NOTICE OF GENERAL MEETING

The 3rd General Meeting of the Society for 1986 will be held in

THE CONSERVATION CENTRE, 120 WAKEFIELD STREET ADELAIDE

on

MONDAY 26th MAY 1986 AT 8.00 PM

AGENDA

1. Apologies :

2. Minutes of the previous General Meeting :
   Minutes of the previous General Meeting, held in the Conservation
   Centre on Monday 28th April 1986, to be confirmed. A copy of
   these minutes is attached.

3. New Members :
   The following new members were elected to the Society :-
   Mr. Mark ELSOM
   Mr. P. ROZITIS

4. Papers and Journals :
   Papers and journals received since the last General Meeting,
   from other societies and organizations, will be tabled at the
   meeting.

5. Business :

6. Speaker :
   Mr Steven Hemming, Curator of Australian Ethnology,
   will address the Society. The title of his address
   will be :-
   "Lower Murray Basketry"

7. Supper will be served.
ABORIGINAL USE OF PLANT EXUDATES, 
FOLIAGE AND FUNGI AS FOOD AND WATER SOURCES 
IN SOUTHERN SOUTH AUSTRALIA 

by Philip A. Clarke 
19 January 1986

INTRODUCTION

This paper is intended to bring together those categories of plant food that have not been discussed in earlier papers (Clarke 1985a, 1985b) that were concerned with the use of roots and fruits as sources of Aboriginal food. These papers criticised the view of authors such as Cleland (1966) and Campbell et al (1946) who suggested that the flora, in contrast to the fauna, was not able to provide significant quantities of food to the Aborigines of Southern South Australia. This article is further evidence of how rich the vegetation of this region was when considered in terms of Aboriginal plant use.

METHODS OF ANALYSIS

The main source of material in this article was gathered from an extremely dispersed literature. The range extends from the journals of early explorers and missionaries, to published vocabularies and ethnographies, articles in scientific journals and a few books concerned with Australian edible plants. In addition to this, some very useful information has been gathered from fieldwork with contemporary Aboriginal people particularly in the Lower Murray area. The use and definition of Southern South Australia as the high rainfall areas of this state has already been outlined in detail (Clarke 1985a, 1985b). The common names and distribution of the plants discussed in this paper are contained in Table 1 in the Appendix.

GUMS AND RESINS

Acacia species

Edible Acacia or wattle gum was one of the principal foods for the Adelaide people according Teichelmann and Schuermann (1840:23). Wilkinson (1848:210) states that the Adelaide people roasted the wattle gum in the fire before eating it. Tindale (1974:60), considers Acacia pycnantha Benth. to be one of the main sources of Acacia gum. This suggestion has been supported by my own field work. I have found that this species provides abundant supplies of golden-brown gum from the insect attacked parts of the lower trunk and heavy branches, particularly during the summer months. Acacia pycnantha was used as a food source by the Ngarrindjeri of the Coorong (Clarke and Jones 1984). Acacia gum was also used by the Ngarrindjeri as medicine (Hemming and Jones 1984). In this case, the gum
was first softened in water and then chewed to relieve chest problems. Dawson (1881:21) claims that in the Western Districts of Victoria:

As soon as the summer heat is over, notches are cut in the bark to allow the gum to exude. It is then gathered in large lumps, and stored for use.

Dawson claims that each man had an exclusive right to a certain number of Acacia trees for the use of himself and his family. Although A. pycnantha appears to be the main species of wattle that provided gum, other Acacias also tend to secrete some gum if damaged. Cleland (1966:135) suggests that A. decurrens Wild, the Black Wattle, as a probable food source for the South East Aborigines of this state. Acacia is probably the identity of the gum that Teichelmann and Schuermann (1840:52) stated was sometimes traded by the Adelaide people. Acacia is the likely identity of the varieties of Mimosa described by Eyre (1845:273) as having: a mottled red or brown colour, of a firm consistency and sweet taste, resembling exactly in appearance, flavour, and colour, the manna used medicinally in Europe.

Cribb and Cribb (1975:185) state that pale wattle gums are more likely to be palatable than those of a deep red-brown colour because the latter have a high tannin content and are therefore too bitter and astringent to eat.

Callitris preissii Miq.

