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KAURNA' IDENTITY: A BRIEF HISTORY

Steve Hemming

Introduction

Today it is widely accepted that the 'Kaurna tribe' owned the Adelaide Plains area at the time of South Australia's establishment as a British colony in 1836. The popularity of this belief can be largely traced to the anthropologist Norman Tindale's publication, in 1974, of the Aboriginal tribes of Australia. In this book he argues that at the time of British colonisation the Kaurna tribe occupied the area from Cape Jervis, to the south of present-day Adelaide, to Crystal Brook in the north and bounded on the east by the Mount Lofty Ranges and in the west by Gulf St Vincent (fig.1). Tindale describes the Kaurna tribe as comprising several smaller groups of people or "hordes" who spoke the same or a similar dialect and had a sense of larger group identity. The ethnographic evidence for this proposition is yet to be fully presented by Tindale and it is therefore difficult to assess his conclusions. The relevance of Tindale's concept of the tribe to the situation in Aboriginal Australia has also been questioned by anthropologists.

In this paper I attempt to trace the origin and meaning of the term Kaurna and the history of its use. I also examine the range of early descriptions of the political organisation of the Aboriginal groups in the Adelaide Plains area at the time of contact. I then provide a brief history of the Aboriginal people who can trace descent to the groups originating from the Adelaide region and conclude with an examination of the present-day situation.

The 'Adelaide tribe' or the 'Kaurna'?

There is no conclusive evidence of the original meaning of the term Kaurna. Its earliest recorded use appears to be in William Wyatt's publication dealing with the customs and vocabulary of the "Adelaide and Encounter Bay Tribes". In a list of Aboriginal people, Wyatt describes an Aboriginal called Encounter Bay Bob as belonging to the Kaurna tribe. Encounter Bay Bob, as his English name suggests, appears to have had a stronger connection with the Encounter Bay area which is
Fig. 1
Place names mentioned in text.
outside Tindale’s Kurna territory. Some information concerning Encounter Bay Bob’s background can be surmised through his early land claims. He was the first Aborigine to claim and receive a land grant in South Australia. The Protector of Aborigines Matthew Moorhouse recorded that Encounter Bay Bob first chose a piece of land that he claimed as his "birthright", but this land was already selected by colonists and so he agreed to take some that was "equally good in exchange". This land was in the Encounter Bay district. There is no record of the location of Encounter Bay Bob’s first selection, but it seems likely that it too was in the Encounter Bay area.

Of further significance in the process of identifying Encounter Bay Bob is the possibility that the early Adelaide Aboriginal identity Wattewattepina was in fact Encounter Bay Bob. The Lutheran missionary Clamor Schurmann records on a number of occasions in his diary that he obtained cultural information about the Adelaide people from his next door neighbour at the Native Location in Adelaide, Wattewattepina. Moorhouse in a letter to the Colonial Secretary records that Bob was the European name of Watta-Wattite-pinna (this appears to be a variation in the spelling of Wattewattepina). It is also interesting to note that Schurmann wanted to have Wattewattepina accompany him on his trips to Encounter Bay. These pieces of information are tantalising, and there may still exist more convincing evidence that Wattewattepina was Encounter Bay Bob. As yet I have not been able to conclusively establish this connection.

However, to begin to understand what was meant by Encounter Bay Bob’s cultural classification as Kurna, his family tree would need to be available for investigation. One would then have to take into account that the Aboriginal people of the Adelaide Plains and Encounter Bay areas appear to have traced descent and primary land rights mainly through the male line. This could mean, as one interpretation, that for Encounter Bay Bob’s 'Kurna' identity to have had a strong link with the Adelaide area he may have been connected with the Encounter Bay area through his mother and possessed a primary connection with the "Kowandilla district of the Adelaide Tribe" through his father. This interpretation brings in a second Wyatt observation which identifies one of what he terms the "districts" of the Adelaide tribe. It is possible that the word Kurna is a derivation of the term Kowandilla. With a minor spelling modification, "Cowandilla" is also mentioned as an equivalent term for the Adelaide tribe in a number of newspaper articles in the 1840s. John Bull also states that the name
of the Adelaide tribe was "Cowandilla". In Teichelmann and Schurmann's 1840 publication dealing with the "Aboriginal language of South Australia, spoken by the natives in and for some distance around Adelaide", the people living to the north of Adelaide are described as speaking "Karnu warra, a northern dialect". When *karnu* is said using Teichelmann and Schurmann's German pronunciation it is very close to the English pronunciation of Kaurna. Teichelmann produced an upgraded version of the 1840 vocabulary in 1857, but it was never published. In this work he identifies north as "kawanda or kawarnda" and "kawandilla" as "in the north". Significantly, in both vocabularies Teichelmann and Schurmann do not identify a broad tribal term for the Adelaide region such as Tindale's Kaurna.

