CSIRO PUBLISHING

Australian Journal of Botany, 2021, **69**, 185–214
https://doi.org/10.1071/BT21007

Leichhardt's ethnobotany for the eucalypts of south-east Queensland

Roderick J. Fensham [A,B]

[A]Queensland Herbarium, Mt Coot-tha Road, Toowong, Qld 4066, Australia.
[B]Department of Biological Sciences, University of Queensland, Saint Lucia, Qld 4072, Australia.
Email: rod.fensham@qld.gov.au

Abstract. The explorer Ludwig Leichhardt travelled with Aboriginal people in south-east Queensland during 1843–44. Leichhardt's record of Aboriginal taxonomy in Yagara, Wakka, Kabi, and other languages was related to the current taxonomy of the eucalypts of south-east Queensland. Most of the taxonomic entities could be associated across cultures and verifies the intimate understanding of Aboriginal peoples with tree species that are difficult to distinguish in the field. Leichhardt's record together with that of Gairabau, a Dungidau man from south-east Queensland verifies a broad array of uses for eucalypts including as gum for chewing, dying, and medicine; ash rubbed into the skin for soothing young mothers, where bees, honey and wax can be found, hollow logs for fish-traps, hard timber for weapons and utensils, bark for shelter, canoes, embalming, and containers – some species contained water, others were used to create smoke for sending signals, some species indicated an unsuitable camp-site, and others indicated the likelihood of finding koalas and possum as game. Flowering and the shedding of bark are signs for the bush calendar.

Keywords: Aboriginal language, Aboriginal languages, Ludwig Leichhardt, ethnobotany, eucalypts, First Nations Australians, indigenous, Indigenous names, taxonomy, south-east Queensland, Aboriginal people, Aboriginal peoples.

Received 20 January 2021, accepted 23 March 2021, published online 11 May 2021

Introduction

Leichhardt's contribution to Australian botany is well recognised (Fensham *et al*. 2006; Fensham 2013) but less well known are his collaborations with Aboriginal peoples in south-east Queensland. Before meeting his destiny as the notorious explorer and final disappearance in the Australian interior, he had thought that he 'would remain in this region for a year and request to live as much as possible with the Blacks' (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 331). Here I explore a mutual understanding of the eucalypts in south-east Queensland as presented in his diaries, letters, and specimens. They reveal a well-established Indigenous taxonomy of the eucalypts and provide further verification of the indubitable record left by Ludwig Leichhardt.

Leichhardt arrived in Brisbane on 15 June 1843. He had been in Australia since February 1842 and spent his first 7 months in Sydney where he had forays into the bush and became familiar with the trees of the Australian forest, including of course the dominant eucalypts (recognised now by the genera *Angophora*, *Corymbia*, and *Eucalyptus*). In fact, the first line of his diaries testifies to his interest in eucalypts and his developing love for this icon of the Australian bush, 'I will sit down in the shade of the tall *Eucalyptus* and press my cheeks against its white bark and listen to the whispering of its lance-shaped leaves, which the refreshing sea-wind ruffles, while the carefree cicada sings its shrill song among them' (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 1). While in Sydney he taught science to female pupils, and made acquaintance with the scientific community but did not have access to anyone who could educate him about eucalypts. His understanding was limited to his own observations and the most substantial published work on the subject, Robert Brown's (1810) *Prodromus florae Novae Hollandiae et insulae Van Diemen* published in Latin and limited to the coastal plants collected while on Flinders' circumnavigation of the continent. Around Sydney, Leichhardt appreciated the diversity of the eucalypts and that most were unknown (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 20). He also made the accurate observation that the larvae tracks on a scribbly gum (*Eucalyptus haemastoma*) get larger as they progress (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 38), even though he assumed the adult was a beetle rather than a moth (Horak *et al*. 2012). In Sydney he already understood the difference between *Angophora* (apple) and *Eucalyptus* (Darragh and Fensham 2013, pp. 54, 66, 85, 143, 235).

By September 1842, Leichhardt had become restless with Sydney, and he caught a steamer to Newcastle where he spent 3 months making local journeys before heading out on his own for an overland journey to the fledgling town of Brisbane on Moreton Bay. It was in the Hunter Valley inland from Newcastle that Leichhardt gained a more intimate acquaintance with the bark types (Darragh and Fensham

2013, p. 137) that are essential for distinguishing the species, and these insights were enhanced by a timber-cutter he met at Mount Royal, north-west of Newcastle (Darragh and Fensham 2013, pp. 143–144). As he travelled, his keen observations led to a detailed understanding of the field characters for identifying eucalypts, not only the bark characters but also the number of flowers in the inflorescence, leaf shape, the leaf venation, the angularity of the juvenile stems, the shape of the operculum, the time of flowering, and even the particular habitat associations (Darragh and Fensham 2013, pp. 158, 169, 175, 186, 188–189, 191, 203, 205, 213, 223, 239).

By the time he arrived in Moreton Bay in June 1843 he was well acquainted with the important characters of the eucalypts, but during his time with Aboriginal people he gained more detailed insights. His first port of call was a German mission, and although he was not at home with the religious doctrine of his countrymen or the dysfunction of the enterprise, it was there he met an important acquaintance. David Archer and his brothers had settled Durundur to the north of Brisbane (Fig. 1)

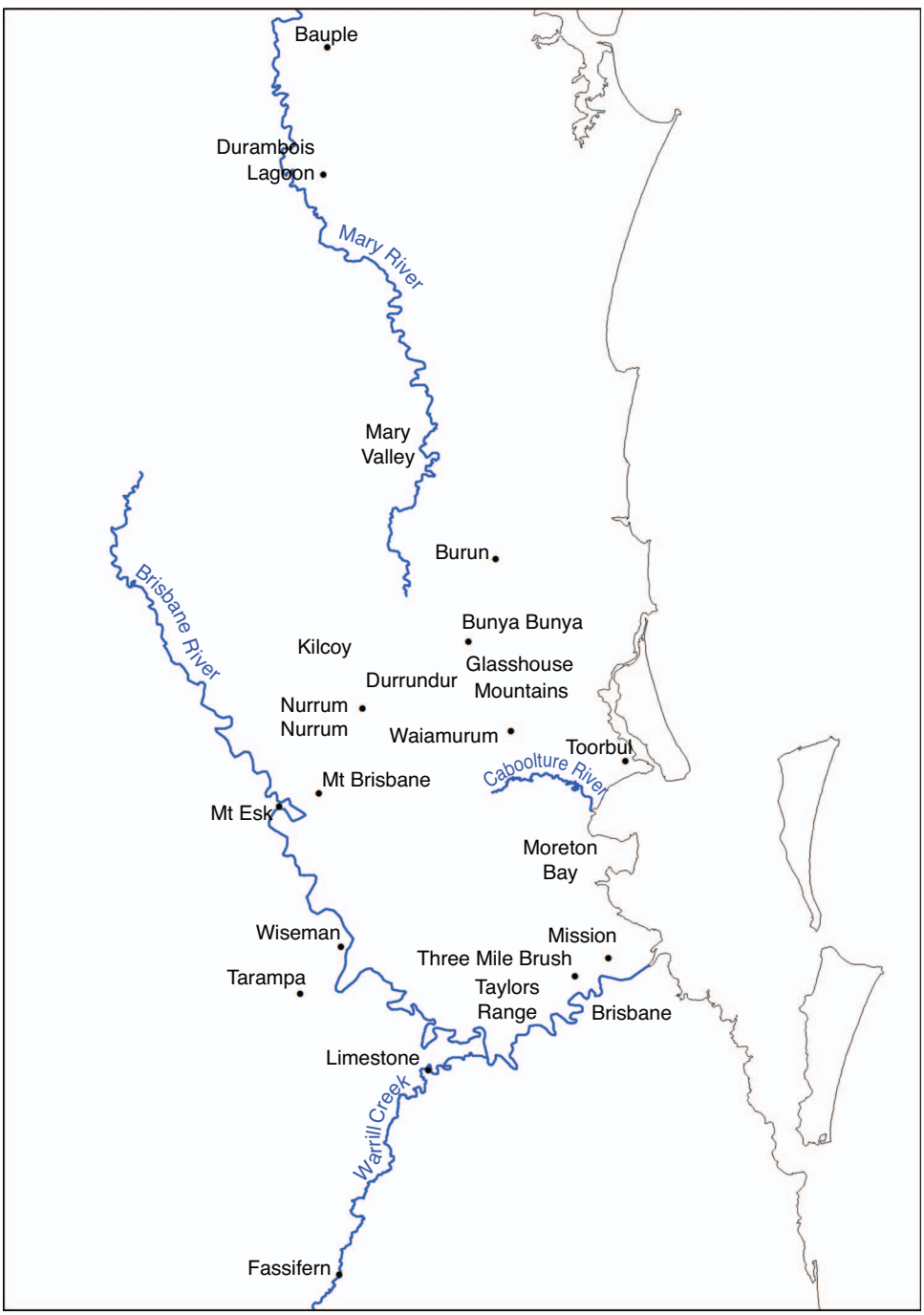

Fig. 1. Locality map including the general locations where Leichhardt collected or made reference to eucalypts. Locations best identified as a specific place are identified by points and without points for more general locations.

and used Aboriginal knowledge and labour to establish their sheep and cattle station.

Over the previous 18 years Moreton Bay's penal colony for British convicts had been under strict, and at times, brutal military command. From February 1842, Moreton Bay was considered open for free settlement. With this invasion, then retaliations and recriminations the region was an extremely dangerous place. Not only were whites killing blacks and *vice versa*, but the collision of cultures intensified tribal animosities (Connors 2015). The Archers, however, were exceptional as squatters and made Durundur a safe haven for Aboriginal peoples (Fig. 2*a*). So when Leichhardt accompanied David Archer to Durundur, he made the acquaintance of local people who would be his guides on numerous forays of exploration (Appendix 1). The guides were not only travel companions but also understood the traditional protocols required for crossing over the country of clan groups (Winterbotham and Mackenzie 1957), as well as educating Leichhardt about the flora.

Between arriving in Brisbane in June 1843 to his departure in March 1844, Leichhardt travelled extensively in south-east Queensland, almost always in the company of Aboriginal guides (Appendix 1). During this time, he assembled an extensive record of the local plants, recording their indigenous names and collecting specimens of both foliage and wood. Very few of the local eucalypts had been formally described with scientific names, and Leichhardt diligently recorded their Aboriginal names. In addition, he provided information on their uses, which can be complimented from other sources.

The objective of the present study is to associate the Indigenous names of the eucalypts with their current scientific names, and also to collate information as to how they were understood and used. This will contribute to the ethnobotany of Australia, including knowledge of the eucalypts, which is mostly documented from contemporary records of Aboriginal peoples sharing and recording their cultural knowledge (Wightman *et al*. 1994; Latz and Green 1995; Puruntatameri *et al*. 1998).

Methods

Leichhardt's records of Indigenous names of eucalypts were extracted from the specimen notes on his Australian collections (Australasian Virtual Herbarium, see http://avh.chah.org.au) after verifying, and in some cases correcting, their identity. This database (Table A1 of Appendix 2) was supplemented by the much larger record of Indigenous names and any accompanying information referred to in the diaries of his time in south-east Queensland (Darragh and Fensham 2013). A record was also extracted from his letters (Aurousseau 1968) and all records and related information were compiled.

In addition to the modern genera – *Angophora*, *Corymbia*, and *Eucalyptus* – the related and woody-fruited Myrtaceae genera *Lophostemon* and *Syncarpia* are also included here as 'eucalypts'. In order to solve the puzzle of assigning Aboriginal names to current species concepts, Leichhardt's Australian specimens are essential. However, these are incomplete or, in rare cases, have erroneous Indigenous names, so Leichhardt's descriptions, locations, and flowering times are also critical. The location of Leichhardt's records and destination of his travels (Fig. 1) are interpreted from the diaries and the location of the place names (Darragh and Fensham 2013).

Yagara (Yagarra-pul aka Yugarapul), Wakka, and Kabi are major language groups in south-east Queensland (Jefferies 2013). Both Yagara and Kabi were spoken east of the coastal ranges with Kabi spoken north of the Caboolture River (Watson 1944; Steele 1984) including among the Ningi Ningi at Toorbul (Fig. 1) and along the Mary River Valley. Yagara was spoken from the Pine Rivers to lower Logan River (Hinchcliffe 1890; Wiltshire 2019) and including the lower Brisbane River and all of its southern tributaries (Fig. 1). Wakka and its dialects were the language of people further inland including the northern branches of the upper Brisbane River. Leichhardt had a range of Aboriginal informants and two European informants who provided him with Aboriginal words mostly from these language groups.

Fig. 2. (*a*) Aboriginal people from Durundur photographed in a studio in Brisbane in 1867 (McConnel Family Papers, Fryer Library Collection UQFL89 Box 4 P/7). Leichhardt's informant Nikki is probably the man second from left; (*b*) Gaiarbaur (Willy McKenzie) photographed *c*. 1950 (Anthropology Museum, University of Queensland).

