Appendix 2: Wik estates

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Compiled by Peter Sutton

Clan estate maps (Maps A2.1–A2.13) here are based on the Australian 1:100,000 map series, which are arranged thus from north to south and west to east:

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On these maps, the estate numbers and dialect abbreviations are placed roughly at the centre of the estate concerned. Estates each contain up to a few score named sites, most but not all of them contiguously distributed, which are not shown here. For example, 87 distinct sites have been identified as belonging to Estate 12, and 148 as belonging to Estate 4. These were among the more intensively mapped estates. For Estate 13, at the other end of the scale, we recorded only 31 sites (Sutton et al. 1990:831–40).

At the head of each estate entry below we give the estate number followed by a map number. The map number refers to the maps within this book.
Map A2.1: Clan estates and languages: Weipa sheet
Source: © Commonwealth of Australia (Geoscience Australia) 2019

Topographic data (C) copyright Commonwealth of Australia (Geoscience Australia) 2019
Map A2.3: Clan estates and languages: Aurukun sheet
Source: © Commonwealth of Australia (Geoscience Australia) 2019
Map A2.4: Clan estates and languages: Wenlock sheet
Source: © Commonwealth of Australia (Geoscience Australia) 2019
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Map A2.6: Clan estates and languages: Archer River sheet
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Source: © Commonwealth of Australia (Geoscience Australia) 2019
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Source: © Commonwealth of Australia (Geoscience Australia) 2019
Map A2.12: Clan estates and languages: Ebagoola sheet
Source: © Commonwealth of Australia (Geoscience Australia) 2019
Map A2.13: Clan estates and languages: Edward River sheet
Source: © Commonwealth of Australia (Geoscience Australia) 2019
ESTATE NUMBER 1 (Map A2.6)

Cover terms: Thoekel; Bottom Love River

Locality description: Lower Love River drainage system.

Core tenure interests: Formerly country of Clan 1 (Old Murray, Cockatoo et al.), now extinct. By succession now the country of Clan 58, after some decades of contested succession with members of Clan 2, possibly with the closely linked clans 2 and 29 collectively. (Clan 58 itself was originally a branch of Clan 8 whose country is on the lower Kirke River.) In 1929 McConnel recorded the male clan name ‘Painkan’ (cf. surname Peinkinna, Clan 2) as being associated with this estate and its Carpet Snake totemic centre (McConnel 1930b), and the male clan name ‘Taitjaman’ (cf. surname Taisman (Tha'-ichman), Clan 29) as being associated with the Kookem (McConnel’s ‘Kokami’) swamp area upstream. Thus, it appears likely that Clan 2 members were making a succession claim to the lower Love River by 1929, while retaining their relative social unity with members of Clan 29 (McConnel listed them joined together as local groups XI(a) and XI(b).) Clans 2 and 29 jointly now claim upper Love River.

A north-eastern portion of old Estate 1, focused on Tha’-achemp (the site of Emu Foot Outstation), has been added to the country of Clan 2/29 (Estate 2) and lost from old Estate 1, by agreement with Clan 58. On the other hand, it appears that southern reaches of the old Yaaneng estate (number 43) have been added to Estate 1 since the demise of its former owners. Thus, in broad terms there has been an extension of Estate 1 northwards along the coast and a contraction of its inland reaches. Such reshaping of estates is not usually documented in this region.

Occupation history: The numerous shell mounds in this estate testify to occupation of some antiquity (Cribb 1986a, 1986b; Cribb et al. 1988; Cribb 1990). Mission cards indicate that ‘Tokalie’ (= Thoekel, lower Love River) was a common broad designation for the country of origin for a number of people at the time of earliest records (1920s). Site records for this estate indicate high continuity in occupation of the land over recent generations until the present. Its rich hunting and fishing grounds, ideal camping places and plentiful wells, as well as its close proximity to Aurukun, have made it easy for people to maintain contact with it when based at Aurukun. The outstation at Munth on the south bank of the mouth of the Love has been occupied regularly since about 1988.
Language association: Formerly Andjingith and Wik-Paach, possibly also Wik-Ngatharr (see Sutton 1997b). By succession now mainly Wik-Elken (Clan 58’s section) and partly Wik-Mungkan (Clan 2/29’s section, although their own languages were in the far distant past Andjingith and Wik-Paach).

Area: Love River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

McConnel map: Carpet Snake, Oyster

ESTATE NUMBER 2 (Map A2.6)

Cover terms: Top Love River

Locality description: Upper Love River drainage system up to the western side of Archer River.

Core tenure interests: Clan 2/29 (Peinkinna, Taisman).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak. Two outstations have been active in this estate: Emu Foot (Tha’-achemp), and Hagen Lagoon (Ochengan-thathenh), both established c. 1990. The former was a former stock camp for the mission cattle operation in the 1940s–70s, and the latter a sandalwooding camp before World War II.

Language association: Formerly Andjingith and Wik-Paach, now Wik-Mungkan.

Area: Love River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

McConnel map: Yellow Fruit, Native Companion

ESTATE NUMBER 3 (Map A2.6)

Cover terms: Munpunung; Wathe-nhiin; Uthuk Eelen ~ Weenem Eelen; Small Lake

Locality description: The Small Lake drainage system which lies between that of Love River and that of Big Lake on the coast. When it overflows in the wet season it empties south into the Big Lake system and thence to the Kirke River, which ends at Cape Keerweer.
Core tenure interests: Formerly Clan 3 (Coconut et al.), on whose demise succession passed to Old Arraman of Estate 4 (Big Lake). By the mid-1970s, succession was again being debated since Arraman’s death without surviving offspring, and the main claims being advanced publicly were those of members of the Wolmby family whose father’s mother had been a former owner (Clan 3), and those of Callum Woolla (1910–82, Clan 31, from nearby Estate 28, but asserting his own claims independently of the majority of Clan 31, hence he was assigned clan number 55 in Aak; since his death there is probably no need now to identify a distinct Clan 55). By the early 1980s succession had settled in favour of Clan 59 (Bowendas), who had, some decades previously, been incorporated into Clan 4 of the contiguous Big Lake area, the same clan as Old Arraman, after arriving from Doomadgee Mission in north-west Queensland. Clan 59’s senior members also maintain an active interest in their ancestral lands in the Nicholson River area of the Northern Territory. By the early 1990s, however, it was clear that Clan 59 (Bowendas) kept a close association with the old Big Lake clan (Ampeybegans) in relation to tenure interests in Small Lake, thus asserting interests over estates 3 and 4 together.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak. A cattle outstation called Peret (after the Wik-Mungkan name Piirrith for the site locally named Poerooroeth, after a well at the southern end of the all-season airstrip) was established in this estate in about 1957. It was the centre of cattle operations in the mission lands for some years, until 1975. The following year Peret was occupied mainly by Cape Keerweer people and their spouses and became an outstation. On the death of Peret (i.e. ‘parrot’) Arkwookerum the outstation was renamed after the well closest to the house and at the northern end of the main airstrip, Watha-nhiin. Details of the populations based here and nearby in the 1970s and 1980s are contained in Sutton (2016b). A number of outstation services, as well as a boys’ detention centre, have at times been based at the southern end of the Peret airstrip, probably at Kal-nyin (known in English as Cattle Camp).

Language association: Formerly Andjingith, possibly both Andjingith and Wik-Ngatharr, in the distant past. Wik-Ngatharr by the early twentieth century. Now Wik-Ngathan due to succession by Clan 59, and partly Wik-Ngatharr due to interests of Clan 4.

Area: Cape Keerweer

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

McConnel map: Goose
ESTATE NUMBER 4 (Map A2.6)

Cover terms: Uthuk (Aweyn); Big Lake

Locality description: The drainage system of Big Lake (Uthuk Aweyn ~ Weenem Aweyn), which collects overflow from the Small Lake system immediately to the north and itself overflows south into the Kirke River.

Core tenure interests: Records indicate a long and stable possessory relationship between this estate and Clan 4 (Ampeybegan, later adding Bowenda). Along the southern edge of the estate there are lands shared with members of Clan 6. In the south-western corner, north of Puunanel to around Kawkey, the northern coastal section of old Estate 11 (patriline extinct) has long been under the custodianship of the owners of Estate 4. Since the 1980s estates 4 and 3 have been closely linked under the effective control of members of Clan 4 (see further Estate 3 and Clan 59).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak. The seasonal pattern of use of this estate under pre-settlement conditions is detailed in Sutton (1978). The lake itself lies in a floodplain and was only used, but for months at a stretch, in the dry seasons. During the cattle era the lake was the location for a stock camp and yards. Since the mid-1970s it has been used as a seasonal outstation. Since the 1980s there has been an intermittent outstation at Kawkey, on the south-western edge of the estate.

Language association: Formerly—and a very long time ago—andjingith (and possibly Wik-Ngatharr as well). For some generations it has been Wik-Ngatharr, but a Wuungk song from Poenp in this estate is still sung in Andjingith.

