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Many thanks to Owen Burgan of Morialta Residents' Association and Philip Jones of SA Museum, for their interest in the real history of this name, and for generously sharing their research with me; and to Philip for also sharing his expertise about Angas's paintings and hand-writing.

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Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 2/01

MARRIYARTA (or MARRIYALTA?)

(last edited: 16.8.2017)

NOTE AND DISCLAIMER:

This essay has not been peer-reviewed or culturally endorsed in detail.

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

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

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

I hope upcoming generations will continue this work and improve it. My interpretations should be amplified, re-considered and if necessary modified by KWP or other linguists, and by others engaged in cultural mapping: Aboriginal people, archaeologists, geographers, ecologists and historians.

Chester Schultz, 21/7/2017.



Place Name SUMMARY (PNS) 2/01

MARRIYARTA (or MARRIYALTA?)

(last edited: 15.8.2017)

Abstract

Mariyerta (*Mariyarta* in KWP's New Spelling 2010) is the most likely original form of the Kurna place-name recorded as 'Moriatta' and 'Morialta'. It means 'eastern country [earth, land]', and probably refers to the immediate vicinity of the Morialta mansion, in the valley where the tributaries of Fourth Creek converge towards the top of the Gorge in Section 856. Probably its usage could also be extended to the larger self-contained valley region behind Norton Summit, including parts of Sections 1112 and 982. All of these areas were Bluegum woodland immediately below the line of transition to Stringybark forest.

It is possible (though much less likely) that the original form was *Mariyelta* (*Mariyalta* in New Spelling), which could mean 'eastern cool or cold place'.

This well-watered micro-region – probably near the border of Peramangk country – may have served as a retreat for Aboriginal people in times of drought; but a self-directed Kurna or Peramangk presence here does not seem to be on record.

The name was originally obtained in 1837 by either the explorer Stephen Hack, his riding companion CW Stuart, or both; but the only surviving records of this are a pamphlet and a newspaper, both with very unreliable spelling. In 1839 Stuart bought Section 856 (around the creek confluence) and lived there until 1842, including a year with his half-brother CDE Fortnum, who recorded the name as 'Moriatta' and took over the property. In 1844 George French Angas visited briefly to paint the Falls; he recorded the name in hand-writing as "Moriatta¹ Estate, the seat of CDE Fortnum" and in publications as "Moriatta Rivulet" (his own extended usage). In 1845 Fortnum sold the estate to John Baker, who by 1847 named his property and its new mansion 'Morialta'. There is no record of how he obtained this spelling; most likely it is his own mis-spelling or mis-hearing of something from Fortnum.

According to a Baker family tradition (recorded for the first time in 1893), 'Morialta' means 'ever running water'. This may be a description of the place, but cannot be the meaning of the name. It is very unlikely that Baker obtained this by personal contact with Aboriginal people; more likely it was transmitted to him via Fortnum but originally from Hack and Stuart.

¹ This hand-written word has a fairly clear 'tt', though perhaps not completely beyond dispute. See Discussion.

In 1931 NA Webb guessed the well-known etymology of 'Morialta' using *yertalla* 'waterfall'; but as applied to the original Kurna name, this has very low historical and linguistic credibility (since it reverses the consonants *t* and *l*), and none when he refers it to the waterfalls.

Coordinates	Latitude -34.917581°, Longitude 138.724247° [nominal best campable area near creek convergence, in Morialta property]
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Language Information

Meaning	1. PROBABLY 'eastern land or country'; OR POSSIBLY 2. 'eastern cool [thing, place]'
Etymology	1. PROBABLY <i>marri</i> 'east' + <i>yarta</i> 'land, earth, country'; OR POSSIBLY 2. <i>marri</i> 'east' + <i>yalta</i> 'cool, fresh, airy'
Notes	The well-known etymology guessed by Webb (1931) is <i>marri-yartalla</i> . <i>Yartalla</i> means 'flooding, inundation, cascade', which could refer to a waterfall as well as a flood-plain. But this etymology involves reversing the consonants <i>t</i> and <i>l</i> (metathesis), which is possible but much less likely. The reference to flooding or waterfall is also much less likely in view of the history of how and where the name was obtained. The first record of the name in 1837 (in a letter by Stephen Hack) was published unreliably as 'Morialbo' and 'Morialta'. All seven of the other earliest records were of CDE Fortnum's property 'Moriatta'. In 1847 Baker named his mansion 'Morialta' at the same place, and all subsequent records of 'Morialta' follow from that. Because the spellings are so similar (the difference being only in one character which is easy to mistake), these records are not independent but must come from one line of transmission beginning in 1837. Either (1) some of them must have mistaken a hand-written 'tt' for 'lt', or (2) <i>vice versa</i> . The former is <u>much</u> more likely, because there was clear long-term contact from Hack through Stuart to Fortnum, and briefly to Angas, and because we have an Angas manuscript showing 'tt'. Therefore 'Moriatta' (representing <i>marriyarta</i>) was probably the record which Hack and/or Stuart made originally when they obtained the name face-to-face from an Aboriginal person at first contact. Baker's 'Morialta' is a later and much more doubtful record.
Language Family	Thura-Yura: 'Kurna'
KWP Former Spelling	1. Mariyerta 2. Mariyelta
KWP New Spelling 2010	1. Marriyarta 2. Marriyalta
Phonemic Spelling	1. /marriyarta/ 2. /marriyalta/
Syllabification	1. "Marri-yarta": 2. "Marri-yalta":
Pronunciation tips	Stress the first and third syllables. Every <i>a</i> as in Maori 'haka'. <i>rr</i> rolled as in Scottish. <i>rt</i> is a 't' with the tongue rolled back (Retroflex).



Main source evidence

Date	1 May 1837
Original source text	"Glenelg, May 1, 1837... Their name for Glenelg is Corvandilla [<i>sic for 'Cowandilla'</i>], which, being interpreted, means <i>good water</i> ; Adelaide, the city, they call Walinga: Ouhe-peringa [<i>sic for 'Onkeperinga'</i>], Palbunga [<i>sic for 'Patbunga'</i>], Morialbo [<i>sic</i>], Aldinga [<i>sic for 'Aldinga'</i>], and Yankeedilly [<i>sic for 'Yankeelilly'</i>], are all names of places in this neighbourhood. We arrived here in the middle of February..."
Reference	Stephen Hack letter May 1837, <i>South Australian Record</i> , Vol.1 No.4, 13 Jan 1838: 29b.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Aboriginal informants around Adelaide, Feb-April 1837

Date	1 May 1837
Original source text	"Their name for Glenelg, is... Corrandilla [<i>sic for 'Cowandilla'</i>], which being interpreted means 'good water'. Adelaide, the city, they call Wallinga. Onkeperinga, Oatbunga [<i>sic for 'Patbunga'</i>], Morialta , Aldinga, Yankudilly [<i>sic for 'Yankeelilly'</i>] are all names of places in this neighbourhood".
Reference	Stephen Hack letter May 1837, in H. Watson 1838, <i>A Lecture on South Australia; including letters from JB Hack & other emigrants</i> , London, Gliddon: 18.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Aboriginal informants around Adelaide, Feb-April 1837

Date	1840
Original source text	– "Mari, s. east" – "yeltanna <i>adj</i> cool; airy; fresh. yeltayelta, the same" – "yertalla, s. water running by the side of a river; inundation; cascade"
Reference	Teichelmann & Schürmann 1840.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Itymaitpinna. etc 1838-40

Date	Dec 1840
Original source text	- "[Sections] 854, 855 and 856 – Glen Stuart – C.W. Stuart... [<i>water</i>] from a stream which runs through the farm all the year, affording an abundant supply... There are four dwelling houses, three stockyards, stables, &c., on this farm." - "[Section] 346 – C.W. Stuart, W. Malpas, and John Newington - [<i>water</i>] from the Fourth Creek.... Two very good dwelling-houses, malt-house, and brew-house."
Reference	'Statement of the Extent and Cultivation of Land... for the year 1840', in <i>BPP: Australia</i> , Vol.7: 102, 104.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	



<i>Date</i>	Jan 1842
<i>Original source text</i>	“The part of the country where most of these insects have been collected is on the top of the Mount Lofty Range, on the borders of the Stringy Bark Forest—a sp of Eucalyptus different in foliage and wood from the common Gum tree... the immediate spot is called by the natives “ Moriatta ” and as it is a great height above the plains, and the vegetation different, you will readily imagine, that the Insects will differ also—and they do to a very great extent...”
<i>Reference</i>	CDE Fortnum to Rev Charles Hope 29 Jan 1842, MS p.4, Hope Library, Oxford University Museum of Natural History. [My thanks to Owen Burgan and Philip Jones for finding this source quoted in Elizabeth Warburton 1999, ‘C. D. E. Fortnum, DCL (Oxon), JP, FSA, of Hill House, Great Stanmore’, <i>Journal of History Collections</i> , Oxford University Press, 11 (2): 138, and sharing it with me].
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	probably Charles Stuart for the name; possibly Aboriginal informants onsite.

<i>Date</i>	1844
<i>Original source text</i>	“Upper falls of Glen Stuart adjoining the Moriatta Estate . the seat of C.D.E. Fortnum”
<i>Reference</i>	MS pencil inscription (in Angas’s hand according to Philip Jones) on reverse of unpublished watercolour by George French Angas, ‘Upper falls of Glen Stuart...’, Jose Calvo Collection, National Library of Australia #R6566, http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-134539189/view . [My thanks to Owen Burgan and Philip Jones for finding this source and sharing it with me].
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	CDE Fortnum

<i>Date</i>	[July 1844] / 1846
<i>Original source text</i>	“...in the month of July [1844]... in the afternoon I strolled amongst the hills that embosom the wild glen through which the Moriatta creek pours its foaming and rock-beaten falls. I... wandered along its banks, embowered with mimosa, teatree, and the brilliant clusters of the native lilac...”
<i>Reference</i>	George French Angas 1846-7, <i>Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand</i> Vol.1: 224-5.
<i>Informants credited</i>	
<i>Informants uncredited</i>	CDE Fortnum



Date	[1844] / 1847
Original source text	“Plate XXIII: ‘Lower Falls of Glen Stuart’... in Glen Stuart, which is a rocky and romantic pass between the mountains, the beauty of the scenery is enhanced by several waterfalls; the Moriatta rivulet pours its rock-beaten stream through deep hills...”
Reference	George French Angas 1847, <i>South Australia Illustrated</i> .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	CDE Fortnum

Date	[1844] / 1847
Original source text	“Plate LVII: ‘Falls of Glen Stuart on the Moriatta Creek ’: The Moriatta Rivulet ... the Middle or principal Falls...”
Reference	George French Angas 1847, <i>South Australia Illustrated</i> .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	CDE Fortnum

Date	2 Oct 1847
Original source text	“Resident Magistrate’s Court ... <i>Baker v Page</i> . This was an information under the Masters' and Servants' Act for breaking a verbal contract to saw certain cedar and deals required for the erection of the complainant's house at Morialta ... Mr Baker said... that on the 31st of July the defendant and John Williams agreed, to saw such timber as he required for the erection of the house in question...”
Reference	<i>Adelaide Observer</i> 2/10/1847: 6, 7a, http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/18835563 .
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	1857
Original source text	- “marre, the east – marri... marrarta, perhaps = mari'erta, marri yerta, east country...” - “yärtalla, flood, cataract.” - “yeltanna, cool yelta yelta, cool.”
Reference	CG Teichelmann 1857, Dictionary of the Adelaide dialect, in Sir George Grey's Library dealing with Australian languages, South African Public Library.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Mullawirraburka, Kadlitpinna, Itymaiitpinna. etc 1838-47



Date	1893
Original source text	<p>– “The Fourth Creek, or rather that portion of it under notice, was known by the Adelaide blacks as Morialta (ever running water), which name has been retained by the estate of the late Hon. John Baker.”</p> <p>– “Adjoining is the well-known estate of the late Hon. John Baker, which it was my pleasure to visit. Now named Morialta, it was, when the residence was built, nicknamed ‘Baker’s Folly’ by Adelaideans, who then thought its situation too far out of town... Through the estate the native-named Morialta (ever-running waters) wends its way, and a little below the residence they tumble over the rocky bars constituting the ‘Falls of Glen Stuart’...”</p>
Reference	<p>‘A Native’ [EH Hallack] 1893, ‘The Toilers of the Hills’, No. xvii, <i>SA Register</i> 17/6/1893 : 6a, http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/48525423/4065137;</p> <p>No. xviii, <i>SA Register</i> 10/7/1893: 7a, http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/53615873/4069438.</p>
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	Baker family, possibly John Richard Baker (grandson of the original John Baker).