The association of the informants at particular times and places is generally clear (Appendix 1), and often Leichhardt is specific about the source of words. Charley was his main informant, and he spoke a dialect of Wakka, whereas Nikki, another important informant, spoke a dialect of Kabi. Paddy was a man, older than Charley and Nikki, who spoke the Duungidjawu Wakka dialect, as distinct from the dialect of Charley (Jefferies 2013). The escaped convict Baker who lived for many years with Aboriginals in the Lockyer Valley learnt Yagara, and the German missionary Reverend Christopher Eipper stationed at Nundah recorded Yagara words. The young Aboriginal informants Pinky and Jacky were speakers of Yagara.

Other word lists of the language groups, Wakka, Kabi, and Yagara were also compiled (Anonymous 1840; Eipper 1841; Lang 1861; Skyring 1870; Ridley 1875; Pettigrew 1877; Donavon 1878*a*, 1878*b*, 1878*c*; Petrie 1904; W. O. C. 1904; Mathew 1910; Welsby 1917; Bell 1934*a*, 1934*b*; Jackson 1937; Hardcastle 1947; Holme 1983; Bell 1994; Kite and Wurm 2004), and included words in contemporary use by John Long, a Yugarapul elder. These were useful for assigning and corroborating some of the names that Leichhardt recorded (Table A2). The uses of the eucalypts were compiled from the published literature and from the detailed account of Gaiarbau who was named Willie Mackenzie (Fig. 2*b*). Gaiarbau was fluent in the Wakka dialect Duungidjawu and having been born near Kilcoy in *c*. 1880 his country overlapped with some of the areas in south-east Queensland where Leichhardt travelled with his informants. The transcript of the interview with Gaiarbau conducted in 1957 is unpublished (Winterbotham and Mackenzie 1957) provides a detailed account of the traditional life of his people and is particularly informative for insights into the ethnobotany of eucalypts.

Results

Leichhardt collected a total of 40 specimens of 22 species of eucalypts from south-east Queensland housed in Australian herbaria (Table A1). His diaries and letters (Aurousseau 1968) include 324 references to the Indigenous names of eucalypts from south-east Queensland. A rich source of data is the table Leichhardt provides of the Aboriginal names in dialects of Wakka and Kabi (Charley, Nikki, Paddy) for 22 of the eucalypt species (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 329).

With this information (Table A1) the Indigenous names can be matched with the scientific names of the eucalypts (Table A3) with relatively little ambiguity, often in multiple languages (Table 1). For some species it is not possible to attribute the names in the diaries to their dialects, and some names may have been transcribed incorrectly by Leichhardt. For example, *Karger* and *gargar* (Table 1) are probably the same word. The locations where Leichhardt applied the names mostly coincide with places where the assigned taxa occur today. Some closely related species were not distinguished by names that Leichhardt recorded. For example the ironbarks *E. crebra*, *E. fibrosa*, and *E. siderophloia* distinguished largely on the basis of leaf width seem to have been recognised under a single name, although another ironbark, *Eucalyptus melanophloia*, with distinctive sessile, glaucous, subopposite leaves has a distinct name (Table 1). Subsequent authors seem to have distinguished *E. fibrosa* from *E. crebra* and *E. siderophloia* (Table A2). Some species were referred to by different names in different locations, but are currently recognised as the same taxon, for example the spotted gum with narrow leaves is currently recognised as *Corymbia citriodora* (Table 1). This taxon includes substantial variation and European taxonomy has previously recognised this variation with specific names including *C. citriodora*, *C. maculata*, and *C. variegate*. *C. citriodora* was recognised by Leichhardt's informants as *tambam and dambam* whereas *C. henryi*, a species closely related to *C. citriodora*, was recognised as *gurrar* and *urgorka* (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 65). In two instances *gurrar* and *dambam* are applied to the same entity (Darragh and Fensham 2013, pp. 269, 413, Table A1) reflecting that fact that integrades between *C. citriodora* and *C. henryi* are common in south-east Queensland.

The stringybarks are difficult to distinguish but Leichhardt recognised four different types (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 428). Leichhardt's attribution with the names of his informants is relatively unambiguous for assigning *dibilpallam* to the 'mahogany eucalypts' (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis*, and *E. psammitica*). *E. resinifera* is likely to be *gnauarr*, the stringybark 'with dark leaves' (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 325). The other two stringybarks are *boa*, which refers to *E. tindaliae*, and *mundelli*, which refers to *E. moluccana*, even though the latter is more correctly identified as a 'box-bark' type. Leichhardt provides distinct names for forms *Corymbia citriodora*, *C. tessellaris*, *Eucalyptus tindaliae*, 'mahogany eucalypts', *E. moluccana*, and *Lophostemon suaveolens* occurring on mountains ('mts', Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 428). This generally makes sense because all of these species and species complexes span lowlands to mountains with the exception of *E. moluccana* which tends to be restricted to low altitudes.

Leichhardt refers to the 'worm' or 'worm-barked' eucalypt, *tabilpillah* on five occasions (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 244, 245, 292, 294, 428). A likely candidate for this description would seem to be the scribbly gum (*E. racemosa*) because of the worm-like markings on the trunk. However *tabilpillah* is also referred to as the 'white blackbutt' (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 244) and has deciduous calyx teeth (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 276), characters not consistent with *E. racemosa*. The identity of *tabilpillah* as *Lophostemon confertus* is confirmed by Petrie (1904; Table 1) and the 'worm-bark' refers to the 'bark smooth in the younger and higher parts of the tree remarkable by a great number of fusiform bodies separated by thin laminae' referred to by Leichhardt (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 428) (Fig. 3). Leichhardt seems to have misidentified *Lophostemon confertus* or confused his labels for the specimen he attributed as *bolortee* (Table A1). Based on the record of Petrie (1904; Table A2) and the 'lamellose bark' described by Leichhardt

Table 1. Summary of Aboriginal names for eucalypt species from south-east Queensland according to Aboriginal informants with the language group of the informants assigned according to Jefferies (2013)

Attribution of scientific names is provided in Appendix 4

Species	Charly (Wakka)	Paddy (Wakka)	Nikki (Kabi)	Baker, Eipper, Pinky, Jacky (Yagara)	Gumerigo (Wakka) or uncertain	Locations (Fig. 1)
Angophora leiocarpa	mangagaborri, mingagabarre, mingagaborri	bugginagauri				Mission, Toorbul, Brisbane
Angophora subvelutina	bulburri	nuckurr	buppo	ngukkur	nickkurr, nukkur	Mary Valley, Glasshouse Mountains, Toorbul, Nurrum Nurrum, West of Kilcoy, Mount Brisbane, Brisbane, Limestone, Brisbane
Angophora woodsiana				dandorro		Moreton Bay
Corymbia citriodora	manarm	manarm	manarm	gurrar	benjoe	Brisbane-Durundur, near Glasshouse Mountains, Toorbul, Nurrum Nurrum, Wiseman-Tarampa, Mount Esk, Durundur, Brisbane, Durambois Lagoon, west from Bauple
Corymbia gummifera or *Corymbia intermedia*	bunnair	bunner	bunnah		bun	Durundur, Moreton Bay, Mission, Durambois Lagoon, Mary Valley, Brisbane, Waiamurrum, between Brisbane and Glasshouse Mountains, Glasshouse Mountains, Toorbul, Kilcoy, Durundur-Brisbane, Brisbane
Corymbia henryi	damban, tamban, dambamm, dambam	dambam	dambam	urgorka, uurka uurka, dambam		Moreton Bay, Taylors Range, Limestone, Brisbane
Corymbia tessellaris	gurran, wanga	gudden	kurrandarr, kidambar	gnarran		Mission, Durambois Lagoon, west from Bauple, Toorbul, Wiseman-Tarampa, Brisbane-Limestone, Brisbane
Corymbia trachyphloia	gala	gaga	gallai			Taylors Range, Glasshouse Mountains, Toorbul, Brisbane
Mahogany eucalypts (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis* or *E. psammitica*)	dibilpalam	jimbiom	dibilpalam	turra turra		Taylors Range, Mission, Durambois Lagoon, Durundur, Glasshouse Mountains, Waiamurrum, Toorbul, Durundur-Brisbane, Brisbane, Mary Valley
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	durro	tandurr	malling	kanei perah, jandurro		Moreton Bay, Taylors Range, Mission, Durambois Lagoon, Waiamurrum, Glasshouse Mountains, Toorbul, Brisbane, Limestone
Eucalyptus grandis	buddul	gnamborro	dullarr	hanbru-call		Moreton Bay, Three-Mile Brush, Durundur
Eucalyptus major or *E. propinqua*	dambirri	tambir	dambir	dambirr		Moreton Bay, Taylors Range, Durambois Lagoon, Toorbul, Durundur, Limestone, Brisbane
Eucalyptus melanophloia	bullah, bull-la	kakkarr	kannaibalam, tunninbin			Kilcoy, Mary Valley, Wiseman, Brisbane
Eucalyptus microcorys	dil	jimbiom	dil			Durundur, Bunya Bunya, Glasshouse Mountains, Brisbane
Eucalyptus moluccana	mundelli, mingall	boargan	mingall	mundeli, mundelli, bea gnarran		Moreton Bay, Taylors Range

(*continued next page*)

Table 1. (*continued*)

Species	Charly (Wakka)	Paddy (Wakka)	Nikki (Kabi)	Baker, Eipper, Pinky, Jacky (Yagara)	Gumerigo (Wakka) or uncertain	Locations (Fig. 1)
Eucalyptus pilularis	binaroan		doai		bundinbil, binargan	Durambois Lagoon, Durundur, Toorbul, Glasshouse Mountains, Burun
Eucalyptus racemosa	manderoljam	manderra	killambarr	gerur, gorr gorr, gargar karger, kangar, gargar		coastal Moreton Bay, Taylors Range, Mission, Glasshouse Mountains, Toorbul, Mount Esk, Durundur, Burun, Brisbane
Eucalyptus resinifera	gnauarr	gnar	dalla-la			Bunya Bunya, Toorbul, Glasshouse Mountains, Brisbane
Eucalyptus robusta	dadangba	dadangaba	dannangen			Glasshouse Mountains, Toorbul
Eucalyptus seeana	binnamdall	binnamda	binnamda			Toorbul, Glasshouse Mountains, Brisbane
Eucalyptus tereticornis	mangorri	manburrir	yarra-ra	mongra, manborri, mongorr		Moreton Bay, Mission, Durambois Lagoon, west from Bauple, Mary Valley, Glasshouse Mountains, Toorbul, Nurrum Nurrum, west from Kilcoy, Wiseman-Tarampa, Burun, Fassifern, Brisbane
Eucalyptus tindaliae	boa	boa	biggin		mundile	Durambois Lagoon, Mary Valley, Brisbane, Waiamurrum, Mission, Durundur, Toorbul
Lophostemon confertus	tabilpillah, tangpalam	tangimbam	uirrauah			coastal Moreton Bay, Durambois Lagoon, Fassifern, Waiamurrum, Toorbul, Glasshouse Mountains, Nurrum Nurrum, Bunya Bunya
Lophostemon suaveolens	gnarrabill, ngarabill	guannarr	burrabi, kurrabi	bolorta, bulluritju, bullorta	mgarrai	Brisbane, Mission, Brisbane-Durundur, Mary Valley, Glasshouse Mountains, Nurrum Nurrum, Bunya Bunya, Toorbul, West of Kilcoy, Wiseman, Moreton Bay, Limestone
Syncarpia glomulifera	burrawam, burrawom	biuam	burrumbam			Bunya Bunya, Durundur, Glasshouse Mountains, Toorbul

Fig. 3. The 'fusiform bodies separated by thin laminae' on the smooth bark of *Lophostemon confertus*, which Leichhardt also referred to as 'worm-barked'.

himself (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 302) *bolorta* can only be *L. suaveolens.*

Manderoljam with its roundish fruits (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 258) is almost certainly the scribbly gum (*Eucalyptus racemosa*), although Leichhardt does not refer to the 'scribbles' formed by caterpillar tracks in south-east Queensland as he did around Sydney (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 38). He also confused this species with *E. tereticornis* in the vicinity of Mount Esk (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 346) where *E. racemosa* does not occur. *Dandorro*, by a process of elimination from the other *Angophora* species and its occurrence at Moreton Bay, is probably *Anogphora woodsiana* (Table A2).

Most of the uses for the eucalypts recorded by Leichhardt (Table 2) were gleaned from his Aboriginal guides, although in relation to the quality of the timber, he may have received information from Europeans. He makes the overarching observation that an important rationale for distinguishing the identity of the eucalypts was to determine those providing habitat for game, in particular koalas and possums (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 331). The hollow trunks of eucalypts were a critical habitat for bees that provided honey and wax. A range of species with fibrous or stringy bark were used for covering huts (Fig. 4*a*), whereas others were used for making weapons (Fig. 4*b*). The swollen trunks of *Angophora* and ironbarks contained water. He seems to have been aware of the medicinal qualities of eucalypt gums and provides a recipe for a potion (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 361) but no indication how it might be used. At one point, however, he attempts to treat the swollen testicle of little David (probably the son of a worker at Durundur) by blowing a concoction made from *Angophora subvelutina* through a quill into the lad's scrotum. Little David seems to have recovered but whether the treatment was effective is uncertain.