Alfred Howitt was the first to use Kaurna as a term for the tribe that occupied a similar area to the one later described by Tindale. In his 1904 book *The native tribes of south-east Australia*, he places the word "Kaurna" on a map of South Australia in the area just to the north of Adelaide. However, it appears from another map in this book, dealing with social organisation, that he may have defined the Kaurna territory as continuing south of the City of Adelaide to the edge of the Mount Lofty Ranges as they meet the Adelaide Plains. Howitt provides no evidence for his conclusions, although some further information may be found in a collection of his correspondence held in the National Museum of Victoria. In 1900 R.H. Mathews argued that the Adelaide tribe was part of a nation he called the *Adjadurah* which occupied the Adelaide region and Yorke Peninsula. He writes:

> Owing to the similarity of the dialects of the Yorke Peninsula and Adelaide tribes, the prevalence of circumcision and other customs, together with the fact of their being adjoining neighbours, seems to me to justify the assumption that they were practically the same people. I have therefore included these two tribes in one nation.

In 1889 J.J. East also argued that the Yorke Peninsula and Adelaide area people could be described as one nation. The influence of the concept of nations in Aboriginal Australia can perhaps be seen in the later work of Tindale culminating in the *Aboriginal Tribes of Australia*.

In the 1830s and 1840s, when describing Aboriginal groups, most observers used the term "tribe" and combined it with European place names, e.g. the "Adelaide tribe", the "Mount Barker tribe" and the "Encounter Bay tribe". Although these
labels were loosely applied it is probable that these "tribes" were most often groups of families whose male members had rights through kinship to closely associated pieces of land. According to Teichelmann and Schurmann a pangkarra was a "district or tract of land belonging to an individual, which he inherits from his father." Ellis equates this pangkarra with Stanner's concept of the "estate". He writes:

The "estate" according to Stanner, was the traditionally recognised locus ("home" "country", ground"), of some kind of patrilineal descent group forming the core or nucleus of the territorial group. This area seems usually to have been more or less geographically continuous.

Teichelmann's following discussion of the concept of tribe illustrates the similarity of his understanding of this concept to the pangkarra and to Stanner's "estate":

They are rather to be considered as large families, or bodies of relatives which might be called a republican tribe... each tribe has a certain district of the country as a property received by their forefathers, the boundaries of which are fixed, according to their narration, by them... These tribes were of a much smaller scale than Tindale's and approximate the groups that he calls "clans". The Lutheran missionaries were interested in the culture and language of the Aboriginal people with whom they were working. They were skilled at compiling vocabularies and grammars and they recorded ethnographic details that few other Europeans had the interest to notice. They wanted to understand Aboriginal language and culture so that they could use this knowledge to assist in their conversion of Aboriginal people to Christianity. However, these missionaries did not argue that a broad group identity existed from the southern Fleurieu Peninsula to the area over 100 kilometres north of Adelaide. This concept was first argued by Tindale many years later.

The early Lutheran missionaries recorded detailed information about the Aboriginal people of the Adelaide region, but they were not the only early recorders of this type of information. It was also part of the duties of the Protector of Aborigines to "make himself acquainted with their [the Aborigines] language and dialects, their customs, their habits, their prejudices, their tribes, numbers and peculiar districts..." The Protector of Aborigines Matthew Moorhouse identified the "Adelaide tribe" in perhaps a broader form than did the missionaries and the other colonists. He described this "tribe's" territory as stretching from "ten miles north of Adelaide to Mount Terrible, near Myponga in the south". Moorhouse further defines the Adelaide tribe as follows:

... the Adelaide tribe varied from 150 to 300 at any one time, including the
children - that is to say, the tribe called the Adelaide tribe was a group of smaller tribes of which the Adelaide tribe was the centre.\textsuperscript{27}

Closely agreeing with Moorhouse is William Cawthorne's 1865 description:

The Adelaide tribe which never exceeded 300 souls had a tract of country, bounded by hills near Willunga in the South, by Cox's Creek in the East and the Gawler River in the North and the Sea in the West, or a tract of country of about 100 square miles, which covered gives 3 souls to one square mile.\textsuperscript{28}

It appears that for Moorhouse tribal distinctions were tied to dialectical variations. He supported the contention held by the his predecessor to the post of Protector of Aborigines, William Wyatt, that the Aborigines from Encounter Bay, the Adelaide area, the Rapid Bay area and the Murray River had significant languages differences.\textsuperscript{29,30} However, both Moorhouse and Cawthorne's descriptions of the "Adelaide tribe's" extent fall considerably short of Tindale's boundaries of Cape Jervis in the south and Crystal Brook in the north.

It is also interesting to note the reported connections that existed between the 'tribes' in the early days, particularly during the fights that took place. Cawthorne records in his diary that the Adelaide tribe often fought with the Encounter Bay tribe against the Murray tribe.\textsuperscript{31} The Murray tribe of the 1840s was a combination of the groups living around Moorundie and further east along the River Murray.\textsuperscript{32} An early local Adelaide Aboriginal identity, known by the Europeans as King John, made the following speech which is perhaps the best illustration of the animosity shown by the Adelaide people towards the Murray people:

\begin{quote}
You write in the paper and tell white man what for we fight. Before white man come, Murray black fellow never come here. Now white man come, Murray black fellow come too. Encounter Bay and Adelaide black fellow no like him. Me want then to go away. Let them sit down at the Murray, not here. This is not his country. What he do here? You tell Captain Grey to make Murray black fellow go away, no more fight then. Adelaide and Encounter Bay black fellow no want to fight; but Murray black too much saucy. Let him stop in his own country.\textsuperscript{33}
\end{quote}

From the early sources a connection can be identified between the people living between the coast and the Mount Lofty Ranges from the Encounter Bay area through to the Adelaide Plains region. It is also possible to argue that there was a major cultural distinction between these people and the people from the Murray River.\textsuperscript{34}
In 1936 Norman Tindale and Charles Mountford published the "Story of Tjiirbuki: A Legend of the People of Rapid Bay". This Dreaming story was recorded from Albert Karloa, a man of the "Jarildikald people of Lake Alexandria". The term Kaurna is not used in this article and it is not until 1936 that Tindale starts to use it in his publications. In his 1940 publication of the results of the Harvard-Adelaide Universities anthropological expedition of 1938-39 Tindale first defines what he means by the 'Kaurna tribe' and in particular the extent of Kaurna territory. This varies little from his 1974 description, the only significant difference being the southern limit of 'Kaurna' territory. In 1940 he identifies this as Rapid Head. In 1941 Tindale published the "Native songs of the South-East of South Australia, Part 2". Clarence Long, a Tanganikald man from the Coorong, was Tindale's main informant and one of the songs he sings is described as coming from the Rapid Bay "horde" of the "Kaurna tribe". It is important to note however, that as early as 1926, at a meeting of the Anthropological Society of South Australia, it appears that Tindale suggested that "Kaurna" was the correct term for the Adelaide tribe. In his Aboriginal tribes of Australia he says that Ivariitji confirmed this, although he doesn't describe the circumstances.

The Adelaide tribe since 1836

During the nineteenth century Aboriginal people from the region that Tindale ascribes to the Kaurna were mostly living in camps around Adelaide or towns such as Kangarilla and on the missionary establishments Poonindie, Point McLeay and Point Pearce. Cawthorne writes in 1865: Of this tribe at the present moment I believe not 5 individuals exist, 4 years ago, as well as I could ascertain, there was but one family living. By the end of the nineteenth century a few older Aboriginal people, originally from the Adelaide region, lived at Point Pearce Mission on Yorke Peninsula or in nearby towns like Moonta. When visiting Adelaide they lived in camps such as the one at Glenelg, on the Patawalonga Creek. Nancy Cato quotes from the Adelaide Advertiser 1899:

On Thursday, residents of Glenelg witnessed the demolition of the Aboriginals' camp, which was situated on the east bank of the Patawalonga Creek. For some weeks past, Mr. and Mrs. Matthews, of Victoria, assisted by Miss Cartwright have been conducting a mission among the Aborigines at the Bay...

