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Appendices

Appendix A – Statistics for former shires in Shire of Moira

Bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS

the Shire   refers to the present area covered by the Shire of Moira.

ADB   Australian Dictionary of Biography

BL&B   Buchan, Laird and Buchan

PWD   Public Works Department

SR&WCS   State Rivers and Water Supply Commission

SSC   Soldier Settlement Commission

VMD   Victorian Municipal Directory

VYB   Victorian Year Book

WSLS   War Service Land Settlement Agreement

Note: Although the Irrigation Scheme is referred to as the Murray Valley Irrigation Scheme in some publications, the area is referred to as the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area or Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Settlement in publications such as Smallwood's *Hard to Go Bung* relating to the Soldier Settlement activities and consequently has been used in this history where relevant.

The Study Area

The Shire of Moira was created in November 1994 with the amalgamation of the former shires of Cobram, Nathalia, Numurkah, Tungamah (less the Katandra district), and Yarrawonga (less the Peechelba district).[1]

It extends from the junction of the Goulburn River with the Murray River in the west, along the Murray River to the north to the junction with the Ovens River, south down the Ovens River to the Tungamah-Peechelba Road, zigzagging south and west along Boundary Road below Lake Rowan and St James and west to the Goulburn River.

Although there is some suggestion that the name Moira was in honour of Lord Moira, the *Illustrated Australian News* of 1869 reported that the name was "corrupted by early explorers and surveyors" and was in fact Mira, the name used by local aborigines for the lake now known as Moira Lake to the west of Barmah Lake. The corrupted name was also used for the squatting runs of Moira Upper and Moira Lower, and the County of Moira.[2]

1.   Exploration and Early Settlement

Early settlers in Port Phillip, particularly Overlanders from north of the Murray River, tended to follow the documented routes of the early explorers Major Mitchell or Hume and Hovell. The routes taken by these explorers did not traverse the Shire.

Although the area was settled by squatters in the early 1840s, a large growth in population and development of towns occurred much later than many other areas of the colony as there were no gold discoveries in the region, nor was it on a major communication route such as the Melbourne to Sydney Road or the Melbourne to Adelaide Road.

Charles Sturt

In 1838 the explorer Charles Sturt and a party of men droved cattle from Sydney to Adelaide. They travelled along the New South Wales side of the Murray River until they reached the river now named Edward River. The terrain from this point on the north side of the Murray River appeared difficult for droving and after camping for two nights beside the Edward River, on June 9, they crossed to the south side of the Murray into the area now known as the Barmah State Park and State Forest.

There were extensive reed beds along the river and Sturt followed native paths along the edge of these beds. They crossed onto Barmah Island then travelled south and camped near the present location of the village of Barmah on June 13. The party continued along the south side of the river and crossed the Goulburn near the junction with the Murray River on June 14.

Sturt commented in his diary that although the local natives appeared fit and healthy, "a terrible mortality" had occurred as they found many burial places in the sandhills from Edward River to the Goulburn River, "three of which contained upwards of fifty graves".[3]

Charles Sturt's expedition is commemorated by a monument on the Murray Valley Highway at Cobram "Captain Charles Sturt Passed Near Here on 31st May 1838".[4]

Overlanders

The Overlanders from north of the Murray River did not play a large part in the early settlement of the Shire as they generally followed Major Mitchell's or Hume and Hovell's routes which did not cross the region. One Overlander who did settle in the

area was Charles Ryan who arrived in Victoria in 1839 however he did not take up the Katandra run until 1848.[5]

Squatters

The squatting runs in the Shire were in the Murray District of Port Phillip. Except for Broken Creek and Moira, after which the County was named, the names of these squatting runs are evident in settlements or towns in the region of the same name.

Most of these settlements developed around early workers' huts built on squatters' runs across the region – Tungamah was one such township which grew around a boundary rider's hut called "The Cocked Hat". The need for basic requirements such as blacksmiths, food, building materials and household goods resulted in the natural progression from squatter's run to settlement to township.[6]
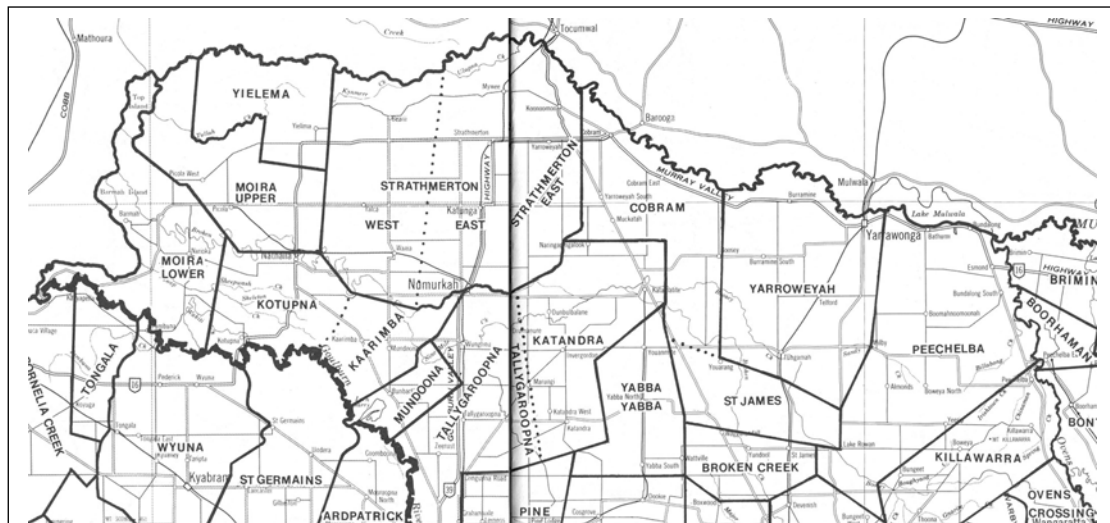
Squatting runs in the Shire
Source : Robert Spreadborough & Hugh Anderson, *Victorian Squatters*