Gaiarbau provides another rich source of information on the ethnobotany of eucalypts (Winterbotham and Mackenzie 1957) confirming some of the uses recorded by Leichhardt but also confirming their use as utensils (Fig. 4*c*), dyes, medicine, chewing gum, a fish trap, for embalming, for post-natal care, as signs of a good camp, for sending smoke signals, and their role in the bush calendar (Table 2).

Discussion

The legacy of ethnobotany presented by Ludwig Leichhardt from his time in south-east Queensland during 1843 and 1844 is remarkable. There he was travelling across cultural boundaries at a dangerous time with multiple Aboriginal guides with whom he shared no common language, attempting to use their taxonomy to identify eucalypts that were mostly unknown to western science. Even with a modern taxonomy the eucalypts of south-east Queensland are difficult to identify. In the area traversed by Leichhardt there are currently 34 species recognised in the genera *Angophora*, *Corymbia*, *Eucalyptus*, *Lophostemon*, and *Syncarpia* (Appendix 3). The taxonomy of many of these species is unresolved and the 'mahogany eucalypts' (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis*, and *E. psammitica*), the grey gums (*E. major* and *E. propinqua*), two of the bloodwoods (*C. gummifera* and *C. intermedia*), the spotted gums (*Corymbia citriodora*, *C. henryi*) and three of the ironbarks (*E. crebra*, *E. fibrosa*, and *E. siderophloia*) may intergrade and are difficult to identify in the field. Even completely unrelated species such as *E. tereticornis* and *E. racemosa*; or *A. woodsiana* and *C. gummifera*; or *A. leiocarpa* and *C. citriodora*; or the mahogany eucalypts *E. tindaliae* and *E. resinifera*, are difficult to distinguish in the field without close examination of their fruits and other characters. Given these problems he was sufficiently acute in his observations, and his written record is sufficiently detailed, to attribute the Indigenous names with their contemporary scientific names. Leichhardt recorded this information in the multiple languages spoken by his guides, and many of these words have not been captured by others (Table 1; Appendix 3). It is not surprising that the local people knew their trees and the record is testament to the accuracy of the Indigenous taxonomy. The Aboriginal nomenclature recognises the distinction between almost all the unrelated species that do not intergrade with their close relatives. The distinction between the languages of the informants is not always clear and sometimes the same word is used in different languages (e.g. *manarm*, *Corymbia citriodora*) and there were multiple

Table 2. Uses of eucalypts recorded by Leichhardt, Gaiarbau and others from south-east Queensland
Text in brackets are the insertion of the author

Species	Use	Reference
Eucalyptus acmenoides, *E. carnea* or *E. helidonica*	For making little canoes	Aurousseau (1968, p. 676)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	[Swellings] provide water, more drinkable than *Angophora*	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 203)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Tough wood	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 257)
Angophora	Growths contain water	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 257)
Eucalyptus racemosa	Timber not particularly good	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 258)
Eucalyptus citriodora	Soft useless timber	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 258)
Angophora woodsiana	Swollen growths contain water which can be accessed after opening a fissure evident on the outside of the swelling Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 201)	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 286)
Eucalyptus pilularis	Bark for covering huts	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 290)
Eucalyptus tindaliae	Bark for covering huts	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 290)
Syncarpia glomulifera	Bark for covering huts	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 290)
Eucalyptus moluccana	Bark for covering huts	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 290)
	Nikki looked for excrement of bees at the base of trees as evidence of honey	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 294)
C. gummifera or *C. intermedia*	Bees' nest, bought down by Nikki. The entrance is covered with wax and probably with the strange sticky mass of the bees. The honey watery, tasting like the liquid in the flowers of *Doryanthes excelsa*. Bees blackish small and stingless	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 315)
Eucalyptus seeana	Bees' nest found in binnamdall, containing little or no honey, but a mealy substance which tasted like gingerbread. When soft the substance is quite sour. Bee larvae in the lower part of the hive. More detail on bees and honey Darragh and Fensham (2013, pp. 340–341, 408)	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 326)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Wood for making nullah nullahs (gnirimm)	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 328, 393)
Eucalyptus tereticornis	Bark for covering hut (in this case European)	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 342)
Common turpentine (*Lophostemon confertus*?)	Medicine, recipe provided incorporating gum to reduce swelling	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 361)
Angophora subvelutina	Medicine, Leichhardt forced a much diluted water of *Angophora cordifolia* [*Angophora subvelutina*] by mouth into the scrotum of a young boy which he had pierced with a quill in order to treat a swollen testicle; further south in the Liverpool Range (NSW) he found the trunk stored water of Angophora to be an appetite suppressant (Darragh and Fensham 2013, p. 201)	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 368)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Wood for making spears	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 393)
Lophostemon confertus	Spears made from young saplings	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 428)
Lophostemon confertus	Wood short-grained, not very useful	Darragh and Fensham (2013, p. 428)
Lophostemon suaveolens	[Bark] preferred for making canoes	Petrie (1904, p. 89)
Mahogany eucalypts (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis* or *E. psammitica*)	[Bark] used for canoes	Petrie (1904, p. 89)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa*, *E. siderophloia*	Wood used to make spears called pi-lar	Petrie (1904, p. 93)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Wood used to make waddies	Petrie (1904, p. 93)
Corymbia citriodora or *C. henryi*	Gum used to treat tooth-ache	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 47)
Angophora	A camp was never made where apple trees grew because (1) they always lean over and interfere with the pitching of humpies and the general arrangement of the camp; and (2) the wood of these trees makes a lot of smoke when it is burnt, and this might blow across the camp where the woman had to retire during their monthly periods and this would never do (no extra reason was provided)	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 56)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Burns without smoke	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 56)
Corymbia citriodora or *C. henryi*	Burns without smoke	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 56)

(*continued next page*)

Table 2. (*continued*)

Species	Use	Reference
Corymbia tessellaris	Burns without smoke	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 56)
Eucalyptus pilularis	Bark used for huts after cutting into six or eight feet length, cut horizontally with a single vertical cut and prized off with a stick starting from the top. This could only be done in the correct season when the sap was up. Less desirable than paperbark (Roth 1910)	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 57)
Stringybark	Bark used for huts after cutting into six or eight feet length, cut horizontally with a single vertical cut and prized off with a stick starting from the top. This could only be done in the correct season when the sap was up. Less desirable than paperbark (Roth 1910)	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 57)
Eucalyptus microcorys	Bark used for huts after cutting into six or eight feet length, cut horizontally with a single vertical cut and prized off with a stick starting from the top. This could only be done in the correct season when the sap was up. Less desirable than paperbark (Roth 1910)	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 57)
Yellow jacket [*Eucalyptus tereticornis*?]	Gum when soaked in water with its own bark makes a very lasting yellow stain	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 59)
Corymbia gummifera or *C. intermedia*	Gum used as a red dye for staining possum rugs	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 59)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Powdered bark after being burnt makes a very permanent black paint; used for colouring newly born babies; and also for colouring mothers after returning to their camp after childbirth	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 59)
Gum tree	Burls on gum trees used to make drinking vessels; children could drink from the mother's cup but not from the fathers or the father's brother	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 62)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Ash used for cleansing mother after childbirth who stays in a special camp for a week; and also applied to young baby once every two days for a week after childbirth. Brothers could not drink from their sister's cup	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 62)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Poultice of powdered ironbark [ashes?] applied to a woman's breasts to purify milk	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 63)
Angophora	Possums fat when apple is in flower	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 68)
Sugar gum	When these trees shed their bark the *barnji* [*bunya*] nuts are ripe	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 68)
White gum	When these trees shed their bark the *barnji* [*bunya*] nuts are ripe	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 68)
	Provides clues for finding hives. If a bee is flying low its nest is far away, if flying high its nest is close. Bees approaching their hive come against the wind to gain protection from the tree. The grain of the tree is followed when cutting into a bees nest with a stone axe (ngararng) after tapping to find the thinnest part of the trunk. A hole big enough for two fingers and a thumb is made by chopping into the bottom of the hive Gympie bark (*Dendrocnide* spp.) was used as a sponge. This was placed on the floor of the hive to catch drops and then a piece of this bark was tied on the end of a stick which was poked into the hive and deposited in a bucket made of stringybark or blackbutt. The honey was shared with gympie bark sticks	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 69)
Stringybark	Buckets made from bark, sewn together and sealed with beeswax to hold honey	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 69)
Eucalyptus pilularis	Buckets made from bark, sewn together and sealed with beeswax to hold honey	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 69)

(*continued next page*)

Table 2. (*continued*)

Species	Use	Reference
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Could also be used to make honey buckets but was less preferred because the gum tainted the honey	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 69)
Stringybark	Sap sweet for chewing	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 70)
Gum tree	Sap sweet for chewing	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 70)
Eucalyptus tereticornis	The sap under the bark provided a sweet fluid	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 71)
Eucalyptus melanophloia	An 8 or 9 foot long, 2-foot diameter hollow log (silver-leaved ironbark preferred because its centre decays quickly) could be used as a fish trap to catch jewfish, eels, and turtles. The log was packed inside with wet moss obtained from the rocks in the gullies. One end of the log was plugged with bark. Fish fed on the moss and were attracted by the smell. A lawyer vine was attached to the centre of the log in order to lower it into still water. A man would dive down to place the log properly. Before extracting to harvest the bounty, the other end of the log was plugged with bark	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 78–79)
Stringybark	Used for wrapping a corpse	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 88)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	powdered [burnt?] bark of ironbark trees rubbed on windows for cleansing after funeral ceremony	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 83)
Angophora	Burns smoky, good for sending signals	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 125)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Wood for spears	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 136)
Corymbia citriodora	Wood for clubs	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 137)
Eucalyptus crebra, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*	Treatment of wounds with hot fire from ironbark	Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, pp. 139–140)
Eucalyptus moluccana	Sweet scent when leaves are smoked, for smoking (purifying from previous influence) a place	John Long, pers. comm.
Angophora subvelutina	Tapping swelling can yield water, which is mixed with sap and not pleasant but will alleviate thirst	Donavon (1878*a*)
Corymbia citriodora	Gum of the spotted gum called ngowoon, use not specified	Anonymous (*c*. 1845)

words for the same species in different dialects of the same language group (Table 1). There is a Leichhardt specimen of *Eucalyptus populnea* attributed as *mingall* collected from the west of the Great Dividing Range (Table A1). This species does not occur in south-east Queensland, yet the name *mingall* was used in south-east Queensland for another species. The only likely candidate in these regions is *Eucalyptus moluccana*, another fibrous-barked eucalypt related to *E. populnea*. In the coastal catchments, *Eucalyptus moluccana* was also known by four other names, including multiple names in the same language group (Table 1). Why there were so many names for one species and how they were applied is uncertain. Some of the ambiguities uncovered in this study may relate to confusion between Leichhardt and his informants in matching names to individual species. Despite these relatively minor issues it is astonishing that Leichhardt left enough clues from botanical descriptions in his diaries, cross-referencing between names and from his locations to allow a fairly precise matching of Indigenous names with the concepts of species today (Table 1).

The Aboriginal peoples of south-east Queensland had a detailed knowledge system of the dominant trees of their world, and put them to a wide range of uses. Our understanding of their cultural importance is greatly enhanced by the record of Gaiarbau who with Leichhardt and his informants record an array of uses for the eucalypts including gum for chewing, dying and medicine, ash for treating young mothers, hollow logs for fish-traps, hard timber for weapons and utensils, bark for shelter, canoes, embalming, and containers. Some species contained water, others were used to create smoke for sending signals, others indicated an unsuitable camp site, and the likelihood of finding koalas and possum as game. Flowering and the shedding of bark are signs for the bush calendar that told people when certain weather could be expected, animals where fat, and seeds were ripe. The observations on the timbers (Table 2) probably came from discussion with the Archer brothers whose father was a timber merchant in Norway (McDonald 2000)

Leichhardt learnt that the eucalypts provided a signature for his locations, the soils, and landscape settings of the Australian bush. The existing custodians also understood these associations and generously shared their intimate knowledge of the taxonomy and ecology of the eucalypts. The written legacy of Leichhardt provides the backbone of this knowledge for one small region of the Australian continent inhabited by people ‘who observe nature itself or who receive their astonishingly exact knowledge from their parents’ (Darragh

Fig. 4. (*a*) Aboriginal camp including Goongarnjin (Topsy) with Menvil Wanmuarn (King Jackie Delaney) and Queen Kitty of the Pine Rivers group camped near Alderley Railway Station with stringybark hut (Image 9376, John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland); (*b*) ironbark nulla nullas from south-east Queensland (Museum of Anthropology, University of Queensland); (*c*) burl cup made from grey gum (*Eucalyptus major* or *E. propinqua* belonging to Gaiarbau (Museum of Anthropology, University of Queensland).

and Fensham 2013, p. 331). A project to share this knowledge across the entire continent is overdue.