Callitris or Native Pine was used by the Southern South Australian Aborigines mainly as a source of adhesive or cement for the manufacture of hafted axes, spears and spear-throwers. Berndt (1940:167), however, records another interesting use and this is as a teething stick. He says:

This would be called pitjingi, deriving its name from the pine-gum used. A length of stick (about six inches (15 cms) is procured, and the gum is made pliable by heating it over a fire. It is then moulded on to the stick at either end, or both. The pitjingi then resembles a dumbbell. The child sucks the gum which is believed by its mother to contain medicinal qualities, as well as being advantageous to a quick painless growth of the teeth.

Pittosporum phylliraeoides DC

This species is possibly the identity of the Willow of the Port Lincoln area, that Schuermann (1879:217) records exuded gum of the colour and transparency of sugar candy. However, he suggests that the scarcity of the species around Port Lincoln limited the quantities that could be collected by the Aborigines. If Schuermann's Willow was P.
phylliraeoides, then it may have been used in other parts of Southern South Australia such as Yorke Peninsula and the Adelaide region where it also occurs.

NECTAR

It is likely that all melliferous flowering plants were potential sources of nectar for the Aborigines. The main way used by the Aborigines to extract the nectar appears to be by soaking the flowering heads in a container of water and then drinking the resulting liquid. In addition to the species discussed below, it is likely that flowers of many other plants, especially those of the Proteaceae (ie Hakea and Grevillea), Myrtaceae (ie Melaleuca and Leptospermum) and the Epacridaceae (ie Acrotricha depressa R.Br.), would have been so used. However, nectar was not always obtained straight from the plant. Dawson (1881:21) claims that Aboriginal boys in the Western Victorian area often obtained nectar from "parakeets". The nest of these birds (probably lorikeets) were repeatedly visited and the young nestlings pulled out and held by their feet till they had disgorged their food into the mouths of their captors.

**Banksia species**

*Banksia*, also known as Honeysuckle, is the most often recorded source of nectar in the ethnographic record of Southern South Australia. Teichelmann and Schuermann (1840:13) stated that the Adelaide people created a sweet solution, called *kundanye*, that was made by soaking Honeysuckle blossom, termed *tarmna*, in water. Angas (1847:150) also recorded this method of creating a sweet beverage from the South East region as did Eyre (1845:273) for the Murray River. Tindale (1978:161) claims that the drink was known to become more pleasing to the palate if the cobs were kept soaking all day for drinking in the evening. Maiden (1889:3) states that the cones were left over night in order to produce this liquid but he does not state the group of Aboriginal people whose practice he is discussing. Among the Ngarrindjeri of the Coorong, Honeysuckle was generally shaken into a vessel or sucked straight from the cob (Clarke and Jones 1984). Dawson (1881:22) states that the Aborigines of Western Victoria also used the cob of the *Banksia* to drink water. He states that the Aborigines:

> When obliged to drink from muddy pools full of animalculae, .... put a full-blown cone of the banksia tree into their mouths, and drink through it, which gives a fine flavour to the water and excludes impurities.
**Eucalyptus** species

The use of *Eucalyptus* as a source of nectar is recorded by Wilkinson (1848:205) who states that the Aborigines of the Adelaide area:

> often carry a bunch of the fragrant blossoms (*Eucalyptus*) with them, and suck the honey as they tramp along the roads.

**Xanthorrhoea** species

Use of the nectar from the species of this genus, commonly called Grass Trees, Blackboys or erroneously as Yaccas, is shown by the existence of Aboriginal terms for the nectar in the vocabularies of the Adelaide and Encounter Bay areas. Teichelmann and Schuermann (1840:39) recorded *pinyatta* as a term for the "honey" from the Grass Tree as well as for sugar. The fact that *Xanthorrhoea* was highly rated as a food by the Southern South Australian Aborigines is suggested by the record from the Adelaide and Encounter Bay people of the term *paipola* for the "honey" of the Grass Tree as well as for fat and whale blubber (Wyatt 1879:174).