Area: Cape Keerweer

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 5 (Map A2.6)

Cover terms: Kayncherrang (Kencherang); Woowkeng

Locality description: The drainage system of an unnamed tributary of the Kirke River system that lies east of the Big Lake system and west of the Oony-aw system, downstream until it meets the upper reaches of the permanently filled Kirke estuary.
**Core tenure interests:** Long recognised as country belonging to members of Clan 5 (Wikmuneas). There has also been a regular presence on this estate by members of Clan 32 (Toikalkins), and at the time it was mapped in 1985 they were also recognised by the mapping informants, including members of Clan 5, as its co-owners. Indeed, senior members of Clan 32 have been the mainstay of this outstation since 1976. Some members of other groups rejected this incorporation and stated that members of Clan 32 should instead simply have maintained their ancestral relationship to Estate 7 (lincheng).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. There was some kind of intermittent cattle camp here from the ?1940s onwards. There has been an outstation, occupied intermittently, at or near Kayncherrang (Kencherang Outstation), since 1976.

**Language association:** Wik-Alken. There has been one suggestion from Clifford Toikalkin (Clan 32, 1935 – c. 2012) that the language for this area was formerly Wik-Ep. This would not be surprising, as this was the language of the former owners of adjacent Estate 10 (Waayeng) and was formerly the language of Clan 14 (part-owners of adjacent Estate 14, Ti Tree).

**Area:** Upper Kirke River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 6 (Map A2.6)**

**Cover terms:** Aayk

**Locality description:** The sandridge system on the south-west side of the main Kirke River estuary, and west to the lower Kirke River. On the northeast side of this estuary the estate overlaps with Estate 4 (Big Lake) where a fringing area is held in company with Clan 4. On the coast to the west, from the Kirke mouth north to Puunanel, Estate 6 has assumed custodianship of the northern half of Estate 11 (Kaapathenh) at least pro tem.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 6 (Wolmby/Peemuggina). Custodianship extends to the northern half of old Estate 11 whose former owners died out some decades ago. The southern part of Estate 11 is held in company with members of Clan 8 and Clan 12. There is the possibility that in
time Estate 11 will re-emerge through succession and its present partial incorporation into Estate 6 will then lapse. In the late 1970s the unity of the Wolmby and Peemuggina branches of Clan 6, and their collective tenure of Estate 6, were firm. Some have asserted the Peemugginas ‘really’ come from Knox River area [possibly Estate 19: PS]. They deny this.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. This estate contains the site of the first outstation development of the then Aurukun Mission, that of Aayk, which was begun with airstrip works under the supervision of the late Victor Wolmby in 1971. It and nearby sites have been occupied under the title of ‘Aayk’ or ‘New Aayk’ during most years since then. In the 1990s the outstation on this estate was located close to Mulpa’el-nhii; another outstation at Wiip-aw on the lower Kirke River has also been occupied. A commercial fisher called Eddie Fisher erected a house and freezing plant at Winchenng in this estate, or in part of old Estate 11 run by the owners of Estate 6, in the early 1980s. He was forced by local government to abandon the site in the mid-1990s but later returned.

**Language association:** Wik-Ngathan.

**Area:** Cape Keerweer

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 7 (Map A2.6)**

**Cover terms:** Iincheng

**Locality description:** The middle Kirke estuary, mainly on the south-western side, south-east of the Aayk area.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 7 (Toikalkin [Older]). Younger generations of this clan (referred to here as Clan 32) have shifted their country interests to the adjacent Estate 5, and Kencherang Outstation. See Estate 5 for further details.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Ngatharr.

**Area:** Cape Keerweer

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate
ESTATE NUMBER 8 (Map A2.5)

Cover terms: Warpang

Locality description: A small estate, south of the lower Kirke River and west of Estate 6, which lies mainly along the floodplain edge of the sandridge system on the south-western side of the main Kirke River estuary.

Core tenure interests: Clan 8. This formerly consisted of three main branches, known by the mission surnames: Namponans, Karntins, and Walmbengs. Of these, Namponans maintain a key role as custodians. Karntin descendants (e.g. Rebecca Wolmby) do not include any living people of this surname. Walmbengs, while acknowledging their patrilineal origins in the Warpang estate, have succeeded to Estate 1 (q.v.) on the basis of Rex and Cecil Walmbeng’s matrifilial connection with that estate and do not actively pursue country interests in Estate 8. Walmbengs are now Clan 58.

Occupation history: Easily and regularly accessed from nearby outstations such as Aayk since the early 1970s.

Language association: Wik-Elken (same dialect form as Wik-Ngatharr).

Area: Cape Keerweer

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 9 (Map A2.6)

Cover terms: Eer-en

Locality description: An area of sandridges and perched swamps with drainage into the lower Kirke River, east of Cape Keerweer and south of the main Kirke River estuary.

Core tenure interests: Clan 9 (Comprabars). Many places in this estate have overlapping interests held by clans with neighbouring estates, particularly 11, 12 and 13.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Elken (dialect form also known as Wik-Ngatharr).
Area: Cape Keerweer

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 10 (Map A2.6)

Cover terms: Waayeng, Waareng

Locality description: A small drainage system on the middle Kirke River between the Kanyakerrang system and the Ti Tree system.

Core tenure interests: Clan 10, patrilineally extinct, but members’ interests have been passed down to Ross Douglas Koonutta and Rebecca Karntin.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak. This was one of the staging points for cattle when being walked out from Peret and/or Big Lake to the railhead at Mungana hundreds of kilometres to the south-east. There was a yard here during cattle time (roughly 1950s – early 1970s).

Language association: Wik-Ep (also known in this case as Wik-Iit).

Area: Upper Kirke River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 11 (Map A2.5)

Cover terms: Kaapathenh; Theew-en; (older usage:) Yu’engk (mission spelling ‘Yonko’); Cape Keerweer mouth

Locality description: The area both north and south of the mouth of the Kirke River, the central point of which is usually known as Cape Keerweer.

Core tenure interests: Clan 11 became extinct many years ago, and the estate has become divided in its custodianship. To the north custodianship of parts of it have been assumed by owners of Estate 4. Just north of the Kirke mouth parts of it have been under custodianship of owners of Estate 6. South of the mouth areas have been looked after by owners of Estate 12, or in some cases jointly by estates 8 and 12, and east of the mouth some places have been looked after by owners of Estate 6.
**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*, where Wik oral traditions relate events dating back to c. 1885. An outstation was established at Wiip-aw in this estate in the 1980s, and continued to be occupied over several years until the establishment of the nearby outstation at Kawkey.

**Language association:** Wik-Ngatharr.

**Area:** Cape Keerweer

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 12 (Map 2.9)**

**Cover terms:** Um-thunth, Moving Stone; sometimes Ngul-mungk.

**Locality description:** On the coast immediately south of Cape Keerweer and extending inland south-east along parallel ridge systems, including a series of large permanent swamps. The southern reaches of old Estate 11 are looked after by the clan who hold Estate 12, at least for the time being, as Clan 11 is extinct.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 12 (northern Yunkaportas).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. An outstation was begun at Kaapathenh in old Estate 11 by members of Clan 12 in early 1976 and the sheets of iron left there for this purpose were still there many years later.

**Language association:** Wik-Mungkan (coastal variety).

**Area:** Cape Keerweer

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 13 (Map A2.6)**

**Cover terms:** Thinthaw-aw

**Locality description:** On the sandridge systems south of the middle Kirke River and creeks that drain north into the middle Kirke. Midway between the coastal estates (mainly 12) and the inland (mainly sclerophyll forest) estate of Ti Tree (14). Closely associated with Estate 14 on its southern side, the waters of which drain south into the Knox River system.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 13 (Marbendinars).
**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Their language is known both as Wik-Ep and Wik-Me’enjh.

**Area:** Knox River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

### ESTATE NUMBER 14 (see also 27) (Map A2.6)

**Cover terms:** Ti Tree; Wanke-nhiyeng

**Locality description:** The ‘Tea Tree Creek’ drainage system (a tributary of the Kirke River), but focused on Ti Tree Lagoon, and extending down to the edge of the salt pans close to the middle Kirke River. In the 1970s the estate was distinguished from Estate 27, which encompassed the next creek system to the north of here, namely the main Kirke channel, with a focus on the large lagoons about Yongk-uyengam. When mapped in 1990, both creek systems were held to be in the same estate.

**Core tenure interests:** Clans 14, 35, 37—the picture is complicated, however. In the mid-1970s Clan 35 (Ngakyunkwokkas, Kawangkas [originally at least] and Bells) was identified as the main group of owners for Estate 14, and Clan 14 (Ti Tree Pootchemunkas) was identified as the main group for Estate 27 (Yongk-uyengam, the main Kirke channel). When further parts of the area were mapped in 1990, and on subsequent inquiries in 1997, clans 14 and 35 were identified as one group claiming both creek systems together. The *Aak* volume also lists Clan 37 (Koo’oilas) for Ti Tree. This came about through the adoption of Eric Koo’oila.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. There was a cattle camp at Ti Tree for many years from the ?1940s. In 1976 Bob Massey Pootchemunka and others established an outstation there and it has continued to be occupied intermittently since then.

