



*The writing of this essay was funded as part of The Kurna Project 2021-2 (coordinator Rob Amery) by the Commonwealth of Australia Ministry for the Arts through its Indigenous Languages and Arts (Languages) program.*

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## Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 4.04.02/04

# WAIKARI-WINTURRILLA ('WYECAREYWINDERERILLA', 'WYKERA-WONJURILLA') AND WAIKARI GRUBS

(last edited: 8.8.2022)

### NOTE AND DISCLAIMER:

*This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.*

*The spellings and interpretations contained in it (linguistic, historical and geographical) are my own, and do not necessarily represent the views of KWP/KWK or its members or any other group.*

*I have studied history at tertiary level. Though not a linguist, for 30 years I have learned much about the Kurna, Ramindjeri-Ngarrindjeri and Narungga languages while working with KWP, Rob Amery, and other local culture-reclamation groups; and from primary documents I have learned much about the Aboriginal history of the Adelaide-Fleurieu region.*

*My explorations of 'language on the land' through the Southern Kurna Place Names Project are part of an ongoing effort to correct the record about Aboriginal place-names in this region (which has abounded in confusions and errors), and to add reliable new material into the public domain.*

*I hope upcoming generations will continue this work and improve it. My interpretations should be amplified, re-considered and if necessary modified by KWP or other linguists, and by others engaged in cultural mapping: i.e. Aboriginal researchers who are linking their oral traditions with other up-to-date and best available knowledge, and associated archaeologists, geographers, ecologists, anthropologists and historians.*

*Chester Schultz [10/7/2020].*

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#### Abstract

This Kurna name was applied to Section 276 (Hundred of Willunga).<sup>1</sup> Here the stream designated today as Willunga Creek emerges from the Willunga-Sellicks scarp immediately west of Longbottom Rd, Willunga South, in a sheltered and well-watered gully which was probably a Kurna campsite.

The brothers John and Matthew Colville had bought the Section by the end of 1840; and in the 1841 Almanac it was listed under their name as "Wyecareywindererilla". In 1844 one of the original survey workers, Louis Piesse, published the name of the Colvilles' property there as "Wykera-wonjurilla"; he had almost certainly obtained it directly from Kurna guides during the 1839 surveys of 'District C'. These are the only known records of the name.

Both of the spellings occur in newspaper publications, and both certainly include some mis-transcriptions of handwriting probably by Colville and Piesse respectively. However, with a few bits of conjecture it is possible to construct a coherent Kurna original which is fairly plausible though by no means certain: *Waikari-winturrilla* (Old Spelling *Waikari-windorilla*), 'place for pulling *waikari* grubs' (possibly out of the ground). I classify this interpretation tentatively as 'probable'. If correct, it could refer to an event in an unrecorded Dreaming story; or to the ecology and socio-economic uses of the site.

The deduced word *waikari* has not been found in any source used previously for Kurna language research, but there is other collateral evidence for it. "Wakeries" was the name used for any edible grubs by the pre-colonial Europeans of Kangaroo Island. All the other Aboriginal words which are known to have been used by them and their local contacts were in Kurna language. The presence of this word in a place-name on undisputed Kurna land can be taken as confirmation of its Kurna origin.

More ecological work would need to be done on the ground to establish whether Section 276 might once have contained notable sites for pulling grubs, perhaps out of the soil. Since pulling ground grubs was much slower and more laborious than pulling trunk-borers, it would probably happen only in times of scarcity, such as drought years.

Tindale asserted that the town name 'Waikerie' in the Riverland was derived from a Ngayawang term for the soil-dwelling Ghost Moths and their grubs (*Trictena argentata*, now *atripalpis*). This

<sup>1</sup> All Section numbers in this essay are in the Hundred of Willunga.

derivation is unsourced, unconfirmed, doubtful, and probably unrelated to the Kaurna word. Nevertheless it is conceivable that in the original Kaurna usage *waikari* may have referred to Ghost Moth grubs in particular (see Discussion); but this could only be confirmed after more multi-disciplinary investigation.

Coordinates	Lat. -35.2841; Long. 138.5452 [nominal centre of probable campsite area at mouth of gully]
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## Language Information

Meaning	PROBABLY 'place for making long pulls of a scraping or shaving kind [in order to get] <i>waikari</i> grubs'
Etymology	PROBABLY <i>waikari</i> ['edible grub'] + <i>wintunthi</i> 'to draw, shave, making long pulls in shaving the spear etc. with glass' + Reflexive <i>rri</i> 'itself' > <i>winturrintheta</i> 'to pull back, draw back to itself or oneself' [repeated movements?] > Verb Root <i>winturri-</i> + <i>illa</i> 'at, place of' > <i>waikari-winturrilla</i>
Notes	This etymology involves some conjectures, but no other available etymology satisfies the requirements of the evidence.
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kaurna'
KWP Former Spelling	PROBABLY <i>Waikari-windorilla</i>
KWP New Spelling 2010	PROBABLY <i>Waikari-winturrilla</i>
Phonemic Spelling	PROBABLY /waikari-winturrila/
Syllabification	" <b>Waikari</b> – <b>winturrilla</b> ":
Pronunciation tips	Stress only the 1 <sup>st</sup> and 4 <sup>th</sup> syllables. 'ai' is variable as in 'wail' or 'aisle'. <i>u</i> as in 'put'. <i>rr</i> rolled as in Scottish.

## Main source evidence

Date	Dec 1840
Original source text	"[District C] [Section] 276: [Name of Place or Farm] Moy: [Name of Cultivator] John & Mat. Colville: [Extent of land in cultivation] – : [Supplied with Water, and how] From ponds on the surface; excellent water in abundance. : [Remarks... Buildings... &c.] A good pisé house, sheep-pens, &c. ..."
Reference	'Statement of the Extent & Cultivation... for 1840', in <i>British Parliamentary Papers: Colonies: Australia</i> : Vol. 7 (1841-4): 118-9.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1841
Original source text	“(Willunga) Colvill, John, <b>Wyecareywindererilla</b> : [ <i>sheep</i> ] 1500”
Reference	Bennett’s <i>SA Almanac for 1841</i> , Country Directory: 127, <a href="https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2882763304/view?partId=nla.obj-2882903851">https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2882763304/view?partId=nla.obj-2882903851</a> .
Informants credited	Colville; who probably obtained the name from Survey Department.
Informants uncredited	Kaurra guides during first surveys of District C in 1839.

Date	[1843] / 1844
Original source text	“Coleville, H.M., <b>sec. 275-6</b> , Moy.”
Reference	Cotter’s <i>SA Almanac 1844</i> : 167 (from the 1843 Census), <a href="https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2917154520/view?partId=nla.obj-2917182614#page/n4/mode/1up">https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2917154520/view?partId=nla.obj-2917182614#page/n4/mode/1up</a> .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1844
Original source text	“Next to Piltongga is Burka-burkarilla, adjoining which is Mr Colville’s, called <b>Wykera-wonjurilla</b> .”
Reference	‘L.P.’ [Louis Piesse], ‘Descriptive tour through part of District “C.”’, <i>Observer</i> 13/4/1844: 7c, <a href="http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/18834087">http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/18834087</a> .
Informants credited	Piesse
Informants uncredited	Kaurra guides during first surveys of District C in 1839.

Date	1853
Original source text	[ <i>describing pre-colonial Kangaroo Islander Nat Thomas</i> ] “Nothing comes amiss to him in the way of eating, from a frying pan of young ants to a dish of ‘ <b>wakeries</b> ’ ( <b>grubs</b> )”.
Reference	WA Cawthorne 1853, ‘Journal of a Trip to Kangaroo Island’, <i>SA Register</i> 13/1/1853: 3d, <a href="https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/38463955/3919463">https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/38463955/3919463</a> ).
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	[1908-1915] / 1990
Original source text	[ <i>the Riverland town</i> ] “ <b>Waikerie</b> — ... Fred W. Shephard furnished the following notes: ‘In 1882 my father, W.T. Shephard, formed the station. A pine hut was then the only building on the spot. <b>Waikerie means ‘anything that flies’ or is a word that indicates a favourite spot for wildfowl...</b> ”
Reference	Rodney Cockburn (ed. Stewart Cockburn 1990), <i>South Australia: What’s in a Name?</i> Adelaide, Axiom Publishing: 230.
Informants credited	WT Shephard 1880s
Informants uncredited	Local Aboriginal people (Ngayawang or Ngawait?) near Waikerie Station.