**LERP SUGAR**

Lerp sugar is produced by certain leaf bugs of the Psyllidae, commonly called Lerps, that secrete a protective shell that is white and sweet. The species on which Lerp occurs, is mainly confined to the genus of *Eucalyptus* (Woodward et al 1970:418). The Aboriginal term, *kordkoo*, meaning wood producing manna, recorded by Angas (1847:101) from Moorundi on the Murray River, probably refers to a species of *Eucalyptus*. The White Mallee or *E. dumosa* A.Cunn. ex Schauer has been recorded as a source of Sugar Lerp by Irvine (1957:140) and Cleland (1957:158). Lerp has also been recorded from *E. incassata* Labill., the Mallee Box, and *E. glosea* F.vM ex Miq., the Red Mallee (Cleland 1957:158-9). Taplin (1874:31) says that manna from the Peppermint Gum, *E. odora*ta Behr ex Schild., was infused in water by the Ngarrindjeri (called Narrinyeri by Taplin) and the resulting solution used as a drink. *E. viminalis* Labill or the Manna Gum, produces sweet, white, crumbly manna that exudes from the bark in lumps the size of peas and resembles lime (Maiden 1889:27). Cleland (1957:158) states that the Sugar Lerp is widely distributed on *E. viminalis*. This species of Eucalypt growing in the Bungala Valley area of Fleurieu Peninsula, provided a source of manna that Aborigines from the Encounter Bay and Cape Jervis areas came feast on (Williams 1985:19). It apparently tastes not unlike Turkish delight. It is probably this species that Eyre (1845:273) describes as *Ei*.
mannafera. He claims that this species produces gum that is:

found early in the morning under the tree, scattered on the ground. This is beautiful white and delicate, resembling flakes of snow.

The Red Gum, E. camaldulensis Dehn., has been observed on the Adelaide Plains to be covered by heavy numbers of Lerp between late Spring to early autumn (author’s observation). Due to the range of this species, it must also be considered as a significant potential source of Lerp in the Southern South Australian region.

PLANT WATER

The need for obtaining water for drinking from plant roots in the Southern South Australian region was probably confined to the Murray Mallee and mallee areas of Eyre Peninsula where surface supplies of freshwater were scarce inspite of relatively high annual rainfalls. Elsewhere, in the southern regions, water from springs and soaks appears to be available all the year round. For instance, Hemming (1985:25) records the ease in which Aborigines of the Fleurieu Peninsula obtained drinking water from coastal springs during the summer months even when the local creeks and soaks had dried up.

Magarey (1895) describes in detail the trees that were used by the Aborigines as a supply of root water and the methods for the extraction of it. In his list of ‘water-trees’, Magarey (1895:4) includes species of Eucalyptus such as E. dumosa Cunn. ex Schauer, E. gracilis FVM, E. incrassata Labill., E. oleosa FVM ex Miq., and E. fasciculosa FVM (= Magarey’s E. paniculata). All of these trees exist in the mallee areas of Southern South Australia. It was through the availability of root water that the Aborigines were able to enter extremely arid regions. The Ngarkat people of the Murray Mallee relied heavily on root water and only needed to travel to the Murray River at times when severe drought had decreased their otherwise reliable source of water (Tindale 1974:62).

According to Magarey (1895:4-5), it is the lateral roots that run just beneath the surface of the ground that were the target of Aborigines in search of water. The position of these roots was often marked by a slight rise or crack in the ground where its growth had compressed the soil. The size of the roots ranges from a centimetre in diameter to about the size of a man’s wrist. Once located, the soil is scraped away from the whole length of the root with a wooden shovel and it is prised off near the trunk of the tree with a yam stick or spear point. The root is then broken into sections between half metre and a metre long and the pieces placed leaning against the trunk with the ends inside a container such as a wooden dish, wallaby skin
FOLIAGE

The use of foliage is one of the more poorly recorded components of plant use for the Southern South Australian region. Descriptions of plants so used are generally brief and this generates much speculation as to the identity of such plants. Some of the records of foliage use from this area are as medicines. However this category of plants is outside the scope of this paper. In some cases, such as Xanthorrhoea below, it appears that the edible part of the plant could be defined as either root or as leaf bases. Although the use of this species as a root food has been recorded elsewhere (Clarke 1985a:7), its use as an edible foliage has been included in this paper for the sake of completeness.

