⁰¹⁷ See Schultz PNS 2/21 Witawartingga Seaclyff Park,

https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/2-21_WitawartinggaSeaclyffPk.pdf.

²⁰¹⁸ See Schultz PNS 4.01.02/04 Parnangga, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-01-02-04_Parnangga.pdf.

²⁰¹⁹ See Schultz PNS 4.02/04 Ngangkiparingga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-04Ngangkipa.pdf>.

²⁰²⁰ See Schultz PNS 4.03.03/01 Tarniyantingga,

https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-03-03-01_TarniyantinggaPedlerCk.pdf.

²⁰²¹ See Schultz PNS 4.04.01/03 Wakuntilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-01-03Wakunth.pdf>.

²⁰²² See Schultz PNS 4.04.03/03 Kurtantilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-03-03Kurtandilla.pdf>: the site of the Victory Hotel. Old Sellicks Hill Rd has now been permanently closed, but it is still mapped online at SAPPA, <https://sappa.plan.sa.gov.au/>, and there are moves to make it part of a walking trail.

²⁰²³ See Schultz PNS 4.04.01/04 Witawali (Sellicks Beach),

https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-01-04_WitawaliSellicks.pdf; 5.01/06 Warabari (Sellicks Hill),

https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-06_WarabariSellicks.pdf; and 5.01/02 Kauwayarlunga (Myponga Beach),

<https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-02Kauwayarlu.pdf>.

²⁰²⁴ See Schultz PNS 5.01/05 Maitpangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-05Maitpangga.pdf>.

thence to Sturt's "*Extensive Valley*" (Hindmarsh Valley) and so to Encounter Bay.²⁰²⁵ This route became well-known to early colonists and is described in many of their accounts of journeys between Encounter Bay and Adelaide.

4. If heading for Encounter Bay, Aboriginal travellers could use a 'middle route': southwest along the Myponga valley to Wattle Flat, then eastward via today's Wild Dog Creek Rd or Fitzgerald Rd, above the headwaters of the Carrickalinga, over the high range via the James Track into the valley of the Inman (or higher like Sturt and Mann, in the vicinity of Spring Mount), and thence to Encounter Bay.²⁰²⁶

5. Alternatively, from either Wattle Flat or Carrickalinga they could proceed further southwest to the Yankalilla plain, where the big campsites at *Yarnkalyilla* (Lady Bay) were another travel hub.²⁰²⁷

Independently of these, a 'southern route' went eastward from Yankalilla Bay via Inman Valley directly to Encounter Bay. From the southern Gulf coast this was the easiest and probably the only one used by the Islanders on their own business. Using whaleboats, they could land anywhere in the Bay if they were on trading terms with the locals.

Rapid Bay stood aside from all these routes, and people from there would normally travel north to Yarnkalyilla if they wanted to join the seasonal movements.²⁰²⁸

Routes similar to some of these were still being used or remembered many decades later by Tindale and Berndt's 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* informants of the 1930s.²⁰²⁹

Book 2 of *Feet On the Fleurieu* will include a more detailed analysis of the two routes recorded from Adelaide to Encounter Bay by colonists who made the journeys; especially that of Wyatt and Mann with Murlawirrapurka in September 1837, but also those by Light and Fisher; Strangways and Hutchinson; Wade; Finniss and Nixon; Giles, Randell and Finlayson; Hack; Gawler; and Schürmann and Moorhouse.

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SEE ALSO NEXT TWO PAGES:

- Caution about the maps in this book.
- List of my sources for travel routes.

²⁰²⁵ e.g. Hutchinson's route in December 1837: "*Ever since we passed the range we followed a beaten track which took us all the way to Encounter Bay*" (Young Bingham Hutchinson 1838, *A Hasty Account of an expedition to Encounter Bay and Lake Alexandrina at the latter part of 1837*, PRG 1013/1/4/1, SLSA: 3). This expedition will be examined in detail in Book 2. See also Schultz PNS 5.01/09 Karrawatunga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-09Karrawatun.pdf>.

²⁰²⁶ e.g. Mann and Wyatt's journey in September 1837, which will be examined in Book 2.

²⁰²⁷ See Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla.

²⁰²⁸ See Schultz PNS 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga. Also Berndt & Berndt 1993: 20. Tindale heard that Rapid Bay people traditionally kept to themselves: "*Rapid Bay people only lived there never went elsewhere; visited north*" (Tindale Map 'Tindale S Map' AA 338/16/8).

²⁰²⁹ See Tindale Maps (SA Museum): 'NB Tindale's early enquiries 1920-1930' AA 338/15/2; 'Tindale S Map' 338/16/8; Hundred of Noarlunga 338/24/72-3; Hundred of Willunga 338/24/97; Hundred of Myponga 338/24/64. Also Berndt & Berndt 1993: 19-20, map p.330.

CAUTION:

The Aboriginal tracks and routes marked on the maps in this book are rough approximations, derived from a variety of sources. They have been partly deduced from early written accounts of journeys, especially those known to have been guided by local Aboriginal people; partly copied or adapted from previous mapping by NB Tindale and RM Berndt (which was also very approximate and sometimes partly conjectural) and their backup texts; and partly conjectured by Schultz with reference to the topography. The resultant routes marked herein are not definitive, but should be used as a starting point for further investigation, beginning with the sources listed below.

N.B.: Sources relying on twentieth-century informants may reflect routes which were used much more frequently post-contact (late 19th or early 20th century) than in pre- or first-contact times (up to c.1845).

SOURCES USED IN MARKING THE APPROXIMATE TRAVEL ROUTES ON THE MAPS IN THIS BOOK:

'Native tracks' and 'Present track to Encounter Bay', in Richard Counsel 1839, Field Books 94: 56, 58, and 102: 41-43. and Diagram Book Hundred of Willunga p.4 (SA Geographical Names Unit); and subsequent published map, John McLaren 1840, 'Country South of Adelaide'.

For route from Adelaide to Encounter Bay via Mt Terrible, Maitpangga, Wattle Flat & high range, see Mann 1837b; cp. same journey in Wyatt 1838; and Sturt at Myponga Beach on the way to Encounter Bay in Sep 1838 (Sturt 1849, *Narrative...* Vol. 2: 224-5).

Route from Ngangkiparingga ford to Kanyanyapilla to Wilangga, along scarp to Mt Terrible, to Hindmarsh Tiers, Nettle Hill & Hindmarsh Valley: Schürmann Diary and Schürmann Correspondence: July 1839.

Cp. same route in similar journeys:

- YB Hutchinson 1837 (Hutchinson Journal PRG 1013/1/1 & 'A Hasty Account...', PRG 1013/1/4/1, SLSA);
- Finnis 1838 (BRG 42/53: 3, SLSA).
- Giles, Finlayson & Randell 1838 (Giles journal 12-28 April 1838, Giles to Angas April 1838, Angas Papers PRG 174/1; and Randell to Angas 29 June 1838, PRG 417/28 Vol. 3: 93-7).
- Newland 1839 (Newland 1919: 8-9; Newland 1926, Chapter I).

Old Sellicks Hill Rd as a native track: Governor Gawler in *SA Register* 17/3/1859: 2e, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/49901295>; and Central Road Board in *SA Weekly Chronicle* 23/4/1859: 7b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/96495608/8356461>.

Louis Piesse on the 'old road' and the 'native pad' from Encounter Bay to Onkaparinga (*Adelaide Observer* 16/3/1844: 7a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158918330/18834055>).

Routes from Carrickalinga to Murray Mouth, in Davis 1831; cp. Sturt 1833 text & map.

Today's road 'James Track' (SAPPA, <https://sappa.plan.sa.gov.au/>; and NatureMaps, <http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps>).

'Native track' from Rapid Bay to Second Valley, on Plan 6/16 'Plan of 13 sections... adjoining Rapid Bay', SA Geographical Names Unit.

Old 'Road to Adelaide', from Encounter Bay in line with today's Greenhills Rd, Victor Harbor:

- Light's 'Plan of Sections of Encounter Bay', 1841 (with 'Plan of New Port, Adelaide');
- Finnis 1839, 'Outline of eighty 134-acre Sections at Encounter Bay', Plan 6/27, GNU.

Tindale maps (SA Museum):

- AA 338/15/2 (original mapping; hand-copied onto AA 338/16/2, not always accurately).
- AA 338/16/8 'Tindale S Map': 'track of Tjilbruke to Brighton t. Karlowan'; 'old native track (short cut)' (probably copied roughly from his earlier annotations on Hundreds map).
- AA 338/24/64 Hundred of Myponga.
- AA 338/24/97 Hundred of Willunga.

Tindale 1987, 'The Wanderings of Tjirbruki' (used only after critical assessment with its primary sources).

Kondoli's route described in Tindale Murray1: 161, 272; Tindale SESA2: 182, 232-3.

Tjirbuki's route from Kingston Park to Blowhole Beach: see Berndt & Berndt 1993: 234-5.

Ngurunduri's route from the Coorong to Blowhole Beach: see RM Berndt 1940.

Berndt & Berndt 1993: 330-1 (map & Legend); cp. p.20, 23, 117, 234. (Note: In most cases where the Berndts give 'Meipongga', Karlowan almost certainly meant Myponga Beach, not the upper Myponga valley.)

Research presented in various Schultz PNS:

(Note that the individual hyperlinks given below and throughout this book may be changed, but all of these essays will still be accessible via the umbrella webpage

<https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/southern-kaurna-placenames>):

2/21 Witawartingga (Seacliff Park),

https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/2-21_WitawartinggaSeacliffPk.pdf.

4.01.01/06 Nganpangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-01-01-06Nganpan.pdf>.

4.02/04 Ngangkiparingga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-04Ngangkipa.pdf>.

4.03.03/01 Tarniyandingga, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-03-03-01_TarniyandinggaPedlerCk.pdf.

4.03.03/03 Kanyanyapilla, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-03-03-03_Kanyanyapilla.pdf.

4.04.03.03 Kurtantilla, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-03-03Kurtandilla.pdf>.

4.04.01/04 'Witawali' (Sellicks Beach),

https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-04-01-04_WitawaliSellicks.pdf.

5.01/06 Warabari, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-06_WarabariSellicks.pdf.

5.01/02 Kauwayarlunga (Myponga Beach), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-02Kauwayarlu.pdf>.

5.01/04 'Koolta Kourga' (Kurlta-kauwangga: Mt Terrible) (forthcoming).

5.01/09 Karrawatunga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-09Karrawatun.pdf>.

5.01/10 Kadlitiyanga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-01-10Kadlatiyan.pdf>.

5.03/08 Tutukauwingga, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-03-08_Tuttokauwingga.pdf.

5.03/10 Tuttangga, https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-03-10_Tuttongga.pdf.

5.04.01/06 Purlaparingga (forthcoming).

5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-07Yartaku.pdf>.

5.04.01/08 Witawartingga (Rapid Head), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-08WitawatRap.pdf>.

5.04.01/12 Ityikauwingga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-12Ityikau.pdf>.

7.02/04 Murtaparingga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/7-02-04Murtaparin.pdf>.

7.01/06 'Konggaratingga' (Blowhole Beach),

https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/7-01-06_KonggaratinggaBlowhole.pdf.

7.01/07 Tjirbuki (Blowhole Beach), <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/7-01-07Tjirbuki.pdf>.

and others.

Plus new Schultz research given in this book, *passim*.

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APPENDIX 7: ISLANDERS AND MAINLANDERS ACCORDING TO CAWTHORNE'S NOVEL *THE KANGAROO ISLANDERS*.

For our purposes, part of the interest in WA Cawthorne's novella *The Kangaroo Islanders* is that he was a sympathetic first-hand observer of Aboriginal culture, as his modern editor Hosking rightly observes.²⁰³⁰ As a young man in the 1840s, he befriended Aboriginal people at the native Location in Adelaide, tried to learn the language of the 'Adelaide tribe' (without much success), and recorded a wealth of material in words and sketches in his diaries and notebooks. He also wrote a poem *The Legend of Kuperee*, representing a Port Lincoln myth.

He also claims that the novel is "a narrative of fact to a very large extent".²⁰³¹ However, we need to be cautious about this. There are things in the story which are demonstrably wrong, beginning with the date 1823 assigned to the events. His main source Nat Thomas did not arrive on Kangaroo Island until two years after this date; neither did the other historical originals of his main characters. (George Bates arrived in 1824, and George Meredith Junior in 1834. Of those with whom he *may* have spoken, only Henry Wallan arrived earlier than 1823).

THE RAID ON RAPID BAY:

Cawthorne's Islanders plan a raid on Rapid Bay (Chapter 13, p.75ff) and carry it out (Chapter 17, p.95ff) in two whaleboats. The excursion is commanded by the character 'Old Sam' and features 'Georgy' (alias 'the Doctor'), who are partly based on Nat Thomas and George Bates respectively.

Sam's 'favourite wife', the Vandemonian 'Black Bet' (based no doubt on Betty Thomas), pulls an oar in Sam's boat. However, she seems to be there mainly so that the author and Sam can give an enthusiastic eulogy of her prowess, and nothing is said of her part in the raid later.

The novel's melancholic hero, a sealing captain named Meredith who is visiting KI, is involved to the extent that he uses his brig to tow the Islanders part of the way to the Gulf. He knows what they are planning (p.78-9); indeed, they have previously discussed it quite openly with him, though declining his request to go with them and "see *the sport*", because he would "tell lots o' lies about us, and then get us into trouble with Sydney".²⁰³²

There is a large group of Aborigines fishing in the Bay. Their lookouts see the boats coming and warn others by chains of smoke signals.

The Islanders confer and adapt their plans to the occasion. One wants to "*rush the niggers and run em through the gills*" with his harpoon (he has done this before to both black and white), but he loses it to a big wave.

As the whaleboats row close in under Rapid Head towards the beach near today's jetty, the mainlanders try to repel them by rolling boulders 'blind' from the cliff-top. But they enter Rapid

²⁰³⁰ Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 156 n256; i.e. WA Cawthorne [1854] (edited & introduced by Rick Hosking), 2020, *The Kangaroo Islanders: A story of South Australia before colonisation 1823*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press. In this book Hosking investigates author, novel and background with scholarly thoroughness. For the history of the novel itself see Hosking 2002, 'A Sort of pot-pourri: William Cawthorne's *The Kangaroo Islanders*', in Chittleborough *et al* 2002: 143. For background and historical context, see the same complete essay (pp.142-158), and Hosking's longer essay 'Beyond the pale: William Hawthorne's *The Kangaroo Islanders*' (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 197-248); and his footnotes to the novel (*ibid*: 109-179).

²⁰³¹ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 77, cp. p.203.

²⁰³² Chapter 11, p.65-8; cp. Sam's chat with the Mate (Chapter 5, p.29).

Bay safely and wait at anchor, knowing that fifty unseen ‘natives’ are watching them from the high kangaroo grass. Sam cooees.

After an hour’s wait, *“a native stepped out on the white beach. He seemed to be unarmed, with the exception of his waddy. The Doctor started up – ‘Why, that’s “old Conday” – the greediest old rascal o’ the lot. I’ll go ashore and have a yarn.”* Georgy apparently knows him well. With Sam’s approval he swims ashore to take charge of protocols, of which the main ones must be *“get ‘em to come down friendly like, with their wives and darters”* and *“don’t yer forget to tell ‘em we has no guns, and they must leave their spears”*.

Conday recognizes Georgy, and fifty warriors suddenly appear with *“a yell of delight”*. They go through protocols of friendship, sitting in silence for some time on the beach:

Georgy rose from the water, and imitating native etiquette, sat down on the sand in silence. Thereupon, the natives squatted, too. Thus both parties continued for at least ten minutes, then Georgy spoke, and explained their visit. They were friends, fishing and hunting up the Gulf. They had plenty to eat – they wanted to come ashore. The whites would leave their guns, and the blacks were to leave their spears. They were to have a grand dinner, to bring down their wives and daughters, and have a great corroboree. This was agreed to, but not without dissent.

‘Where’s my sister?’ asked one; ‘why have yer ate her?’

Georgy said²⁰³³ *it was some other white man that had her, but the last time he saw her she was well and fat.*

‘You lie!’ replied the other, ‘you ate her.’

Here old Conday interposed, and the treaty was concluded.

Georgy brings the other Islanders ashore, most of the warriors go to fetch their families (though the suspicious ones stay away), and the day is spent in feasting on food provided by the Aborigines.

During the entertainment, at a pre-arranged signal from Sam the Islanders each seize a chosen woman and head for the boats. It seems that they really did leave their guns in the boats and did not use them, for no Aborigines are shot; but one Islander is fatally speared. They manage to capture six women, which counts as only a ‘limited’ victory; but one slips overboard before they can *“lash [her] down to the thwarts”*, and escapes home.

.....

OTHER RAIDS AND GEORGY’S NARROW ESCAPE:

Other past raids are hinted at, and one of them went wrong to the extent that Georgy was left behind on the mainland for an unspecified length of time.

Georgy (‘the Doctor’) and Sam are telling the tale to the fictional Captain Meredith:²⁰³⁴

‘We has been wery unlucky of late, haven’t us,’ said Sam, addressing his mate, Georgy.

‘Wery,’ replied the Doctor, ‘one o’ the best jumped overboard arter all our trouble, and got on the rocks, and then the blacks comes down, and so we loses her.’

‘That was all your’n fault,’ said Sam, ‘yer will be so cussed kind, yer let go her fastenings, and overboard she jumps.’

‘Yes, it was my fault, Sam; I was too kind, too tender-hearted like.’

²⁰³³ Because there is two-way dialogue here, Hosking thinks that *“Georgie’ is clearly represented as speaking language”* (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 98, 175 n340). But in my view it is not at all clear whether the communication is to be imagined in the local language or in Pidgin English. Most likely Cawthorne had in mind his own conversations with Aboriginal people in the 1840s, as recorded in his diary, sometimes verbatim (see Cawthorne-Foster 1991, *passim*); and these were all in Pidgin English.

²⁰³⁴ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 79-80.

'Then, another time,' continued Sam, 'one o' our chaps gets a spear in his ribs, right in his heart and yer see it was jagged; so he dies, and we pitches him overboard the same artemnoon. The last time the blacks nearly finished me. Yer see that,' and Sam showed his brawny arm; 'there's a big cut, and here on my truck, yer can see how the black skins loves me, darn 'em; but I knows the big black nigger that did it; I'll make him sing out; I'll be even with him.'

'Yes,' said Georgy, 'yer can kill 'em by the law, for he's a-going to kill yer, and I knows law enough for that matter.'

*'And what's the law,' said Captain Meredith, 'about taking their wives and women?' 'Why the law of nature, in course?' 'The strongest holds the hardest,' replied Georgy, 'I knows when they grabbed me, some time gone, they never lets go.'*²⁰³⁵

'But how was he caught?' [asked the Captain].

*'Why, he is so pertickler,' said Sam, 'he was trying for a better-looking gal than falls to him; so he stops behind a bit waiting for a slant, for we was parlavouing friendly like,'*²⁰³⁶ *do yer see, wid 'em, when Georgy grabs one and makes for the boats; but the blacks was too smart for him, they overhauls him; we rushes in and we fights, but they drives us to the boats, and they takes Georgy.'*

*'Ah!' said Sam, 'that was a devilish hard time. Yer see, captain, we were arter him [i.e. to rescue him] and the blackimps was a hundred strong; so we were wery cool; they stands just there away on that pint,' pointing to the place now well known as Cape Jervis;*²⁰³⁷ *'they was singing out in their lingo, "to come on" and fetch him;*²⁰³⁸ *we draws in, and they thinks we was for landing, and they scatters a bit. Georgy sees this, bolts straight on end for the boat, for yer see we was laying on and off. The blacks doesn't know what to make of it; then they throws their spears, but we jumps on the rocks, and we gets Georgy, and pulls right away.'*

'Georgy,' said Sam turning to him, 'if yer gets cotched again they'll smash yer head for yer for that day's work.'

'In course they will,' replied Georgy.

It is hard to tell whether this might refer to one of Bates' times living on the mainland.

Whether he was there for a few minutes or a few months, why was he 'taken' rather than killed outright? It is possible that the author did not think this story through in enough detail to make these details clear and coherent. But it might also hint at facts which Cawthorne heard about Bates' ambivalent and changing relationships with the mainlanders.

'CAPTAIN MEREDITH' IN THE NOVEL:

In the novel Meredith is the captain of a sealing ship which is merely visiting the Island. He shows some prior knowledge of its occupants, is quite aware of their raids and is not averse to helping them on the way or even coming to 'see the sport'. But he is not one of them in any sense. In "Chapter The Last", two Aboriginal men kill him at Yankalilla Bay because they *mistake* him for one of the resident Kangaroo Island raiders. How credible is this version?

²⁰³⁵ In the following paragraphs I have transposed several sentences (unaltered except by the additions in square brackets) so as to tell the story in chronological order. My additions in square brackets.

²⁰³⁶ 'Palavering, parleying, conversing', from French *parlez vous* 'you speak'. The possible implications of this implied claim – that there was a 'friendly' approach involved in the raids – are pursued throughout much of Chapter 2.

²⁰³⁷ Was 'Georgy' rescued at the Cape itself ('that point', as indicated in the dialogue)? or did Cawthorne become confused by Thomas and Bates speaking of the whole peninsula as 'Cape Jervis'?

²⁰³⁸ Here Cawthorne has the Islanders recognize what the Aborigines are saying 'in their lingo'. However, again it is unclear whether this was because they understood the language, or because the body language made it obvious what the words were meant to convey. In my view this is too uncertain to count as evidence that the real Islanders knew a local language.

If it is not Cawthorne's own invention, it probably came from Nat Thomas, who had showed Cawthorne the site where he and others buried Meredith.²⁰³⁹ By 1853-4 Meredith had long passed into colonial folklore, and the subject must have arisen in Cawthorne's conversations with Nat Thomas and perhaps other Islanders who had been on KI all through Meredith's two years there. What line did they take? Did they believe that he was as innocent as Cawthorne portrays him? They were all residents of Dudley Peninsula, while he lived near the opposite end of the Island: how much did they really know about him? What if anything had they heard about him from Magalidi?

PLACES OF CONTACT ON THE MAINLAND:

Geographically Cawthorne's story is heavily biased towards the Gulf (as opposed to Encounter Bay and Lakes). *All* of the mainland contacts which are actually shown in action happen on the Gulf coast of the southern Fleurieu, at Rapid Bay and Yankalilla. Rapid Bay is the site of the raid depicted in Chapter 17. The Yankalilla Bay coast (probably Haycock Point near Carrickalinga) is the site of Captain Meredith's murder, as it was in real life.²⁰⁴⁰

At the end some of the Islanders are on their way to visit the people of the Adelaide Plains:²⁰⁴¹ "Old Sam, the doctor, and two of their wives... were bound north to visit a tribe of blacks that lived on the plains below Mount Lofty, now so well known as the Adelaide Plains". This serves the storyline by getting them to the site of Meredith's murder at Yankalilla Bay, and rounds off the novel by contrasting a forward glance at the future capital with a backward look at the 'sunset' of the Islanders and Aborigines, relegating them to the unknowable past.²⁰⁴² But it is almost certain that the reference to visiting the Adelaide people is either an invention or an extrapolation by Cawthorne of something he may have heard about Bates's sojourns on the mainland.

There is one general reference to adventures with Aboriginal people at the "River Murray". This is probably an archaism or misnomer for the Murray estuary.²⁰⁴³

In a conversation with Sam and Georgy, Captain Meredith hears a slip of the tongue about "that big river". This is supposed to be a trade secret hidden from outsiders, along with everything else about "good land inland", in case the news might bring surveyors to sell off "our country". The author comments that this was the River Murray, and they "had been in the habit, for years, of visiting its banks for the various purposes of 'wife-hunting,' 'visiting the tribes,' or lending a hand in the tribal fights that take place invariably on grand annual occasions".²⁰⁴⁴

This is the only reference in the story itself to any place east of the range, and Cawthorne does not try to connect it in any way with the other Gulf adventures.

The references to a 'big river' and 'River Murray' are probably a misunderstanding by Cawthorne. We have already seen that the only 'River Murray' which the pre-colonial Islanders knew from personal experience was the Goolwa Channel. Maybe someone on KI had alluded to visits and raids at sites on the estuary, and this time used the expression 'River Murray' instead of 'Lake Alexandrina' as in the 1886 Bates report. We remember too that around 1838-1841 the Lakes

²⁰³⁹ Cawthorne 1853: 163.

²⁰⁴⁰ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 107.

²⁰⁴¹ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 106.

²⁰⁴² cp. Hosking's comment on this "*commonly deployed trope*" (Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 107, 179 n364).

²⁰⁴³ On the early South Australian usage of the term 'River Murray', see Appendix 1, and the footnote in Chapter 2.4.3.1 'Identities (2): Tribes of the estuary'.

²⁰⁴⁴ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 66-7.

people were known as ‘the Murray natives’²⁰⁴⁵ and the estuary as a whole (other than the Coorong) was called ‘Little Murray’.²⁰⁴⁶

The Encounter Bay coastland between range and lake has no part at all in the novel.

LOCAL ABORIGINES LIVING ON KANGAROO ISLAND:

As a source of evidence about the specific cultures and identities of the local women living on KI, Cawthorne’s novel is unreliable.

He depicts general bush skills such as hunting and diving, common to traditional women everywhere. But he was not at all careful about his cultural provenances; apparently anything Aboriginal that he had collected would do.

All of the specific language used and customs referred to in the novel are from ‘Adelaide tribe’ sources, i.e. ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna*;²⁰⁴⁷ but they are presented as ‘colouring’ for all the women indiscriminately, locals and even Tasmanians.

‘Black Bet’, who is presented explicitly as a “Vandemonian” (Tasmanian) and distinguished sharply from the locals in respect of bush skills,²⁰⁴⁸ merges with them when it comes to language and beliefs. In one scene²⁰⁴⁹ Cawthorne shows her talking with half a dozen other women “in their native tongue” (as though there was only one language). She then joins the others in singing a traditional chant. But almost the entire content of this imaginary conversation cites mythology from the ‘Adelaide tribe’ and uses *Miyurna* language, all drawn from Cawthorne’s own diaries and writings and his other reading such as Teichelmann and Schürmann.²⁰⁵⁰

The scene also lacks credibility when it shows this Tasmanian sharing deeply with local mainlanders, and referring to them as “our people” – a careless error unbecoming to any writer of historical fiction, and especially to Cawthorne who had seen the intertribal wars of Adelaide in the 1840s and talked with some of the leaders. In fact it seems very likely that the Tasmanian and local women did not have a high sense of their commonalty, and probably did not mix very much.²⁰⁵¹

²⁰⁴⁵ e.g. Wyatt 1879: 179; Wyatt letter in StephensJ 1839: 75; Moorhouse 1839: 351.

²⁰⁴⁶ See the two footnotes on ‘Little Murray’ etc in Chapter 2.4.3.1 ‘Tribes of the estuary’.

²⁰⁴⁷ e.g. *wirri* ‘club’ (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 67, 155 n248) and ‘wurley’, English adaptation of ‘Kurna’ *wardli* (:70, 156 n255).

²⁰⁴⁸ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 76-7, 162 n282. Says Bet’s man, Old Sam: “*The raal black skin for me; I wouldn’t take six lubras of the main there for one of these Vandiemans*”.

²⁰⁴⁹ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 70-71.

²⁰⁵⁰ Hosking’s notes on this passage (pp.156-158) give Cawthorne’s sources for this cultural material. The only custom mentioned which does not appear to have a recorded Adelaide origin is the widespread colonial belief about the practice of removing ‘kidney fat’ from victims. On the other hand, I think Hosking is probably quite wrong when he suggests that Cawthorne imagined this conversation happening in a Tasmanian tongue, “*Hobart Town Language*” (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 158 n262). I doubt that Cawthorne imagined it very clearly at all, and he knew nothing of the Palawa culture of Tasmania. What he did imagine was all ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna*, even if sometimes garbled: e.g. the Pleiades are said to be boys (but in his sources they are girls), here confused with the boys (who are actually Orion), who are said to be “*digging roots in the celestial plains*” (this is of course women’s work, not boys’). All this is misquoted from his own notes taken from T&S 1840 and Teichelmann 1841. He also quotes two of T&S’s ‘hunting charms’ (T&S 1840, 2:73).

²⁰⁵¹ For example, old Kangaroo Island residents remembered that Sally Walker had “*no associations with the Tasmanian women*”, in her later life at least (Tindale 1932: 6e). When only three of the KI women were left alive in the 1870s, the mainlander ‘Little Sal’ still associated only intermittently with the two Tasmanians (Willson 1871; *News* 17 March 1932: 6d; Snelling 1932; Tindale note, quoted by Keryn James in Chittleborough *et al* 2002: 180). Cp. Kalungku at Wybalenna in Chapter 1. The Tasmanian women considered themselves superior to the locals (Mary Seymour’s view, obtained by Basedow 1914, quoted in TaylorR 2008: 129).