<i>Date</i>	1966
<i>Original source text</i>	“Places where unusually large numbers of moths emerged together were remembered and given special place names, Thus the Murray River irrigation town of <b>Waikerie preserves the memory of great feasts of <i>Trictena argentata</i> moths</b> . They still emerge from the roots of the red gums and fly every year in early- or mid-April.”
<i>Reference</i>	NB Tindale 1966, ‘Insects as food for the Australian Aborigines’, <i>Australian Natural History</i> 15(6), Sydney: Australian Museum, June 1966: 179–183. <a href="https://media.australianmuseum.net.au/media/dd/Uploads/Documents/35442/ams370_vXV_06_lowres.9ab4fd7.pdf">https://media.australianmuseum.net.au/media/dd/Uploads/Documents/35442/ams370_vXV_06_lowres.9ab4fd7.pdf</a> .
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	Unknown

<i>Date</i>	[n.d., 1960s?] / 2019
<i>Original source text</i>	“[Place Name] <b>Waikerie</b> [Reference] Tindale ms. [Description] der. from nn. [ <b>Weikari</b> ] lit. ‘ <b>the rising</b> ’ also the name for a <b>species of ghost moth</b> . The name derived from the vast flights of ghost moths ( <i>Trictena argentata</i> ) which after heavy rain are emerging in great numbers from the ground among the river redgums - they provided annual feasts for the natives. Other versions <b>Wigery, Weigerie</b> .”
<i>Reference</i>	Tindale place-name card as transcribed & archived by Philip Clarke, Id No 2267 in Philip A Clarke 2019, unpublished ‘Aboriginal Place Name Index1’.
<i>Informants credited</i>	Tindale.
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	For ‘weikari, the rising’: possibly an unknown Aboriginal informant. For ‘Wigery, Weigerie’: unknown.

## Discussion: WILLUNGA CREEK, GRUB-PULLING, AND A NEWLY-IDENTIFIED KAURNA WORD WAIKARI:

### Part 1. SECTION 276, THE COLVILLES, AND LOUIS PIESSE:

The upland plains near Willunga town were first surveyed in spring 1839 as part of ‘District C’.<sup>2</sup> Draughtsman Richard Counsel left detailed field maps of what they found. Section 276 is in Willunga South, on the southern side of Colville Rd from Longbottom Rd halfway to Delabole Rd.

<sup>2</sup> See notes on Counsel’s field maps: “*Water Sep<sup>t</sup>*” and “*water Sep*” in two places on the northern tributary of what is now Wirra Creek at the Willunga Golf Course (Richard Counsel 1839, Field Book 102, GNU: 27); and “*water 22 Nov<sup>v</sup> 39*” on Section 282 near the bottom of Loud’s Hill Rd, only 2.5 km away from Section 276 (*ibid*: 45).

Here Counsel marked “good water” along the creek which crosses the Section diagonally from southeast to northwest.<sup>3</sup>

By the end of 1840 Section 276 had been acquired by the Scottish brothers John and Matthew Colville.<sup>4</sup> Their block had water “from ponds on the surface; excellent water in abundance”. They had named their farm ‘Moy’, and had already built “a good pisé house, sheep-pens, &c”.<sup>5</sup>

#### A FAVOURED CAMPSITE?

Colville’s ponds were probably permanent. No doubt he chose this Section for the very well-watered gully in its northeastern quarter. Here the stream now called Willunga Creek<sup>6</sup> emerges from the hills, the most substantial and favoured of the many creeks along the scarp from Willunga southward.<sup>7</sup> Downstream it seems also to have been well-drained; unlike the lower plains, the flooding in this vicinity would have been seasonal and short-lived.<sup>8</sup>

The water was excellent for the same reasons at *Wilangga* 2 km away; *Piltangga* 1.2 km away is rather more sheltered than Colville’s, and was the place where colonists observed large gatherings of Aboriginal people, presumably on public land.<sup>9</sup> But Colville’s gully has good lookout points

<sup>3</sup> Counsel 1839, FB 102: 38 (Map 1 in this essay). I catalogue this as Creek #14 in my unpublished annotated maps of the creeks along the Willunga-Sellicks scarp.

<sup>4</sup> For a very brief overview of John Colville’s life see [https://willunga.nowandthen.net.au/Colville,\\_John](https://willunga.nowandthen.net.au/Colville,_John) [24/1/22]

<sup>5</sup> ‘Statement of the Extent & Cultivation... for 1840’, in *BPP: Colonies: Australia*: Vol. 7 (1841-4): 118-9.

<sup>6</sup> NatureMaps, <http://spatialwebapps.environment.sa.gov.au/naturemaps/?locale=en-us&viewer=naturemaps>. It is labelled ‘Creek #14’ in my analytical catalogue of the creeks along the Willunga-Sellicks scarp (see my password-protected online document ‘BACKGROUND8SellicksScarp’). Willunga Creek has sometimes been known also as ‘Aldinga Creek’.

<sup>7</sup> Above Section 276, Willunga Creek has a catchment area of nearly 219 hectares, by far the largest of any of the scarp creeks (see ‘Assessing the Creeks’, MAP03 and MAP05 in ‘BACKGROUND8’). It is fed not only by rainfall catchment but by underground seepage from fractures in the basement rock of the scarp: “*In many areas, particularly watercourses, underground water is likely to contribute to the water requirements of vegetation with deep roots, particularly Eucalyptus camaldulensis. These trees are likely to access underground water in cracks and fissures in the fractured rock aquifer. Seeps have often been selected as sites for farm dams, where underground water discharge maintains dam levels throughout the year. Generally, native vegetation has been cleared and the impact of stock trampling and grazing has increased as a result of dam construction*” (Adelaide and Mount Lofty Ranges NRM Board 2007, *Water Allocation Plan for the McLaren Vale Prescribed Wells Area*: 8; online via home page <http://www.naturalresources.sa.gov.au/adelaidentloftyranges/water/water-allocation-plans/mclaren-vale> [3/6/15]).

<sup>8</sup> Today the downstream course is continuous above ground, all the way to the coast, but only because connecting drains have been built to maximize surface flow and prevent flooding. The present course below Aldinga Rd is probably quite different from its course in 1839 (see Map 2 in this essay). It seems to have barely existed north of Colville Rd in 1839-40. The published map developed from Counsel’s work does not show it at all below Colville Rd (John McLaren 1840, ‘Country South of Adelaide’, London, Arrowsmith: see Map 4, and compare its Burslem prototype Map 3). In his field book (pp.25 & 38) Counsel does not show it at all for 930m between Sections 235 (south of Little Rd) and 255 (south of Aldinga Rd); but even so it is on the plain for at least 1.7 km, the third longest, before disappearing for about a km (underground?); cp. the annotated MAP11 and MAP12 in my ‘BACKGROUND8’. Treating the onsite Field Book as the more authoritative record, perhaps its course below Colville Rd was traced on the surface as a line of trees nourished by the water moving underground.

<sup>9</sup> See PNS 4.04.02/01 Pirltangga.

nearby, for example at the top of Longbottom Rd. In pre-colonial times it may have been the preferred camping place for seasonal residence, except in bad weather. After that it was, of course, entirely his private property.