**Language association:** Wik-Mungkan. (Ngakyunkwokkas are said to have originally been affiliated to Wik-Ep).

**Area:** Upper Kirke River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate
ESTATE NUMBER 15 (Map A2.9)

**Cover terms:** Thaangkunh-nhiin (‘Tonkaning’)

**Locality description:** Mainly a series of parallel ridge systems, many containing shellgrit, on the coast between Estate 12 (the southern side of Cape Keerweer) and Estate 18 on the northern side of the mouth of Knox River. Overflow water from Estate 15 flows south into the Knox River system.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 15 (Landises, Gothachalkenins, Eundatumweakins)

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. An estate with very focused and continuous occupation in the latter years of the life of Clan 15 senior figure Billy Wildfellow, who died nearby and was buried at Thee’engkangk (site 155, *Aak* p. 523) in the late 1940s. He was photographed at Cape Keerweer in 1933 by Donald Thomson (see Sutton 2019:262–63). Thaangkunh-nhiin, the site, appears to have been a major base camp for semi-nomadic Wik people into the 1960s (see Aurukun Mission cards), and an outstation near this site (‘Tonkaning’) was occupied over a number of years after about 1989. An earlier outstation was set up here and a building erected, at Moomanchem, in 1978, by Billy Landis and others.

**Language association:** Wik-Ngathan (some senior members of Clan 15 used the alternative name Wik-lincheyn for some time in the 1970s and 1980s).

**Area:** Knox River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**McConnel map:** Spear-handle

ESTATE NUMBER 16 (Map A2.9)

**Cover terms:** Bullyard; Am; older usage: Nhooyengk

**Locality description:** A flood plain fringed mainly on the west by parallel sandridges, on the north side of the middle Knox River, into which its waters drain. Midway between the coast and the inland dry sclerophyll country. Closely associated with Estate 13 immediately to its north.
Core tenure interests: Clan 16 (Marpoondins).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak. An outstation was established in this estate in c. 1980–81 at Am, a long narrow permanent lagoon. Its original instigators were members of Clan 17, closely related to Clan 16. This outstation is usually known as Bullyard. Its principal occupants for a considerable time were core members of Clan 16 and their families.

Language association: Wik-Me’enh.

Area: Knox River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 17 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: Walngal; Top Knox. Older usage: Konkooth, also Komeng

Locality description: The upper Knox River drainage system down as far as the parallel dune system just west of the sclerophyll forest country, at the eastern end of the pericoastal floodplain.

Core tenure interests: 17 (Pamtoondas).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak. An outstation was set up here in 1990 and has been intermittently occupied since. Its core occupants were members of Clan 17 and their spouses and other family. A number of this group spent a month here in 1986 during mapping of the estate by David Martin.

Language association: Wik-Mungkan

Area: Upper Knox River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 18 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: Eere-mangk (‘Errimunka’); Oonem-ee’enh (Wik-Elken), Oonem-thee’enh (Wik-Ngathan, Wik-Mungkan); older usage: Ithenang

Locality description: The coastal ridge systems west of the floodplain, from the north bank of the lower Knox River northwards.
Core tenure interests: 18 (Koomeetas, Pamulkans, Tybingoompas).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak. Planning for an outstation in this estate has focused on the site Oonem-ee’enh (127). Gladys Tybingoompa (Clan 27) was born at Ithenang in this estate in 1946.

Language association: Wik-Elken (Wik-Ngatharr).

Area: Knox River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

McConnel map: [Big Tide &] Thunder

ESTATE NUMBER 19 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: Not recorded

Locality description: A small area about half way between the mouths of the Knox and Kendall rivers on the pericoastal ridge system.

Core tenure interests: Clan 19 (Arkapena Peemuggina), now extinct. Most of the mapped sites in this estate are looked after by extant clans with neighbouring estates, especially 21 (Korkaktains).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Ngathan.

Area: Knox River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 20 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: Piithel; Eeye-mangk (Wik-Mungkan), Eere-mangk (Wik-Elken)

Locality description: The south side of the lower Knox River, at the mouth, and including ridge systems and creeks draining north into Knox River.

Core tenure interests: Clan 20 (southern Yunkaporta).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.
**Language association:** Wik-Mungkan (coastal variety).

**Area:** Knox River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 21(/101) (Map A2.9)**

**Cover terms:** Kuchent-eypenh

**Locality description:** The coast and pericoastal sandridge systems on the north side of the mouth of the Kendall River, from which overflow and creeks drain south into the Kendall.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 21 (Korkaktains) (= Clan 101).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. Extensive records from 1928 onwards exist for occupation here by traditional owners of countries in the immediate region, many of whom are named in these records. Aurukun Mission maintained an informal mission outstation here in the period between 1928 and c. 1958, run by Archiewald Otomorathin (and her husband Uki until his death in 1948). An outstation was established in this estate at Kuchent-eypenh in 1977. Occupation of this camp was regular until 1985, and has been intermittent subsequently.

**Language association:** Wik-Elken, Wik-Ngathan.

**Area:** Lower Kendall River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**McConnel map:** Pelican

**ESTATE NUMBER 22(/103) (Map A2.9)**

**Cover terms:** Not recorded

**Locality description:** Both sides of the lower middle Kendall River, mainly on the south side in its eastern reaches.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 22/103 (Southern Woollas).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Ngathan.
Area: Middle Kendall River

Sites: See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Thuyunh, Pu’anhdha

McConnel map: Baby

**ESTATE NUMBER 23 (Map A2.9)**

Cover terms: Weten; Dish Yard

Locality description: On the north side of the middle Kendall River from the edge of the floodplain east to near Thaa’pulnh; its creeks and watercourses run south into Kendall River.

Core tenure interests: Formerly Clan 23/104, now extinct. In the mid and late 1970s the estate was subject to a protracted debate over succession. Two senior members of Clan 28 (Yantumba/Holroyd), originally from the upper Christmas Creek area, claimed the estate as that of their father, but more accurately on the basis of intimate knowledge of the area and a long history of use of it. Senior members of Clan 90/105 denied this claim and asserted their own succession through the clan leader, for whom it was mother’s country. He also knew the estate intimately. In the late 1970s and early 1980s the two main protagonists died and the issue became quieter. A nephew of the Clan 28 protagonist continued to pursue their claims on his own behalf. Clan 41 (Kowearptas) and Clan 38 (Marbthowans) have customary tenure interests in the area, recorded since the pre-war period, but appear to have refrained from entering discussions over the fate of Estate 23.

Occupation history: See site records in *Aak*. A stock yard and airstrips were constructed here in the 1960s when the Bureau of Mineral Resources had a bulldozer in the area. An outstation was intermittently occupied here from 1978.

Language association: Sutton’s informants gave the language of the former owning clan (23/104) as Wik-Me’enh. Von Sturmer’s gave it as Wik-lincheyn (= Wik-Ngathan). Both, however, agreed the totemic name of their dialect was Wik-Waangk ~ Kugu Wangga (Woven Bag Language).
ESTATE NUMBER 24 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: Chaaperreng

Locality description: Largely on the north side of the lower Kendall River, east of the coastal ridge system, on the pericoastal ridges and east across the floodplain to the first inland ridge system. The water from here flows south into the Kendall. There is an error in the Aak volume: Estate 24 is shown on Map 12 south-east of here; this area is that of Estate ?102.

Core tenure interests: Formerly Clan 43. This clan is extinct. The identification of deceased woman Watingowa as a member of this clan in the Aak documentation needs correction; she was a member of Clan 21. Certain descendants of members of Clan 6 (branch A, descendants of Mulloch Wolmby), and of Clan 27 (Kalkeeyortas) trace close ancestral connections to the estate’s former owners.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Ngathan.

Area: Lower Kendall River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 25 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: Minh-thii’er-pecheng

Locality description: This estate number was used by Peter Sutton and David Martin for land that is also von Sturmer’s Estate 110. There are entries in Aak under both numbers. See 110 for the major details.

Core tenure interests: Clan 110 (Karyukas). See 110 for details.

Occupation history: See 110.

Language association: See 110.

Area: Lower Kendall River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. See 110
ESTATE NUMBER 26 (Map A2.9)

**Cover terms:** Thum-merriy

**Locality description:** In the parallel ridge country near the coast between the Kirke and Knox rivers, south-east of Cape Keerweer.

**Core tenure interests:** Formerly Clan 44 (Samuel Chii’iiy), now extinct. The estate was apparently divided in terms of custodianship between neighbouring estates 15 and 18, in the 1970s.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Not recorded.

**Area:** Knox River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

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ESTATE NUMBER 27 (Map A2.6)

**Cover terms:** Yongk-uyengam

**Locality description:** The upper middle drainage system of the main Kirke River channel, focused on the large permanent lagoon at Yongk-uyengam and Pe’.

**Core tenure interests:** Clans 14, 35, 37. See Estate 14 for details. Briefly: at different times this area has been defined as part of the same estate as Estate 14, at other times distinct from it but closely allied to it. When distinct, it was particularly associated with Clan 35. When combined, it is associated with linked clans 14/35 and 37. Current status: combined with 14 under the general title of ‘Ti Tree’.