Conflict of interest

The author declares that he has no conflicts of interest.

Declaration of funding

This study was supported by funding from the Australian Government's National Environmental Science Programme through the Threatened Species Recovery Hub.

Acknowledgements

This investigation was prompted by Tony O'Malley, Michael Aird, Libby Connors and Michael Strong who provided useful advice. Michael Aird generously assisted with photo images. Ilfeanna Tooth and Aaron McArdle provided access to scans of the Leichhardt collections. Tony Bean and Peter Wilson assisted with identifying specimens. Tony Bean, Dorothee Sampayo, Jen Silcock and Peter Fensham provided comment on a manuscript draft. Boris Laffineur prepared the map. Ray Kerkhove, historian of Aboriginal landscapes in south-east Queensland, and Sylvia Haworth, specialist of Aboriginal languages in south-east Queensland, provided expert advice regarding word lists and references and an unpublished compilation by Dr Margaret Sharpe were helpful in developing Table A2. Katharine Wiltshire made a substantial contribution by directing me to sources and people with knowledge of Aboriginal culture in south-eastern Queensland. John Long is a cultural elder of the Yugarapul people and provided me with a contemporary connection to eucalypts on his country and taught me how to find *jooberah* (the moth larvae of *Endoxyla leucomochla*) from eucalypt trunks. Permission was sought from and agreed to by the descendants of Topsy Brown (Goongarnjin) regarding the cultural clearance for image 9376 from the John Oxley Library, State Library of Queensland (SLQ) to be included with the appropriate acknowledgement to their ancestors.

References

Anonymous (1840) Australian Aboriginal vocabulary. Manuscript B 896 on file at Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales.

Aurousseau M (1968) 'The letters of F.W. Ludwig Leichhardt. Volume 2.' (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK)

Bell E (1934*a*) Aboriginal language. Dialects of vanished tribes. *The Queenslander* 25 January 1934, p. 13.

Bell E (1934*b*) Aboriginal language. Dialects of vanished tribes. *The Queenslander*, 1 February 1934, p. 13.

Bell J (1994) Dictionary of the Gubbi-gubbi and Butchulla languages. Manuscript on file at National Library of Australia.

Brown R (1810) 'Prodromus Florae Novae Hollandiae et Insulae Van Diemen.' (Richard Taylor & Son: London, UK)

Connors L (2015) 'Warrior.' (Allen & Unwin: Sydney, NSW, Australia)

Darragh T, Fensham R (2013) The Leichhardt diaries. Early travels in Australia during 1842–1844. *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum – Culture* **7**, 1–540.

Donavon D (1878*a*) Our native timbers. The apple tree. *The Queenslander*, 25 February 1878, p. 53.

Donavon D (1878*b*) Our native timbers. The ironbarks. *Brisbane Courier*, 16 January 1878, p. 6.

Donavon D (1878*c*) Our native timbers. Bloodwood. *Brisbane Courier*, 27 March 1878, p. 6.

Eipper C (1841) 'Statement of the Origin, Condition and Prospects of the German Mission to the Aborigines at Moreton Bay.' (James Reading: Sydney, NSW, Australia)

Fensham RJ (2013) For the sake of science: Ludwig Leichhardt as botanist and ecologist. *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum – Culture* **7**, 599–620.

Fensham RJ, Bean AR, Dunlop CR, Dowe JL (2006) This disastrous event staggered me: Reconstructing the botany of Ludwig Leichhardt on the expedition from Moreton Bay to Port Essington, 1844–45. *Cunninghamia* **9**, 451–506.

Hardcastle TW (1947) A vocabulary of the the Yuggarabul langauge. *Queensland Geographical Journal* **51**, 21–28.

Hinchcliffe F (1890) The Aboriginal Language. *The Queenslander*, 27 December 1890, p. 1218.

Holme N (1983) Linguistic survey of south-east Queensland, Series D, number 54, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, Canberra, ACT, Australia.

Horak M, Day MF, Barlow C, Edwards ED, Su YN, Cameron SL (2012) Systematics and biology of the iconic Australian scribbly gum moths Ogmograptis Meyrick (Lepidoptera:Bucculatricidae) and their unique insect-plant interaction. *Invertebrate Systematics* **26**, 357–398. doi:10.1071/IS12022

Jackson KG (1937) Turubul tribe. Manuscript on file at Queensland Museum, Brisbane, Qld, Australia.

Jefferies A (2013) Leichhardt: his contribution to Australian Aboriginal linguistics and ethnography. *Memoirs of the Queensland Museum* **7**, 633–652.

Kite S, Wurm S (2004) 'The Duunidjawu language of southeast Queensland: grammar, texts and vocabulary.' (Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies: Canberra, ACT, Australia)

Lang JD (1861) 'Queensland, Australia. Appendix II Specimens of the language spoken by the Aborigines of Moreton Bay.' (Stanford: London, UK)

Latz P, Green J (1995) 'Bushfires and Bushtucker: Aboriginal Plant use in Central Australia.' (I.A.D. Press: Alice Springs, NT, Australia)

Mathew J (1910) 'Two Representative Tribes of Queensland.' (T. Fisher Unwin: London, UK)

McDonald L (2000) 'Over earth and ocean.' (University of Queensland Press: Brisbane, Qld, Australia)

Petrie C (1904) 'Tom Petrie's Reminiscences of Early Queensland Dating from 1837.' (Watson Ferguson: Brisbane, Qld, Australia)

Pettigrew E (1877) On the habitat and peculiarities of some of our timbers. *Brisbane Courier*, 3 November 1877, p. 3.

Puruntatameri J, Puruntatameri R, Puruntatameri R, Pangiraminni A, Burak L, Tipuamantymirri C, Tipakalippa M, Puruntatameri J, Puruntatameri P, Pupangamirri JB, Kerinaiua R, Tipiloura D, Orsto M-M, Kantilla B, Kurrupuwu M, Puruntatameri PF, Daniel Puruntatameri T, Puruntatameri L, Kantilla K, Wilson J, Cusack J, Jackson D, Wightman G (1998) Tiwi plants and animals. Aboriginal flora and fauna knowledge from Bathurst and Melville Islands, northern Australia. Northern Territory Botanical Bulletin; number 24, Parks and Wildlife Commission of the Northern Territory, Darwin, NT, Australia.

Ridley W (1875) 'Kamilaroi, and Other Australian Languages', 2nd edn. (Government Printer: Sydney, NSW, Australia)

Roth WE (1910) North Queensland Ethnography. Bulletin number 16. Huts and shelters. *Records of the Australian Museum* **8**, 55–66. doi:10.3853/j.0067-1975.8.1910.934

Skyring Z (1870) Aboriginal dialect of the Gympie district. Manuscript on file at Gympie Public Library.

Steele J (1984) 'Aboriginal Pathways in Southeast Queensland and the Richmond River. University of Queensland Press.' (University of Queensland Press: Brisbane, Qld, Australia)

W. O. C. (1904) Beandesert [*sic*] district. *Science of Man*, 27 June 1904, 72–76.

Watson FJ (1944) Vocabularies of four representative tribes of south eastern Queensland. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia* **34**, 47

Welsby T (1917) Recollections of the natives of Moreton Bay: together with some of their names and customs of living. *Journal of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland* **1**, 110–129.

Wightman G, Kalabidi GJ, Dodd TNN, Frith RND, Jiwijiwij MN, Oscar JNN, Wave Hill RJW, Holt S, Limbunya JJ, Wadrill VN (1994) Gurindji ethonobotany. Aboriginal plant use from Daguragu northern Australia. Northern Territory Botany Bulletin number 18. Conservation Commission of the Northern Territory, Darwin, NT, Australia.

Wiltshire KJ (2019) The Yerongpan of the Chepara people: language of the Yuggara. In 'Echoes stories Stephens. A History of the Annerley Surrounding Suburbs'. pp. 15–34. (Annerley Stephens History Group Inc. Supported by the Royal Historical Society of Queensland: Brisbane, Qld, Australia)

Winterbotham LP, Mackenzie W (1957) Gaiarbau's story of the Jinibara tribe of South East Queensland and its neighbours. Fryer Library manuscript on file at University of Queensland, Australia.

Handling editor: Garry Cook

Appendix 1. Leichhardt's locations (Fig. 1) and informants for Aboriginal language in south-east Queensland 27 June 1843–22 March 1844) from Darragh and Fensham (2013)

The Mission, 27 June–2 July 1843 (p. 241)

The first mention of Aboriginal names for plants in south-east Queensland comes from the German missionary Eipper (p. 244) who is probably relaying names in the local language Yagara. Reverend Christopher Eipper was one of the German missionaries who had some familiarity with the local language as indicated by his word list from the German Mission (Eipper 1841).

Brisbane–The Mission-Brisbane–The Mission, 3–17 July 1843 (p. 243)

Leichhardt went to Three-Mile Brush (now Newmarket) with 'two blacks' (p. 246). One of these might have been 'the black boy' (Pinky). Perhaps Eipper was there as well. Leichhardt's 'black boy' first appears on p. 248, when he is botanising at Breakfast Creek. His name is Pinky (p. 255) although he is referred to by Jefferies (2013) as the 'anonymous informant' and he spoke Yagara (Jefferies 2013). Probably using the mission as base, Leichhardt then went back to Brisbane where he met Baker *c*. 9 July (pp. 249–250). Baker was an escaped convict who lived with Aboriginal people for 14 years to the west of Brisbane where he learned Yagara (Jefferies 2013). Among the information he relates from Baker, he also mentions information sourced from 'the boy' (Pinky?) and Charley (also Charly) and Nikki (also Nikke) (p. 251). This is the first appearance of Charly and Nikki both of whom were young men (kippers) who had probably come to the Mission with David Archer from Durundur. Perhaps they were with Leichhardt, when he was with Baker, or perhaps he had already met them at the Mission and Leichhardt was integrating information he had received earlier. Charley spoke a dialect of Wakka and Nikki a dialect of Kabi (Jefferies 2013). Leichhardt went up Taylors Range during this second visit to Brisbane, and Baker and Pinky and possibly Charley went with him (p. 251). The most likely source of the eucalypt names from Taylors Range (pp. 251–252) seems to be Pinky.

Leichhardt then returns to the Mission 19 July (p. 257) and makes another list of names (pp. 257–263) including plant names. These names seem to be primarily from Charley as they match his on p. 329, and there are extra names from Jimmy (spoke a Kabi dialect; Jefferies 2013) and Nikki.

Brisbane–Durundur c. *18–24 July 1843 (p. 257)*

Leichhardt heads off to Durundur and it seems that Charly and Nikki are with him. A list of names is recorded on the journey (pp. 258–262). Paddy was probably at Durundur or may even have travelled with Leichhardt from the Mission. His name is attributed on the list from the journey (p. 259).

Mary River expedition, 25 July–14 August 1843 (p. 265)

On this journey Charley is referred to as 'my black boy' (p. 271). Earlier the 'black boy' (Pinky) is providing information on eucalypts (p. 266) and the names are being compared to those from Taylors Range. Assuming that the names from Taylors Range were from a Brisbane local (Pinky?), then we should assume that Pinky did not go to Durundur. There is no further reference to Pinky by name so this seems correct. Charley is the only certain companion on this trip.

Durundur and Glasshouse Mountains, 14–31 August 1843 (p. 281)

Nikki, Jimmy, Ubi Ubi and Charley are the guides on the local journeys during this time including the Glasshouse Mountain. Ubi Ubi was an elder of the Nyalbu who were Kabi speakers (Jefferies 2013).

Biroa (Glasshouse Mountains), 1–6 September 1843 (p. 293)

Leichhardt specifically identifies Nikki as his companion on this journey (p. 293), but given the attribution of names to Charley, he was probably present.

Tschentschillum–Nurrum Nurrum-Durundur, 7–17 September 1843 (p. 299)

'The black boy' on the short expedition was probably Charley, but other informants at Durundur are providing names for the list on pp. 306–310.

Bunya Bunya Range, 18–22 September 1843 (p. 310)

Gummerigo (Karredo, a Wakka dialect, Jefferies 2013), Nikki and Abel (also known as Burbillo) (p. 310), and Simon (p. 314) were probably also present. Charley also seems to have been present and he is attributed as an informant for this journey (pp. 313–314).

Toorbul, 23 September–8 October 1843 (p. 321)

On this journey Leichhardt is with the 'black boy' [Charley] and Nikki and it is at the end of this trip that Leichhardt compiles the tree list in three languages (Charley, Nikki, Paddy) (p. 329). Paddy may not have been present on any of Leichhardt's small journeys from Durundur but was a well-regarded and important informant, possibly giving his information from Durundur.

Appendix 1. (*continued*)

Brisbane Valley, 9 October–22 November 1843 (p. 332)

Leichhardt's 'black boy' for this trip was Nikki (p. 334). Charley does not seem to have been present and they returned to Durundur on 20 November (p. 341). Leichhardt provides detail for this journey on pp. 341–361.

