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**Review**

*I'd Rather Dig Potatoes. Clamor Schurmann and the Aborigines of South Australia 1838 - 1853.*

Reviewed by Phil Fitzpatrick... | 165

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THE LIFE OF IVARITJI ('PRINCESS AMELIA') OF THE ADELAIDE TRIBE

Tom Gara

Introduction

In 1879 J. D. Woods, in his survey of the Aboriginal tribes of South Australia, stated that:

Not a vestige of the Port Adelaide tribe remains. The Adelaide tribe is extinct, and so are those which dwelt near Gawler, Kapunda, the Burra, the Rufus etc.

In none of these places can a single trace of them be found. ¹

Woods' belief that the Adelaide tribe - the Kaurna - were extinct, although widely accepted at the time, was somewhat premature. As this paper will show, there were still several men and women of full Kaurna descent alive then, as well as many others who were the descendants of Kaurna people. This paper documents what is known of the life of Ivaritji, or 'Princess' Amelia Savage, a Kaurna woman who died in 1929, almost certainly the last person of full Kaurna ancestry.

Ivaritji and her father, 'King Rodney'

Ivaritji was born in Port Adelaide probably in the later half of the 1840s. Her Aboriginal name, sometimes spelt "Everety" or "Ivaryi", means "a gentle, misty rain" in the Kaurna language. ² Her childhood name was "Itja mau", according to Tindale, who interviewed her shortly before her death. Her father was known to the early settlers as 'Rodney' or 'King Rodney', (sometimes 'Jimmy Rodney'), and her mother was Tankaira, or 'Charlotte', from the Clare district. ³ Rodney's Aboriginal name was recorded in some of the early sources as "Parnataty" (literally "son-in-law") and "Kertamoro" ("first-born son"). ⁴ Clamor Schurmann's recently translated and published diary records Rodney's name as Ityainaitpinna. ⁵ However, examination of the original manuscript diary indicates that Rodney's correct name was Ityamaitpinna or Ityamautpinna.

Along with King John (Mullawirraburka) and Captain Jack (Kadlitipinna), Rodney was one of the leading men or 'chiefs' of the Adelaide tribe, and figures
Figure 1
prominently in accounts of the early days of settlement. He was aged about 22 when the first colonists arrived in 1836. According to one of the early Protectors, William Wyatt, Rodney’s country was “from Onkaparinga to Willunga, and south”, taking in the areas called Kerno, Warrekilla (Happy Valley), Willa willungga (Willunga), Kurra mooroo, Weeningga and Kurra e wurre.

There is a degree of uncertainty concerning Ivaritji’s age. J. M. Black, who obtained some details of the Kaurna language from Ivaritji in 1919, thought then that she was aged somewhere between 60 and 70. At that time she was living at Point Pearce and was known as Amelia Taylor. In an interview published in the Advertiser in 1927, Ivaritji claimed to have been born on the Adelaide Plains about 72 years previously, i.e. in about 1855. In the interview, however, she also claimed to remember Governor Hindmarsh - the colony’s first Governor - and she described the settlement of Adelaide as it would have been in the late 1830s, when there were only a few scattered buildings where the city now stands. Several correspondents wrote to the newspaper pointing out this apparent discrepancy. John Hosking, who, along with H. M. Hale, had talked to Ivaritji several weeks before the newspaper sought her out, wrote to the Advertiser to say that Ivaritji had not known her age until a fortune-teller had told her several years previously. Hosking suggested that the stated age - 72 - was unlikely to be correct.

For Ivaritji to have witnessed personally the scenes she described she would have to have been born in the early or mid-1830s and been aged 95 to 100 when she died in 1929. Tindale, who interviewed her shortly before her death, estimated that she was aged between 80 and 86. Perhaps the most reliable estimates of Ivaritji’s age are accounts by people who knew her when she was a young girl living at Clarendon. These sources suggest that she would have been aged between 80 and 84 when she died. It therefore seems likely that she was born sometime between about 1845 and 1849.

Although the historical sources indicate that Ivaritji was probably born in the late 1840s, there is some circumstantial evidence that suggests that Ivaritji may have been alive in the late 1830s. According to Teichelmann and Schurmann, the Kaurna term -ipinna was a suffix added to the name of a child to denote that child’s father. Thus Rodney’s name, Iyamautpinna, translates literally as “father of Iyamau”, the latter term being the same as Ivaritji’s childhood name as
Figure 2
Map showing principal places referred to in text.
recorded by Tindale. This suggests that Ivaritji may already have been alive in 1838-40, when Schurmann was in close contact with the Adelaide Aborigines, but there are alternative explanations. It is possible that "Ityamau" was a family nick-name that Rodney applied to all his daughters or that there had been another daughter who died young and when Ivaritji was born later she was given the same name, apparently a common practice amongst the Kaurna.

A series of photographs taken by Basedow in the early 1920s (see Figures 8 & 9) show Ivaritji as a short woman with snowy white hair and very dark skin. According to people alive today who knew her, she was a little above five feet (154 cm) in height.

Ivaritji's early life

Nothing is known of Ivaritji's early life, from the time that she was born at Port Adelaide - her birthplace according to her 1920 marriage certificate - until she first appeared at Clarendon in the 1850s and 1860s. There have been a number of historical studies of relations between the Europeans and the Kaurna in the early years of settlement, but little is known of the Adelaide people during the late 1840s and 1850s. By that time the Kaurna would have been seriously depleted in numbers by European diseases, alienation from traditional resources and the breakdown of tribal order, and outnumbered in their own country by Aborigines from the River Murray and Mid-North who had drifted into Adelaide.

In his reports for the late 1840s, Protector Moorhouse only refers specifically to the Adelaide tribe on one occasion, in December 1849, when he recorded the melancholy statistic that there had been five births and eleven deaths among that tribe during the year. Ivaritji was born at Port Adelaide at about that time. The Port Adelaide area may have been a popular camping spot for the Kaurna, away from Adelaide itself and the hated Moorundie people, from the Blanchetown area, the historical rivals of the Kaurna. Several paintings by S. T. Gill of Port Adelaide during the period 1846-48 show Aboriginal family groups camped there (see Figure 4). Tindale believed that Ivaritji had been educated in one of the early Native Schools in Adelaide but as the last of these schools ceased to operate in 1852, Ivaritji would probably have been too young to have attended.
Figure 3
Ivaritji. Another photograph in the series taken by Tindale at the SA Museum in 1928. Courtesy SA Museum Anthropology Archives.
While some Kaurna people probably remained living in camps in the Adelaide area, others were widely dispersed. Some of those who had been educated at the Native Schools in Adelaide had been sent to the Poonindie Training Institution near Port Lincoln, established in 1850$^{15}$, others may have sought refuge with kinsfolk further south at Rapid Bay or Encounter Bay or took advantage of kinship ties to join up with northern Kaurna groups. Many of the Kaurna by this time were skilled at European tasks such as fencing, scrub-clearing, tending livestock, shearing and reaping and they found occasional employment on the farms and stations. Indeed, during the Victorian gold rush of the early 1850s when many whites left the colony to seek their fortunes on the goldfields, the Aborigines found their labour was suddenly much in demand.$^{16}$

_Ivaritji at Clarendon_

Ivaritji stated, in the 1927 newspaper interview, that she and her family, along with the rest of the tribe, moved to the Clarendon district when Adelaide became too populated. The Kaurna may have found relative peace and solitude away from the Moorundie people as much as away from the whites - in the southern Mount Lofty Ranges, getting their rations from Strathalbyn and from local police stations, and perhaps visiting their traditional fishing grounds on the coast south of Adelaide during summer. As Rodney was said to have originally come from the Willunga area, the coast there may have been one of his favourite haunts.