Carpobrotus species

Carpobrotus is commonly called Wild Fig or Pigface. The main recorded use for Wild Fig is as a source of edible fruit (Clarke 1985b:12). However, along the Murray River, Eyre (1845:269) states that the thick pulpy leaves of Carpobrotus (=Mesembryanthemum of Eyre’s description) is:

\[ \text{eaten as a sort of relish with} \\
\text{almost every other kind of food.} \\
\text{..... It is selected when the} \\
\text{full vigour of the plant begins} \\
\text{to decline and the tips of the} \\
\text{leaves become red, but before} \\
\text{the leaf is at all withered.} \]

The Ngarrindjeri of the Coorong used the leaves of
Carpobrotus rossi (Haw.) Schwantes to add flavour to kangaroo and emu meat (Clarke and Jones 1984). Wilhelmi (1860:9) claims that the Port Lincoln Aborigines only ate the fruit of the Wild Fig but he added that the leaves were used as a salt substitute by the Aborigines between the Grampians and the Victoria Ranges in Victoria. Remains of Carpobrotus were found amongst the debris excavated from Kongarati Cave, south of Adelaide, (Tindale and Mountford 1936:492-3) and this suggests it’s use as food by the Aborigines here.

Dianella laevis R.Br.

This plant, commonly known as the Flax Lily, was used as a form of bitter tea by the Ngarrindjeri of the Coorong (Clarke and Jones 1984). The leaves were dried, boiled and the solution then drunk. It is not certain how the leaves would have been boiled before tin cans were available. One explanation is that the Aborigines developed the use of these leaves in relatively recent times as a bush substitute for European tea. It could also have been learned from Europeans who had run out of tea.

Lepidium species

Tindale (1981:1879) claims that crucifers, such as Lepidium, commonly known as Cress, were a source of edible young leaves on the Coorong. Tindale states that these came into season in August. Lepidium, is possibly the maaiyi recorded as an Aboriginal term for "Native Mustard plant" by Moorhouse (1935:43) from Wellington on the Murray River. Eyre (1845:254) also describes a food that could be Lepidium. He states:

The tops, leaves, and stalks of a kind of cress, gathered at the proper season of the year, tied up in bundles, and afterwards steamed in a oven, furnish a favorite, and inexhaustible supply of food for an unlimited number of natives. When prepared, this food has a savoury and agreeable smell, and in taste is not unlike a boiled cabbage. In some of it's varieties it is in season for a great length of time, and is procured in the flats of rivers, on the borders of lagoons, at the Murray, and in many other parts of New Holland.

Morris (1943:170) claims that Lepidium, and other crucifers were excellent substitutes for mustard in the Wimmera and mallee areas of Victoria.

Lepidosperma species

This genus, known as Rapier Sedges, contains several
species that may have been utilized as a source of edible foliage. Campbell et al (1946:491) claim that the bases of the leaves of _L. gladiatum_ Labill. were chewed by the South East Aborigines, perhaps after cooking. Parts of stems or leaves of _L. gladiatum_ were excavated from debris at Kongarati Cave (Tindale and Mountford 1936:492-3) and could possibly have been used as food.

_Sonchus_ species

This genus, commonly referred to as Sow Thistles, was described by a Ngarrindjeri man who had lived in camps along the Coorong until the 1960s, as being used as "Black-fellow's salad" (Hemming and Jones 1984). The same man claimed that it was eaten when young as it was not so bitter at this stage of it's growth (Clarke and Jones 1984). Cleland (1957:156) observed an insane Aborigine in an Adelaide institution eating a Sow Thistle. He suggests that it may have been a pre-European food in spite of the fact that at the time he was writing, it was thought that most Sow Thistles were introduced. Jessop (1985) considers that two species, _S. hydrophilus_ Boulos and _S. megalocarpus_ (Hook.f.)J.Black are species indigenous to South Australia. The fact that Sow Thistles were a favoured food of the Adelaide Aborigines is indicated by Stephens (1890:489) who records that a group of Adelaide people, on returning from a fight with some Murray River people came across:

about a quarter of an acre of luxuriant sow thistles on our land. Some of them asked if they might have them. I obtained the requisite permission, and told them they could take the lot. In a moment they had climbed the fence, and this little plot was one seething mass of men, women and children. Ten minutes later the ground was bare of thistles, and the tribe passed on gratefully devouring the juicy weed.