Broken Creek was south of the Cobram / St. James runs and was first held by in April 1845 by Neil Clark. Members of the Turnbull family held this run for more than twenty years from 1855. Waggarandall, Yundool and St. James are located in this run.[7]

Cobram was located in the centre of the shire adjoining the Murray River and was first held by Octavius Phillpotts in January 1845. In January 1855 the run was subdivided into the runs of Cobram and St. James. Cobram, Yarroweyah South, Muckatah and Boosey are located in this run.[8]

Kaarimba was excised from the Kotupna run in October 1861. Kaarimba and Mundoona are located in this run.[9]

Katandra was excised from the Tallygaroopna run in March 1848. Katamatite, Naringaningalook, Dunbulbalane, Invergordon, Marungi and Katandra were located in this run. The main homestead was located south of Dunbulbalane and Broken Creek.[10]

Kotupna, also known as Kotoopna, was located south east of Moira Upper and first held by William Locke in 1843. In October 1861 it was subdivided into the runs of Kotupna and Kaarimba. Nathalia and Kotupna are located in this run.[11]

Moira Lower was in the west of the shire and first held by Edward Curr from April 1842. This run was an extension of Curr's run of Tongala on the south side of the Goulburn River and established in March 1841. Edward's sons, Edward Micklethwaite and Richard, managed their father's runs. Edward Micklethwaite Curr was born in Van Dieman's Land in 1820. He was a keen writer whose legacy to Victoria was his "Recollections of squatting in Victoria from 1841 to 1851" in which he details not only squatting life on his father's runs but also the people of the Bangerang tribe and the flora and fauna of the area.

The Curr's main homestead was on Tongala therefore only huts and outbuildings were erected on Moira Lower until it was taken over as a separate run by Robert Kinnear in 1862. In 1872 Kinnear purchased c. 4,500 acres adjoining the well established homestead block. Matthew O'Shanassy, son of John O'Shanassy, three times Premier of Victoria, took over the property in 1883 and renamed it Madowla Park. This classified homestead still exists in the far west of the shire.

Moira Lower was approximately 64,000 acres holding c. 13,000 sheep. Barmah and Narioka are located in this run.[12]

Madowla Park, 1964
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, jc006464

Moira Upper, originally called Five Mile Creek, was in the north west of the shire and first held by Alexander McDonell in May 1843. Alexander and his brother Roderick found that much of the run was regularly flooded by the Murray River and in 1853 sold his lease to Henry Dendy, the founder of Brighton in

Melbourne. The northern section of Moira Upper became part of the Barmah State Forest and the township of Picola is located in this run.[13]

Mundoona was excised from the Tallygaroopna run in December 1846.[14]

Peechelba(r) was to the east of Yarroweya bounded by the Murray River in the North and the Ovens River in the east. It was a large run of 162,560 acres and

first held by James and George Rowan in 1842. Bathumi, Bundalong, Esmond, Boomahoomoonah, Wilby, Boweya, Yeerip and Lake Rowan are located in this run.[15]

St James was excised from the Cobram run in January 1855 when it was still held by Octavius Phillpotts, the first holder of Cobram. Yourang is located in this run.[16]

Strathmerton, was originally about two miles west of the current location and was moved when the railway was built. It was on the Strathmerton Run and on higher ground which would not have flooded.[17]

Ulupna, was to the east of Yielima and Moira Upper and stretched from the Murray River in the North to Broken Creek in the south. It was a very large run of 192,000 acres and first held by Lundy in 1840. The main homestead of the Strathmerton run was near the west end of Ulupna Island, between the Murray River and Ulupna Creek, and in 1979 the location was "marked by a dead mulberry tree". In September 1861 it was subdivided into Strathmerton East and Strathmerton West. George Currie built his homestead Coonanga on Strathmerton West in 1872-73 and James Rutherford built Bajanna in 1862. Numurkah, on the southern border, Katunga, Waaia, Mywee, Bearii, Strathmerton, and Yalca are located in this run.[18]

Tallygaroopna was located south of the Strathmerton run and was held first by Edward Khull in 1841. In December 1846 the Mundoona run was excised from Tallygaroopna followed in March 1848 by the Katandra run. Wunghnu and Tallygaroopna are located in this run with Drumanure on the border of the Tallygaroopna and Katandra runs.[19]

Yabba Yabba was east of Tallygaroopna / Katandra runs and first held by Octavius Philpotts in 1850. Youanmite, Yabba North, Yabba South and Watville are located in this run.[20]