APPENDIX 8: **ABORIGINAL PEOPLE, THE MEREDITH FAMILY AND OYSTER BAY, VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.**²⁰⁵²

The Merediths of Oyster Bay, on the eastern coast of Van Diemen's Land, owned land in one of the epicentres of the Black Wars. Their employees were among those who had killed Palawa²⁰⁵³ people in the area. Their public opinions about Aborigines were typical of Tasmanian settlers – e.g. murders by the ‘natives’ were “brutal and unprovoked”, showing their “ferocity and cruelty” – but those of George Senior were among the most extreme: for instance, bloodhounds or local dogs should be used to track them, and if they could not be captured the alternative was “annihilation”.²⁰⁵⁴

The Oyster Bay region had experienced both bushrangers and Aboriginal attacks. The two had been closely linked during Meredith family's first years in the colony in the early 1820s, and the racial violence continued seamlessly even after the white bushrangers had been dealt with.²⁰⁵⁵ By the late 1820s the groups known collectively as the ‘Oyster Bay tribe’ were counted among the most implacable and determined enemies of the settlers.

Meredith Senior's farm had been attacked by white bushranger Brady in 1825;²⁰⁵⁶ it was robbed by ‘natives’ in 1831,²⁰⁵⁷ and some of his men were killed in 1824 and 1830.²⁰⁵⁸ Meredith's opinion was that the attacks were motivated chiefly by “a desire on their part for the possession of dogs”. But like other settlers who arrived in the early 1820s, he underestimated the deep-seated hatred of Europeans which white violence before then had already built up amongst the Palawa people.²⁰⁵⁹

George Robinson, during his travels around Oyster Bay in early 1831, heard several reports of violence between Palawa and the local settlers, including Meredith Senior's men, even as far afield as Bruny Island.²⁰⁶⁰ This was doubtless only the tip of the iceberg. There was a recorded ambush and murder by local settlers of at least 10 of the Oyster Bay people in 1828 or 1829 – as acknowledged even by the ‘massacre-minimalist’ historian Keith Windschuttle.²⁰⁶¹ On the other hand, during Robinson's 1831 excursion the George Merediths Junior and Senior donated supplies to him and his Aboriginal companions.²⁰⁶²

George Senior was not one to be timid in his responses, nor to forgive and make excuses for ‘the blacks’ later. Among the 14 settlers who gave written replies to an opinion survey in 1830, he was one of the two who advocated the most extreme solution (“annihilation”) for both the ‘bushrangers’ and the ‘native outrages’. He recommended

²⁰⁵² See Map05 ‘Bass Strait, Van Diemen's Land’.

²⁰⁵³ *Palawa* is the general name accepted today for the Aboriginal peoples of Tasmania collectively, whose composite language is *Palawa Kani* (https://www.utas.edu.au/library/companion_to_tasmanian_history/P/Palawa%20Voice.htm; <https://www.aboriginalheritage.tas.gov.au/about-us>; <http://tacinc.com.au/programs/palawa-kani/> [all 19/5/23]).

²⁰⁵⁴ See below for the sources of these phrases.

²⁰⁵⁵ Henry Reynolds 1995, *Fate of a Free People*: 96.

²⁰⁵⁶ See <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/meredith-george-2449> [8/1/14].

²⁰⁵⁷ PlomleyN 1966: 490.

²⁰⁵⁸ Windschuttle 2002: 69, 97, 330, 342.

²⁰⁵⁹ Turnbull 1948: 75.

²⁰⁶⁰ PlomleyN 1966: 310-1, 314, 320, 445; Robinson quoted in Reynolds 1995: 32, 81; Windschuttle 2002: 291, 391.

²⁰⁶¹ Windschuttle 2002: 159-163, 391.

²⁰⁶² PlomleyN 1966: 311-2, 320.

*the earliest possible importation of bloodhounds – dogs which I ever thought ought to have been sent at the first appearance of Bush Ranging – and in the meantime the training of colonial dogs... to track unerringly and either insure their capture, or if indeed the alternative must be resorted to – their annihilation.*²⁰⁶³

George Junior's sister-in-law – Charles Meredith's wife Louisa, the writer in whom George had confided when she was still his unmarried cousin Miss Twamley²⁰⁶⁴ – expressed in 1852 the sentiments of the family into which she had married, recalling how she and her peers felt about the return of the dispirited Aboriginal survivors from the Native Settlement on Flinders Island to the southeast coast in 1847:

The enmity exhibited by the natives... was in the first instance unprovoked by the white population... The colonists, especially those who had formerly suffered such fearful experience of the aboriginal ferocity and cruelty, were strenuously opposed to the measure [the return to Tasmania] on the grounds that every adult man among the natives had been actively engaged in many, some of them in hundreds of most brutal and unprovoked murders, and that in all probability a return to their old haunts would lead to a renewal of the horrors.

By then these ferocious hordes were 12 men, 22 women, and 10 'young people'. After five years the 'horrors' had still not recurred, but Louisa's opinion remained unmodified, even though by her own account she knew "from personal observation... nothing" about the 'natives'.²⁰⁶⁵

For a brilliantly balanced analysis of the 'Black Wars' of VDL, with a thorough examination of evidence from both Palawa and settler sides, and an appreciation of what happens in an island war zone like this, see Nicholas Clements 2014, *The Black War: Fear, Sex and Resistance in Tasmania*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press.

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²⁰⁶³ Archives Office of Tasmania, CSO/1/323/7578 pp.357-8, quoted in Windschuttle 2002: 340; cp. 326-342.

²⁰⁶⁴ Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 215.

²⁰⁶⁵ For all this material about Louisa Meredith see Turnbull 1948: 43, 226-7, 229.

APPENDIX 9: **GEORGE MEREDITH Junior: THE MAN AND THE COLONIAL MYTH.**²⁰⁶⁶

Can we begin to understand this enigmatic man, or even make sense of the facts of his career? There is enough about him on record to make some reflection worthwhile.

From the beginning Meredith was a fascinating but difficult case for colonial memory.²⁰⁶⁷ There have been two contradictory views of him.

First there is the Robinson view.

Protector George Augustus Robinson presents a uniformly wicked predator and his equally wicked family of Oyster Bay. This way of seeing him has a lot of credibility. But in the nineteenth century hardly anybody but Robinson was willing to mention publicly Meredith Junior's shady history on the southern coast of Australia. The dogged Protector in his journals certainly tried to make up for the deficiency. His references to Meredith are obviously biased; they routinely generalize and assume the worst of him.²⁰⁶⁸ Naturally: for Robinson was Governor Arthur's man carrying out government policy, while George's father was a strong and prominent opponent of Arthur who blamed him and his policies for all the Tasmanian troubles.

In 1836, a few weeks after George Meredith Junior's murder was announced, Robinson gave one side of him in an epitaph – righteous if not overly charitable – which sets George's predations in the context of his family:

*George Meredith was speared by the natives on the coast of New Holland, no doubt in retaliation for the injuries he has done to them. This was a just retribution. Many aggressions had been committed by the Merediths on the natives at Oyster Bay.*²⁰⁶⁹

The direct line made here between 'injuries' in Van Diemen's Land and 'retaliation' in Yankalilla Bay is not credible. But Robinson's bias was not groundless. He had been in Meredith's pastoral region Oyster Bay during one of his expeditions in early 1831, knew about the involvement of this family and their employees in violence against Aborigines, and around that time had probably heard the extreme private and public opinions of the father George Meredith Senior.²⁰⁷⁰ All this would have led him to the final direct allegation against the family five years later.

We may therefore wonder what attitudes and practices Meredith Junior had learned from his father, and what violent acts he had discussed at the family table, or seen or done himself, well before he left that scene.²⁰⁷¹

Secondly there are the standard South Australian colonial versions of Meredith.

In the decades following the announcement, the tale was local and dramatic enough to gain circulation very quickly in colonial yarns. In the mythologizing process Meredith's character gained some whitewash, and a mixture of Islander and pioneer virtues to which he probably had little claim. These yarns depict him as a kind, innocent and eccentric young dropout, who tried to

²⁰⁶⁶ See Map05 'Bass Strait, Van Diemen's Land'.

²⁰⁶⁷ There was no significant public memory of him in the eastern states after the initial newspaper reports of his death came out in 1836.

²⁰⁶⁸ e.g. He was wrong in attributing Emma's abduction to Meredith rather than Anderson (see the footnote 'Date of Emma's move to Kangaroo Island' in Chapter 1.3.2.3 'Kalungku & Emma on Kangaroo Island'; also the footnote 'Meredith's Abductions' in section 2.5.3.1 'Aboriginal slaves, Magalidi, and George Meredith Junior').

²⁰⁶⁹ Robinson journal, 9 May 1836, in PlomleyN 1987: 352.

²⁰⁷⁰ See Appendix 8 'Aboriginal people, the Meredith family and Oyster Bay'.

²⁰⁷¹ Right up into the late 1830s in VDL, even publicly expressed views about Aborigines often descended to a repeated use of epithets such as "wild beasts" and "black animals" (e.g. Turnbull 1948: 76, 109, 211). Table talk was doubtless far more rabid.

‘get away from it all’ but was murdered by ‘savages’ whom he had befriended. His death – like that of Barker – illustrated the cliché of the unpredictable, unfathomable, treacherously violent ‘savage native’. This trope was familiar and convenient to those who needed stories which would justify the takeover of Aboriginal land, and various tougher measures against Aboriginal people.²⁰⁷²

.....

Here follows a summary account of the historical records of the South Australian versions of the myth of Meredith:

LEIGH 1837:

As early as July 1837 – probably no more than 18 months after the event – William Leigh, ship’s doctor of the *South Australian*, met a black woman while visiting Kangaroo Island, and took a professional interest in this specimen of the criminal class:

*I remarked that her countenance was as expressive and pleasing as any I had met with. A friend came up at the time, and when she had departed, informed me that the woman, in whom I had felt such interest, was no other than the murderer of poor Meredith... I... regretted that I had not examined her cranium.*²⁰⁷³

The woman was of course ‘Sal’ (Magalidi). Leigh’s ‘friend’ – probably therefore an early colonist, not an Islander – gave an extremely whitewashed and domesticated version of the story, the kind of lurid and sentimental melodrama one reads in novels of the Victorian era. Many details appear to be jumbled together from various other characters and incidents recounted in the main text of my book. In this tale Sal herself is the axe murderer. Leigh’s Meredith is a young man whose “warm generous spirit had led him into difficulties”; he “fled society” and “lived some time amongst these people” – in a hut which he had built with glass windows! – “acquired their language, and seemed to be beloved by all. He had adopted one of their sons, and was endeavouring to instruct him in a few points of education”.²⁰⁷⁴ But he boxed the boy’s ears for declining to say grace before eating a biscuit, and the boy vowed revenge. Sal did the deed while Meredith was reading his prayer-book by the fire “as was his custom”, with his back to the door. The whaleboat “drifted, and was found at Encounter Bay” after the locals failed to anchor it.²⁰⁷⁵ His Islander friends, who “lived across the bay”²⁰⁷⁶ ... came to see if he were ill... took up the bones, and buried them in the sand, with the prayer-book, which they found open, and clenched in his hand”.²⁰⁷⁷

TOLMER 1844:

In like manner, seven years later Inspector Tolmer heard about Meredith from informants on KI – including “old Jacobs, Bates and others” (‘Jacobs’ was Jacob Seaman), and probably a few of the

²⁰⁷² cp. Hosking in Cawthorne 1854/2020: 210-1, 226.

²⁰⁷³ Leigh 1839: 155-7. Measuring the cranium was part of the currently fashionable pseudo-science of phrenology.

²⁰⁷⁴ Leigh’s friend was probably confusing Meredith first with Bates (who did live on the mainland and acquire some language) and then with Wallan (who did send his son Henry to be educated in Hobart). Ironically, it was Leigh who also recorded this latter fact (see Chapter 1.1.3.7 ‘A new generation’).

²⁰⁷⁵ If this means the boat drifted with currents from Yankalilla around the Cape to Encounter Bay, it is a most unlikely scenario.

²⁰⁷⁶ Which bay? It is very unlikely that any other Islanders were living at Yankalilla Bay at that time; certainly there is no record of this. The original narrator probably said or meant ‘across the sea on Kangaroo Island’. This is just one of the details which make Leigh’s version unbelievable.

²⁰⁷⁷ Leigh 1839: 156-7.

earliest colonists as well.²⁰⁷⁸ Like the tale Leigh heard, it is probably a composite of real knowledge from old Islanders and embellishments by recent arrivals.

This was the only public report of Tolmer's original investigation. One anonymous correspondent defined the whole article as "a faithfully transcribed copy of the account current in Kangaroo Island".²⁰⁷⁹ But it does not represent serious investigation by Tolmer, whose mind was occupied mainly by the pursuit of two wanted white men.

If the Islanders were not pulling his leg, they were either speaking from personal knowledge or perhaps quoting Sal. They told him that Meredith was a young man, "son of a wealthy settler of Van Diemen's Land, [who] had deeply offended his father by his follies and extravagancies". He "seized and made off with a schooner belonging to his father. This vessel he sold at some port, where he had got the price in dollars... It is said that Meredith 'planted' his dollars at Western River, and that the blacks got a few of them which he took with him to the main land" – perhaps to keep them safe from other very interested Islanders.

It is Tolmer's account which has the 'love' motive: "It appears that one of these lads had fallen in love with Sal, and, as a means of getting her, determined to murder his master". Meredith "had latterly become very religious, and was constantly reading his bible", and was doing so when "the native got behind him and killed him with a tomahawk".

Other details of Tolmer's version, including the account of Sal's rescue and her news about Encounter Bay Bob's threat, are included in my main text narrative of Meredith.²⁰⁸⁰

CAWTHORNE 1853-4:

In 1853 Nat Thomas told WA Cawthorne that Meredith was "speared while reading the Bible".²⁰⁸¹

In the following year Cawthorne's novel *The Kangaroo Islanders* presents a 'Captain Meredith' as its hero who seems to be a quite different man from the one in either Robinson or even Leigh. Here he is master of a visiting ship and is drawn into Kangaroo Island events accidentally and marginally – though sometimes willingly, as when he tows the raiding whaleboats part of the way to their destination. Unlike the historical Meredith who wrecked two or three ships, he is a superb seaman "of a stamp superior to the majority of his class". He has no prior blemish on his record except an "adventurous" desire to "follow the wild and romantic life" of a sealing captain; an energetic, impetuous, character "like Lord Byron" with a similar "melancholic passion", who yet often satisfies "his spiritual nature" with "Sabbath meditations", "musing on the mystery of Creation" while "anchored in some snug cove". He is reading one of the Psalms from the Bible when two ochred Aboriginal warriors club and spear him to death because they mistake him for an Islander.²⁰⁸² We may infer that the ochre implies formal and sanctioned payback.

Cawthorne based his novel on long conversations with Islanders (probably all from Dudley Peninsula) who had known Meredith, and his text claims that it "is a narrative of fact to a very large extent".²⁰⁸³ So the thoroughly Victorianized character of 'Captain Meredith' probably owes at least something to the Islanders' view of the real George.

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²⁰⁷⁸ Tolmer 1844b; cp. Tolmer 1882, Vol.2: 6, which merely reproduces the original newspaper article almost word for word.

²⁰⁷⁹ *Register* Saturday 28/9/1844: 3b.

²⁰⁸⁰ Chapter 2.5.3.2 'Breakdown' and 2.5.3.3 'From Condoiy to Tamaruwi'.

²⁰⁸¹ Cawthorne 1853: 162.

²⁰⁸² Cawthorne 1854/2020: 105-6, cp. 7-8.

²⁰⁸³ Cawthorne 1854/2020: 5, cp. 162.

This completes the versions which probably had some first- or second-hand input from Islanders who had known Meredith. How much of all this sentiment did Seaman, Thomas and Bates believe? How well did they know this man at the other end of the Island?

Most or all of the Islanders would have known Sal's version (of which we have a fairly reliable account from Thompson):²⁰⁸⁴ that the two 'boys' wielded the hatchet while the victim was having breakfast. Were some of the old hands who spoke to Tolmer indulging in the notorious Islander 'talent for fictitious statement', perhaps in the hope that some of the whitewash would rub off on them? Even Thompson's version begins with a suggestion of whitewash, showing some sympathy with the young man's "misfortune".²⁰⁸⁵

Perhaps George was a charmer even to the other Islanders. Perhaps none of them knew the full extent of his involvement in human trafficking, or if they did they excused it. Perhaps Thompson's reporter, Bull, discreetly edited out some details in Thompson's 'statements' at which the Meredith family might take offense. Or perhaps the Islanders' view of him had been largely based not on personal knowledge but on 'fond' Sal's report, still deeply coloured by her love and grief.

.....

There are some other versions of the myth which take flight away from personal knowledge altogether, far into the realm of pure yarn-spinning.

TOLMER 1866:

In 1866 ex-Inspector Tolmer was in literary story-telling mode. In this new version, Meredith had angered his father through 'profligacy and crime' rather than 'follies and extravagancies' (as it had been in 1844); but he "had passed bitter years of remorse" for these unspecified sins. Tolmer also changes his mind about the motive for the killing. Instead of 'love' as in 1844, now in a twist worthy of the Islanders themselves Tolmer writes: "the story was that the victim had a bag of dollars on board – the price of the stolen schooner – and... the cupidity of the native was therefore supposed to have led to the crime".²⁰⁸⁶ (But a lust for *money* among traditional mainlanders in the barter economy of 1835, even those who had worked in the KI whaleboats, seems fairly unlikely.)

ANON. 1880:

An anonymous member of a party of official visitors in 1880 cited a KI story (possibly from Bates) which claimed that Meredith was murdered "for having assisted in abducting the wife of a chief".²⁰⁸⁷ This is probably the reporter's confusion with the historical abductions at Point Nepean, where four of the women were described as wives of 'chiefs'.²⁰⁸⁸ Or perhaps Bates knew something more than he told at other times, and used it this time to add spice to his yarn. Perhaps the 'chief' was the husband of one of the Port Lincoln women abducted in 1834. But once again, 'colourful detail' is obviously the point of the story, not any kind of historical accuracy.

²⁰⁸⁴ For my reconstruction based on Thompson, see Chapter 2.5.3.2 'Breakdown and payback' and 2.5.3.3 'From Condo to Tamaruwi'.

²⁰⁸⁵ "One of the earliest islanders was a young man of the name of G Meredith, whose father was an inhabitant of Tasmania, in a large way of business. His son had been dispatched by him in a small vessel amongst the islands to catch seals. Young Meredith had the misfortune to wreck his vessel on Howe's Island, and escaped in a boat", etc (Thompson in Bull 1878a: 4d, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/90868275/8390525>, = Bull 1878b: 8).

²⁰⁸⁶ Tolmer 1866: 3b.

²⁰⁸⁷ Anon., 'A Week on Kangaroo Island', *SA Register*, 8 March 1880: 5e, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/43106882/4000900>. Some of the party at this point visited Bates and "were entertained by the aged veteran with tales of the olden times".

²⁰⁸⁸ Fels 2011: 327.

TOLMER 1882:

Tolmer himself seems to have hesitated between the two myths. In his book of 1882 he altered Meredith's 'profligacy and crime' back to 'follies and extravagancies'. He may have been motivated in part by discretion. By 1866 Charles Meredith was a prominent MP in Tasmania, and since then he had completed a career in the cabinet ministry. Perhaps knuckles had been rapped about slurs on the family, and doubtless they and their friends continued to protest (as in 1844) that the lamented young George had been "a perfectly well-conducted young man, though eccentric".²⁰⁸⁹

Despite many historically inaccurate details, these versions may also contain some grains of truth; for aspects of the character as depicted were supported by Islanders who knew him. Were men like Nat Thomas happy to encourage this myth? Or had they seen and understood something of the real and complex Meredith which is not apparent in the other records?²⁰⁹⁰ Had they actually sparked off the myth themselves in conversations with visitors over the year between mid-1836 and the early version noted by Leigh in mid-1837?

The two versions of Meredith might appear to be incompatible. But perhaps at the level of personal character the cores of both descriptions were true: Meredith was a mercenary predator, and he *was also* a rather naive romantic adventurer out of his depth.

What caused the mysterious quarrel with his father in 1833 which preceded his departure? It is a little too easy to assume that it was only about business and money. Perhaps young George (even more unspeakably) had fallen in love with an Aboriginal woman who may have been Magalidi; and (worse still for family appearances) had allowed such 'profligacy' to become known. Judging by their recorded opinions and actions, his family would have taken the view that he had broken the unmentionable taboo against 'miscegenation': i.e. openly taking an Aboriginal 'savage' as a sexual partner. In his father's eyes this would have been a much worse crime than killing one of them.

Do the contradictions indicate that his character changed in his last couple of years: that he was indeed remorseful about aspects of his earlier life, and tried to reform? This interpretation is supported by the Islanders who told Tolmer that only "latterly" had George become very religious. Or were his contradictions internal and ongoing? This is a condition which is familiar to us post-Freudians in the 21st century, and easy to see in much 19th-century literature. Perhaps all those Jekylls and Hydes coexisted in the man from first to last: the mercenary trafficker in human lives, the collaborator in ruthless violence, the kind Bible-reading lover, and the chronic religious penitent.²⁰⁹¹

²⁰⁸⁹ SA Register 28/9/1844: 3b.

²⁰⁹⁰ In Cawthorne's novel, after comparing his Captain Meredith with Lord Byron and hinting at his "*irregular life that called into full play the qualities of daring and recklessness*", the author continues:

"Had he been endowed with a little more of this 'melancholic passion,' he would have been a fit devotee in the convents of Athens, or the fortified retreats of 'Araby the Blest'; with a degree less he would have been a first-class rascal. As it was, he had enough good to prevent him from becoming thoroughly bad, and enough evil to belie the good and cause his actions to appear eccentric. The sailors, who did not understand him, said, 'He's a bit cranky'. His friends shrugged their shoulders, and expressed their pity or their ignorance in the words, 'strange man.' But those who understood him pronounced an altogether different verdict. Such was Captain Meredith" (Cawthorne 1854/2020: 8).

Despite the great gap between the actions of the fictitious Captain Meredith and those of the historical George, the character sketch here may owe something to the views of Islanders such as Thomas, Bates and Seaman about the man they had known.

²⁰⁹¹ ASSESSING MEREDITH'S CHARACTER:

In trying to understand young George we must remember that England was about to enter its early Victorian era. The Merediths came from the upper middle class, who were typically sentimental and religious as well as mercenary. In some men a ruthless attitude to lower classes in general and 'savages' in particular could sometimes coexist with a romantic, sentimental, sincere, even passionate and idealistic attachment to one woman, even if she was 'beneath' them socially. This, and 'the world well lost for love', were familiar clichés of nineteenth-century literature.

Whatever the inner truth of George Meredith Junior may have been, South Australian colonists typically chose to remember him as one of their fellow pioneers, quite separate from the Island's 'white savages'. There is no Wallan-style costume of skins in Meredith's memory. After all, he was known as the "son of a wealthy settler of Van Diemen's Land",²⁰⁹² and also safely dead with no recognized descendants to compete for land or position in the colony.

.....

TODAY:

Writing of George Junior, Maria Fels commented that "his name was not mentioned in society out of respect for the feelings of the now distinguished family: his name is not even now, in 2010, mentioned in the Australian Dictionary of Biography online entry which lists all the other children of George Meredith senior".²⁰⁹³ This is still the case in 2023.²⁰⁹⁴

All the public variations make up a rich compost in which unwary travel writers and local historians still dig. For most of us today Meredith remains either invisible, or a stereotype, or (for scholars) a figure of contradictory images: a typical fate for the unsung men at the leading edge of first contact.

He is an inconvenient reminder of a connection between the topside and the underside of the pioneer legend: how the actions of 'savage sealers' often reflected those of 'old pioneers', and sometimes were collaborations between the two. We remember also Plomley's long list of named individuals who were taken as cheap labour into colonial households in Tasmania from Aboriginal camps by 'robbery of their children'.²⁰⁹⁵

Meredith has been worth examining closely because he is a prime exhibit in the gallery of early South Australian myths. But we shall probably never know much of the truth about his life and death. This exercise reminds us that we know even less of the truth about the life of any other individual seaman of Kangaroo Island; for no other had the advantage of belonging to a rich family well represented in the archives. And still less do we know about any individual woman there, even George's fond and perhaps beloved 'Sal'.

.....

It is possible that the Islanders really had observed in him a little of that solitary romantic melancholy which was reported by Leigh and embellished by Cawthorne and Tolmer.

It is possible that when George acted upon these desires he quickly found himself out of his depth, unable to resist the current of hard-bitten men such as West and Bathurst. It is possible that he did not predict or condone the events at Boston Bay with which he became involved. Yet this excursion began when he pursued Manning with a gun for a mere £4; and in view of the wealth awaiting him in Hobart this does suggest a man rather obsessed by the love of money. With his background it is quite feasible that when he resorted to the standard Victorian spiritual remedies – Bible reading and prayer – it was partly because he bore a load of conscious and unresolved guilt. This is suggested strongly in Tolmer's literary retelling of 1866, and perhaps is hinted at in Cawthorne's novel. The events at Point Nepean and Boston Bay would have been prime candidates for such a load. It would be pleasant to hope that piety blessed him with pangs of conscience about aspects of his recent life; but the question must remain open.

²⁰⁹² Tolmer 1844b.

²⁰⁹³ Fels 2011: 346.

²⁰⁹⁴ David Hodgson, 'Meredith, George (1777–1856)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/meredith-george-2449>, published first in hardcopy 1967 [19/5/23].

²⁰⁹⁵ PlomleyB & Henley 1990: 25-7.

APPENDIX 10: ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AT RAPID BAY IN 1836-7: ADDITIONAL ETHNOGRAPHIC SOURCE TEXTS.

Internal comments by me are in Times font italics, in square brackets [].

Footnotes are mine [in Times font and square brackets],
except where the source's own footnotes are in Arial font and not bracketed.

1. WJS PULLEN AS AN ETHNOGRAPHER:

PRG 303, SLSA: WJS Pullen, Rear Admiral 1836-41, 'MSS Recollections of Early Days in South Australia': *[maroon bound volume: contains the following among other items]:*

(Item 1) "MSS Narrative by Vice-Admiral WJS Pullen of his early experiences in South Australia..." *[manuscript version is on pp.1-14; typescript copy is on microfiche D7489(L)]:*

[:3]

... [crossing from Kangaroo Island on 8 Nov 1836] I therefore on the second day started for Rapid Bay which I wished to communicate with, but finding the surf very heavy on the beach I could not venture to take my heavy boat in, so I anchored at the back of it, & seeing a good assemblage on the beach, natives as well as white, I thought they could give any help if I needed it so I pulled off my jacket & shoes & jumped overboard & struck out for the shore. All very well till I got into the heavy rollers when my strength began to fail me & I began to feel whether I should reach the shore without help, then I shouted & held up my hand, which appeared to create a sensation on the beach thus tearing at the dress which the blacks had on, at length I saw three take the water, & come towards me thus one on each side and one in front and thus affording me a good support in to the beach, where I received good help by being undressed, put into bed & a warm drink administered, which set me all right and the next day I was able to leave Rapid Bay and arrived at port Adelaide in the afternoon. Here I resumed my work of survey...

(Item 8) "MSS Journal by Mr Pullen... May 1 to Oct 14, 1836..." *[ink manuscript, a set of bound sheets containing 24 subsidiary page numbers]:*

(:31)

"Journal May 1 to Oct 14, 1836 including voyage to SA in the brig 'Rapid':"

(:31/13)

... [no dates given] On the Island *[Kangaroo Island]* were several Sealers runaway sailors from the coasting vessels of the other colony. They told us there were several good spots on the Island where they have established living on the produce of their gardens & a native animal of the size of a rabbit called Waloby, in fact a miniature kangaroo. These Waloby were caught by their wives, native women, who had been brought from the Main land ~~by them on them~~

(:31/14)

some of them I believe by force, however they seemed to be comfortably contented with their lonely life & from what I could learn, comfortably off as far as house & mansion went....

Before leaving the Colonel engaged a man by the name of Cooper & his family, a sealer who had been about 7 years on the Island. He was to act as Pilot his wives (two native women) & Kangaroo dogs were to supply us with fresh meat. When all ready started for Gulf St Vincent... Many & various were the opinions given on the near approach to the land, it was indeed beautiful presenting more the appearance of a park than land that had been for centuries trodden by uncultivated savages....

(:31/15)

[at Rapid Bay] Nothing but luxuriant foliage, OH! A thick sward of many & various flowers what was to be expected from the art of Man when such was the state of the place while in Nature's

garden. Cooper was sent off with his women to bring in the tribe of the place... A garden was made & stocked with seeds we had brought with us...