Durundur, 23 November –8 December 1843 (p. 364)

Leichhardt is with Paddy and others at the home camp

Brisbane, 9–27 December 1843 (p. 366)

Leichhardt went with Mr [David] Archer to Brisbane but was back at Durundur on 27 December

Burun, 28–31 December 1843 (p. 370)

Leichhardt travels to Burun with 'three blacks' to witness a bunya festival returning on 30 December (p. 371). The identity of his three guides is unclear.

Durundur, 1–9 January 1844 (p. 371)

Nikki and Paddy provided information here, but Charley seems to be absent.

Brisbane and Mission 10–23 January 1844 (p. 381)

Leichhardt goes to Brisbane with John Archer and Mr Waterston, and it seems they were accompanied by Jimmy and Mickey who identified plants (p. 383).

*Durundur, 24 January–*c. *28 February 1844 (p. 386)*

Leichhardt has more than a month at Durundur without travelling far and receives information from Brickman, Charley, Croppi, Jimmy, Nicki and Paddy (p. 407).

Brisbane–Fassifern, c. *1 March–22 March 1844 (p. 409)*

Leichhardt leaves Durundur heading for Sydney. On the way he visits Brisbane and seems to have refound Pinky (p. 409) and another informant called Jacky. He is with Jacky on the trip to Limestone (Ipswich) via Dr Simpson's. Jacky, who spoke Yagara, provided plant names (pp. 413–414). From Limestone, he seems to be travelling alone and does not seem to have received any more advice from Aboriginal informants in south-east Queensland.

Appendix 2

Table A1. Herbarium specimen records of Leichhardt eucalypt species from south-east Queensland and written references to Indigenous names for eucalypts with accompanying information

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
Angophora subvelutina	*bulburri*	NSW355567		18440115
Corymbia gummifera		MEL1613605	Durundur	86. entered into blossom about 20 January 1844
Corymbia henryi	*burro*	NSW302289	Glasshouse Mountains, Taylors Range	
Corymbia citriodora		MEL1613329	Brisbane–Limestone	18440303
Corymbia citriodora		MEL1613328	Moreton Bay	
Corymbia trachyphloia	*gala*	NSW302037		tree very similar to the bloodwoods on the sandy Mhango; 18430923
Eucalyptus acmenoides	*dibilpalam*	MEL1008853	Durundur–Brisbane	sandstone Ranges, stringybark, 93, 18430902
Eucalyptus acmenoides	*bunauir*[?]	MEL1008854	Durundur–Brisbane	sandstone Ranges, stringybark, 93, 18430902, *jibilpalam* (Nikki)
Eucalyptus acmenoides	*jibilpalam*	MEL1008854	Durundur–Brisbane	sandstone Ranges, stringybark, 93, 18430902, Nikki, *bunauir*[?]
Eucalyptus acmenoides	*turra turra*	NSW323081		
Eucalyptus grandis	*buddul*	MEL706466	Durundur	called flooded gum by the colonists, fine wood, noble tree, at the outskirts of brushes, 18430727
Eucalyptus helidonica		MEL1606934	Brisbane [River]	gumtrees growing on the water-side of the Brisbane; 18430713
Eucalyptus major		MEL703861		184307
Eucalyptus major		MEL1614058	Coxes Range [Texas]	
Eucalyptus major		MEL1614059	Coxes Range [Texas]	
Eucalyptus microcorys	*dil*	MEL230460	Durundur	on the sandy mountain range; 18430923
Eucalyptus microcorys		MEL1615490	Brisbane	
Eucalyptus moluccana		MEL703887		
Eucalyptus pilularis	*binaroan*	MEL1614253	Burun	18431227
Eucalyptus pilularis		MEL1008853		blackbutt
Eucalyptus pilularis		NSW323071	towards Glasshouse Mountains	
Eucalyptus pilularis	*binaroan*	MEL1614240	Durundur–Glasshouse Mountains	18430828
Eucalyptus racemosa		MEL1615561	Durundur	18430817; 77
Eucalyptus racemosa		MEL1532454	Nurrum Nurrum	18431012
Eucalyptus racemosa		MEL1532454	Wide Bay	184308
Eucalyptus racemosa		MEL1532456	Limestone–Brisbane]	ironbark; 84; 18430614
Eucalyptus resinifera		MEL706252	Durundur	growing on sandy plateau
Eucalyptus resinifera		MEL706253	Durundur	growing on sandy plateau, date collected 18440120
Eucalyptus robusta	*dadangba*	MEL18430924	Near Waiamurrum [Glasshouse Mountains]	growing at a swampy flat; 18430924
Eucalyptus robusta		MEL706325	East Australia	
Eucalyptus seeana	*binnamdall*	MEL1612461		grows by the swamps; 18430924
Eucalyptus seeana	*binnamdall*	MEL1612460		102
Eucalyptus seeana	*binnamdall*	NSW310467		102
Eucalyptus siderophloia		MEL1614302	Durundur–Brisbane	
Eucalyptus tereticornis		NSW307178	Wide Bay	18430728
Eucalyptus tereticornis		NSW307179	Wide Bay	18430723
Eucalyptus tindaliae		MEL1614302	eastern Australia	stringybark
Lophostemon confertus	*bolortee*	NSW529833	Moreton Bay	18430713 [misattributed as *bolortee*]
Lophostemon suaveolens	*marrabill*	NSW530699		or the turpentine. Wood 83; 184312

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 2. (*continued*)

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
Syncarpia glomulifera	*burrawam*	NSW531660	mountain range Durundur–Brisbane]	near the swamp and the mountain range
Bloodwood	*bunnah*	p. 244	Moreton Bay	exudations of gum resembling blood on the skin; Eipper is informant
Blackbutt	*mundelli*	p. 244	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Ironbark	*tandurr*	p. 244	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Worm bark, white black butt	*tabil-palla*	p. 244	Moreton Bay	broad lanceolate, shining leaves was later called blackbutt by him [Eipper]. He called it white blackbutt
Blackbutt	*mundelli*	p. 244	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Wurm eucalypt	*tabil-palla*	p. 245	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Grey gum, kind of gum	*urgorka*	p. 245	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Moreton Bay ash	*gurran*	p. 245	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Appletree	*dandorro*	p. 245	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Spotted gum	*mangorra*	p. 245	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Blue gum growing in the brush	*hanbru-call*	p. 245	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Kind of ironbark	*kanei perah*	p. 245	Moreton Bay	Eipper
A kind of gum	*gorr gorr*	p. 245	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Gum with foliaceous bark	*bull ortu*	p. 245	Moreton Bay	Eipper
A kind of grey gum	*dambirri*	p. 245	Moreton Bay	Eipper
Massive gum tree	*hanbru-call*	p. 246	Three-Mile Scrub	Pinky?
A gum tree in the low plains	*mongorr*	p. 247	Nunda	with arched veins; Eipper?
Blackbutt	*mundeli*	p. 251		Baker
Forest gum	*gargar karger*	p. 251		Baker
Ironbark	*tandurr*	p. 252	Taylors Range	Pinky?
Stringybark	*turra turra*	p. 252	Taylors Range	Pinky?, not yellow interior wood
Blackbutt	*mundeli*	p. 252	Taylors Range	Pinky?
Short-barked gum	*dambirri*	p. 252	Taylors Range	Pinky?
Fibrous	*urgorka*	p. 252	Taylors Range	Pinky?
A kind of forest gum	*garger karger*	p. 252	Taylors Range	Pinky?
Fibrous bark	*gurrar*	p. 252	Taylors Range	Pinky, with yellow resin containing *benzoin*
Fibrous bark	*burro*	p. 252	Taylors Range	Pinky
Smooth shining bark	*mangorra*	p. 252	Nunda	Charley, seems to like water more
Stringy bark	*turra turra*	p. 254	Nunda	Charley, fibres of its bark connected with fine-cross leaflets, whereas in the blackbutt they are more separated or are only pressed close to one another
Appletree	*bulburri*	p. 257	Nunda	Charley
Appletree	*nukkur*	p. 257	Nunda	Jimmy
	wanga	p. 257	Nunda	*gurran*
	gurran	p. 257	Nunda	*wanga*
Bloodwood	*bunairr*	p. 257	Nunda	*bunnah*
Bloodwood	*bunnah*	p. 257	Nunda	*bunairr*
	manderoljan	p. 257	Nunda	brown bright gum turns yellow when stripped, *geruru*
	gerur	p. 257	Nunda	brown bright gum turns yellow when stripped, *manderoljan*
	manborri	p. 257	Nunda	*mangorra*
	mangorra	p. 257	Nunda	*manborri*
	ngarrabill	p. 257	Nunda	*bolorta*
	bolorta	p. 257	Nunda	*ngarrabill*
	manborri	p. 257	Nunda	*mangorra*
	mangorra	p. 257	Nunda	*manborri*
Flooded gum of the colonists-a valuable wood	*buddul*	p. 257	Nunda	*ngarrabill*
Ironbark	*durro*	p. 257	Nunda	but the wood is not red but whitish and very tough

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 2. (*continued*)

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
Angophora lanceolata	*mangagaborri*	p. 258	Nunda	
A tree very like bolorta	*boa*	p. 258	Nunda	
A gum tree	*manderoljan*	p. 258	Nunda	resembles *manborri* very much in its shiny bark but it grows on the hills whereas the latter seems to prefer damp places. The gum is cherry red, the fruits are roundish like peppercorns. The timber is not particularly good, *geruru*
A gum tree	*geruru*	p. 258	Nunda	resembles *manborri* very much in its shiny bark but it grows on the hills whereas the latter seems to prefer damp places. The gum is cherry red, the fruits are roundish like peppercorns. The timber is not particularly good, *manderoljan*
	ngarrabill	p. 258	Durundur–Brisbane	*bullorta*, *mgarrai* (Jimmy)
	bullorta	p. 258	Durundur–Brisbane	*ngarrabill*, *mgarrai* (Jimmy)
	mgarrai	p. 258	Durundur–Brisbane	(Jimmy), *ngarrabill*, *bullorta*
A gum tree	*manarm*	p. 258	Durundur–Brisbane	with greyish, spotted bark covered with depressions, cherry red gum, large fruits, somewhat resembling the Angophora, soft useless timber, which Archers call white gum here. The tree shows lateral growths like the angophora in which it contains either thick cherry red gum or water coloured by gum
	tambam	p. 265	Durambois Lagoon	resembles *gurrar*, *urgorka* remarkably, found two miles from Archer's and on the ridge of hills sandstone in nature between both the crossing places to the White Bay River; *damban*
	dambam	p. 265	Durambois Lagoon	resembles *gurrar*, *urgorka* remarkably, found two miles from Archer's and on the ridge of hills sandstone in nature between both the crossing places to the White Bay River; *tamban*
	gurrar	p. 265	Durambois Lagoon	resembles *tamban*, *dambam*; *urgorka*
	urgorka	p. 265	Durambois Lagoon	resembles *tamban*, *dambam*; *gurrar*
Blackbutt	*binaroan*	p. 265–266	Durambois Lagoon	range to Wide Bay River north of Durundur; Pinky
	tabil pillah	p. 266	Durambois Lagoon	Taylors Range, from Pinky; more towards the coast, *tang palam*
	tang palam	p. 266	Durambois Lagoon	more towards the coast, *tabil pillah*
Bloodwood	*bunairr*	p. 266	Durambois Lagoon	Taylors Range, from Pinky; *bunnah*
Bloodwood	*bunah*	p. 266	Durambois Lagoon	*bunairr*
Silver-leaved ironbark	*bullah*	p. 266	Kilcoy, Wide Bay	hills
Blue gum	*manborri*	p. 266	Durambois Lagoon	
	dibbilpalah	p. 268	Durambois Lagoon	not known to the black boy [=Charley]
	gurran	p. 268	Durambois Lagoon	similar to Moreton Bay ash, *wanga* (black boy [=Charley])
	wanga	p. 268	Durambois Lagoon	similar to Moreton Bay ash, (black boy [=Charley]), *gurran*
Gum	*mangorri*	p. 269	West from Bauple	
	gurran	p. 269	West from Bauple	*wanga* (black boy [=Charley])
	wanga	p. 269	West from Bauple	(black boy [=Charley]), *gurran*
	gurrar	p. 269	West from Bauple	
Gum	*benjoe*	p. 269	West from Bauple	

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 2. (*continued*)