There are a number of accounts of Ivaritji and her family living in the Clarendon area in the 1850s and 1860s. One account, published in the Chronicle in 1933, states that Aborigines travelling to Adelaide from the lower Murray for the annual Queen's Birthday distribution met with the local people at Clarendon and staged a corroboree near the town:

> All this hills country . . . was overrun by blackfellows in the fifties and sixties. Once a year they would gather in all their numbers, and migrate to Adelaide for the blankets which were distributed to them annually . . . the meeting place prior to the great trek city-wards was the comparatively flat piece of ground on the Onkaparinga which is now the Clarendon recreation ground. Here a big corroboree was held to celebrate the gathering of the clan, and was generally witnessed by large numbers of white people. The chief of the tribe was called by the whites "King Rodney". His spouse was "Queen Charlotte" and their daughter "Princess Amelia". They were very proud of these titles.$^{17}$

The newspaper's correspondent named several other "noted natives" who were
Figure 4

well-known in the Clarendon area in the early days:

King Billy, who used to wear a red cap, which accentuated a rather hideous countenance of which the white children were afraid; Black Jane, Selena (whose story was so much the same as that of "Princess Amelia" that the two were, apparently, identical), Jumbo and Old Charlotte.

The woman known as "Old Charlotte" was probably Charlotte McLean, who was from the Encounter Bay area and died there in 1919 aged about 80. Selena is almost certainly Selena Stubbs, a Kaurna woman who is referred to again later in this paper. Rodney and his family and other Kaurna people apparently were leading a semi-nomadic life in the hills, frequenting the general vicinity of Clarendon, McLaren Vale and Morphett Vale. Pridmore, in her history of McLaren Vale, states that:

Queen Charlotte was a frequent visitor to the village, always dressed in a very gay-patterned gown. King Rodney and Princess Amelia were well-known identities too.18

The deaths of Ivaritji’s parents

Ivaritji, in the 1927 newspaper interview, stated that both her parents died, apparently within a short space of time, while the family was living in the Clarendon area, and that she was subsequently adopted by the Daily family there. However, there is some uncertainty as to when Charlotte and Rodney died. One early resident of Clarendon thought that Charlotte had died in about 186019, i.e. when Ivaritji was aged between about 11-15, and this fits in with other historical accounts which suggest that Ivaritji was a young girl when she was taken into the Daily family. If she was much older than that, she would presumably have been free to go off with the other Aborigines when her parents died rather than suffer the indignity of being adopted by a white family.

Charlotte died in the Clarendon area but nothing is known of her funeral rites or final resting place. Ivaritji told Tindale that Rodney died at a Kaurna camp in the Morphett Vale area, where his ochred body was trussed and smoke-dried over a fire as part of the funeral rites.20 A correspondent of the Yorke Peninsula newspaper, the People’s Weekly, who evidently knew Ivaritji during her time in Clarendon, believed that Rodney had been buried at Clarendon. The writer noted that Ivaritji had thought it was a great honour for her father to have been buried in a wooden coffin.21 In an interview in 1929, Ivaritji stated that her father was
buried near the present site of the Happy Valley reservoir. The Happy Valley area - Warrekilla - was part of Rodney’s country, according to Wyatt, and Rodney may have returned there to die.

Tindale believed that Rodney’s ochred body was subsequently acquired by the Berlin Museum but enquiries by SA Museum staff in the late 1970s revealed that the body in Berlin was that of an Aboriginal man from Queensland. An unidentified woman contacted the SA Museum in the early 1980s and claimed that Rodney was buried in a European cemetery in the Reynella area. Examination of the records of the cemeteries for the Reynella - Happy Valley area showed that if Rodney was buried in one of these cemeteries, his burial was not registered.

Ivaritji’s adoption at Clarendon

During the 1860s and 1870s ration depots for the Aborigines were operating at Rapid Bay, Strathalbyn, Goolwa and Milang and Point McLeay, as well as at many other locations throughout the settled areas. In most cases the depots operated from police stations but occasionally “well-intentioned” settlers were appointed as local issuers of rations. The depots were supplied by the Government with quantities of flour, rice, sugar, tea, tobacco etc and these were available to aged, infirm or destitute Aborigines as required. Able-bodied Aborigines were expected to obtain employment and support their own families. Blankets were issued from these depots once a year on the Queen’s Birthday.

When her parents died Ivaritji was adopted by Thomas Daily, the school-master at Clarendon, and his wife. Daily was also in charge of distributing rations to the Aborigines. The records of the Protector’s Department are incomplete but they indicate that he filled this position from at least 1864, and probably earlier, up until the mid 1870s. A correspondent of the Yorke Peninsula newspaper, the People’s Weekly, who apparently knew Ivaritji when she was a child, wrote that:

When King Rodney died, a Mr and Mrs Daley [sic], school teachers in Clarendon, took Princess Amelia in. Her native name was Everty [sic]; but Mr Daley had her christened Amelia. She was well-educated and a very lovable child.

According to a writer for the Chronicle:

When “King Rodney” lay down for the last time and his spirit went roving on
the happy hunting grounds of his ancestors, Mr and Mrs Daily ... took the "princess" into their own home and tried to civilize her. She was treated as a member of the family, given the same education as the other children, and taught to conform to the habits of the whites.26

Sam Bottrill, a young boy living in Clarendon at the time that Ivaritji was with the Dailys, later wrote that:
I well remember when Mr and Mrs Daly [sic] took her into their home and treated her as one of their own. They also had another native girl as a companion for Amelia [probably Selena Stubbs]. Mrs Daly dressed them neatly in print dresses that came well below the knees, and they wore white pinafores.27

Ivaritji did not remain long with the Daily family. The People's Weekly's correspondent stated that Ivaritji went back to her tribe when Mr Daily died. The Chronicle's writer gave a more graphic account of the circumstances of Ivaritji's departure:
all the time her poor, black heart was yearning for the freedom of the bush. No sooner was her protector cold in his coffin than the "princess" shed the vestments of civilized respectability and fled back to the wilds.

However, unless there is something drastically wrong with the estimates of Ivaritji's age, the above two accounts cannot be correct. Thomas Daily's gravestone in the Blewett Springs cemetery shows that he died in 1883, at the age of 71. By that time Ivaritji would have been at least 34 years old and hardly the young girl that the accounts suggest she was, and hardly likely to remain in the Daily household if she wished to leave. It seems more likely that Ivaritji was adopted by the Dailys in the early 1860s, stayed for a few years - long enough to learn to read and write, as later correspondence in the Protector's Department files shows - and then 'went bush' and rejoined other Aboriginal people.28

Evidently, Mr Daily was very successful in teaching the Aboriginal children in his care. According to Mr Daily, one of his students, a nine-year old in 1865, was able to:
read in either the 4th, 5th or 6th Book of Lessons; spell any common word;
phrase any simple sentence; point out the principal islands, peninsulas, capes, oceans, seas, bays etc etc in the world; work a sum in multiplication or division; do either plain or fancy needlework, and otherwise prove that there is intellect in the aborigines of South Australia.29

The identity of this child is not known. The child is too young to be Ivaritji but it is possible that it was Selena Stubbs, the other Kurna girl who was raised by the
Dailys and who was said to have had an "identical story" to Ivaritji. As well as being school-master and issuer of rations, Thomas Daily was also a keen photographer and several of his photographs of Clarendon are in the Mortlock Library’s collection. One shows a group of 17 Aboriginal men, women and children taken in the town in 1869 (see Figure 5). These people are probably Kurna and/or Encounter Bay people, but none can be identified.