In 1928 when Tindale interviewed Ameilla Taylor (Ivariitji) she was probably the
last person living who strongly traced her descent to the Adelaide region. In a 1927 newspaper article reporting an interview with Ivaritji she did not identify her tribe as being the Kaurna, but instead is reported to have said that she belonged to the "Dundagunya tribe". This is probably a corruption of the clan name Tandanja that Tindale identifies with the area now occupied by the City of Adelaide.

In the early twentieth century the descendants of the 'Kaurna' people had mixed with other Aboriginal families from particularly the Lower Murray and Yorke Peninsula who lived on Point McLeay and Point Pearce Missions. These families included the Wilsons at Point McLeay and the Adams and the Solomons at Point Pearce and Poonindie. Descendants born in the twentieth century identified more with the places of their birth and they had other 'tribal' identities through other ancestors. For example the Adams family intermarried with the 'Narangga' people of Yorke Peninsula. The Wilsons family living at Point McLeay intermarried with the 'Ngarrindjeri' and other groups and they identified with these groups and Point McLeay Mission. At Point McLeay for example John Sustie Wilson had knowledge about his Adelaide area connections. He was able, in the 1930s, to supply information to Tindale which he has later used in his 1987 publication about the Tjir:buki Dreaming. In this version Tindale uses the term Kaurna and he identifies a number of Aboriginal people as sources for his information - including Ivaritji.

However, with the second and third generation of 'Kaurna' descendants the knowledge about their Adelaide ancestry was very limited. The Adams family experienced this process. Through marrying into the 'Narangga' at Point Pearce they identified more strongly as 'Narangga' or Point Pearce people. For example Gladys Elphick, one of the most prominent 'Kaurna' descendants of recent times, said the following in the mid seventies:

Actually Nurunga tribe which I belonged to started in Wallaroo. These Moonta trustees, a whole lot of old fellows, captain Hughes, Simons and them, they bought this land at Point Pearce to settle the Nurunga tribe on. It was heaven then. I bet. I can remember from the second superintendent on. It was a great big farm. Wheat and cows and pigs...
That soil on Point Pearce is more to me than the soil in Adelaide. I'm part of that, see?

Since the Second World War, in particular, Aboriginal people have been moving
off the old missions and into Adelaide. Many "Kaurna" descendants have moved to Adelaide and become prominent in the new bureaucracy that developed after Aboriginal people were given a role in their own affairs in the 1960s. Gladys Elphick was particularly involved in changing Government attitudes and developing new organisations for Aboriginal people. Mary Williams, another 'Kaurna' descendant, has played a significant role in the development of new Aboriginal organisations in Adelaide.

For the more recent generations who have been born in Adelaide a new identity has emerged. They have little connection with the old missions where their parents and grandparents grew up. They see themselves as Nungas, a term used by Aboriginal people from southern South Australia when referring to Aboriginal people. Neva Grzybowitz, a descendant of the West Coast Aboriginal people, grew up in Adelaide during the Second World War and she remembers the term Nyunga being used. She says this word came from the West Coast and was corrupted to Nunga because people had difficulty with its proper pronunciation. The more specific group names like 'Ngarrindjeri' or 'Narangga' are being used less by these younger people - although there are moves from several areas to encourage knowledge of Aboriginal heritage in younger people and this is producing a new 'Kaurna' identity.

*The emergence of 'Kaurna' identity*

Tindale's 1974 Aboriginal Tribes of Australia was influential in promoting the use of the term Kaurna and the associated tribal concept in the Aboriginal and European community. In the early 1980s a number of new Adelaide Aboriginal organisations used the term in their titles, for example, the Kaurna Children's Centre and the Kaurna Plains Football Club, adopted the term. However, in 1972, before Tindale's publication, Robert Edwards, the Curator of Anthropology at the South Australian Museum, making use of Tindale's earlier writings, produced a short booklet called *The Kaurna people of the Adelaide Plains*. This booklet resulted from the activities of the Tjilbruke Monuments Committee established in 1971 to mark the track created by the Dreaming ancestor 'Tjir:buki'. In September 1972 the Governor of South Australia Sir Mark Oliphant unveiled a sculpture at Kingston Park commemorating the Tjilbruke Dreaming and marking the first site on the track running south of Adelaide.
In the 1981 the Tjilbruke Track Committee began meeting again. It had not met since the early 1970s. Originally this committee was the idea of Robert Edwards, the sculptor John Dowie, and staff from the Sunday Mail. The Aboriginal people involved with the proposal to set up an Aboriginal Cultural Centre in the late 1960s also had an input into the Tjilbruke Track idea. The committee used the 1936 article by Tindale and Mountford as the source of their information. During this phase of the committee’s existence Aboriginal involvement was limited and the fact that there was a large number of 'Kaurna' descendants appears to have been largely unknown to the Committee. Connections that contemporary Aboriginal people had with the Adelaide region were not explored in the 1972 publication organised by the original Tjilbruke Monuments Committee.