_Tetragonia tetragonoides_ (Pall.)Kuntze

The common name of this species, Warriagal Cabbage, suggests its edible character. It is therefore possible that the _birira_ recorded by Teichelmann and Schuermann (1840:2) from the Adelaide area as a "cabbage substitute" may refer to this plant. Bellchambers (1931:132) described a plant that he termed "Native Spinach" as an edible food found along the Murray River where it was called _pilunka_ by the Aborigines. The identity of this plant may be the Warriagal Cabbage. Similarly, the Ngarrindjeri term, _wigi_, recorded by Hemming (1983) as "like silver-beet", may refer to _T. tetragonoides_.

10.
*Urtica incisa* Poiret.

The tops of *U. incisa*, the Australian species of Stinging Nettle, are edible. This has been recorded as food for the Aborigines of the South East by Angas (1847:54–5) who says:

A species of stinging nettle grows abundantly amongst the reeds; and especially in times of scarcity, it is eaten by the natives, who bake it between heated stones.

Unlike *Sonchus*, it is unlikely that Stinging Nettles were ever eaten raw. This is due to the irritants that are contained in the hairs that cover the leaves and stem.

**Xanthorrhoea species**

The species of this genus are commonly known as Grasstrees or erroneously as Yaccas. The edible quality of the roots of the Grasstrees has been summerized by Clarke (1985a:7). However, of the smaller species of Grasstree that occurs in the South East, Angas (1847:203) states that the Aborigines:

eat only the lower portion of the leaves at their junction with the root, drawing them out of the ground and biting off that part which was underneath the soil, the flavour resembles that of a nut.

The identity of this species is probably *X. minor* R Br. Cleland (1966:134) suggests that the young shoots, leaf bases, young flower stalks and the spike of Grasstrees comprise the edible parts. However, Everist (1981:757) claims that the flowering stalks of most species of *Xanthorrhoea* are poisonous as is the resin of *X. minor*. The Ngarrindjeri of the Coorong ate the yellow parts of the leaves of the Grasstree which are sweet at some times of the year (Clarke and Jones 1984).

Unknown Species of Edible Foliage

Teichelmann and Schuermann (1840:1) claim that a plant termed *balkadla* that they identified as Hoar Frost, was used by the Adelaide people as a source of salt. The most likely identification of this plant is as one of the Chenopodiaceae which contains plants that are sometimes commonly referred to as saltbushes.

**FUNGI**

The ethnographic record of the Southern South Australian region, indicates that a wide range of fungi
species were collected as food. However, these records do not provide us with detailed enough descriptions to identify more than two possibly used species. Schuermann (1879:216) states that the Pt Lincoln people of Lower Eyre Peninsula ate the Common Mushroom (Lycoperdon or Psalliota ?) and almost every other kind of fungus. Some were apparently eaten raw. Eyre (1845:273) states that fungi as food, in the Murray area, was:

abundant, and of great variety. Some are obtained from the surface of the ground, others below it, and others again from the trunks and boughs of trees.

Eyre (1845:269) claims that fungi was either eaten raw or roasted. The use of the underground structure of the Australian Truffle, Polyporus onitrac Bertr. has been discussed in my article concerning roots and tubers as a food source (1985a:5) so therefore will not be discussed here.

Lycoperdon species

This genus of fungus, commonly called Puffballs, is the likely identity of the Aboriginal words listed in many of the early ethnographies of Southern South Australia as Mushroom. Ellis (1976:120) considers that the Adelaide Aboriginal term for Mushroom - parnappi - to be linguistically related to parna meaning autumn star (Teichelmann and Schuermann 1840:37). The fruiting body of Lycoperdon, unlike the Psalliota genus that is generally recognized as Mushroom, forms a star shape when it splits open in autumn.