Ivaritji at Point Pearce

A after leaving the Dailys, Ivaritji may have joined up with other Kaurna people still leading a semi-nomadic life in the southern hills, travelling back and forth between the various ration depots and the fringe camps near the towns. By that time some of the few surviving Kaurna people had established links with the Point McLeay Mission, where they eventually settled down in the 1870s and 1880s. Ivaritji lived at Point McLeay for some time and she later claimed that she had worked there as a cook for Reverend George Taplin.30 When she arrived there she was probably known as Amelia Rodney but at some time during her stay there she evidently married a man named Taylor. There is no record of any marriage but she was later known as Amelia Taylor and when she remarried in 1920 she described her marital status as "widow".

It is not known how long Ivaritji remained at Point McLeay. In 1919 she was living in a cottage at Point Pearce when she was interviewed by Daisy Bates. Historical accounts and information obtained from Kaurna descendants suggest that in 1919 Ivaritji had already been at Point Pearce for many years, perhaps from before the turn of the century. One account suggests that Ivaritji spent some time at Poonindie after leaving Point McLeay 31 but there is no other evidence of her being at Poonindie. Mrs Vera Smith, now aged in her 80s, and Cecil and Doris Graham, both aged in the late 70s, remember her living at Point Pearce when they were growing up there, in the period between about 1910 and 1920. Vera Smith described Ivaritji as "a very lovely lady" while Cecil and Doris Graham remembered her as a sweet, kindly, old woman. When Vera knew her, Ivaritji was living in the building that later became the hospital while the Grahams remembered her living in the cottage of Hubert and Maggie Weetra.
Vera Smith remembered Ivaritji's sense of humour and distinctive laugh, features commented upon by other Aboriginal people, as well as white residents of Moonta, during recent interviews. Several historical accounts draw attention to Ivaritji's keen sense of humour. A Yorke Peninsula newspaper reported that:

A light-hearted soul was Princess Amelia, quick to see a joke and hearty was the laughter that followed.32

A Clarendon resident, Mrs Francis, who spent her childhood at Point Pearce with her missionary father, recalled that Ivaritji was nick-named "Laughing Amelia" and that "even the magpies imitated her laugh".33

There is no mention in any of the historical or oral sources of Ivaritji having children of her own but Mrs Gladys Elphick, a Kaurna descendant who was brought up at Point Pearce in the early years of this century, stated in an interview several years ago that Ivaritji raised two boys, Harry (also known as Henry) and William Taylor, the children of George Taylor and Elizabeth ("Jessie") Wilkins.34 Other Aboriginal people interviewed also believed that Ivaritji raised these two boys.

George Taylor was an Aboriginal man from the south-east of the state. He was born in about 1859. Jessie Wilkins was the daughter of a Kaurna woman who had been abducted by a white whaler and taken to Kangaroo Island in the 1830s. Jessie was born in about 1857. She and George had two children, Harry and William, who were both born in the late 1870s, probably at Point McLeay,35 but the two boys appear to have spent their childhood and early adult years at Poonindie. Jessie and George separated when the children were young and Jessie came to live at Point Pearce, where she married an Aboriginal man, Eli ("Johnny") Bewes, in 1885. At some time after the turn of the century George Taylor moved to Point Pearce, where he died in 1915.

When they moved to Yorke Peninsula from Poonindie, both Harry and William Taylor were already married and each had his own family. Therefore it is unlikely that it was these two men who were raised by Ivaritji at Point Pearce. Harry Taylor married Maud Kropinyeri in 1903 at Poonindie and moved to Yorke Peninsula sometime before 1910. Harry and Maud had three children, including a son, also called Harry (or Henry), who was born in 1905 and who died in 1923. William Taylor married Naomi Kropinyeri (Maud's sister) and the couple also had three children, including a son called William, who was born in 1913. Perhaps it
was the young Harry Taylor (the child of Harry and Maud) and the young William Taylor (the child of William and Naomi) who were raised by Ivaritji.

Although there is no direct evidence to link George Taylor with Ivaritji, the fact that she raised his sons - or, more likely, his grandsons - suggests that he may have been the Taylor that Ivaritji had married at Point McLeay, prior to George's marriage to Jessie Wilkins, and that they later re-established a relationship when he came to Point Pearce. It is possible that Ivaritji had children with George Taylor but if so, none of these children survived.

Apart from Ivaritji, at least two other people of full Kurna descent - Maria Welch and James Phillips - were living on Yorke Peninsula in the 1890s. Maria, who was Rodney's sister, was born in about 1825 and had been educated at the Native School in Adelaide (see Figure 6). She married a Kurna man, Sam Stubbs, and had three daughters by him; Annie, Frances and Amelia Jane. She also had another daughter, Selena, by a previous marriage. This was probably the girl Selena who was educated along with Ivaritji by Thomas Daily at Clarendon. Maria and Sam separated at some time in the 1860s and Maria then worked as a domestic servant in Adelaide. In 1870 Sam went to Poonindie with the four children but he was forced to leave the following year after being found to have "unsuitable manners". Sam Stubbs went to Riverton in the Mid-North where he lived for a few years before moving to Yorke Peninsula, where he was living in 1882. He died of tuberculosis at Yalpara Station, north of Peterborough, in 1894.

When Sam left Poonindie, Maria came to settle there with the children. Maria later married Phillip Welch, an Aborigine from Western Australia, and they remained at Poonindie until its closure in the early 1890s when they were transferred to Point McLeay. Later on they moved to Point Pearce, where Maria assisted in nursing the sick, as she had earlier done at Poonindie. According to a newspaper report at the time of her death in 1909, Maria had a "devout, kindly disposition" and had been a Christian for 30 years.

James Phillips was born in about 1837 in Adelaide (see Figure 7). Brock and Kartinyeri identified him as Selena Stubbs's half-brother. Tindale, however, believed that he was the son of Rodney and Charlotte and thus was Ivaritji's
THE LATE MARIA WELCH.

The oldest surviving member of the once numerous Adelaide Tribe of Aborigines who died at Point Pierce Mission Station on Saturday, December 7. She was of Royal Blood, her brother being the once famous Chief and King, James Rodney.

*Figure 6*

brother. He was living in Poonindie in the early 1870s but little is known of his life before that time. At Poonindie James married an Aboriginal woman from Western Australia, Kate, and lived with her there until the institution closed. He was a keen and capable cricketer and visited Adelaide in 1874 with the Poonindie team to play in matches against St Peters College and other local clubs. He also played for Poonindie against Port Lincoln and teams visiting the Eyre Peninsula from Adelaide. When Poonindie closed, James and Kate went to Point Pearce but shortly afterwards the couple moved to Wallaroo.

In 1892 James wrote to the Protector from Wallaroo requesting a boat that he could use for fishing. James forwarded letters of support from the local policeman, Constable Farmer, and Mr George Chatfield, a former employer. Mr Chatfield stated that James was "a sober and honest worker and a trustworthy man", was treated with great respect by all the Wallaroo residents and was a member and regular player for the local cricket club. Hamilton, the Protector, approved James' request in October and despatched a second-hand 12 foot boat, valued at £10, to Wallaroo. Hamilton noted on the file that:

This Aboriginal is the last man of the Adelaide tribe known to be in existence.
He has a wife living, but his children are all dead.

James Phillips died of consumption on 24th February, 1897 at the Adelaide Hospital. Reports of his death in the Adelaide newspapers referred to Phillips as "the last man of the Adelaide tribe".