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
	gurran	p. 269	Bauple	*wanga* (black boy [=Charley])
	wanga	p. 269	Bauple	(black boy [=Charley]), *gurran*
	gurrar	p. 269	Bauple	*damban* (black boy [=Charley])
	damban	p. 269	Bauple	(black boy [=Charley]), *gurrar*
Gum	*benjoe*	p. 269	Bauple	
Gum	*manborri*	p. 269	Bauple	depressions
	damban	p. 272	Durambois Lagoon	exfoliates from the base of the trunk upwards. This makes the otherwise violet tree appear with a whitish base of the trunk, *gurrar*
	gurrar	p. 272	Durambois Lagoon	exfoliates from the base of the trunk upwards. This makes the otherwise violet tree appear with a whitish base of the trunk, *damban*
	manborri	p. 275	Durambois Lagoon	
	tangpalang	p. 276	Durambois Lagoon	with deciduous calyx teeth
	dibilpalah	p. 276	Durambois Lagoon	bark resembling blackbutt. The young layers are red, not yellow as in the stringy bark
Blackbutt	*binaroan*	p. 276	Durambois Lagoon	
	dambirri	p. 278	Durambois Lagoon	white trunks
	dambam	p. 278	Durambois Lagoon	reddish-white bark
	dambam	p. 278	Durambois Lagoon	in the forest of. . .
Ironbark	*durro*	p. 278	Durambois Lagoon	black trunk
Bloodwood	*bunairr*	p. 278	Durambois Lagoon	of the *gnarabill*
Blackbutt	*binaroan*	p. 281	Mary Valley	
Angophora	*bulburri*	p. 281	Mary Valley	triangular irregular branches formed a wide crown with light foliage
	gnarrabill	p. 281	Mary Valley	dense towering branches. . . covered with dark foliage
Gum	*mangorri*	p. 281	Mary Valley	white trunks, light transparent foliage
Bloodwood	*bunnah*	p. 281	Mary Valley	very tall with an attractive regular trunk
Stringybark	*boa*	p. 281	Mary Valley	
Flooded gum	*buddul*	p. 281	Mary Valley	thicket, magnificent
Spotted gum	*manarm*	p. 286	Near Glasshouse Mountains	Jimmy, on arkose heights, resembles spotted gum but differs by cherry red gum, enlargement of this tree contains much syrupy red gum
	nickkurr	p. 286		blacks drink water from
Bloodwood	*Bunah*	p. 286	Brisbane	
Bloodwood	*bunar*	p. 286	Brisbane–Glasshouse Mountains	
Bloodwood	*bunairr*	p. 286	Glasshouse Mountains	
Bloodwood	*bun*	p. 286	From the mountains	
Gum	*manborri*	p. 288	Glasshouse Mountains	flowers three
Gum	*manderoljan*	p. 288	Glasshouse Mountains	fruit three
	mundeli	p. 290	Durundur	for covering the huts, the box is absent in the immediate neighbourhood
	boa	p. 290	Durundur	for covering the huts
	binaroan	p. 290	Durundur	for covering the huts
	burawam	p. 290	Durundur	for covering the huts
Worm *Eucalyptus*	*tangpalam*	p. 292	Durundur	(*tabil pillah*)
Worm *Eucalyptus*	*tabil pillah*	p. 292	Durundur	*tangpalam*
Stringybark	*dibilpalam*	p. 292	Durundur	in blossom and bud and fruit [September]
Stringybark	*dibilpalam*	p. 293	Glasshouse Mountains	flowers and fruits collected, gum of tree bright yellow (*kakki* Nikki)
	manderoljan	p. 294	Glasshouse Mountains	with blackbutt and *Angophora lanceolata*

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 2. (*continued*)

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
Worm *Eucalyptus*	*tabil pillah*	p. 294	Glasshouse Mountains	grew closer to moisture
	binaroan	p. 297	Glasshouse Mountains	one specimen in fruit [changed text from *binarran* after checking original handwriting]
Gum	*buddul*	p. 299	Glasshouse Mountains	if a flowing stream is nearby, the immense trunk . . . is never absent
	bolorta	p. 299	Glasshouse Mountains	more in the flats covered with trees
	tabilpillah	p. 299	Glasshouse Mountains	common in the creek scrubs, this tree however has very different states and satisfies the eye by the rich decoration of its broad lanceolate leaves not only along the banks of the streams, where it even penetrates into the interior of the scrub, but also on the sunny, even sandy hills, *tangpalam*
	tangpalam	p. 299	Glasshouse Mountains	common in the creek scrubs, this tree however has very different states and satisfies the eye by the rich decoration of its broad lanceolate leaves not only along the banks of the streams, where it even penetrates into the interior of the scrub, but also on the sunny, even sandy hills, *tabilpillah*
	tabilpillah	p. 301	Nurrum Nurrum	irregular white patches, which are due to a fungus was found, brown on its upper side, white with fine pores on underside, short stalk. This fungus is at first three quarters of a circle or kidney-shaped and gradually grows together
	ngarrabill	p. 302	Nurrum Nurrum	trunk and branches covered in lamellose bark. Between layers of very long fibres lie leaflets, which at first unite the fibres, and but then become dry and yellow and break and . . .the peeling off of the bark, *bolorta*
	bolorta	p. 302	Nurrum Nurrum	trunk and branches covered in lamellose bark. Between layers of very long fibres lie leaflets, which at first unite the fibres, and but then become dry and yellow and break and . . .the peeling off of the bark, *bolorta*
	ngarrabill	p. 306	Bunya Bunya	leaves broad lanceolate downy with the branching calyx dentate
	tabilpallah	p. 307	Bunya Bunya	fungus on, *tangpalam*
	tangpalam	p. 307	Bunya Bunya	fungus on, *tabilpillah*
	dil	p. 308	Bunya Bunya	Eucalyptus on the slight elevations; layers of fibres separated by lamina
	gnauarr	p. 308	Bunya Bunya	Gummerigo: with thin fibrous reddish bark, no flakes between the layers, but a kind of grainy or dusty stuff round the fibres, they turn white at the exterior, short reddish light wood {gum cherry colour not sticky.} [changed text from gnanarr after checking original handwriting]

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 2. (*continued*)

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
	burrawamm	p. 311	Bunya Bunya	Gumerigo: scaly layer found between the fibres and alternate in layers; full of sticky gum
	dil	p. 311	Bunya Bunya	Gumerigo: thin bark which consists of fibres without a scaly layer; sticky gum absent
	gnauarr	p. 311	Bunya Bunya	Gumerigo: thin bark which consists of fibres without a scaly layer
Bloodwood	*bunah*	p. 315	Glasshouse Mountains	with bee's nest
	dibilpalam	p. 321	Glasshouse Mountains	on sandy plateau; yellowish young bark, brown externally
	gnauarr	p. 321	Glasshouse Mountains	on sandy plateau; thick brown bark; common on the edge of damp flats
	dil	p. 321	Glasshouse Mountains	on sandy plateau; sharp reddish young bark
	burrawom	p. 321	Glasshouse Mountains	fibrous bark
	boa	p. 321	Glasshouse Mountains	fibrous bark
	gnarrabill	p. 321	Glasshouse Mountains	damp places
	gala	p. 321	Glasshouse Mountains	a massive tree that resembles the bloodwood
Angophora lanceolata	*mingagabarre*	p. 321	Glasshouse Mountains	appears on the heights
	bulbarri	p. 321	Glasshouse Mountains	grows on moist flats
	tabilpilla	p. 321	Waiamurrum	growing on the peak of Waiamurrum
	bunah	p. 321	Waiamurrum	growing on the peak of Waiamurrum
	boa	p. 321	Waiamurrum	growing on the peak of Waiamurrum
	dibilpalam	p. 321	Waiamurrum	growing on the peak of Waiamurrum
Stringybark	*dadangba*	p. 322	Glasshouse Mountains	with fibrous bark like stringybark; rough dark leaves and very large fruits
	binnamdall	p. 322	Glasshouse Mountains	a marsh tree, rarely tall, usually in low bushes, but one about 25′ high and 1/2′ in diameter; resembles *dambarri* in the bark
	dadangba	p. 322	Glasshouse Mountains	fibrous bark like stringybark, with rough dark leaves and very large fruits . . . resembles *tabilpillah* in foliage
Gum	*wanga*	p. 323	Toorbul	more and more significant towards the coast
	gnauarr	p. 325	Toorbul	leaves stiff and dark green [changed text from *gnanarr* after checking original hand-writing]
	burrawam	p. 325	Toorbul	resembles *ngarabill* in the bark
	binamdall	p. 326	Glasshouse Mountains	a small tree in the *Melaleuca* depressions (gum tree)
Ironbark	*maling*	p. 328	Glasshouse Mountains	*nullah nullah* called *gnirimm* from this tree, *durro*
Ironbark	*durro*	p. 328	Glasshouse Mountains	*nullah nullah* called *gnirimm* from this tree, *maling*
	dibilpalam	p. 328	Toorbul	blacks build their boats from the bark
Gum	*kidambar*	p. 328	Toorbul	prevailing, *wanga*
Gum	*wanga*	p. 328	Toorbul	prevailing, *kidambar*
	dibil pallam	p. 329	Toorbul	dried specimen
Angophora lanceolata	*mingagabarre*	p. 329	Toorbul	
	boa	p. 329	Toorbul	a branch
	wanga	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *kurrandarr* (Nikki), *gudden* (Paddy)
	kurrandarr	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *wanga* (Charley), *gudden* (Paddy)

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 2. (*continued*)

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
	gudden	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *wanga* (Charley), *kurrandarr* (Nikki)
	mangorri	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *yarra-ra* (Nikki), *manburrir* (Paddy)
	yarra-ra	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *mangorri* (Charley), *burrir* (Paddy)
	manburrir	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *mangorri* (Charley), *yarra-ra* (Nikki)
	manderoljam	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *killambarr* (Nikki), *manderra* (Paddy)
	killambarr	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *manderoljam* (Charley), *manderra* (Paddy)
	manderra	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *manderoljam* (Charley), *killambarr* (Nikki)
	dambir	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), (Nikki), *tambir* (Paddy)
	tambir	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *dambir* (Charley), *dambir* (Nikki)
	manarm	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), (Nikki), (Paddy)
	dambam	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), (Nikki), (Paddy)
	binnamdall	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *binnamda* (Nikki), *binnamda* (Paddy)
	binnamda	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), (Paddy), *binnamdall* (Charley)
	durro	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *malling* (Nikki), *tandurr* (Paddy)
	malling	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *durro* (Charley), *tandurr* (Paddy)
	tandurr	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *durro* (Charley), *malling* (Nikki)
	bunnair	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *bunnah* (Nikki), *bunner* (Paddy)
	bunnah	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *bunnair* (Charley), *bunner* (Paddy)
	bunner	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *bunnair* (Charley), *bunnah* (Nikki)
	gala	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *gallai* (Nikki), *gaga* (Paddy)
	gallai	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *gala* (Charley), *gaga* (Paddy)
	gaga	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *gala* (Charley), *gallai* (Nikki)
	bulburri	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *buppo* (Nikki), *nuckurr* (Paddy)
	buppo	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *bulburri* (Charley), *nuckurr* (Paddy)
	nuckurr	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *bulburri* (Charley), *buppo* (Nikki)
	mingagabarre	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *bugginagauri* (Paddy)
	bugginagauri	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *mingagabarre* (Charley)
	dibilpalam	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), (Nikki), *wanga* (Paddy)
	wanga	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *dibilpalam* (Charley), *dibilpalam* (Nikki)
	dil	p. 329		(Charley), (Nicky), *jimbiom* (Paddy)
	jimbiom	p. 329		(Paddy), *dil* (Charley), *dil* (Nicky)
	boa	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), (Paddy), *biggin* (Nikki)
	biggin	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *boa* (Charley), *boa* (Paddy)
	binaroan	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *doai* (Nikki), *bundinbil binargan* (Tschentschillum)
	doai	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *binaroan* (Charley), *bundinbil binargan* (Tschentschillum)
	bundinbil	p. 329	Durundur	(Tschentschillum), *binaroan* (Charley), *doai* (Nikki)
	binargan	p. 329	Durundur	(Tschentschillum), *binaroan* (Charley), *doai* (Nikki)

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 2. (*continued*)