DISCUSSION

The above list of plant food categories is further evidence for the rejection of Cleland and Campbell's view of the paucity of the Southern South Australian flora in providing a wide range of food in significant quantities. Overviews of the economic lives of the Aborigines of this region have often stated that they lived on fish, roots and berries. The ethnographic record as outlined in this paper, indicates that gum and foliage were also major sources of food. Acacia gum was not only stored and possibly traded (Dawson 1881:21, Teichelmann & Schuermann 1840:52), but in the Western Victorian region, it was viewed as important enough for particular kin groups to have exclusive rights to individual trees (Dawson 1881:21). In the edible foliage category, Leopodium or Cress appears to have been a major food source and possible Sonchus, the Sow Thistle, as well. The importance of nectar and lerp sugar as highly favoured foods or drinks is shown by the ethnographic record. The edible fungi category may also have been highly favoured. However, Cleland (1976:14) considers the actual food value of fungi as negligible but does concede that some may be a useful source of vitamins. Most of the food species in this paper would be collected in the summer with the exception of the fungi that occur
mainly in autumn and foliage that would be available for most of the year.

APPENDIX

Table 1 - Plant names and localities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPECIES</th>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>LOCALITY *</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Acacia_pycnantha</em> Benth.</td>
<td>Golden Wattle</td>
<td>Southern S.Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Acacia_deccurn</em> Wild</td>
<td>Black Wattle</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banksia</td>
<td>Honeysuckle</td>
<td>Southern S.Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Carpoderous_rossi</em> (Haw.) Schwantes</td>
<td>Wild Fig</td>
<td>Southern S.Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dianella_laevia</em> R.Br.</td>
<td>Flax Lily</td>
<td>FR EP NL MU SL KI SE</td>
</tr>
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<td>Red Gum</td>
<td>S.Aust. except NU</td>
</tr>
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<td>White Mallee</td>
<td>FR EA EP NL MU SE</td>
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<td><em>Eucalyptus</em> fasciculosa FvM</td>
<td>Pink Gum</td>
<td>MU SL KI SE</td>
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<td><em>Eucalyptus</em> gracilis FvM</td>
<td>Yorrell</td>
<td>S.Aust.</td>
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<td><em>Eucalyptus</em> incrassata Labill.</td>
<td>Mallee Box</td>
<td>Southern S.Aust.</td>
</tr>
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<td><em>Eucalyptus</em> obligna L’Her.</td>
<td>Stringybark</td>
<td>SL KI SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eucalyptus</em> odorata Behr. ex Schldl.</td>
<td>Peppermint Gum</td>
<td>Southern S.Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Eucalyptus</em> viminalis Labill.</td>
<td>Manna Gum</td>
<td>EP SL KI SE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lepidium</td>
<td>Cress</td>
<td>S.Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lycopodium</td>
<td>Puff Ball</td>
<td>Southern S.Aust.</td>
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</table>

* Locality within South Australia
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<tr>
<th>SPECIES</th>
<th>COMMON NAME</th>
<th>LOCALITY</th>
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<tr>
<td>Pittosporum phylliraeoides DC</td>
<td>Aust. Willow</td>
<td>S.Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalliota</td>
<td>Mushroom</td>
<td>Southern S.Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonchus hydrophilus Boulos</td>
<td>Sow Thistle</td>
<td>Southern S.Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sonchus megalocarpus</td>
<td>Sow Thistle</td>
<td>Southern S.Aust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hook.f.) J.Black</td>
<td></td>
<td>LE EA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetragonia tetragonoides (Pall.)</td>
<td>Warrigal Cabbage</td>
<td>LE GT FR EA MU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuntze</td>
<td></td>
<td>YP SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urtica incisa Poiret.</td>
<td>Stinging Nettle</td>
<td>MU KI SE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Xanthorrhoea minor R.Br.</td>
<td>Grasstree</td>
<td>SE</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**KEY TO LOCALITIES**

After Jessop 1984

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1  North-Western
2  Lake Eyre Basin
3  Nullabor
4  Gairdner-Torrens Basin
5  Flinders Ranges
6  Eastern
7  Eyre Peninsula
8  Northern Lofty
9  Murray
10  Yorke Peninsula
11  Southern Lofty
12  Kangaroo Island
13  South-Eastern
14.
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ADELAIDE UNIVERSITY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The Adelaide University Archaeological Society will hold the following meetings at the Little Cinema, Union Building, Level 5.:

2nd July 1986 Speaker: Kim Hughes
Subject: "Druids".

30th July 1986 Speaker: Michael O'Donohue
Subject: "Some Aspects of Ancient Egypt".