Like those two places, Colville's gully and its surroundings were well wooded,<sup>10</sup> with the usual River Redgums in the well-watered creek and gully, while nearby there were other Eucalypts, understory wattles, and grasstrees.<sup>11</sup>

#### OBTAINING THE NAME:

Within a couple of months of those 1840 land returns, the South Australian almanac for 1841 listed 'John Colvill' (sic) among the farmers of Willunga District, with 1500 sheep, 4 cattle, and 2 acres of potatoes at "Wyecareywindererilla".<sup>12</sup> Almost certainly one of the Colvilles had given this as the name or address of their property. Probably they would have heard it from the survey department at or soon after the time of purchase.<sup>13</sup>

The 'District C' surveys in 1839 had employed Kaurna men,<sup>14</sup> and the colonists employed on this survey team had months of isolation in what was then 'the bush', with evenings to fill with talk around their campfires. One of these was Louis Piesse, whose letter from one of their camps in 1839 was published by a newspaper. It displayed his newly-acquired knowledge of Kaurna place-names and their precise locations in the Sections which the team had been surveying, and included a short Kaurna wordlist.<sup>15</sup> In April 1844 he wrote for publication a tour guide of District C,

<sup>10</sup> Counsel marked very few tree dots around it in his Field Book and did not mark it 'Forest Land' as he did on many other parts of Aldinga Plain. Perhaps this was because it lay on the boundary of the 1839 surveys and the scarp itself was not part of the immediate field business in September and November. Shortly afterwards he also compiled for the survey department a large composite map, on which the whole of 276 is dotted with trees, more than on many of the areas elsewhere which his field maps had marked 'Forest'; and similarly on the adjacent land on the scarp southwest, south and east; see Map 2. Today most of this is gone except in the creek gullies, and most of the remnant is regrowth. There was also 'bald' grassland further up the scarp – but that is another story (see PNS 1/01 Yarna).

<sup>11</sup> See e.g. Betty Ross (ed.) 1984, *Aboriginal and Historic Places around metropolitan Adelaide and the South Coast*, Anthropological Society of SA: 12; and Rob Linn 1991, *Cradle of Adversity: a history of the Willunga district*, Blackwood: Historical Consultants: 13.

<sup>12</sup> Bennett's SA Almanac 1841, Country Directory: 127, <https://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-2882763304/view?partId=nla.obj-2882903851>.

<sup>13</sup> By 1841 the Colvilles had added to their property Section 275, adjacent on the western side. The first published map of the survey area showed "D Colville" on Sections 275 and 276 (McLaren 1840). Cp. Cotter SA Almanac 1844: 167 (this almanac was basically a reiteration of the 1843 census results). But it is almost certain that both versions of the name had been recorded before then, so that we need not take 275 into account here.

<sup>14</sup> "Several of them are also employed in the Survey Department at Yankalilla and Aldingha (Aldinga), who receive rations and pay the same as white laborers" (SA Register 10/8/1839: 6a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/27440703/2049497>).

<sup>15</sup> Louis Piesse, letter to Adelaide Guardian from 'Camp Coortandillah 18 Oct 1839', reprinted in SA Colonist 1(19), 1840: 296, <http://www.nla.gov.au/ferguson/1461426X/18400714/00010019/7-9.pdf>.

in which he gave a number of Kurna place-names, many of them otherwise unrecorded. In a list along the Willunga-Sellicks scarp, he quoted “Mr Colville’s, called Wykera-wonjurilla”.<sup>16</sup>

These are the only known records of the name, “Wyecareywindererilla” and “Wykera-wonjurilla”. Both spellings occur in newspaper publications. Both certainly include some mis-transcriptions of handwriting, probably that of Colville and Piesse respectively, but we have no MS samples from them.<sup>17</sup>

Did these independent records come from two separate encounters with Kurna people? or were they variant accounts originating from the same encounter, one of them being our real primary source and the other garbled from it? We can’t answer this question conclusively; but it is unlikely that the Colvilles were interested enough in the local Kurna to consult them about the name of the property. Much more likely that a District C surveyor obtained the name in 1839; and most likely of all that this man was Piesse, who while on the job had his own special interest in Kurna words and was keeping a journal,<sup>18</sup> over and above Governor Gawler’s general request to preserve the ‘native names’. Probably it was Piesse who communicated this name to the Colvilles in 1840. No doubt when quoting it in 1844 he consulted his 1839 journal.

If so, then the Piesse 1844 would be the true primary source, and Colville 1841 a garbled second-hand version of it. On the other hand, this primacy could be subverted by clerical errors in publication: mis-transcriptions of cursive handwriting, or typographical errors due to haste. This could happen in both records. Language analysis may show which of them is more accurate. But in this case the linguistics quickly bring in other factors as well.

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## Part 2. THE KAURNA NAME:

“Wyecareywindererilla” (Colville 1841) and “Wykera-wonjurilla” (Piesse 1844) are certainly in Kurna language. The place is undisputed Kurna land, and both versions of the name use the familiar Kurna Locative *illa* ‘at, place of’.

In both versions the structure is obviously a Compound Noun consisting of

(1) a 3-syllable **first word** ‘Wyecarey’ or ‘Wykera’, **schematically** (*waikV<sup>1</sup>rV<sup>2</sup>*);<sup>19</sup> plus

<sup>16</sup> ‘L.P.’ [Louis Piesse], ‘Descriptive tour through part of District “C.”’, *Adelaide Observer* 13/4/1844: 7a-8b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/ndp/del/page/18834087>. Colville’s is on p.7c.

<sup>17</sup> Piesse’s 1839 journal has not been found.

<sup>18</sup> See Piesse in *Observer* 13/4/1844: 7c.

<sup>19</sup> In these analytical spellings, a capital ‘V’ will represent a variable or unknown Vowel, and a capital ‘C’ a variable or unknown Consonant.



(2) a **second word** ‘windererilla’ or ‘wonjurilla’. This contains the Locative *illa* which can only be used with a three-syllable Root. But the Colville version “windererilla” seems to imply a Root of four syllables (‘windererV’). We must infer a mistake here; the original Kurna pronunciation must have had a single second vowel, not the two syllables “erer”, which are either a mis-hearing by the original collector, a mis-transcription, or an accidental typographic repetition. If we reduce Colville’s version to a structurally correct ‘winderilla’, we now have for both versions a 4-syllable **second word, schematically (wV<sup>3</sup>nCV<sup>4</sup>rilla)**.

The crucial part of this second word is **its 3-syllable Root (wV<sup>3</sup>nCV<sup>4</sup>rV<sup>5</sup>)**, in which we do not know the final Vowel<sup>5</sup> because it has been replaced by the *i* in *illa*.

## 2(1) THE FIRST WORD ‘Wyecarey’ or ‘Wykera’, **waikV<sup>1</sup>rV<sup>2</sup>**:

The second vowel V<sup>1</sup> (unstressed) was written as ‘er’ in both versions, and probably represents the phonetic sound *a*.<sup>20</sup> The original Kurna third vowel V<sup>2</sup> could be either *i* (Colville) or *a* (Piesse). The word is therefore either *waikari* or *waikara*.<sup>21</sup>

No previously-acknowledged Kurna vocabulary matches either of these.<sup>22</sup> But in this case we have at least one strong confirmation coming from outside Kurna land.

The form *waikari*, coupled with the meaning ‘edible grubs’, was recorded on Kangaroo Island. The European sealers and seamen who lived there before colonization used the word “wakeries” for the grubs which they often ate. In 1853 William Cawthorne described the old Islander Nat Thomas, with whom he travelled and stayed on the Island: “Nothing comes amiss to him in the way of eating, from a frying pan of young ants to a dish of ‘wakeries’ (grubs)”.<sup>23</sup> There is no previous record of this word, nor any to show where or from whom the Islanders obtained it and its given meaning. But every other Aboriginal word on record from the Islanders and their Aboriginal contacts is demonstrably Kurna,<sup>24</sup> and it is extremely likely that their sources for ‘wakerie’ were also Southern Kurna.

We can be pretty sure that the word originally referred to one specific kind of grub; also that the Islanders, having learned it, would then extend its reference to include all edible grubs.

<sup>20</sup> – or (much less likely) perhaps the ‘e’ could be taken alone to represent *i*.

<sup>21</sup> – or (much less likely) *waikiri* or *waikira*.

<sup>22</sup> – nor their less likely alternatives.

<sup>23</sup> WA Cawthorne 1853, ‘Journal of a Trip to Kangaroo Island’, *SA Register* 13/1/1853: 3d, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/38463955/3919463>. Cawthorne’s novel *The Kangaroo Islanders* enlarges vividly on the theme of “wakeries” (WA Cawthorne (ed. R Hosking) 2020, *The Kangaroo Islanders: A story of South Australia before colonisation 1823*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 63-4). See also my footnote on Tindale and Arthur Dawe in the Appendix to this essay.

<sup>24</sup> See my forthcoming history *Feet On the Fleurieu*, Chapter 1. The only partial exception was the personal name ‘Condoy’, which might be *kondoli* ‘whale’, a word used by both Kurna and Ramindjeri.