At last Cooper returned with about a dozen of the tribe, some of them fine looking fellows & made themselves very useful these was given them biscuit & soldiers old clothes of which they were very proud. In the evening by way of expressing their joy at the white mas [*sic*] arrival they danced a corrobory – Ye ladies could you see a corrobory you'd blush but now in the colony²⁰⁹⁶ it is gone out of fashion so I shall imagine. In speaking to the Colonial ladies I give a brief but imperfect sketch of

(:31/16)

the above dance. The men, some supplied with a couple of sticks, are ranged near a few small embers which is sparingly fed by one of the women who are generally seated on the ground with their legs tucked under their [?towels] All'a Turk²⁰⁹⁷ resting on their knees a skin (of some sort chiefly kangaroo) which they beat with their hands. It commences with a low monotonous chant beating of stick's the ~~men~~ dancers at the same time moving in slow & keeping very regular time At last it becomes loud & furious but with every regularity maintained The contortions of the body are numerous & all being in Nature's only dress, with the dull blaze emitted from the few embers & the noise to a New comer it excites almost a degree of terror I might imagine a few of the inhabitants of Pandemonium had broken loose. In some case [*sic*] they work themselves up to such a state of excitement that the countenance is truly terrific, but yet how soon they calm down, the next moment you'd not imagine the being before you was the same. ...

(:31/22)

Tuesday 4th [*October*] [*from the Rapid, anchored off Sturt River*] The party returned about 3 o'clock reporting well of the country We have for the first time saw [*sic*] the native fires so they cannot be far off. It is reported by the women accompanying us they are rather a fierce set about here. ...

(:31/23)

Monday 11th weighed & proceeded down the Gulf. abreast of Yankalila we saw a boat standing out from under the land it turned out to be Mr Stevens C. Manager & Mr Morphett a gentleman arrived in Cygnet now lying at Nepean Bay & waiting orders from the Colonel that vessel containing stores & the Surveyors was entirely at his disposal.

(:31/24)

They also told us the Garden we had made at Rapid Bay was doing well where we soon anchored the boat proceeding up the Gulf. ...

Thursday 14th Visited by the Natives distributed amongst them a [?feed...] and jackets & trousers old ordinance stores which we were furnished with for that purpose, they were very much pleased with them. ...

.....

²⁰⁹⁶ [*"now in the colony"*: Almost certainly some or all of this description of 'a corroboree' generalizes from details which Pullen observed later and elsewhere. The 1836 ceremony at Rapid Bay did not include women. Here he seems to be in Adelaide, writing up his reminiscences for potential colonial audiences. See p.31/17, "*Jany 7th 1842*", when he found "*an old memorandum book*" which had recorded these adventures on the spot in 1836. After that page (he says), "*I shall give what it says nearly word for word*", and he begins to give dates. Possibly the earlier parts of his 'MSS Journal' are not a true journal but a set of reminiscences written in about 1842, including p.31/16 above.]

²⁰⁹⁷ [*"All'a Turk"* = 'in Turkish style'.]

2. BT FINNISS AS AN ETHNOGRAPHER:

2a. Finnis writes in early 1837 about his recent experiences at Rapid Bay:

‘Copy of DIARY kept by Boyle Travers Finniss in 1836 during the voyage of the Cygnet from London to SA 16/3/1836 – 11/9/1836; with copies of LETTERS 1837-8’:

typescript by Miss N.G.Bruce, in Finniss Papers, SLSA, PRG 527/2 Vol. 1 [*original probably in the KT Borrow Collection, Flinders University Library Special Collections*]:

LETTERS (:9)

[n.d.] “to Sir Willoughby Gordon... before April 1837.”

“... The land at Rapid Bay was generally very rich except the summits of the hills, which were stony. A number of streams were met with and 3 miles from the shore a forest of stringy bark. We were joined by a tribe of natives who came from Encounter Bay and being well treated by us were very useful in landing and carrying stores...”

2b. Finnis in 1879 remembers ‘Peter’ and his family:

Transactions & Proceedings of the Philosophical Society of Adelaide, SA, for 1878-9 (Adelaide 1879) [= Royal Society of SA, Transactions. Vol. 2, 1879]:

(:xx) Ordinary Meeting, February 4, 1879....

(:xxi) {*After the Secretary had read JD Woods paper ‘Aborigines of South Australia’, responses were recorded, including A Molineux’s memories of King John’s funeral; followed by Finniss’s.*}...

(:xxii) <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/107422#page/28/mode/1up>

“... The Hon. BT Finniss said he remembered King John very well. He was a man of very powerful frame and commanding appearance. Reference had been made to the question of half-castes among the blacks. Several theories had been advanced as to whether there was or was not any dislike to them on the part of the blacks. He remembered being at Rapid Bay in 1838,²⁰⁹⁸ and being camped with a small party, including a few friendly blacks among whom were a native²⁰⁹⁹ and his lubra and a half-caste child. The night was very rough, and the child cried a great deal. The black man, however, got up and attended to it, and treated it entirely as his own, and showed anything but dislike to it...

.....

2c. Finnis in 1883 remembers the rescue of Pullen at Rapid Bay:

SA Register 23/1/1883: 6d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/43470455/4006147> letter to Editor from BT Finniss:

:134 “ADMIRAL PULLEN... In, I think, November 1836, I was stationed at Rapid Bay... Colonel Light was then at Port Lincoln with the Rapid, and being desirous of dispatching orders to me²¹⁰⁰ sent Mr Pullen to Rapid Bay in what was then known as the hatch-boat. Pullen was a thorough seaman and accomplished the voyage safely,

:135 though with much risk and inconveniences, for he arrived thoroughly drenched and much exhausted. Not having a dingey he dropped anchor during rather a stiff breeze, which raised an awkward surf... At this time I had made friends of a tribe of natives, who were collected about and in the camp, and observing signals made from the hatch-boat I collected a number of these natives and moved down to the shore with them. On seeing this Pullen jumped overboard, as did two men who formed his crew. The natives dived through the rollers and swiftly swam to the assistance of Pullen and his men; and not too soon, for already Pullen held up his hand in distress, and one of the two men could not swim at all, and therefore wisely was the last to plunge overboard. I had encouraged the blacks by promises of reward to help the swimmers, which they did most effectually, two blacks taking possession of each man and supporting them

²⁰⁹⁸ [Error for ‘1836’.]

²⁰⁹⁹ [‘Peter’.]

²¹⁰⁰ [This introduction to the incident is inaccurate; cp. Woodforde journal 8-9/11/36.]

with one arm while they swam with the other. In this way the party reached the shore of Rapid Bay, and received the congratulations of their white friends, accompanied with cheers for their bold adventure.”

.....

2d. Finniss in 1892 remembers the Aboriginal people of Rapid Bay and “Yankalyilla”:

[1. Finniss wrote these reminiscences at the age of 85, from memory alone, intending them for one of the Adelaide newspapers:]

“To the Editor of the S. Australian Register... My family have partly induced me to offer these pages to you for insertion in your open column but others have largely influenced me in taking this step by repeated solicitations. It is not often that a man of my advanced age trusts to his memory to secure the record of the principal period of his life but I have kept no journal and I feel very sure that as far as actions are concerned my recollections of past events is correct, whilst spoken words may not be so true in their description...”

These circumstances probably explain all or most of those details (including some of the ‘actions’) which are in conflict with recorded historical facts, dates or probabilities. Some of these discrepancies are footnoted by me.

2. Of his observations of Aboriginal people, some paragraphs obviously refer to his time at Rapid Bay. A few obviously date from his life in Adelaide after 1837. In his general ethnographical paragraphs, it is possible – though unlikely – that some details might also date from his Adelaide period; in which case they might or might not be true for the people of Rapid Bay.]

BT Finniss 1892, ‘Some Early Recollections’, transcribed by Gillian Dooley from the original MS in the KT Borrow Collection, Flinders University Library;

https://dspace.flinders.edu.au/xmlui/bitstream/handle/2328/25020/Some_Early_Recollections.pdf?sequence=4.

(:2)

... I was landed with twelve men to form the first encampment at Cygnet River flowing into Nepean Bay.²¹⁰¹

(:3)

... Mr Kingston with the Storekeeper (Mr Thomas Gilbert) commenced unloading the 'Cygnet' to some extent... After proper enquiry of one of the Sealers, whom he [*Colonel Light*] found on Kangaroo Island and took with him, so as to avail himself of all the local knowledge he could obtain, he formed a camp at Rapid Bay, and had intercourse with a tribe of Natives who were soon made very friendly by judicious treatment and presents, amongst which were soldiers red coats and trousers, brought from England. Colonel Light then sent Lieutenant Field R. N. with the 'Rapid' to move some of the party to Rapid Bay whilst he ordered the 'Cygnet' to move the whole of her stores and the main body of the party, under charge of Mr Kingston, to Holdfast Bay, ordering me with a party of about fifteen souls, to join him at Rapid Bay. After landing my party there, the Colonel departed in the 'Rapid'. ...

It remains for me to explain how we passed our time at Nepean Bay during the few weeks we remained there... However not to be altogether idle I made a traverse of Cygnet River for some miles inland, and in one of my walks came across a small cultivated patch of ground occupied by a sealer whose name, I think, was John Day. He was very civil and gave me all the information he could respecting the nature of the country inland and the habits of his companions located there. It seems there were six men on the Island who had arrived there previously in a boat on a sealing venture. The names of some were Wally Thompson and John Day. I cannot recollect the names of the others. Day told me that they sometimes made a voyage to the main land and had in this way provided themselves with women - whether by purchase or violence he did not say. He described the Island as almost destitute of fresh water, very flat and covered with a dense scrubby growth of vegetation; a few large gum trees were to be found on the course of the Cygnet River, and elsewhere - there were no kangaroos but a profusion of Wallaby on which the sealers depended for their supply of fresh meat. The Wallaby were trapped by the women who

²¹⁰¹ [i.e. at ‘Freshwater River’, not Kingscote.]

were very clever and successful in their capture. The sealers supplied Mr Kingston's camp with fresh meat in this manner and when baked and piqued with small bits of ships pork they formed a very enticing dish, which the sealers showed us how to cook. They also taught us to make damper which was, in short, unleavened bread baked in the ashes, and was very sweet, especially when leavened by causing the paste to rise by adding a small portion of a previous baking to the dough. ...

(:5)

... In the early part of this paper I mentioned that after a few weeks of this happy and pleasing life, the settlement of Kangaroo Island, as far as concerned the government, was broken up. I was detached to Rapid Bay having with me my wife. Feeling that every step possible had been taken for our health and comfort, Colonel Light left us in his surveying vessel, the 'Rapid'. Health being assured by the presence of Dr Woodforde in whom we all had the confidence which his subsequent career justified. A few sheep and some potatoes, purchased from a cutter trading from Tasmania, and ample stores, were placed at our disposal by Colonel Light. When he had planted his party safely at Rapid Bay, he left us to settle the important question the site of the Capital himself. ...

This long digression has taken me away from Rapid Bay and the little detachment under my orders... it was not considered judicious to layout sections at Rapid Bay, and I was, accordingly, ordered to examine the country inland in the direction of Encounter Bay, and Yankallyilla (sic) to the north of my encampment. Not being partial to a life of idleness I took walks

(:6)

into the country with generally two men, and one or two black fellows, who were useful as guides in finding water and in keeping us 'en rapport' with strange natives. My two sable friends (one of whom always attended me) were called, respectively, Jim and Peter. Jim was an athletic young man who had recently abducted a pretty young girl from the Encounter Bay tribe for which act of violence he lost his life soon after in a fight with another tribe. His lubra always accompanied him, and their affection for each other was quite romantic. Peter had also a lubra, rather an old woman, with a half caste child - on one occasion at Yankallyilla I encamped for the night near Peters wurley, for it was his district, and my black friend awoke me in the night by walking up and down carrying the infant (who was screaming as only babies can scream). He rocked her in his arms and tried to soothe her by singing - 'hush' - 'hush' - with all the tenderness of a practised mother, while his better half was sleeping comfortably in their wurley, tired out probably by the restlessness of the child. I was much amused and gratified by this display of human feeling in a blackfellow. During my stay at Rapid Bay, which lasted until about the 10th January 1837,²¹⁰² I employed myself in making a topographical survey of Rapid Bay and the country to the north as far as Yankallyilla, and the valley of the Inman. It should be here stated that we had no horses, or donkeys, and that therefore all our excursions were on foot during the hottest period of the year. I saw a fine kangaroo and many wallaby but did not succeed in shooting any. My black friend Jim was a splendid sportsman and kept himself in food while he was with us. He would stop suddenly when passing a gum tree and examine the bush very minutely to find traces of an opossum (sic) – as soon as he discovered any he proceeded to climb the tree chopping footsteps in the bark sufficiently deep to receive his big toe. He made these steps the distance measured by his hip, and then gradually reached the nest of an opossum. Poking his waddy into the hole in which the opossum generally concealed itself, he carefully examined and smelt the front of the waddy by which I presume he ascertained that a live opossum was there, and, perhaps, killed by the poke of the waddy. He then descended with his victim and in this way supplied himself and 'Allauri' which was the euphonious name of his young bride whom he had stolen from her tribe, evidently with her own connivance, whilst in the camp, and, perhaps, under our protection from hostile reprisals. I found the tribe exceedingly kind and friendly. They assisted me in building a hut for my wife by cutting the reeds and long grass, and when my first child (Fanny Lipson Finnis) was born, just after midnight of the 31 Dec. 1836, they used to take great care of her, nursing the

²¹⁰² [Actually 22nd January.]

baby with all the care of a practised nurse. One young boy who had acquired the name of Nathaniel was blind of one eye, but he was a useful and constant attendant upon the baby - for the married women of the camp rather shunned attendance upon anyone under any circumstances. Some of them, or their descendants, may be yet living and I should, therefore, be sorry to make any statements regarding them, or mention names.

The friendliness of the blacks was evinced in various ways. They took post on the cliffs when my men were bathing and warned them of the approach of sharks in time, thus allowing the men to bathe with the confidence of safety.

When Colonel Light was in Port Lincoln he sent Mr Pullen in his hatch boat with two sailors to meet me at Rapid Bay. The passage was a very boisterous and dangerous one, and when Pullen arrived and anchored, about a quarter of a mile from the shore, he made signs to me, as I had been watching his approach. Not having a dingy the boat party determined to land at all hazards and Pullen leaped into the water for a swim followed by his crew of two men. One of these could not

(:7)

swim but, encouraged by the presence of some twenty natives whom I had summoned to my assistance, he nevertheless plunged into the sea. They were cold and wet poor fellows and any fate was preferable to perishing of wet and cold. The blacks assembled at my summons with incredible rapidity, and, on my instructing them as to what I wanted, they plunged in like seals diving under the rollers which were coming in high, and thick, and reached Pullen in a few moments. Pullen had put up his hand in distress when he saw me with the blacks, and he was immediately succoured. The other two men were in a similar way promptly assisted - a black fellow swimming on each side of the men, helping them with one hand. These blacks assisted my party in carrying the tents and stores to the beach ready for shipment.

I closely questioned this tribe and their religious views but could not make up my mind as to their opinions. They spoke of some living thing coming at night and killing them, giving it a name, which I have forgotten.²¹⁰³ They described it as though it were a bird making signs of his ascending, as though it had wings, and could fly; but I never clearly made out what their belief was; but it seemed to be made up of fear.

The Rapid Bay Natives, as well as other tribes, disposed of their dead by exposing the bodies to the air on a sort of platform of branches the face looking upwards. The Shea Oak tree seemed to be selected for these burials, if they may be so termed. I heard that the body soon after death was dried over a fire, but never saw the process myself.

Cooking

The natives had a very excellent way of cooking fish and birds. A large fire was made of dead branches until a large heap of embers was produced. Over those hot embers the fur and feathers were singed off, generally by the lubra (women), and the flesh was then buried in the embers and carefully watched. A large schnapper I saw cooked in this way was laid on the bare glowing embers and then covered with a quantity of green grass over which embers were heaped; this prevented the burning of the fish which, when considered properly baked, was uncovered and the intestines taken out. This style of cooking kept the juice in the meat and with quail, as I myself afterwards tried, was preferable to frying, or stewing, after removal of the intestines - a similar method obtains in England with respect to the woodcock the trail of which is, however, eaten as a delicacy.

²¹⁰³ [Probably this was the *nukuna* (RS): "*Nokunna: assassin; an imaginary being of the shape and colour of a black, that steals upon them in the night and kills them*" (T&S 1840, 2:28; cp. Teichelmann 1841: 10). Most other references to it do not include the 'ascending' or 'flying', but this is implied in the version cited by an old man at Encounter Bay who spoke 'Kaurna' - *Miyurna* as well as his own language: explaining a total eclipse of the moon, he said "*a Nokunna has covered the moon... so that the moon can eat the black men's livers*" (Teichelmann Diary: 19, 13 July 1841).]

Fauna

The animals I saw, consisted chiefly of kangaroos, emus, wallabies, kangaroo rats, opossums, owls, parrots in great variety, cockatoos, black and white native companions (a large bustard) eagles, hawks, and small birds too numerous to mention. Deaf (sic) adders, and other venomous snakes – the flesh flies and common house fly were exceedingly numerous and troublesome. I found great difficulty in eating my dinner (consisting of ships pork and biscuit) to keep off the flesh flies which were rabid; and, unless I kept one hand continually at work to brush them away, would drop their living larvae upon the food before it could reach my mouth. I found these flies bred in the long grass. On one occasion I found an Emu's egg exposed at the end of a hillock without any appearance of a nest. This bird evidently left its eggs to be hatched by the heat of the sun alone; and it was hot enough for the purpose.

(:8)

I was several weeks stationed in Rapid Bay. But during the first week of January²¹⁰⁴ the 'Cygnet' arrived to remove my party to Glenelg. Mr Jickling, then a Magistrate, was sent in the 'Cygnet' to expedite, I suppose, the removal, which we commenced at once. Our friends the blacks assisted us in moving a large array of goods to the beach and in the evening I amused Mr Jickling by getting up a corroboree for which the blacks collected as many of their number as were obtainable. One cause of delay seemed to be looming. One of my party named Joe Finch contrived to wander away from the camp and lost himself. In trying to find his way back he followed the coast line to the South and East which would have taken him, ultimately, to Encounter Bay. Fortunately the blacks followed his tracks and brought him back safely. [He had subsisted on wattle gum and water which were plentiful at this season.]³ I met this tribe afterwards on the banks of the Torrens where, with the Encounter Bay tribe, they went to fight the Northern blacks who had assembled [*sic*] from a long distance to attack them. An account of the fight under the generalship of my friend Peter will be given amongst the events afterwards described in Adelaide. ...

³ Inserted in pencil and then overwritten in another hand.

(:13)

... About this time²¹⁰⁵ a man named Pegler, who had gone to stay the night in a black encampment on the north bank of the Torrens, was found murdered; and another man, a shepherd, was discovered murdered at a sheep station on Gilles Plains. Other outrages by the blacks were reported but no steps were taken by the government to pacify and protect the settlers. On one occasion a tall powerful blackfellow named Rodney visited my hut during my absence on the survey and seeing my wife engaged in making preparations for our dinner, demanded food for himself. As she refused he raised his waddy near her head and decamped with the food which he coveted.

At this time²¹⁰⁶ I was witness of a fight on the banks of the Torrens in front of Morphett Street.²¹⁰⁷ Seeing a number of blacks assembling at that point I repaired to the spot and was met by my old

²¹⁰⁴ [Actually the second week.]

²¹⁰⁵ ["About this time": Finnis has just cited an event in the immediate aftermath of the resignation of Light and his surveyors (in June 1838), and another from his time as Police Commissioner and Magistrate (1843-7).]

²¹⁰⁶ [As with the previous paragraph, in which 'about this time' seems to cover a period of about 9 years 1838-47, it is quite unclear what "*this time*" was. Finnis's chronology is very confused in the sections before and after his account of "*a fight on the banks of the Torrens*". Citing separate incidents which happened in 1837, 1838, 1839 and 1840-1, he merges them and 'Peter's battle' into one long sequence at "*about this time*". Ultimately he means vaguely 'the time when we early pioneers were having trouble with the blacks', or perhaps "*a time when the northern blacks were very troublesome*" (which might refer either to the 1839 murders by Port Gawler and 'Wirra' men, or to the invasions by the 'Moorunde' people of Blanchetown area in 1841-4). In fact 'Peter's battle' must have taken place during those later wars. For a critique of Finnis's account, see the footnote 'Captain Peter at the Torrens' (at the end of Chapter 3.6.4.4 'Peter').]

²¹⁰⁷ [For detailed background and analysis of this passage about the alleged battle of 'Captain Peter' at the Torrens River, including the actual wars in Adelaide against the Moorunde invasion, see my separate essay Schultz 2023a, 'Adelaide as a battleground', <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>.

friend Peter of Rapid Bay and his tribe. The tribe were in their war paint each man carrying shield and spear. Peter endeavour[ed] to explain to me that they came to prevent the northern blacks entering their territory which seems to have been bounded by the R. Torrens. However, Captain Jack of northern celebrity had already, with the northern tribes, crossed the River and were engaged in various tactical movements which threatened war. There must have been at least 100 blacks preparing for the fight. I saw Captain Jack spear in hand capering up and down the river flat in front of his myrmidons talking very loudly and gesticulating violently. Captain Peter retorted in language which I did not comprehend - at last Captain Jack shook his spear, not at anyone, but at a pretended foe and after a few exclamations threw his spear into the ground apparently in a great Rage and the spear quivered in the ground. This seemed the signal for combat. Captain Peter warned me to retire as he said the enemy was about to throw their spears. A few spears came. I stood out of the way of the combatants and watched the result. My friend Peter was Captain of the Southern host evidently the chosen warrior of his tribe. He rushed to the front and threw himself on one knee covering himself with his shield in the left hand and balancing his spear at arm's length in the right hand. His warriors followed his example and ranged themselves on his right and left receding so as to form a wedge of which Peter was the front and apex. It recalled to mind my school boy recollections of the Grecian Phalanx described in Polybius and the Greek wedge formation. A shower of spears came from Captain Jack's party and the wedge grew restive. I could not see if any fell in this short contest but I presume the northern tribes yielded to their fear of the southern prowess and began to disperse while Peter rose up with his warriors and again entered into conversation with me the result being that he was the victor. The Northern blacks were tall lanky figures very lean and covered with white scales of a scorbutic appearance. I cannot say that they carried shield or that they fought like practised warriors. They were but a mob while Peter's army were powerful well fed blacks armed with shield and spear and apparently well trained to use them.

I have given this account of the fight between the northern and southern blacks because it happened at a time when the northern blacks were very troublesome.²¹⁰⁸ The excitement amongst the settlers was getting formidable when a public meeting was called in a tent where Governor Hindmarsh in full naval uniform took the chair. At this meeting the Sheriff Mr

(:14)

Smart attended, there were also present the Revd. C. B. Howard Colonial Chaplain - Dr William Wyatt protector of Aborigines and myself. Captain Hindmarsh in the course of a speech which he addressed to the crowd outside urged them to take no reprisals and informed the settlers that they were British subjects under protection of British law and he finished by saying that he would hang up every white man who shot a black. This address only intensified the excitement caused by the murder of Pegler.²¹⁰⁹ Even the amiable Mr Howard could not help exclaiming 'then your Excellence it will be up white down black'. I made a few remarks in reply to what the Governor had said when Captain Hindmarsh got so exasperated that he turned to me and laid his hand on his sword. There were then present as the sheriff told me afterwards who were ready to protect me from violence. The meeting ended - nothing was done at the time and the feud with the blacks was settled by some means or other. Hostile encounters occurred on the River Murray subsequently between the overlanders and the blacks who attempted to bar their passage and many of the blacks perished in these unequal contests. Captain Hindmarsh was recalled on the 16 July 1838...

(:15)

... Colonel Light sent me accompanied by an old Sandhurst friend, Nixon, adjutant of the 96th Regt to report upon the whole question of the Murray navigation and the suitability of Victor Harbor as a site for the capital²¹¹⁰ ... In travelling to Encounter Bay I passed over a spur of the

²¹⁰⁸ [This sentence and the following passage seem to confuse several different public meetings held in different years. For analysis see my separate essay Schultz 2023a, 'Adelaide as a battleground', <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>.

²¹⁰⁹ [This happened in March 1838 and did not cause much 'excitement' among the settlers.]

²¹¹⁰ [This was in April 1838: see Finnis's original handwritten letter to Light (in BRG 42/53, SLISA; It was also published in *Southern Australian* 2/6/1838: 4b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71684561/6244583>).

Mount Lofty Range which I called Mt Terrible... descended into the beautiful vale of the Myponga; and travelled onwards through a stringy bark forest. In passing through a scrubby part of the road we met a whole tribe of blacks moving towards Adelaide. I recognised my young friend Jim amongst them and asked immediately for Allauri. He smiled and pointed to a bush about thirty yards before me; and there she appeared stepping out from her concealment with all the shyness of a white woman. She was not afraid to approach us now that she was assured we were old friends, and after a short conversation each party resumed its march in opposite directions, Jim's tribe moving on towards Adelaide. ...

.....

3. PIECES OF WOODFORDE'S ETHNOGRAPHY NOT USED IN THE MAIN TEXT OF *FEET ON THE FLEURIEU*:

Dr John Woodforde, Diary 'Abstracts of a Voyage to South Australia', PRG 502/1/1, SLSA:
[typescript; also PRG 502/1/2, a photographic copy of the only available manuscript, hand-copied in 1867 by Woodforde's sister Harriet from his original manuscript.]

(:18)

... 9 p.m. Thursday, 15th Sept. ... After breakfast Martin, Hill and myself went on shore to the tents and had not long been there before our Sealer returned from Encounter Bay bringing with him eight of the natives who promised to take care of our garden. These men are much the same in appearance and belong to the same tribe as the two we saw on the Island. There were no women with them except those belonging to the Sealers. It appears that the small-pox commits great ravages against them as three of them were deeply pitted and one has lost

(:19)

an eye from the same disease. Two of them had congenital malformations – the most singular – of the arm, there being in the place of that useful member a shrivelled stump not more than ten inches in length with three small appendages the rudiments of fingers at the end of it. They are all more or less tattooed in a very rude way, the principal incisions being on the back and two very large ones of a similar shape over each blade-bone. Their faces are free from these mutilations which are made with pieces of flint. This tribe is a very small one – a great number being carried off yearly by disease and a still greater number being put to death shortly after their birth. They hold a... *[End of page; pages torn from journal; no journal available for 16-23 Sep.]*

(:57)

... Friday 13th January. I started soon after breakfast this morning taking three of the natives with me to hunt the opossum which they do very cleverly. The opossum, with the wongo²¹¹¹ (a smaller species), are found in the hollow branches of the Gum tree. The manner in which they are taken deserves a little notice. The native when he sees a likely tree strikes at it with the point of his 'Waddee' (a short club of hard wood used

(:58)

both in war and in the chase) and listens intently. He then examines the bark to see the marks made by the claws of these animals by which time he is pretty well certain if the tree contains one, as he seldom mounts in vain. They are very good climbers, making their way up the largest tree by means of notches which they cut with the end of the waddee. In these notches which they cut with the end of the waddee. In these notches they place their feet, drawing themselves up by means of a pointed stick which they thrust with great violence into the bark. Our success was but moderate as we only caught six which is not considered a good day's sport. The females are very good eating, but the males are strong and require much disguising to render them palatable...

.....

²¹¹¹ [wangku in 'Kaurna'-Miyurna (OS wangko).]

APPENDIX 11: EIGHT BOBS.

We must try to distinguish (if possible) a number of Aboriginal men around the Adelaide-Fleurieu region in the era of first contact, who were all nicknamed ‘Bob’.

1. The well-known ‘Encounter Bay Bob’ (Tamuruwi):²¹¹²

He first came to European attention in about 1835, when he was the leader of payback threats from Encounter Bay people after the murder of George Meredith.²¹¹³ There is no pre-colonial record of his name or nickname, but in 1844 Magalidi-‘Big Sal’ identified the 1835 firebrand as the man “now called Encounter Bay Bob”.²¹¹⁴ Before this he may perhaps have been one of two young ‘Cape Jervis’ men who had been on Kangaroo Island with sealers and eventually murdered Meredith. It is likely that around this time he was first given the nickname ‘Bob’, later expanded to distinguish him from other Aboriginal ‘Bobs’. *Tamuruwi* and *Rungkawuri* were his Raminyeri names; Schürmann listed his European name as ‘Bob’, and knew he was a “Raminyere” man even while living in the house of Captain Jack (Kadlitpina) at the Native Location in Adelaide.²¹¹⁵ To the ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* he was *Paru Paitya*.²¹¹⁶

Were any of the other ‘Bobs’ (below) the same man as this famous one? As we shall see, this is very unlikely, apart from Jacob’s ‘Bob’ at Rapid Bay.

2. Tamuruwi’s father ‘Old Bob’ at Encounter Bay in September 1837:

In 1837 he was known to the whalers and other Europeans at Encounter Bay as ‘Old Bob’; but his real name was *Yangarauwi*.²¹¹⁷ He was very probably the ‘Rapid Bay Jack’ or ‘Bob’ who in his final months (c.1842-4) was cared for by Henry Kemmis at Yankalilla.²¹¹⁸ The ‘king plate’ given to him at Encounter Bay, inscribed “Youngerrow”, was discovered at Yankalilla and is now in the SA Museum.²¹¹⁹ If in 1837 ‘Old Bob’ was in fact not particularly old by our modern standards, it is conceivable that he and “his picanini” (perhaps a grandchild) were also rescuing Jacob’s sheep at Rapid Bay in that January.