Date	1931 / 1937
Original source text	<p>“I had never associated the word “Morialta” with the language, but it appears that it is a tribal place name. The meaning of this word would not have occurred to me but for a clue which I obtained. ‘Morialta’ is the name of the pretty waterfall in the Hills to the east of Adelaide. Mr J.R. Baker, whose family has been associated with Morialta for many years, stated that it has been handed down that the word means ‘Flowing Water’. The word “Yertalla” or “Yatala” means flowing water and was also a name applied to a waterfall. “Mari” is East. Water flowing in the East, or the Eastern Waterfall, would be ‘Mari-Yatala’, and it is not difficult to believe that this name would be altered by our English tongue into the pretty name, Morialta.”</p>
Reference	NA Webb [1931] / 1937 ‘The Place Names of the Adelaide Tribe’, <i>City of Adelaide Municipal Year Book 1937-8</i> : 310.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	John Richard Baker

Date	n.d. [?1930s-80s]
Original source text	<p>“Moriaṯa [<i>small 't', inverted caret</i>] Kaurna Tr. Adelaide S.Aust. Morialta, waterfall area below Norton Summit. Originally recorded as Moriatta but became Morialta through a typographical error when published. From its form my assessment is that the <i>t</i> sound is the interdental one which cannot be readily indicated in a geographical name. The name has been interpreted as ‘everflowing’ but this is uncertain. Tindale ms 1918. Autobiog notes (learned this c.1918 when [] P.L.A.”</p>
Reference	Tindale Kaurna place-name card [565/3] in AA 338/31/12, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	



Date	n.d. [?1950s-80s]
Original source text	<p>"Moriaṯa <i>[small 't', inverted caret]</i> Kurna Tr. Adelaide S.Aust. Morialta, a suburb of Adelaide.</p> <p>Moriatta Tindale ms 1918 (before discovery of interdentals) possible meaning Marijerta eastern land mari east jerta land Morialta spelling error"</p>
Reference	Tindale Kurna place-name card [565/5] in AA338/31/12.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

Date	Aug 1971
Original source text	<p>"Morialta The water at Morialta was of importance to the aborigines who regarded the area as of particular interest giving water issuing from the mouth of the reclining giant of Mt Lofty. The native name of the falls originally was [Moriaṯa] spoken with a special t sound called interdental – place your tongue between your teeth as you say the sound. Teichelmann & Schurmann wrote this sound as tt hence it was recorded first as Moriatta. Seemingly a hand written map was misread so that on the printed versions it became Morialta. N.B. Tindale Aug 1971."</p>
Reference	Tindale 1971, MS on A4 pad sheet, in Tindale 'Kurna or Adelaide Tribe Data: Supplementary Papers', AA338/2/85, SA Museum.
Informants credited	
Informants uncredited	

'EASTERN LAND'? OR 'COOL EASTERN PLACE'? Discussion:

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS:

I owe some of the most pivotal parts of this research to Morialta historian Dr Owen Burgan and to Dr Philip Jones of the SA Museum, who have generously shared their discoveries with me. In 2011 Burgan published a scholarly and readable account of the name 'Morialta / Moriatta', depending partly on my research and expressing faithfully the state of my knowledge and views at that time.² However, since 2011 I have seen new evidence, re-evaluated some of the old (including Angas's hand-writing), and come to some different

² See Owen Burgan (compiled & researched) 2011, *Morialta: 1984-2009: the story of a local community*, Rostrevor, SA: Morialta Residents' Association: 5-14.

conclusions. I now argue that the early recorded spellings were probably all 'Moriatta' (even Hack's in 1837), and that 'Morialta' was an error which crept in somehow when the property was sold to Baker in 1845.

In 2009 KWP and I supported the initiative of the Morialta Residents' Association to change the name of a part of Rostrevor and adjacent land to 'Morialta'. I believed then we had a good case that the original Kurna name could have been *Marri-yartalla* and could have applied to the flood-prone mouth of the Gorge. And at that time, relying on advice from me and KWP, the GNU even dual-named Fourth Creek as 'Morialta Parri'.³ I appreciate the long association of the colonial name 'Morialta' with the suburbs of Rostrevor and Woodforde,⁴ and the continued efforts of the Association to preserve natural habitat; and I personally would still be delighted to see the name (in that colonial spelling) commemorated in this area by more than the current Morialta Road and Morialta Reserve. My reconsideration here is about quite different matters: the original Kurna name and place, part of the old cultural map which was so thoroughly destroyed and supplanted by the colony; and in support of ongoing efforts by Aboriginal people and their colleagues to identify what they can of their heritage, as accurately as possible.

INTRODUCTION AND OUTLINE:

The Morialta Falls, Gorge, Recreation Area, Conservation Park, and historic mansion 'Morialta' which became a children's home, are beautiful and iconic places on and below the first ridge of the Mt Lofty Ranges from Rostrevor to Norton Summit. Much has been written about the name, but all too few questions have been asked about its *location*. So different is most of the argument in this essay, that it will be as well to begin by outlining the story as I have re-constructed it, including an attempt to explain how these things came about.

The correct spelling and meaning of the name are not yet beyond all reasonable doubt,⁵ and the argument is necessarily rather long and detailed, in part because it depends on human personalities. But I argue for the following high probabilities: –

1. that in 1837 an Aboriginal guide told the explorer Stephen Hack that the name of a place near Adelaide was 'Moriatta' (probably in this spelling, but it was mis-read and published as 'Morialta').
2. that Hack passed this on to his companion Charles Stuart (the future Inspector of Mounted Police), who later bought some of the relevant land there, in and above what we now call Morialta Gorge, and called this property 'Glen Stuart'.

³ KWP Minutes 19 Aug and 21 Oct 2009.

⁴ Baker's Morialta Estate in the 1850s reached right down to Heather Av, Woodforde, and a southern slab of Rostrevor (see map, E Warburton 1982, *The Making of Morialta: From Farm to Suburb*, Morialta Residents Association: 8).

⁵ Thankfully, there is one theory about its origin and meaning which we may ignore. One of many letters to the editor by 'Luchorpan' claimed that 'Moriatta' is of Irish origin, means "Great house of the height or cliff" in Gaelic, and therefore "was in existence before any human tongue — aboriginal or English — had been heard in the Antipodes" (*Advertiser & Register*, 1 April 1931: 10j, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/45757844/2584789>). It was April Fools' Day, but probably 'Luchorpan' was serious.

3. that Stuart passed the Kaurna name on to his half-brother CDE Fortnum, who took over the property in 1842 and recorded 'Moriatta' as the name of 'the immediate spot', defining this as the transition point where the trees of the plains give way to stringybark forest.

4. that when the artist George French Angas painted the three 'Falls of Glen Stuart' in 1844, he gave 'Moriatta' (hand-written in that spelling) as the name of Fortnum's Estate at the future site of Moriatta mansion; that he obtained this information from Fortnum; and that he applied it also to the 'Rivulet' which we now call Fourth Creek (but this would not have been an Aboriginal usage and there is no evidence that it was settler usage either).

5. that when Fortnum sold his property to the big pastoralist John Baker in 1845, Baker probably mis-read the name from one of Fortnum's documents. Baker was soon using the spelling 'Morialta' for his property and the mansion he built there in 1847.

6. that after 1847 this spelling became permanently entrenched because of the prominence of the Baker family and mansion, and public interest in the waterfalls on his property; that public usage about the location of 'Morialta' shifted down to the waterfalls, especially after the Bakers sold off the property; and that the name 'Glen Stuart' and the old spelling 'Moriatta' were quickly forgotten.

7. that all subsequent public usages of the name 'Morialta' have no credibility as *primary* sources, and therefore no *Aboriginal* authority. This includes its use as a name for Fourth Creek, the Gorge, the waterfalls, and features around Rostrevor.

8. that the folk etymologies for the name – 'flowing water' and the like – all derive from a very late record of a Baker family tradition; they are descriptions of the place and have no linguistic credibility as meanings of the name.

9. that the original recorded spelling 'Moriatta' probably represents Kaurna *Marri-yarta*, 'eastern land', which is very credible as a term which Kaurna speakers might have used for the 'immediate spot' around Section 856, and perhaps by extension for the whole connected cluster of valleys behind Norton Summit.

10. that if any new evidence turns up to suggest that 'Morialta' was after all the original spelling recorded by Hack, this would represent *Marri-yalta* 'eastern cool [place]'.

11. that the etymology based on *Marri-yartala*, 'eastern waterfall' (originating in 1931 from lawyer Noel Webb and well-publicized ever since), or its alternative meaning 'eastern flood', are unlikely.

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HAND-WRITING:

A crucial part of this argument depends on the hand-writing of three main actors in the story: Stephen Hack, CDE Fortnum and George French Angas.

While it is usually quite easy for a reader to identify semi-legible renditions of place-names which are familiar to him, the semi-legible name of an unknown place in an unknown language has no context by which he can judge its spelling. In England or Adelaide in the 1830s and 40s, 'Moriatta' might very easily be mistaken for 'Morialta' – and *vice versa*. In cursive script the clusters 'lt', 'tt' and 'll' may often be hard to distinguish from each other. The forensic reader has to ask, Does the writer always loop his 'l' and never his 't', or does he vary? How clearly does he form the loops? In the clusters, is the first letter written with a loop or without? Are his 't's crossed separately or as one, and how long is the cross-line on the left and on the right?

Even today, with one of the MSS before us and some knowledge of Kaurana language, we can have difficulty deciding about the 'l's and 't's. In old publications there is the extra possibility that any editor or typesetter may have committed a typographical error.

In the case under review we have two spellings which differ only in one character, the first consonant of a cluster which was recorded both as 'lt' and 'tt'. Both 'Morialta' and 'Moriatta' were published a number of times in the foundational years 1837-1851. The spellings are very similar, almost identical: much more so than we would expect from two or more different writers listening to an Aboriginal speaker on separate occasions.⁶ It is therefore very unlikely that they were obtained independently; the later records were almost certainly derived from the earlier in some way. Therefore one of the versions is a mis-spelling of the other.⁷

But which? If we had all the original manuscripts the choice *might* be easy; but we have only one of them, and not the earliest. In this (by Angas) the relevant cluster is (in my opinion and that of Philip Jones) 'tt'; but this might be debatable. Only ten years after the time of that record, 'lt' became entrenched, and 'tt' was forgotten or ignored by most people up to the present day.

Such is our task; and now for our detective story.

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⁶ If the reader doubts this claim, consider the following: Wyatt was serious about the language, but he regularly represented the sound *a* (as in 'haka') not only by the letter 'a' but by 'er' ("Mernpe"=*marnpi*; "Perre"=*pari*; etc); by 'u' ("Mukke"=*maki*); by 'or' ("Korra"=*karra*); by 'au' ("Auldingga"); and by 'á' ("Máre"=*marri*) (Wyatt [1837-9] / 1879, in JD Woods 1879, *Native Tribes of SA*). His letter 'o' can represent *a* ("Wokko"=*waku*) or *u* ("Moreen"=*murrintheta*); others used 'ar' and 'ah'. The vowel *i* was often spelt 'e' or 'ee' by colonists. Consonants like 'r' could be arbitrarily doubled. So even the agreed spelling 'Mori' could easily have been written by others as 'Murry', 'Murree', 'Mori' or 'Merre' (if the first vowel was *a*), and 'Moori', 'Mori' or 'Moree' (if it was *u*). The 't' could have been written as a 'd' if the informant had pronounced it on a different occasion, as these sounds are not distinguished in Kaurana. The sound *ya* was written as 'ye' even by the German linguists "yelta"=*yalta*; "yerta"=*yarta*). So laymen could easily have written the second morpheme as 'ulda' / 'arlda' / 'yeldah' etc, or 'ada' / 'yedda' / 'yuddar' etc (depending on that debatable 'lt' / 'tt').

⁷ It is also conceivable that *both* of them were mis-spellings of another MS original which has not survived; but this line is much too speculative to pursue.

PART 1: 1837: HACK'S LIST AND 'MORIALTA':

It begins in early 1837 when an Aboriginal guide gave someone (almost certainly Stephen Hack) the name of a place near Adelaide.

The Quaker explorer Stephen Hack arrived in the colony in January 1837. His family took seriously the philosophy of the Society of Friends, that the 'inner light' shone within all people everywhere. The Hacks were among the few who in the first years of the colony took an active interest in Aboriginal affairs. "Parties of them frequently come down to the house", wrote Stephen's brother John Barton Hack,⁸ who eleven months later would be an instigator and founding member of the earliest citizen committee to promote Aboriginal welfare in Adelaide.⁹ Sometimes they sheltered a family under their primitive verandahs.¹⁰

Although JB also did some exploring later, at this stage he was preoccupied with land selection and setting up accommodation. Stephen was the main traveller and explorer of the family. He immediately began journeying into 'the interior' – north, south and around Adelaide – in the company of unnamed Aboriginal guides.¹¹ As part of this process he began to learn the language, and was probably quicker than most because he was doing it with his feet. He was also interested in Aboriginal place-names; his later letters have another five of them in the Fleurieu area, including one earliest record and another unique to him.¹² By the beginning of May he had been out on ten such excursions "over a country which no white man had ever before trod or explored". These could not have been very far, as he had been in the colony for only six weeks. He already knew "one of the black fellows, named Jack" so well that the man "persuaded me to name his two daughters".¹³ Very likely this was one of the two Jacks who were rapidly becoming well known to the colonists at Glenelg and Adelaide: 'Onkaparinga Jack' (Mullawirraburka) and 'Captain Jack' (Kadlitpinna). Over the next few years both of them were employed as guide or tracker in other expeditions into country which the settlers did not know yet,¹⁴ and quite likely these jobs began

⁸ JB Hack letter 15 April 1837, in Henry Watson 1838, *A Lecture on South Australia; including letters from JB Hack and other emigrants*, Gliddon, London: 13.

⁹ John Stephens 1839, *The Land of Promise*, London, Smith, Elder & Co: 84.

¹⁰ "The day was extremely wet, and very cool. About a score of the aborigines took shelter under J.B. Hack's verandahs" (Extracts from the Journal of James Backhouse, 7 and 11 Dec 1837, quoted in Minutes of Evidence to Select Committee on SA, *BPP: Australia 2*: 213-4.