Yarroweya, also known as **Yarrawonga**, was in the eastern part of the shire adjoining the Murray River. Although the explorers Hume and Hovell did not pass through this area on their renowned journey through Port Phillip in 1824, Hamilton Hume established this property in 1842 for his widowed sister-in-law, Elizabeth Hume. The run was named Yarroweya, meaning "strong wind", however Hamilton Hume referred to Yarrawomata in a lease application in 1849. Elizabeth called it her Yarrawonga Station in correspondence in 1857 and named her homestead "Byramine", presumably derived from byre-o-mine. The house was built to plans by an English architect for a house in India and constructed of local timber and bricks made in kilns on the site. Elizabeth was accompanied by her family, servants, tradesmen, shepherds, farmers, seamstresses, domestics and "Hume's own trusted black tracker, Wellington". Yarrawonga, Burramine, Telford and Tungamah are located in this run.[21]

Yielima was immediately east of Moira Upper and John Howe, son-in-law of Roderick McDonell from Moira Upper, held the lease in 1841. By 1855

Roderick McDonell had taken over the lease and later purchased his 640-acre pre-emptive right on the river prior to the land being set aside as forest reserve. Headstones on this land excluded from the reserve mark the burial place of members of the McDonell family.[22]

Indigenous Inhabitants

Aboriginal tribes in the Shire included the Pangerang tribe along the Ovens and Murray plains including the Yarrawonga area and the northern side of the Murray River, the Angootheraban tribe around Cobram and south to the Goulburn River, and the Yorta Yorta tribe to the west.[23] The last member of the Pangerang tribe died in 1888.

Edward Curr, squatter and author, referred to the tribes to the west around Barmah collectively as the Bangerang tribe. Reports of attacks by aborigines on early settlers' stock and counter attacks on the aborigines resulted in deaths of aborigines and the settlers paying an "assessment on stock" to the New South Wales government for protection in the form of Police camps established in the region. Curr, in his recollections of the Bangerang tribe, claimed that only two aborigines had been killed and that most aboriginal deaths were related to disease spread by the European settlers. These settlers were also responsible for the clearing, grazing and farming the region and depriving the indigenous people of their traditional hunting grounds.

In 1874 Daniel Matthews established the privately run Maloga mission north of the Murray River near Barmah. In 1883 the New South Wales government set up a protectorate called Cumeroogunga adjacent to Maloga and transferred the residents and building to the new station. Neglect by the government and protests by the residents plagued Cumeroogunga throughout its history and culminated in an unsuccessful land claim in 1975 by the Yorta Yorta people for the Barmah and Moira Forests. Following meetings with the Land Conservation Council in the 1980s, it was recommended that the descendants of the "Bangerang Race … be actively involved in the management of the Barmah Forest."

One of the results of these recommendations is the Dharnya Centre in the State Forest with a Visitor Centre with displays on both the Aboriginal and European history and culture, and a camp with kitchen and dormitories for approved groups to the area.[24]

2.   Developing the Region

The phases or events which were major contributing factors to the economic development and growth of the Shire were:

- 1840s-1880s – squatters and their runs
- 1853-1880s – river boats
- 1870s-early 1900s – land selection
- 1880s-early 1900s – railway lines
- 1890s – water supply and irrigation schemes
- 1930s – construction of Yarrawonga weir and irrigation schemes
- 1945 – Soldier Settlement (Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area)

The opening up of Port Phillip created a mammoth task for the surveyors assigned to the district. In 1843 the Survey Department's budget was halved and the approach to the survey of the Port Phillip District was haphazard and un-prioritised.

Instructions from the Colonial Secretary's Office resulted in more orderly surveys of the coast and in 1847 the survey of the southern section of the New South Wales -

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South Australian border. Descriptions of county boundaries based on natural features were required "so that they could be proclaimed before the end [of] 1848". The County of Moira was in the last group of counties in the colony to be proclaimed in February 1871.

The late development of the Shire can be seen by the dates of surveys and proclamation of the towns, and coincided with the opening up of land for selection and the imminent expansion of the railway network into the region.[25]

Extant sites associated with the early pastoral history of the Shire include the Coonanga Homestead (1866) at Ulupna which was the residence of the Strathmerton West run.

Surveys

In 1847 Contract Surveyors were assigned to "carry out the detailed Survey of the Boundaries of Runs" however in the Shire most of these were done over a period of almost twenty years from the mid 1850s.

Some early surveys in the 1840s and 1850s were carried out in the Shire however these focussed on the rivers including the Murray, Goulburn, Ovens and Broken Rivers.

Bundalong, situated on the Murray River near the junction with the Ovens River at the eastern end of the Shire, was one of the earliest towns to be surveyed with the police reserve set aside in 1859 and the town, suburban allotments and country lands surveyed by Pinniger by 1860. The 1860 plan identified a proposed site for a wharf indicating the importance of river transport to the area.

The next town in the Shire to be surveyed was Barmah in 1866 – another river town providing transport to and from the region and located near the western boundary of the Shire.

The focus of surveyed towns continued to be along the Murray River and obviously determined by the prime means of transport to the area. Yarrawonga was first surveyed in 1868 near the Yarrawonga-Mulwala punt shown on the 1872 lithograph of Contract Surveyor Henry Grimes' plan. Interestingly this plan was titled "Township of Yarrawonga – County unnamed" indicating the late survey and proclamation of the Parishes in the Shire and the County of Moira. Subsequent Yarrawonga township surveys were carried out in 1875 and 1886.