3. ‘Bob’ at Rapid Bay in January 1837:²¹²⁰

During Finniss’s temporary colony at Rapid Bay, William Jacob’s diary recorded that on 7th January 1837 “the Native Bob & his Picanini” brought in five of the colony’s lost sheep. This man was probably one of Colonel Light’s Aboriginal ‘marines’, and quite possibly Tamuruwi – the only ‘Bob’ of whom we can be sure that he knew English by January 1837. Or he could even be

²¹¹² See also Schultz 2023b, ‘Tamuruwi’; and Philip A Clarke 2019, ‘Encounter Bay Bob: An Early Cultural Broker’, unpublished typescript 19 September 2019 (copy sent to me by Clarke in 2019).

²¹¹³ See Chapter 2.5.3.2 ‘Breakdown and payback’.

²¹¹⁴ *Southern Australian* 24/9/1844: 2f.

²¹¹⁵ Schürmann Diary 9 Nov 1839, 7 Jan 1840; cp. “*Tammuruwe Rungkauere*” (Meyer letter to Dresden, 30 Jan 1844 [Meyer Correspondence]) (my transcription of the names). See Book 2; also Schultz 2023b, ‘Tamuruwi’.

²¹¹⁶ “*Parroo Paicha*” (Wyatt 1879: 180).

²¹¹⁷ “*Yungerrow (or Old Bob)*” (Charles Mann to Hindmarsh 20 Sep 1837, GRG 24/1/1837/365, State Records: 3); cp. Schürmann Diary manuscript 9 Nov 1839.

²¹¹⁸ GB Wilkinson 1848, *SA: Its Advantages and Its Resources*, London, John Murray: 319-320, 336-8. I once thought this man might have been Tamuruwi himself; but that is ruled that out because he was still visiting Meyer in 1845 (Meyer to Dresden Missionary Society 27 Oct 1845 [Meyer Correspondence: 125-6]), after ‘Rapid Bay Jack’s death which I deduce as 1842-4 (see Schultz 2023b, ‘Tamuruwi’).

²¹¹⁹ “*Youngerrow, Chief of the Rormear Tribe*”: inscription on a brass plate found in 1912 in a paddock at Yankalilla (SA Museum A37524 (see Steve Hemming & Philip Jones 1989, *Ngurunderi: an Aboriginal Dreaming*, Adelaide: South Australian Museum: 29).

²¹²⁰ See Chapter 3.6.5.2 ‘Food, lost sheep, and ‘Bob’.

Tamuruwi's father 'Old Bob'. A number of the local men who helped this temporary colony were, like Tamuruwi, clearly 'Encounter Bay' men.²¹²¹

It is also possible that Jacob's 'Bob' was another man entirely.

A number of the chosen 'marines' at Rapid Bay in 1837, having experienced the benefits of employment by the colonists, *may* have come to the city for work later. There only those who knew Aboriginal people best would be able to distinguish them from the locals using the same language. Jacob's 'Bob' *may* have been among them, and so he *may* have been one or more of the subsequent 'Bobs' below.

4. Stephen Hack's 'Bob' in July 1837:

In a letter written from Adelaide on 20 July 1837,²¹²² the early explorer Stephen Hack recounted a conversation with "one of the natives named Bob", about Bob's tame dingo attacking one of Hack's sheep. The context was the Hack brothers' farm near Adelaide, where Stephen and 'Bob' were obviously on familiar terms, though clearly spoken and enacted as a master-servant relationship. The conversation proceeded both ways in Pidgin 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna*, which Hack recorded in the letter. At such an early date in the colony, this 'Bob' could have been Jacob's Rapid Bay 'marine', following the whitefella's jobs north to the city; or any of the 'Bobs' identified later.

5 and 6. Two Aboriginal constable 'Bobs' at Adelaide in 1839-40:

In the high tension following the murder of two shepherds in April 1839, there was a 'Bob' among the three Aboriginal constables who accompanied interpreter William Williams and the police expedition to track down and arrest the killers from the Para. When Williams "told the natives what we intended doing, immediately our brave-hearted Captain Jack, Bob, and Williamy volunteered to go with us".²¹²³ These men were said to be "natives of the Adelaide and Onkaparinga tribes".²¹²⁴

In February 1840 Moorhouse "mentioned the subject of entering the Mounted Police to the Aborigines and seven of them are willing to be engaged". They were all "from the Adelaide tribe" and he listed them; two were called 'Bob':²¹²⁵

<i>English Name.</i>	<i>Aboriginal Name.</i>	<i>Age.</i>
King John	Murla Wirra Burka	30
Captain Jack	Kad-lite-pinna	36
Bob	Watta-Wattite-pinna ²¹²⁶	32
Bob	Wor-rite-ya ²¹²⁷	26
Rodney	Ker-ta-mi-ru ²¹²⁸	26
Jim	D° D°	23

²¹²¹ See Chapter 3.6 'Cape Jervis Tribe with guests', *passim*.

²¹²² Stephen Hack to Maria Hack 20 July 1837, PRG 456/1/18, SLSA.

²¹²³ Williams' report, *SA Gazette and Colonial Register*, 11/5/1839: 2c, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31750582>. 'Williamy' is not well enough known to be identified certainly: there seem to have been several who were given that name. He may have been the 'William' whom McLaren interviewed in 1837, and/or the 'William of Tarndanyungga' mentioned by Wyatt (see Book 2 for the story around McLaren and Wyatt's interview).

²¹²⁴ *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 27/4/1839: 2a, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31750560/2052681>. This fits neither Encounter Bay Bob nor Captain Jack (who was 'northern' but from a different group which lived near Gawler, though recently included into the 'Adelaide tribe' by King John: see Schultz PNS 8/14 Muna, 8/18 Kadlitiya). Perhaps Williamy was from 'Onkaparinga'.

²¹²⁵ Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary 11 Feb 1840, GRG 24/1/1840/381.

²¹²⁶ See below and Postscript in this Appendix.

²¹²⁷ *warritya* 'second-born [male]'

²¹²⁸ *kartameru*, 'first-born [male]'. Iparrityi's father 'King Rodney' was also known as *Ityamaiitpina*, 'father of *Ityamai*'.

Tommy

Wa-wite-pinna²¹²⁹

20 21

'Watta-Wattite-pinna' is no doubt the same man identified as "*Wattewattitpinna*" in Schürmann's diary.²¹³⁰ Schürmann referred several times in his diary to a man named "*Munnaitja Wattewattitpinna*": *Munaitya* is 'fourth-born [male]'; *Wattewatt-itpinna* is 'father of the *watte-watte*' ("a small animal burrowing in the earth": possibly a bettong?). In June 1839 this man was Schürmann's neighbour 'Tommy' at the Native Location and had "begun building his house" there.²¹³¹ In September 1839 Wattewattitpinna's younger wife gave birth to "her first child, which she named Kartanje".²¹³² This man was still at the Location in late January 1840.²¹³³ He was perhaps also the father of a young woman named "Watte Watte", who was beaten to death by her husband "Kauadla, alias Peter" in 1853;²¹³⁴ perhaps she was a daughter of one of Wattewattitpinna's other wives.

Moorhouse's "Wor-rite-ya" is identified in *Miyurna* only by his birth-order name: *Warritya*, 'second-born [male]'. In the light of the above, we may safely assume that he was the same tracker whom Williams called 'Bob' in 1839. Further than that, he could be almost any of the *Warrityas* or 'Bobs' mentioned in other records, unless further information turns up.

It is theoretically *conceivable* that 'Encounter Bay Bob' could have been the guide 'Bob' on the police expedition to the Para in April 1839; but there is no record that Tamuruwi was in Adelaide at that time, but only between 9th and 22nd November.²¹³⁵ Much more likely it was one of Moorhouse's local 'Bobs' who were keen to be in his workforce.

Was Moorhouse's 'Wor-rite-ya-Bob' the same man as 'Encounter Bay Bob'? Also extremely unlikely. The date of Moorhouse's letter coincides with the period when he was lobbying for Tamuruwi's land claim.²¹³⁶ If Tamuruwi had been one of the men on this list, it is certain that the Protector would have identified him by his English nickname, as he did for the others. As far as we know, Encounter Bay Bob was only a temporary visitor at the Location in 1839 because of illness and negotiations with the missionaries and the governor, and shortly after that had been officially banned from returning to Adelaide.²¹³⁷ Therefore it is vanishingly improbable that he was included among Moorhouse's mounted police candidates in February 1840, or McLean's trackers in 1842 (below).

7. A Port Gawler 'Bob' in 1839:

During the same events of April 1839, one of the wanted men at Port Gawler was known as Tipa Warritya or 'Bob'.²¹³⁸

Clearly this Warritya-'Bob' was not the same man as the *Adelaide* Warritya-'Bob' who was 'willing to be engaged' in the police force; nor the 'Bob' at Rapid Bay in January 1837.

²¹²⁹ *Wauwitpina* 'father of the female grey kangaroo'.

²¹³⁰ Schürmann Diary 17 May [sic, for 'June'] and 17 Sep 1839, 23 Jan 1840.

²¹³¹ See Gawler's translated speech, *Southern Australian* 26/5/1840: 3b.

²¹³² *Kartanya*, 'first-born [female]'.

²¹³³ Schürmann Diary 17 May [sic, for 'June'], 17 Sep 1839, 23 Jan 1840 (my transcription of names). However, this man was *not* Schürmann's guide to Encounter Bay in July 1839; the name of this guide was *Wauwitpinna* (my transcription from the manuscript), mis-transcribed by the translator as "*Wattewattitpinna*" in Schürmann 1987: 53ff (Edwin A Schürmann 1987, *I'd Rather Dig Potatoes: Clamor Schürmann and the Aborigines of South Australia 1838-1853*, Adelaide: Lutheran Publishing House).

²¹³⁴ *Adelaide Observer* 14/5/1853: 7c-d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158093784/18793089>.

²¹³⁵ Schürmann Diary 9, 21, 22 Nov 1839.

²¹³⁶ To be discussed in Book 2.

²¹³⁷ Schürmann Diary 30 Dec 1839.

²¹³⁸ See Schultz PNS 8/17 Murlayaki. Another of the wanted men was the 'senior man' or custodian of the Port Gawler area, 'Tam O'Shanter' or Murlayakipurka (OS *Mulleakkiburka*).

8. Police tracker ‘Bob’ in 1842:

Policeman James McLean was sent to the Port Lincoln district in June 1842 as part of Hugonin’s initial settler-military team in the undeclared war which followed the murder of Brown & Mrs Stubbs by local Aborigines. In his late memoir he recorded that he had taken with him as trackers ‘Henry’ and ‘Bob’, “my two Adelaide natives”. Pillaworta Station manager Charles Dutton abandoned the farm and headed for Adelaide with his stock, but went missing, the presumption being that he and his party had been murdered by Aborigines. The same Henry and Bob were still carrying messages for the police in Adelaide later that year to announce that the dray and bodies had been found.²¹³⁹

It is most unlikely that Tamuruwi would be referred to as an ‘Adelaide native’. McLean remembered him as ‘Encounter Bay Bob’ from their time working together at Goolwa in 1840.²¹⁴⁰ But he called his 1842 man merely ‘Bob’, and this was probably one of Moorhouse’s ‘Bobs’, either ‘Wor-rite-ya’ or ‘Watta-Wattite-pinna’.

It is likely that McLean’s ‘Henry’ and ‘Bob’ were also the “two friendly natives of the Adelaide tribe” who had accompanied William Williams as interpreters on Robert Tod’s early explorations around Port Lincoln in March 1839.²¹⁴¹

POSTSCRIPT: A MIS-TRANSCRIPTION AND MIS-IDENTIFICATION:

Steve Hemming surmised that Moorhouse’s ‘Watta-wattite-pinna’ might be Tamuruwi, partly on the ground that Schürmann’s ‘Wattewattitpinna’ accompanied the missionary to Encounter Bay that year.²¹⁴² However, the man who thus guided Schürmann was not ‘Watte-wattitpinna’ but “*Wauwitpinna*” (‘father of the female kangaroo’): the name had been mistranscribed in the translation used by Hemming’s source.²¹⁴³ “Wattiwattitpinna” (sic) was still in Adelaide on 23 January 1840,²¹⁴⁴ nearly a month after ‘Encounter Bay Bob’ had been banished from the city by Governor Gawler.²¹⁴⁵ It is very likely that this *Wauwitpinna* was the ‘Tommy’ whom Schürmann called “*Bukarti-willo*” and who was building a house at the Native Location in May 1840,²¹⁴⁶ and that he was also Moorhouse’s 21-year-old ‘Tommy’ “*Wa-wite-pinna*”. It is possible that he was also the ‘Tom’ at Rapid Bay who (along with ‘Peter’) introduced himself to the passengers of the *Africaine* on 7 December 1836.²¹⁴⁷

²¹³⁹ McLean 1903: 77-80, 90. This seems to be the only record claiming that Dutton’s dray was ever found. Other accounts list him as missing without trace.

²¹⁴⁰ McLean 1903: 67.

²¹⁴¹ *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 13/4/1839: 1a-c.

²¹⁴² Steve Hemming 1990, ‘Kaurna identity: a brief history’, in *Aboriginal Adelaide* 1990: 128.

²¹⁴³ Schurmann 1987: 53-4 (old unchecked transcriptions as used in the translation by Hans Spoeri); cp. Schürmann Diary 23 & 30 July 1839. My transcriptions are from the original manuscript, microfilm MF 3700-3701, Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide. Likewise, most of the conversations about ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* culture were with Wauwitpinna, not Wattewattitpinna (Schurmann 1987: 41, 51, 61 as cited in Hemming 1990: 138 n7. In Schürmann’s Diary these occurred on 5 & 16 June, 21 Aug 1839 respectively).

²¹⁴⁴ Schürmann Diary 23 Jan 1840 (my transcription from original manuscript).

²¹⁴⁵ Schürmann Diary 30 Dec 1839.

²¹⁴⁶ Gawler’s speech, *Southern Australian* 26/5/1840: 3b,
<https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71619350/6245065>.

²¹⁴⁷ See Chapter 3.6.2.6 ‘Yartakurlangga natives’.

APPENDIX 12: ABORIGINAL TERRITORIES, BORDERS AND IDENTITY LABELS AROUND THE FLEURIEU IN TRADITIONAL TIMES; AND THEIR USAGES TODAY.

1. 'LANGUAGE COUNTRY':

I am indebted to Peter Sutton for generously sharing his writings and helping me to understand and formulate something of the matters of language, place and identity in traditional societies. In this book I have introduced these first when assessing the identity information given by Kalungku to Robinson.²¹⁴⁸ Sutton pointed out to me that these realities were not visible to outsiders, not even when they observed languages being spoken: "Language countries primarily had borders of mental geography, not of behaviour".²¹⁴⁹ He has written,

"What do we mean by 'language countries' in the Australian context?... We don't mean areas of land and waters where the physical occupiers spoke a particular language variety... People traditionally were predominantly multilingual, so that in any locality a number of different languages would in fact be spoken. It is also clear that people were not residentially restricted to the country associated with their own particular tongue... People of different languages intermarried and lived on each others' countries and spent months attending ceremonies in distant places, far from their own language countries... An Aboriginal language country is a normally stable area of land and waters with a particular language of its own. The usual basis for this intrinsic association of country and language is in the founding mythology... The language varieties were implanted in each area by Dreaming Beings at the beginning of the world. This typically happened as sacred sites and their local clan estates were also being implanted... Whoever own the country owns its language. That is the variety people call 'my own real language'".²¹⁵⁰

Long ago he summarized the universal distinction which he has found in Aboriginal societies, between (1) those who *own* a language or dialect, along with all the sites in that part of the country where it belongs, as ritual property of the clan (usually inherited by "patrilineal descent or other intrinsic bases such as... conception or birth place"), and (2) those who merely *speak* it by social necessity without owning it.²¹⁵¹

This basic insight adds an extra complication when interpreting the historical data in this book, and warns us against hasty conclusions. We can be sure that this central value, perception, belief – that languages and place-names were bestowed on particular places by Dreaming Ancestors – was also fundamental to the local people on and around the Fleurieu. Those in the 'Kurna'-*Miyurna* Language Country spoke of "Nganno, a fabulous person said to have given names to different parts of the country (which they at present retain), and after that to have been transformed into a sea monster".²¹⁵² For their Raminyeri-*Kornar* neighbours it is also illustrated in

²¹⁴⁸ See Textbox06 'Kalungku, Emma, Personal and Group Identities and Territories'.

²¹⁴⁹ Peter Sutton p.c. email attachment 12/4/19.

²¹⁵⁰ Sutton 2019: 1-2 (Peter Sutton 10/2/2019, 'The Mapping of Aboriginal Language Countries', presentation at Language Keepers Conference, National Library of Australia: complete text kindly sent to me by the author [Sutton p.c. email 3/4/2019]. There is an audio recording at <https://soundcloud.com/nationallibraryaustralia/language-keepers-conference-session-7-re-placing-language-and-place>).

²¹⁵¹ Sutton 2018: 1 (Peter Sutton, 25/10/2018, 'The Language Owner vs Language Speaker Distinction In Aboriginal Tradition', [unpublished short document, which Sutton kindly supplied to me by email 5/4/2019]). The sentence in the main text above is my own attempt at a non-technical summary of this document. Sutton's very short document summarizes the matter with quotations from his own publications back to 1978, and others. He notes, "*The distinction has remained uncontroversial among experts in the field*" (p.2).

²¹⁵² T&S 1840, 2:31. See also my brief account of the *Nganno* sources in Schultz PNS 5.01/04 Koolta Kourga (Mt Terrible).

Meyer's account of the ancestor "Nurunduri", whose actions both created and named certain sites, "from which circumstance the place is called Kaindyenuald" or "Wittungenggul" or "Kungkengawar".²¹⁵³

By contrast, the idea of a corresponding overall 'Language *Group*' of *people* is an analytical construct by outsiders, trying to define according to European principles what a particular language is as opposed to one of its various 'dialects'. From this, a somewhat different kind of technical 'Language Country' – an outsider form of it – can be constructed to define a larger territory covering everywhere this technically-defined Language belonged. This can then be used to label a large something called a 'Tribe' and its 'Tribal territory', e.g. 'Kaurna-Miyurna Country' or 'Ngarrindjeri-Kornar Country'; these are usually assumed to be a single social and political unit. But whatever its political importance today, this idea does not correspond to any social reality which was fundamentally important to the Old People themselves before 1836. What was fundamental to them was relationship – family, clan and near neighbours – always tied closely to smaller particular pieces of Country. Among the Aboriginal people described in this book up to 1836, these small family groups were the custodians or 'landowners'; but the very specific and ramifying details of their 'own Country' and 'own Language' are largely unavailable to us now. On the Fleurieu borderland we usually cannot know for sure whether someone like Condoiy 'was Kaurna' or 'was Ramindjeri', i.e. which modern technical Language Country was his own by birth and inheritance. In fact it is not a very useful question.²¹⁵⁴

2. MODERN IDENTITY LABELS AND 'TRIBAL TERRITORIES' IN THE FLEURIEU REGION:

From this it follows – and I must emphasize the point – that in describing *territories* I do not assume as given any modern legal and political *labels* such as 'Kaurna', 'Ramindjeri', 'Ngarrindjeri', 'Peramangk', etc; nor the details of any of the various contested *boundaries* asserted for these in recent times. None of these are supported as *land-owning entities* by records made at first contact; and it is no longer controversial that the associated notion of a 'tribe' has been debunked by modern anthropological research.

Of the three core *modern identity labels or terms* referred to in this book – 'Kaurna', 'Ramindjeri' and 'Ngarrindjeri' – only the second has an unequivocal record at first contact, and its *usage* in the last hundred years has often been very different from its usage then.

'KAURNA' AND MIYURNA:

The label 'Kaurna' is a historical mistake made by 20th-century ethnologists from Howitt onward. It seems to have originated from a misunderstanding of Wyatt's labels for the two 'tribes' which he met in 1837. That of his travel guide 'Onkapinga Jack'²¹⁵⁵ was "Meeyurna" (= *Miyurna* [OS

²¹⁵³ Meyer 1846: 15; my emphasis; cp. p.14 on the origin of languages with the old woman *Wurruri*.

²¹⁵⁴ Sutton has written of this matter more fully and academically in Sutton 1997 (Peter Sutton 1997, 'Materialism, Sacred Myth and Pluralism: Competing Theories of the Origin of Australian Languages', in *Scholar and Sceptic: Australian Aboriginal Studies in Honour of LR Hiatt*, edited by Francesca Merlan, John Morton and Alan Rumsey, 1997, Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press). His essay argues that it is *the local dialect* which defines the ritual property of the clan given by the Dreaming, not the shared overall *Language Group* (a European construct). Within the geographical territory covered by my book, this probably implies (e.g.) that in the western Fleurieu the definitive identity was the *Patpa-warra* (Southern Dialect) belonging to the *Patpa-yarta* (Southern Land) and to its *Patpa-miyurna* (Southern People); and this had no reference to any overall *Miyurna* Language Group of the whole 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* Language Country (currently considered to extend up to the Mid-North, as in Tindale). The difficulty for stakeholders today is that we can know very little about the pre-colonial dialects and their associated clans and estates. Similar distinctions would have applied within the overall 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* Language Country: an analytical construct much less important to the pre-colonial people than the local identities (such as *Raminyeri*) who owned their dialect and its associated country and clans – in their pre-colonial forms, not as reconfigured by Taplin's time at Point McLeay (1859-79) or in the 1860s-80s memory culture reported to Tindale and Berndt in the 1930s. In the *Kornar* case, some of those primal details *might* be retrievable from ethnological and anthropological literature; but this is well beyond my expertise.

²¹⁵⁵ 'Onkapinga Jack' later became known as 'King John'. His real name was Murlawirrapurka (OS *Mullawirraburka*).

Meyunna], ‘people’ in the “Adelaide” language which we now call ‘Kurna’; but Wyatt’s label would be better). Alongside this, Wyatt wrote a corresponding entry that the ‘tribe’ of ‘Encounter Bay Bob’²¹⁵⁶ (whom he had met there) was “Kurna” (= *kornar*, ‘people’ in the “Encounter Bay” language which we now call ‘Ramindjeri’ or ‘Ngarrindjeri’).²¹⁵⁷

The total northward extent of ‘Kurna-Miyurna Language Country’ was established *roughly* by Moorhouse and Teichelmann in 1842, “to the northwest for at least 200 English miles”,²¹⁵⁸ which is vague but coincides *roughly* with the original Kurna Native Title Claim (2000) from the southernmost Fleurieu to Crystal Brook. Like ‘Ngarrindjeri’, this identifies only a Language Group (an anthropological construct), not a political or social unit in the 1830s. As identity and territory labels, I use the terms ‘Kurna’ (for the sake of familiarity) and *Miyurna* (as its corrective), but *only* in this ‘white-paper’ sense – not implying a unified ‘tribe’ in any sense meaningful to ‘black history’, social relations and organization as recorded in first contact times.

‘RAMINYERI’ AND ‘RAMINDJERI’:

The modern spelling and pronunciation ‘Ramindjeri’ differs from the earliest authoritative records which all have “Raminyeri”, sometimes in the plural “Raminyerar”.²¹⁵⁹ The word means simply ‘a person [or people] belonging to Ramong’. This is a quite specific place, the core of the estate, at the site of the 1840s whale fishery at the Bluff (Rosetta Head) in Encounter Bay.²¹⁶⁰ In first contact times the word ‘Raminyeri’ referred only to a clan group whose country was contained within an unknown but quite limited distance around *Ramong*.²¹⁶¹

All later definitions of ‘Ramindjeri’ territory describe a post-contact social expansion and/or a widely contested identity. In the last hundred years several sources have asserted that the name

²¹⁵⁶ The real names of ‘Encounter Bay Bob’ were *Tamuruwi* and *Runkawuri* (see Schultz 2023b, ‘Tamuruwi’).

²¹⁵⁷ Wyatt 1879: 180; see Amery 2013, ‘Naming of the people of the Adelaide Plains’ (unpublished manuscript report for KWP and the Kurna community). Wyatt’s spelling uses ‘au’ as in ‘cause’.

²¹⁵⁸ Teichelmann to Dresden 1 Aug 1842 (Teichelmann Correspondence: 154 [Archival Ref: TB 211-212]). Cp. Moorhouse 1842: “I have visited... the Crystal Stream to the north, a distance of 160 [miles]”.

²¹⁵⁹ Meyer 1843 and Meyer 1846. Meyer was a German linguist. In the latter essay (which originated from a public lecture), whenever he writes the suffix he uses the German ‘j’ which represents the sound *y* as in ‘you’, not the sound *dj* as in ‘judge’ (but an English-speaking reader could easily mistake this). In the former work he usually corrects the spelling to English “*inyeri*”. For more about the pronunciation and spelling of ‘*inyeri* / *indjeri*’, and some ambiguities in early evidence for this, see my discussion of ‘The suffix *inyeri* or *indjeri*’ in Section 4 below.

²¹⁶⁰ I hope to write up this place-name eventually in Schultz PNS 7.02/01 *Ramong* / *Wirramulla* (forthcoming).

²¹⁶¹ *Ramong*, the heartland of the Raminyerar, was a specific site in the sheltered lee of The Bluff (Rosetta Head), in the vicinity of today’s Whaler’s Inn Restaurant where an old whaler’s well was discovered recently. In 1839 Schürmann was told during an onsite visit that “the spot which alone bears the name *Wirramu*” (the *Miyurna* version of the *Kornar* name *Ramong*) was a campsite which (by my calculation from his data) was very close to Rosetta Head (Schürmann Correspondence: S67-8; cp. Schürmann Diary 26 Aug 1839). Meyer later confirmed that *Ramong* was in the “*Nghbrhd of Fishery*” (Meyer 1843: 49), i.e. the same place: the South Australian Company site at the Bluff, which was the only one operating in 1842-3, though owned since 1841 by Captain Hart.

In my very tentative view, the territory of the Raminyeri group at first contact *probably* extended west not as far as Tunkalilla, east not as far as Goolwa, and north no further than the valleys of the Hindmarsh and Inman rivers. Historical evidence supporting this assessment is found in this book (*passim*); and 20th-century evidence in Tindale’s unpublished journals (details which were used, or first written down, on *some* of his annotated maps); and the boundary identified by Karlowan and Mark Wilson in Berndt 1940: 180-1. The original territory of the *Raminyerar* may have been even more restricted than this; e.g. before the “*tribe of thirty or forty*” in the “*Tunkalilla and Wipinga district*” (Waitpinga) ceased to exist as a separate identity during Wilkinson’s residence at Rapid Bay, 1839-46 (Wilkinson 1848: 322), merged no doubt with the Raminyerar.

There is so far no detailed overview and analysis of available literature about ‘tribes’ at first contact along the South Coast from the Cape to The Bluff; nor of the Aboriginal place-names recorded during the first surveys along that coast around 1839-1841, which are linguistically diverse (some *Miyurna*, some *Kornar*, some ambiguous) with no apparent geographical pattern. I have files on some of these; but a more comprehensive data search is needed, since this area was not part of my original brief for the Southern Kurna Place Names Project.

applied to a much larger territory, including a substantial part of the Gulf coast.²¹⁶² But these claims are not supported by my research.

The spelling and pronunciation *Ramindjeri* is probably a modern development, as there seems to be almost no support for it in records from first contact.²¹⁶³ In this book I have chosen to stick with the spelling *Raminyeri* when the referent is needed, and I use the term only for the dialect and country in the general vicinity of The Bluff.

When speaking of groups who were observed at Encounter Bay, usually we don't know whether were all Raminyeri, or a mixture of Raminyeri with other Kornar neighbours, and/or relatives from the Southern 'Kurna' (*Patpa-Miyurna*), who sometimes might be a majority of those present.