Maria Welch, probably Ivaritji's only surviving close relative, died on 7th December 1909 at Point Pearce. A newspaper report stated that:

She must have been at least 85 years of age and remembered Adelaide as a small town, consisting chiefly of tents. She was educated at the old Location School in Adelaide, and afterwards saw long service in the employ of Mr A. Macfarlane of Wellington Lodge, and Mr Bagot of North Adelaide.

The report noted that Maria was the sister of the "once famous chief and King, James Rodney" and pointed out that her niece, Amelia Taylor, was believed to be "the sole surviving member of the Adelaide tribe".

Although Ivaritji may have been the only surviving person of full Kaurna descent, by that time there were already many people who could trace their descent to Kaurna ancestors. At Point Pearce there were numerous members of the Adams family, descendants of a Kaurna woman from Clare, Kudnarto, and a white man,
Figure 7
Tom Adams. Their marriage, in 1848, was the first legal marriage between an Aborigine and a European in the colony.\textsuperscript{46} Also at Point Pearce were Taylors, Solomons, Powers, Newchurchs and others who could trace their descent to Kaurna people. At Point McLeay there were more people with Kaurna links, including Wilsons, Spenders and Kropinyeris while others could be found in fringe-camps around Adelaide and the nearer country centres. Even by that time, however, it is likely that these people no longer thought of themselves as Kaurna but identified instead with the new communities that had developed at Point Pearce and Point McLeay.

\textit{Early anthropological investigations}

\textbf{Daisy Bates}, on a brief sojourn in Adelaide in 1919 prior to setting up her camp at Ooldea, visited Point Pearce to talk to Ivaritji. It is not known how Mrs Bates came to know of Ivaritji's existence. Ivaritji, who Mrs Bates referred to as \textit{Iberita}, or "Amelia Taylor", provided a list of Kaurna relationship terms (see Appendix I) and some place-names and other information. Ivaritji said that her father's principal waterhole was the lake in the Botanic Gardens, which she called \textit{Kainka wira}. She gave the name \textit{Dharnda anya} (Tandanya) as a place name in the Adelaide area and \textit{Ngamaji} as the area where the GPO now stands. Ivaritji told Mrs Bates that the \textit{Nanthu burrka} or kangaroo totem group belonged to the Adelaide area.\textsuperscript{47}

Mrs Bates often corresponded with John McConnell Black and it may have been through her that Black came to hear of Ivaritji. Ivaritji was living in a cottage at Point Pearce when Black visited her in October 1919. He wrote that:

\begin{quote}
an interesting and intelligent personality is Mrs Amelia Taylor, who claims to be the last survivor of the Adelaide tribe ... Her native name is Ivariti, meaning "a gentle, misty rain".\textsuperscript{48}
\end{quote}

From Ivaritji, Black obtained a vocabulary of about 70 Kaurna words which he subsequently published in the \textit{Transactions of the Royal Society of SA}. Ivaritji said that her father's name was Parnatata - Black thought this was probably the word \textit{ngarpatyata}, recorded by Teichelmann and Schurmann as meaning "son-in-law" - and her mother's name was Tangkaira, which Black believed was the same word as \textit{tangkaiira}, recorded by the two missionaries as "a species of fungus". Black's vocabulary lists a number of place-names, including \textit{Kainka wira}, literally "eucalypt forest", for the North Adelaide area.
At some time in the early 1920s Dr. Herbert Basedow paid Ivaritji a visit and took a number of photographs of her (see Figures 8 & 9). These photographs were taken at the cottage on the Aboriginal Reserve at Moonta where Ivaritji lived after her marriage in 1920. Basedow's original lantern slides are in the National Museum in Canberra. Mrs Gladys Elphick, a Kaurna descendant who lived at Point Pearce early this century, referred to these photographs in an interview a few years before her death:

*Amelia Taylor lived over in Moonta then. Her name was 'Ivaritji'. They had a photo of Granny Amelia in Canberra. They sent it here [Point Pearce] to ask us if anyone knew her. They didn't know who was in the photo. I looked at her and said, 'That's Granny Amelia'. We always called her Grannie.*

**Mrs Amelia Savage at Moonta**

One source indicates that it was at Poonindie that Ivaritji met her husband, Charles Savage, and that they later moved together to Point Pearce but another account states that the couple met at Moonta and, after their marriage, lived together in Mr Savage's home at North Moonta. Marriage records show that the couple were in fact married in December 1920 at the Holy Trinity Church on North Terrace in Adelaide. Mr Savage was of Negro descent and was born in Adelaide in about 1852. His father had come to South Australia from Boston, USA. 'Charlie Savage', as Moonta residents remember him, was a friendly, but quiet man, about six feet tall. The marriage certificate shows the bride's name as Amelia Taylor and both her and her husband put down their place of residence as "Adelaide". The choice of the Holy Trinity Church as the place for their wedding is interesting, bearing in mind its proximity to the old Native Location and its close connection with the Aboriginal people of Adelaide in the early days of settlement.

As Charlie Savage was not of Aboriginal descent, he was not permitted to live with his wife at Point Pearce. The couple moved to Moonta, perhaps initially to the fringe-camp on the Aboriginal Reserve at the spot called "the Crossroads" on the north side of town. For some years prior to 1921, Harry Taylor, the son of George Taylor and Jessie Wilkins, had held the license to this reserve of 18 acres. However, in July of that year, following complaints from local residents of unruly behaviour by Aborigines there, Taylor's lease was cancelled and the Protector, W. G. South, recommended that the license be transferred to Amelia Savage. South
Figure 8
Ivaritji outside the cottage at "the Crossroads" at Moonta. This photograph is one of a series taken by Dr. Herbert Basedow in the early 1920s. The two young girls were from Hermannsburg in Central Australia, and accompanied Basedow on his visit to Moonta. H. Basedow Collection, National Museum of Australia, courtesy Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
noted on the file that:

Henry Taylor has never put the land to any good use and has allowed a lot of disreputable people to infest it to the annoyance of the neighbours. Mrs Savage is reputed to be the last survivor of the Willunga Aborigines. She is a highly respected old woman, and is not likely to be a nuisance to the neighbours.52

However, a few weeks later, after already having told Ivaritji that she could have the license, South changed his mind. Some of the correspondence is missing from the file and it is difficult to determine exactly what happened. It seems that a white farmer, Stacey, wished to take over the lease to farm the land. Stacey visited Adelaide and had a meeting with the Protector. Soon after, South withdrew his earlier recommendation and added a short covering note to the file which read; "I now find that Amelia Savage is not a suitable person to hold a license".

South had a new license drawn up to allow Stacey to crop the section for two years at least, with a share of the proceeds going to the Protector's Department, as was common practice at that time with many of the other Aboriginal Reserves throughout the state. South however agreed to allow the Savages the use of the small cottage that stood in one corner of the section and the one acre surrounding it. The cottage had two rooms and was built of limestone and pug with dirt floors and a galvanized iron roof.

Ivaritji's husband wrote to the Commissioner for Crown Lands in October 1922 to complain about the Protector's actions:

Sir i am taking this opportunity of writing to you concerning this Native Block in North Yelta which i am living on. Is it right that Mr South should let it to Mr Stacy for the term of 2 years and taking it away from my wife an Aboriginal woman. Now this Mr Stacy he is a Pensioner as the same as myself and i know according to the Pension act you [not?] supposed to lease any land whatever. Mr South has gone and taken the land away from my wife a native woman of the town of Adelaide. My Little Pension isn't much to keep two on of course i have nothing to work the land myself but we could get it worked for us and we get a third. My neighbours who should work the land for us. I cant see that is right for to have the land taken away from us like that. Mr South is no Protector. He taken away from the native instead of helping them so if that is right will you kindly let me know.
The Commissioner sought advice from South who reported that:

Mr Savage is a negro and he and his wife are too old to work. Rations and blanket are supplied to her together with the occupancy of the hut and one acre of the land which is fenced off.