The next surveys were predominantly for towns either near the Murray River, such as Cobram (1873) and Bathumi (1874) or those on imminent railway lines, the first of which opened in 1881.

The first town to be formally proclaimed in the Shire was Bundalong in 1861 followed by Lake Rowan / Karrabumet (1873), Bathumi (1874), Dunbulbalane (1875) and Tungamah (1875).[26]

Selection and Land Sales

In the 1860s, as the concentration of gold mining subsided in the colony, there was a large demand for land from former miners. The Land Acts of 1860, 1862, 1865 and 1869 gradually opened up millions of acres of land surveyed into allotments ranging from 40 acres to 640 acres. These acts varied in the maximum land which could be selected and the criteria and methods for leases, licences, improvements and

purchase. Further variations were provided with the Land Act of 1884 with emphasis on leasing rather than sale of land and focussed on areas previously "neglected by selectors".

Land for selection in the Shire became available in the 1870s after the survey and proclamation of the County and Parishes. Land sales for country and town allotments were held in the old Court House in Benalla and conducted by the Benalla Land Board which had responsibility for land in the Shire except for the Parish of Barmah which was in the Echuca Land District.

The effect of these land sales is best demonstrated by the table of statistics for the Shire of Moira showing population, dwellings and ratepayers. [Appendix A] The population of the Shire of Yarrawonga, which was later split into the Shires of Yarrawonga, Tungamah and Cobram, more than doubled between 1880 and 1890 at which stage the population had reached 9,500.

This period of growth in settlements and population is further demonstrated by the creation of the Shire of Yarrawonga in 1878, the division of this Shire into the Shires of Tungamah and Yarrawonga in 1892, and the creation of the Shire of Shepparton (renamed the Shire of Numurkah) in 1879.[27]

Closer Settlement and Soldier Settlement (WWI)

The Closer Settlement Act of 1904 "enabled the government to re-purchase land, re-survey it, and offer it for selection to promote more intensive settlement of rural lands." Special provisions in the Discharged Soldiers Settlement Act of 1917 were administered as part of the Closer Settlement program. Fourteen farm allotments were created under the Closer Settlement Act on the Numurkah Estate and a small number in other areas of the Shire however settlement under these acts had little impact on the growth of the population compared to the selections prior to this act and the Soldier Settlements following the Second World War.

In the Yarrawonga Shire the properties of Kilmarnock at Telford, Ovens Bank, and Peechelba were purchased for the Soldier Settlers scheme and subdivided into 320 acre blocks, however, as with similar sites across Victoria, these settlements were not a success.[28]

Soldier Settlement (WWII)

The War Service Land Settlement Agreement (WSLS) for soldiers returning from the Second World War was established in 1945 following a major enquiry in 1943 by the Rural Reconstruction Commission for the Ministry for Post-War Reconstruction. The scheme involved both Federal and State governments with greater assessment and monitoring to avoid the mistakes made after the First World War.

The Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area between Cobram and Picola was the largest Soldier Settlement Estate in Victoria and the first major estate in the post World War II scheme. The estate was located in the centre and south west of the Shire and included 531 blocks[29] – more than double the blocks of the next largest estate in the scheme. In 1946 the Soldier Settlement Commission, in conjunction with the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission (SR&WSC), planned to subdivide 60,000 acres of dry-farming land into dairying and fruit growing irrigated blocks in the Shire. The local Soldier Settlement Commission (SSC) office was established at Numurkah.

Despite large signs across the state advertising Soldier Settlement areas it took some time to resolve the issues of costs, budgets and procedures and by June 1947 only 140 blocks had been allocated across the whole of Victoria.

Block sizes varied across different estates however they were more standard in irrigated areas. In the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area, dairying blocks were between 80 and 170 acres, and fruit growing blocks were a minimum of 45 acres. Settlers on fruit growing blocks were given several varieties of young fruit trees to ensure a staggered annual production. These trees came from nurseries at Monbulk and on the Mornington Peninsula. More than 10,000 "shelter belt trees" were also distributed to the Soldier Settlement areas.

In the irrigated areas the SR&WSC managed the settlement gangs who surveyed the blocks and fenced the boundaries. The settlers were then required to submit their own plan for approval showing internal subdivision, general farm layout and location of existing and proposed farm buildings.

Two of the major hurdles faced by the soldier settlers in the first twenty years were lack of adequate drainage, particularly during heavy rains 1950-56, and the over production of canning fruit, affecting all growers in the region, which caused a market collapse in the early 1960s. Consequently, most of the soldier settler fruit growing blocks had been turned over to dairying by the end of the 1970s.

The new settlers also had to contend with perceived "dictatorial" supervisors in the region and resentment from existing settlers[30] who had battled through drought, floods and depression for years on their own properties and were forced to accept low prices for compulsory acquisition of their land by the government for the Soldier Settlement scheme. Some concessions were made to existing property owners allowing them to purchase a homestead retention area however they were required to convert from dry farm dairying to irrigation farming. In some cases a resident son could purchase a second "homestead retention area" resulting in a larger farm, however these options were not available to daughters or non-resident sons.