**Occupation history:** See 14.

**Language association:** See 14.

**Area:** Upper Kirke River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. 745 Pe’, 746 Yongk-uyengam
ESTATE NUMBER 28 (Map A2.6)

**Cover terms:** Oony-aw (‘Ornyawa’)

**Locality description:** The drainage of the creek system that lies just north of the main Kirke channel, focused on the large permanent lagoons at Oony-aw (‘Ornyawa Lagoons’), north-west across the upper reaches of several more creek systems to the upper reaches of creeks flowing west into Small Lake and north-west into Love River. It also extends to within a few kilometres of Archer River on the north-east. In that sense it lies between, rather than on, the main defining geographic systems of the region.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 31 (northern Woollas). The emergent Clan 55 listed in *Aak* (that of Callum Woolla) can now be re-defined as a branch of Clan 31 since his decease. The Clan 30 (Lou Yunkaporta) of *Aak* seems merely to have been a branch of 31—however, she was laying claim to Oony-aw in 1985 during mapping in the area, but her claims there were not accepted by all. On the other hand, her clan totems match those of 31 and one of them (Ghost) matches the key site in the estate, typical of inland clan/estate relations. Since her passing the issue of whether she was of a separate clan has lapsed.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Mungkan.

**Area:** Upper Kirke River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**McConnel map:** Male Ghosts, Female Ghosts, Baby, Swamp Fish (‘min kiwa [Silver Jewfish]’), Bird sp. [‘min nguttham’])

ESTATE NUMBER 29 (Map A2.3)

**Cover terms:** Lower Watson

**Locality description:** The Watson River from about 3 km below the Merkunga Creek junction to the junction of the Watson and the Archer; New Chum Crossing, Police Lagoon, to Oyenten; south-east to Kokialah Creek (at least some interests here, see site 2551 in *Aak*); Aurukun area north to just beyond the airstrips.
Core tenure interests: Clan 36 (Watson River Koo’ekkas), patriline now extinct. Succession principally via offspring of deceased Clan 36 women, hence interests now principally Comprabars, Bandacootchas.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Formerly Wik-Ompom [i.e. Mbiywom]. Now Wik-Mungkan.

Area: Watson River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 30 (Map A2.3)

Cover terms: Kolet-aw (site 2338); Lower Watson east

Locality description: Between the lower Watson River and Kokialah Creek.

Core tenure interests: Clan 46, patriline extinct: Dan and Hope, Connie Clark (mother of Bessie Savo), Polly Fruit (mother of Matthew and Lawrence Fruit). Possibly included Old Luke, listed in Aak as Clan 49, focal site 2345 Kuympay-awenyin, listed p. 183 as Estate 30.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Ompom (Mbiywom). Now Wik-Mungkan?

Area: Watson River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. 2338 Kolet-aw (~ Minh-kolet-aw), 2345 Kuympay-awenyin

ESTATE NUMBER 31 (Map A2.3)

Cover terms: Mukiy; Small Archer

Locality description: On the south side of Watson River below the Kokialah Creek junction to where the Watson meets the Archer (Main Archer); up Kokialah Creek at least to its junction with Lizzie Creek; south to include the whole system flowing into the Small Archer (i.e. the lower Tompaten Creek of the official maps), including Kargum, Tompaten and Mowin Creeks. It is possible Kokialah Creek was formerly a distinct
estate as it appears in the early literature associated with a language that Clan 33 people do not identify with (‘Kokiala—perhaps more accurately Kuuk-Iiyala or similar).

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 33 (Pambegans). A number of descendants of Geraldine née Pambegan and the late Mittaboy [‘Mr Boyd’] Kawangka follow the Pambegan country interest more firmly than the Kawangka one (Clan 35, Ti Tree area).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. An outstation called Mukiy (Mookie) was established on the upper reaches of Kargum Creek in the 1980s, and has been in frequent use since then.

**Language association:** Wik-Mungkan.

**Area:** Small Archer

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Also: Makarrang (Nundah Yard)

**McConnel map:** Mangrove, Bonefish, Fly, Frog, Bullroarer

**ESTATE NUMBER 32 (Map A2.3)**

**Cover terms:** Upper Watson East

**Locality description:** [information not available]

**Core tenure interests:** [information not available]

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. See also references to Emmy Landing in Aurukun Mission records.

**Language association:** [information not available]

**Area:** [information not available]

**Sites:** [information not available]

**ESTATE NUMBER 33 (Map A2.3)**

**Cover terms:** Watson Crossing

**Locality description:** Watson Crossing area, Oyónton (also Oyenten ~ Ayónton depending on language; Oyenten is Mn, Oyónton is Mbiywom). *Information from Roy Jingle with Alice Mark*: All of Horse
Creek. (Where Horse Creek meets York Downs Creek, this estate meets that of Alice Mark.) Moonlight Creek, from there up to Leichhardt Yard (lagoon and yard), south to Yokai Yard, south-west along the Merluna boundary fence, hits the head of Twintpen Creek (Aurukun turnoff), hits a rise, straight from there to Oyenten Swamp. Also Alfie Yard, east from Cox Creek Yard. Cox Creek, 4 km north-east of Old York Downs. Kariko [= Keriko]—a lagoon on top from which a creek flows (?Kurracoo Creek), also a Goanna (Andjal) Story Place is nearby at Goanna Lagoon on Goanna Creek. Twintpen (~ Tawínt-pen) is a branch from the same creek. Swamp Turtle (Ilkutj) story is at Oyonton, a swamp on a tableland with no creek, and part of the old mission reserve. Old York Downs (Sudley) is part of this country. Pineapple Lagoon, Pineapple Yard also. From Annie George: Oyonton, Pitj(i) Lagoon (‘Pitj’ from English ‘Fitz’, Mbiywom name Uchányang, also = ‘Blue Lagoon’), Horse Creek, Moonlight Creek. (Alice Mark also says: at Police Lagoon)

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 48 (Georges, Parkers and Days).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. On the main road between Aurukun and the outside world including Weipa, hence long frequented, hunted and camped in by custodians and others on a regular basis.

**Language association:** Mbiywom (= Mbeywom), also known in Wik-Mungkan etc. as Wik-Ompom; also known as Orrkel.

**Area:** [information not available]

**Sites:** See above.

### ESTATE NUMBER 34 (Map A2.3)

**Cover terms:** Ward River, Paydan

**Locality description:** Lower Ward River from about Tappelbang Creek to (below?) the junction of Sandy Creek with the Ward; up the Ward via Paydan to Beagle Camp; includes the farm on Possum Creek. Mapped in some detail, see Aak and 1995 mapping.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 60 and descendants (Owokrans), but other interests are acknowledged.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak.*
**Language association:** Andjingith (Wik-Ayangench).

**Area:** Wik-Way

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. (*Aak* p. 66 has 308 Ikeleth but probably not correct.)

**ESTATE NUMBER 35 (Map A2.3)**

**Cover terms:** Uwbun, alt. Ubun

**Locality description:** The promontory forming the east side of the lower Ward River estuary, and east to near Aurukun.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 61, the former owners, are extinct. Custodianship principally by those holding interests in adjacent estates (see Clan 61 for details). Regular use by wider Aurukun population as a kind of commons may be a factor in delaying or preventing full classical type of succession.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. See Roger Cribb’s (1986a, 1986b) data on old shell mounds and earth oven remains in the area. In more or less continuous use, at least in dry seasons, since the early days of Aurukun Mission, as it is close to the township.

**Language association:** Andjingith.

**Area:** Wik-Way

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate; 2399 Uwbun

**ESTATE NUMBER 36 (Map A2.3)**

**Cover terms:** Wuthan

**Locality description:** From the mouth of Archer River north along the coast and inland to the lower Ward River estuary, north as far as the dunefields and their southward-trending drainage go.

**Core tenure interests:** Formerly Clan 62 (last member probably the long deceased woman Mookerr-ethenh). In the 1970s the main claimants to succession, long engaged in debate over the question, were the late Fred Kerindun and late Geraldine Kawangka. No longer in serious dispute by 1995, when conjoint interests were asserted by holders of surrounding
estates (Owokrans and descendants, e.g. Alison Woolla); regular use by wider Aurukun population as a kind of commons may be a factor in delaying or preventing classical type of succession.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. An army base was operated here at Wuthan during World War II. In the post-War period Aurukun people planted and ran a coconut plantation here. Victor Wolmby, then known as Victor Coconut, was one of the overseers of the plantation work. In regular use most of the year for recreation, fishing etc. by Aurukun residents.

**Language association:** Andjingith (Wik-Ayangench).

**Area:** Wik-Way

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. 649 Wuthan

**ESTATE NUMBER 37 (Map A2.9)**

**Cover terms:** Kuympay-aw

**Locality description:** [information not available]

**Core tenure interests:** Possibly Clan 38 (Marbthowans—e.g. Akay, Joyce Woolla).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Mungkan?

**Area:** Upper Kirke River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 38 (Map A2.3)**

**Cover terms:** Amban

**Locality description:** On the coast about Norman Creek and False Pera Head.

**Core tenure interests:** Formerly Clan 64 (Go’olfree), patriline now extinct. Interests held by Goodman Chevathen, father’s father of Andrew Chevathen, but on what basis is not clear (possibly mother’s country). Custodial interests include those of Kerinduns (Clan 68), and perhaps others.
Occupation history: See site records in *Aak*. An outstation called Amban (sometimes spelled Umbung) was established here c. 1988.

Language association: Ndra’ngith.