Subsequently the Commissioner replied to Mr Savage, confirming that the lease was to be held by Stacey for a period of two years, and the situation would be reconsidered at the time of the lease's expiry. However, Mr Savage again wrote to the Commissioner in July 1923 and repeated his earlier complaints about the treatment of his wife. Ivaritji added to the bottom of the letter, in her own handwriting:

I am writing to you Sir about this Block of land where I am living on. It is a native block Mr South told me I had nothing to do with it. I am a Abiriganal of Adelaide and I want to know from you Sir Wether I cant have it back to get a living of it. I yours truly Native Woman. Mrs Amelia Savage.\textsuperscript{53}

The Commissioner replied to the Savages the following month, repeating his earlier advice that the situation would be reconsidered at the expiry of the license.

When the license expired early the following year, Stacey decided not to continue farming the land. Ivaritji and her husband remained living in the cottage but as they were too old to work the land themselves or to maintain the fences etc, the block quickly became neglected. Later that year the new Protector, Garnett, drew up an agreement with another white farmer, W. Milford, to crop the land. Under the terms of the agreement Milford was to repair the fences around the block and he was also required to pay Ivaritji £1 per month for rent for the land while she remained in the cottage. However, Garnett subsequently obtained legal advice from the Crown Solicitor that the Protector's Department was not entitled to lease the land to Milford in the manner suggested. Garnett then sought Cabinet approval for his proposal, requesting from the Governor:

an act of grace to overcome a legal technicality, which otherwise will compel me to take from a deserving old aboriginal woman the home she has occupied for many years. I do not see how otherwise I can avoid this harsh measure, as I cannot allow the land to remain idle, nor the fence to continue in its present condition.

Early in 1925, Cabinet approved Garnett's suggestion and the agreement between Milford and the Protector's Department was signed in February. Milford cropped the land successfully until the expiry of the license in 1928 and, each month, paid the sum of £1 to the police constable at Moonta who then forwarded the money to Ivaritji.
Figure 9.
Ivaritji at Moonta. Another photograph in the series taken by Dr. Bascdow in the early 1920s. H. Basedow Collection, National Museum of Australia, courtesy Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies.
Many of the older white residents of Moonta today remember Ivaritji living at "the Crossroads". Mr Ian Chapman who, as a young boy, lived with his family across the road, visited the Savages in their home on a number of occasions. He remembered the cottage as being furnished with just the bare essentials; a bed, table and a few chairs. Ian remarked that Ivaritji was still very active for her age during the 1920s; he often used to watch her dancing jigs while her husband played his mouth organ. On one occasion when the Chapmans' chimney caught fire, Ivaritji carried buckets of water up the ladder, holding the handle of the bucket with her teeth, to his mother on the roof who was able to put out the fire.

Mrs Dorothy Pearce lived near "the Crossroads" when she was a teenager and often used to walk into town with Ivaritji. She described Ivaritji as "a dear old soul", who was always very friendly and polite, especially to the children, and was well-respected by everyone in the town. Dorothy said that there were a couple of young boys who Ivaritji looked after occasionally while she was living on the reserve. She believed that these boys were Ivaritji's grandchildren but she could not remember their names.

June and Allan Roe also used to live near the reserve when they were young. June often walked to school with Ivaritji and, later in life, June sometimes boasted to her friends later that she used to walk hand-in-hand to school with "a princess". Ivaritji told her that she could speak three languages - English, the Adelaide language and the Encounter Bay language, which she said she had learnt at Point McLeay. Ivaritji sometimes visited June's parents at their home. June once walked into her kitchen to find Ivaritji sitting with her (June's) mother, who was pregnant at the time. Ivaritji was dangling a ring, tied to a lock of June's mother's hair, over a glass of water, attempting to divine the sex of the baby. June could not remember whether Ivaritji's divination was later proved to be correct. People from Point Pearce sometimes came to stay at the reserve and occasionally, Ivaritji, to avoid the rowdy scenes that sometimes ensued, brought her bed-roll to June's parents' house where she was allowed to sleep in the shed. June and her husband remember Ivaritji as always being very good-natured and law-abiding.
Ivaritji becomes a celebrity

In November 1927 John Hosking and H. M. Hale, then a Curator at the SA Museum, paid Ivaritji a visit at her home. According to Hosking:

Isolated as she has been for many years, the old lady was quite overcome when Mr Hale informed her of our mission. "Fancy you kind gentlemen coming all the way from Adelaide to talk to Everit" was her repeated remark.54

The two men recorded about 100 Kurna words and obtained some other information from Ivaritji. Hosking described her as having a "coppery chocolate brown complexion and snow white hair" and a "very keen sense of humour". Hale invited her to come to Adelaide for a further interview and Ivaritji replied that she would be pleased to come to the city.

At that time Ivaritji apparently supplemented her husband's meagre pension and the rations to which she was entitled by making mats to sell to townspeople.

Hosking noted that:

The old lady... presents a striking figure as she parades the Moonta streets with her mats etc. She says she is too old to hunt for rushes now, so binder twine is utilized in the manufacture of her goods, and remarkably fine work she turns out with this modern substitute.

During a recent interview, Vera Smith also spoke of Ivaritji's prowess at mat-making. She recalls that when Ivaritji was living at Point Pearce, she collected reeds from around a waterhole near Reef Point, not far from the mission. Gladys Elphick55 and Doris Graham sometimes helped Ivaritji collect the reeds she required. When she was a young girl Doris often watched Ivaritji working on her mats on the floor at the Weetras' house. Later when she was living at Moonta, Ivaritji collected discarded lengths of twine for her mats from his parents' paddocks, according to Ian Chapman, who lived opposite "the Crossroads". Allan Roe, another neighbour, remembers seeing Ivaritji walking home carrying bundles of twine she collected from the fields. Mr Alan Searle, remembers as a boy often seeing Ivaritji walking the streets of Moonta selling mats. On one occasion she came to his parents' house and asked him for some 'lucifers' to light her pipe.

Mr Jack Thomas, a resident of Moonta now aged in his mid 80s, knew Ivaritji quite well during 1927 and 1928. At that time she was a frequent visitor to his uncle's house, his uncle having married an Aboriginal woman, Alice Yates. He
remembers Ivaritji as being a kind old woman, who was always very polite and well-mannered. She told him that she was the last member of the Adelaide tribe and that her father had been the 'king', but Jack said that she didn't make this fact widely known to other white people in Moonta, and she rarely spoke of her own past. Jack's wife, Ella, remembers occasionally seeing Ivaritji walking to Alice's house, smoking a clay-pipe.

A few weeks after Hosking and Hale's meeting with her, a reporter from the Advertiser interviewed Ivaritji at her home. The reporter wrote that:

Princess Amelia Walker [sic], who is said to be the last survivor of the Adelaide tribe, is an intelligent woman and, although well advanced in years, is possessed of all her faculties, and is exceptionally active for her years. She resides at North Moonta, about a mile and a half from the town, with her husband, Mr Charles John Savage, and walks to the town several times a week, in addition to working in her home.55

It is not known why the reporter called Ivaritji "Amelia Walker". None of the Aboriginal or white people interviewed recently had heard her referred to in that way - they all knew her either as "Taylor" or "Savage". It is assumed that this was purely a mistake on the Advertiser's part. However, as the newspaper's story attracted a considerable amount of interest, the mistake seems to have been perpetuated in other, later accounts.