¹¹ Stephen Hack (brother of the more famous JB Hack) spent much of 1837-8 exploring country in all directions with Aboriginal guides – both Kurna and Ngarrindjeri, to judge by the place-names he recorded. By July 1837 he and some others had been to the "head of St Vincent's Gulf" and obtained what they thought was the name of a river, "Parra or Perry" (see PNS 8/20).

¹² See respectively PNS 7.02/01 Wirramulla and 5.04.01/01 'Cowrylanka'.

¹³ Stephen Hack letter 1 May 1837, *SA Record* 1(4): 29b.

¹⁴ See T Gara 1998, 'The Life and Times of Mullawirraburka', in Simpson & Hercus 1998, *History In Portraits*, Aboriginal History Monograph 6, Canberra.

with Hack. Whichever man it was, no doubt he was trying in this way to normalize the relationship between his people and the invaders.¹⁵

On 1st May 1837 at Glenelg, Stephen Hack wrote a letter home to England containing seven Aboriginal words, “all names of places in this neighbourhood”. Unfortunately the manuscript has not survived, as far as we know; but it seems to have passed through the hands of two independent editors and was published twice in England in the following year. We can see how ambiguous Hack’s handwriting was when we compare these names in the two printings:

*Corvandilla... Walinga: Ouhe-peringa, Palbungi, Morialbo, Aldinge... Yankeedilly.*¹⁶

*Corrandilla... Wallinga. Onkeperinga, Oatbunga, Morialta, Aldinga, Yankudilly.*¹⁷

My research shows fairly conclusively that his actual spellings for the other six names must have been ‘Cowandilla’, ‘Onkeperinga’, ‘Patbunga’, ‘Aldinga’ and ‘Yankeelilly’.¹⁸

Most of these were not his own discoveries; he had not yet been as far afield as Cape Jervis (known to him, Samuel Stephens and John Morphett as ‘Patbunga’), Yankalilla, or even Aldinga. But almost five years would pass before there was another record of anything which looks at all like ‘Morialta’; it does not occur on any map that I know from times of first contact. So we may be sure that this name was obtained either by Hack himself or by someone in the Hack family circle of friends and colleagues.

SPELLING AND HAND-WRITING (1): Hack ‘Morialta’? inconclusive:

It is unlikely that we will ever find the MS of this letter, since it was obviously handed around in London as part of the propaganda push, not held in the family like Hack’s other letters to his mother. So we have to *deduce* Hack’s original spelling, with only collateral evidence and reasoning to help us. And we must guard against the automatic bias which comes because one of these published spellings looks extremely familiar and ‘right’ – to us now.

¹⁵ In the early weeks at the colonists’ Glenelg camp, Stephen’s brother JB Hack noted the affectionate interaction between the Hack children, the Aboriginal children and their parents: “*Our children are a great amusement to them... They seem very fond of their own children, and often bring them to be named... one called Jack has just passed with his children: he is a fine specimen of the natives, and very intelligent*” (Watson 1838: 13. We do not know which ‘Jack’ this was.

¹⁶ Stephen Hack letter 1 May 1837, in *SA Record* 1(4) (13/1/1838): 29c.

¹⁷ Watson 1838: 18. The letter was published by Hack’s Quaker friend in London as part of a propaganda pamphlet for the new colony.

¹⁸ See PNS 1/02 Kawandilla; 2/09 Wardlingga; 4.02/04 Ngangkparingga; 1/03 Patpangga; 4.04.01/01 Ngaltingga; 5.02.01/02 Yankalyilla. Thus the reliability of the spelling is very low in both these publications. We cannot place too much confidence in the ‘It’ of Hack’s ‘Morialta’ while his manuscript remains missing. Here some known place-names are misread or misprinted: ‘Patbunga’ (for Cape Jervis) and ‘Yankeelilly’ (the sealers’ name for Yankalilla).

The publications agree that Hack wrote 'Morial-', but disagree about the last two characters.

Considering how cursive 'a' can often look very much like 'o', and in the light of overwhelming evidence for 'a' in the name, the 'o' in 'Morialbo' may be ruled out. The 'b' is also unlikely because it does not recur in later versions, while the 't' does.¹⁹

But is 'It' therefore correct? Influenced by familiarity, we might assume so. But when we examine Stephen's surviving MSS, it is not quite so clear. We find that his 'l' and 'll' are strongly looped and unmistakable; his 't' never has a loop; and the cross-line on his 'tt' is variable, sometimes boldly extending well to the left and the right, occasionally not present at all.²⁰ Did he have an intermediate form in which a half-formed cross-line goes right but not left? If so, then it could very easily be mistaken for 'It' by a hasty reader; and it is obvious that the readers who edited him for the two papers were hasty.

We shall also see a strong counter-current of evidence that the true spelling was 'tt', implying that 'It' here was also a mis-transcription.

LOCATION (1): Hack unknown:

While the southernmost names in his list could only have come to Hack by hearsay, almost certainly he was there in person when this other name was given and knew where the place was. But his letter gives us no help in identifying it. He merely gives it as one of five locations 'in this neighbourhood', anywhere from Adelaide to Cape Jervis 70 km south.

Hack was the most active explorer in these early months of 1837 (with the possible exception of Samuel Stephens),²¹ and we know that he and CW Stuart were riding into the hills, searching for a

¹⁹ 'Morialbo': Considering the weight of other evidence, we can be pretty sure that 'bo' was a mistake in type-setting and/or a mistranscription of 'ta'. An 'a' can easily look like an 'o', though Hack's rarely do. Could 't' look like 'b'? It is conceivable, if Hack's had a very short cross on the right only, and a steep upcurve leading from its downstroke to the 'a' and accidentally joining the cross.

²⁰ I have examined Stephen Hack's cursive hand-writing in some of his extant letters. It is usually clear and fairly neat; but reading is made harder when he writes whole paragraphs vertically across previous text, to save paper. The key findings for us are as follows:
Usually his letter 'l' is looped very clearly, but sometimes it is rather thin, occasionally very thin (so that in an unknown word the hasty reader might occasionally be unsure whether it is an 'l' or a 't'). In contrast, usually his 't' is free of looping, very thin, straight, and easily distinguished from 'l'; but occasionally a slight loop creeps in.
Usually his 't' has a very clear firm cross, extending both left and right; but sometimes it is on the right only.
His 'It' is almost always very clear. But crucially for our debate, his double 'tt' does vary considerably. The cross almost always crosses the first 't', usually extending firmly to both right and left, sometimes even joining two 't's separated by other characters; but occasionally a 'tt' has no cross at all. Also, occasionally his 'It' can look rather like 'll'. On rare occasions a thin loop and an absent cross can make his 'tt' look like 'It': in "pretty little", in both words {or only 'little'} the 'tt' has the cross only on the right, while the first 't' has a slight loop. OR in 'pretty' there is no cross at all on the 'tt', and the first character has a slight loop.

So on balance the likelihood of Hack writing a 'tt' that looked like 'It' is low-to-moderate. But we should also remember that 'alta' is a familiar South European sequence which could influence a London reader towards 'It'.

²¹ William Williams and James Cronk (known in other contexts for their early interactions with local Aborigines) can be discounted as explorers in the Adelaide Hills. Williams was tied down as Storekeeper; Cronk was a servant of John

way to the timber which Stuart wanted.²² It is very likely that he, or he and Stuart together, discovered the route up Third Creek (now Old Norton Summit Rd). If so, he or they must have seen the valley behind Norton Summit as they reconnoitred north and south along the ridgetop. But we have no direct evidence of this.

.....

PART 2: 1837-42: CW STUART, 'GLEN STUART', CDE FORTNUM, AND 'MORIATTA':

There is a connection – important but rather tangled in the extant histories – between the first record by Hack, the second by Fortnum five years later, and (in the intervening period) the purchase of land below and above the Gorge by CW Stuart.²³ In order to track the fortunes of the name, we must do some untangling of the chronology and geography of these men and their relationship with the land.

Charles William Stuart was a frequent visitor and guest with the Hack family in the years 1837-8.²⁴ After arriving in SA in late November 1836, he was quickly appointed as the South Australian Company's stock manager; and for them was also busily establishing an urgently-needed timber industry in the Tiers (the higher slopes of the Mt Lofty Ranges, where the stringbark forests provided the only straight trunks usable for building). At the same time, backed by a Preliminary Land Order which his mother had bought in London, he was acquiring land in the city and looking at more country land to buy for himself as soon as it was put on sale.

Brown and made only short foot journeys to the south. Samuel Stephens seems to have concentrated first on Fleurieu Peninsula, where he had already visited the coast by whaleboat with Morphett in 1836 (see my *Feet On the Fleurieu* (in progress)).

²² See below.

²³ A large part of the tangle arises from the fact that previous histories of Morialta are focussed almost exclusively on the careers of prominent landowners and institutions – like most local histories. They give no attention to the processes by which Aboriginal place-names were obtained and passed on; are sometimes content to recycle memories and guesses from old settlers as if they were fact; and often do even this recycling inaccurately. Thus I have found it almost impossible to glean from them the facts I needed to know about the earliest owners of the land, e.g. where, to what, and at which dates the names 'Glen Stuart' and 'Morialta' were applied, and how the prevalent usages may have changed over time. Thus (for instance) Elizabeth Warburton does not seem to care whether Fortnum called his property 'Moriatta' (as he called the 'spot' in his letter on p.138) or 'Morialta' (as she writes on p.136, which would be another crucial fact if I could be sure it was a fact at all); nor that the etymology 'ever-flowing' was given to 'Morialta' but never (as on p.136) to 'Moriatta'; nor to consider that there might be a difference in meaning to go with the difference in spelling; (Elizabeth Warburton 1999, 'C.D.E. Fortnum, DCL (Oxon), JP, FSA, of Hill House, Great Stanmore', *Journal of the History Collections* 11(2), Oxford University Press; rented online at <https://www.deepdyve.com/lp/ou-press/c-d-e-fortnum-dcl-oxon-jp-fsa-of-hill-house-great-stanmore-0zFzXn9s8T?key=bioportfolio> <http://jhc.oxfordjournals.org/content/11/2/129.full.pdf+html> [21/6/17]).

²⁴ See e.g. Stuart diary 9 April, 5 May, 19 July 1837. Stuart and the Hacks were associates in exploration and business. Stuart and JB Hack were both in the expedition which in early Dec 1837 reached the valleys of the Upper Onkaparinga and ascended Mt Barker.

Obviously his job made him urgently keen to know where the timber was. At this date explorers were scarce, so he needed to do it himself. Horses were necessary for urgent forays into the high range, but they were even scarcer, and all four of them were owned by the Hacks.²⁵ Some of his excursions to the hills are recorded in his diary, still in search of stringybarks even after the business had begun. Sometimes Stephen Hack accompanied him;²⁶ and although there he says nothing about it before the date of Hack's letter,²⁷ it is certain that he would already have been up there, with or without Hack. An enthusiastic owner of hounds, sometimes he often went riding with Hack around Adelaide and into the hills, hunting kangaroos and emus.²⁸

On 17 May 1838 Stuart purchased Sections 346, on Fourth Creek at what is now Rostrevor, not far from the mouth of the Gorge. His diary celebrated: "Most lucky do I consider myself in having it to choose stream of water running through it all the year".²⁹ In fact the water here was chancy; a map made shortly afterward marks an asterisk on "Anstey Riv^l" at about Rostrevor Avenue, which on this map signifies that (as with the other creeks) "Below this mark the rivers cease to run during the dry season".³⁰ But he still had his eye on the timber; ten days later he "rode out to the fourth creek to examine the hills and see in which section the hills were which led up to the Stringy bark", then repeated the examination next day.³¹

As we see in hindsight, *someone* before May had not only been up the first ridge but also obtained a place-name, presumably from his Aboriginal guide. It had to be one of these two men, and knowing a little of their characters and likely interests especially in regard to language, we infer a very high probability that this someone was Hack himself. For Stuart's long-running diary reveals him as a rather unreflective practical man, ambitious to prove himself and get ahead, and very focussed on the jobs to be done. He was typical of successful colonial gentlemen in showing very little interest in "niggers" or their language beyond what was needed to manage them.³²

²⁵ JB Hack, 'A Chequered Career' No.1, *SA Register* 1884: 6a-b.

²⁶ Stuart diary 23, 26, 28 July 1837.

²⁷ For the first six weeks of 1837 Stuart was too busy to make diary entries, which begin on 15 Feb. But he had been south to the Onkaparinga on 1-2 Feb (diary Vol.5: 3; cp. his account, 'Noarlunga' [CW Stuart] 1875, 'An Adventure With the Natives', *South Australian Advertiser* 28/12/1875: 5-6, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/31963670/2276412>).

²⁸ See e.g. Stuart diary 22 Feb, 25 March, 14 April, 5 May, 10 Aug 1837; JB Hack MS Diary 24-5 March, 6 May 1837. Cp. Stuart diary 26 July 1837: "at noon M^r Hack & I started up the hills to see where & what our fencers had split".

²⁹ CW Stuart manuscript diaries, D6872(L), SLSA Vol. 4: 6, transcription at http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/archivaldocs/d/D6872_4_Stuart_diary_transcript.pdf.