A NECESSARY DIGRESSION: TINDALE'S WAIKERIE TOWN:

Tindale claimed that the Riverland town Waikerie was named from a local Aboriginal term which means “the rising” and refers to Ghost Moths (*Trictena atripalsis*, previously *argentata*).<sup>25</sup> These fat adult Moths emerge annually from the vertical tunnels of their root-feeding grubs. Their one-night frenzy of flying, mating, egg-laying and death provides a large feast for birds and Aboriginal groups gathered for the occasion. But I have serious doubts about the *linguistic* validity of this connection. Ghost Moths were one of Tindale’s pet subjects. He did not identify his linguistic source (if any), nor present any real evidence for it. A quite different interpretation of ‘Waikerie’ was recorded by the settler who originally obtained the name from the local Ngayawang. For a discussion of this, see the Appendix.

Against this caution must be set (cautiously!) another known Kurna word *wakkari-burka* (*wakarripurka*), ‘a stupid person; an ignoramus’. The first part of this Compound is the Root of the verb *wakkarendi* (*wakarrintheta*) ‘to stray, forget, be lost, giddy, ignorant, drunk’; *kupurlo wakkarendi* (*kupurlo wakarrintheta*) is ‘to be intoxicated’ (literally ‘giddy with booze’). *Wakkari* is very close to *waikari*; they could easily be variants. Did the Kurna insect name refer imaginatively to the mindless chaotic flight of Ghost Moths into the campfires on that one feast night of the year?<sup>26</sup>

A linguistic link with the Ngayawang would be very unusual.<sup>27</sup> But circumstantial evidence does mount up for *waikari* as the Kurna name for a moth grub which *might* be the Ghost Moth. And Tindale wrote – more reliably this time, as an observing field naturalist – that Ghost Moths were common not only “throughout South Australia” but “in the vicinity of Adelaide”.<sup>28</sup>

**2(2) THE SECOND WORD: the Root ‘winderV’ or ‘wonjurV’, *wV<sup>3</sup>nCV<sup>4</sup>rV<sup>5</sup>*:**

The stressed first vowel V<sup>3</sup> was published as ‘i’ and ‘o’, representing respectively *i* and a choice between *a* or *o/u*. The unknown consonant C was published as ‘d’ and ‘j’, representing *t/d* and *ty/tj* respectively. The second vowel V<sup>4</sup> – unstressed and easier to mistake – was published as ‘er’ and

<sup>25</sup> Tindale published part of this claim in the last of his many journal essays on Ghost Moths (NB Tindale 1966, ‘Insects as food for the Australian Aborigines’, *Australian Natural History* 15(6), June 1966, Sydney, Australian Museum: 179-183, [https://media.australianmuseum.net.au/media/dd/Uploads/Documents/35442/ams370\\_vXV\\_06\\_lowres.9ab4fd7.pdf](https://media.australianmuseum.net.au/media/dd/Uploads/Documents/35442/ams370_vXV_06_lowres.9ab4fd7.pdf); thanks to Phil Clarke for this reference), and expanded it on some of his place-name cards, notably in the one transcribed by Philip Clarke (see ‘Main Evidence’ above). These cards probably written in the 1960s-80s. It was a late afterthought, 30 years after his early Ghost Moth researches (see Appendix).

<sup>26</sup> See Tindale’s description of this (in my Appendix).

<sup>27</sup> – but not impossible. Known Ngayawang vocabulary includes “*Waikowaikoan, to shake, agitate, move*” (Moorhouse 1846, *A Vocabulary and Outline of... the Murray River Language, spoken by the natives of South Australia, from Wellington on the Murray, as far as the Rufus*, Adelaide: Andrew Murray: 59). It is conceivable that this verb could be used to refer to the flight of the Ghost Moths, and that it might have a related noun meaning ‘anything that flies’ (?erratically) (see Shephard’s gloss in the Appendix). But this is very conjectural.

<sup>28</sup> Tindale 1938, ‘Ghost moths of the Family Hepialidae’, *South Australian Naturalist* 19(1): 2.

'u'. As we saw in the first word, 'er' is probably a digraph representing a, but could perhaps be the separate sounds *i+r*; while a written 'u' in English can mean either a or o/u. The hidden final vowel V<sup>5</sup> could be a, i or o/u. So the Kaurna original could theoretically be any of a large number of possibilities.

But in fact only one of them matches any known Kaurna vocabulary. This one available solution is *winturri-* (Old Sp. *windori-*), the Root of the verb *winturrintheta* (*windorendi*), glossed as 'to draw back, pull back'.<sup>29</sup> *Windorendi* is itself a Complex Verb deriving from the Simple Verb *wintuntheta* (*windondi*), "to draw, shave, making long pulls in shaving the spear etc. with glass".<sup>30</sup> The Complex version adds the Reflexive particle *ri*, so that *windorendi* literally means 'to make long pulls on itself / oneself'.

When one recorded Kaurna word has matching historical evidence for every sound, it becomes a very likely bet, unless for some reason its meaning is impossible in the context.<sup>31</sup>

### 2(3) THE WHOLE NAME:

Thus from these few conjectural links it is possible to construct a whole coherent Kaurna original Compound which – surprisingly – is fairly plausible, though by no means certain:

*Waikari-winturrilla* (Old Sp. *Waikari-windorilla*).

It means 'a place for pulling edible grubs' – presumably away from or out of somewhere.

This pulling is 'long, like shaving a spear with glass'; and *if* Tindale is right about the word 'Waikerie-*weikari*', it is more likely pulling a grub from a longer vertical tunnel in the ground than a short lateral one in a tree-trunk. It suggests that the Kaurna *waikari* was probably a root-feeder rather than a stem-borer, and so could perhaps be Tindale's Ghost Moth grub, or something else like it.

.....

<sup>29</sup> Verb Roots can sometimes be used like a noun and combined with the Locative to produce a place-name; e.g. *kangkarrintheta* (*kangkarendi*) 'to produce young' > *Kangkarr-illa* 'place of producing young' (i.e. Kangarilla; see PNS 6/11).

<sup>30</sup> Teichelmann 1857, MS Dictionary "windondi".

<sup>31</sup> The Colville-Almanac version scores more wins than the *Piesse-Register*. In the light of *Piesse* it is even conceivable that the Almanac's 'erer' was actually a mis-reading of a scrawled 'u' in 'windurilla' written by Colville – making his hypothetical MS version as accurate and unambiguous a record as we could expect, short of 'windoorilla'.

### Part 3. ASSESSING THE WHOLE PICTURE:

#### COMPETING KAURNA TERMS FOR GRUBS:

Recorded Kaurna vocabulary includes at least 12 words for various kinds of grub. It is not clear whether we can assume that the same name was used by the Kaurna for both the larva and the flying adult of a particular species.<sup>32</sup> The records do not tell us whether any of the grubs belonged to a moth or a beetle.

In Kaurna the familiar word *parti* (*barti*) was used as a very general term for 'any grub; any insect'.<sup>33</sup>

Only two grubs were identified as root-feeders; both were also specified as large and edible:

(1) The *turluka* (*turlokka*) was described as one of two "grubs found in the wattle tree", both "excellent eating"; the *turluka* was "the larger" and "found about the roots".<sup>34</sup>

(2) The *taingila* (*taingilla*) was a "large grub found in light soil",<sup>35</sup> "a large grub burrowing in sand soil about 3 inches long and ½ thick, eaten by the Natives".<sup>36</sup>

Both of these might come from a variety of moths or beetles; but the peculiar linguistic context of Kaurna *waikari* makes it the strongest candidate for Ghost Moths.

#### MATCHING THE ORIGINAL ECOLOGY OF THE PLACE TO THE HABITATS OF ROOT-FEEDING GRUBS:

If correct, the interpretation 'place for pulling *waikari* grubs' could refer to an event in an unrecorded Dreaming story, or to the ecology and socio-economic uses of the site, or both.

<sup>32</sup> There is only one known word for a flying adult, *pilyapilya* (*bilyabilya*), which may be a general term covering any 'moth' or 'butterfly'.