The Advertiser published a lengthy account of the interview, as follows:

Mrs Savage... said her father was King Perna Adjunda Rudkee, but the English called him King Rodney, because the native name was so much a tongue-twister. His father and grandfather before him were kings of the same tribe, which was called Dundagunya. She was the princess, her native name being Everety. She was born on the Adelaide Plains 72 years ago, and the tribe to which she belonged numbered thousands. Their headquarters were where the city of Adelaide now stands, with their central camp in or near Victoria Square. Each tribe had its own boundaries and kept to them, except in times of war. The boundaries of the tribe over which her father ruled extended from Gawler to Holdfast Bay, taking in Port Adelaide and other parts of the sea coast. The city of Adelaide was being surveyed when she was a child, but it was very rough. The roads were dirt tracks. Gum trees and mallee trees grew in abundance where the city of Adelaide now stands. There were only a few houses dotted around the place. King William Street was in course of formation, with a house or two at intervals along the sides. There were of course no bridges over the Torrens then. Bullock and horse waggons forded the river somewhere near the present site of the Adelaide Railway Station.
North Adelaide consisted of scattered houses, where settlers were making their homes. Bullock drays for the most part served as a means of transit between the city and Port Adelaide in those days and people were glad to get a lift in them. She remembered Governor Hindmarsh. His residence, she believed, was situated near the present Government House. To the best of her recollection it was largely constructed of bamboo or cane of some sort.

She remembered her father being captured by the white people on some mud islands at Port Adelaide, near where the Sailors' Home now stands. They dressed him in sailor's clothes and set him at liberty. He made his way back to the tribe, who were not far off, but when they saw him coming towards them they ran as fast as they could up to Adelaide, and he ran after them. The faster he ran, the faster they went. He had to take off his sailor's clothes and don his native attire before he could get near them. As Adelaide became more populated, the princess, with her parents and the tribe generally, removed their headquarters to the Clarendon district. She was but a girl then, and it was in this district that both her mother and father died. She was then adopted by Mr and Mrs Daly (sic). Mr Daly was a school-master, and she attended his school, where she received her education in English. She remembered some of the battles which took place with the natives on the Adelaide Plains. They were mostly between the Goolwa tribe and those ruled by her father. Great wars had taken place in the vicinity of Adelaide and hundreds of natives had fallen in battle where city life is thronged today. They fought with spears, waddies—etc—and were very clever with the weapons they possessed.

Onkaparinga, she said, was so named because a woman of some note who had had a quarrel with some of the members of her tribe, jumped into the river in a rage and swam across, but died shortly after. They called it Onkaparinga on that account. The word really means "woman's river".

A number of Ivaritji's statements warrant further discussion. Firstly, as was noted at the beginning of this paper, Ivaritji would not have seen Governor Hindmarsh she was not born until about 10 years after his departure from the colony.

However, Maria Welch, Ivaritji's aunt, would have been aged in her early teens when the first white settlers arrived at Holdfast Bay. Maria may well have told Ivaritji of the early days of white settlement before her death in 1909 and Ivaritji may have later incorporated Maria's memories - and perhaps other elders' memories - into her own.

Secondly, with reference to Ivaritji's account of her father's encounter at Port Adelaide with the white people, there are several historical accounts that describe the first contacts between the Kaurna and the settlers. Gouger described an incident a few weeks after the arrival of the first settlers at Holdfast Bay when a
settler, Williams, met two Kaurna men while he was out hunting. He induced them to follow him back to the settlement where they were given some clothes. Early in 1837 a party of Europeans searching for some lost horses met an Aboriginal group near the Onkaparinga River and persuaded several of the Aborigines to accompany them back to the settlement at Holdfast Bay. Governor Hindmarsh met them there and, offended by their nudity, ordered the store-keeper to supply them with clothes. Before the Aborigines left they were also given gifts of food and blankets.

An account by Stevenson, however, might describe the incident spoken of by Ivaritji; it is the only recorded 'first contact' involving an Aborigine being taken aboard a ship. On 1st January, 1837, a few days after the proclamation of the colony, Stevenson met an Aborigine, "a fine-looking, manly fellow", near Glenelg and walked with him into the settlement, where he was supplied with some trousers and a military jacket. Stevenson described the Aborigine, who said his name was "Ootinai", as:

- a young man, about twenty-five years of age, five feet ten inches in height,
- strong, well-built, though the chest was rather narrow; with a very
good-humoured face, and a mouthful of the finest teeth I ever saw.

Conversing with Ootinai in sign-language, Stevenson learnt the Aboriginal words for a number of items and then suggested that Ootinai accompany him to one of the ships anchored in the bay. The two men were then taken out there by boat. On board Ootinai was given some meat and pudding and listened with apparent delight when one of the settlers played a piano. Stevenson was surprised by Ootinai's confidence and intelligence and he remarked that:

- A most favourable specimen is Ootinai of the natives of this region, far
superior in appearance to the African negro; his hair, too, was black and curly
instead of woolly . . . There was a degree of archness and quickness which
places this race many degrees above the savage.

Stevenson did not record what happened when "Ootinai" was returned to shore and rejoined his own people.

A number of historical accounts indicate that Rodney, Ivaritji's father, was one of the first Aborigines encountered by the settlers so it is possible that "Ootinai" was in fact Rodney. Ivaritji placed the incident at Port Adelaide and this clearly does not fit Stevenson's account, but Ivaritji's mistake is understandable, given the passage of time and the fact that she could not have witnessed the incident herself but heard it instead as oral tradition when she was a young girl.
Thirdly, the name given by Ivaritji for the Adelaide tribe - Dundagunya - is probably the place-name for the Adelaide area, Tandanya, which Daisy Bates heard as Dharnan anya. The Advertiser's rendition of Rodney's Aboriginal name, "Perna Adjunda Rudkee", can be attributed to the reporter mistakenly hearing Parnatatya - one of Rodney's names, literally "son-in-law" - as "Perna Adjunda". In her interview with Black in 1919, Ivaritji gave a different explanation for the naming of the Onkaparinga than the one given in the Advertiser article. She earlier told Black that the river's proper name was Ngangki pari or "women's river", this name being derived from the area being a place of refuge for women and children during tribal wars.

A few days later a Yorke Peninsula newspaper, the People's Weekly, provided a summary of the Advertiser's interview with Ivaritji. The article introduced the subject in the following manner:

It is not generally known that Moonta has had a princess of the blood residing amongst them for years. Few seemed to know anything about it until quite recently when the Adelaide "Advertiser" instituted enquiries. Such, however, appears to be the case, for Mrs Charles J. Savage, of North Moonta, proves to be none other than Princess Amelia Walker [sic], whose native name is Princess Everety, the only surviving member of the Adelaide tribe of Aborigines. 60

The writer of the article suggested that further efforts should be made to record Ivaritji's information before it was lost. The Adelaide Chronicle, on 17th December 1927, also provided a summary of the Advertiser interview, referring to Ivaritji as "Princess Amelia Walker" and published a photograph of Ivaritji, evidently taken in Moonta, captioned "Princess Everety" (see Figure 10).