'NARRINYERI' AND 'NGARRINDJERI':

'Ngarrindjeri' is the modern form of Meyer and Taplin's word "Narrinyeri".²¹⁶⁴ Taplin applied this to what he saw as a "federation" of tribes from Encounter Bay to the Coorong and Lake Alexandrina, where he defined a 'Language Country' and a people ('Language Group) using dialects of the one language. Meyer had found a simpler form of the same, as indicated by the territory described in the subtitle of his 1843 Vocabulary: "*spoken by ... the tribes in the vicinity of Encounter Bay, and (with slight variations) by those extending along the coast to the eastward around Lake Alexandrina and for some distance up the River Murray*".²¹⁶⁵ This defines what I call 'Kornar Language Country'. Meyer never hinted at any 'federation', but spoke rather of all the Kornar groups – in the 3 years since his arrival (1840-3) – being "almost constantly at war".²¹⁶⁶

The use of 'Narrinyeri' and its variants as the name of a single geo-cultural entity is contested. Tindale and Berndt rejected 'Ngarrindjeri' altogether. Berndt called the whole Kornar language group "Kukabrak", and some linguists today refer to it as 'Yaraldic'. Tindale spoke of Ramindjeri, Yaraldi, Warki, Tangani and other 'tribes' within the area; Berndt called these 'Dialect Units'.²¹⁶⁷

The inclusion of the Raminyeri in any 'federation' is also contested. It is not at all clear that the Raminyeri at first contact (as narrated in this book) were included in the *Tendi* council described by Taplin for his 'Narrinyeri', and none of the early records I have consulted give any hint of it.²¹⁶⁸

Accordingly, I largely avoid the term *Narrinyeri* or *Ngarrindjeri*, and use it *only* for the Language Group and Language Country as loosely defined by Meyer, with no implications about internal political arrangements as described by Taplin; and I prefer to use *Kornar* where it is not too confusing for the reader.

²¹⁶² This expanded 'Ramindjeri' territory has been found in the unpublished views of Reuben Walker in Tindale's journals of the 1930s; in anthropology by the Berndts, mainly from Karlowan around 1940 (Berndt & Berndt 1993); and in the 21st century with political action by the Ramindjeri Heritage Association.

²¹⁶³ But there are nuances in this judgment; see below on the historical record of 'indjeri' and 'Ramindjeri'.

²¹⁶⁴ For the possible meanings of *narrinyeri*, see below. For my discussion of 'The suffix inyeri or indjeri', see Section 4 below.

²¹⁶⁵ Meyer and Moorhouse were unsure at first whether the Coorong language was or was not a dialect of this group.

²¹⁶⁶ Meyer 1843: 1.

²¹⁶⁷ In his Introduction to *A World That Was*, Robert Tonkinson summarizes the Berndts' findings thus: "*dialect names... were normally attached to specific territories*" but "*there was no political unity to warrant the 'nation' or 'confederacy' labels*" (Berndt & Berndt 1993: xxvii).

²¹⁶⁸ I must emphasize that Taplin's work with the 'Narrinyeri' began well after anything that I would call 'first contact' west of the Lakes. When he was first called to the job in 1859, a whole generation (nearly 23 years) had passed since the colonists arrived in November 1836. In this time there had been massive social change in the area. Among other things, the people around Victor Harbour had been decimated by diseases caught from the whalers resident there since early 1837. The Raminyeri (and even Encounter Bay itself) scarcely occur in his writings at all, except for the sake of completeness in catalogues of groups and totems of his alleged 'federation'. As a result I have used Taplin very sparingly in this book. He seldom gives direct evidence of what was the case in 1836-40.

These decisions are not merely pedantic. I am dealing with the earliest historical records, all pre-dating Taplin's work by at least 15 years. I am trying to describe the people and their languages as they were before 1845, not after the later catastrophic social changes. In these days of 'culture wars' it is necessary to add that all languages, labels and group self-perceptions change over time,²¹⁶⁹ without affecting the truth of the people's identity, history and experience.

3. HISTORY OF THE MODERN USAGES:

In each case, the modern use by Aboriginal people of these 'New Tribe' labels²¹⁷⁰ reflects two important historical developments:

(a) The Adelaide-based language reclamation movements begun in the early 1980s. Naturally they based their terms on the information that was most accessible at that time, especially Taplin (who was readily available) and Tindale (who was at the height of his influence). For the Adelaide language they took the category 'Kurna' from the SA Museum's 1972 pamphlet by Robert Edwards, *The Kurna People of the Adelaide Plains* and Tindale's 1974 *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*. It was further promoted in the 1980s by the Tjilbruke Track Committee movement, preceding and following the release of Tindale's important long essay on 'Tjirbruki' (1985-7).²¹⁷¹ In the same period, for the people and language whose historical focus was the Point McLeay Mission (Raukkan) they not only followed Tindale and Berndt's 'Ramindjeri' but adapted Taplin's 'Narrinyeri' as re-spelt by Tindale and other anthropologists, and by Grahame Jenkin in his book *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri* (1979) – ignoring the fact that Tindale and most anthropologists had rejected this term.

(b) The subsequent political responses to the imposed requirements of Native Title legislation from 1993 onward.

Today all the definitions and borders are contested and negotiated pragmatically in the light of people's various multiple ancestries and family histories, negotiating issues which Tindale did not address but rather obscured. The resulting compromises are rarely able to represent all stakeholders equitably.²¹⁷²

Some critics will no doubt wish to use these complexities and conflicts to deny that these people in the urbanized south of the continent are 'really Aboriginal' or deserve land rights. Those who have endured the longest and most complete dispossession find it hardest to gain redress. But conflict and negotiation of interests are part of the perennial condition of our common humanity – 'white, black or brindle', as the late Auntie Leila Rankine (my mentor at CASM)²¹⁷³ would often say.

4. 'INYERI' AND 'INDJERI': PRONOUNCING AND SPELLING THE NAMES OF THE ENCOUNTER BAY AND LAKES PEOPLE:

THE SUFFIX *INYERI* or *INDJERI*:

The *Kornar* language of the Lower Murray, Lakes and Encounter Bay is the Language Group which today is usually called 'Ngarrindjeri' or 'Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri', sometimes 'Yaraldic' by academics, and 'Kukabrak' by the Berndts in their big 1993 book. In this language the suffix *indjeri* or *inyeri* means

²¹⁶⁹ Seventy years ago I and my classmates in Victor Harbour Primary School would recite weekly our identity as construed by the school authorities: 'I am an Australian; I love my country, the British Empire'. Today not even an Oz monarchist could honestly say that.

²¹⁷⁰ I adopt the expression 'New Tribes' from Knight 2003: 448ff.

²¹⁷¹ Tindale 1987, 'The Wanderings of Tjirbruki', *Records of SA Museum* 20: 5-13, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/126684#page/8/mode/1up>. This essay was also made available to some (including me) as a typescript from 1985.

²¹⁷² Knight 2003: 443-450 gives commentary (now a little dated) by James Knight who as an archaeologist had been involved in Native Title matters.

²¹⁷³ The Centre for Aboriginal Studies in Music, founded at the University of Adelaide by Dr Catherine Ellis with Leila Rankine and others in the 1970s.

'belonging to'. Since the mid-20th century, most authors have used the spelling *dj* in this suffix when labelling the 'Ramindjeri' and 'Ngarrindjeri' people and their language. In my lifetime the people themselves have universally used the associated pronunciation of the consonant, i.e. a Voiced Stop *dj*, the 'j' sound as in 'judge'. No doubt this difference originated from systematic differences between spoken dialects, probably Raminyeri (Encounter Bay) and Yaraldi (Lakes); but they were merged in Taplin's linguistic work (1859-1879), and both still occur today in the community.²¹⁷⁴

But in all the first-contact sources of Kornar language, almost every time any *-indjeri* word occurs, the spelling either specifies or implies the pronunciation *inyeri*, i.e. using the Semi-vowel *y* (as in 'yell').²¹⁷⁵ Prime examples are Meyer's "Raminyeri" and Taplin's "Narrinyeri".²¹⁷⁶ Out of many examples of the suffix obtained in that era, only one ends with a spelling that probably implies the sound *dj*, or anything resembling it. It is the earliest of all, in 1831. One of the slayers of Captain Barker was identified at the time as "Cummaringeree", which probably represents the pronunciation *Kamarindjeri*, though it might perhaps be *Kamarinkeri*.²¹⁷⁷ While not conclusive, this name may suggest that the Voiced Stop *dj* was sometimes used in *indjeri* at first contact (by the Lakes clans?), alongside the predominantly-recorded Semi-vowel *y* in *inyeri* (by the Encounter Bay clans).²¹⁷⁸ Another set of records by Simpson Newland about "the Ramingaries" may confirm the minority pronunciation while confusing its location.²¹⁷⁹

²¹⁷⁴ See 'Has Ngarrindjeri Pronunciation Changed?' (Gale 2009: xxiii-xxiv).

²¹⁷⁵ In the early vocabularies no word ends with the spelling 'djeri' explicit or implied, but many with 'nyeri'. In Berndt & Berndt 1993 both forms are cited often from their informants.

²¹⁷⁶ cp. "Cherlinyère" = *tjelinyeri*, "Koolinyère" = *kulinyeri* (Wyatt 1879: 170, 171). All these words are now pronounced and spelled with *dj* instead of *y*.

²¹⁷⁷ "CUMMARRINGEREE": Davis 1831: 25. For the historical context of this personal name see Chapter 2.3.4.1.3 'The Search'. Ship's doctor Davis was either reporting this name directly from Kalinga-'Sally', Condoy and the captured girl, or (more likely) indirectly from them via Commissariat Officer Kent (see Point 8 in Appendix 4 'What probably happened in 1831'); so this spelling might have originated with either Davis or Kent. Does the 'ng' represent *n-dj* as in English 'fringe', or a hard *ng-k* as in 'finger'? If the former, we have *Kamarindjeri*, which would represent the very common suffix *-indjeri* (<- *-inyeri*) 'belonging to'. If the latter, we have *Kamarinkeri*, which might represent another common Kornar word-ending which is spelled variously in different words, and perhaps pronounced variously: 'nkari', 'ngkari', 'nkeri', 'ngkeri', 'nkuri', 'ngkuri'. (This is so even with today's linguistically rationalized spelling: see Gale 2009, where the old 19th-century spellings of this morpheme, as recorded by Meyer, Taplin and others, are often retained but not always. The variant vowel is unstressed, and it is unclear whether or not a clear distinction was made by old Kornar informants).

No doubt Bates also heard this name pronounced in 1831. A reporter, interviewing him 63 years after the event, and recording "*Bates' account of the tragedy*" of Barker, gave his pronunciation of the name as "Kamma-*injeri*", i.e. *Kama[r]indjeri* (Bates 1894b: 6a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/25740466>). However, there is an element of doubt here, because earlier in the interview the reporter had also read out Davis's written account aloud to Bates. Did Bates subsequently reproduce Kalinga-Sally's pronunciation from 1831, or the reporter's from a few minutes ago? If Davis or Kent heard a *dj* here, then "*Cummaringeree*" (= *Kamarindjeri*) would be the only contemporary first-contact record I know which suggests that this pronunciation of the suffix was used at that time: i.e. *indjeri* alongside the otherwise universal *inyeri* of those years. But we can't be sure that he did not mean *Kamarinkeri*. A meaning for a Root *kamar-* or *gamar-* might have helped us here, but there is no known vocabulary to match.

²¹⁷⁸ Was there also a third variant pronunciation *ingkeri*? In one first-contact personal name the suffix seems to have been pronounced both as *inyeri* and *ingkeri*. The German linguist Meyer wrote in 1845 of a man whom he knew personally at Encounter Bay, called "Puninjeri" (= *Puninyeri*; German 'j' represents English consonantal 'y') (Meyer to Dresden, 7 Oct 1845, 12 Nov 1845 [Meyer Correspondence: 125-7]). But next year he spelled the name "Puninggeri" (= *Puninjeri*: *ng* or *ngk* as in 'finger') (Meyer to Dresden, 4 Oct 1846, *ibid*). Presumably the man himself and/or his clansmen used both pronunciations.

²¹⁷⁹ "RAMINGARA, RAMINGARIES": Simpson Newland spent his earliest years at Encounter Bay in the early 1840s to 1850s and knew several of the same men whom Meyer knew. When he began to write down his memories fifty years later, he gave the plural in the language as "*Ramingara*" (presumably = *Ramindjerar*), often hybridized as "*Ramingaras*" (Newland 1899: 40-2). By 1919 he was using a hybridized singular, "*Ramingaries*", presumably representing *Ramindjeri* + English 's' (Newland 1919: 38, 43; Newland 1921: 89-90; Newland 1926, Chapter 3; "*Ramingaries*" in Newland 1922: 3). This prominent and well-attested group name obviously cannot be one of the alternative *ngkari* words. Newland's 'ng' certainly represents *n-dj* (cp. English 'fringe', 'ginger'), as in the modern version *Ramindjeri* (the third vowel *a* could be either unstressed and therefore easily mistaken, or a variant pronunciation). Although this is a late memory, his spellings are all independent of all other early sources and do suggest that he had learned the *n-dj* version from the people themselves in those very early days.

Meyer and Taplin did not record the spelling ‘dj’ at all, but consistently used ‘ty’, e.g. in their suffixes “itye” and “watyeri”, signifying a sound very like ‘ch’ as in ‘church’ (an Unvoiced Stop).²¹⁸⁰

The standard use of *indjeri* in the various group names – ‘Ngarrindjeri’, ‘Ramindjeri’, ‘Piltindjeri’, etc – was apparently popularized and entrenched firstly by ethnologists of the 1930s-70s, notably Tindale and Berndt, who presumably heard this pronunciation (or something like it) from their informants;²¹⁸¹ and this was consolidated in 1979 by Graham Jenkin’s widely-read history book *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri*. Within the cultural renewal movement of the last 30 years, the *dj* pronunciation and spelling is now replacing *y* also in some other old words where only *inyeri* was recorded.²¹⁸² But *inyeri* is still retained in most uses of the suffix, and also perpetuated in several modern surnames such as Kartinyeri and Kropinyeri.²¹⁸³

THE SPELLING, PRONUNCIATION AND MEANING OF ‘NARRINYERI’ or ‘NGARRINDJERI’:²¹⁸⁴

Here I cannot go very far into the ambiguous origins of this identity word. I confine myself to a few observations pertinent to my book.

The *referents* of the name – the people and the area of their Language Country – are not in doubt. Though rejected by Tindale, the group label ‘Narrinyeri / Ngarrindjeri’ is very well-attested continuously from Taplin to modern times: i.e. from the 1860s onward. But before 1861 the *name* itself is scarcely on record at all.

The word *narrinyeri* does occur in Meyer’s writings: once only, in his wordlist which defines it as “Australian native; mankind”.²¹⁸⁵ This noun does not sound like a local ‘tribal’ identity of any kind (as in Taplin), but

²¹⁸⁰ In modern times Berndt, Tindale and the current language development have spelled these words *itji* and *watjeri*. The spelling change from ‘ty’ to ‘tj’ does not (usually) represent a change in pronunciation. Both represent the ‘ch’ sound. But there are now some exceptions, e.g. *talkinyeri* > *talkindjeri* with the Voiced Stop *dj* – no doubt by analogy with ‘Ngarrindjeri’ and ‘Ramindjeri’.

²¹⁸¹ In 1934 Tindale was transcribing the cluster in question with the single phonetic symbol ʒ, for the sound *zh* as in English ‘*azure*’ and ‘*pleasure*’. Most of the examples occur in the suffix “*inzeri*”, especially “*Raminzeri*”, recorded from Reuben Walker (Tindale SESA2: 87-8, 149-150, 152, 157-8, 160-1), Milerum (SESA2: 41, 52, 75), and John ‘Sustie’ Wilson (SESA2: 79, 82-3). But in 1935 he adopted a University of Adelaide spelling system (see Tindale 1935, <https://ia802602.us.archive.org/20/items/RecordsSouthAus5Sout/RecordsSouthAus5Sout.pdf>, where he describes it). This system rejected ʒ and the single-sound interpretation altogether (“*tj* = (not *tʃ* as in *church*)” and “*dj* = (not *dʒ* as in *judge*)”, in manuscript “Phonetic system used by NB Tindale, ‘Anthropological Expedition to the Diamantina’”, featured at the head of SA Museum’s digital archive of Tindale’s journals). Thereafter he never wrote “*inzeri*” again, but used the cluster *dj* in *indjeri* (e.g. *Ramindjeri*). As far as I know he never explained the origin of his new interpretation as a cluster, nor why *indjeri* is preferable to *inyeri* in his quotations from old writers, and to *inzeri* in his own previous records. In the main English text of Tindale 1935 (pp.261, 265, and the map on p.262), he used several clan names with the spelling *indjeri*, which had already begun to appear on his unpublished annotated maps. He discussed *dj* and *tj* (= *dy* and *ty*, since the Continental ‘j’ represents the sound *y* as in ‘you’ [p.264-5], while *d* and *t* are interchangeable variant pronunciations in most Aboriginal languages). But in his detailed analysis of an audio recording by Frank Blackmoor which is the subject of that essay, no examples of the *indjeri* suffix occur, though an adverb “*inan djera*” and a place-name “*Malbin djerang*” occur once each.

Ronald Berndt, in his 1940 account of Ngurunderi, reininterprets old ‘Raminyerar’ as “*ra: mindjeri*”, and says “*the word for ‘man’ is narindjeri*”, but still uses the old spelling ‘Narrinyeri’ for the group name (Berndt 1940: 164, 165, 169, and *passim*). In the years between about 1940 and 1951 Ronald and Catherine Berndt had changed from *inyeri* to *indjeri* in their spelling of group names (Berndt & Berndt 1951: 29n16, 89, 154) – though by the 1990s they were using the term “*Kukabrak*” for the same ‘Narrinyeri’ group identity (Berndt & Berndt 1993 *passim*).

These ethnologists may have adopted the spelling *indjeri* because already in those years they were hearing this cluster pronunciation from their informants. In the 1930s Reuben Walker hand-wrote and Mark Wilson typed Walker’s spellings “*Ramingaris*”, “*Raminjarries*”, “*Ramingere*” “*Ramingerie*” and “*Raminjiri*” (Tindale SESA2: 186, 199, 214, 215; representing the *dj* sound).

These records are evidence that a change of dominant pronunciation from *y* to *dj* had occurred by the 1930s, but do not tell us when it happened, how it was pronounced in the later 19th century. Since Tindale’s famous 1974 book *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*, the *indjeri* form has been unchallenged in academic and common usage for group names.

I leave it to linguists to theorize whether this 20th-century change in spelling records has any historical significance beyond Tindale’s desk decisions or deficiency in his early ear.

²¹⁸² – such as *talkindjeri* ‘wild turkey’.

²¹⁸³ Doreen Kartinyeri used the modern spelling *Ngarrindjeri*, but also the old spelling *Raminyeri* (Kartinyeri & Anderson 2008, *Doreen Kartinyeri My Ngarrindjeri Calling*: 152).

²¹⁸⁴ See also ‘Changes in the Spelling of Clan Names’ (Gale 2009: xxxi-xxxii).

²¹⁸⁵ Meyer 1843: 84.

more like a local word denoting any Aboriginal person anywhere: a bit similar to the 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* term *yaitya-miyu*, 'indigenous [Australian] person'. Meyer never used it elsewhere. However, its derivation makes the issue ambiguous, for he glosses the adjective "narre" (*nari*) as "clear, distinct, intelligible, complete", which does imply a more exclusive reference to local language, 'clear speech' to those who speak 'properly'.

George Taplin was the first to use 'Narrinyeri' as the name for the whole Language Group, in his diary from November 1861 onward, frequently thereafter and in his publications. He made some observations about the name, its two alleged derivations (one from the word *narr*, another from *kornar*), and its usage by the people during his years at Point McLeay, 1859-79.²¹⁸⁶ The form *Narrinyeri* continued universally throughout the 19th century²¹⁸⁷ and well into the 20th.

'N' AND 'NG':

The initial 'N' in *Narrinyeri* changed to 'Ng' in common usage sometime in the early-to-mid-20th century, and the reason is unclear. *Ngarr* occurs once in Taplin's English-to-Narrinyeri wordlist; he gives 'Intelligible' as 'Nar'; 'Narrinyeri' is 'People'; but 'Plain (distinct)' is both 'Nar' and 'Ngarr'. Was the form *Ngarrinyeri* a permissible variant, or perhaps used by a minority?²¹⁸⁸ Early-to-mid-20th-century ethnographers such as Howitt, Radcliffe Brown and Elkin had continued to cite and use Taplin's 'Narrinyeri' spelling. Perhaps it was again Tindale, followed as an authority by Berndt and Jenkin, who sealed this unexplained change to 'Ng', in the same package as the *dj*.

At about the same time the same writers began to abandon the old spelling 'Nurundere' in favour of 'Ngurunderi', in this case with the authority of their informants. Again it is likely that both pronunciations were current at first contact in the 1840s.²¹⁸⁹

²¹⁸⁶ TAPLIN AND THE TERM 'NARRINYERI':

1. Taplin Diary 4/11/1861.

2. Taplin Narrinyeri 1874: 1, = Taplin Narrinyeri 1879: 1 –

'THE NARRINYERI, OR TRIBES OF ABORIGINES INHABITING THE LAKES ALEXANDRINA AND ALBERT AND LOWER MURRAY. The people who are described in the following pages call themselves "Narrinyeri." The name is evidently an abbreviation of Kornarrinyeri (from kornar, men, and inyeri, belonging to), and means "belonging to men." They take great pride in this designation, and call other nations of Aborigines wild blackfellows, while they say we are men.'

3. Taplin Folklore 1879: 34 –

[Name of Tribe] *'The "Narrinyeri." Probably this word is an abbreviation of "Kornarrinyeri" (belonging to men). This is the derivation recognised by some. Nevertheless some natives prefer to regard the word Narrinyeri as derived from "nar," plain, intelligible (referring to language); and "inyeri," belonging to. This would make the word mean – belonging to plain or intelligible speakers, or those of one language. It is probable that the first derivation is correct, because it is applied frequently to those whose dialects differ considerably.'*

I leave it to linguists to argue which of Taplin's theories is better, and what he means by his 1879 explanation. By "*dialects differ considerably*", does he mean that the people in his ambit were distinguishing themselves from "*other nations*" who spoke *dialects* of the same Kornar language, e.g. 'Coorong'? or from "*wild blackfellows*" such as the feared and despised 'Tatiara' people, or perhaps 'Adelaide' as well (completely different *languages*)? Linguistically it is possible, but far from 'evident', that *Narrinyeri* derives from *kornar*. Much more about the adventures of the labels 'Narrinyeri' and 'Ngarrindjeri' can be found in James Knight's thesis, notably his Appendix 1.11.2 'Taplin and the Narrinyeri 1859-1879' (Knight 2003, Appendices: 151-6).

²¹⁸⁷ Karammi of Port Elliot, when John McConnell Black interviewed him in 1892, was still using the form *Narinyeri* as well as variants of the other consonants (Black 1917: 8, 10). Karammi gave the word in three pronunciations which Black spelled as "*narinjeri*", "*narinjedi*" and "*narinjeri*", in which Black's 'j' means y (= *narinyeri*, *narinyedi*, *ngarinyeri*). Black also heard the pronunciation "*narinjeri*" (= *ngaringyeri*) from Frank Blackmore in 1919 (Black 1920: 92).

²¹⁸⁸ In 1892 Karammi was using both *N* and *Ng* (see footnote on Karammi above).

²¹⁸⁹ The same variation or change from *N* to *Ng* happened in the name of the Creator Being who was recorded in the 1840s as "*Ooroondooil*" (Penney; cp. Cawthorne "*Ooroondovil*" [Cawthorne-Foster 1991: 71-2], probably his misspelling of Penney) and "*Nurundere*" (Meyer, Taplin), etc. The initial consonant was recorded as *Ng* only in the mid-20th century. It seems that Tindale had heard the *Ng* pronunciation from several informants in 1934-5 (Tindale Murray1: 102-5, 117-9; SESA1: 185-6; SESA2: 30, 51, 58-60, 137; Tindale 'Notes On The Kaurna' AA 338/1/35: 45). Berndt in 1940 wrote that it was Tindale who told him, "*Ooroondovil... is better transcribed as Ngurunderi*" (Berndt 1940: 168n12, 173). Berndt also heard this *Ng* pronunciation from Karlowan, in that essay by which Berndt entrenched the new spelling. Tindale's guess was probably sound, because the spelling 'Ooroondooil' almost certainly shows that non-linguist Penney (like many other colonists) had heard an initial *Ng* but not identified it as part of the word; if he had heard *N* he would have recognized it. At the same time, linguist Meyer was hearing an initial *N* in "*Nurundure*".

APPENDIX 13: INTERMARRIAGE ACROSS LANGUAGE BOUNDARIES: TWO EXAMPLES IN TINDALE:

This Appendix presupposes that the reader has read Appendix 12 'Aboriginal territories, borders and identity labels around the Fleurieu'.

LANGUAGES AND INTERMARRIAGE AROUND THE FLEURIEU.

We Anglo-Australians might assume that two quite different languages – 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* northwest of the range and 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar* southeast – would create a divisive political 'other', leading to chronic mutual suspicion and tensions. But this was not so; for in this region the marriage laws demanded exogamy – marriage outside one's own small group – and with options confined by geography, spouses were often sought on the other side of the hills. As a result, there were frequent friendly visits between the two places only 35 km apart: a situation rather like Central Europe, where it was common for people to have close relatives or even spouses who grew up with a mother-tongue different from their own. Under these conditions many adults learn the other language, and children may grow up bi-lingual, or even multi-lingual from relatives with more distant connections.²¹⁹⁰

'TRIBAL' IDENTITIES AROUND THE FLEURIEU.

Since the 1970s, ethnographers and historians have usually framed matters of Aboriginal culture around Fleurieu Peninsula in terms of three large-scale 'tribal' identities: 'Kaurna' and 'Ngarrindjeri', with increasingly frequent recognition of the 'Ramindjeri' as a subgroup of the latter

²¹⁹⁰ MULTI-LINGUALISM AND INTERMARRIAGE:

Most of us Anglo-Australians have found this arrangement hard to imagine or understand. For many generations we have been members of a very dominant and very monolingual majority in this huge continent. In the past we have been able to travel thousands of miles while rarely needing to communicate at all with people who speak a different language, much less knowing them as close relatives. As I remember from my childhood at Victor Harbor in the 1950s, we have tended to regard such people as 'the other', and intermarriage with them as an oddity. But as my colleague Gerhard Ruediger crystallized for me, all this has never been and is not so in Europe, especially in an officially multilingual country like Switzerland. There, although one language may dominate in a particular place, the different language of a neighbouring place is not 'the other' but a familiar part of everyday life (Gerhard Ruediger p.c. 31/8/2016).

So it was with Aboriginal groups on a language border. Everyone had close relatives who came from the other language group and grew up in the other place. Most girls were destined to go off at puberty with a husband of the opposite group, live perforce at his place and learn to speak his language. If the mix were fairly equal, an outsider looking for such a 'border' would find it very elusive.

As a German, the missionary linguist Clamor Schürmann in the 1840s understood this multi-lingual milieu well, e.g. in his remarks on the peoples near Port Lincoln: "*The principal mark of distinction between the tribes is difference of language or dialect; where the tribes intermix greatly no inconvenience is experienced on this account, as every person understands, in addition to his own dialect, that of the neighbouring tribe; the consequence is that two persons commonly converse in two languages, just as an Englishman and German would hold a conversation, each person speaking his own language, but understanding that of the other as well as his own. This peculiarity will often occur in one family through intermarriages, neither party ever thinking of changing his or her dialect for that of the other. Children do not always adopt the language of the mother, but that of the tribe among whom they live*" (Schürmann 1846 [CW Schürmann 1846, 'The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln', in Woods 1879: 249, https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/15080/6/Schurmann_Aboriginal%20Tribes%20of%20Port%20Lincoln.pdf).

The same applied around 'Cape Jervis', even though the language difference was much greater across the range there than on Eyre Peninsula. Unsurprisingly, when Walker and Cooper heard Kalinga, Condoy and Doughboy speaking with their Encounter Bay relatives (no doubt many times), we may guess that they failed to hear or understand what was happening, and assumed that everyone was using the one language, and that it was the one of which their companions had taught them a little ('Kaurna'-*Miyurna*) (see the story of Condoy and Kalinga with Barker and Bates in 1831; also the story of Cooper at Encounter Bay in Sep 1837, which will be examined in Book 2).

(following Taplin, Tindale and Berndt), and increasing recognition of the ‘Peramangk’ of the Mt Lofty Ranges (a name which comes from Tindale, not from first contact).²¹⁹¹ But as Philip Clarke has said, “the use of such large ‘tribal’ terms is problematic in the pre-European situation. The main landowning groups are better described as descent groups, which were generally much smaller units than what has generally been defined as ‘tribes’ by those such as Tindale. Linguistic groups and cultural blocs may have defined Aboriginal people in a pre-European setting, but they [are] not readily linked to rigidly bounded geographical areas”.²¹⁹²

In order to interpret the data from first contact we may draw upon material from later local ethnology and anthropology, and apply it retrospectively with caution.

The basic framework concerns the exogamous rules of marriage: that is, a strong gene pool is ensured by having rules that an individual must marry someone outside his or her own family group. In places near a major language boundary, this will often mean that relationships are closer with nearby families belonging to a different Language Country than with more distant families in the same Language Country. In particular, one’s arranged spouse may often speak a different language from one’s own; this may even be obligatory, as among the Yolngu of Eastern Arnhem Land.²¹⁹³ A woman leaves the land of her childhood and goes to live with her husband in his land where a different language ‘belongs’, so that she cannot avoid becoming bilingual. Her children will receive names in her husband’s local language, but – in *Miyurna* practice at least – their birth-order names come from the mother not the father,²¹⁹⁴ and will be in the mother’s ‘own language’ derived from the estate of *her* father. As a result of trade, ceremony and kinship, many individuals both male and female learn the language of their spouses, relatives and trading partners. Many (perhaps most) of both language groups will have descent lines containing members of both groups, with mutual obligations on both sides of the language boundary established by the Dreaming. These will be known and maintained even if the marriage is the result of capture in a wife-stealing raid (though payback and compensation rules will apply), and perhaps even when the clans are hostile to each other.