<sup>33</sup> Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840 "a grub; an insect in general"; Teichelmann MS Dictionary 1857 "every grub before it turns into a chrysalis". However, T&S1840 confuse the matter by adding a sentence about the eating of "this grub". This feeds us into the long disputes about what is and isn't a 'bardi' and what is and isn't a 'witchetty grub'. One specialist paper argues from a Western Australian perspective that the widespread term *bardi* covers the large edible grubs from a range of both moths and beetles (Ken Macintyre and Barb Dobson 2017, 'The Puzzle of the Bardi Grub in Nyungar Culture', <https://anthropologyfromtheshed.com/project/the-bardi-grub-in-nyungar-culture/> [14/3/22]). But in Aboriginal usage there were obviously local perspectives and historical changes. Among the four Kaurna grubs identified as stem-borers, *waadlaparti* (*wadlabarti*), a "large grub in gums", may have been the local version of the 'witchetty grub': perhaps a Cossid Moth, also found in Acacias; or was it a beetle? (see MacIntyre & Dobson; also Alan Louey Yen, 'Edible insects and other invertebrates in Australia: future prospects', <https://www.fao.org/3/i1380e/i1380e01.pdf>: 65-83).

<sup>34</sup> Piesse 1839 in *SA Colonist* 1840: 296.

<sup>35</sup> Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840.

<sup>36</sup> Teichelmann MS Dictionary 1857.

A site like Section 276 would have been useful to remember as a Named Place if a family could supplement their food supply there in lean seasons such as drought years. Unlike the one-night flying frenzy of the emerging Moths, the fat Ghost Moth grubs are present in their tunnels for a long time, up to two years, gradually increasing up to 6 inches long when fully grown.<sup>37</sup> When other foods were scarce it would become worthwhile to embark on the tedious and exacting work of pulling Ghost Moth grubs, rather than wait for them to emerge as adult moths. A visit to ‘the Place for Pulling *Waikari*’ might then go on the itinerary.<sup>38</sup>

But I have no direct ecological or archaeological evidence that Colville’s Section 276 in general, or the main gully in particular, was such a place. It is possible that the *waikari* preferred the redgums in drier, shorter, more intermittent watercourses such as Creek #13 (also on 276). This would need a targeted multi-disciplinary study on the ground. This investigation has to be work-in-progress; from here I leave it to experts, and a new generation of Aboriginal historians and associated teams. For example, they would need to identify *taingilla* grubs expertly, and discover whether the pre-colonial soils on Section 276 were ‘light’ and ‘sandy’ enough to qualify for them, and/or good for Ghost Moths as well. Are there any species of large, edible, probably root-feeding moth or beetle larva which thrived especially in places like Section 276? Is there any evidence for Aboriginal use of this place at first contact?

.....

**APPENDIX:**

**TINDALE, ‘WAIKERIE’ TOWN, AND GHOST MOTHS:**

Ghost Moths were one of Tindale’s favourite subjects as a naturalist. Long before he wrote his place-name cards about ‘Waikerie’, he had become a world expert on these insects, publishing about 9 papers about them, and drawing especially on his experience of them among the people of the Western Desert.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Tindale 1966: 180; Tindale 1974, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*, Canberra, Australian National University Press: 104.

<sup>38</sup> Some larvae can “live in the ground sometimes for two years or more, feeding on the roots of trees” (MacIntyre & Dobson 2017, endnote 15). Between creating their tunnel to the surface and emerging from it as adults, they rest and develop into pupae at the bottom of tunnel for some time (Tindale 1966: 180). Tindale has described how people of the arid Warburton Ranges could find and capture Ghost Moth grubs even in cracked and waterless creekbeds by digging down several feet; but “much labour must be expended to obtain them, therefore they are considered only as an occasional luxury” (Tindale 1938: 5). Cp. Robert Mason’s comment in my Appendix.

<sup>39</sup> <https://www.samuseum.sa.gov.au/collection/archives/provenances/aa338>;  
<https://www.anu.edu.au/linguistics/nash/aust/nbt/bibliography.html> [27/3/22].

Tindale knew about the old Kangaroo Island ‘waikerie’ grubs from his old researches on KI in the early 1930s; an old KI resident Arthur Dawe had mentioned them to him.<sup>40</sup> So it might not surprise us that when he wrote index cards more than 30 years later about the town name ‘Waikerie’ in the Riverland, he connected it with grubs. Yet he never acknowledged this obvious verbal link with KI.

Another quite different meaning for ‘Waikerie’ was given by the settler who originally obtained the word from the local Ngayawang, WT Shephard; he had named his station after it by 1881. Later the name was used for the nearby irrigation area and finally today’s town. According to notes given to Rodney Cockburn between 1908 and 1915 by Fred W Shephard (WT’s son), “Waikerie means ‘anything that flies’ or is a word that indicates a favourite spot for wildfowl”.<sup>41</sup>

Tindale noted Shephard’s information on a few of his ‘Waikerie’ cards,<sup>42</sup> but never tried to address the contradiction with his own theory. Instead, he wrote other cards asserting that there was a word “weikari” which means “raising up” or “the rising”, and was both the word for Ghost Moths and the original from which the town name was derived.<sup>43</sup> He gave no source for this gloss of the town name, other than his habitual and useless “Tindale ms”. Was he told about *weikari* by a knowledgeable informant? in which language? or is this merely his own re-spelling of the town name ‘Waikerie’, supplemented by armchair speculation?

It looks a bit like Tindale riding one of his hobbyhorses, with scant regard for history, linguistics and the presence or absence of evidence. He did this all too often with place-names, notably in his

<sup>40</sup> “Little Sal... Short woman, Wore a little cap. Waikerie grubs carried in hair”, quoted by Keryn James from a “Loose note within journal AA338/1/32” (Keryn James, ‘Wife or slave: Australian Sealing Slavery’, in Anne Chittleborough et al (eds.) 2002, *Alas For The Pelicans*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press: 180, 183 n12). We note that Tindale here uses the spelling associated the Riverland station and town, which had been familiar since 1881 (see below).

‘Little Sal’ was one of the last survivors of the pre-colonial Aboriginal women on KI, by that time living mostly alone in the bush. She claimed to have been “caught by the whites near Cape Jervis” (Roland Snelling in Tindale AA338/1/32: 62); so she was probably Kaurra, and could have been among KI’s sources for the word. Tindale disagrees with Snelling about her homeland (Tindale 1937, ‘Tasmanian Aborigines on KI, SA’, *Records of SA Museum* 6(1): 32); but see my three footnotes entitled ‘A surfeit of Sals’ in *Feet On the Fleurieu*.

<sup>41</sup> WAIKERIE AND SHEPHARD:

See GH Manning 2010, *The Place Names of Our Land*, Modbury: Gould Books: 880. Fred W Shephard’s notes are quoted in Rodney Cockburn (ed. Stewart Cockburn 1990), *South Australia: What’s in a Name?* Adelaide, Axiom Publishing: 230. Cockburn identified Shephard’s informants as “the Overland Corner tribe”, the early settler label for the Ngayawang or Ngawait (see under “Lobethal” in SA Nomenclature Committee’s ‘Report on Enemy Place Names’ 7/11/1916, reprinted in Rodney Cockburn (ed. Stewart Cockburn 1984), *What’s in a Name? Nomenclature of South Australia*, Adelaide, Ferguson Publishing: 286. Cockburn here is referring to the word “*Marananga*”, which also originated from Fred Shephard’s notes). By 1881 “Waikerie” station was advertising sheep products in the Adelaide newspapers (SA Register 4/2/1881: 4b, <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/43164753/3998725>). Shephard’s notes add, “An alternative designation applied to the locality was Round Flat in consequence of the semi-circular appearance of the settlement, due to the winding of the Murray. My father, however, preferred the Aboriginal name”. Shephard must have given his notes to R Cockburn between 1908 (when Cockburn’s original compilation *Nomenclature of SA* first appeared, with nothing about Waikerie) and 1915 (when AN Day’s *Names of South Australian Railway Stations* p.29 quoted Shephard’s notes about the meaning of ‘Waikerie’).

<sup>42</sup> Tindale, Ngawait place-name cards [#303] ‘Waikeri’, [#305] ‘Wakerie Station’.

<sup>43</sup> Ngaiawang place-name card [#166] ‘Weikari’; Tindale card ‘Waikerie’ as transcribed by Philip Clarke. The latter card adds, “Other versions *Wigery, Weigerie*”, with no indication of their source.