Sam Bottrill, the son of an early settler at Kangarilla, grew up with Ivaritji, who taught him to speak the Kaurna language. He wrote to the Advertiser to express his pleasure at seeing the Chronicle's photograph of his "old friend and schoolmate, Princess Amelia", and at finding out that she was alive and well. He wrote:

Amelia has certainly made a mistake in her age, as she must be nearer 80 than 70 - I should think about 82. She was a good-natured girl with a pleasant smile, showing a fine set of teeth that any white girl might envy. 62

Mr Bottrill added that he would have liked to visit Amelia but his age and the cost of the train fare would not allow it. He suggested that Amelia and her husband be invited to the Proclamation Day ceremony at Glenelg later that month and he
Figure 10
asked that they:

be well provided for while there. She is the last of the great tribe that white
people took the land from without any compensation.

In February 1928 the agreement between Milford and the Protector's Department
to crop the Aboriginal Reserve was renewed under the same terms as previously
applied. However, in October of that year the Chief Protector advised the Moonta
Police Station that Mrs Savage had left the cottage and gone to live at Point
Pearce. Subsequently, Milford's monthly rent was paid directly to the Protector's
Department. However, Ivaritji did not stay long at the mission. She returned to
Moonta and apparently continued to live in the cottage at "the Crossroads"; it is
uncertain whether her husband lived with her there or not at that time. Some
Moonta residents thought that he moved to a cottage closer to town and that she
stayed there sometimes. Others thought that she occasionally stayed at the house
of Eli ("Johnny") Bewes at North Moonta.

As was noted earlier, Eli was Jessie Wilkins' second husband and thus Eli was the
stepfather of Harry and William Taylor. Eli and Jessie had three children of their
own - Eli (Jr), Howard and Edith. Jessie, who was known to Moonta residents as
"Granny Bewes", died at Moonta in 1945, aged about 90. No record of Eli's birth
or death has been found, but, according to people in Moonta who remember him,
he was still alive in the 1930s when he was aged in his 60s.

In April 1928 Herbert Hale gave a short talk on Ivaritji at the monthly meeting of
the Anthropological Society of South Australia and showed some photographs
that he had taken of her. This is recorded in the Society minute-books but
neither the photographs nor any of Hales' notes from his meeting with Ivaritji are
in the SA Museum or Mortlock Library collections. The minute books also record
that in the following month Dr. T. D. Campbell visited Point Pearce and took a
series of anthropometric measurements of Ivaritji and some of the Mission
residents.

A few months later the Society, probably at Hale's instigation, paid Ivaritji's fare
and other costs for a short visit to Adelaide - most likely her first visit to Adelaide
since her marriage in 1920. While she was in the city she was interviewed by
Tindale and several other members of the Society. Tindale questioned her about
aspects of Kaurna culture, tribal boundaries, resource-exploitation etc and he has
published some of the information he obtained from her in various papers over
the years. Tindale also took a number of photographs of her in the studio in the Old Police Barracks at the rear of the Museum (see Figures 1 and 3). For this photographic session, Ivaritji wore a wallaby-skin cloak, originally from Yorke Peninsula, from the Museum collection. Tindale recalled that Ivaritji was particularly anxious to be photographed wearing the cloak, the only specimen of its type in the Museum collection. Tindale remembered her as "surprisingly vigorous" for her age.

Later that same year, Mr N. A. Webb, an Adelaide barrister with an interest in history and Aboriginal nomenclature, wrote to the Glenelg Council suggesting that Ivaritji - he referred to her as "Amelia Walker" - be invited to the next Proclamation Day ceremony. The Town Clerk of Glenelg apparently thought it was a good idea and sought a free rail pass from the Public Works Department to enable Ivaritji to come to Adelaide. However, following advice from Protector Garnett that "Amelia has a decided weakness for intoxicants", the Commissioner of Public Works refused the request. Mr Webb persisted and wrote directly to the Commissioner, suggesting that it would be a great loss if Amelia were to die before the information she had could be recorded properly. Garnett advised the Commissioner that Ivaritji had been interviewed by the Anthropological Society earlier that year and had been interviewed at length by Black in 1919. The Commissioner communicated these facts to Mr Webb, and pointed out that there would be no real benefit in bringing her to Adelaide again. At Garnett’s suggestion, the Commissioner added:

Amelia Savage has a decided weakness for intoxicants and, if she were brought to the City, it would be affording her an opportunity to indulge in this direction.

No further correspondence was received from Mr Webb.

Garnett’s statement that Ivaritji drank alcohol to excess warrants further discussion. It is not known what prompted Garnett to believe that she was a heavy drinker. He may have learnt this from the files of the previous Protector and it may relate to W. G. South's meeting in 1921 with Stacey, the farmer who wanted to obtain the license to the Moonta reserve. Prior to that meeting, South apparently had a very favourable opinion of Ivaritji but changed his mind soon afterwards to declare that Ivaritji was an unsuitable person to hold a license. It is only conjecture but it may be that Stacey told the Protector something about Ivaritji; presumably that she was a heavy drinker. If this was the case, however, it
seems to have been pure fabrication on Stacey's part. Vera Smith was certain that Ivaritji did not drink alcohol. Cecil and Doris Graham reacted with indignation to the suggestion that Ivaritji had a drinking problem; they were adamant that she was "a clean-living woman", who didn't drink or swear. Ian Chapman, who lived opposite the Savages at "The Crossroads", remembers many times when Charlie was drunk - not being an Aborigine he was entitled to legally obtain alcohol - but he was quite certain that Ivaritji herself did not drink alcohol. Other Moonta residents were quite sure that Ivaritji did not drink and they all asserted that she was always law-abiding and caused no trouble in the town.

Early in 1929 the Adelaide City Council became interested in Ivaritji's story. The Town Clerk, Mr Beaver, wrote to his counterpart in Moonta and requested him to interview her and obtain some information on early Adelaide, Aboriginal place names etc. It was intended that this information would be published in the next Year Book to be issued by the Council. The Town Clerk of Moonta, Mr Couch, interviewed Ivaritji at her home and subsequently reported details of their conversation to Mr Beaver:

Her father, (King Rodney) was the first native caught by the whites when they arrived at Port Adelaide. They dressed him and sent him to his people camped near Port Adelaide. Her tribe used to fight against the Murray tribe sometimes, the Gawler tribes always coming to the assistance of the Adelaide tribes. They fished in the Port River and hunted at the foot of the Adelaide Hills for their living, and the women gathered wood for the fires. They married at about 12 years of age. They often held corroborees and painted themselves white for the occasions. Their food was fish, kangaroo, lizards etc, opossums and rabbits. Her father was buried at Happy Valley close to the present reservoir. He was the last king of the Adelaide tribes. She could not remember many of the words used by them but gave the following: Sea (Gowee), Dog (Godli), Forest (Kinkwitha). When quite a small child Amelia was taken to Hays Flat [probably Eyre's Flat], near Clarendon, and went to school there (Mr Daly's). She is 74 now, she says.67

Correspondence between the Adelaide and Moonta Town Clerks concerning Ivaritji continued for some time. Subsequent to the interview, Ivaritji visited Couch in his office on a number of occasions asking for his help in obtaining a pension. Couch talked to the local policeman and was told that full-blood Aborigines were not entitled to receive the pension. Couch informed Beaver of these visits in a letter dated 8th July, and added that:

I thought perhaps you might be able to use your influence to get something...
granted for her, on account of her being the only survivor. She's very old, I should think she was nearly 90 by the appearance of her.

Beaver consulted the Aborigines Department and learned that Aborigines were not eligible for the age pension as, legally, they were wards of the state. On that basis, they were supplied with rations and clothing if required. Beaver wrote to Couch in August and advised him that Ivaritji should contact the Moonta police-officer, the issuer of rations in that area, if she was in need of aid. Beaver pointed out that Ivaritji was probably well aware of this procedure.