Area: Wik-Way

Sites: See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

### ESTATE NUMBER 39 (Map A2.1)

**Cover terms:** Mbang, Urquhart Point

**Locality description:** On the coast south from the mouth of the Embley River. Urquhart Point (Mbang), to Wulndrrun, Traylak Creek mouth, possibly as far as Thiitj Lagoon and Lwemdjin Lagoon.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 70 (descendants of Arthur Dick; also Yorks?)

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Mamangathi (Mamngayth).

**Area:** Wik-Way

**Sites:** See locality description above.

### ESTATE NUMBER 40 (Map A2.1)

**Cover terms:** Pera Head, Malnyinyu (Mission records: ‘Mullino’)

**Locality description:** On the coast at Pera Head and Boyd Point, and towards Winda Winda Creek.

**Core tenure interests:** Formerly Clan 66, that of Mabel Pamulkan née Taisman, patriline now extinct. Interests held by Mabel’s descendants, e.g. through Harold Pamulkan and Mildred Kerindun. Joanne Wolmby’s interests came from her mother’s mother Maggie, sister of Jimmy Clarke.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Adithinngithigh.

**Area:** Wik-Way

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. 2452 Pera Head
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ESTATE NUMBER 41 (Map A2.3)

**Cover terms:** Thud Point, Upu-mren

**Locality description:** On the coast, focused on Thud Point between Norman River and Pera Head.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 65. Also interests now collectively by Wik-Way group.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. Andrew Chevathen and family were visiting from Weipa in the 1990s. He was born at Pera Head, regularly using the surrounding country till age c. 12 (his birthdate: 1938).

**Language association:** Ndra'ngith.

**Area:** Wik-Way (Winda-Winda)

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**McConnel map:** [information not available]

ESTATE NUMBER 42 (Map A2.3)

**Cover terms:** Lower Archer River, Meerokem

**Locality description:** The estate runs from, and includes, Sidney Island, originally on both sides of the main Archer, up as far as Mach-aw (the northern ‘Stoney Crossing’). Mach-aw is held in company with Estate 66. Succession to the area on the western bank of the Archer between Okenychang as far as Kerinth has passed to the Taisman family (see Clan 29), under arrangements made by the late Edward Koondumbin. The Koondumbin estate adjoins that of the Pambegans (Estate 31, see Clan 33) to the east.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 34 (Koondumbins).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. Edward Koondumbin vigilantly policed the Archer River. He made complaints about the operations of commercial barramundi fishermen in his waters right up until his death. He directly confronted certain fishermen (e.g. Fred Spore and Fred Zeimer), and told them to get out of his river. Others, he told to move their nets. He would tell them; ‘I am boss of this river’. This was as late as Doug Featherstone’s time (early 1980s), it is said.
Most of this country, particularly certain important sites along the river, continue to be frequently used. In the mid-1970s, there were large numbers of people camped up the Archer, including at Thudhem. During the mapping trip, there were several camps—on an island opposite Thudhem, and at Achan for instance—as well as at Aegan (Hagan) Lagoon. While the Archer has in some respects become an area where many Wik people go out to camp, all Aurukun people acknowledge that this area belongs to the Koondumbins, and Aurukun people generally ask them permission to come and camp or hunt in this country.

Language association: Wik-Mungkan.

Area: Lower Archer

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

McConnel map: Fish Hawk, Dilly-bag, Fishing net, Parrot, Rock-cod, Swampduck, Waterlily

ESTATE NUMBER 43 (Map A2.3)

Cover terms: Yaaneng

Locality description: South side of the mouth of Archer River.

Core tenure interests: Formerly Clan 82 (Stephen Owokran). Principal succession at 1994 was to Alison Woolla (her mother’s country). Senior members of Clan 58 (Walmbengs) have custodial interests.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak. Long in use, in and after mission times, as a base camp area. Formerly site of a major initiation ground. Used regularly by Aurukun residents.

Language association: Formerly Wik-Paach and/or Andjingith.

Area: Lower Archer

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. 662 Yaaneng

McConnel map: Dugong, also Shark?
ESTATE NUMBER 44 (Map A2.3)

Cover terms: Bamboo, Big Bamboo; formerly Minh-wuthel

Locality description: Area of Bamboo cattle outstation, west wide of lower Archer River.

Core tenure interests: Formerly Clan 71 (Wik Ngak, i.e. Water Totem clan, now extinct).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak. Long used in mission times as a cattle yarning, branding, butchering centre, banishment camp from mission etc.

Language association: Former owners Wik-Paach (= Wik-Ngaangungker).

Area: Lower Archer

Sites: Minh-wuthel (Big Bamboo)

ESTATE NUMBER 45 (Map A2.1)

Cover terms: Moyngom (Hey Point)

Locality description: Hey Point area.

Core tenure interests: Clan 63 (Matthews).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Linngithigh.

Area: Wik-Way

Sites: See 1995 mapping data. Moyngom (~ Mayngum, Hey Pt), Praenjim, Tiich

ESTATE NUMBER 46 (Map A2.1)

Cover terms: Anyiyam (Mission cards: ‘Anyiema, Weipa mouth’)

Locality description: Lower southern side of Embley River.

Core tenure interests: Clan 67 (Chevathun (A), Kelinda).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.
Language association: Alngith.

Area: Wik-Way

Sites: Anyiyam (Roberts Creek), Nggoraynam, Ndrrilikiyach

**ESTATE NUMBER 47 (Map A2.1)**

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: Mainly inland, between the coast (just south of the lower Embley) and the lower Hey estuary; Winda Winda Creek; interests in Mbang; possibly interests at Hey Point?

Core tenure interests: Clan 68 (Kerinduns).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Linngithigh.

Area: Wik-Way

Sites: [information not available]

**ESTATE NUMBER 48 (Map A2.5)**

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: Upper drainage system of Running Creek upstream of the junction of Middle Creek and Running Creek, including the Meripah homestead area and south of it.

Core tenure interests: Clan 69 (Warnkoolas/Kepples (B)).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Iy-eyn (also given as Wik-Iiyenh).

Area: Upper Archer

Sites: Minchakngaateng, Thampoon, Ngooni. Paamp Impen-eng, Thamerr-eng
ESTATE NUMBER 49 (Map A2.5)

Cover terms: Ku’-aw

Locality description: Lower Running Creek downstream from its junction with Middle Creek to its junction with Archer River, and along Archer River, focused particularly on its anabranch lake Ku’-aw (‘Tea Tree Lagoon’) and the hinterland lagoons to the south that overflow into it. At the homestead area of Kendall River Holding, North to Nhapi (Lake Archer), and possibly on the north side of the Archer below Ku’-aw. South-west to the region of Po’on and towards (but not including) Thaa’-pulnh on a tributary of the middle Kendall.

In 1929 McConnel recorded two linked estates (IX(a) and (b)) for here (see details under Clan 39). At that time the more southerly of the two had only one female survivor while the more northerly one, associated with the Koowarta/Pahimbung patriline, had 8–10 people. It seems most likely that the estate of old IX(b) has been absorbed into that of IX(a) on the extinction of the patriline associated with the former.

Core tenure interests: Clan 39 (Koowartas, Pahimbungs).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak, where there is an emphasis on early associations with sandalwooders in this area. In the 1980s/90s there was use of the estate from Meripah, later from Aurukun.

Language association: Wik-Iyenya.

Area: Upper Archer


McConnel map: Palm, Dingo, Leech; Kangaroo; probably White Water Snake (i.e. File Snake, see Mulayng-aw)

ESTATE NUMBER 50 (= 113, latter is primary number for estate map) (Map A2.10)

Cover terms: Kakelang-aw (also Tha’e-kakel)

Locality description: Upper Kendall River, from the westernmost of two waterfalls downstream for 20 or 30 km, together with swamps and associated local drainage. The focal site in the estate is Agu Tha’u Kakalang
(Sparrowhawk Talons) or Kakalang-ngan nga, known in Wik-Mungkan as Tha’e-kakel or Kakelang-aw. Von Sturmer 1978: Head of Kendall, right on top, on south arm; up from Achamb-awu.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 40/113 (Peinyekkas/Jingles).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. Roddy Kemthan and Rosie Ahlers had been there while working for Rokeby.

**Language association:** Wik-Iiyanh.

**Area:** Upper Kendall

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**McConnel map:** Chicken-hawk

**ESTATE NUMBER 51 (Map A2.1)**

**Cover terms:** Chaa’-ngkoth; Upper Hey River

**Locality description:** The upper drainage system of the Hey River, the south-eastern half, roughly.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 50 (Motton).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Ngkoth.

**Area:** Wik-Way

**ESTATE NUMBER 52 (Map A2.1)**

**Cover terms:** Onhánggun

**Locality description:** The south-western creeks and associated drainage area of the upper Hey River system.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 51 (Mark, Kangaroo, Daisy Brodie)).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Arraythinngith (= Arrithinngithigh, Arreythinwum depending on language used).
**Area:** Wik-Way

**Sites:** Onhánggun (also Anánggun), Idhholdja, Ndholndjin, Okaw (also Ikaw), Takun, Tjilwin, Moonlight Lagoon

Note: Estate 54 formerly assigned separately, now deleted as this is same estate.

**ESTATE NUMBER 53 (Map A2.1)**

**Cover terms:** [information not available]

**Locality description:** West side of the middle Hey River.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 52 (Blowhards; Ida Paul, mother of Joyce Hall and Thancoupie (Gloria Fletcher))

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Latumngith.