Floods in Yarroweyah area c. 1950 – 1957
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, rw003858

The cost and style of housing and the logistics of building and providing houses to the soldier settlers created many problems for the SSC. The Public Works Department (PWD) was asked to provide five different house plans and cost estimates. The PWD and the Victorian Housing Commission were already overloaded with the post-war

demand for houses and public buildings and late in 1946 the bold decision was made to employ the private architectural firm of Buchan Laird & Buchan (BL&B) to design and build the first group of houses on Marida Yallock Estate.

With such a large number of houses to be built by the SSC, a selection of standard designs was produced with input from the Country Women's Association and other rural organisations. The houses contained "three bedrooms (or two bedrooms and a sleepout), a separate lounge, a combined kitchen and dining area with a walk-in pantry and space for a refrigerator, and a bathroom." Due to budget constraints there was no internal toilet. Additions to the standard designs were allowed for larger families with five or more children. "The planned BL&B houses all had hipped roofs of galvanised corrugated iron, allowing maximum rainwater catchment for the two 2000-gallon domestic tanks", were wired for electricity and lighting even though electricity connections were not available in many areas, and were clad in weatherboards. Wood stoves or slow-combustion heaters were to be used where electricity was not available.

The houses were designed and categorised according to location with houses for the northern areas having larger verandahs than those destined for the southern areas. The main "complaint" from soldier settlers was the lack of choice in layout and design, however some compensated for the pre-determined surveyed position on their blocks by discreetly moving the pegs between the survey and the eventual erection of their house.

Typical home and outbuildings in the Katunga Soldier Settlement area, 1954
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, a29358

Although blocks had been allocated in the Murray-Goulburn Estate, a lack of builders prepared to move to the area or work in more remote areas meant that settlers lived in temporary farm buildings, huts or garages supplied by the SCC, and in some cases, caravans, tents or cars. This problem was state-wide however for the large Murray-Goulburn area where more than 500 farms were proposed, BL&B and the SSC negotiated with a Melbourne building company, Clements Langford Pty Ltd, to take on the contract for the region. As part of this agreement the SSC established a prefabrication factory at Numurkah and provided storage facilities for materials and accommodation for key staff. Prefabrication of the houses meant that on-site workers could be better co-ordinated with delivery and assembly throughout the region, however tradesmen such as plasterers, plumbers and painters, were not able to keep up with the supply and erection of the prefabricated buildings and the delays in completion of houses dragged on for several years.

Rather than building another prefabrication factory at Robinvale, another large Soldier Settlement estate, the SCC built a large storage facility at Robinvale for the houses constructed at the Numurkah factory which was an economic benefit to the town and Shire of Numurkah.

Clements Langford later took on other large contracts for the SSC and the association between the commission and Buchan Laird & Buchan lasted thirty-five years.

Not all soldier settlers were successful on their irrigation farms with many forfeiting their blocks which were then taken up by other soldier settlers. Between 1947 and 1962, 3,046 houses were erected or renovated as part of the WWII Soldier Settlement scheme. More than 17% of these were in the Shire of Moira and had a major impact on the development of the region.[31]

Transport

Early transport in the Shire was by foot, horseback and horse or bullock drawn wagons and from the early 1850s riverboats provided a much needed form of transport along the Murray River. Although some roads were established in the region, the local shires were not established until the 1870s and funds were rarely sufficient to develop and maintain roads and bridges. Regular floods of the major rivers and creeks in the region resulted in badly maintained roads and river crossings. Extant transport infrastructure of particular importance exists at Nathalia and Tungamah in the form of historic road guttering; at Yarrawonga and Numurkah in the form of railway infrastructure, and significant bridges throughout the Shire.
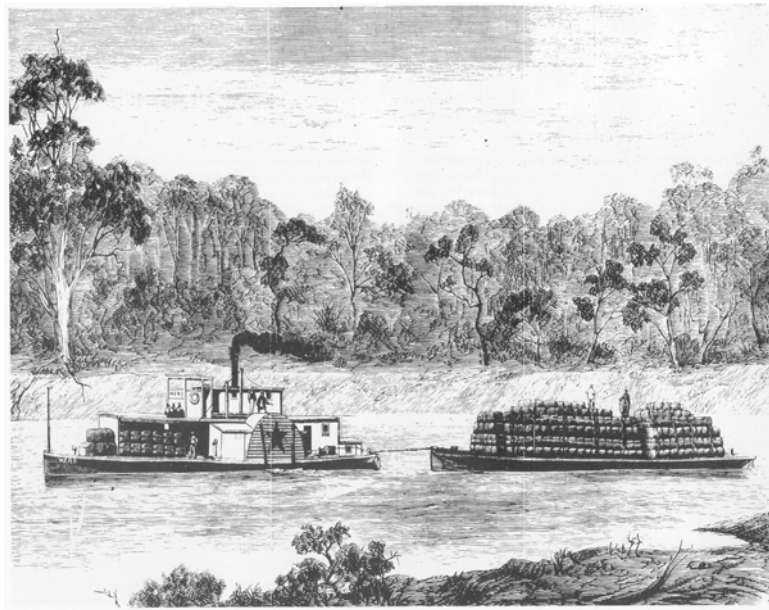
River steamer and barge laden with wool
Source : *Illustrated Australian News*, November 30, 1881

River Boats

Charles Sturt was the first European to navigate the Murray River in 1829-30. In 1852 the Colonial Secretary of South Australia urged the governments of Victoria and New South Wales "to hire natives and settlers to clear away all the impediments that exist between the junctions of the Rivers Darling and Murrumbidgee" to ensure the Murray River could be safely navigated for commercial purposes.