³⁰ Arrowsmith map 18/2/1840 'The District of Adelaide... As divided into Country Sections:... 1839', in *BPP: Colonies; Aust, Vol. 2, Appendix*: 355. The plains part of the watercourse which we now know as Fourth Creek had originally been called 'Anstey Rivulet' by Light and his surveyors. On one of their earliest maps they wrote on Section 346, "River fails here in Jan" (Light & Nixon [ca.1837], 'Plan of the preliminary country sections', C 246 SLSA).

³¹ Stuart diary 27-8 May 1838.

³² By January 1837 when he arrived in SA, Stuart prided himself on his expertise in all things pioneering, including how to deal with 'blacks'. He was still singing this tune in his old age: "When I came to the mainland in January, 1837, there were plenty of niggers, but they never gave any trouble. They were the quietest natives that I ever had anything to do with... We never had any trouble with the blacks" (CW Stuart 1886, 'An Old Police Inspector', *Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6b); cp. his account of an expedition to the Onkaparinga River in February 1837, in which the party meets a large Aboriginal



It is also possible that the two of them came across the place (or were led to it) together; and it is a fair guess that in any case Hack would have told Stuart about the name later during their rides. We cannot prove that Stuart knew the name yet, for there is no record of him mentioning it during this entire period of his life.³³ But later history suggests on balance that he did know it.

Whether he knew the name or not in 1837, he had certainly become interested in the *place*; for he set about buying some of this land as soon as it went up for sale a couple of years later. In March 1839 he “Rode up to the head of the river at sunrise to get two sections of land measured”; six months later he “tendered for 11 sections of land at the head of the fourth Creek” and succeeded in buying Sections 854-6 there on the southern bank.³⁴ This was part of the ‘New Tiers’ at the top of what is now known as Morialta Gorge, separated from his older property by 3½ km of steep hillside.³⁵ It was a prime site, no doubt selected strategically as the best place to stay: near the junction where all the headwaters of Fourth Creek converge on the top of the Gorge, so that there would always be surface water here even in times of drought, and with good land above the winter flood line. This place he would refer to as “the station”.

On 30 November he left his city lodgings and “took possession of my new hut in the hills”.³⁶ Here where the ‘Morialta’ mansion would later be built by another man, he was known in these years as the proprietor of ‘Glen Stuart’.³⁷ It was named with the typical romantic egotism of so many rich colonists in honour of himself and his social aspirations, after the fabled Scottish ‘glens’ and their castles, as well as the Gorge and the narrow valley surrounded by steep hills.³⁸

group and he presents himself as the expert in contrast with other companions “*who had never seen a wild black before*” (‘Noarlunga’ [CW Stuart] 1875, *SA Advertiser* 28/12/1875: 5e). His diaries of 1837-40 rarely mention Aboriginal people, and usually at a distance, as employees or in conflict situations (e.g. 9 March, 27 June 1838; 22 May 1840). In 1850 he became for a few years SA’s Inspector of Mounted Police.

³³ Long afterwards, when it had already been famous for 30 years as the Baker mansion, Stuart did mention ‘Morialta’ in a letter of reminiscences as the *place* where he had set himself up in his early years (*Advertiser* 27/12/1886: 6b). But this tells us nothing about the original collecting of the *name*.

³⁴ Stuart diary 25 March, 3 Sep 1839, in Vol.4: 28-9,

http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/archivaldocs/d/D6872_4_Stuart_diary_transcript.pdf; and in Vol.5: 3,

http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/archivaldocs/d/D6872_5_Stuart_diary_transcript.pdf. A few days later he also bought Section 857 at today’s Rostrevor (diary 10 Sep 1839); but although this block is the foundation of 21st-century activism by the Morialta Residents’ Association, it does not feature in our story of the name.

³⁵ Section 854 (the lowest of Stuart’s original ‘Glen Stuart’ sections) began a few hundred metres below the First Falls (see the map in Hallack-Bishop 1987: 10).

³⁶ Stuart diary, his own summary chronology on Vol.5: 3.

³⁷ ‘Statement of the extent of cultivation... for the year 1840’, *BPP: Australia* 7: 102.

³⁸ ‘glen: a small, narrow, secluded valley’ (Macquarie Dictionary), from Gaelic. Stuart had no known Scottish ancestry, but his surname – given to him arbitrarily as a “*courtesy*” at his illegitimate birth (E Warburton 1999: 131) – was that of the old Scottish royal line of Stuarts.

For our purposes it is important to note that Stuart's oldest property at Rostrevor near the foothills was never named 'Glen Stuart'.³⁹ Within a few years other settlers bought land here, and the immediate vicinity became known as a *district* called 'Fourth Creek'.⁴⁰

By June 1840 he had added to his holdings the Sections 301 and then 300 next to it, immediately north and northeast of the old 346, in today's suburbs of Athelstone and Newton on the north side of Montacute Rd.⁴¹ His diaries refer to this property as "the farm".

In December 1840 his half-brother CDE Fortnum arrived in the colony to take up the half-share of the land which their mother had allotted to him. Edward (as he was known to his family in those years) was a very enthusiastic career entomologist who would later achieve fame as Dr Drury Fortnum, the respected author of European travelogues and scientific essays about insects. In 1840 he was already well-off, with the money from the shared property in SA coming to him whether he ever went there or not;⁴² and he saw himself as a scientist going on a somewhat extended professional expedition, rather than as a serious colonist.⁴³

A few weeks later Fortnum began living with Stuart in the cottage high on Section 856.⁴⁴ Stuart continued to own and manage the station, and the brothers worked together here. Nearly 60 years later Fortnum's obituary said the place was known in these years as "Stuart's Moriatta camp".⁴⁵ But we shall soon see reason to wonder whether this was actually 'Moriatta camp'.

³⁹ Much later a part of it was called 'Orange Grove' (JW Warburton 1977, *Five Metropolitan Creeks of the River Torrens: An Environmental and Historical Study*, Adelaide, Dept of Adult Education: 65, 100). As far as I can deduce, the Rostrevor area had no association with the name 'Glen Stuart' in those years. A few years later Angas and other lovers of scenery naturally identified the Gorge as 'Glen Stuart' because a large part of it was on that property. But as far as I can tell, Stuart himself never applied this name to any part of his properties other than the topmost until 1842 (see later in this essay). Today's Glen Stuart Rd at Magill was presumably so named because it led south to Old Norton Summit Rd, the access track up Third Creek to Baker's mansion before the (new) Norton Summit Rd was built above the Gorge.

⁴⁰ E Warburton 1999: 136.

⁴¹ Stuart diary 3 April, 3-6 June 1840. See Sections 300 and 301 on the map 'Section 857 & surroundings, 1850s', in E Warburton 1999: 8.

⁴² E Warburton 1999: 134.

⁴³ e.g. "one of the most zealous Entomologists of this Society. His ardour in the pursuit of science induced him to visit the Australian continent" (FW Hope in *Transactions of the Entomological Society of London* 4: 102, <http://www.biodiversitylibrary.org/item/51008#page/140/mode/1up> [8/7/17]; cp. Fortnum's obituary, *Express & Telegraph* 14/3/1898: 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/209526304/22924665>).

⁴⁴ Stuart's diary from 1 Jan 1841 onward has many entries in which he and Edward ride together "down to town" or "home".

⁴⁵ According to Fortnum's obituary in 1898, the land which Stuart and Fortnum had shared "was known for some time as "Stuart's Moriatta camp" (*The Express & Telegraph* 14/3/1898: 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/209526304/22924665>); but this spelling so long afterward cannot be taken as real evidence of how it was said and spelled in 1839-42.



Among Stuart's many land deals was an important one involving his brother. In October 1841 he sold 'Glen Stuart' to his neighbour Metcalfe, and Edward bought it back for his own future use.⁴⁶ But this did not immediately change their living arrangements, nor Fortnum's overriding enthusiasms. Next January, writing to his entomological colleague in England, the Rev. FW Hope, he noted the sale but spoke of it mainly as providing a chance in the near future to move from farm development back to exotic new insects and learned discourse:

*The same unsettled state in which I was, when I last wrote, is my only excuse for... not being able to accompany this remittance (of specie & !) with a few notes. But this cause will now soon be removed, as I have purchased a pretty place in the hills 7 miles W. of Adelaide, at which I intend residing, and planting a vineyard, orchard &c &c and as soon as I get things to rights there, I hope to give some time to the rearing of larvae, observing habits, &c &c.*⁴⁷

It seems that he already had occasional help with his obsession. This letter makes a passing observation that in November 1841 "one of the boys brought me in the larva of a species of *Phasma*". This was a bachelor pad; the 'boys' could only be Aboriginal men, employed as stockmen, shepherds, tree-cutters or handymen; and Stuart used the same colonial term for them.⁴⁸ It seems Fortnum wasted this chance to enter the fringe of another world and find out what the 'boy' knew about the insect, its Kaurna name, and its place in Aboriginal life and story; for his letter immediately refocuses on his own observations of the *Phasma* regrowing its damaged limbs. But further on he wanders for a moment far enough from European scientific 'objectivity' to make the second known record of the Kaurna name of his property, five years after Hack's:

*The part of the country where most of these insects have been collected is on the top of the Mount Lofty Range, on the borders of the Stringy Bark Forest (a sp.⁴⁹ of *Eucalyptus* different in foliage & wood from the common Gum tree – it is the wood generally used for building in preference to Gum). The immediate spot is called by the natives "Moriatta" and as it is a great height above the plains, and the vegetation different, you will readily imagine, that the Insects will differ also – and they do to a very great extent...*⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Stuart diary 26 Oct 1841, 6 June 1842.

⁴⁷ CDE Fortnum to Rev FW Hope 29 Jan 1842, MS, Oxford University Museum of Natural History (OUMNH), F.W. Hope Collection FWH/C/162: 1-2 (my transcription). I acquired digital copies of Fortnum's three MS letters by courtesy of Kathleen Diston and the Hope Library, Oxford University Museum of Natural History, where the letters are held.

⁴⁸ In 1840 another settler Bonney loaned Stuart a "black boy" name 'Billy' "to be left with me to take care of the horses". "Black Billy" worked for Stuart for a couple of months (Stuart diary 12, 15, 22 May; 1-2, 10, 25 June; 1 July 1840; cp. other 'boys' at 'Glen Stuart' on 11 April 1840, and on 'the farm' on 3 Sep 1841 and 11 April 1843). Though neither Billy nor any other 'boys' crop up at 'Glen Stuart' during 1841, it is clear from Fortnum's letter that some were there some of the time at least, as on many other settlers' farms.

⁴⁹ 'species'.

⁵⁰ Fortnum 29 Jan 1842 *ibid*: 4 (my transcription). The spelling "Moriatta" is very clear and unmistakable in the MS. Fortnum took extra care with this word, crossing the double 'tt' firmly with one stroke from beyond the left to beyond the right; whereas *all* the other 'tt's in this letter have no cross at all.

This record is crucial in our story. It defines the location of the name as closely as we can hope to discover, and adds much weight to the spelling which Angas would use three years later.

How did Fortnum learn this information?

Fortnum's spelling must almost certainly have its lineage in Hack, taking a form so similar to Stephen Hack's that the difference – *if* the transcription of Hack is correct and there was a difference – is only in one debatable published character. But he could not have heard it in person from Hack, who had returned to England in 1840, was still there when Fortnum wrote the letter, and would not come back until later in 1842.⁵¹

Stuart's life at this location before and after 1839, as shown in his diary, had brought him into contact with Aboriginal people only occasionally as their boss.⁵² Fortnum's relationship with 'the boys' was probably much the same.⁵³ How likely is it, then, that when he referred to 'the natives' who called the place by this name, he was not being general but specific, and some of the hired 'boys' at the station had given it first-hand to Edward along with the detail about its location?

From the available evidence we cannot tell. It could have been Stuart who passed on to his brother both the Aboriginal name and the identifier of its location. He had ample opportunity for this all through 1841, as they sat around their bachelor table in the evenings in that 'immediate spot' or worked amidst it by day; and as a gentleman scholar Fortnum would have been likely to ask about such matters eventually. But, equally, he could have heard only the *name* from Stuart, and then asked one of the 'boys' about its exact location, noting with particular interest that it was this 'immediate spot' and so held a significance for his entomology.

And perhaps in 1841 Fortnum also heard that the name appeared to have some connection with the permanent water at this place. Again, this item could have been passed on to him either by Stuart (in which case it probably originated from the guide in 1837) or by 'one of the boys'. This theme will return later with descendants of the next owner, Baker.

LOCATION (2): Fortnum 1842 at the back of Norton Summit:

Fortnum was describing their Section 856 and its surroundings. He might have been including Stuart's other Sections 854 and 855 along the Gorge, or Sinclair's Gully and the other tributaries of Fourth Creek; all surrounded by hills where stringybarks create a sudden and very noticeable transition as the traveller climbs up from the Bluegum country in the valleys, the whole area which

⁵¹ JB Hack, 'A Chequered Career: Reminiscences of A Pioneer: An Autobiography' No.2, *SA Register* 23/4/1884: 6c, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/43662328/4046326>.

⁵² Billy is mentioned eight times over the two months from mid-May 1840, and again once in 1843, always in association with duties such as movement of stock or timber. There is no hint of any other significant interaction with Stuart.

⁵³ Fortnum's phrases 'one of the boys' and 'the natives' (above) are his only known references to Aboriginal people.

locals today refer to as 'Back of Norton Summit'.⁵⁴ All of this might be described as "the borders of the Stringy Bark forest", "on the top of the... range" and "a great height above the plains".