Area: Inclusion of this land in the Wik-Way area by others was not accepted by Joyce Hall—or was it that she rejected the appellation ‘Wik-Way’ on the basis that, while a custodian of this estate, she herself was not Wik-Way because her primary identification was with her father’s area further to the north?

Sites: Joyce Hall and Thancoupie include Moyngom, disputed.

**ESTATE NUMBER 54 see 52**

**ESTATE NUMBER 55 (Map A2.3)**

**Cover terms:** [information not available]

**Locality description:** South-west of Watson Crossing.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 54 (patriline extinct). Custodial interests held by ?

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Possibly Mbiywom.
Area: Wik-Way

Sites: [information not available]

Note: This number was originally assigned (in *Aak*) to the Kunche-ku’ area north-east of Peret Outstation, which was particularly associated with Callum Woolla. He was, however, a member of Clan 31, owners of the Oony-aw estate (28). Since his death we have not been aware of a distinction being made between Oony-aw and Kunche-ku’ areas that resembles an assertion of two estates.

**ESTATE NUMBER 56 (Map A2.3)**

**Cover terms**: Yagalmungkan(h) area

**Locality description**: Lower Ward River from about Cowplace Creek downstream but not as far as Uwbun.

**Core tenure interests**: Clan 56 (patriline extinct). Succession is subject to ongoing negotiations.

**Occupation history**: See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association**: Andjingith?

Area: Wik-Way

Sites: See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Yagalmungkanh

**ESTATE NUMBER 57 (Map A2.3)**

**Cover terms**: Ikeleth; Waterfall

**Locality description**: On the coast north of Archer River from about Ikeleth to Waterfall, Ina Creek and Alichin Point.

**Core tenure interests**: Clan 57, patriline extinct. Long claimed by Cyril Owokran by succession, in addition to his patrilineal estate on the lower Ward River (Estate 34). Joint interests by southern Wik-Way people, and, some would say, all Wik-Way people. Rexie Wolmby asserted an interest in the Ikeleth area on the basis of his late father’s (Alan Wolmby’s) birthplace (1930) and afterbirth tree there. Although this assertion had
limited support, at Alan Wolmby’s house-opening ceremony in c. 1991 the house was unlocked by Andrew Chevathen (Clan 65, Estate 41, Thud Point, Wik-Way).

**Occupation history:** See site record in *Aak*. In regular use, except when closed for mourning purposes, by residents of Aurukun, especially those from a Wik-Way family.

**Language association:** Andjingith?

**Area:** Wik-Way

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 58 (Map A2.6)**

**Cover terms:** Mid Archer River (south)

**Locality description:** Along the Archer River between Stony Crossing and Ku’-aw. South of the main Archer River; adjoins the Koowarta estate to the east. The large ‘island’ running from near Stoney Crossing, where the Archer forms two major branches, is held in company with those from north of the Archer (Estate 66, Clan 76).

**Core tenure interests:** The former owners appear to be extinct in a direct patrilineal sense. Koowartas have expressed custodial interest, possibly Taismans, and more recently Oonyaw Woollas. Extinct clan numbered 77, probably Bushnut and Nailfish (see McConnel below); evidence about them may be in Thomson’s 1933 genealogies.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Mungkan; also ?Chiluk (Noel Peemuggina to PS).

**Area:** Middle Archer

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Includes the helicopter crash site, a well-known landmark. Punth-eempening (Roddie Yard)

**McConnel map:** Probably: Bushnut, Nailfish (*min jintan’* [minh chintan])
ESTATE NUMBER 59 (Map A2.10)

Cover terms: Thaa’-pulnh

Locality description:

Core tenure interests: Former owners unidentified. Succession has passed at least to the custodianship of Clan 40/113 (Peinyekkas/Jingles) whose focal estate is immediately upstream at Estate 50 (113).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Iiyanh?

Area: Middle Kendall

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 60 (Map A2.10)

Cover terms: Achemp-aw (Achamp-awu?)

Locality description:

Core tenure interests: Formerly Mitherropsen (‘Mr Robinson’) (Clan 81)? Succession has at least passed to the custodianship of Clan 40/113 (Peinyekkas/Jingles) whose focal estate (50) is upstream of here. Von Sturmer 1978 lists an upper Kendall River clan (KU3) for the Thaa’-pulnh (Estate 59) and Achemp-aw (60) area, which may be Mitherropsen’s clan.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Iiyanh?

Area: Middle Kendall

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. 285 Achemp-aw

McConnel map: Emu

ESTATE NUMBER 61 see 115
ESTATE NUMBER 62 (= 117) (Map A2.10)

**Cover terms:** Kulan-awu?

**Locality description:** South and south-east of the two waterfalls on the upper Kendall, adjacent to Estate 50 (Kakelang-aw).

**Core tenure interests:** Formerly Old Mosey Kepple (Clan 117), a clan listed as extant by von Sturmer 1978 in *Aak* p75.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Iiyanh.

**Area:** Upper Kendall

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. [Probably a Possum totemic centre, i.e. Kulan-awu?]

**McConnel map:** Opossum

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ESTATE NUMBER 63(/118) (118: Map A2.9)

**Cover terms:** [information not available]

**Locality description:** On the South Kendall River (the ‘Holroyd’ of the official maps) between the main Kendall and main Holroyd rivers, ‘inside’ (east?) from Um-po’am.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 96/118 (Kendalls/Edwards/Tarpenchas).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Iiyanh.

**Area:** Upper Kendall [?]

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. [Freshwater Crocodile totemic centre?]; probably: 1305 Milinyin (vicinity of 1304 Miindji)
ESTATE NUMBER 64 (Map A2.12)

Cover terms: Thornbury Creek

Locality description: Thornbury Creek area, on the upper Holroyd River system; company connections to Estate 119 to the west.

Core tenure interests: Clan 78 (Douglas Ahlers, Stanley Ahlers).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Ayapathu?; also given as Mungkanhu.

Area: Upper Holroyd

Sites: [information not available]

ESTATE NUMBER 65 (Map A2.4)

Cover terms: Green Swamp

Locality description: Upper Archer River and its drainage from its junction with Piccaninny Creek to near Langi Lagoon, ?mainly on the south side.

Core tenure interests: Clan 75 (Charlie Kepple).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Mbiywom (Wik-Ompom).

Area: Upper Archer

Sites: Green Swamp (Goose Story), Iwiya (Catfish Story Place at Piccaninny Junction; called Eyvya in Alice Mark's language), Thench, Pindling, Bunda Yards, Sandy Lagoon, Shady Lagoon; also: (?) Kontathan, Yuukingka (between Partridge Yard and Iwiya), Layngay

ESTATE NUMBER 66 (Map A2.6)

Cover terms: Mid Archer (north), Puuy

Locality description: This estate runs from Mach-aw (held in company with Clan 34 Koondumbins) up past Puuy (‘Leichardt Swamp’ on 1:100,000 map). It may extend almost as far as Archer Bend. The large
‘island’ running from near Stoney Crossing, where the Archer forms two major branches, is held in company with those from south of the Archer (Estate 58, Clan 77).

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 76, *inter alia* George Rokeby, the descendants of Jimmy Lawrence, Rebecca, Roberta; Goanka; Margaret (mother of the late Charles Taisman), Polly Fruit and Connie Clark.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Mungkan.

**Area:** Middle Archer River

**Sites:** [information not available]

**ESTATE NUMBER 67 (Map A2.11)**

**Cover terms:** [information not available]

**Locality description:** Upper Kendall River system, probably in the area west of Coleman Creek.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 79 (Topsy Wolmby).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Iyanyi.

**Area:** Top Kendall

**Sites:** Puchenganpeng, Pukulpanth

**ESTATE NUMBER 68 (Map A2.2)**

**Cover terms:** Wathayn

**Locality description:** North side of Lower Embley River, on lower Mamoose Creek, at Spring Creek, Ndhinggwulung (Spring Creek outstation), west side of old Weipa Mission, Big Wathayn to the Oil Rig, Bellview Creek, Cockatoo Island (probably the ‘Cyclone Island’ of the official maps), right to Beening Creek.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 83 (Coconut).
**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. Immediate accessibility by a short journey from both old Weipa Mission and from Napranum probably means contact between clan members and their estate has not been too seriously curtailed.

**Language association:** Ndrrangith.

**Area:** [information not available]

**Sites:** See locality description above.

**ESTATE NUMBER 69 (Map A2.2)**

**Cover terms:** Mayul (Myall Creek), Twenty Mile (Old Weipa Mission, Meyka)

**Locality description:** [information not available]

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 85 (English).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Anathangayth.

**Area:** Myall Creek

**Sites:** Core sites: Meyka (‘Twenty-Mile, Old Weipa Mission; cf. ‘Myka Creek’); places listed also by Alice Mark (of Clan 85) but perhaps associated with linked estates upstream: Mayul (Myall Creek), Katjali, Oyónton, Pitji (‘Fitz’, local name Uchányan), Keriko (cf. ‘Kurraeco Creek’), Locky Yard, Shotover Creek, One Mile Creek, Wenlock Creek, Billy Lagoon, Clarinet Yard.