The Victorian Government provided a "snagging steamer" which removed a thousand snags weighing more than four thousand tons from the section of river between Tocumwal and Wahgunyah. The first commercial steamer to the region was the *Lady Augusta* in 1853 with the South Australian Lieutenant Governor, Sir Henry Young on board. Young advocated that township sites should be reserved at intervals of one hundred miles along the northern bank of the river as this distance equated to one day's travel by steamers at that time. He also urged that continuous waterfront reserves should be established along the banks of navigable rivers.[32]

The paddle steamers that plied the Murray River towed barges that carried supplies to the stations along the river and took away wool and grain to be unloaded at Echuca before transportation by road or rail, after 1864, to Melbourne. At Yarrawonga memorials to this era can be found, such as the paddle wheels salvaged from the Murray. Properties in the west of the shire not fronting the River took their wool to Barmah for loading on the barges.[33]

Roads

Complaints about impassable roads appear to have been the number one complaint of ratepayers from the creation of the shires in the region until the mid 1900s. From the 1850s the steamers on the Murray River provided the main

transport in the north of the Shire for timber, wool and crops out of the region and general supplies coming into the region. The Shire of Yarrawonga was formed in 1878 because the area felt it was totally neglected by the Echuca Road District and had developed sufficiently to warrant its own local government. Within three years the first railway line opened to Numurkah followed two years later by the line to Yarrawonga. The railway provided an alternate route for commodities in and out of the region to Melbourne and the development and maintenance of roads continued to be neglected. The poor condition of the roads ensured a need for local blacksmiths, farriers, harness makers, coachbuilders and livery stables to keep buggies, wagons and coaches operating.

The track along the Murray River from Wodonga to Echuca was an important, although tortuous road between the main river centres. This "track" eventually became the Murray Valley Highway.

The road network in the region tends to run north-south and east-west aligned with the original parish and property boundary surveys except where boundaries were rivers or creeks. Angled roads then developed as routes between major towns within and from outside the Shire.

It was not until the 1930s-1960s that the shires were forced into a concerted effort on road maintenance and construction due to the increased use of the motor vehicle, the growth of concentrated population and building through the Soldier Settlement Scheme, and the expansion of the tourist trade.

Extensive road sealing occurred during the 1960s with funding assistance from the Country Roads Board. Other essential steps taken during the 1960s and 1970s, some driven by the needs of emergency services, included better naming and signage of roads and house numbering in towns.[34]

Historic road infrastructure of particular significance is extant at Tungamah, where early twentieth century slate guttering is a defining feature of the Church Heritage Precinct, and in Nathalia where nineteenth century gutters form part of the historic Brown, Corke and Co. store in Elizabeth Street.

Coaches

Coaches were used to transport people, goods and mail in the Shire.

In the 1860s the Murray Valley Fishing Company at Barmah used a team of three coaches and thirty horses to transport their fish to Bendigo via Echuca.

Cobb & Co coaches operated across the region from at least the 1870s and other coach runs began operations in the 1880s. The coach runs also provided the mail service. Some centres such as Numurkah offered daily connections, excluding Sundays, to towns throughout the region and across the border into New South Wales.[35]

Railways

The railway lines constructed in the Shire opened up transport to the south and in particular with Melbourne and the Melbourne to Sydney railway line. The population and development of the region had progressed rapidly from the land selections of the 1870s justifying the extension of existing railway lines from the south. Rail was the most rapid form of transport available at the time and the 1870s development was further enhanced in the 1880s and 1890s by the growth

in business and employment opportunities generated by the opening of the railway lines.

To service the railway lines, townships such as Katunga, St James, Telford, Yarroweyah and Waaia were privately subdivided adjacent to planned railway stations. Waaia had previously been surveyed in 1875 however the original township failed to develop and a "new" town was privately subdivided on the railway line 3½ miles to the north of the original township reserve.

The first line to open was in 1881 with the Mangalore line extended from Shepparton with stations at Congupna Road, Tallygaroopna, Wunghnu and Numurkah. In 1888 this line was again extended to Cobram with stations at Katunga, Strathmerton and Yarroweyah. The line from Strathmerton to Cobram is now closed.

The second line connected the Shire to the important Melbourne to Sydney line and was opened in 1883 from Benalla with stations at Chesney, Goorambat, Nooramunga, Devenish and St James. In 1886 it continued through Tungamah, Telford and Yarrawonga. In 1888 the Yarrawonga railway station was built and subsequently became an economic and social focus of the town. By 1891 Yarrawonga had become an important railhead linking the Murray River trade with the railway.

Branch lines from these two main lines were then constructed from Numurkah to Picola with the line through Waaia to Nathalia opening in 1888 and continuing to Barwo and Picola in 1896. This branch line from Numurkah closed in 1987.