TWO PROTOTYPES FROM MILERUM VIA TINDALE.

My examples are from Tindale’s work on ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* memory culture in the early 20th century. Here I depart from the usual methodology of my essay, which largely confines itself to what was recorded at first contact up to (say) 1845. My excuse is that in this case Milerum (the Tangani or ‘Ngarrindjeri’ man Clarence Long) was remembering historical events which took place in the Fleurieu’s early contact period (perhaps around the 1850s), and a little later when the cultural transformation of the southern Fleurieu was more advanced but not yet complete (1870s-90s).

The 1850s were the very last years when people of the *Miyurna* Language Group could be identified as the resident occupiers and owners of the southern Fleurieu; years when for at least a decade the *Kornar* had been moving into and across that country in larger numbers and more often than previously. The Peninsula was beginning to be depopulated of its traditional owner-clans,²¹⁹⁵ and the journey from Encounter Bay and the Lakes all the way to Adelaide for supplies

²¹⁹¹ A shortcoming of this Book 1 may be that it takes very little account of the Hills People. My only defences are that if they were present in any of the events described, they were not recognized as a separate group; and that none of those events happened on what is now identified as Peramangk land, i.e. from Myponga valley northward along the range. This early invisibility of the Peramangk or ‘Mt Barker tribe’ ended dramatically – for a few years – during the wars of the 1840s (see my separate essay Schultz 2023a, ‘Adelaide as a battleground’, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>).

²¹⁹² ClarkeP 1991: 100. For criticism of the ‘tribe’ concept, Clarke cites Nicholas Peterson (ed). 1976, *Tribes and Boundaries in Australia*, Canberra, Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies: 50-71, 82-107.

²¹⁹³ p.c. Rob Amery 2012.

²¹⁹⁴ See Simpson 1998: 223-5.

²¹⁹⁵ See e.g. Wilkinson 1848: 322.

was becoming a well-established annual tradition. Residency at places on the Gulf by *Kornar* people was already common at Rapid Bay and Yankalilla before 1836, and no doubt possible further north *by arrangement* (e.g. Myponga Beach, Aldinga Scrub, Port Willunga and Port Noarlunga). In the later 19th century it was now more common and more protracted, in process of becoming the new dominant socio-cultural arrangement. But some knowledgeable people among the Kornar, such as Karlowan, still remembered the old situation as late as 1940.²¹⁹⁶

.....

1. KEININDJERI'S RAPID BAY WIFE:²¹⁹⁷

Keinindjeri's 'Rapid Bay' wife was "a very old woman" when Milerum met her as "a small boy of about 10 to 12 years of age" (i.e. in about 1880), and by then she "had been married to *Keinindjeri* for many years" – perhaps since about 1850. The events told here by Milerum may therefore have been happening around 1845-60: not quite first contact, but in the first generation of colonial occupation, and before Taplin's work.

One of the songs in 'Ramindjeri' language recorded by Tindale from Milerum in 1937 concerned a widow and her second marriage. Tindale summarized her story very briefly on a place-name card, probably 50 years after hearing the original story.²¹⁹⁸

*Ṭarəwarəṇ*²¹⁹⁹ ... Section 190 H of Waitpinga.²²⁰⁰ Home of a widow, of the gummy-shark totem... born as a Kurna tribeswoman at Rapid Bay & married to a Ramindjeri man who lived at Goolwa. Songs recorded by Tindale... tell of efforts to get her to marry again. She held the right, from her deceased husband, to give permission for shark-spearing.²²⁰¹ It is likely that this place name followed her from near Rapid Bay,²²⁰² her original home in Kurna country.

Tindale had already published the detailed story in 1941, paraphrased from Milerum's information.²²⁰³ From the 1941 essay, and with the help of his maps and cards – which must always be critically analysed²²⁰⁴ – we find or infer the following 'facts' or interpretations:

- The woman's "original home" was Rapid Bay in 'Kurna' country.

²¹⁹⁶ In 1940 Karlowan told Berndt that on the south coast of the Peninsula, the border between 'Kurna' and Ramindjeri Language Countries lay somewhere between today's Callawonga Creek and Tunkalilla Beach (Berndt 1940: 180-1).

²¹⁹⁷ See Map11 'Routes'.

²¹⁹⁸ Tindale Card "*Ṭarəwarəṇ*", in Vocabularies: Ramindjeri', AA338/7/1/17.

²¹⁹⁹ RS *Tarawarang*.

²²⁰⁰ Opposite West Island around King's Point and King's Beach. In mapping this place Tindale explicitly equated it with the Point itself ("*Ṭarəwarəṇ* = 'King's Point'", Tindale Map Hundred of Waitpinga, AA 338/24/93), but this is probably his own guess.

²²⁰¹ In Tindale's original and published song write-ups the woman's right of permission concerns *seals*, not sharks. Men could encounter sharks when hunting seals, e.g. during raft expeditions to West Island (see Tindale 1941 below), but on these excursions they did not spear the sharks. Milerum said that they "*put goanna fat on water, sharks come in... We spear them when they come to get the oil smell*" ('Story of Kondoli from Milerum May 1936', Tindale SESA2: 235). Tindale's error on the card is an example of his hasty work-notes written long afterwards without checking the original data. Probably he was misled by remembering the woman's shark totem.

²²⁰² What does this sentence mean? Is Tindale implying here that there was also another *Tarawarang* "near Rapid Bay"? This is very unlikely; I do not know of any similar place-name near Rapid Bay, in any language. But we may ignore it as a baseless rumination because there are no supporting data, and in view of the other careless error on this card.

²²⁰³ Tindale 1941: 241-2, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/129818#page/281/mode/1up> (NB Tindale 1941, 'Native Songs of the South-East of South Australia, Part II', *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* Vol.65 No.2, Adelaide).

²²⁰⁴ Tindale's early maps of Hundreds often contain primary information from the 1930s, but the later maps often contain later interpretations. His index cards are work-notes, often dating from the 1980s, often vaguely sourced or not at all.

- Her later “home” was at Goolwa with her ‘Ramindjeri’ husband.
- “[Her] country” was at or near King’s Point (Tarawarang), directly opposite West Island, west of The Bluff near Victor Harbor.
- “Her totem place” was either West Island itself (Ngalaikorombar), or “a flat camp” on the coast opposite it (Ngarailkeili or Ngalaikeren, “at or near Section 191” less than a kilometre west of King’s Point); or both. In the song write-up Tindale uses these names as though they were interchangeable.²²⁰⁵
- It is unclear whether Tindale equates ‘her totem place’ with ‘her country’.

The published version follows in part:

Keinindjeri Asks for his Brother’s widow – a Ramindjeri song from Encounter Bay.

... A Lonjoni clansman, of Goolwa (Ra:mindjeri tribe) and `Keinindjeri a youth of the `Kaŋ`geilindjeri clan (Tananekald tribe) were made ‘red men’, i.e. were initiated and painted with red ochre together. They were thus... wurek:udulu and called each other... `wure`kend i.e. brothers. The Lonjoni man received in marriage a Rapid Bay tribeswoman whose country was west of Dalaikorombar (West Island) at `Tarewareŋ. This woman’s totem (ŋaitje)... was the ŋarak:ani or gummy shark and her totem place was Dalaikorombar (also called Darailkeili & Dalaikeren in the song). It was her right to give men permission to go to West Island in rafts to kill seals.²²⁰⁶

It is the privilege of a man’s brother (his la:wari) to say whether or not he will take his brother’s widow as a wife. When the Lonjoni man died she was Keinindjeri’s by right and it was recognised by her relatives that she should go up the Coorong to Keinindjeri when her period of mourning was over.

Keinindjeri went to Rapid Bay to fetch her but he had no chance to get near her and was too frightened to ask, leaving it to the woman to come to him when she willed to do so, but she kept away. So Keinindjeri sang this song at a gathering of people at Goolwa. He wanted to make her explain why she had not come to him when he went to Rapid Bay to marry her.

The song says:-

‘I wonder what holds her, holds that woman of Ngalaikaran.²²⁰⁷ Inside me I feel that someone is pursuing²²⁰⁸ her. Those people of Ngarailkeili hold her in their camp with their talk. I wait high up on the Bluff Lookout; watching for her.’

In the song he mentioned no names, only the woman’s country; everyone knew for whom it was intended.

The widow answered the challenge of this song. She said she was waiting for another old man, Djoro`k:ori to claim her; he already had a wife but wanted the widow as well. She hadn’t told Keinindjeri and now, she complained, he had made it all public in song.

Keinindjeri then challenged Djorokori who after a quarrel cleared himself of any imputation or intention of taking the woman as wife. It had looked rather bad for him because he had lived with the Rapid Bay people quite often. People said ‘Keinindjeri is the right man’. So the widow went to Keinindjeri and lived with him for many years; sometimes together along the Coorong. Milerum first saw this Ramindjeri woman when he was a small boy (about 10 to 12 years of age); she was then old²²⁰⁹ and had been married to Keinindjeri for many years.

²²⁰⁵ Milerum also gave yet another version of the mainland site name, “Dareilkaŋ (near Section 191)” (= Ngareilkang: Tindale SESA2: 233. On the card I have quoted, Tindale added a note acknowledging that in his 1941 public account the “relationship of place names... is not expressed clearly”. It seems likely that he did not fully understand them anyway. In the song write-up the Rapid Bay tribeswoman’s ‘country’ is Tarawarang, and Ngalaikorombar is West Island. So it is also on Tindale’s Waitpinga map – a note from Milerum adds that “to get seals go out there in `Dalai grass tree rafts” –while Ngarailkeili is a “flat camp” on Section 191 of the mainland. However in the song translation he glosses the sung text “(ai) Ngalaikeren” as “her of Nalaikorombar”, implying that he thought ‘her country’ was the island. The linguistics and cultural details of these place-names are obscure in the publication, and not clarified much by the cards.

²²⁰⁶ Note that in Tindale’s card, written much later, the woman’s right of permission concerns sharks, not seals. Presumably the original ‘seals’ are correct.

²²⁰⁷ Spelling sic. Some of Tindale’s inconsistent spellings may be due to Milerum’s variant pronunciations.

²²⁰⁸ Sic; but the song translation has ‘persuading’, which is no doubt correct.

The Ramindjeri people along the south coast of Fleurieu Peninsula possessed different species of shark as totems.

Both West Island and the adjacent mainland are in Ramindjeri country uncontested by even the narrowest definition.

Tindale says she was in origin (i.e. by birth) a “*Rapid Bay tribeswoman*”, thus (according to him) identified with and living in ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* Language Country. She married a Goolwa man (identified with and living in ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* Language Country, in the Ramindjeri dialect group) and presumably went with him to live there. Her rights in the management of seal hunting on West Island were not by birth but acquired from her husband. But her totem place was also near here, either the island itself or an adjacent area on the coast, and it is not said or implied that this connection was dependent on her marriage. Her totem would have been acquired at birth. Does the Ngalai / Ngarail connection signify that she was born there, or only that her gummy-shark totem had an important site there? *If* she was born there, then she ‘was’ a *Kornar* woman of that clan, regardless of where she might live later or whom she might marry. Either way, this totemic site illustrates how basic Aboriginal beliefs and common practices fostered cooperation and ‘relatedness’ across boundaries rather than hostile ‘otherness’.²²¹⁰

When the Goolwa man died, the woman returned to Rapid Bay, her homeland according to Tindale. Another man Djorokori claimed her: he too was *Kornar* because his name begins with dj (initial consonant clusters are not used in *Miyurna*); he was one who had lived with the Rapid Bay people “quite often”. But a Coorong youth, classificatory ‘brother’ to the first husband, had a prior right to her; he claimed her successfully and took her to live in his homeland even further away, on the Coorong (Tangani country on the southeastern border of *Kornar* Language Country). Finally, Tindale ends by calling her “this Ramindjeri woman”.

No *Kornar*-form place-names are given for the Rapid Bay area in the context of this song and story, even though three such are known.²²¹¹ On the other hand, no *Miyurna* words at all are used, and it is Tindale (not Milerum) who names the woman as “Kaurna”.

The account epitomizes the problem raised when we insist on very large, simple and exclusive identities such as Tindale’s ‘tribes’: a problem which, since the widespread acceptance of his well-known ‘tribal’ maps and his famous book *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia* (1974), has been deeply influential in the thinking behind Native Title disputes and within Aboriginal communities. “Was Keinindjeri’s wife Kaurna, or Ramindjeri, or ‘Ngarrindjeri’, or even Tangani?” – this question is implied by what Tindale writes, but he does not satisfactorily answer it, and it is unanswerable using his categories and because we don’t know some essential data.

.....

²²⁰⁹ A late manuscript version says “*a very old woman*” (Tindale SESA2: 251). Milerum was born about 1869 and would have met the woman in about 1880; so she was probably born about 1810, making her roughly a contemporary of Kalinga (Sally Walker).

²²¹⁰ Strehlow described the orientation towards unity which was created by totemic Beings “*who had travelled over hundreds of miles of country*”, and by the wider kinship between people and sites with a shared totem: “*Tribal groups which were linked by the part-ownership of common myths were obliged to invite each other to their ceremonial festivals. The sacred myths thus established strong social ties between peoples otherwise separated by distance, language, and social organization... and the language of the myth changed whenever the next border was reached... Similarly, the kin-group classifications transcended the borders of adjoining tribes... At the larger ceremonial festivals, when several totemic clans from different areas met at one common sacred site, hosts and visitors were grouped together according to their kin-group classes, and addressed each other by ordinary kinship terms... It will thus be clear that the form of grouping... made possible not merely tribal but inter-tribal social co-operation*” (TGH Strehlow 1966, *The Sustaining Ideals of Australian Aboriginal Societies*, Adelaide: Aborigines Advancement League Inc.: 8-10. He was writing about the Aranda of Central Australia, but the same principles and practices underlay the Miyurna and Kornar societies).

²²¹¹ Meyer 1843 listed “*Ngūtarangk*”. Tindale collected at least two more on other occasions: “*Witawatang*” (Tindale Map ‘Kangaroo Island Pastoral Plan’, AA 338/16/13/1-2) and “*Tankulrawun*” (Tindale SESA2: 49).

2. KALTANGANURU'S 'CAPE JERVIS' OR 'YANKALILLA' WIFE:

A similar issue arises in another of Milerum's songs, 'Swallow and Ring-tailed Mouse'.²²¹² "It belonged to an old man named 'Kaltanganuru'²²¹³ who originally came from the Coorong at McGrath's Flat. He was a mother's brother of Milerum (classificatory)", but eventually went to live permanently "near Yankalilla"²²¹⁴ with the family of his wife.

Kaltanganuru probably made the song around the 1890s, in his own Tangani dialect of 'Ngarrindjeri'-*Kornar*, after having lived at "Cape Jervis near Yankalilla" for perhaps 20 years. By that time he also knew very well the foreign language of southwestern Fleurieu which Milerum identified as "Merildekald":

"[Kaltanganuru] married a woman from 'Cape Jervis near Yankalilla' and lived with her at 'Lat:arrj' – [at the mouth of the Hindmarsh River] "... His father died, and his father-in-law was good to him. He asked his son-in-law to go with him to 'Jankalja'wa:ŋk (Yankalilla),²²¹⁵ where he lived for so many years that he learned to talk their language better than his own. They were good to him, and kept him. He liked them. When he was an old man he sang this song in his own language (Tanganekald). Men who heard him sing it were surprised because they had thought he only spoke Merildekald. Milerum saw him when he was an old man. He did not return to the Coorong until he was old, when he died there. The song he kept secret for a long time, only singing it publicly when he was an old man; he made it because he was frightened by his experiences in a strange country".

In the song Kaltanganuru tells of one of these formative experiences:

"His companions took him out to hunt in the wooded mountain gullies,²²¹⁶ he was a 'sandhill-man', lost in the forest. It seemed that he kept on walking in the same place. He moved in circles; then he heard strange noises and became frightened".

Kaltanganuru's adopted language at Yankalilla was 'Merildekald'. This alleged dialect was one of Milerum's perceptions in the 1930s. Milerum defined it vaguely as "somewhat like Jarildəkald" [Yaraldi, the dialect on the east side of Lake Alexandrina] "but hard to understand"; and Tindale located it on one map even more vaguely north and northeast of the Inman River, but with no westerly continuation or boundary on other maps.²²¹⁷ It is very likely that the attribution to

²²¹² 'Song of the Swallow Watari and the Ring-tailed Mouse Lepidawi', in Tindale 1941: 242-3, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/129818#page/282/mode/1up> (NB Tindale 1941, 'Native Songs of the South-East of South Australia, Part 2', *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia* Vol.65 No.2, Adelaide).

²²¹³ The pronunciation of 'Kaltanganuru' is unclear in the published essay (Tindale 1941: 242). But unpublished papers show that it is pronounced in a 3+2 rhythm, *Kaltanga-nuru* (rather like English 'bolting a noodle'). A brief typescript in Tindale's papers, titled 'A travel route...', refers to songs sung by "*Kaltanganuru*" (in Norman B Tindale and Clarence Long, 'Milerum Stage A: The World of Milerum', #9, SA Museum). Here the third vowel is indeterminate (a schwa) and must therefore be unstressed; therefore the stress pattern must be *Kaltanga-nuru*. A late typescript of the "Song of the swallow grey currawong" has two stress marks (ˈ, preceding the stressed syllable), which make this explicit: "ˈ*Kaltana-nuru*" (sic; here the first 'n' may be a mistake for 'ŋ' = 'ng') (Tindale SESA2: 252-3).

²²¹⁴ Milerum no doubt meant the original *Yarnkalyilla* (his 'Jangkalyawang'), the favoured camping area near Yankalilla Hill (see Schultz PNS 5.02.01/02 Yarnkalyilla).

²²¹⁵ RS. *Yangkalyawang*, a Kornar form of the Miyurna place-name *Yarnkalyilla*.

²²¹⁶ The high country at the top of the range near Mt Hayfield. Even to me as a Victor Harbor boy exploring on my bicycle in 1960, this wet country of yakkas and low twisted scrub seemed weird and 'other'.

²²¹⁷ A 'Mereldi' boundary is given on Tindale Map Hundred of Encounter Bay (AA 338/24/28), with these notes: "MERELDI people / Milerum (Merildəkald somewhat like Jarildəkald but hard to understand / Milerum"; "Mereldi people N to Woodside". This geography sounds like part of what Tindale would classify later as 'Peramangk'. Elsewhere Tindale claimed that "Mereldi" was a Ramindjeri term (i.e. probably Reuben Walker's) for 'Peramangk', and that "Merildəkald" was a Tangani term (i.e. Milerum's) for the same group but applied also to the 'Kaurna' (Tindale 1974: 213, 217). But on a photocopy of this map (Tindale Map AA 338/24/29) Tindale adds in red ink "Mereldi = Warki" (a Ngarrindjeri group on the northwest side of the Lake), and notes at the bottom, "Mereldi boundaries to be checked 12

Yankalilla of a language called ‘Merildekald’ is a later extrapolation by Milerum; in 1934 he was content to describe what he heard there in his early youth as “Rapid Bay talk”.²²¹⁸ By the time of Kaltanganuru’s stay on the Gulf – c.1870-90 – the migration and dominance of *Kornar* language and people in the area was probably almost complete. From his youth in “the early 1880s” Milerum remembered a specific language which he called “Rapid Bay talk” (in the ‘Tjelbruke’ story which he heard there),²²¹⁹ or “Merildikald” in other contexts. Tindale seems to have decided eventually that ‘Merildikald’ was both ‘Kaurna’ and ‘Peramangk’²²²⁰ – which is very unlikely in view of the major differences between those two languages.²²²¹ From the predominantly *Kornar* language used in Milerum’s ‘Tjelbruke’ story, we can see that this ‘Rapid Bay talk’ was no longer Miyurna but more likely Raminyeri (possibly influenced in memory by Milerum’s Tangani),²²²² though it seems to have included a few Miyurna-form place-names from further north.

Tindale’s early 20th-century *Kornar* informants had grown up in the 1880s in country further east, and were often very inaccurate when passing opinion on matters of vocabulary and form in what they saw as ‘Kaurna’ language²²²³ or something related to it. In their lifetime they had rarely if ever needed to use it for communication. In what had been southern *Miyurna* country, i.e. ‘Cape Jervis near Yankalilla’ (seen from a distance)), the ‘Rapid Bay talk’ may have sounded to *Milerum* like a kind of Yaraldi. This may be why Tindale in his listing four years earlier had called Kaltanganuru’s ‘Swallow and Mouse’ a “Jaralde song”,²²²⁴ while his 1941 essay identified its language as Tanganekald.

Despite all this, Kaltanganuru’s song text does include at least two words which KWP and I have analysed as *Kornar* versions of *Miyurna* words. They refer to sites around Mt Hayfield and the central Fleurieu range where the action of the song occurred.²²²⁵ Their existence in this setting probably shows us a tiny snippet of the language changes which were happening west of the range in 1845-90, as the people of *Miyurna* language country became fewer and *Kornar* language took over.

July 87 NBT. / *Clan cards written – need to be checked for boundaries*”. I do not know whether this checking ever happened, or whether any other data exist on which to base it.

Clarke thought the Mereldi were the ‘Murray River people’ (ClarkeP 2001: 23). The *term* might conceivably be a distant *Kornar* memory of *Marri-miyurna* (OS *Marri-meyunna*) ‘east men’, the old *Miyurna* term for the ‘Mt Barker tribe’. Knight thinks it could be a reference to burial practices by the Ngarrindjeri word *meraldi* ‘dead, dried’ or ‘death spear’, rather than a ‘tribe’ or language identity (Knight 2003: 278-280, 287). It is clear that Tindale’s whole construction of ‘Merildi’ and its alleged territory is built on very shaky foundations, especially at the western end. There is little point in trying to identify it as something other than the known ‘tribes’ and dialects. It was Milerum’s view-from-the-Coorong, speaking of places well northwest of his country.

²²¹⁸ Milerum said this in the background to his 1934 ‘Story of Tjelbruke’ (Tindale SESA2: 44).

²²¹⁹ Tindale 1987: 5, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/126684#page/9/mode/1up>.

²²²⁰ cp. Tindale 1974: 217 – “Peramangk (SA) *Alternative Names ... Mereldi (Ramindjeri term); Merildakald (Tanganekald term applied also to the Kaurna)*”.

²²²¹ Moorhouse believed that the same language was spoken “from Mount Barker as far up the Murray as the Darling” (Moorhouse 1842: 75). If we accept this, it is the language of his book, *A Vocabulary... of the Murray River language, spoken by the Natives... from Wellington... as far as the Rufus*, Adelaide: Andrew Murray, 1846) – and completely different from ‘Kaurna’.

²²²² See ‘Story of Tjelbruke’, in Tindale SESA2: 44ff. Many of the place-names here are added in the margin, uncredited, and may not have originated with Milerum. Other forms of some of them are recorded in other unpublished versions of the Tjirbuki story.

²²²³ – according to Tindale and Berndt. It is a moot question whether they used the term ‘Kaurna’ before Tindale introduced them to it.

²²²⁴ Tindale 1937b: 120, <https://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/129822#page/146/mode/1up> (NB Tindale ‘Native Songs of the SE of SA’ [Part 1], *Transactions of the Royal Society of SA* Vol.61).

²²²⁵ One of these modified ‘Kaurna’-*Miyurna* words is “beringgi” = *parringga* ‘river place’. The other is “watayarul ‘the two [Watayari]’”, which may be an adaptation of ‘Kaurna’ *watayar-urula* ‘the two Watayari’ (Dual). See my discussion in Schultz PNS 5.03/04 Watara-paringga (https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-03-04_Wataraparringga.pdf), which includes analysis of Milerum’s spoken and sung pronunciation as recorded by Tindale on cylinder and disc.

From the stories recounted in *Feet On the Fleurieu*, it seems a clear inference that marriages such as these were also taking place at the time of first contact in the 1820s and 30s.

Let's transpose the situations of Keinindjeri and Kaltanganuru back to that time, before the language migrations and cultural breakdowns which happened in the generation after first contact.

People like Condoy and Kalinga moved easily and familiarly between the societies of the Murray Mouth, Encounter Bay, 'Cape Jervis' and the Onkaparinga River, in a world of experience which had expanded to include King George Sound, Sydney and Launceston.

The known immediate family connections of someone like 'Peter' (*Lamiraikongka*)²²²⁶ spanned *Yarnkalyilla*, Encounter Bay and the Coorong, a geographical distance equal to that of Kaltanganuru's family travels; and doubtless there was an even bigger one in the wider linguistic and cultural links which operated in his time.

Within the narrower frame of the Fleurieu range, Meyer at Encounter Bay in the 1840s recorded that one of the reasons why the people 'wandered about' was "the wish of the women to visit their relations in the tribes to which they originally belonged".²²²⁷ Details in the stories of Condoy and 'Sally', Kalungku and 'Emma', Cooper and 'Doughboy', confirm that in the 1830s (and before) much of this visiting entailed travelling across the range between Encounter Bay and places like Rapid Bay and Yankalilla.

These realities tell us one of the main reasons why it is hard to pin down the cultural 'identity' of individuals in the stories told in this book.

Consider the *Miyurna* wife of another 'proto-Keinindjeri' in (say) 1835, hypothetically after twenty years living with her husband at Goolwa or on the Coorong. If a stranger questioned her about the names of things, would she give local variants of the well-known *Kornar* words? – *wongguri* for 'possum', *walde* for 'hot', *Yangkalyawang* for the familiar campsite, *Ngutarangk* for her homeland at Rapid Bay? Or would she give the *Miyurna* forms? – *wangku*, *warlta*, *Yarnkalyilla*, *Yartakurlangga*?

Also consider a 'proto-Kaltanganuru' in the same early-contact period, hypothetically after twenty years living on 'Cape Jervis near Yankalilla'. Which words would he give for the same items?

The second little vocabulary list above gives the *Miyurna* words which we know were actually obtained at and around Rapid Bay in 1836 from 'Sally', 'Doughboy' and/or the 'Cape Jervis tribe'. They did *not* give any of the *Kornar* words from the first list.

Did they give these *Miyurna* words because their own identity and mother-tongue were *Miyurna*? or because they were Encounter Bay people who had lived among *Miyurna* people for many years, were thoroughly bi-lingual, and used the language of the people where they stood? or because they were on *Miyurna* territory and knew the correct names as protocol?²²²⁸

²²²⁶ See Chapter 3.6.4.4 'Peter'.

²²²⁷ Meyer 1846: 5.

²²²⁸ This third alternative – 'when in someone else's Language Country, use their place-names' – was *not* followed in the foreign 'Kaurna'-*Miyurna* versions of Raminyeri names, as collected by Wyatt at Encounter Bay in 1837: "*Wirramulla*" for *Ramong*, "*Yalladoola*" for *Latangg*, etc (adapted thus because *Miyurna* words never begin with *r* or *l*). No doubt Wyatt heard these from his 'Adelaide tribe' guide 'Onkaparinga Jack' (= 'King John' = *Murlawirrapurka* [OS *Mullawirraburka*]). Perhaps *Murlawirrapurka* gave these forms because people such as he had normally lived (before 1837) too far north to be involved in the intermarriage and other frequent interchanges with the Encounter Bay people, and so did not know the 'proper' names; whereas a few years later, when traffic between Adelaide and Encounter Bay had become much more common, some Raminyeri people did know the 'proper' names for some places towards Adelaide (see Meyer 1843: 49-50).

If we knew the answers they might improve our understanding of the early events described in this book. But we don't.

Groups of people were regularly mobile across different people's Countries; life was dominated by a huge conscious web of relationships, obligations and prohibitions; intermarriages such as those above were routine. But the identity and Country of *individuals* were another thing altogether: specific, totemic, unalterable, infinitely precious to the person; well-known to everybody in their ambit from the frequent recital of family and lineage at campfires and conferences, but rarely if ever noticed by the busy whitefellas who recorded their pre-colonial observations.

We cannot now be sure about the identities, but perhaps we can reach some insight into the actions.

.....

APPENDIX 14:

ALLEGED ‘CHRONIC ENMITY’ BETWEEN THE ENCOUNTER BAY AND GULF COAST PEOPLES.

1. INTRODUCTION:

In the historical records I have found very little to support the ‘chronic enmity’ between the ‘Kaurna’ and the ‘Ramindjeri’ which has been alleged by some historians and ethnologists. But the issue deserves some nuanced attention.