The Adelaide City Council, however, seemed keen to honour Ivaritji in some way and apparently revived the idea of inviting her to the next Proclamation Day ceremony at Glenelg. Whether or not the invitation was ever sent to Ivaritji is not known. Early in December she fell ill with pneumonia and left her husband at their home in Moonta to stay at Point Pearce. She died in the hospital there on Christmas Day and was buried in an unmarked grave in the Mission cemetery.

According to Moonta residents, Ivaritji's husband, Charles Savage, moved away from Moonta shortly after his wife's death. He was living at the Little Sisters of the Poor Home in Glen Osmond when he died in August 1932. After Ivaritji's death, the cottage at "the Crossroads" remained vacant for a few years. It was occupied by Harry Taylor (Sn) from 1934 to 1940 and was demolished sometime after World War II. The section is still an Aboriginal Reserve and the title is vested in the Aboriginal Lands Trust although it is currently leased to a local farmer.

Conclusion

Although she is frequently referred to as "the last woman of the Adelaide tribe", or something similarly melancholy, in historical and anthropological studies as well as popular accounts of the Kaurna, Ivaritji has remained a figure of mystery. Little was known of her background and life and even her identity was a matter of some uncertainty. In this paper I have traced her life as far as is possible from the few references to her in the documentary sources and supplemented this data with the reminiscences of people who knew her in the later years of her life at Point Pearce and Moonta. These oral accounts offer a glimpse of Ivaritji's character and personality which the documentary sources fail to provide. Aboriginal people who
lived with her at Point Pearce speak well of "Granny Amelia" and to other Kaurna people she has become almost a legendary figure, one spoken of in reverent tones. Many of the older white residents of Moonta remember "Princess Amelia" with genuine affection; the little old woman, with dark skin, snowy white hair and a happy laugh, clearly created a lasting impression on the children and teenagers in the town during the 1920s.

There is some uncertainty within the Aboriginal community as to Ivaritji's identity and background. Some Aboriginal people, such as Gladys Elphick and Doreen Kartinyeri, believed that Amelia Savage was the same woman as Amelia Armstrong. Doreen was told when she was young that she was related to Ivaritji: "When I was younger, people used to say "You've been eating mulharri (Magpie) eggs", which means I talk too much. They used to say that I was just like my relation Everitchi."

Doreen always assumed that Amelia Armstrong, her great-grandmother's sister, was "Everitchi". However, the two Amelias were definitely not the same individual. Amelia Armstrong was the daughter of John Armstrong, a white man, and a Kaurna woman from Clare. She married Edward Kropinyeri and died at Point McLeay in 1893, aged 34. After more detailed research into Kaurna family history, Doreen now believes that the woman from Clare who married John Armstrong may have been a sister of Charlotte, Ivaritji's mother, who was also from the Clare area. This would have made Amelia Armstrong Ivaritji's first cousin. There is a connection between Ivaritji and Amelia Kropinyeri (nee Armstrong) which may partly explain the confusion. Amelia Kropinyeri was Harry Taylor's mother-in-law, Harry having married Katherine, a daughter of Edward and Amelia Kropinyeri. If, as suggested earlier, Ivaritji was married to George Taylor at some stage in her life, she was Harry's step-mother.

It is clear that Ivaritji had no children of her own, or at least none that lived to have children, and thus she has no direct descendants today. James Phillips, who was either Ivaritji's brother or cousin, also has no direct descendants. However, there are numerous Aboriginal people alive today who can trace their descent to Ivaritji's father's sister, Maria Welch, and Maria's husband, Sam Stubbs. Jessie Wilkins, Harry and William Taylor and other Kaurna people referred to in this paper also have many descendants alive today.
Ivaritji was born in the late 1840s when Kaurna society had virtually disappeared in the face of the alienation of the tribal lands, depopulation from diseases and mistreatment and the influx of Aborigines into Adelaide from distant parts of the colony. She lived her early life in the fringe camps around Adelaide and the ration depots in the hills and then found her way to Point McLeay and then Point Pearce. Late in life, after her marriage in 1920, she left Point Pearce and was able to lead a relatively independent life among the white community in Moonta, supplementing her husband’s pension and her own rations with what she could earn from her handicrafts.

The death of her only surviving close relative, Maria Welch, in 1909 probably left Ivaritji as the last speaker of the Kaurna language and the only person left alive with knowledge of traditional Kaurna lifestyles. She revisited Adelaide, the place of her birth, on at least two occasions late in life and at both Point Pearce and Moonta she seemed to maintain close associations with a small group of people who had Kaurna links. Her dispute with the Protector concerning the cottage and her later attempts to obtain a pension suggest that Ivaritji was proud of her ancestry and determined to stand up for what she believed she was entitled to. Described by all who knew her as a law-abiding, friendly woman, who was always cheerful and courteous to everyone, she seemed to bear no ill-feelings towards white people and was always keen to cooperate with anthropologists and other researchers. Although living in poverty and isolation, she led a long and apparently satisfying life, in the face of the great social, spiritual and physical upheavals that Aboriginal society was going through. In this Ivaritji perhaps typifies the strength and resilience of Aboriginal culture and the Aboriginal people’s ability to survive the most adverse circumstances.
Appendix 1
Kaurna kinship terms recorded by Daisy Bates in an interview with Ivaritji at Point Pearce in 1919.

miyu - man
nganki - mother (or woman?)
ngatchel - father
ngatchai-i - mother
yakkani - sister
yunga - brother
yariini - husband
ngaitch - mine
ninku - yours
nyurgarda - when they marry tharbuda or relations (wrong marriage)

ngaitchu panja - that is mine
malala - father's father
ngappubi - father's mother
thammumu - mother's father
ngangaji - mother's mother
gauawa - mother's brother
yunki - betrothed
ngandara - proper marriage
ngaitchu yirngara - my woman or wife

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Endnotes
5. Colonial Secretary's Office, GRG 24/1/381/1840. SA Public Record Office.
17. Chronicle, 3 Aug. 1933, p. 44.
22. Adelaide City Council Archives, Town Clerk docket 2658/1935.
30. ibid., 10 Dec. 1927, p. 15.
31. Kangarilla Research Committee, op. cit., p. 76.
33. Kangarilla Research Committee, op. cit., p. 77.
38. Protector of Aborigines, GRG 52/1/73/1871; GRG 52/1/272/1875; GRG 52/1/142/1882. SA Public Record Office.
41. Cleland & Tindale, op. cit., p. 19.
42. Brock & Kartinyeri, op. cit., pp. 36, 75.
43. Protector of Aborigines, GRG 52/1/282/1892; GRG 52/1/28/1892. SA Cleland & Tindale, op. cit., p. 19.
42. Brock & Kartinyeri, op. cit., pp. 36, 75.
43. Protector of Aborigines, GRG 52/1/282/1892; GRG 52/1/287/1892. SA Public Record Office.
44. Advertiser, 27 Feb. 1897, p. 5; Register, 27 Feb. 1897, p. 5.
46. Education Department, op. cit., pp. 178-183. See also L. O'Brien, this volume.
49. Education Department, op. cit., p. 211.
52. Protector of Aborigines, GRG 52/1/51/1921. SA Public Record Office.
53. Protector of Aborigines, GRG 52/1/74/1924. SA Public Record Office.
54. Advertiser, 10 Dec. 1927, p. 15.
55. Education Department, op. cit., p. 211.
57. Southern Australian, 23 Jan. 1839, p. 3.
61. Kangarilla Research Committee, op. cit., p. 76.
63. Protector of Aborigines, GRG 52/1/74/1924. SA Public Record Office.