1987 'Tjirbruki' essay.<sup>44</sup> In his place-name cards for Tungkillo he drags in the Ghost Moths again, claiming them as the referent for Kurna *taingila* and the derivation of the town name (in Peramangk country).<sup>45</sup>

The only thing that *might* rescue Tindale's theory here would be to find his 'Tindale ms' source – if this turns out to be possible. Perhaps it might record one of his Aboriginal informants explaining that *weikari* means 'the rising' and refers to Ghost Moths. However, I am not optimistic about what we would find. With Tindale's place-name cards I have found too often that his cited sources, when traced, do not contain the crucial information or interpretation for which they appear to be cited. James Knight has made the same general point about Tindale's published work on 'tribal' identities.<sup>46</sup>

It is rather unlikely that the Ngayawang language would have shared this exact word with Kurna. These are completely different languages, and before settlement the two peoples had only rare trade contact. Moreover, between them lay the Nganguruku of the river from Mannum to Swan Reach, whose word for Ghost Moth grubs, *rongkung*, bore no resemblance.<sup>47</sup>

Yet there is also the recorded Ngayawang verb *waikowaikoan*, 'to shake, agitate, move'<sup>48</sup> (like the emerging Ghost Moths? like a feeding frenzy of birds?). Tindale's claim is not impossible, merely unsourced and unconfirmed.

## TINDALE ON GHOST MOTHS:

Here is part of Tindale's late summary (1966) of his authoritative research on Ghost Moths and their grubs. We should keep in mind that he made many of his observations in the Western Desert.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Tindale 1987, 'The wanderings of Tjirbruki', *Records of SA Museum* 20. For some of my critique of his use of place-names here, see the 'Complete' version of PNS 6/23 Brukangga.

<sup>45</sup> He makes a very similar connection between Ghost Moths and the town name Tungkillo. "*Tungkillo* [sic] *der. from nn. [Taingkila] lit. the 'ghost moth grubs' in sandy places. (vide Tindale N.B., 1938...*" – and he continues with a description of Ghost Moths and their grubs (Tindale place-name card 'Tungkillo', as transcribed by Philip Clarke). "*Taingkila*" is his re-spelling of T&S's *taingilla*. But the town Tungkillo is in the territory of the Peramangk, who had a very different language and would be unlikely to use a Kurna word. Moorhouse's 'Murray' wordlist contains no words for 'grub' or 'moth' which resemble 'Tungkillo' at all. Another of his cards asserts that "*Tungkileo... also known as Taingkilo*" derives from the "*foul smell of the water*" (where?). He must have been thinking of Kurna *tungki*, 'smelly, rotten' (T&S 1840) – which he was also happy to assert as the derivation of 'Tunkalilla' on the South Coast. In these cards Tindale was often merely guessing, throwing ideas around. It is interesting entomology, but he cites no evidence, either on the card or in his cited 1938 essay, that there were such moths around Tungkillo in particular.

<sup>46</sup> James R Knight 2003, 'Testing Tindale Tribes', Ph.D. archaeology thesis, University of New England (NSW): 194, 472-3, 505.

<sup>47</sup> See Mason below. Cp. Moorhouse 1846, "*Rōōngko, a grub found in gum trees*" and "*Rrunk, a species of grub*".

<sup>48</sup> Moorhouse 1846: 59.

<sup>49</sup> NB Tindale 1966: 181-2.



One of the classic foods in the southern half of Australia is provided by several species of Ghost Moths of the family Hepialidae... The larvae of many of these Ghost Moths live underground as external feeders on the roots of gum trees.<sup>50</sup> When fully grown they may be up to 6 inches in length. They tunnel up to the surface of the ground, leaving a silk-supported film of debris on the surface as a cap to their tunnel. Then they pupate deep down in the hole, selecting that place where the humidity level is most suitable, for the animals are very sensitive to desiccation as well as to excessive moisture. The pupae are provided with serrated margins on their abdominal segments, and are capable of movement up to the surface when they are ready to emerge as moths.

Aborigines have learned to detect trees which have been debilitated by the attacks of hepialid larvae, and scrape off the surface soil, exposing the tunnels. They test the holes by smell; the humid ones are those containing living larvae and pupae. A long supple stick with a hook at its lower end is worked carefully down the holes, sometimes to the astonishing depth of 6 feet. The creature is hooked and pulled up. This is a slow and tedious business. A better way to enjoy a feast of Ghost Moths is to wait until the season of emergence of the adults. In desert Australia this will be on the day of the first big rain of summer. In the cooler parts it will be usually the first big rain storm of autumn. Then, as if on cue, thousands of the moths emerge at one time, usually an hour before dusk, fly at the coming of night, mate for up to half an hour and then part. The females lay thousands of tiny spherical eggs, spraying them over the ground as they fly. A large female may have as many as 50,000 eggs in her body. These she lays all in the one night. By morning the moths lie dead or exhausted on the ground, the whole of their substance, stored in the form of fat, having been burned up in a one-night burst of energy.

On the eve of a flight birds seem to be aware of an unusual event.<sup>51</sup> Magpies and crows are active, and owls and mopokes leave their shelters earlier than usual to feed on the moths. At first the moths hang limp and helpless, drying their wings in the twilight. Aborigines are never far behind. Hundreds of the moths are gathered into dillybags and, as soon as it is dark, large fires are lit into which the moths crash in great numbers, to be raked out and eaten by the eager diners.

Places where unusually large numbers of moths emerged together were remembered and given special place names, Thus the Murray River irrigation town of Waikerie preserves the memory of great feasts of *Trictena argentata* moths. They still emerge from the roots of the red gums and fly every year in early- or mid-April.

Old Robert 'Tarby' Mason was Nganguruku, whose land extended "from Mannum to Devon Downs along the river and into the back country on each side of the river" (the next group downstream from the Ngayawang). In the early 1950s he spoke to Tindale about the Ghost Moth grubs – *rongkung* in his language<sup>52</sup> – and distinguished them from the stem-boring Cossid larvae

<sup>50</sup> – or wattle trees (acacias); see Ken Macintyre and Barb Dobson 2017, 'The Puzzle of the Bardi Grub in Nyungar Culture', <https://anthropologyfromtheshed.com/project/the-bardi-grub-in-nyungar-culture/> [14/3/22].

<sup>51</sup> This reference to the birds is one of the few things which might make a link between Shephard's gloss of 'waikerie' – "anything that flies, or a favourite spot for wildfowl" – and Tindale's.

<sup>52</sup> Cp. "Rõõngko, a grub found in gum trees" and "Rrunk, a species of grub" (Moorhouse 1846: 54).



which are the kind usually cited as ‘witchetty grubs’. He confirmed that hooking the *rongkung* out of the ground was indeed a tedious business, which he did only out of necessity because he was fishing on the property of someone who valued the box trees. Tindale noted that when Mason compared the old times with the 1950s, “today was the best time”:

*His only troubles were that if he persisted in cutting out cossid grubs from box wood tree for bait he would be hunted off the property where he had his fishing camp. So he had to depend on ground grubs or `ronkunj (Hepialid grubs) <sup>i.e. Trictena argentata</sup> under the Red gum trees. You dug for these with a spade and pulled the `ronkunj up with a long wire; it was a lot of work.*<sup>53</sup>

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**References to BACKGROUND documents:**

For background information and analysis relating to the creeks and gullies of the Willunga-Sellicks scarp, including Mt Terrible Gully, see my document ‘**BACKGROUND8\_SellicksScarp.pdf**’, and my digital data folder ‘**pnf4-04-03\_SellicksSCARP**’.