But a smaller area around their own hut has the best claim to be the "immediate spot [which] is called by the natives 'Moriatta'". Here, above the winter flood line near the upstream end of Section 856, where a mansion would later be built, is a prime spot worthy of a campsite and a name; the name might then have been extended to those nearby lower valleys which offered similar amenities.

Third-hand though the record of the *name* probably is, Fortnum's passage is the nearest we can come to the true Aboriginal *location* of 'Morialta'. I shall examine this in more detail below.

SPELLING AND HAND-WRITING (2): 'Moriatta' (?):

From viewing the manuscript it is quite clear that Fortnum spelled the name 'Moriatta'. But we still do not know whether Hack did. If Fortnum got the name at third hand through his brother, had it been mis-spelt before he got it?

'Moriatta' is confirmed by a more famous author, and Fortnum's name crops up once more in connection with this place. After considering that, we may be in a position to assess the probabilities of the case even without Hack's MS.

PART 3: 1842-5: Fortnum and Angas's 'Moriatta':

By 1842 the economic collapse of the colony was forcing Stuart to sell most of his blocks. Only 'the farm' and 'the station' were left. In June of that year his diary announced that he had married in March and was now "taking the farm on my own hands". On the day of the entry, "Our house being nearly finished we took leave of the hills".⁵⁵ Their new home on Section 301 was soon known as 'Black Hill Farm', after the nearby hill.⁵⁶

Confusingly, Stuart continued to be listed as the owner of the 'Glen Stuart', and eventually transferred the name down to the farm;⁵⁷ but in fact it was Fortnum who stayed on at the high

⁵⁴ Graham Lewis 2014, 'Finding Morialta', http://changing-views.tumblr.com/Finding_Morialta [17/6/17].

⁵⁵ Stuart diary 6 June 1842.

⁵⁶ 'Black Hill': Macdougall almanac 1843: 21; Cotter 1844: 184; Bennett 1845: 87. Murray 1846 and 1847 shows Stuart at "Fifth Creek", which is a km away from Section 301 and must refer to a section which he owned there in 1841 in the hills on Montacute Rd, near where copper was discovered (1846: 128; 1847: 72. Cp. Stuart diary 13 March 1841). Allen 1844 (:197-8) reverses the two brothers on their properties.

⁵⁷ "Glenstuart" (sic) must have been still in the hills for the 1842 almanac (Bennett 1842: 122). In 1843 Stuart was listed at "Glen Stuart" by one almanac (Cotter 1843: 187) and "sec. 301" by the other (Macdougall 1843 as above). This presumably signifies that he had transferred the name to Black Hill Farm by the end of 1842, which could now have

station, and (to judge from Stuart's diary) apparently took over from his brother as manager of the timber work.⁵⁸

In August 1843 the two brothers accompanied Governor Grey up to the station and down the Gorge on what must have been an energetic excursion "to see the Glen Stuart falls. We went down to the large fall", i.e. the lowest.⁵⁹

But not even vice-regal company could keep Fortnum happy as a colonial farmer. In 1844 he decided to return to England. In March a land agent was trying to let out Sections 854 and 855, thus leaving Fortnum with only the core block 856 under his control.⁶⁰

But in those months as he was preparing to leave, he had another visitor from congenial British circles: the young artist George French Angas, son of the wealthy merchant who had founded the SA Company, George Fife Angas. Young Angas was not yet a colonist. He was coming from England on a well-funded whirlwind tour of the British colonies in order to accomplish the big work which would make him famous as well as rich after he returned to London: a collection of paintings to be exhibited and then published under the title *South Australia Illustrated*, accompanied by a two-volume travelogue entitled *Savage Life and Scenes*.⁶¹ He was also a naturalist, which would have endeared him to Fortnum.⁶²

Angas was in SA from January to July 1844, looking for profitable landscapes and picturesque 'savage life'. Predictably, he was much taken with the three spectacular Falls. The two lower ones, near what had been Stuart's property at 346, were duly visited and sketched sometime in the first half of 1844. These images appeared in *South Australia Illustrated* in modified lithograph versions by JW Giles.

either name listed (Cotter 1844: 184; Allen 1844: 197-8). After 1845 neither of the brothers either owned or lived at 856, which had been sold to Baker. But the new use of the name 'Glen Stuart' resumed in 1847, and both Stuart and some of the small holders at Sections 300-1 are listed as such until at least 1850 (Stephens 1847: 123); Murray 1848: 104; Stephens 1848: xxiii; Stephens 1849: iii; Allen 1849: 196; Murray 1850: lviii). Stephens 1847 and 1849 describe Stuart as "gentleman", and the former locates him at "Glen Stuart, Magill" – which shows how big the referent 'McGill / Magill' could be in those early years.

⁵⁸ Elizabeth Warburton claims that Fortnum re-named the station 'Moriatta'; but this appears to be merely a casual assumption, and does not count as evidence. Warburton 1999 is ambiguous when writing about Fortnum moving into the upper hut: "Higher up the creek [Stuart] built the third cottage, where he lived until he married and Edward replaced him, changing its name of 'Glen Stuart' to 'Moriatta'" (p.136). The reader cannot tell whether this spelling is just the author's casual reversion to today's familiar name, or whether it is strictly based on another written source which spells it thus. *If* this were a fact, it would be another crucial link in this essay; but in the light of my own transcription of 'Moriatta' in Fortnum's letter, it is almost certainly a careless red herring.

⁵⁹ Stuart diary 11 Aug 1843.

⁶⁰ *Adelaide Observer* 23/3/1844: 1b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/158918365/18834057>.

⁶¹ George French Angas 1846-7, *South Australia Illustrated*, London, Thomas McLean; *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, London, Smith, Elder & Co.

⁶² Angas took some insect specimens home with him, some of them doubtless from Fortnum's station and including some of Fortnum's own finds; they are now in the Hope Collection (Philip Jones p.c. email 18/7/2017).

Plate 23 is the “Lower Falls of Glen Stuart on the Moriatta rivulet in the hills near Adelaide”. The accompanying text explains that “in Glen Stuart, which is a rocky and romantic pass between the mountains, the beauty of the scenery is enhanced by several waterfalls; the Moriatta rivulet pours its rock-beaten stream through deep hills and over steep chasms of rock, with precipices rising like walls on either side”.⁶³

Plate 57 is titled “Falls of Glen Stuart on the Moriatta Creek”. Angas explains that “the Moriatta Rivulet, during its course through the rocky ravines of Glen Stuart, presents three successive falls... In the rainy season, a large body of water pours down these cataracts, but during the heats of summer they are nearly dry... the accompanying scene represents the Middle or principal Falls, which are perhaps the most varied of the three: the Upper Falls somewhat resemble the latter, but the force of the water is broken by a succession of minor cascades”.

The Aboriginal owners of the land – largely ignored by the actors in this saga since Hack’s original communication – re-surfaced for a moment in Angas’s ethnological paintings; but often the artist or his lithographer in London re-costumed them for respectability, and even added some outright fictions. The original watercolour of the Middle Falls showed only the scenery and a “native cat” (quoll); but the published lithograph by Giles added someone hunting it: a native ludicrously clad in a shoulder-cloak and a neat Ancient-Egyptian turban with red and white stripes!⁶⁴

In July Angas was about to embark for New Zealand on the next leg of his tour. In full literary flight his book describes how one last time he “strolled amongst the hills that embosom the wild glen through which the Moriatta creek pours its foaming and rock-beaten falls. I... wandered along its banks, embowered with mimosa,⁶⁵ teatree, and the brilliant clusters of the native lilac, until the bright sunny day stole by”.⁶⁶

‘Moriatta’ it is, every one of the five times it occurs in Angas’s publications. Did the editors mis-read his hand-writing?

His published work about “this charming and romantic glen” did not include the Third or Upper Falls, (on Section 855, a short walk downstream from Fortnum’s hut). We may infer that this was because they were less spectacular, and perhaps would have been too much of a good thing. But Angas did paint them too, and the original watercolour has survived in the National Library of Australia (Canberra). It was tracked down in 2010 by Dr Philip Jones of the SA Museum, a long-standing authority on Angas’s original watercolour images. He shared his findings with Owen

⁶³ The watercolour original of ‘Lower Falls’ has been lost. The lithograph can be seen at <http://nla.gov.au/nla.obj-135637014/view>.

⁶⁴ The 1844 original, “*Second Fall, Glen Stuart*”, was in a “private collection” in 1973 and is reproduced in b/w as Plate 18 in John Tregenza 1980, *George French Angas: Artist, Traveller & Naturalist 1822-1886*, Adelaide, Art Gallery Board of SA: 50. For the lithograph see <http://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+15276/57>.

⁶⁵ Wattle. These acacias were being imported into southern Europe under the name ‘Mimosa’ in the mid-19th century.

⁶⁶ Angas 1847, *Savage Life & Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, London, Smith, Elder & Co, Vol.1: 224-5.

Burgan and me – including a photograph of the reverse side, where the following text in pencil is identified by Jones as Angus’s’ hand-writing. My own transcription is thus:

Upper falls of Glen Stuart

Adjoining the Moriatta Estate.

the seat of C.D.E. Fortnum.

It is beyond reasonable doubt that Fortnum in person was his source for the name of his ‘seat’.⁶⁷ Though undated, all three watercolour originals were certainly painted during Angus’s first visit to SA in the first half of 1844.⁶⁸ We may be fairly sure that the artist approached the Upper Falls from Section 856,⁶⁹ and that Fortnum was his host for the occasion. For the Lower and Middle falls he would not have needed to speak to Stuart, who no longer owned the sections at Rostrevor.

SPELLING AND HAND-WRITING (3): Moriatta:

After much perusal of Angus’s pencil inscription, Jones and I both consider it also beyond reasonable doubt that the spelling here is ‘tt’,⁷⁰ and that he wrote ‘Moriatta’ every time it occurs in his publications. Even if his one surviving MS example had given ‘It’ (which we believe it does not), he would also have had to write five other examples of an ‘It’ which would be consistently mistaken for ‘tt’ by the editor. This is not credible, not does his extant hand-writing elsewhere support it.⁷¹

From this on-the-spot text we also know for sure that ‘Moriatta Estate’ is what Fortnum had named his land at 856, despite Warburton’s casual assumption that he “chang[ed] its name of ‘Glen Stuart’ to Moriatta”.⁷²

A critical summary of our sources: Those men who actually spoke to Aboriginal people about this place-name were almost certainly Stephen Hack (first), and possibly there was a second, Fortnum

⁶⁷ ‘Seat’: a flattering royal term for a gentleman’s estate. Fortnum was already becoming well-known in English intellectual circles for his entomological work.

⁶⁸ For Angus’s itinerary see Rebecca Andrews text in the brochure for the touring exhibition ‘George French Angus: South Australia Illustrated’, Art Gallery of SA 2006. On his return in 1845 he visited and sketched only the Southeast, Kangaroo Island and Port Lincoln.

⁶⁹ Access to the Third Falls from the lower Gorge is difficult even today, and Angus was carrying his artistic equipment. In the 19th century, normal access to Section 856 and the Upper Falls was via Third creek, today’s Old Norton Summit Rd (e.g. SA Advertiser 9/11/1858: 3g, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/785227/4131>).

⁷⁰ The cross of the ‘tt’ extends both left and right (though shorter and fainter on the left); each ‘t’ has only a slight hint of a loop, quite different from the clear loop in every ‘l’ and in the double-‘ll’ of ‘falls’.

⁷¹ After searching for similar consonant clusters ‘It’, ‘ll’ and ‘tt’ in the MS of Angus’s ‘Little Journal’ 1884 (Art Gallery of SA), and in the inscriptions on other original Angus watercolours held at AGSA, I have found only one example in which his ‘It’ looks slightly like ‘tt’: “delta” in ‘Little Journal’; but even this would be hard for anyone to construe as ‘tt’.

⁷² E Warburton 1999: 136.



(but more probably second-hand for the name at least). So far the only surviving direct proofs (i.e. *manuscripts*) of how they spelled the name are Fortnum's letter of 1842 (already old and possibly third-hand) and Angas's pencil inscription of 1844 (second-hand at best).

But despite the 'lt' and 'lbo' in the 1837 publications, and regardless of assessments about 'lt' and 'tt', the twisted threads of history above confirm as probable what the spellings strongly suggest: that these records are a single lineage rather than totally independent 'takes' on the name.

After this date, new information on or off the site comes only from people who are more and more distant from the source: the *third* resident owner of the property (Baker) with his new spelling (by now fifth-hand from its origin); then come third-generation Baker family memories; and then post-colonial armchair speculations. Social prominence and a 'pretty waterfall' ensured that 'Morialta' – a name perhaps 'prettier' to European ears – became instantly and permanently famous, while 'Glen Stuart' and 'Moriatta' were quickly relegated to the obscurity of the past. But these are the kind of biases we must question as we try to restore the Aboriginal map.

LOCATION (3): 'rivulet' or 'Fortnum's seat':

In his published text Angas writes of "the Moriatta rivulet" and "the Moriatta Creek" as though this name belonged in European style to the whole length of the watercourse. But it is not credible that Kaurna speakers would use the same name for the valley around Fortnum's hut, the alluvial fan on the plains at Rostrevor 4 km below it, and the Gorge in between. Aboriginal naming practices do not do this;⁷³ there may be many different names for different sites even in one short stretch of a watercourse.