My research shows that in fact there was

- (1) frequent peaceful contact between Encounter Bay and the southern Fleurieu at all periods.
- (2) a very visible military alliance between the peoples of Encounter Bay and Adelaide people in the 1840s.
- (3) a skirmish or two in the late 19th century between the southern Fleurieu and Encounter Bay peoples, briefly referred to in a few very late reminiscences by old settlers.
- (4) *possibly* a somewhat distant and wary relationship between the groups north and south of the Onkaparinga in pre-colonial times.

The Berndts were told by men like Karlowan and Mark Wilson that relationships were ambiguous between the ‘Kukabrak’ (Narrinyeri) group and the “Lower Kaurna” (by which they meant a small area around Adelaide), “as the Kukabrak believed them to monopolize the red ochre deposit”. But they did not hear of an out-and-out ‘enmity’; on the contrary, “all the evidence we obtained suggested close association of Lower Kaurna with the main body of Kukabrak”.²²²⁹

However, some researchers have claimed that ‘enmity’ was the norm.

2. HOWCHIN:

The first of them, and author of the memorable phrase ‘chronic enmity’, was Walter Howchin. He arrived in SA in 1881 and seems to have gleaned the following opinion of the ‘Adelaide tribe’, presumably from earlier settlers: “Few in numbers, and frequently raided by the more numerous, well-fed, and better physically developed neighbours, the Narrinyeri, from the south, they lived a cowed and submissive life”. I do not know any evidence for ‘frequent raids’ from the *Kornar*. Perhaps someone had told him a garbled tale of the Encounter Bay people’s visits in the 1840s to fight off the Blanchetown mob; but in fact they were “expressly invited by the Adelaide Natives” for the purpose.²²³⁰ Or perhaps Tindale had told him about a “fight in Parklands between men from South & local natives” which Mr TW Chalk of Oaklands remembered in 1926, possibly from the 1840s or 50s; probably these southerners were the same who “camped at Oaklands” (on the Sturt River) and “came from Goolwa”.²²³¹

But an occasional fight is not the same as chronic enmity. Presumably from incorrect or limited premises of this kind, Howchin inferred that “the chronic enmity that existed between the Narrinyeri and the Adelaide Tribes imposed certain economic conditions on the latter that were not to their advantage. The way south was... blocked by an enemy’s country”. However, “a fraternal relationship existed between the Adelaide section and similar small groups that were located along the coast, possessing centres at the mouth of the Onkaparinga, at Willunga, and Aldinga, and along the mallee coastal plains to the north of Adelaide. These respective groups

²²²⁹ Berndt & Berndt 1993: 19-20, 303.

²²³⁰ Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary 6 April 1843, GRG 52/7/94.

²²³¹ Tindale’s pencil manuscript notes (2 loose pages) from conversation with “TW Chalk... Oct 31st 1926” about “Adelaide Tribe”, in Tindale ‘Notes on the Kaurna... Supplementary Papers’, AA 338/2/68.

may be considered as practically included within the so-called Adelaide Tribe”.²²³² Howchin’s essay – published not in a journal but separately as a small book – was for several decades almost the only readily-available account of the ‘Adelaide Tribe’. But he ignored the Southern Fleurieu altogether, and gave no historical evidence for the ‘chronic enmity’ with the Narrinyeri, nor for the ‘fraternity’ north and south of Adelaide (which may have been so, but he is vague about how far geographically).

3. TINDALE:

Another very influential promoter of the ‘enmity’ view was Tindale himself – *sometimes*. Certain passages in his published works assert that the Encounter Bay people were long-standing enemies of the ‘Kurna tribe’, who were “their feared and hated northern neighbours”.²²³³ He cites no source for this claim. Perhaps he imbibed the idea from Howchin 1934, or it was echo-chambered between them; and it was probably reinforced when in the same year Tindale obtained notes from a couple of old residents making very brief references to one bloody skirmish (or perhaps two) between Fleurieu locals and Encounter Bay men in the late 19th century,²²³⁴ in addition to Chalk’s reminiscences in 1926.

Tindale’s 1974 book – a standard reference up to the present day – refers to this ‘enmity’ several times. For example: “The Kurna were the southernmost of the circumcising peoples and were considered as dangerous strangers in the country further east”, so that communication with eastern groups happened only when the Kurna ran out of fire, because the easterners had superior technology for making fire. He then adds: “but the loss of fire was so frequent an event that necessity made for appearances of friendship. Thus there was a spasmodic pattern of intertribal exchange between the Kurna and the non-circumcising tribes of the Murray valley whose languages were also different. So far as memory goes it never led to any exchange of women or other close links except in one instance. A man of the Tanganekald named [‘Kaltanjanuru’] married a woman from Cape Jervis, the southernmost horde of the Kurna”.²²³⁵ Yet Tindale himself had also reported a second example of such intermarriage, Keinindjeri of Goolwa and his brother’s Rapid Bay wife.²²³⁶ The ‘circumcising’ passage adds that the Ramindjeri disparaged ‘Kurna’ language with a play on words as “Kunawar:a” (‘shit speech’). But this phrase is a hybrid of *Miyurna* and *Raminyeri-Kornar*, and in the absence of a source I suspect it of being either his own armchair speculation, or possibly an obliging response from one of his *Kornar* informants when asked about the word ‘Kurna’.

Tindale’s *Tribes* 1974 often speaks at a high level of theory to prove an ecological model. In the passages from it quoted above, Tindale *may* be referring to bad relations in the post-contact era between the Adelaide people and those of the Hills (‘country further east’?) and the Murray River *around Blanchetown*, such as were recorded in the 1840s.²²³⁷ But he generalizes this to include among the enemies of Adelaide the whole ‘Murray Valley’ bloc (including the ‘Ngarrindjeri’ groups from Encounter Bay to the Coorong); and for this there is no reliable historical evidence, and much to contradict it. It does not match what he published elsewhere about the peaceful marriage relationships between the southern Gulf coast (which Tindale described as ‘Kurna’) and the

²²³² Howchin 1934: iv, 3, 4.

²²³³ Tindale 1974: 133.

²²³⁴ Tindale 1934, unpublished ‘Journal of Excavations at Second Valley S.A March-April 1934’, AA 338/1/11: 4; see also Schultz PNS 5.02.02/04 Yarnauwingga, <https://www.kurnawarra.org.au/s/5-02-02-04Yarnauw.pdf>.

²²³⁵ Tindale 1974: 73-4.

²²³⁶ cp. ‘Keinindjeri’ and ‘Swallow’, both in Tindale 1941: 241-3. See Appendix 13 ‘Intermarriage across language boundaries’).

²²³⁷ See the footnote ‘Captain Peter at the Torrens’ (at the end of Chapter 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter’); also my separate essay Schultz 2023a, ‘Adelaide as a battleground’, <https://www.kurnawarra.org.au/>. In the 1840s the Adelaide people called the Hills or ‘Mt Barker’ people *Marri-meyunna* (‘eastern people’) and regarded them as enemies, as shown in many contemporary records of the conflict.

Encounter Bay-Coorong area (see above). A decade after *Tribes*, he described many fairly peaceful links between all three groups in his published and unpublished work on ochre trade, place-names and the Tjilbruki story. As James Knight concluded at the end of his thesis, “I usually prefer Tindale unpublished to Tindale published”.²²³⁸

4. LOCAL HISTORIES:

Unfortunately the idea of chronic ‘Kaurna’-Ramindjeri enmity has been reinforced in local histories, which also generalize from other memories of old residents. In such writing the best-known has been Lucy Webb, who began from the old-age memory of a settler woman at Poole’s Flat (now ‘Wirrina’). She introduces the story with a generalization: “This was a great meeting place... where many battles were fought”. Her introduction reads as though it happened in 1854, but this date is too late for one of the Adelaide battles against the Murray invaders of the 1840s, and more likely it happened in the 1870s. The woman was in a homestead at Poole’s Flat near Wirrina with only her sister for company, when “about a hundred blacks marched down to the flat, and formed two lines. They started throwing spears at each other”. One of them took time off to warn her to stay inside: “Look, we been doing our practice; we going to fight the French; plenty blackfellow come round by-an'-by. You plenty keep your door shut; don't be frightened; we'll look after you; we're the English”.²²³⁹ This Aboriginal humourist knew his colonists and their international politics well enough to refer in this way to the long wars of the English against Napoleonic France, which happened more than 50 years earlier but were still vivid in colonial conversation. It is clear that one side (the ‘English’) was practising for a real battle which would happen probably at that place very soon (“plenty blackfellow come round by-an'-by”), or possibly at another place and time. But ‘the French’ were not present yet, and we are not told who they were, nor whether the predicted battle actually happened. The generalizing sentence – without the story context – was recycled several times by Webb and in local history writings by Jean Schmaal.²²⁴⁰

In a similar vein, my correspondence with the Yankalilla & District Historical Society elicited a comment from member Margaret Fairchild that Arthur Clarke had “told me of the aboriginal wars between different tribes his early family members witnessed in the District”.²²⁴¹

5. THE RAPID BAY BURIAL SITE:

A large burial site was discovered at Rapid Bay. Local folklore says that these bodies were the casualties of a battle over a woman between the Rapid Bay ‘Kaurna’ and the Encounter Bay Ramindjeri, in which “most of the local tribe were killed”.²²⁴² Other local historians tend to repeat this conjecture.²²⁴³ But if the number of burials here was as great as reputed, pre-colonial smallpox was probably the cause, travelling down the Murray River from the east. These third-hand accounts may have been derived from early residents who remembered a story told in his old age by an Aboriginal local, ‘Larry’, remembered from his youth at first contact time (and recounted, decades later still, by an old Second Valley resident Bernie Williss.²²⁴⁴

²²³⁸ Knight 2003: 505.

²²³⁹ ‘Rapid Bay: From ‘A Native of Rapid Bay’ [probably Lucy Webb], *The Register* 1/5/1919: 9h, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/62200675>.

²²⁴⁰ For more about these writings by Jean Schmaal, and about hints of a battle at Poole’s Flat or Second Valley, see Schultz PNS 5.02.02/04 Yarnauwingga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-02-02-04Yarnauw.pdf>.

²²⁴¹ Margaret Fairchild email forwarded to me by Margaret Morgan, p.c. 25/4/2012. Arthur Clarke is a descendant of John Clarke who settled at Wattle Flat in about 1838-40 (WilliamsR 1991: 241).

²²⁴² Shirley Mulcahy 1992, *Southern Fleurieu Historic Walks: Tjirbruke Country*, Somerton Park: the Author: 19; Blum 2002: 118; see also Schultz PNS 5.04.01/07 Yartakurlangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/5-04-01-07Yartaku.pdf>.

²²⁴³ e.g. Jean Schmaal [n.d.], ‘Aboriginal Peoples of SA’, YDHS archive #9; ‘Yankalilla’, YDHS archive #16, 19.

²²⁴⁴ Bernie Williss letter, *Victor Harbour Times* 29/3/1968: 5b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/187365818/21130904>.

6. IPARRITYI (OS. *IVARITJI*):

An item from an interview with Iparityi in 1927 near the end of her life seems to support the theory of enmity between Encounter Bay and *Adelaide* peoples. An anonymous reporter wrote: “She remembered some of the battles which took place with the natives on the Adelaide plains. These were mostly between the Goolwa tribe and those ruled by her father”, i.e. ‘King Rodney’s ‘Adelaide tribe’, which (according to this reporter) she understood to have extended “from Gawler to Holdfast Bay”.²²⁴⁵ In another newspaper interview in 1929 she also remembered about the Moorunde invasion and the alliance between Adelaide and ‘the Gawler tribes’: “Her tribe... had to fight against the Murray tribes sometimes, the Gawler tribes always coming to the assistance of the Adelaide natives”.²²⁴⁶ The alliance here was against ‘the Murray tribes’, not the ‘Goolwa’; and there can be little doubt that she meant the Moorunde.

Iparityi was either an infant or not yet born when the Moorundie and ‘Mt Barker’ invaders were being opposed by an alliance of the Adelaide, Encounter Bay and Lower Murray peoples in the mid-1840s.²²⁴⁷ It is very likely that she heard all about it from her father ‘Rodney’, and there can be little doubt that he had been part of the Adelaide defence force. Probably the 1927 reporter misunderstood this point. He probably also failed to grasp who were the enemies and who the allies. In the clause ‘between the Goolwa tribe and those...’, we might even ask whether the word ‘between’ was Iparityi’s or the reporter’s. Certainly in ‘battles which took place with the natives on the Adelaide plains’, the word ‘with’ is ambiguous. If ‘X went to war *with* Y’, does this mean ‘against each other’, or ‘together against a common enemy’? Although Iparityi may have remembered the same single ‘fight’ as Chalk’s, the item as reported implies many battles. But in the absence of any *contemporary* evidence to support it, this plurality must be treated with some scepticism.²²⁴⁸

7. THOMAS DAY:

Thomas Day remembered Adelaide and its “Cowandilla tribe” as he had known them in the early-to-mid-1840s, the period of the wars with Moorunde. He wrote in 1902 that they were enemies of “the Murry river” tribe and friends of the ‘Encounter Bay’ people:

*Their enemies wher the Murry river natives The Cowendilla natives have very rich Cadelcoo Mine Red Ocre on the coast – the Murry natives Would Try To get some – by hook or by crook It was more valuable than Gold or preache Stones so the where alwas at variance The Encounter Bay natives was freindly They where often invited To come as far as Wirraparringa Goodwood.*²²⁴⁹

²²⁴⁵ Advertiser 8/12/1927: 13, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/article/47437642>.

²²⁴⁶ ‘Adelaide Aborigines: the last of the tribe’, Advertiser 30/5/1929: 17h, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/35734473/2481424>.

²²⁴⁷ See the footnote ‘Captain Peter at the Torrens’ (at the end of Chapter 3.6.4.4 ‘Peter’); also my separate essay Schultz 2023a, ‘Adelaide as a battleground’, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/>. In the latter I discuss this military alliance of the 1840s, and show how it has occasionally been misinterpreted as enmity between Adelaide and the south – in first-contact times only by BT Finniss, and in recent times only by a few researchers.

²²⁴⁸ See also Gara 1990: 91.

²²⁴⁹ Thomas Day 1902, ‘Memories of the Extinct Tribe of Cowandilla Natives’, manuscript: 11-12, unpublished manuscript in Tindale ‘Notes On Kaurna Tribe: Supplementary papers’, AA 338/2/68, SA Museum. Despite the friendship between the ‘Cowandilla’ and Encounter Bay tribes, Day added that he had “*seen them meet... For a show fight About 200 fighters... The commander at the end of the rank – Had A red picket tail coat jumping and giving orders*”. This sounds similar to Finniss’s reminiscence of a ‘battle’ at the Torrens (see the footnote ‘Captain Peter at the Torrens’ at the end of Chapter 3.6.4.4); but it was probably not the same occasions, as Day “*was alone no other white near*”. For some reason Day also thought that the ‘tribes’ who were “*friendly*” to the Cowandillas included “*Mt Barker*”, which is contrary to all other sources.

8. NEVERTHELESS, HAD THERE PREVIOUSLY BEEN AN OLD ‘OTHERNESS’ BETWEEN ADELAIDE AND THE SOUTH?

To all this we must add a nuance from 1836 and probably earlier: a complicating hint that there was a distant and wary relationship between Adelaide and the region south of it (southern Fleurieu and Encounter Bay). Before colonization there was probably no firm alliance or even frequent large-scale contact between Adelaide and either southern Fleurieu or Encounter Bay. Perhaps Adelaide had little to offer the richly-resourced southerners that they did not have in their own country; and the ochre deposit was south of the Onkaparinga River. This book tells how in 1836 ‘Doughboy’ (who had never been as far north as the Onkaparinga) described the people of the Adelaide Plains as “rather a fierce set”, presumably according to a stereotype held by her own southern group.²²⁵⁰ If we also take into account Bates hunting with Condooy at the Onkaparinga, and the incident with Nat Thomas at Port Noarlunga in February 1837,²²⁵¹ we may hypothesize that before colonization some of the Encounter Bay people had some contact with the Onkaparinga floodplain, but fewer and much more rarely with the country further north. There may have been some kind of significant boundary at the Onkaparinga River estuary; certainly some *Korwar* informants of the 1930s thought so.²²⁵² Although we have no reason to suppose that there had been any previous chronic state of hostility, it seems likely that the sustained large-scale military alliance in the 1840s was a product of recent change. Encounter Bay people had begun to visit Adelaide much more frequently – enabled by the colonial whale fishery and its need for guides to Adelaide, and attracted by the Adelaide novelties and ration handouts – and so developed an interest in defending it against a new foreign takeover by the Blanchetown and Mt Barker people. It was another example of the intertribal conflicts induced by European incursions on each successive frontier.²²⁵³

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²²⁵⁰ See Chapter 3.4.10.2 ‘Doughboy & the fierce set’; also Chapter 3.7.2.2 ‘Cultural geography of the Fleurieu in 1836’, and Appendix 12 ‘Aboriginal territories, borders and identity labels’.

²²⁵¹ For CW Stuart’s 1875 account of the Port Noarlunga incident (full text with annotations), see Schultz PNS 4.02/01 Pirrangga, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-01Pirrangga.pdf>. Book 2 will contain more analysis of its ambiguities.

²²⁵² See Textbox27 ‘Identities north and south of Rapid Bay’. See also Schultz PNS 4.02/02 Tainbarangk, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-02Tainbarangk.pdf>; 4.02/03 Witjalangk, <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/s/4-02-03Witjalangk.pdf>; and 4.02/01 Pirrangga.

²²⁵³ cp. my note on intertribal enmities in Chapter 2.4.3.1 ‘Tribes of the Estuary’.

APPENDIX 15:

ABORIGINAL POPULATION FIGURES ON AND AROUND THE FLEURIEU AT FIRST CONTACT: SUMMARY OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE.

Confining our attention as nearly as available to information about the subject area of this book:

Right from his appointment as Protector in 1839, Moorhouse was under government pressure to make a census of the ‘natives’. This was regarded as very important, and the lack of it was one of the main complaints which led to the replacement of Wyatt.

On **14 January 1840**, Moorhouse’s first quarterly report identified five ‘tribes’ and their estimated numbers: 20 in the “*Muliakki*” (Gawler River); 80 in “*The Adelaide... [from] 10 miles north of Adelaide to the foot of Mount Terrible*”; 90 in the “*Patpunga... from Mount Terrible to Rapid Bay*”; and 230 in the “*Ramong... from Encounter Bay as far as the upper two-thirds of the lake, and the country of the Pomonda Tribe*” near Wellington.²²⁵⁴

Note: He also listed here a “*Wirra Tribe... [on the] borders of the Para River*” (120 people). In my view, contrary to some authors, these were not part of the ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* language group but the next group inland: probably what we now call Ngadjuri (part of the wider Thura-Yura language family), or possibly northern ‘Peramangk’ (which is probably part of a different language family altogether, ‘Lower Murray’).

Other estimates a few years later ignored the Fleurieu people, and varied in both the numbers and the area defined, but remained small by European standards: up to only 650 for the whole area up to Crystal Brook. Estimates for the ‘Adelaide tribe’ varied from 80 to 300, depending partly on definitions.

In **1841** the Protector and Teichelmann estimated 650 ‘natives’ in an undifferentiated larger area extending “*80 miles to the north and 60 to the south of Adelaide, running parallel with the coast 20 miles*”²²⁵⁵ – i.e. most of the modern Kurna Native Title Claim area from Clare down to the Southern Fleurieu, plus Encounter Bay and Goolwa.

But within this area they had found that “*the greatest concentration [was] on the banks of the Murray*”, i.e., in the terminology current in SA at that date, the area around Goolwa and the Lakes.²²⁵⁶ The whole Gulf coast up to Clare must have accounted for less than 325 of the 650.

In November **1842** Moorhouse estimated “*more than 3,000*” Aboriginal people in the area bounded by Crystal Brook, Cape Jervis and the Murray.²²⁵⁷

In **1845** Eyre thought this “*a considerably under-rated number*” and estimated “*twice as many, if the Port Lincoln peninsula be added to the limits*”; for the latter Schürmann estimated 400.²²⁵⁸ This leaves 5600 for the same area as in Moorhouse 1842, of which only an unknown small fraction would be Fleurieu people.

In **1843** Moorhouse estimated that they were in regular contact with 530 in the subject area of this book, consisting of 300 in the “*Adelaide District*” plus 230 around “*Encounter Bay*”.²²⁵⁹ By this

²²⁵⁴ Moorhouse 1840a: 354.

²²⁵⁵ Teichelmann & Moorhouse 1841: 4b (W Watson, CG Teichelmann & M Moorhouse, ‘Report on the Aborigines of South Australia, Dec. 29’, published in *Southern Australian* 11/1/1842, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/71620628/6245774>); also reprinted in *Aboriginal Adelaide* 1990: 45.

²²⁵⁶ Moorhouse 1841: 356-7 (Protector’s Report 20 Feb 1841, in *BPP: Colonies: Australia* 7); this is an earlier citation of the same information as above, but also puts it in context.

²²⁵⁷ Moorhouse 1842: 73.

²²⁵⁸ Eyre 1845: 371-2.

²²⁵⁹ Moorhouse 1843b: 59-60 (Protector’s Annual Report for the Year Ending 30 Sep 1843’, as reprinted in *Aboriginal Adelaide* 1990).

date his account also included estimates for “*Moorunde*” (near Blanchetown), “*Port Lincoln*”, and “*Hutt River*” (Clare Valley); but his “*Patpunga*” tribe had not been listed since 1840.

In **1860** the Select Committee heard Wyatt’s estimate – 20 years after observations during his protectorship in 1837-9 – that the whole “*Adelaide tribe*” had been 150 to 300, but now “*it has nearly died out*”.²²⁶⁰

In **1864** William Anderson Cawthorne estimated – also 20 years after his observations in the 1840s – that the ‘Adelaide Tribe’ had “*probably never exceeded 300 souls*”. This was nearly four times Moorhouse’s 1840 estimate, based on a rather larger view of its territory (“*bounded by the hills near Willunga in the South, by Cox’s Creek in the East, and the Gawler River in the North*”).²²⁶¹ He knew the southern Fleurieu, but it does not seem that he included it in this estimate.

It is a complex matter to interpret and evaluate the various estimates of population at first contact, requiring close attention to context and historical change at the date of each observation. In the end it may be impossible to resolve the figures with any precision.

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²²⁶⁰ Gara 1998: 89; see also ‘Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council, upon The Aborigines...’, SA *Parliamentary Papers* No.165 of 1860: 29, 32.

²²⁶¹ WA Cawthorne 1864, ‘Aborigines And Their Customs’, in Cawthorne-Foster 1991: 90).

APPENDIX 16: NAMED PLACES UP TO 1850: A ROUGH SUMMARY.²²⁶²

By 2022 my work on the Southern Kurna Place Names Project produced the following rough results for the entire period of first contact up to 1850:

1. North and west of the range (i.e. on the Gulf coast from the Cape up to Adelaide, and eastward to the main watersheds), roughly **116 names** were recorded in that period for about **112 places**.

Of these:

- Only 6 names are clearly in ‘Ngarrindjeri’-*Kornar* language; these reflect informants who were visitors from *Kornar* country. **Four of these belong to places which also recorded a ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* name** in the same period; and the other two are likely to be adaptations from *Miyurna* language (‘Tāinbaryangk’ and ‘Parewarangk’).
- About 99 names are clearly analysable in correct *Miyurna* language.
- About 11 names are ambiguous in language but probably *Miyurna*.

2. Immediately southeast of the ranges (i.e. from Cape Jervis, the south coast and Encounter Bay up to about Strathalbyn),²²⁶³ in the same period about **64 names** were recorded for about **57 places**.

Of these:

- 31 or so names are clearly or very probably *Miyurna*, reflecting informants who were visitors from *Miyurna* country. **Seven of these belong to places which either recorded a *Kornar* name as well** in the same period; **or are clearly adapted from known *Kornar* originals**.
- 30 names are clearly analysable in correct *Kornar* language.
- 3 names are ambiguous in language.

The detailed evidence for this analysis has been appearing gradually since 2011 in my online PNS essays.²²⁶⁴

‘INSIDER’ AND ‘OUTSIDER’ PLACE-NAMES:

A note is necessary on the distinction between place-names as given by ‘us’ or ‘them’: i.e. from perspectives inside or outside the group territory. People of one Aboriginal language country may give their own names to places in the territory of another language group. Sometimes these are their own ‘outsider’ adaptations of the proper local ‘us’ name; sometimes they are quite different. Sometimes an ‘outsider’ version from the visitors is the only name preserved. In my study area at first contact the process operated in both directions, but more so by *Miyurna* people because the explorers and surveyors usually hired their guides in Adelaide. In the 20th century the process was reversed by those who spoke to the ethnologists as heirs of traditions from Encounter Bay eastward, citing *Kornar* names for places which had been on *Miyurna* land.

Both forms are valid *from the informant’s own perspective*. James Knight writes,²²⁶⁵

²²⁶² Adapted from my unpublished papers: ‘The Geography of Language Groups Around Fleurieu Peninsula at First Contact, from the Evidence of the earliest place-names’ (2017); and my notes and maps for a presentation in a forum at Tandanya Theatre during Kurna Language Week, ‘The Southern Kurna Place Names Project’ (10 Oct 2014).

²²⁶³ An undefined northeastern part of this region is Peramangk land. A few of the ambiguous names in my catalogue may therefore be in Peramangk language. In recent decades some of the ‘Kurna’-*Miyurna* place-names, even some located west of the ranges, have been wrongly described as Peramangk by some authors (e.g. Paul Simpson and Robin Coles). This is another whole field of study which cannot be covered in this book.

²²⁶⁴ Schultz PNS essays downloadable at <https://www.kaurnawarra.org.au/southern-kaurna-placenames>, and <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/110310>.

²²⁶⁵ Knight 1999: 25 (James Knight 1999, ‘Notes to accompany the map on the front cover of the Newsletter’, Australian Association of Consulting Archaeologists Inc. *Newsletter* No. 81). Copy supplied to me by the author.

Tindale (1974: 38-49) explores the complexities of Aboriginal place names. A 'correct name' might be recorded from the east, south, west and north, and each might differ from the local name. Who is asked by whom to supply a place name will influence which of the many existing names is offered.

Elsewhere Knight expands on it thus:²²⁶⁶

This behaviour of mapping the language of the informant outside its 'Country' has been interpreted as 'Lakes colonisation of the Adelaide plain' (Clarke 1991a: 66-9,²²⁶⁷ Berndt and Berndt 1993: 312). [Two maps] from the 1840s [which show 'Kaurna'-Miyurna names on country as far east as the River Murray] serve to balance this, as no-one I have encountered asserts that Adelaide expanded onto the Lakes during the 1840s. The more reasonable explanation is that each person describes the landscape relative to themselves and sometimes gives language to places which other, differently located people might disagree with, or even resent.

He also discusses the same 'us-them' distinction as it occurs in group identity names.²²⁶⁸

To Knight's observations I would add this: When we know that a place-name was recorded *at the time of first contact* from a member of the resident language group, on location or nearby, and its form is consistent with the language of that group, and located within the known territory of the group, then this is very solid evidence that it was an internal 'us' name. Usually we find only one such name for each place.

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²²⁶⁶ Knight 2003: 435.

²²⁶⁷ The cited passage from Clarke refers especially to the Tjilbruki story: see ClarkeP 1991, section on "Adelaide as a Lower Murray Landscape", in 'Adelaide as an Aboriginal Landscape', *Aboriginal History* 15(1), Canberra, ANU: 54-72, <http://press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/p72251/pdf/article059.pdf>; cp. "Some Aboriginal groups... became colonists themselves" (ClarkeP 1994: 140-2). But the loaded term 'colonists' is not helpful here. The cultural re-invention on the Fleurieu after European settlement was a process very different in nature, pace and method from the colonial invasion by the world's most powerful empire.

²²⁶⁸ Knight 2003: 217, 246, 290, 399-400, 423.

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Many references which occur only once or twice are not listed in this Bibliography. If so, they are always cited in full in a footnote in the main text. This includes maps and most references which are online only.

Wherever possible, the footnotes and Bibliography include links to websites (sometimes directly to the relevant page), so that the digital reader can click once to check the source.

ABBREVIATIONS:

BPP = British Parliamentary Papers (available in SLSA).

SAPP = South Australian Parliamentary Papers.

SLSA = State Library of South Australia.

SRSA = State Records of South Australia.

JASSA = Journal of the Anthropological Society of South Australia. The journals are now listed at the new website <https://anthropologicalsociety.sa.com/journal>, but currently (June 2023) cannot be downloaded; presumably they will become available again sometime.

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- [Woods Intro 1879] JD Woods 1879, 'introduction', in Woods 1879, *The Native Tribes of South Australia*: vii-xxxviii. Transcript available in <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/bitstream/2440/15080/1/Narrinyeri.pdf>.
- [Wyatt 1838] William Wyatt letter to JC Mathews 2/8/1838, *The South Australian Record* No. 11, 9/5/1838, London, Capper & Gliddon: on p.83 <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883862>, and p.84 <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/26883863>.
- [Wyatt 1879] William Wyatt 1879, 'Some Account of the Manners and Superstitions of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay Aboriginal Tribes...', in Woods 1879: 158-181; download facsimile from <https://digital.library.adelaide.edu.au/dspace/handle/2440/15080>.