**ESTATE NUMBER 70–100 NOT IN USE**

**ESTATE NUMBER 101 see 21**

**ESTATE NUMBER 102 see 26**

**ESTATE NUMBER 103 see 22**
ESTATE NUMBER 104 see 23

ESTATE NUMBER 105 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: [information not available]


Core tenure interests: Clan 105 (= 90) Koonuttas.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Von Sturmer 1978: Wik-Me’enh; PS: Jack Koonutta (Clan 105) took Wik-Ngathan from his mother and this has become the clan’s language of affiliation.

Area: Lower Kendall

Sites: [information not available]

ESTATE NUMBER 106 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: Kuli-aynchan ?

Locality description: On the south side of Kendall River mouth.

Core tenure interests: Von Sturmer 1978 has former owners as Clan 106 (extinct).


Language association: Formerly Kugu Ugbanh (Clan 106).

Area: Lower Kendall

ESTATE NUMBER 107 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: [information not available]


Core tenure interests: Clan 24 (Poonkamelyas, = Clan 107).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Kugu Muminh.

Area: Lower Kendall

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Kengge, Ku’a-awu

ESTATE NUMBER 108 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: On the coast south of mouth of Kendall River.

Core tenure interests: Clan 108. Von Sturmer 1978 listed patriline as extant.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Kugu Muminh.

Area: Lower Kendall

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Kanggani, Mangka Pomponi.

ESTATE NUMBER 109 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: On coast south of Kendall River mouth.

Core tenure interests: Clan 109 (= Clan 27, q.v., Kalkeeyortas).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.
**Language association:** Kugu Muminh.

**Area:** Lower Kendall

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Puntum, Ngaka Kachim. Attribution of site 399 Mengeyn to this estate (see *Aak*, p. 61) is probably incorrect; should be in Estate 110.

### ESTATE NUMBER 110 (Map A2.9)

**Cover terms:** Mangaynyi (Mengeyn)

**Locality description:** On coast south of Kendall River.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 110 (= 25, q.v. Karyukas).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Kugu Uwanh.

**Area:** Thuuk River?


**McConnel map:** Crab, Barramundi

### ESTATE NUMBER 111 (Map A2.9)

**Cover terms:** Kok

**Locality description:** On the middle Kendall River about the major lagoon. Called Kok.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 111 (typifying surname? – von Sturmer 1978 listed patriline as extant).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Iiyanh (Clan 111).

**Area:** Middle Kendall
**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Kuthe, Ngakwi-awu

**ESTATE NUMBER 112 (Map A2.9)**

**Cover terms:** [information not available]

**Locality description:** North side of middle Kendall River, inland from Thanmul (= site 117 Thanmel)

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 112 (typifying surname? Von Sturmer 1978 listed patriline as extant)

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Iiyanh.

**Area:** Middle Kendall

**Sites:** [information not available]

**McConnel map:** Curlew

**ESTATE NUMBER 113 (= 50) (Map A2.10)**

**Cover terms:** Tha’-kakel

**Locality description:** Part of upper Kendall River system containing the waterfall Tha’-kakel (Kakelang-aw), upstream from Achemp-aw.

**Core tenure interests:** Focal estate of Clan 40 (Peinyekkas, Jingles).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*. Roddy Kemthan (Shortjoe) and Rosie Ahlers had both been there before its focal point was mapped in 1991.

**Language association:** Wik-Iiyanh.

**Area:** Upper Kendall

**Sites:** Von Sturmer 1978: Agu Tha’u Kakalang (= Kakalang Ngan-nga). RA to DFM: Ungkanang. See PS report list

**McConnel map:** Chicken-hawk
ESTATE NUMBER 114 (Map A2.10)

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: Between the upper Kendall and upper Holroyd rivers.

Core tenure interests: Clan 114 (von Sturmer 1978 listed patriline as extant).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Iiyanh.

Area: Upper Kendall

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 115 (Map A2.10)

Cover terms: Nhomp-aw (~Nhompo-awu)

Locality description: On the upper Kendall River focused on the easterly of two waterfalls, at Nhomp-aw; near Kulan-awu; in the southern extent of Meripah pastoral lease.

Core tenure interests: Clan 115 (Quinkins).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Mungkanh (Mungkanho?) von Sturmer 1978 listed patriline as extant, and has Wik-Iiyanh

Area: Upper Kendall


McConnel map: Eagle-hawk [Wedgetailed Eagle]
ESTATE NUMBER 116 (Map A2.8)

**Cover terms:** Mumpa-awu

**Locality description:** Upper Kendall River, northern branch, near Meripah Station.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 116 (Kepples).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Iiyanh (von Sturmer 1978), Wik-Iiyenya, Wik-Nhinkalo (totemic reference to devil).

**Area:** Upper Kendall

**Sites:** Von Sturmer 1978: Mumpa-awu, Wadha-awu.

**McConnel map:** Shooting Star, Quail, Praying Mantis [= Mumpa, von Sturmer 1978:612], Crow

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ESTATE NUMBER 117 (= 62) (Map A2.10)

**Cover terms:** Kulan-awu?

**Locality description:** Upper Kendall River, near Kugu Keke (von Sturmer 1978).

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 117 (Old Mosey Kepple) (listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extant).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Iiyanh.

**Area:** Upper Kendall

**Sites:** Kulan-awu?

**McConnel map:** Opossum

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ESTATE NUMBER 118 (Map A2.9)

**Cover terms:** [information not available]
**Locality description:** Middle part of South Kendall River, inside from Um-po’am.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 118 (Kendalls, Tarpenchas).

**Occupation history:** See site record in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Iiyanh.

**Area:** Upper Kendall

**Sites:** Probably: 1305 Milinyin (vicinity of 1304 Miindji, 1306 Munthaneng)

### ESTATE NUMBER 119 (Map A2.9)

**Cover terms:** [information not available]

**Locality description:** On upper South Kendall and Holroyd rivers.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 119 (Shortjoes, Kemthans).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Wik-Iiyanh.

**Area:** Upper Kendall

**Sites:** Von Sturmer 1978: Kuujuru, Yongka Thulum, Agu Koothiya, Thaanychil-awu.

**McConnel map:** Waterlily, Blue-tongue Lizard

### ESTATE NUMBER 120 (Map A2.10)

**Cover terms:** Agu Poykol-awu (‘Catfish Story Place’)

**Locality description:** On main river, upper Kendall River.

**Core tenure interests:** Formerly Clan 120 (von Sturmer 1978 lists patriline as extinct).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Clan 120 was Ayapathu (von Sturmer 1978).
Area: Upper Kendall

Sites: Von Sturmer 1978: Agu Poykol-awu

McConnel map: Catfish

**ESTATE NUMBER 121 (Map A2.9)**

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: On the coast north of Thuuk River.

Core tenure interests: Formerly Clan 121, patriline listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extinct.

Occupation history: See site records in *Aak*.

Language association: Clan 121 was Kugu Muminh.

Area: Thuuk River

Sites: See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 122 (Map A2.9)**

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: Upper Thuuk River, east of Ongorom.

Core tenure interests: Clan 122, patriline listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extant.

Occupation history: See site records in *Aak*.

Language association: Wik-Iiyanh.

Area: Thuuk River

Sites: See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 123 (Map A2.9)**

Cover terms: Thugu, Pu’an

Locality description: Lower Thuuk River.
Core tenure interests: Clan 123 (= 97, q.v., Ngallamettas, Wunchums).


Language association: Kugu Uwanh.

Area: Thuuk River

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Anbada, Pidhala, Mongkom-awu, Yenge (-Yenge), Thokey, Matpi-awu, Maka(a)nban, Pathe

McConnel map: Yam

ESTATE NUMBER 124 (Map A2.9)

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: On the coast on the north side of Holroyd River mouth.

Core tenure interests: Clan 124 (= 92, q.v., Mimunyins).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Kugu Ugbanh.

Area: Lower Holroyd

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Kuutuman, Kuladha, Ku’a-wunen, Wela Niku

ESTATE NUMBER 125 (Map A2.13)

Cover terms: Thaha-kungadha?

Locality description: Lower Holroyd River, south bank.

Core tenure interests: Formerly Clan 125 (patriline listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extinct).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.
Language association: Kugu Ugbanh.

Area: Lower Holroyd

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Agu Aye, Wanam-awu

ESTATE NUMBER 126 (Map A2.13)

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: On the coast just south of the mouth of Holroyd River.

Core tenure interests: Clan 126 (patriline listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extant).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Kugu Mu’inh.

Area: Lower Holroyd

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

ESTATE NUMBER 127 (Map A2.13)

Cover terms: Thampench

Locality description: On the coast just south of Holroyd River mouth.

Core tenure interests: Clan 127 (= Clan 93, q.v., Ngakapoorgums).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Kugu Muminh.

Area: Lower Holroyd

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Kiban, Ka’adha, Yekong, Pukam, Impa

ESTATE NUMBER 128

Cover terms: [information not available]
Locality description: [information not available]

Core tenure interests: Von Sturmer 1978 lists clan as extinct, also commenting that he was doubtful whether this was a separate group from Clan 132.

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: [information not available]

Area: Holroyd River (?Lower)

Sites: [information not available]

**ESTATE NUMBER 129 (Map A2.13)**

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: South of Holroyd River, intermediate between the coast and inland environments.