While it is possible that Fortnum had spoken to him in these terms (even though he should have known better from what he knew in 1842), more likely Angas merely assumed it when writing text in London. There is no evidence that the usage was current among local settlers, and Angas's exhibitions and books did not bring it into currency. In fact, I have found in those years of first contact before 1847 no reference to the name (in either form) anywhere other than in Hack, Fortnum and Angas.

The one text we have from Angas on the spot identifies 'Moriatta' not as the creek or falls but as the high territory – 'the Moriatta Estate', Fortnum's 'seat' or property – just as Fortnum himself had written in 1842.

⁷³ e.g. Two Kaurna names are known on different parts of Brownhill Creek (see PNS 2/15 Wirraparingga and 2/16 Wilawila); two quite different names for Myponga and Myponga Beach (see PNS 5.01/05 Maitpangga and 5.01/02 Kauwyarlungga); and five in the short stretch of the Onkaparinga from the gorge mouth to the sea (PNS 4.02/06 Nurlungga; 4.02/04 Ngangkiparingga; 4.02/01 Birrangga; 4.02/02 Tayinparringga; 4.02/05 'Ponkepurringa').

PART 4: 1845-50: BAKER'S 'MORIALTA', GORGE AND FALLS:

Angas returned to SA in January 1845 to spend the first half of the year in another busy round of travel and painting in other parts of the colony, and mount an exhibition of his Australian works in Adelaide in June.⁷⁴ By that time Fortnum either had left the country (or was about to leave)⁷⁵ and had sold his property to John Baker (or would very soon do so).⁷⁶

Baker had been a successful farmer in Launceston, but in 1839 came to settle in Adelaide, from which base he set about importing sheep and building up one of South Australia's biggest pastoral empires.⁷⁷ Among his many purchases in 1845 was Fortnum's station, where Baker immediately started to graze sheep and buy up other blocks in the neighbouring hills.⁷⁸ Baker's property became very large by Adelaide standards, 2000 acres with a frontage seven miles long. In 1847 he built a huge and ostentatious mansion there on Section 856, with stables and kennels for his hounds⁷⁹ – for he was a very prominent figure among the colonial community who were emulating the English landed gentry and their hunting habits.⁸⁰

Between June and September 1847 the construction of the mansion was in progress. At that time two stringybark splitters, Page and Williams, incautiously made a verbal agreement with Baker to "proceed from town to Morialta" and "saw certain cedar and deals required for the erection of the complainant's house at Morialta". Page quarrelled with Williams and left the job, in debt to Baker for the price of a dray for the stringybark work. On 2 October Baker took Page to court "for breaking a verbal contract". Page protested that he "had merely cut some cedar to oblige Mr Baker"; but "His Worship said Mr Baker had sworn differently". The judge offered to let him off if he paid the debt and completed the work. Both Page and Baker refused, Page because "he could not earn wages cutting cedar", Baker because (as he said) "his object was to punish him and to set a salutary example to some three or four others". The hapless Page was sentenced to a month's jail, subject to appeal with sureties.⁸¹

⁷⁴ Tregenza 1980: 12.

⁷⁵ Fortnum left SA sometime in 1845 (obituary *The Express & Telegraph* 14/3/1898: 2, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/209526304/22924665>).

⁷⁶ Baker bought the property from Fortnum sometime in 1845 (GC Bishop (ed) 1987, in EH Hallack, *Toilers of the Hills*, Adelaide: District Council of East Torrens : 12, 172; Scottney-Turbill 1994: 4, 12).

⁷⁷ See R Cockburn 1925, *Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia*, Vol.1: 60-1; 'Baker, John (1813–1872)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/baker-john-2920>. Baker later spent many years in SA politics, including a short stint as Premier.

⁷⁸ Scottney-Turbill 1994: 4.

⁷⁹ Now known as 'Morialta House' and 'Morialta Barns'.

⁸⁰ Scottney-Turbill: 4; E Warburton 1999: 139; Manning 2006: 291 = 2011: 560.

⁸¹ *Adelaide Observer* 2/10/1847: 7a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/page/18835563>; *SA Gazette & Colonial Register* 2/10/1847: 3e, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/195935372/22339410>.

Thus the name 'Morialta' appeared in public print for the first time in Australia and the first time anywhere since 1837. The references to it here do not explain where the place is, suggesting that some people knew the locality by that name. Perhaps Baker had already chosen it for his property; perhaps he had spread the name since acquiring it. But some editors still felt a need for explanation to the casual reader; a month after the court hearing, "the Lady of John Baker, Esq., J.P." gave birth to a daughter "at Morialta near Adelaide".⁸²

LOCATION (4): the colonial mansion and the Falls:

For the rest of the 19th century the perceived location of the name (now fixed at 'Morialta') would be either Baker's mansion or the Falls.

By 1858 the Lower Falls were becoming known as a site for 'public recreation'.⁸³ By 1865 both local and interstate newspapers were entrenching the connection between "a series of three highly picturesque waterfalls on the Morialta Creek" and "Morialta Hall" on "the Morialta estate, a block of 300 acres of fine land, the property of the Hon. John Baker, a distinguished member of the South Australian Legislative Council", where "the 'King of Morialta'" had generously "thrown open that portion of his estate to the public on the sole condition of their not throwing broken bottles down there, he having lost a valuable horse through the carelessness of some visitors who left a quantity of this dangerous debris strewn about a gully in which they had been pic-nicing".⁸⁴

In 1924 the Bakers sold off the property and it became for 50 years the Morialta Protestant Home for disadvantaged children.⁸⁵ There is still a Morialta Trust, but the house on Section 856 is currently owned by Youth With a Mission.⁸⁶

Without the Baker dynasty keeping the homestead in the public eye, the Falls and the Gorge supplanted it as the main referents for 'Morialta'; and this perception gradually expanded to include the approaches to the popular Lower Falls: a Morialta Recreation area outside the mouth, and a Morialta Road leading to it from further west. By the time Webb was writing about the name in 1931, he could assume without question that "'Morialta' is the name of the pretty waterfall in the Hills".⁸⁷ This process was of course helped rather than hindered by the fame of Angus's' published paintings; for here he never mentioned Fortnum's Estate.

⁸² SA Gazette & Mining Journal 6/11/1847: 3b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/195935479/22340156>.

⁸³ SA Advertiser 9/11/1858 p3g, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/785227/4131>.

⁸⁴ The Australian News for Home Readers (Victoria 1864-1867) 23/2/1865: 7b, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/63170688/6162996>. A Trove search quickly shows a promotional drive for a series of photographs of the Falls in that year.

⁸⁵ See the tributes and memories of Morialta Protestant Children's Home scattered through the history written by former inmate Peter Scottney-Turbill (1994, *Morialta: Fire in the Mist*, Stirling, The Author).

⁸⁶ See <https://www.flickr.com/photos/82134796@N03/16430008942> [10/7/17].

⁸⁷ See below.



It seems the Bakers themselves were mildly interested in the name and its Aboriginal location and had passed on a family tradition about both. In 1893 (21 years after the death of the first John Baker) the travel journalist EH Hallack, in describing the Morialta estate, wrote that “the Fourth Creek, or rather that portion of it under notice, was known by the Adelaide blacks as *Morialta*”.⁸⁸ The underlined phrase would be steadfastly ignored by most commentators.⁸⁹

SPELLING AND HAND-WRITING (4): Morialta:

So ‘Moriatta’ was forgotten except by connoisseurs of Angas’s paintings, and the name would henceforth be ‘Morialta’.

For us a key questions here are: How did this change of spelling and pronunciation come about? Did Baker introduce it? Or did he restore it?

I have argued above that it certainly was a change; that certainly Angas and Fortnum did write ‘Moriatta’; and that this spelling almost certainly derived in the first place from Hack, despite the misprints in the published evidence from him.

If so, how then did Baker come to get it wrong? This is the last crucial question, and at this stage there is no certain answer to it, only speculation.

Baker was a big pastoralist. Many of his properties had Aboriginal names.⁹⁰ But in 1845 his attention was focussed not on Aboriginal place-names but on business, politics, and the “much trouble at the hands of aggressive natives” which he was experiencing in his far-flung cattle stations.⁹¹ Though he “supported exploration with enthusiasm”, he was not the man who would be likely to discover details by walking the land alongside a native.⁹² But he was (or became) a member of the Ethnological Society,⁹³ probably that of London, from whose journal (when it arrived) gentlemen might read about and discuss from time to time Aboriginal matters such as nomenclature. So it is possible that he may have been interested enough to ask Fortnum about the name, assuming that Fortnum was still in SA at the time and they actually met.

⁸⁸ Anon. [Edward Hallack], ‘The Toilers of the Hills’ No. xvii, *SA Register* 17/6/1893: 6a (my emphasis).

⁸⁹ Unfortunately for the next 100 years of nomenclature debate, Rodney Cockburn seemed to put a bob each way: “*Morialta, that picturesque locality below Norton’s Summit, is a native word... The Morialta Waterfall is certainly true to its name*” (Cockburn 1908: 88).

⁹⁰ e.g. “By 1841 he held interests in running sheep and cattle throughout the State... included Pernunna,.. Angipena... Terlinga and Wirrabunna” (Scottney-Turbill: 3); cp. Cockburn 1925 Vol.1: 60-1.

⁹¹ Cockburn 1925 1:60. By 1845 he had established ‘Terlinga’ near Tungkillo (Allen almanac 1844: 189), and was local director of the Bank of Australasia (<http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/baker-john-2920>).

⁹² One commentator, less triumphal than others about pastoral empire-builders, assesses Baker as a ‘mean-spirited’ and ‘vain’ man who in 1857-60 tried to block the Taplin’s plans for the Point McLeay mission because it would be “*prejudicial to his interests*” (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/82134796@N03/16430008942> [10/7/17]); cp. Graham Jenkin 1979, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri*, Chapter 4. Baker was “*the mission’s, and Taplin’s, most vociferous and bitter enemy*” (Rob Linn 1988, *A Diverse Land: a history of the Lower Murray, Lakes and Coorong*: 45-8, 54, 116).

⁹³ Cockburn 1925 Vol.1: 61. There was no society in Adelaide of that name. Probably this means the Ethnological Society of London (1843-71), an offshoot of the Aborigines’ Protection Society.



Perhaps after Fortnum had written and signed the deeds Baker simply mis-read the name in the same old way. Or perhaps he never saw it written by Fortnum, but wrote down himself what he thought Fortnum had said. The matter might possibly be clarified by a long search of the Baker papers (if there is an archive available); but this is far beyond my present scope.

.....

We have now reached the point where we have to make a final assessment of the name: 'Moriatta' or 'Morialta'? Which was original spelling as recorded by a person who actually talked with a Kaurna speaker about the name when the culture was still being practised on the land?

Whichever way we decide, the line of transmission still has two mis-spellings. We have two main alternatives:

#1. EITHER it was 'Moriatta' and was mis-spelled by the London editors of Watson's 1838 pamphlet and independently by John Baker the late-coming magnate, in exactly the same way but only once each;

OR #2. it was 'Morialta' but was mis-spelled continuously for five years by Stuart and/or Fortnum, the men who personally worked the land in the earliest years. This was so despite Stuart possibly being present on the occasion when the name was collected, and spending much time with Hack in the two years after that, and so having many opportunities to correct the error; and despite Fortnum living continuously with Stuart for a year before he wrote down the name. And then Baker accidentally restored the original spelling.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ We might wonder whether there is a #3: The Kaurna word was indeed Marriyarta, and it was given to both Hack in 1837 and Fortnum in 1841; but Hack mistook the single retroflex *rt* for the cluster *-t*. According to Rob Amery this is just conceivable but very unlikely; the *rt* was usually not heard and written as 'tt', even by the linguists (Amery p.c. email 29/10/2010).

We could also speculate on some other ways to rescue the spelling 'lt': e.g. we could argue that

#4. Hack and Stuart wrote 'Morialta', but Fortnum mis-copied them both. This seems even more far-fetched.

#5. In an independent communication between late 1839 and 1847, Baker spoke directly to Hack, and so was able to restore Hack's true spelling 'Morialta'. While this is conceivable (for Baker must have spoken with the Hack family when taking over their Encounter Bay fishery in 1843), it is not very likely that the subject would arise between them in that year. Stephen Hack left SA again in 1844 and did not return until 1853 (see IH Mathews with Chris Durrant 2013, *Chequered Lives: John Barton Hack and Stephen Hack and the early days of South Australia*, Adelaide, Wakefield Press).

#6. Baker read Watson's old pamphlet and preserved the name 'Morialta' as printed there in Hack's letter. But this is also *conceivable* but most unlikely, even compared with the reverse possibility –

#7. that he could easily have acquired Angus's new book *SA Illustrated* (which was published in the year Baker was building his mansion) and used the spelling 'Moriatta' from that. But he didn't.

We might even hypothesize (as Philip Jones has done, p.c. email 18/7/2017) #8. that both place-names existed in Kaurna culture, *Marriyarta* and *Marriyalta*, applied differently in the same locality, e.g. to the valley and to that reach of the creek. But I have no examples of such doublets within one small area except where one uses *pari* 'creek': e.g. *Karrawirra* / *Karrawirra-pari*; *Murlayaki* / *Murlayaki-pari* (see PNS 8/17).

I do not know any evidence which gives us a direct answer. But in the present state of play I believe we are able to make a human judgment and choose. For me Option #1, favouring Stuart, Fortnum and 'Moriatta', is way ahead in the credibility stakes.

.....