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
	mundeli	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *bea*
	bea	p. 329		*mundeli* (Charley)
	gnauarr	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *dalla-la* (Nikki), *gnar* (Paddy)
	dalla-la	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *gnauarr* (Charley), *gnar* (Paddy)
	gnar	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *gnauarr* (Charley), *dalla-la* (Nikki)
	burrawam	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *burrumbam* (Nikki), *biuam* (Paddy)
	burrumbam	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *burrawam* (Charley), *biuam* (Paddy)
	biuam	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *burrawam* (Charley), *burrumbam* (Nikki)
	dadangba	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *dannangen* (Nikki?), *dadangaba* (Paddy)
	dannangen	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki?), *dadangba* (Charley), *dadangaba* (Paddy)
	dadangaba	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *dadangba* (Charley), *dannangen* (Nikki?)
	bull-la	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *kannaibalam* (Nikki), *kakkarr* (Paddy)
	kannaibalam	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *bull-la* (Charley), *kakkarr* (Paddy)
	kakkarr	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *bull-la* (Charley), *kannaibalam* (Nikki)
	mingall	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), (Nicky), *boargan* (Paddy)
	boargan	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *mingall* (Charley), *mingall* (Nicky)
	tangpalam	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *uirrauah* (Nikki), *tangimbam* (Paddy)
	uirrauah	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *tangpalam* (Charley), *tangimbam* (Paddy)
	tangimbam	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *tangpalam* (Charley), *uirrauah* (Nikki)
	gnarrabill	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *burrabi* (Nikki), *guannarr* (Paddy)
	burrabi	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *gnarrabill* (Charley), *guannarr* (Paddy)
	guannarr	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *gnarrabill* (Charley), *burrabi* (Nikki)
	buddul	p. 329	Durundur	(Charley), *dullarr* (Nikki), *gnamborro* (Paddy)
	dullarr	p. 329	Durundur	(Nikki), *buddul* (Charley), *gnamborro* (Paddy)
	gnamborro	p. 329	Durundur	(Paddy), *buddul* (Charley), *dullarr* (Nikki)
	manarm	p. 333	Nurrum Nurrum	
Blue gum	*mangorri*	p. 333	Nurrum Nurrum	in the flats
	bulburri	p. 333	Nurrum Nurrum	
	manarm	p. 333	Nurrum Nurrum	
	gnarrabill	p. 333	Nurrum Nurrum	in damp places
	manborri	p. 333	Nurrum Nurrum	
	tangpalang	p. 334	Kilcoy	*tabil pillah*
	tabil pillah	p. 334	Kilcoy	*tangpalang*
	bunnah	p. 334	Kilcoy	
Stringybark	*dibilpalam*	p. 334	Kilcoy	on the last quarter of the mountain. . .absent from the rest of Mr Mackenzies Run

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 2. (*continued*)

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
	bulburri	p. 335	West of Kilcoy	on hills with ironbark and silver-leaved ironbark
	bulburri	p. 335	West of Kilcoy	the valleys
	mangorri	p. 335	West of Kilcoy	the valleys
	gnarribill	p. 335	West of Kilcoy	damp places
	bulburr	p. 340	Mount Brisbane	with ironbark, silver-leaved ironbark
Silver-leaved ironbark	*tunninbin*	p. 342	Wivenhoe	(Jimmy)
	tuninbin	p. 342	Wivenhoe	with ironbark
	manborri	p. 342	Wivenhoe	the bark of Jones Hut
	kurrabi	p. 342	Wivenhoe	*gnarrabill*
	gnarrabill	p. 342	Wivenhoe	*kurrabi*
	manaram	p. 342	Wivenhoe–Tarampa	with ironbark, silver-leaved ironbark
Gums	*wanga*	p. 344	Wivenhoe–Tarampa	
	manborri	p. 344	Wivenhoe–Tarampa	in flower and fills the air with its sweet scent
	manaram	p. 346	Mount Esk	forest floor towards Mt Esk with ironbark, *manderoljan*, Moreton Bay ash
	manderoljan	p. 346	Mount Esk	forest floor towards Mt Esk with ironbark, *manaram*, Moreton Bay ash
	manderoljan	p. 364	Durundur	sheds the bark and appears quite white, *kargar* (Brisbane)
	kargar	p. 364	Durundur	(Brisbane), sheds the bark and appears quite white, *manderoljan*
	manarm	p. 364	Durundur	sheds the bark and is spotted
	dambirri	p. 364	Durundur	sheds the bark and is a pretty orange or red colour. The old bark, without life exposed to the hot drying rays of the sun, cracks and the ends of the strips curl in or out. The young bark is in full development and does its part in splitting the old bark layers. Indeed perhaps this is the sole cause of the fissures and their enlargement, whereas the atmospheric influences serve to peel off the old bark from the young
	tangpalang	p. 368	Durundur	flowering, (*tabil pillah*, which is a *Melaleuca*)
	tabil pillah	p. 368	Durundur	flowering, (which is a *Melaleuca*)
	birrawan	p. 369	Durundur	flowering in the middle of November
	gnarrabill	p. 369	Durundur	in flower [December]
	gnarrabill	p. 370	Durundur	fruits collected
	barawam	p. 370	Durundur	fruits collected
Blackbutt	*binaroan*	p. 374	Burun	
	manderoljan	p. 381	Burun	
	manborri	p. 381	Burun	
Bloodwood	*bunah*	p. 382	Durundur–Brisbane	
	dibilpalam	p. 382	Durundur–Brisbane	ought to have flowered soon after my journey
Gum	*dambamm*	p. 382	Durundur–Brisbane	hills covered with, *benjoe*
Gum	*benjoe*	p. 382	Durundur–Brisbane	hills covered with, *dambamm*
Moreton Bay ash	*wanga*	p. 411	Brisbane–Limestone	on the rich black soil
	mongra	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *mongra*
	manborri	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *manborri*

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 2. (*continued*)

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
	urgorka	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *uurka uurka-manarm*
	uurka uurka	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *urgorka, manarm*
	manarm	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *urgorka, uurka uurka*
	bulberi	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *ngukkar*
	ngukkur	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *bulberi*
	gurran	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *wanga*
	wanga	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *gurran*
	gurrar	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, (Spotted gum *dambann*)
	dambam	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, spotted gum, *gurrar*; corrected from handwriting
	jandurro	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *tandur durro*
	tandur durro	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *jandurro*
	bulluritju	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *ngarrabill*
	ngarrabill	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *bulluritju*
	dambirri	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *dambirr*
	dambirr	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, *dambirri*
	gnarran	p. 413	Limestone	names from a black [Jacky] who belongs to Simpson, boxtree
	mangorri	p. 415	Fassifern	made a camp on a half-burnt trunk
	tabilpillah(?)	p. 416	Fassifern	under the rock wall
The white gum	*manderoljam*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	77. the white gum. Young? Bark entirely white, [Charley], *killambarr* [Nikki], *kangar, gargar* (M Bay)
The white gum	*killambarr*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	77. the white gum. Young? Bark entirely white, [Nikki], *manderoljam* [Charley], *kangar, gargar* (M Bay)
The white gum	*kangar*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	77. the white gum. Young? Bark entirely white, *manderoljam* [Charley], *killambarr* [Nikki], *gargar* (M Bay)
The white gum	*gargar*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	77. the white gum. Young? Bark entirely white, (M Bay), *manderoljam* [Charley], *killambarr* [Nikki], *kangar*
Blue gum	*manborri*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	78. the blue gum, young bark white and greenish lead colour, the dry stripes flexible
Grey gum	*dambirri*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	79. grey gum, the young bark orange colour
Spotted gum	*manarm*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	80. young bark orange and spotted, the red gum of the squatter, cherry coloured gum
	urgorka	p. 428	Moreton Bay	[like] *manarm*, mts

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 2. (*continued*)

Name or descriptor	Indigenous name	Herbarium specimen number; Darragh and Fensham (2013) page number	General location (Fig. 2)	Published notes; [other notes], specimen collecting date
Red gum	*dambamm*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	81. with brownish gum
	buddul	p. 428	Moreton Bay	82. the flooded gum
	gnarrabill	p. 428	Moreton Bay	83. the terpentine
	bolorta	p. 428	Moreton Bay	[like] *gnarrabill*, mts
Narrow leaved ironbark	*tandur*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	*durro, maling*
	durro	p. 428	Moreton Bay	*tandur, maling*
	maling	p. 428	Moreton Bay	*tandur, durro*
Silver-leaved ironbark	*bullah*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	85
Bloodwood	*bunnah*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	*bunair*
Bloodwood	*bunair*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	*bunnah*
	gala	p. 428	Moreton Bay	87
	bulburri	p. 428	Moreton Bay	88
	mingagaborri	p. 428	Moreton Bay	89. the lanceolate leaved appletree
	tangpalang	p. 428	Moreton Bay	90. the wormbarked terpentine bark smooth in the younger and higher parts of the tree remarkable by a great number of fusiform bodies separated by thin laminae, wood very short not very useful, the blackf[ellows] of Brisbane make their spears of the young saplings, *tabilpillah*
	tabilpillah	p. 428	Moreton Bay	90. the wormbarked terpentine bark smooth in the younger and higher parts of the tree remarkable by a great number of fusiform bodies separated by thin laminae, wood very short not very useful, the blackf[ellows] of Brisbane make their spears of the young saplings, *tangpalang*
Box	*mingall*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	91. this number relates to *Eucalyptus populnea* specimen MEL1614164; the Box *gnarran* mts
Box	*gnarran*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	[like] *mingall*, mts
Moreton Bay ash	*wanga*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	92
Moreton Bay ash	*gnarran*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	[like] *wanga*, mts
Stringybark	*dibilpalam*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	93
	turrah turrah	p. 428	Moreton Bay	[like] *dibilpallam*, mts
Stringybark	*dibilpalah*	p. 428	Wide Bay	93b. Of Wide Bay
Stringybark	*dil*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	94. another kind of stringy bark
Stringybark	*gnauarr*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	95. a 3rd kind of stringybark [changed text from *gnanarr* after checking original hand-writing]
Blackbutt	*binaroan*	p. 428	Moreton Bay	96
	boa	p. 428	Moreton Bay	97. a 4th kind of stringy bark
	mundile	p. 428	Moreton Bay	[like] *boa*, mts
The swamp gum	*binnamdal*	p. 429	Moreton Bay	(Charley), *binnamda* (Nikki)
The swamp gum	*binnamda*	p. 429	Moreton Bay	(Nikki), *binnamdal* (Charley)
Stringybark	*dibil palam*	Aurousseau (1968), Darragh and Fensham (2008), p. 676		make little canoes

Appendix 3

Table A2. Aboriginal word list for eucalypts not including Darragh and Fensham (2013)

Reference	Common name provided	Scientific name provided	Indigenous name	Language	Likely species
Anonymous (*c.* 1845)	bloodwood		*boonar*	Yagara	*Corymbia intermedia*
Anonymous (*c.* 1845)	a species of ironbark		*choodenoo*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus crebra*
Anonymous (*c.* 1845)	spotted gum		*cooran*	Yagara	*Corymbia citriodora*
Anonymous (*c.* 1845)	blue gum		*mungra*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Anonymous (*c.* 1845)	a species of ironbark		*undala*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus melanophloia*
Bell (1934*a*)	apple tree		*nukoorer*	Yagara	
Bell (1934*a*)	bluegum		*mungarah*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Bell (1934*a*)	ironbark		*bigerah*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus fibrosa*
Bell (1934*b*)	red-stemmed gum		*urarrar*	Yagara	?
Bell (1994, p. 107)	stringybark		*djora*	Kabi	Mahogany eucalypts (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis* or *E. psammitica*)
Bell (1994, p. 107)	stringybark		*djoowal*	Kabi	Mahogany eucalypts (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis* or *E. psammitica*)
Bell (1994, p. 107)	stringybark		*djura*	Kabi	Mahogany eucalypts (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis* or *E. psammitica*)
Bell (1994, p. 107)	stringybark		*djuwal*	Kabi	Mahogany eucalypts (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis* or *E. psammitica*)
Bell (1994, p. 107)	tallowood		*dee*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus microcorys*
Bell (1994, p. 77)	apple tree, apple box-tree		*buboo*	Kabi	*Angophora subvelutina*
Bell (1994, p. 78)	blackbutt		*guaiyi*	Kabi	?
Bell (1994, p. 78)	blackbutt, and seed		*djular*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus pilularis*
Bell (1994, p. 78)	bloodwood		*boonar*	Kabi	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Bell (1994, p. 79)	box-tree, apple		*yool-yoolou*	Kabi	?
Bell (1994, p. 79)	forest or grey box tree		*minga*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus moluccana*
Bell (1994, p. 79)	forest or grey box tree		*yaba*	Kabi	?
Bell (1994, p. 79)	bastard, gum-topped box		*djingar*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus moluccana*
Bell (1994, p. 79)	box-tree, apple		*murambi*	Kabi	?
Bell (1994, p. 89)	blue gum-tree		*mangar*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Bell (1994, p. 89)	red gum-tree		*djomba*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus major* or *E. propinqua?*
Bell (1994, p. 89)	spotted gum-tree		*yira*	Kabi	*Corymbia citriodora*
Bell (1994, p. 89)	spotted gum-tree		*yura*	Kabi	*Corymbia citriodora*
Bell (1994, p. 93)	broad-leaved ironbark		*bulyel*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus melanophloia*
Bell (1994, p. 93)	narrow-leaved ironbark		*dooboon*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus crebra* or *E. siderophloia*
Bell (1994, p. 93)	silver-leaved ironbark		*nangarin*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus melanophloia*
Bell (1994, p. 97)	Moreton Bay ash		*gauwan-djoor*	Kabi	*Corymbia tessellaris*
Bell (1994, p. 97)	Moreton Bay ash		*gurandhur*	Kabi	*Corymbia tessellaris*
Donavon (1878*a*)	pencil-leafed ironbark		*choonnoo*	Yagara	*Euclayptus crebra*
Donavon (1878*a*)	black ironbark		*choom choom*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus fibrosa*
Donavon (1878*a*)	broad leafed ironbark		*undalla*	Yagara	*Euclayptus melanophloia*
Donavon (1878*b*)	bloodwood		*boonar*	Yagara	*Corymbia intermedia*
Donavon (1878*c*)	apple		*newcoor*	Yagara	*Angophora subvelutina*
Eipper (1841)	gum tree		*gargar*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus racemosa*
Eipper (1841)	box tree		*dabilbello*	Yagara	*Lophostemon confertus*
Eipper (1841)	ironbark		*danduru*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus siderophloia*
Eipper (1841)	bloodwood		*boonah*	Yagara	
Eipper (1841)	blood gum		*binempta*	Yagara	