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MAPS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES:

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Map02: THE GULF REGION of South Australia, with major local culture groups and landmarks at first contact.	479
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On these maps I try (with John Frith's help) to present something of what we can know about how this landscape was perceived and named by people who lived at the time of this first-contact story, both Aboriginal owners and Europeans.

So in general:

(1) Ancient Aboriginal place-names, and other place-names used during the 1830s, are usually shown in **bold**, e.g. **Yarnkalyilla**, **'Cape Jervis'**.

So too are modern names for places which feature in the book but had no known name at that time, e.g. **Torrens River**, **Horseshoe Bay**, **Mt Terrible**.

(2) For the reader's orientation, we include some other modern towns named in lighter regular style (e.g. Adelaide, Gawler, Port Elliot), and some modern road lines in light brown.

(3) Sometimes modern names appear in brackets alongside the earlier name, e.g. **Woody (Anderson) Island**, **Hog Bay (Penneshaw)**.

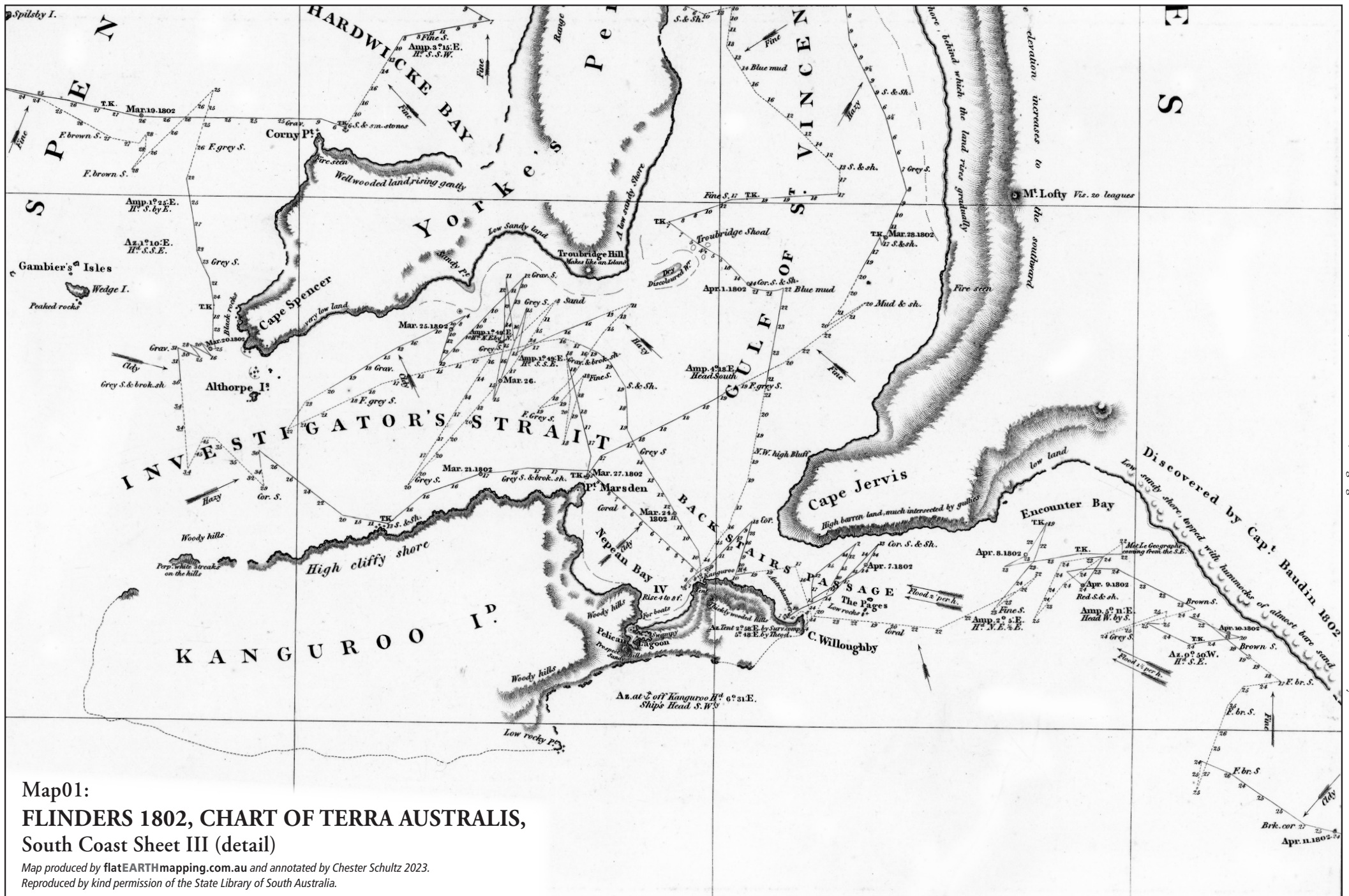
More details about the place-names and geography can be gleaned from the book's main text and footnotes. For digital readers: word-search will find the names on the maps as well as in the book text.

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Map01:
FLINDERS 1802, CHART OF TERRA AUSTRALIS,
South Coast Sheet III (detail).

Map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthmapping.com.au/>
from
M. Flinders, Comm^r of H.M. Sloop Investigator, Chart of Terra Australis,
South Coast Sheet III, 1802,
Rbr_i2185543a:
reproduced by kind permission of the State Library of South Australia.



On next page 479:

Map02:
THE GULF REGION of SOUTH AUSTRALIA,
with major local culture groups and landmarks at first contact.

Map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthmapping.com.au/>

and annotated by Chester Schultz © 2023.

For the purposes of this book I have taken 'Peramangk' to be a dialect of the 'Meru' Language Group. Moorhouse believed that the same language was spoken "*from Mount Barker as far up the Murray as the Darling*" (Moorhouse 1842: 75).

This view is contrary to that of many today who believe that the Peramangk language was similar to 'Kaurna'. Details of these languages and Language Countries *at first contact* may be clarified by further nuanced investigation.



On next page 481:

Map03:
KANGAROO ISLAND LOCATIONS.

Annotated by Chester Schultz © 2023

Map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthmapping.com.au/>

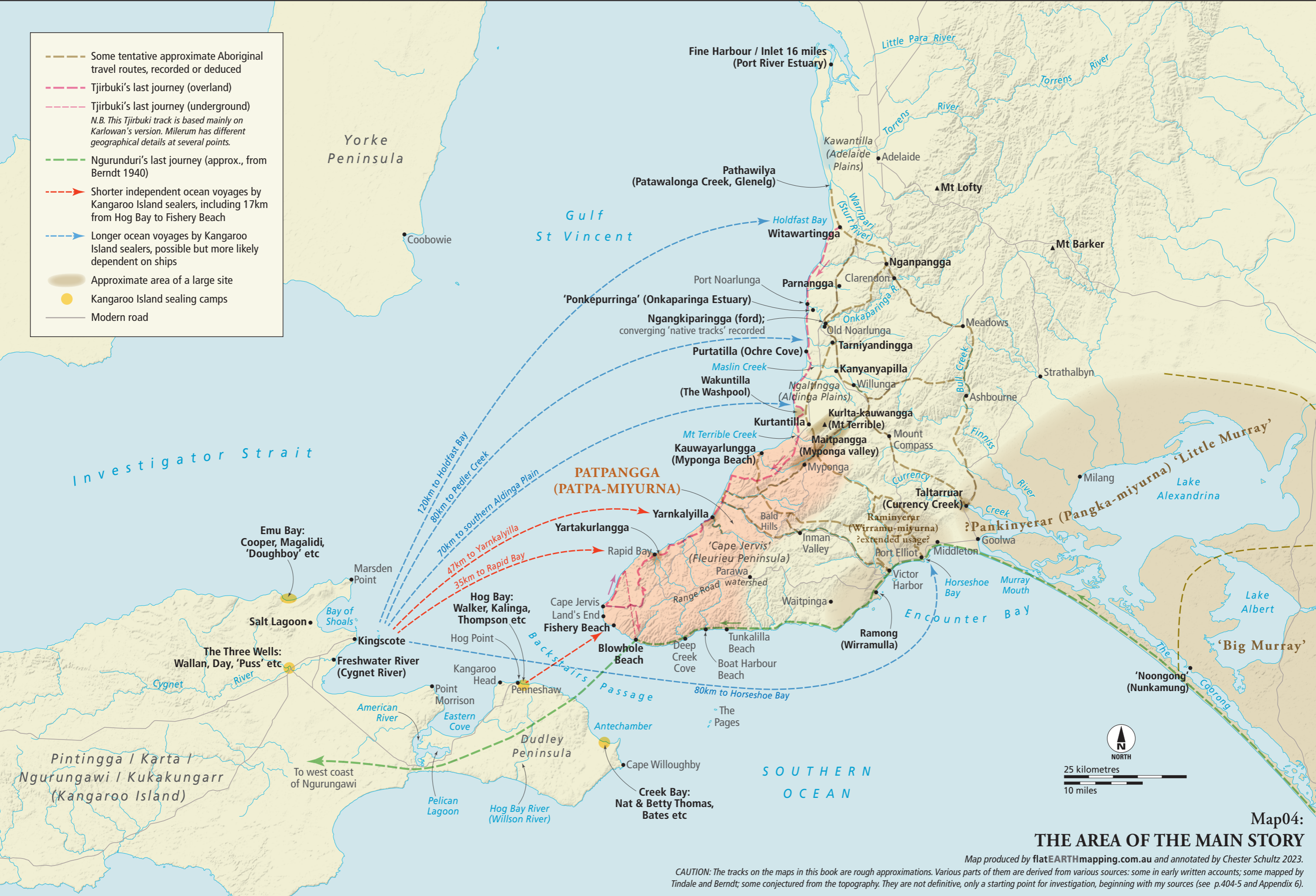


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Map04:
THE AREA OF THE MAIN STORY.

Annotated by Chester Schultz © 2023

Map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthmapping.com.au/>

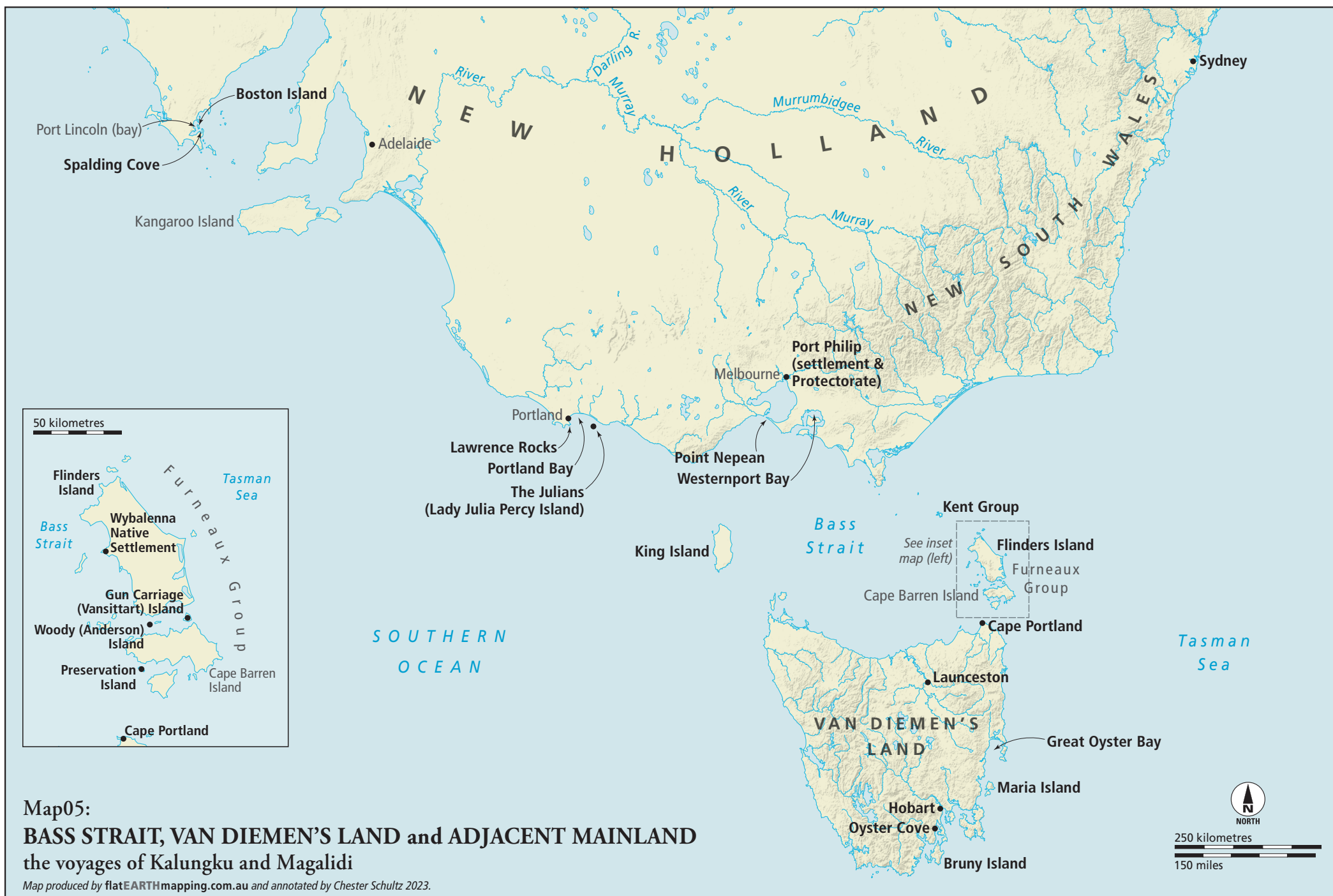


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Map05:
BASS STRAIT, VAN DIEMENS LAND and ADJACENT MAINLAND:
the voyages of Kalungku and Magalidi.

Annotated by Chester Schultz © 2023

Map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearhmapping.com.au/>



On next page 487:

Map06:
CONTEXT OF THE SEALING INDUSTRY:
the voyages of Kalinga and Magalidi.

Annotated by Chester Schultz © 2023

Map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthismapping.com.au/>

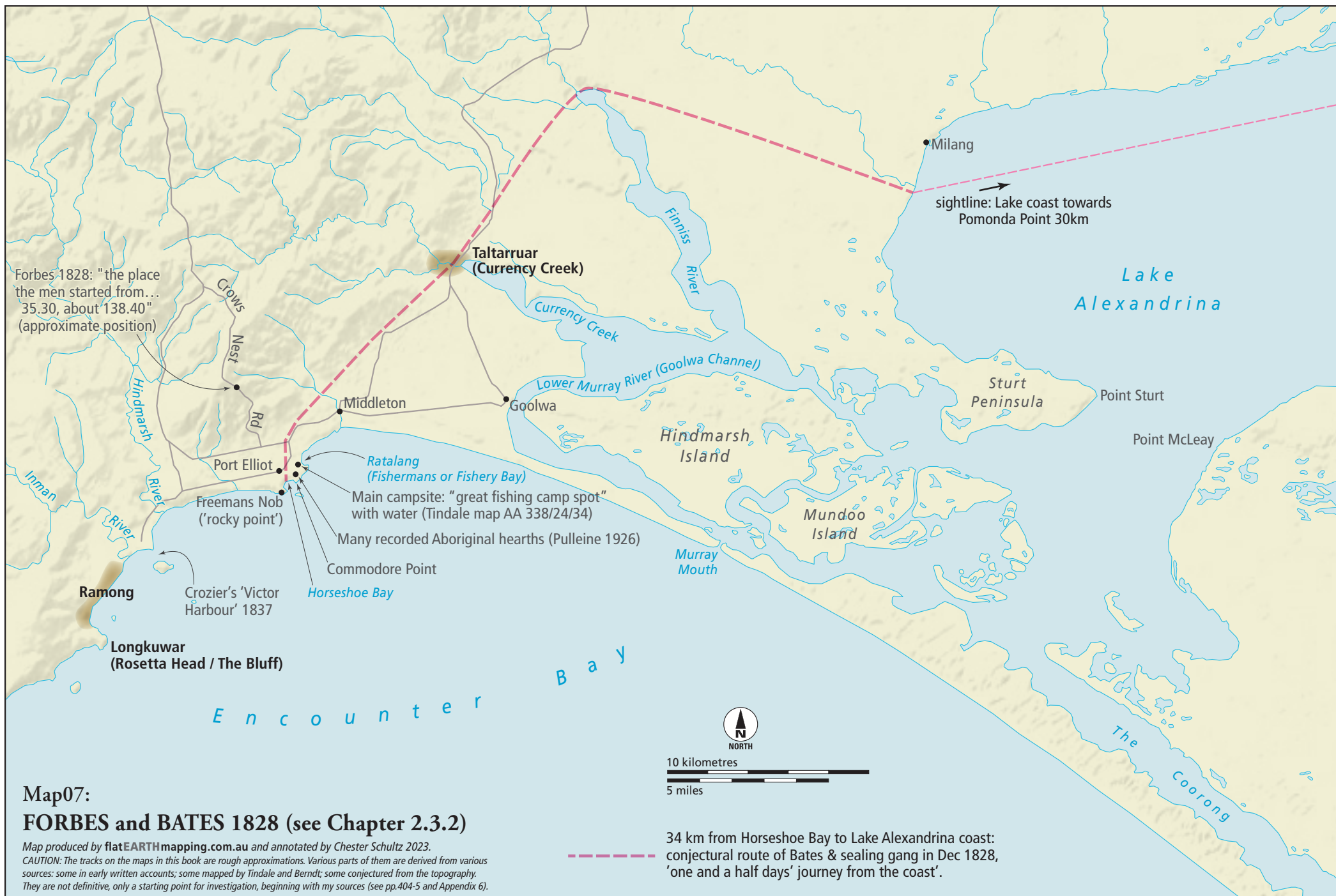


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Map07:
FORBES AND BATES 1828.
(see Chapter 2.3.2)

Annotated by Chester Schultz © 2023

Map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthmapping.com.au/>



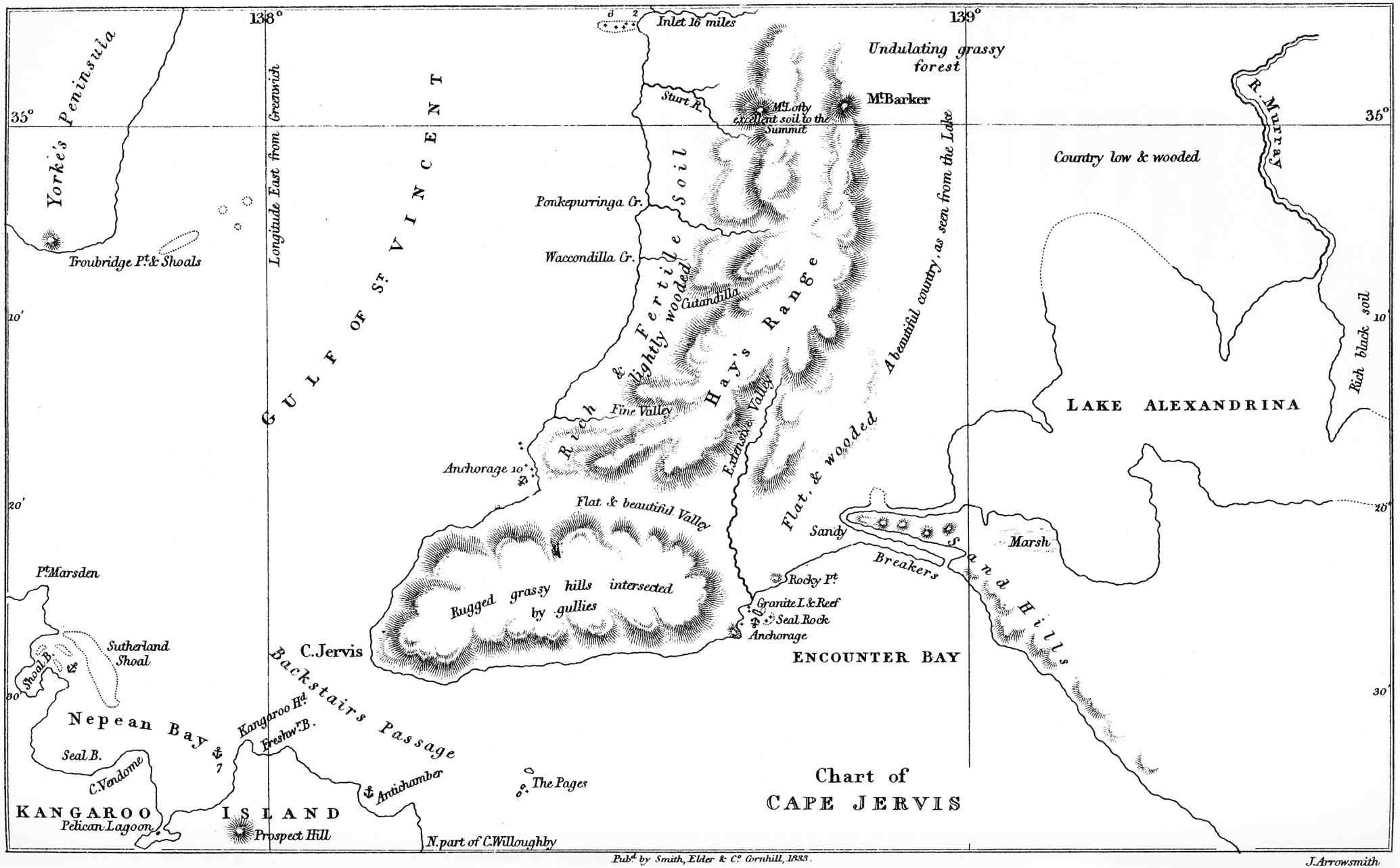
On next page 491:

Map08:
STURT 1833, 'CHART OF CAPE JERVIS'.

Base map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthmapping.com.au/>
from

Capt. Charles Sturt 1833, *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia, during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831: with observations on the soil, climate, and general resources of the Colony of New South Wales*, London: Smith, Elder and Co., p.229

Map_i1957320a_z,
reproduced by permission of the State Library of South Australia.



Map08: STURT 1833, 'CHART OF CAPE JERVIS'

Map produced by flatearthmapping.com.au and annotated by Chester Schultz 2023.

Reproduced by kind permission of the State Library of South Australia, from Charles Sturt 1833, *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia*, Vol. 2, p. 229

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Map09:
FLEURIEU MAINLAND CONTEXT,
with Sturt 1830 and Barker 1831.

Annotated by Chester Schultz © 2023

Map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthmapping.com.au/>

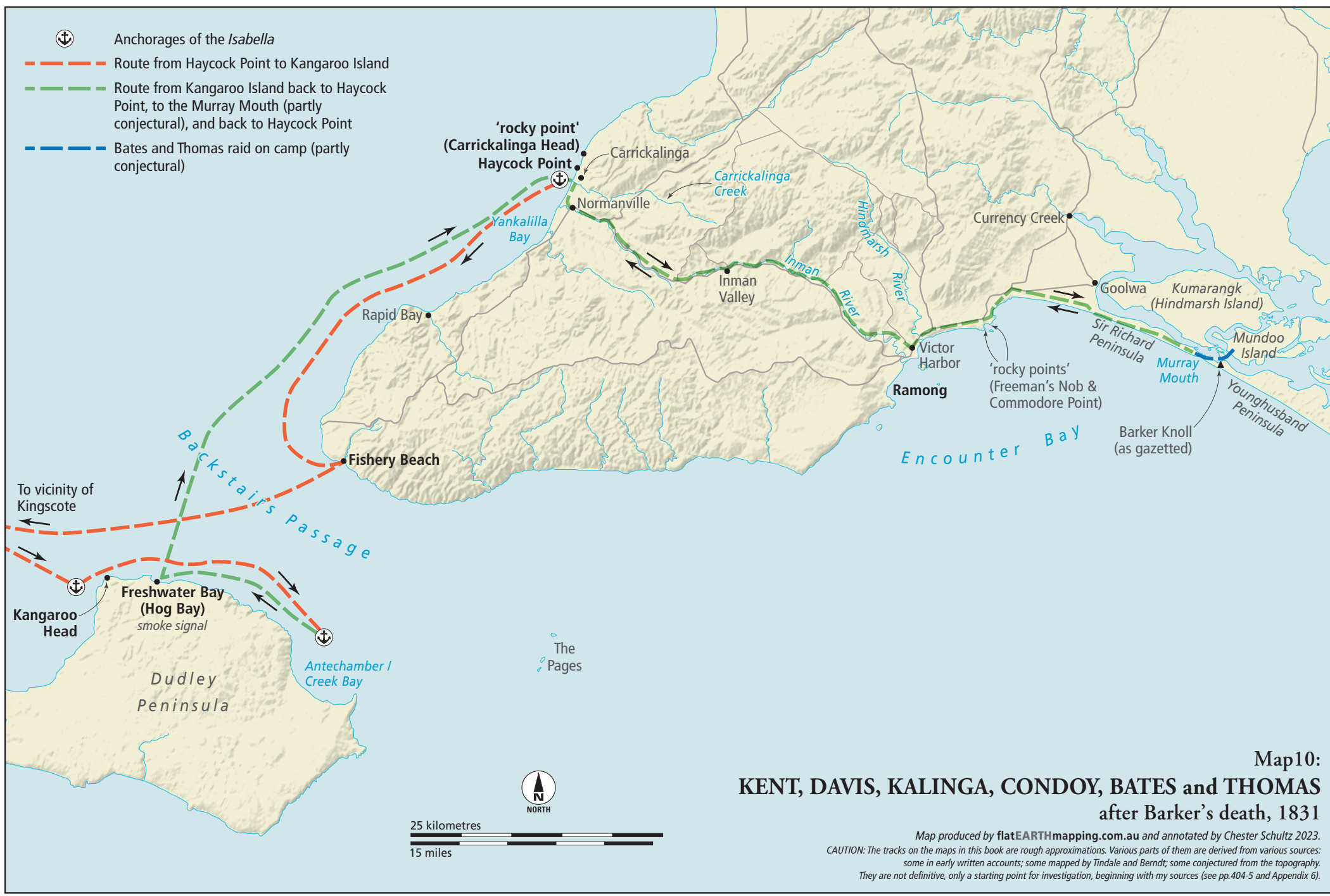


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Map10:
KENT, DAVIS, KALINGA, CONDOY, BATES AND THOMAS,
after Barker's death, 1831.

Annotated by Chester Schultz © 2023

Map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthmapping.com.au/>

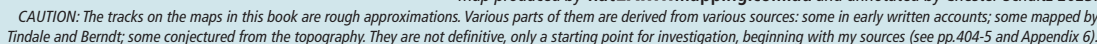


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**Map11:
TENTATIVE MAP of SOME ABORIGINAL TRAVEL ROUTES
around the Fleurieu Peninsula.**

Annotated by Chester Schultz © 2023

Map produced by John Frith, <http://www.flatearthmapping.com.au/>



Back cover photograph by Chester Schultz (14th January 2003):

Part of the large *Yarnkalyilla* campsite area at Lady Bay:

In the foreground is a lagoon in the small estuary at the mouth of the Yankalilla River.

In the background is the mouth of the river's Big Gorge, below the distinctive northeastern ridge of Yankalilla Hill on the right.

The dangerous overhanging rock ledges which probably inspired the name *Yarnkalyilla*, 'place where it keeps hanging down', are at Little Gorge, the western end of the Hill (off the picture to the right).

end Feet On The Fleurieu Book 1



First contact between Aboriginal people and Europeans around Fleurieu Peninsula was a nuanced and changing process well before the foundation of Adelaide in 1836.

Here is the story of violent abductions, a slave trade, brokered marriages, and long-term bi-cultural families; of women like Kalungku, ‘Emma’, ‘Sally’ Walker, ‘Doughboy’, and the Tasmanian ‘Big Sal’; of men like ‘King’ Condoy, Natalla, ‘Peter’ and ‘Encounter Bay Bob’; of Kangaroo Islanders George Bates, William Cooper, William Walker, Henry Wallan, Nat Thomas and William Thompson; and of a temporary colony at Rapid Bay hosted peacefully for fourteen weeks by the ‘Cape Jervis tribe’.

Highlighting that group and the neighbouring ‘Encounter Bay tribe’, this new history carefully examines the contemporary sources. It analyses the local geography, languages and territories of these people at that time, including all their ancient place-names recorded up to 1836; their changing relationships with Kangaroo Islanders and with the next groups northward and eastward; and their contributions to European exploration and the beginning of official settlement.

Eleven detailed colour maps show places and routes mentioned in the story.

Feet On the Fleurieu, Language On The Land, Book One contributes new insights and interpretations to the ongoing work-in-progress by which we are retrieving our shared history and beginning to understand it better.