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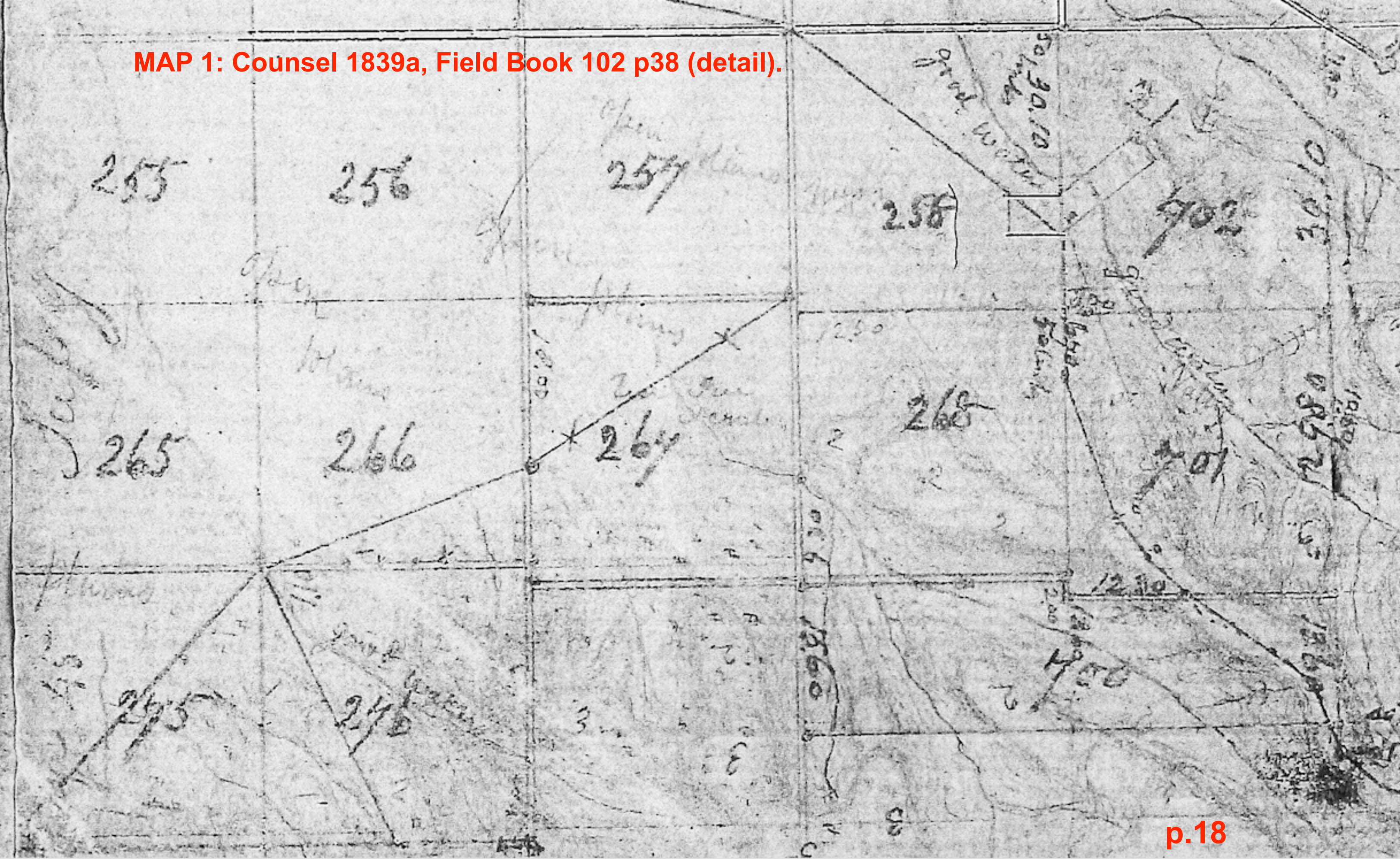
**MAPS ON THE NEXT FOUR PAGES:**

- p.18: MAP 1: Counsel 1839a, Field Book 102 p.38 (detail showing Section 276 and Creek #14).**
- p.19: MAP 2: Trees around Section 276, as shown on Counsel 1839b, Diagram Book Hundred of Willunga, p.X4 ‘Original’; annotated from Counsel 1839a (detail showing Section 276 and Creek #14).**
- p.20: MAP 3: Burslem 1839, ‘Plan of the country south of Adelaide...’ State Library of SA C236 (detail showing Section 276 and Creek #14).**
- p.21: MAP 4: John McLaren 1840, ‘Country South of Adelaide...’, London, Arrowsmith (detail showing Section 276 and Creek #14).**

*End of Summary*

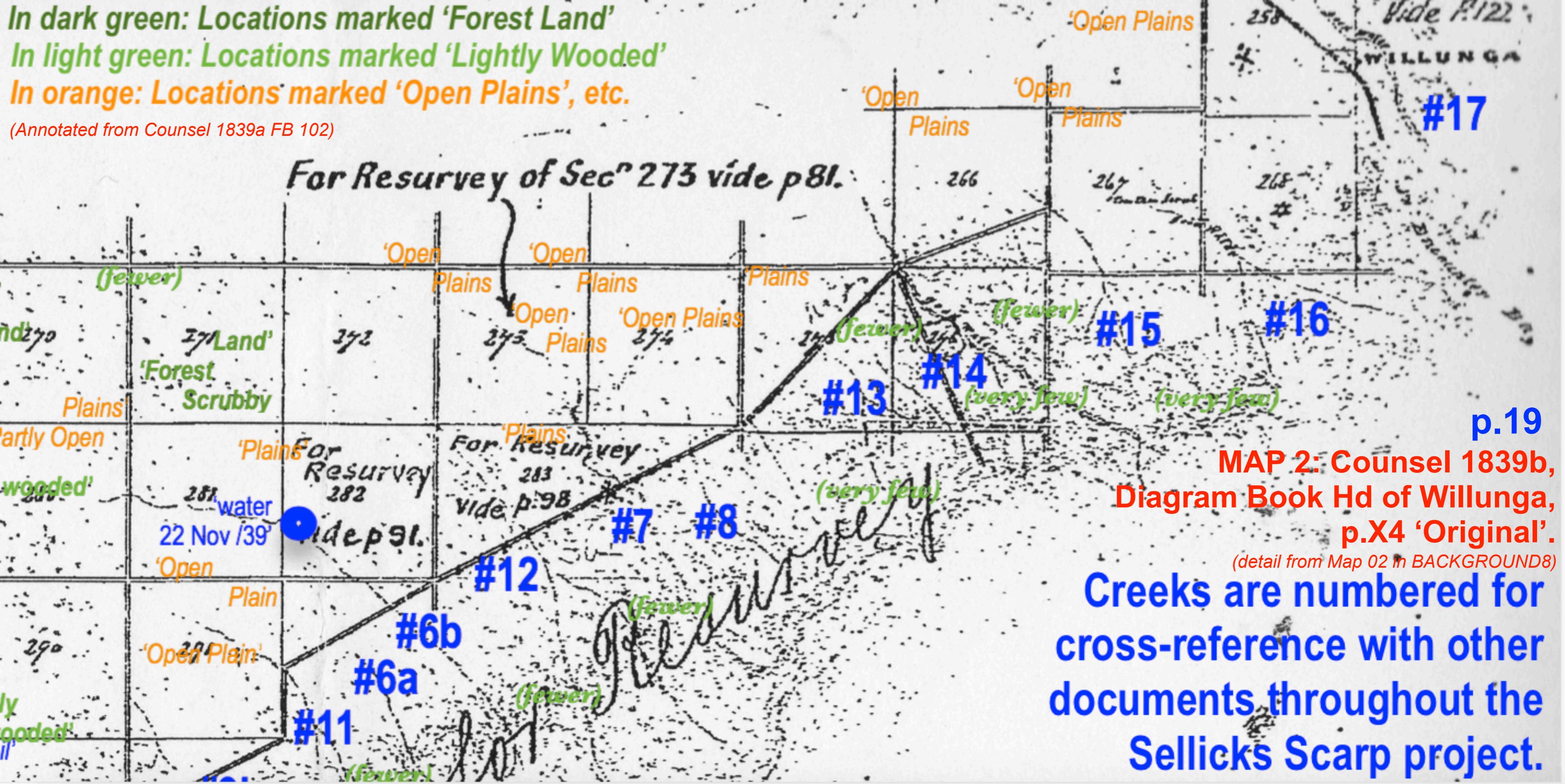
<sup>53</sup> Tindale interview with Robert Mason 21/11/1952, ‘Murray River Notes Vol.2’, AA338/1/31/2: 11-13.

MAP 1: Counsel 1839a, Field Book 102 p38 (detail).