In 1888 the Shepparton to Dookie line was opened and in 1892 this was extended as the Dookie to Katamatite Tramway through Yabba South, Yabba North, Youanmite and Katamatite. The Tramway was constructed by the Shire of Tungamah under the Country Tramways Act of 1886 with a commitment from at least one-third of the ratepayers to contribute to the cost of construction. The line was closed to passenger service in 1953 and fully closed in 1986.

Another branch line from Strathmerton opened in 1905 through Mywee and Sapling Creek with a further extension in 1908 to the Murray River and across the border to Tocumwal.

All railway lines in the Shire have been closed to general passenger services, while the Yarrawonga and Tocumwal lines remain open for freight trains.[36] The Yarrawonga station however has been used since for transport and tourism purposes by steam train excursionists, and has also been used by the Mulwala Arts Group for cultural and recreational purposes.[37] At Yarrawonga the railway station area is also linked to a nearby historic weighbridge and silos assoicated with the wheat and agricultural transport heritage of the Shire.

St James Railway Station 1893
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, a14898

Bridges

The east, north, west and south west boundaries of the Shire are the Ovens, Murray and Goulburn Rivers. These boundaries together with the creeks including Broken (Baala), Boosey and Yabba Creeks, and the main and subsidiary irrigation channels make water crossings and important part of the transport network.

Suitable crossing places and fords across major waterways generated movement of people and development of a homestead or settlement near the site. Punts were then erected at strategic sites and replaced by bridges as the region developed.

The extant Barmah Punt was first noted on township plans in 1866. Although the initial structure was a simple wooden platform on pontoons, the crossing saw a variety of punts over the years until a concrete bridge finally replaced the punt in 1966.

In the 1850s, Mcrae, a hotel owner from Mulwala, erected a punt between Mulwala and Yarrawonga but this was either restricted to private use or had limited success. In the 1870s J R (Robert) Halburd paid an annual fee of £10 to operate his private punt between the towns near the site of the 1924 bridge. The fees charged by Halburd were considered excessive and were reduced by 1879, however it was a lucrative business and still not a cheap option for travellers. J W (William) Coghill set up an opposition punt c. 1879 however the competition appeared to be unwelcome and Coghill's punt was sunk under dubious circumstances. Construction of the first wooden bridge commenced in 1879 and was opened in 1891. This bridge included a "lifting section" to allow river

steamers to navigate through the bridge. This was replaced in 1924 by a steel and concrete bridge with a famous "dip" – the result of independent construction commencing at different heights from each river bank. A second crossing at Yarrawonga was provided by the road bridge across the weir erected in 1939.

At Cobram in 1889, J McNamara & Co established the Cobram Punt Company. The punt was up stream from the site of the Cobram-Barooga bridge over the River Murray which was opened in 1902 and considered a far more important event to the region than the Federation of Australia in 1901.

Stewart's Bridge crossed the Goulburn River near its junction with the Murray on the Echuca to Tocumwal road surveyed in 1871. Other bridges crossing the Goulburn in the west of the Shire were Yambuna (1950) and McCoy's Bridge.

The town of Tungamah had a ford crossing the Boosey Creek and a "footbridge" constructed of a simple plank wedged into the fork of a tree. A wooden bridge was built in 1883 and replaced by a concrete bridge in 1929.

In 1879 a bridge was built at Katamatite across the Boosey Creek, another across the same creek at Yundool c. 1883. The wooden bridge at Yundool was closed in 1930.

Other "temporary" bridges were constructed to meet specific needs at different times, such as the Sleeper Cutter's Bridge at Cobram East.

Bridges were also constructed for the railway lines into the Shire. On the Mangalore to Cobram line there were crossings of the Pine Lodge Creek near Wunghnu and Baala Creek near Numurkah in 1881; on the Strathmerton to Tocumwal line crossings were at Sheepwash Creek north of Mywee in 1905 and Sapling Creek and the Murray River near Tocumwal in 1908.

Drumanure Bridge, near Numurkah.
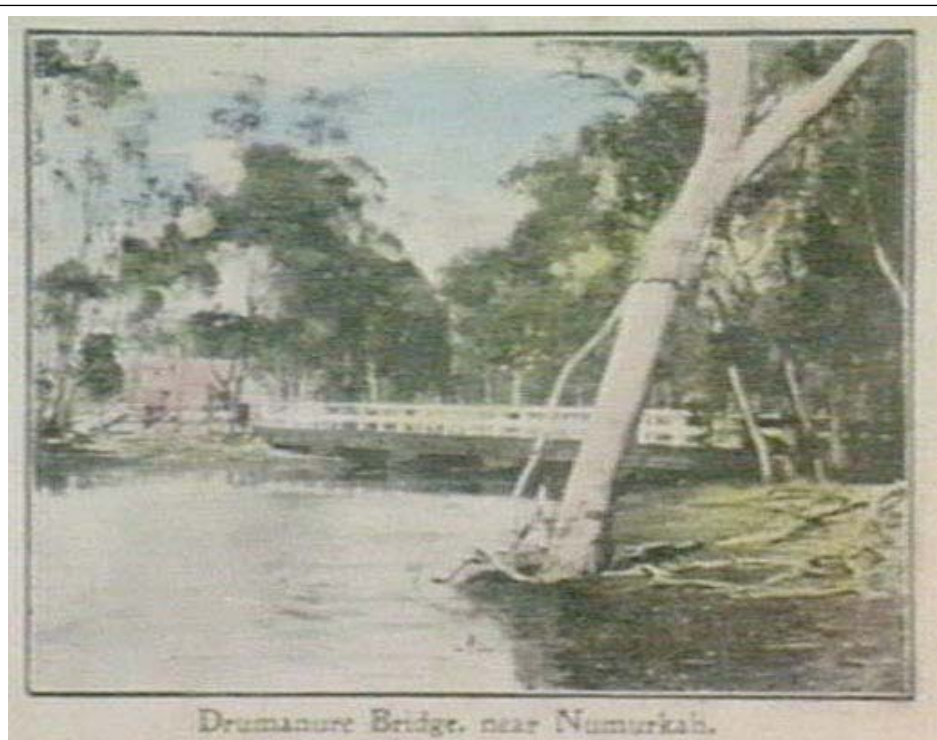
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, a07541