So ends the story of how the name was obtained, how it was spelled, where it was said to belong, and how one version of it became enshrined as a South Australian icon. From here on we shall take a slight detour to analyse and evaluate the late folklore and theories, before examining what matters most: the ecological and Aboriginal provenance of the name and the place.

.....

PART 5: FOLK ETYMOLOGIES:

FOLK ETYMOLOGIES (1) 1893: the Baker family and 'ever running water':

So far nobody had put on record any 'meaning' for the name; not even Hack, who had claimed (incorrectly) that 'Cowandilla' meant 'good water'.⁹⁵ But from 1893 onward a tradition about it emerged from the Baker family into the public eye.

By 1893 place-names of SA, including the meanings of Aboriginal names, were becoming a subject for many letters to the editor, soon to escalate after the ex-surveyor CH Harris read a scientific paper on them.⁹⁶ Riding this wave, Hallack's account of the vineyards of the hills told readers that the "portion of [Fourth Creek] under notice was known by the Adelaide blacks as *Morialta* (ever running water), which name has been retained by the estate of the late Hon. John Baker".⁹⁷ It sounds as though one of the Bakers had given this bit of folklore, possibly Baker's son Richard Chaffey or his grandson John Richard.

Riding further on the same wave, Rodney Cockburn's compilation in 1908 claimed, without identifying any source, that 'Morialta' means "ever-flowing".⁹⁸ The book became a prime source for

⁹⁵ See PNS 1/02 Kawandilla. *Kawandilla* means 'north place'. Hack had presumably mistaken a description of the place (well-provided with water, *kauwi*) for the meaning of the name.

⁹⁶ CH Harris 1893, 'Geographical Nomenclature of South Australia', "Read at the Adelaide meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, held September 1893", photocopy in SLSA.

⁹⁷ EH Hallack 1893, ed. GC Bishop 1987, *Toilers of the Hills*, Adelaide: District Council of East Torrens: 159, 168. Cp. Anon. [Edward Hallack], 'The Toilers of the Hills' No. xvii, *SA Register* 17/6/1893: 6a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/48525423/4065137>; No. xviii, 10/7/1893: 7a, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/53615873/4069438>.

⁹⁸ Rodney Cockburn 1908, *Nomenclature of South Australia*, Adelaide, WK Thomas & Co: 88.

place-name enthusiasts, and his epithet has been a favourite ever since. But at least he remembered that 'Morialta' was "that picturesque locality below Norton's Summit", i.e. the vicinity of the Baker mansion.

FOLK ETYMOLOGIES (2) 1931: Webb's 'Mari-yertalla, eastern waterfall':

Twenty-three more years down the track, two columnists in the *Advertiser* and *Register* confirmed the source of this tradition about the meaning of 'Morialta' as the Baker family, in the person of John Richard Baker, the original Baker's grandson.⁹⁹ JRB made the bold and now unlikely claim that old Baker had bestowed the name himself:

I asked Mr. J. R. Baker¹⁰⁰ if he knew the origin of Morialta, the name of the old home of the Bakers. He said he had always understood that it was an aboriginal term given to the place by his grandfather, John Baker, and meant running water.¹⁰¹

Earlier in the same year the lawyer-journalist Noel A Webb had developed the theme further. He was (among other things) an enthusiastic armchair theorist about Aboriginal place-names in the Adelaide region, equipped with copies of Teichelmann and Schürmann 1840 and Wyatt 1879, but not with linguistic expertise. He was regularly in demand from the local newspapers for his opinions on such matters, and happy to comply. This pleasant pastime culminated in a substantial essay published in the City of Adelaide Municipal Year Book of 1931, reprinted as a booklet in 1937. In it he wrote:

I had never associated the word 'Morialta' with the language, but it appears that it is a tribal place name. The meaning of this word would not have occurred to me but for a clue which I obtained. 'Morialta' is the name of the pretty waterfall in the Hills to the east of Adelaide. Mr J.R. Baker... stated that it has been handed down that the word means 'Flowing Water'. The word 'Yertalla' or 'Yatala' means flowing water and was also a name applied to a waterfall. 'Mari' is East. Water flowing in the East, or the Eastern Waterfall, would be 'Mari-Yatala', and it is not difficult to believe that this name would be altered by our English tongue into the pretty name, Morialta.¹⁰²

⁹⁹ It is possible that JR Baker had also been Hallack's source in 1893.

¹⁰⁰ John Richard Baker (1866-1944), grandson of the original John (HT Burgess (ed) 1908, *Cyclopedia of South Australia* Vol.1: 437). It was probably he who sold off the property in 1924 (Scottney-Turbill 1994: 12).

¹⁰¹ *Advertiser and Register* 15/5/1931: 16h, <http://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/45766499/2585491>.

¹⁰² NA Webb 1937, 'The Place Names of the Adelaide Tribe', *City of Adelaide Municipal Year Book 1937-8*: 310. But the article first appeared in the 1931 Year Book, in which Webb may have written it slightly differently: "Yertalla or Yatala refers to flowing or ever flowing water and may relate to waterfalls" (Scottney-Turbill: xix, allegedly quoting *The News* 25 March 1931, but I cannot find the article there or anywhere on Trove). Here Webb was probably merging three sources: Teichelmann & Schürmann who had translated yertalla as "water running by the side of a river; inundation; cascade"; the *Register* 1893 (Hallack); and Cockburn.



Enthusiastic about *yertalla* and careless of history, Webb associated 'Morialta' only with those 'pretty' waterfalls. Note the progress of wishful thinking in these accounts: from the Bakers' 'running water', to a misrepresentation of *yertalla* as 'flowing water', to 'name of the waterfall'. It is unlikely that this displays the Baker tradition accurately. When they cited 'running water', 'Ever running water' or 'ever-flowing', it is much more probable that they had in mind the "stream which runs through the farm all the year, affording an abundant supply", as the state's property figures had noted for 'Glen Stuart' in 1840.¹⁰³ The 'King of Morialta' and his successors were less interested in a scenic attraction than the more useful and profitable fact that their block had permanent reliable water.

However, the issue of running water *may* have become attached to the name in 1837 right at the beginning of our story. Is this a helpful fact which the Aboriginal guide ('Jack' or someone else) had told Hack? And then had Hack (like many others) mistaken a description of the place for the meaning of the name, as he had done with 'Cowandilla'? And had this descriptor then accompanied the name on all its subterranean journey through the whitefella world?

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PART 6: A HOLISTIC ANALYSIS: HISTORY, SPELLINGS, LINGUISTICS, GEOGRAPHY AND LOCATIONS:

6.1. WEBB AND THE WATERFALLS:

We need to address Webb and his ideas, if only because they are so widely quoted.

Dialogue and correspondence with linguist Rob Amery in 2008-9 ended in our agreement on the following analysis: Webb guesses that 'Morialta' comes from *Mari-yertalla* or 'Mari-yatala'. For *yartalla* to be recorded as '-ialta', i.e. *yalta*, the second vowel *a* would have to be ignored or unheard (which is possible); and at the same time the surrounding consonants would have to be reversed (*t_l* to *lt*). This too is conceivable; the process is called 'metathesis, and happens when some people mispronounce 'Nuriootpa' as 'Nurioopta'.¹⁰⁴

But it becomes one of the less likely options when there is a real Kaurna word *yalta* (see below).

In this case there is also doubt about the likelihood of 'waterfall' being the referent. Certainly *yartala* can mean 'cascade', i.e. a waterfall; but there are no known independent records of Kaurna speakers actually applying the word to one. As applied by them in known place-names or descriptions, it always refers to river flooding or wetland rather than waterfalls. It was recorded as a

¹⁰³ 'Statement of the extent of cultivation... for the year 1840', *BPP: Australia* 7: 102.

¹⁰⁴ Older examples include the change from Old English *thrida* to modern 'third'. In 19th-century Cockney speech *ask* often became *aks* / *ax* (see the novels of Dickens).

'name' for the flood plains of both the Torrens and Dry Creek – as Webb points out in the same essay.¹⁰⁵ It is also very doubtful that a waterfall (as such) would have interested Kurna speakers enough to name a place after it, unless perhaps it featured in a Dreaming story.¹⁰⁶

As a last resort to save Webb's bacon, we might wonder whether the gullies of Fortnum's 'immediate spot' were sufficiently flood-prone *before settlement* to justify the description *yartala* here (an eastern palace of 'flooding'). But even for this we have no historical evidence that I know of.

Thus Webb merely confuses the debate by locating 'Morialta' down in the Gorge, and by wishing a pretty name onto a pretty waterfall; we may ignore both his geography and his linguistics. His very late assumption contradicts the crucial record by Fortnum that the name was located at the top of the property.

6.2. LINGUISTICS OF THE RECORDS:

Packing away Webb's theory among the minor footnotes of folklore, we may now draw the threads together. We have alternatives which are much more credible.

6.2.1. THE TWO MORPHEMES: MARA, MARRI, YALTA?

A systematic examination of 'Moriatta / Morialta' asks more questions about the first morpheme. Could 'o' represent *u* instead of *a*?¹⁰⁷ Could the sequence *i-a* represent not only *i-ya* but possibly *a-ya* (since a non-speaker might easily miss a very short *a* in the transition to the consonant *y*)? Therefore could 'Mori' represent *muri*, *mura* or *mara* instead of *marri* 'east'?

There is no credible *muri* or *mura* in Kurna; the morpheme could take these forms only if it has no meaning – and this seems less likely because the second morpheme clearly does. The most likely by far is *marri* 'east'; the sequence *ar* was represented by 'or' also in Wyatt.¹⁰⁸ But what about *mara*, the common Kurna word for 'hand' or 'finger'?

For the second morpheme of 'Morialta', there is a Kurna word closer and therefore far more likely than *yartalla*. It is *yalta*, which avoids the need for metathesis. *Yalta* need not have a meaning, but there is one available with only the tiniest pinch of linguistic deduction. Recorded vocabulary gives

¹⁰⁵ Webb 1937: 310. See PNS 1/04 Yartala. It was of course not a site name but a general descriptor for any such flood-prone place.

¹⁰⁶ The only known place-names given for waterfalls in the Adelaide region are the alleged "*Mayo*", "*Miminie*" and "*Moolalar*", said to be the three falls of Waterfall Gully. These identifications occur in dubious commentary by CH Harris on the late and dubious "Pootpobberie" Dreaming story, which he published from memory in 1913 long after hearing it from James Cronk. But (among many other objections) *mimini* is a Ngarrindjeri word. See Amery 2000 / 2016, *Warraparna Kurna!*: 117-8.

¹⁰⁷ Stephen Hack's extant manuscripts include several Aboriginal place-names and a whole sentence in Kurna. There are no surprises in his spelling of vowels. As with other settlers, his written 'o' could represent either of the sounds *a* or *u*=*o* (in 'coddley'=*kadli*; 'polony'=*padlunthi*), and his written 'a' always represents *a* ('-andilla'=-*andilla*; 'Waliinga'=*wardlingga*; 'padna'=*padna*-).

¹⁰⁸ Wyatt e.g. "Korra"=*karra*.

us *yeltanna* (KWP New Spelling *yaltana*) and *yeltayelta* (New Spelling *yaltayalta*), both meaning ‘cool, airy, fresh’. Compounds can extend this to ‘cool down or grow cold’, though ‘uncomfortably cold’ is expressed much more commonly by compounds of *manya* (‘rain, cold’).¹⁰⁹

Allowing that the Reduplicative *yaltayalta* implies the existence of a simple *yalta*, we might have (1) *Mara-yalta*, ‘cold hand or fingers’, but it seems unlikely as an Aboriginal place-name; or (2) *Marri-yalta*, ‘eastern cool [thing, ?place]’, which is quite possible.¹¹⁰ It could apply to high valleys like those ‘Back of Norton Summit’, perhaps contrasting them with the heat of summer on the plains.

6.2.2. ‘TT’.

However, the historical evidence for the ‘It’ is much weaker than that for ‘tt’. To summarize the reasoning: In the light of the history told above, it now seems most unlikely that Baker in 1845-7 obtained an independent record of the name, and quite improbable that his spelling ‘Morialta’ (and later repetitions of it) represent the word correctly, i.e. as first written down by someone who actually heard Aboriginal people say it at the time when they were still largely in possession of their language and culture. It is improbable even though, when we trace the line of transmission back to Hack and his guide, we find that one of his unreliable published versions uses the ‘It’ spelling.

This conclusion would be challenged only if Hack’s MS or another Angas MS turned up with an unmistakable ‘It’; or if Baker’s Certificate of Title or other paperwork from 1845 was found and contained a clear ‘It’ written by Fortnum.

If so, then we are left with ‘Moriatta’.

6.2.3. YARTA.

It might be *Mara-yarta* ‘hand or finger country’, which also seems unlikely – though not totally impossible if it described the branching ‘fingers’ of the tributary creeks. But this would be stretching well beyond the evidence.

Far more likely than any of the other suggestions is *Marri-yarta*, ‘eastern land’: a compound word recorded by the German linguists, if rather tentatively. It was common enough to have an abridged form. In his final elaborated wordlist Teichelmann wrote, “marrarta; east country; perhaps = marri’erta, marri yerta, east country”.¹¹¹ Tindale, to his credit, guessed this etymology even without

¹⁰⁹ *Yalinthi* cp. *manyarrinthe*, *manyapayana*, *martaninthe*.

¹¹⁰ cp. *Waitpingga* (‘place of cold or wind’); this is an unsheltered coast subject to winds directly from the Southern Ocean.