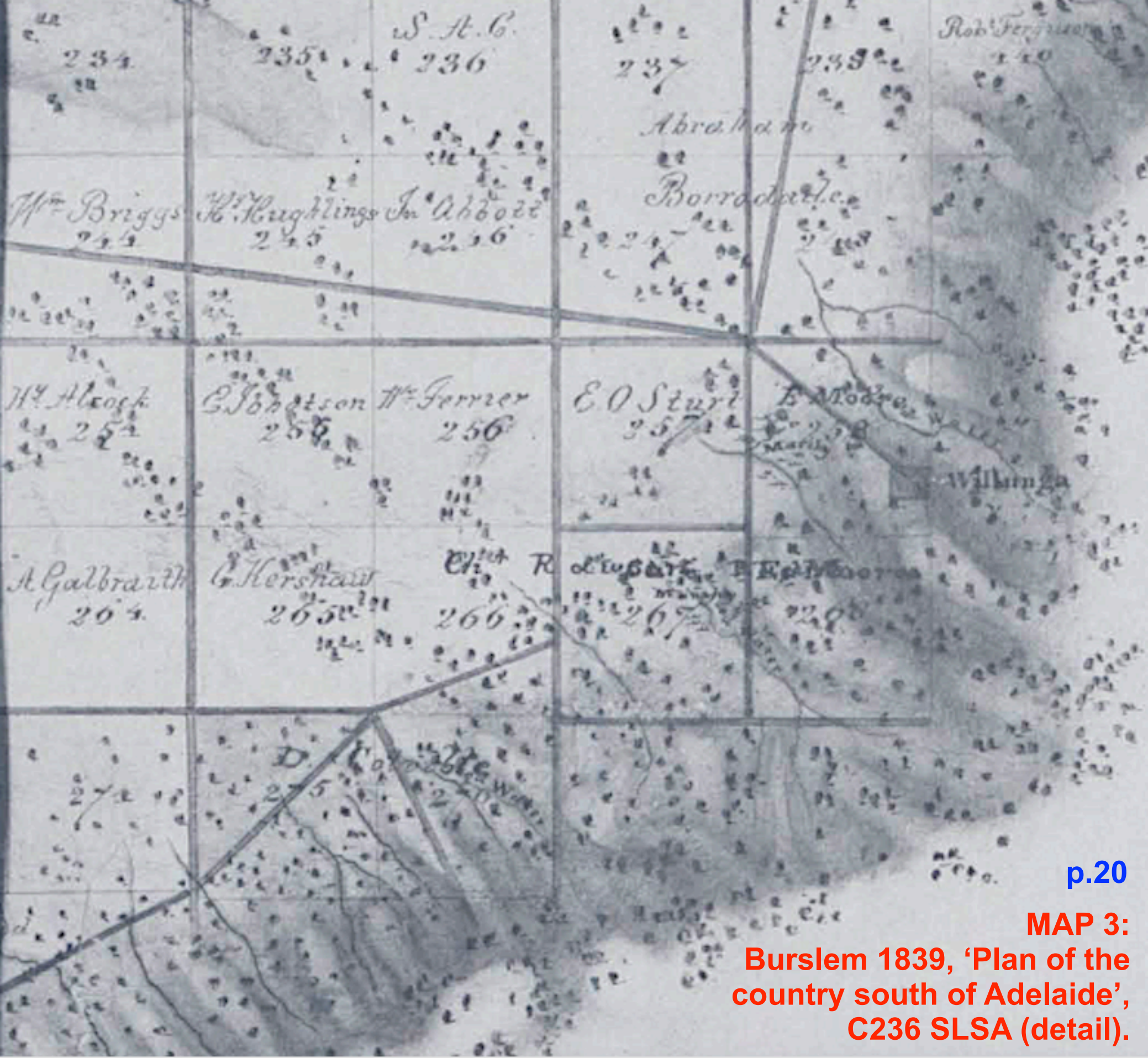
In dark green: Locations marked 'Forest Land'  
In light green: Locations marked 'Lightly Wooded'  
In orange: Locations marked 'Open Plains', etc.

(Annotated from Counsel 1839a FB 102)

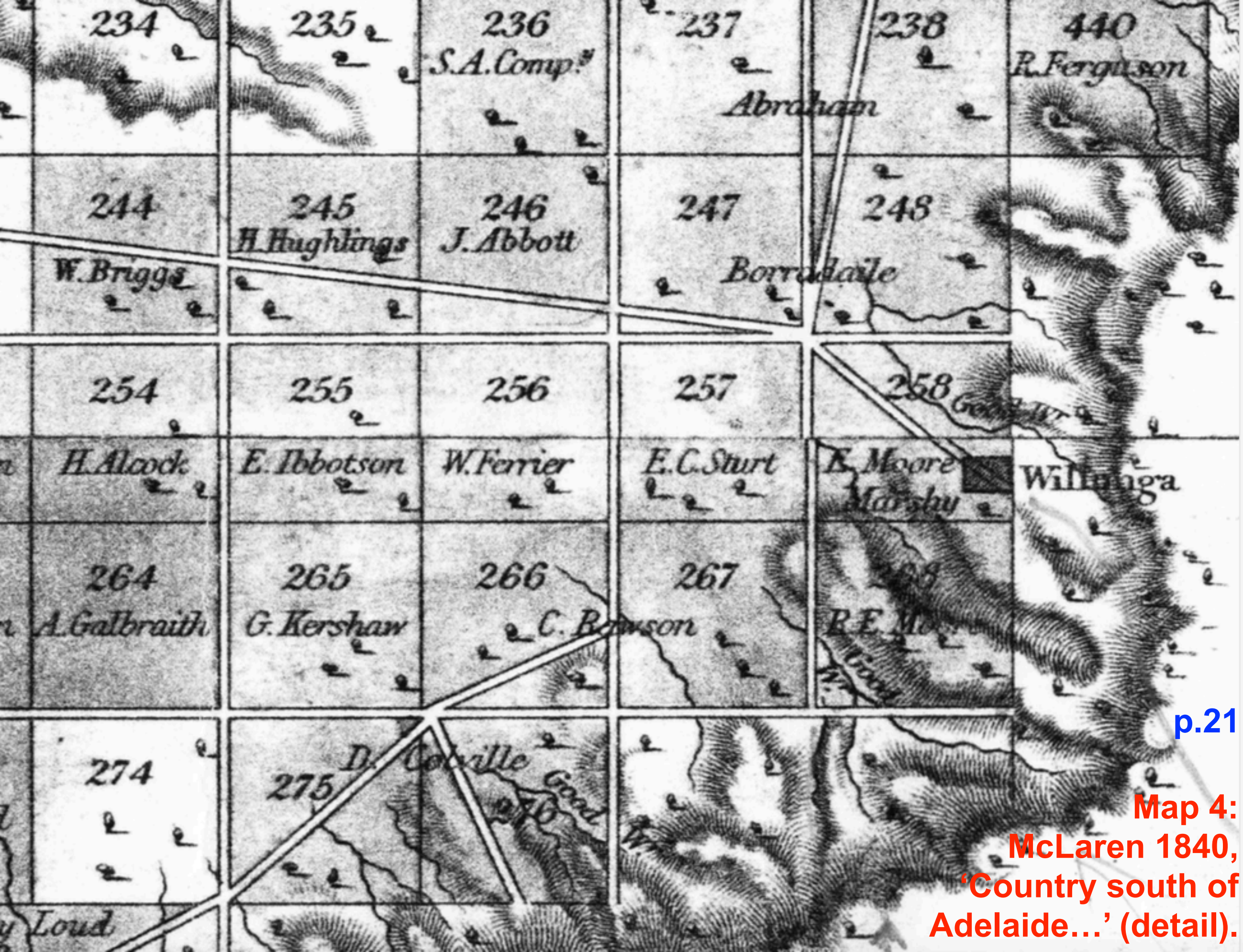


p.19  
MAP 2: Counsel 1839b,  
Diagram Book Hd of Willunga,  
p.X4 'Original'.  
(detail from Map 02 in BACKGROUND8)

Creeks are numbered for  
cross-reference with other  
documents throughout the  
Sellicks Scarp project.



**MAP 3:**  
**Burslem 1839, 'Plan of the**  
**country south of Adelaide',**  
**C236 SLSA (detail).**



p.21

Map 4:  
McLaren 1840,  
'Country south of  
Adelaide...' (detail).