In its second phase, beginning in 1981, the committee was made up of Europeans and the Chairman was the Director of the South Australian Museum. I became involved with the project at this stage and I was aware that there were a number of Aboriginal people who identified as 'Kaurna' descendants and it appeared essential to invite them to take part in this project. Eventually a new committee was established with the S. A. Department of Aboriginal Affairs acting as convenor and John Moriarty, its Director, acting as Chairperson. It was recommended that a 'Kaurna' descendant and a researcher work together to research the 'Tjilbruki' Dreaming Story and produce a publication to go along with the marking of the sites. Funds were obtained from the South Australian Museum and the Aboriginal Heritage Branch of the Department of Environment and Planning. This process was to take place with the research support of the South Australian Museum. It was also intended that this research would help determine the appropriate places for markers along the trail.

The power of decision making on the committee was given to 'Kaurna' descendants and Georgina Williams (a 'Kaurna' descendant) was employed along with Suzi Hutchings (an anthropologist) to work, based at the SA Museum, on the research aspect of the project. Other 'Kaurna' descendants involved with the committee included Doris Graham and Lewis O'Brien. The project, with the driving force of Fred Kelly (DAA) and Georgina Williams, organised markers at the relevant sites along the coast starting from the existing marked site at Kingston Park through to Cape Jervis. The Jubilee 150 Committee also supplied funding for the project, in particular to cover the costs of the site-markers and the
publication resulting from the work of Georgina Williams and Suzi Hutchings. The Tjilbruki Track Committee has grown into the Kaurna Aboriginal Heritage Committee which advises the Aboriginal Heritage Branch of the Department and Planning on heritage matters concerning the Adelaide region.

In 1985, during the most active period of Tjilbruki Track Committee, Georgina Williams was instrumental in establishing the Ngurlongga Nunga Centre at Noarlunga. Georgina describes this centre as being a place that combines "Narrungga and Kaurna" culture and she has referred to herself as a "Narrung-Kaurna" descendent. She wanted the Nurlongga Centre to provide support to the local Nunga community and establish an organisation on the south coast with an interest in protecting and interpreting the 'Tjilbruki' sites. After research into the Dreaming story she argued that the word should be spelled "Tjirbuki", but this was opposed by most other members of the Tjilbruki Track Committee on the basis of the long-term use of other spellings and the confusion that such a change would have for the Education Department and the general community.

The recent promotion of the South Australian Museum's collection of genealogies and photographs collected by Tindale in the 1930s has also given Aboriginal people a source of information about their early family origins and promoted knowledge about links with the Adelaide area. This information has been incorporated into the publication of southern South Australian Aboriginal family histories by Doreen Kartinyeri, as part of the South Australian Museum's Aboriginal Family History Project. The best example of this is the 1990 publication of the Wilson family genealogy which includes an early 'Kaurna' ancestor according to Tindale. Through her publications Doreen Kartinyeri has made people aware of their connections with the few 'Kaurna' people who managed to survive the effects of the British invasion and raise large families. Tindale's recent article about the Tji:bruki Dreaming story has also reinforced the Wilson family's link to the 'Kaurna' people through the Tindale's identification of John Sustie Wilson as one of his 'Kaurna' informants. Other research carried out by Doreen Kartinyeri and Peggy Brock for a book on the history of Poonindie has identified further families with 'Kaurna' connections. For example the Solomon family - their mother had connections with the Rapid Bay area - were taken to Poonindie.
In 1989 the Aboriginal family history research being carried out by Doreen Kartinyeri was used in the launch of the Adelaide-based Aboriginal Cultural Institute called the Tandanya Centre. This centre is run by an Aboriginal Board of Trustees whose members come from across the state and it combines elements from art gallery, museum and performing arts areas. The Adelaide location of the centre has been emphasised by the management and they have promoted this Adelaide Aboriginal identity. The name Tandanya was selected from Tindale's Aboriginal place names index and refers to the site south of Adelaide associated with the Red Kangaroo Dreaming ancestor. The Tandanya clan of the 'Kaurna' people, according to Tindale, was named after the Red Kangaroo and the clan's main totem was the emu. These animals are incorporated in the footpath mural, produced for the area outside the entrance to the centre by Bluey Roberts, a Ngarrindjeri artist from the Coorong area in South Australia.