Core tenure interests: Clan 129 (listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extant).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Kugu Muminh.

Area: Middle Holroyd

Sites: See Aak volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 130 (Map A2.9)**

Cover terms: Thupi-ijiy ?

Locality description: On the north bank of Holroyd River upstream from Thupi-ijiy.

Core tenure interests: Clan 130 (= 98, q.v., Yantumbas, Minpunjas).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Iiyanh.

Area: Upper Holroyd
Sites: See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Thumba-awu, Ulman, Kuna(nga)-waya, Oygo, Thopenenh, Migu-Awung, Punba-awu, Thugu Ngamba-awu, Payan-awu

**ESTATE NUMBER 131 (Map A2.13)**

**Cover terms:** [information not available]

**Locality description:** North side of Christmas Creek.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 131 (patriline listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extant).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Kugu Mu’inh.

**Area:** Lower Christmas Creek

Sites: See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Piching, Mutha-awula, Thugu, Kaha-ngungku-awu

**ESTATE NUMBER 132 (Map A2.13)**

**Cover terms:** Yangku

**Locality description:** On the coast north of Christmas Creek.

**Core tenure interests:** Formerly Clan 132, listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extinct.

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Kugu Yi’anh.

**Area:** Lower Christmas Creek

Sites: See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Ngamba, Kurka Pelen, Piching, Pilu

**ESTATE NUMBER 133 (Map A2.12)**

**Cover terms:** Memola ?

**Locality description:** North of Christmas Creek, along the coast north from Waalang.
**Core tenure interests:** Clan 133 (patriline von Sturmer 1978 listed as extant).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Kugu Mu’inh.

**Area:** Lower Christmas Creek

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

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**ESTATE NUMBER 134 (Map A2.12)**

**Cover terms:** Waalang

**Locality description:** Christmas Creek, north of the mouth.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 134 (Arkwookerums).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Kugu Mu’inh.

**Area:** Lower Christmas Creek

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Kupu, Windidha, Impa, Kunamnga, Wunhthoj, Empa, Ngaka Pukam (= Pinta?), Puuny, Agu Panych, Puunyu [cf. *Aak* site 3512 Poonyowa], Kuja Th’a’u, Thacha Poye(ngo), Pempela, Inyenge, Thitha Punhtha, Mayin-ngu, Thanhthula, Ngaka Wi’i’am, Ng’a-awu-ngu

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**ESTATE NUMBER 135 (Map A2.12)**

**Cover terms:** Waalang south side?

**Locality description:** At the mouth of Christmas Creek, on the south bank.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 135 (von Sturmer 1978 listed patriline as extant).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Kugu Mu’inh.
Area: Lower Christmas Creek


**ESTATE NUMBER 136 (Map A2.12)**

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: On middle part of Christmas Creek.

Core tenure interests: Formerly Clan 136 (patriline listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extinct).

Occupation history: See site records in *Aak*.

Language association: Kugu Mangk.

Area: Middle Christmas Creek

Sites: See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Kunalu, Thochon, Pambe, Wu’udha, Thanychun, Thankanyjin, Empay Wakanh, Pempela

**ESTATE NUMBER 137 (Map A2.12)**

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: On Christmas Creek [probably middle or upper].

Core tenure interests: Formerly Clan 137 (patriline listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extinct).

Occupation history: See site records in *Aak*.

Language association: Kugu Muminh.

Area: Middle[?] Christmas Creek

Sites: Von Sturmer 1978: Pinhdha Mechom, Wuyinh, Inyenge

**ESTATE NUMBER 138 (Map A2.12)**

Cover terms: [information not available]
Locality description: Large territory on middle section of Christmas Creek, upstream from Pepen.

Core tenure interests: Clan 138 (patriline listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extant).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Iiyanh.

Area: Middle Christmas Creek

Sites: Von Sturmer 1978: Thacha Poye(ngo), Michere, Koon Inychane

ESTATE NUMBER 139 (Map A2.12)

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: Lower Breakfast Creek.

Core tenure interests: Clan 139 (von Sturmer 1978 listed patriline as extant).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Kugu Mangk.

Area: Breakfast Creek

Sites: Von Sturmer 1978: Pangkadha, Thatanga, Pimpadha, Ku’a Punthungu, Tha’u Ngukara, Yan-nga, Maalun

ESTATE NUMBER 140 (Map A2.12)

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: Large territory from Strathgordon down the north side of Edward River.

Core tenure interests: Clan 140 (von Sturmer 1978 listed patriline as extant).

Occupation history: See site records in Aak.

Language association: Wik-Iiyanh, Pakanha.
Area: Breakfast Creek

Sites: Von Sturmer 1978: Nhandu-ijiy Mimponyje [all one name]

McConnel map: Fresh Water Harmless Crocodile

**ESTATE NUMBER 141 (Map A2.9)**

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: On upper Christmas Creek, below its junction with the South Kendall.

Core tenure interests: Clan 141 (von Sturmer 1978 listed patriline as extant).

Occupation history: See site records in *Aak*.

Language association: Pakanha (von Sturmer 1978) (= Bakanhu, Ayabakanh, Wik-Pak, etc.).

Area: Upper Christmas Creek

Sites: Von Sturmer 1978: Agu Wayn-gan (Ngan-nga), Yapi-awu

**ESTATE NUMBER 142 (Map A2.13)**

Cover terms: Pabim ?

Locality description: On the coast south of Holroyd River.

Core tenure interests: Clan 142 (patriline listed as extant by von Sturmer 1978).

Occupation history: See site records in *Aak*.

Language association: Kugu Mu’inh.

Area: Lower Holroyd

Sites: Von Sturmer 1978: Pabim

**ESTATE NUMBER 143 (Map A2.13)**

Cover terms: Yangku?
**Locality description:** North of Christmas Creek on or near the coast.

**Core tenure interests:** Formerly Clan 143 (listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extinct).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** Kugu Mu’inh.

**Area:** Lower Christmas Creek

**Sites:** 3501 Yangku

**ESTATE NUMBER 144 (Map A2.9)**

**Cover terms:** [information not available]

**Locality description:** On the flood plain area north of the lower Holroyd River.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 144 (patriline listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extant).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** ?

**Area:** Lower Holroyd River

**Sites:** See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate. Von Sturmer 1978: Thaha-pul-n, Achamp-awu, ?Mamen

**McConnel map:** Emu

**ESTATE NUMBER 145 (Map A2.9)**

**Cover terms:** [information not available]

**Locality description:** On the north side of the middle Holroyd River.

**Core tenure interests:** Clan 145 (patriline listed by von Sturmer 1978 as extant).

**Occupation history:** See site records in *Aak*.

**Language association:** ?
Area: Middle Holroyd River

Sites: See *Aak* volume: Sites Listed Alphabetically by Estate

**ESTATE NUMBER 146 (Map A2.1)**

Cover terms: Western Weipa Peninsula

Locality description: From the Oil Rig (Oil Camp) near Beening Creek in the south-east of the Peninsula, north-west via Napranum and Nggonban (Evans Point) to the western end of Weipa Peninsula, north-east via Weipa township and Albatross Hotel to Oningan (see Uningan Reserve); Trunding Creek. Inland extent described by Ronnie John (PS Field Book 83:132) as west of some kind of line going straight across from Oningan to the Oil Rig. Company interests with Estate 45 at Praenjim (Franjum Point) on southern bank of Embley River.

Core tenure interests: Clan 80.


Language association: Alngith, Layngith, Laynngith (alternate names).

Area: Wik-Way

Sites: Napranum, Mundhing, Nggonban - Nggonbayn (Evans Point), Naenam, Trandhing, Mbining (Beening), Oil Rig/Camp, Oningan, Dhenthikaram, first bridge (not second), Barkly Yard, Wallaby Island, Kamrindja, Owang, Ruwrimin

**ESTATE NUMBER 147 (Map A2.10)**

Cover terms: [information not available]

Locality description: On upper Kendall River.

Core tenure interests: McConnel's local group XV.


Language association: Wik-Iiyanh.

Area: Upper Kendall

Sites: [information not available]
McConnel map: Messmate and Bloodwood Flowers

ESTATE NUMBER 148 (Map A2.3)

Cover terms: Beagle Camp?

Locality description: The upper Coconut Creek drainage system.

Core tenure interests: Interests attributed to Clan 63 (Matthews) but this is not their focal estate (see Estate 45). General succession by Wik-Way people.

Occupation history: See site records in Sutton et al. (1997). Beagle Camp was established here in the 1960s and some Wik-Way people worked there in that decade. Readily visited by road from Aurukun.

Language association: Linngithigh.

Area: Wik-Way


ESTATE NUMBER 149 (Map A2.1)

Cover terms: Part of Mbang area

Locality description: In area of Urquhart Point, south side of lower Embley River.

Core tenure interests: Clan 84 (Committy).


Language association: Linngithigh (but see Clan 84 entry).

Area: [information not available]

Sites: Mbang, Kokanin, Wulndrrun, Traylak [same as Estate 39?]
This text is taken from *Linguistic Organisation and Native Title: The Wik Case, Australia*, by Peter Sutton and Ken Hale, published 2021 by ANU Press, The Australian National University, Canberra, Australia.