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 3. (*continued*)

Reference	Common name provided	Scientific name provided	Indigenous name	Language	Likely species
Hardcastle (1947)	bloodwood tree	*Eucalyptus corymbosa*	*boo-nah*	Yagara	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Hardcastle (1947)	gum-top box		*naa-run*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus moluccana*
Hardcastle (1947)	blue gum		*mungarra*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Hardcastle (1947)	blue gum		*mungurra*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Hardcastle (1947)	apple tree	*Angophora velutina*	*neycora*	Yagara	*Angophora subvelutina*
Hardcastle (1947)	silver-leaf ironbark		*undallah*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus melanophloia*
Hardcastle (1947)	grey ironbark		*jun-nor*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus melanophloia*
Hardcastle (1947)	Sydney blue gum		*bool lugi*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus saligna*
Hardcastle (1947)	Moreton Bay ash tree		*gor-rum*	Yagara	*Corymbia tessellaris*
Holme (1983)	bloodwood		*bana*	Yagara	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Holme (1983)	box tree		*dabilnala*	Yagara	*Lophostemon confertus*
Holme (1983)	gumtree		*malgar*	Yagara	
Holme (1983)	blue gum	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*	*mangar*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Jackson (1937)	bloodgum		*binempta*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus seeana*
Jackson (1937)	bloodwood		*boonar*	Yagara	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Jackson (1937)	bloodwood		*bunar*	Yagara	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Jackson (1937)	bluegum		*mungarra*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Jackson (1937)	box tree		*dabilbello*	Yagara	*Lophostemon confertus*
Jackson (1937)	gum		*gargar*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus racemosa*
Jackson (1937)	ironbark		*dandura*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus crebra*, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*
Jackson (1937)	ironbark		*tandur*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus crebra*, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*
Jackson (1937)	swamp mahogany		*blurtchu*	Yagara	*Lophostemon suaveolens*
Jackson (1937)	stringybark		*diura*	Yagara	Mahogany eucalypts (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis* or *E. psammitica*)
John Long, pers. comm.	narrow-leaved ironbark		*junnah, yunnah*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus crebra*
John Long, pers. comm.	bloodwood		*boona*	Yagara	*Corymbia intermedia*
John Long, pers. comm.	silver-leaved ironbark		*undullah*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus melanophloia*
John Long, pers. comm.	spotted gum	*Corymbia citriodora*	*bulburra*	Yagara	*Corymbia citriodora*
John Long, pers. comm.	mountain ash (gum-topped box)	*Eucalyptus moluccana*	*burruda*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus moluccana*
John Long, pers. comm.	apple tree	*Angophora subvelutina*	*narcoorah*	Yagara	*Angophora subvelutina*
John Long, pers. comm.	sugar gum (small tree)	*Eucalyptus moluccana*	*burradah*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus moluccana*
John Long, pers. comm.	blue gum	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*	*mungurra*	Yagara	*Euclayptus tereticornis*
John Long, pers. comm.	Moreton Bay ash	*Corymbia tessellaris*	*goorum*	Yagara	*Corymbia tessellaris*
Kite and Wurm (2004, p. 278)	ironbark		*djandurr*	Wakka	*Eucalyptus crebra*, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*
Kite and Wurm (2004, p. 288)	gum tree, blue gum, forest gum, yellow jacket		*manburrirr*	Wakka	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Kite and Wurm (2004, p. 289)	apple tree		*njugurr*	Wakka	*Angophora subvelutina*
Lang (1861)	bloodgum		*binempta*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus seeana*
Lang (1861)	bloodwood		*boonar*	Yagara	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Lang (1861)	box tree		*dabilbello*	Yagara	*Lophostemon confertus*
Lang (1861)	gum		*gargar*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus racemosa*
Lang (1861)	ironbark		*danduru*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus crebra*, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 3. (*continued*)

Reference	Common name provided	Scientific name provided	Indigenous name	Language	Likely species
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	apple tree, apple box-tree		*bu'pu*	Kabi	*Angophora subvelutina*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	bastard box		*dhin'kar*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus moluccana*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	black butt		*dhu'lar*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus pilularis*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	bloodwood		*bu'nar*	Kabi	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	blue gum-tree		*yir'ra*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	box		*min'ka*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus moluccana*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	narrow-leafed ironbark		*du'bun*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus crebra* or *E. siderophloia*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	broad-leafed ironbark		*bul'yel*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus melanophloia*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	blue gum-tree		*man'burar*	Wakka	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	box		*buar'ngan*	Wakka	*Eucalyptus pilularis?*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	narrow-leafed ironbark		*bai'i*	Wakka	*Eucalyptus crebra* or *E. siderophloia*
Mathew (1910, p. 232)	broad-leafed ironbark		*keg'er*	Wakka	*Eucalyptus melanophloia*
Mathew (1910, p. 234)	red gum-tree		*dhom'ba*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus major* or *E. propinqua*
Mathew (1910, p. 234)	stringybark		*dhu'wai*	Kabi	Mahogany eucalypts (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis* or *E. psammitica*)
Petrie (1904, p. 288)	red ironbark	*Eucalyptus siderophloia*	*biggar*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus fibrosa*
Petrie (1904, p. 288)	narrow leaved ironbark	*Eucalyputs crebra*	*tandur*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus crebra* or *E. siderophloia*
Petrie (1904, p. 288)	blue gum-tree	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*	*mugar*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Petrie (1904, p. 288)	spotted gum	*Eucalyptus maculata*	*yura*	Yagara	*Corymbia citriodora*
Petrie (1904, p. 288)	stringybarks	*Eucalyptus acmenoides*	*diura*	Yagara	Mahogany eucalypts (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis* or *E. psammitica*)
Petrie (1904, p. 288)	bloodwood	*Eucalyptus corymbosa*	*bunar*	Yagara	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Petrie (1904, p. 288)	swamp mahogany	*Tristania suaveolens*	*bulurtchu*	Yagara	*Lophostemon suaveolens*
Petrie (1904, p. 288)	fig box	*Tristania conferta*	*tabillpalla*	Yagara	*Lophostemon conferta*
Petrie (1904, p. 288)	Moreton Bay ash tree	*Eucalyptus tesselaris*	*kurandhur*	Yagara	*Corymbia tessellaris*
Petrie (1904, p. 288)	apple tree, apple box-tree	*Angophora intermedia*	*bu-pu*	Yagara	*Angophora subvelutina*
Petrie (1904, p. 89)	bastard mahogany		*bulurtchu*	Yagara	*Lophostemon suaveolens*
Petrie (1904, p. 89)	stringy bark		*diura*	Yagara	Mahogany eucalypts (*Eucalyptus acmenoides*, *E. carnea*, *E. helidonica*, *E. latisinensis* or *E. psammitica*)
Petrie (1904, p. 93)		*Eucalyptus crebra*	*tandur*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus crebra*, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*
Petrie (1904, p. 93)			*tandur*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus crebra*, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*
Pettigrew (1877)	blackbutt	*Eucalyptus pilularis*	*toi*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus pilularis*
Pettigrew (1877)	turpentine	*Eucalyptus stuartina*	*tee*	Yagara	
Pettigrew (1877)		*Syncarpia lauriafolia*	*peebeen*	Yagara	*Syncarpia glomulifera*
Pettigrew (1877)	swamp mahogany	*Angophora* species	*boolerchu*	Yagara	*Lophostemon suaveolens*
Pettigrew (1877)	ironbark	*Eucalyptus siderophloia*	*tanderoo*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus siderophloia*
Pettigrew (1877)	ironbark	*Eucalyptus siderophloia*	*biggera*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus fibrosa*
Pettigrew (1877)	bloodwood	*Eucalyptus corymbosa*	*boonar*	Yagara	*Corymbia intermedia*
Pettigrew (1877)	spotted gum	*Eucalyptus maculata*	*urara*	Yagara	*Corymbia citriodora*
Pettigrew (1877)	blue gum	*Eucalyptus botryoides*	*mungur*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Pettigrew (1877)	flooded gum	*Eucalyptus grandis*	*toolur*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus grandis*
Ridley (1875)	gum tree		*mungar*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*

(*continued next page*)

Appendix 3. (*continued*)

Reference	Common name provided	Scientific name provided	Indigenous name	Language	Likely species
Ridley (1875)	gum		*bulo:rtum*	Yagara	*Lophostemon suaveolens*
Ridley (1875)	gum		*bune:ri*	Yagara	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Ridley (1875)	gum		*ku:ndibar*	kabi	*Corymbia tessellaris*
Ridley (1875)	gum		*yurra*	Yagara	*Corymbia citriodora*
Ridley (1875)	gum		*gillumbir*	kabi	*Eucalyptus racemosa*
Skyring (1870)	ironbark		*mullin*	Kabi	*Eucalyptus crebra* or *E. siderophloia*
Skyring (1870)	gum tree		*yarra*	Kabi	
Skyring (1870)	bloodwood		*boonar*	Kabi	
Skyring (1870)	stringybark		*dhuny*	Kabi	
Skyring (1870)	apple tree		*boo pou*	Kabi	*Angophora subvelutina*
W. O. C. (1904)	bloodwood		*bunah*	Yagara	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
W. O. C. (1904)	gum tree		*mungarra*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
W. O. C. (1904)	ironbark		*judnen*	Yagara	?
Welsby (1917, p. 128)	ironbark		*jundoor*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus crebra*, *E. fibrosa* or *E. siderophloia*
Welsby (1917, p. 128)	box tree		*dobil nulla*	Yagara	*Lophostemon conferta*
Welsby (1917, p. 128)	gum tree		*mungure*	Yagara	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Welsby (1917, p. 128)	blackbutt		*geregun*	Yagara	?
Welsby (1917, p. 128)	bloodwood		*bunna*	Yagara	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 137)	spotted gum		*mungarh*	Wakka	*Eucalyptus tereticornis?*
Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 288)	bloodwood		*bunirr*	Wakka	*Corymbia gummifera* or *Corymbia intermedia*
Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 42)	box		*burgalba*	Wakka	?
Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 59)	yellow jacket	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*?	*munburi:r*	Wakka	*Eucalyptus tereticornis*
Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 68)	apple tree		*nukur*	Wakka	*Angophora subvelutina*
Winterbotham and Mackenzie (1957, p. 9)	spotted gum		*mungar*	Wakka	*Eucalyptus tereticornis?*

Appendix 4

Table A3. Accepted names for eucalypts in the areas traversed by Leichhardt while in south-east Queensland during 1843–1844 according to the Queensland Herbarium (Queensland Government's Flora census, see https://www.qld.gov.au/environment/plants-animals/plants/herbarium/flora-census)

Species
Angophora leiocarpa (L.A.S.Johnson ex G.J.Leach) K.R.Thiele & Ladiges
Angophora subvelutina F.Muell.
Angophora woodsiana F.M. Bailey
Corymbia citriodora (Hook.) K.D.Hill & L.A.S.Johnson
Corymbia gummifera (Gaertn.) K.D.Hill & L.A.S.Johnson
Corymbia intermedia (R.T.Baker) K.D.Hill & L.A.S.Johnson
Corymbia henryi (S.T.Blake) K.D.Hill & L.A.S.Johnson
Corymbia tessellaris (F.Muell.) K.D.Hill & L.A.S.Johnson
Corymbia trachyphloia (F.Muell.) K.D.Hill & L.A.S.Johnson
Eucalyptus acmenoides Schauer
Eucalyptus carnea R.T.Baker
Eucalyptus helidonica K.D.Hill
Eucalyptus latisinensis K.D.Hill
Eucalyptus psammitica L.A.S.Johnson & K.D.Hill
Eucalyptus crebra F.Muell.
Eucalyptus fibrosa F.Muell.
Eucalyptus siderophloia Benth.
Eucalyptus grandis W.Hill
Eucalyptus saligna Sm.
Eucalyptus major (Maiden) Blakely
Eucalyptus propinqua H.Deane & Maiden
Eucalyptus melanophloia F.Muell.
Eucalyptus microcorys F.Muell.
Eucalyptus moluccana Roxb.
Eucalyptus pilularis Sm.
Eucalyptus racemosa Cav.
Eucalyptus resinifera Sm.
Eucalyptus robusta Sm.
Eucalyptus seeana Maiden
Eucalyptus tereticornis Sm.
Eucalyptus tindaliae Blakely
Lophostemon confertus (R.Br.) Peter G.Wilson & J.T.Waterh.
Lophostemon suaveolens (Sol. ex Gaertn.) Peter G.Wilson & J.T.Waterh.
Syncarpia glomulifera (Sm.) Nied.