¹¹¹ Parallel words were recorded for the other compass points. Teichelmann gives the analogous words “*padbaarta* (*padbayata*)” as ‘southerly’, “*kawarta*” as ‘northerly’, and *wonggarta* as ‘in the west’. Probably they all contain an abbreviation of *yarta* and would therefore mean literally ‘south country’ & ‘north country’, though he seems to have been unsure about this.

the help of Teichelmann's late MS; but we may dismiss his speculations that the 'tt' represented an Interdental *th*.¹¹²

There are other Kurna place-names and regional names which are also compounds of *yarta*: *Yarta-kurlangga* ('separate or remote country', Rapid Bay), *Karra-yarta* ('redgum country', Torrens River at Adelaide); *Yarta-puulti* ('country of sleep or death', Port Adelaide); *Putpa-yarta* ('fertile country', somewhere north of Adelaide).

This is now our most likely candidate for the Kurna original of Hack's place-name.

But what was this 'east country'?

6.3. KAURNA CAMPING PLACE IN SUMMER? OR PERAMANGK LAND?

At this point another possible complication arises: the relationship of the Kurna speakers who named this piece of land with their eastern cultural neighbours – a matter which certainly involves hills and has been related to stringybarks.

From the records of the German missionary linguists we know that the people described by Kurna speakers as *Marri-miyurna* were the people of the hills:¹¹³ those who were known to the early settlers as 'the Mt Barker tribe': part of a larger cultural group which we now call the 'Peramangk' or 'Peramangk' (following Tindale). We know too that the name of the area where the *Patpa-miyurna* lived ('south people') was *Patpangga*, 'south place' (and perhaps also *Patp'arta* or *Patpa-yarta*, 'south country'). So was *Marri-yarta* actually the Kurna name for the territory where a distinct people lived, the *Marri-miyurna* ('east people')?

Three of the groups identified by compass points were speakers of Kurna language: the *Patpa-miyurna*, the *Kawanda-miyurna* ('north people'), and the *Wongka-miyurna* ('west people', probably one of the names for the 'Adelaide tribe').¹¹⁴ But the *Marri-miyurna* spoke a different language.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Tindale Kurna place-name cards "Moriařa" and "Moriařa" in AA 338/7/1/12. Here he also guessed (correctly in my view) that 'Moriařa' arose from a "typographical error". But by some obscure reasoning he also decided that the 't' was Interdental because "Teichelmann & Schurmann wrote this sound as tt" (Tindale "Aug 1971", 'Moriařa', MS sheet in 'Kurna or Adelaide Tribe Data: Supplementary Papers', AA338/2/85, SA Museum). Even though his observation about T&S is true of many Kurna words, this has nothing to do with Hack, Angas and *their* spellings, and is untrue of *yarta*, in which the *rt* in is a Retroflex *t*.

¹¹³ See e.g. Schürmann diary 11 July, 17-19 Dec 1839; 18-24 Jan, 9 Feb, 6 March 1840; extracts published in EA Schürmann 1987, *I'd Rather Dig Potatoes*, Adelaide, Lutheran Publishers.

¹¹⁴ See Schürmann's diary for references to all these groups.

¹¹⁵ It is still debatable *how* different the Peramangk language was. Protector Moorhouse in 1842 believed that the language was the same "from Mt Barker as far up the Murray as the Darling" (Moorhouse Protector's Report 24 Nov 1842, http://firstsources.info/uploads/3/2/4/6/3246279/moorhouse_1842.pdf). If his 1846 publication is a guide to Peramangk as well as Ngayawang, then it is very different from Kurna, relating far more to languages further east (M Moorhouse 1846, *A Vocabulary... of the Murray River Language*, Adelaide, Andrew Murray). Schürmann said "the Eastmen speak a different language, and are hostile to the Adelaide tribe" (CW Schürmann 1839, in *SA Colonist*

They had an uneasy relationship with the plains people, which in the 1840s turned to open war when the 'Mt Barker' people joined with the 'Moorunde' or 'Murray' people (from near Blanchetown) to invade Adelaide in an apparent effort to take control there.¹¹⁶

Tindale believed that the plains people used "the upper slopes clothed in wet sclerophyll forests... only for the hunting of opossums, bandicoots and other small animals, and particularly for supplies of the Cossid larvae", and that "there was little residence in the mountains by the Kurna" also because they feared the Peramangk "for their reputed powers of magic".¹¹⁷ Following the ecological premise of his 1974 book, he also believed that the stringybark forests marked the boundaries of Kurna-speaking territory.¹¹⁸ He leaves it quite unclear *which* forests he meant,¹¹⁹ and where he got the idea. It is a credible and promising possibility, though unproven as far as I know.

If these things were so, does it mean that the plains people rarely used this high 'eastern' place, regarding it as Peramangk territory? Or perhaps Graham Lewis is right to guess that the Peramangk did not use this place much, as "their three main tribes were principally located in areas around what are now Mount Barker, Mount Crawford and the Southern Barossa, making it unlikely to have been an area easily accessible to them... Therefore this leaves open the possibility that this was part of Kurna country".

If Hack in 1837 stood on the ridge of Norton Summit or somewhere down near the site of the future Morialta mansion, did he point eastward over the valley and the forested hills beyond it, and ask 'What do you call this'? Then did his guide look over to the forested hills of stringybark and consider that he was in a borderland? Was he visualizing his dangerous neighbours miles away in the lower sheltered valleys on the other side of these first ridges? Did he then say something like 'East Country over there' – implying either 'This is the end of our country' or 'That's not our country'? – a fact about cultural boundaries.

17/3/1840: 24a). However, Tindale was told by one of his informants that it had similarities to Kurna (see Paul Simpson 2011, *Peramangk: A Social History of the Aboriginal People of the Southern Mount Lofty Ranges*: 18,

<http://phasai.deviantart.com/art/Peramangk-Second-Edition-2011-203140763>). Recent writers on the Peramangk seem to have co-opted much Kurna language material into their accounts of Peramangk culture. Amery in 2000 wrote, "Most writers, including myself, have assumed that Peramangk is closely affiliated with Ngarrindjeri. However, I am now of the opinion that it is more likely that it was mutually intelligible with Kurna" (Amery 2000 / 2016, *Warraparna Kurna*: 6).

¹¹⁶ The story of the Moorunde invasions is told well and in some detail in Gara 1998, 'The life and times of Mullawirraburka', in Simpson & Hercus 1998, *History In Portariats*, Aboriginal History Monograph 6: 116-8, 120-1. See also the account of this war in my unpublished essay 'Captain Peter's alleged battle at the River Torrens'.

¹¹⁷ Tindale 1974, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*: 60.

¹¹⁸ Tindale 1974, *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*: 213.

¹¹⁹ Knight points this out and identifies three separate large mountain strips of stringybark forest around Kurna territory, which make it very ambiguous as a boundary marker (James Knight 2003, *Testing Tindale Tribes*, Ph.D. thesis, University of New England: 275-6).

We can't be sure. But there is a final possibility which is now even more probable in the light of everything we know.

6.4. THE 'EASTERN COUNTRY': AN ECOLOGICAL ENTITY AND AN ABORIGINAL PLACE:

Marri-yarta was not in the distance but on 'the immediate spot'. Moreover, it is likely that the Aboriginal guide identified it as a place with permanent water. Neither of these apply to the hills territory of the Peramangk as viewed *from a distance* at Norton Summit. But both apply to the small area on and near Section 856.

The interconnected valleys 'back of Norton Summit' are the several headwaters of Fourth Creek. Together they form an entity which we might well call a *yarta*, a piece of 'land' or 'country' marked off by topography as a separate place. And not only by topography but also by plant communities. The bottoms of these valleys are surrounded by the 450-metre contour line. Below this, down to about 400m, they supported Bluegum Woodland; above it, the slopes and ridges on all sides had Open Forest dominated by Messmate and Brown Stringybark.¹²⁰ As Fortnum remarked with precision, this "*part of the country ... is the top of the Mount Lofty Range, on the borders of the Stringy Bark Forest – a sp of Eucalyptus different in foliage and wood from the common Gum tree... it is a great height above the plains, and the vegetation different*".

Graham Lewis has posted an excellent short essay, based on my research (as it stood in 2014) and on his own field observations, enhanced with photographs of these gently rolling valleys. In their widest sense (he writes), they are "bordered by the township of Norton Summit on the South West, Marble Hill on the South East and Moores Road on the North East. Within this catchment a number of tributaries run which eventually join and form the 4th Creek main channel... on the South East boundary of Morialta Conservation Park. Immediately downstream from this junction the valley narrows dramatically as the main channel nears the waterfalls. This junction also marks a transition point in vegetation type with remnant Stringybark stands being a dominant feature in the up-stream valleys. A reconnaissance into these valleys, of which Green Valley is the most conspicuous, reveals wide gently sloping valleys... As does the Sinclair's Gully further to the north east. Only when approaching the ridges defining the watershed of the catchment does the terrain steepen dramatically (Nature Maps 2013). The end result is an open, sheltered and protected micro region, with sufficiently distinct geography and vegetation to warrant a specific name".

I can only endorse this description.

Lewis also ventures to speculate on Aboriginal uses of the valleys here: "By spending time in these valleys it is easy to image that they could provide an attractive retreat during winter, offering

¹²⁰ See NatureMaps online for contour lines; distributions of Messmate Stringybark and Brown Stringybark; and plant communities. Go to <https://data.environment.sa.gov.au/NatureMaps/Pages/default.aspx>, and view them by using the menu 'Flora Tools' and selecting either the species or a particular area on the map.

protection from the south-westerly prevailing winds and maybe alternative food sources... These alternative sources could have been important whilst access was denied to coastal hunting areas by inland swamps which formed across large tracts of what is now western and north western metropolitan Adelaide during the wettest months. These inland water carpets forming as a result of water spreading out from the main channels of the Sturt and Torrens Rivers and Dry Creeks as they approached the coast and forming a natural barrier which could have stretched from what we now know as Marion in the south and as far north as Salisbury”.

It is an attractive and credible possibility, though some more historical ecology might modify the details. Did Hack’s guide give the name he knew for the ‘micro-region’ of blue-gum woodland in which they were standing, or which lay immediately before and below them, a place eminently campable if rather out-of-the-way? It seems far the most likely conclusion of all.

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7. FINALE:

Doubtless the debate will continue. We can never be absolutely sure whether *Mariyarta* is a true place-name for the valleys ‘back of Norton’, or a regional label for the whole territory of the *Marri-miyurna*, though I have given reasons why the latter is unlikely.

While we lack Hack’s MS (and perhaps even if we found it and it was ambiguous), we cannot even be absolutely sure that the name is *Mariyarta* and not *Marriyalta*, although again I believe the latter is unlikely.

Archaeology might help a little, but the issue of Aboriginal presence there may not be resolvable after so many years of dispersion, and especially not in terms of exclusive ‘tribes’ separated by lines on a map. In any case, most of my colleagues believe that language groups had areas of shared borderland between their territories. If *Mari-yarta* was indeed the valleys ‘back of Norton’, this makes good sense too.

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POSTSCRIPT: TINDALE AND THE GIANT:

Tindale wrote a very short draft about 'Morialta' which is found in his unpublished papers. It begins thus:

*The water at Morialta was of importance to the aborigines who regarded the area as of particular interest giving water issuing from the mouth of the reclining giant of Mt Lofty.*¹²¹

This is dated "Aug 1971". It is conceivable that this information came from one of his short-term informants of the 1960s, perhaps Robert Mason, who apparently spoke from an eastern view about an "orphan who died as a giant at Mt Lofty".¹²² But until this primary source is found and examined, and unless it contains the same information, I remain very cautious about this secondary account (as I do about many of Tindale's, including his publications).

A large piece of scholarly work needs to be done to track down the sources of Tindale's various fragments about this Giant; and to distinguish his material from unrelated and badly-based guesses about a giant by Noel Webb in the 1920s,¹²³ and from GH Manning's sometimes inaccurate versions of both authors, in his widely-read work on place-names.¹²⁴

If and when this has been done, with any surviving Aboriginal oral traditions also consulted, we may then have authoritative, coherent and credible information about another Dreaming story which perhaps was shared by the people of the hills and the plains.¹²⁵

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End of Summary

¹²¹ Tindale 1971, 'Morialta', MS sheet in AA338/2/85.

¹²² SA Museum catalogue for Tindale audio recordings "J Mason series [1964], AA 338/11/34". Robert 'Tarby' Mason is claimed as 'Peramangk' by Paul Simpson 2011 (p.18, 114).

¹²³ *The Mail* 14/5/1921: 3; *The Mail*, 19/3/1927: 17d; *Advertiser* 3/12/1927, 14c; Noel Webb [1931] / 1936-7, 'The Place Names of the Adelaide Tribe', in *City of Adelaide Municipal Year Book 1936-7*.

¹²⁴ Under Gumeracha, Nuriootpa, Piccadilly, Sturt River, and Willunga in (e.g.) GH Manning 1990, *Manning's Place Names of South Australia* (Adelaide: the author); 2010, *The Place Names of Our Land*, Modbury: Gould Books. See also his website www.slsa.sa.gov.au/manning.

¹²⁵ For commentary on other place-names allegedly connected with this Giant, see e.g. PNS 2/02 Yuridla; 2/03 'Pikudla'; 3/06 Parndalilla; 4.04.02/02 Wilangga; 8/06 Mudhangga.