For Tandanya's opening ceremony Doreen Kartinyeri was asked to produce a list of 'Kaurna' descendants over the age of 60 to be invited as special guests. It was initially considered that this would only be a small number of people. Once the list began to take shape it became evident that there were quite a few more people than expected. The genealogies that illustrated each person's connection with the 'Kaurna' people were published in a special opening ceremony catalogue. Also included was a story about the significance of Tandanya and the possible connection that the area had with "King Rodney" and one of Tindale's main sources of information, King Rodney's daughter Ivaritji or Amelia Taylor. As a result of the research for the opening day programme, a number of Tandanya's Board members also discovered that they were 'Kaurna' descendants.

The Education Department now have an Aboriginal studies course for secondary schools called The Kaurna people: The Aboriginal People of the Adelaide Plains. A number of 'Kaurna' descendants have been involved in its development and their comments on a range of subjects are incorporated into the course book. Some of these people have only discovered this part of their background since the beginnings of the Museum's Aboriginal Family History Project. 'Kaurna' identity is also being encouraged at the new Aboriginal school - Kaurna Plains Aboriginal school - established in 1986. The school's principal, Alice Rigney, is herself a 'Kaurna' descendant. The students from this school sang several songs in the 'Kaurna' language, as recorded by Teichelmann and Schurmann in the early years of South Australia, for the launch of the Wilson family genealogy at the South Australian Museum in 1990.
Through the efforts of researchers such as Doreen Kartinyeri the extensive family connections that exist in the present-day southern South Australian Aboriginal 'community' are becoming better understood. Several thousand South Australian Aboriginal people can trace descent to ancestors from the Adelaide Plains area. However, they can also trace descent to other Aboriginal groups. For example one Aboriginal person I know can trace family links with the 'Kaurna', several Ngarrindjeri groups from the Lower Murray and Coorong area and the Upper Murray region of South Australia. With further research into the history and culture of the Aboriginal people of the Adelaide plains area new insights will be available to the several thousand descendants of these people to enable them to build on their knowledge of their heritage.

Acknowledgments

Firstly I would to acknowledge Dr N.B. Tindale's important research into the culture and history of the Aboriginal people of the Adelaide area. His work is always a starting point for research into Aboriginal culture. His detailed genealogies have been crucial for many Aboriginal people searching for information about their backgrounds.

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Endnotes

2. ibid., p. 213.
6. ibid.
8. M. Moorhouse, 'Letter to Colonial Secretary, 11 February, 1840', GRG 24/1, S.A. Public Record Office.
12. For example, Southern Australian, 15/6/1847.
16. A. W. Howitt, The native tribes of south-east Australia, (Melbourne 1904), facing p. 44.
17. ibid., facing p. 99.
19. ibid., p. 86.
21. Teichelman & Schurmann, op. cit., p.36.
23. C. G. Teichelmann, Aborigines of South Australia. Illustrative and explanatory note of the manners, customs, habits and superstitions of the Aborigines of South Australia, (Adelaide 1841), pp. 6-7.

27. ibid.


29. Moorhouse, op. cit.

30. Wyatt op. cit., p. 4.


32. E. J Eyre, 'Letter to Colonial Secretary, 5 February, 1842', *in* 'Papers relative to the affairs of South Australia- Aborigines', *British Parliamentary Papers*, pp. 307-309.


34. Tindale 1974, op. cit. See the main map showing initiation boundaries - significantly the Murray River and Adelaide regions had different initiation practises.


36. ibid., p. 500.


43. Cawthorne 1865, op. cit.


46. Gara op. cit., p.


49. Tindale 1987, op. cit., p. 5.


56. Tindale 1987, op. cit.

57. R. Edwards, op. cit.


63. Tindale's place name index is part of the S.A. Museum's Anthropology Archives.
64. S. Hemming & P.A. Clarke, Aboriginal people of South Australia, (Canberra 1989), p.11; Information from Tindale's place name index; Tindale 1987, op. cit., p. 6.