The Numurkah to Picola line crossed Broken Creek before Nathalia in 1888, and crossed Boosey Creek twice more between Nathalia and Barwo in 1896.

There were no river crossings in the Shire on the Shepparton to Katamatite line however the Benalla to Yarrawonga line crossed Boosey Creek near Tungamah in 1886. Construction of the wooden rail bridge across the Murray River to the Oaklands line commenced in 1926.

Water crossings in the main towns in the Shire have developed around their natural waterways, the rivers and creeks, or the major irrigation channels or both.

Many towns in the Shire, such as Numurkah and Nathalia have a major creek running through the town with at least one or more bridges linking both sides of the town. Other towns such as Yarrawonga and Cobram have the main irrigation channel running through the town. In Yarrawonga the channel is to the west of the main town with bridges across the channel in Piper Street, Burley Road, and on the Murray Valley Highway west of the town. In Cobram the channel zig zags across the town from the south east to the north west with many crossings and a covered section of channel between Punt Road and O'Dwyer Avenue. The covered section near the hospital and Catholic Church and school was constructed on site in 1939.[38]

Extant bridges in the Shire exist from nineteenth century and early twentieth century timber footbridges at Numurkah and Wilby; interwar concrete bridges at Nathalia, Tungamah and Yarrawonga.

Water Supply

Rivers

The rivers and creeks of the Shire are the lifeblood of the land. Three major rivers, the Murray, Goulburn and Ovens, constitute a large part of the boundary of the Shire to the east, north, west, and south west. Broken Creek (also referred to as Broken River) runs through the Shire as do larger creeks such as Boosey Creek. The alluvial floodplains, rivers and creeks, and irrigation schemes support an agricultural area covering 71% of the Shire of which about half is irrigated and half is "dry".[39]

Weirs and dams

In 1902 the Premiers of News South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, the Prime Minister of Australia, and the Murray River Main Canal League met at Corowa to discuss the utilisation of the Murray River. Recommendations from that meeting and subsequent meetings in the following decade included the construction of a storage dam on the Upper Murray and the establishment of a Committee of Enquiry to "examine all matters pertaining to the storage and diversion of Murray waters.

It was 1934 before the decision was made to build a weir at Yarrawonga with construction commencing in 1935. In 1930 the population of the Shire of Yarrawonga was 2,750. By 1938, the year before the completion of the weir, the population had grown to 3,200. The influx of workers for the project put pressure on local services with limited housing and accommodation available and local schools unable to cope with the increased number of children.

Although the River Murray Commission provided housing for staff, and single men were billeted in the town, there was a severe shortage of accommodation for families. Although camping was prohibited on Crown Land along the riverbank below the rifle butts, a tent city sprang up with semi-permanent dwellings using saplings for frames, iron for rooves and hessian bag "walls". When the weir was completed these families moved on, with some working on the construction of the irrigation channels and others settling in the town.

The construction of the weir not only created the water source for irrigation of the region but also a lake covering 15,000 acres of river flats. The people of Yarrawonga were keen to take advantage of the possibilities of a large clear area for boating and fishing, with significant infrastructure along the Alexandra Park and foreshore area testifying to the post war recreation development of the area.

Construction of Yarrawonga Weir, c. 1935-1939
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, rw003410

The Grove Trustees was formed in the 1920s and managed the local beauty spot known as "The Grove" in Alexandra Park at Yarrawonga. Members of this Trust saw the potential for tourism for this picturesque area of majestic red gums and wattle on the banks of the Murray River, and were heavily involved in the decision to clear the giant river red gums from the area to be flooded by the weir. The Murray River Commission refused to fund the clearing of the trees and the locals volunteered to tackle the task themselves.

Individuals, sporting groups, fire brigade members and State Electricity Workers all worked tirelessly to clear the area before it was flooded. Experienced axemen

and tree-fellers taught novices, skilled axe and saw sharpeners kept the tools in prime condition, carpenters built platforms to keep workers above the lagoon waters, and the women supplied afternoon tea for the working bees. It was an amazing achievement by a dedicated community expressed in the memories of Jim Pigdon, one of the volunteers - "When I look at the lake today I am proud that I was part of the group of men who worked to realise this magnificent achievement." [40]

Irrigation

The construction of weirs and irrigation channels in the Shire had the greatest impact on the development of the region into a major agricultural, horticultural and dairying centre. The Soldier Settlement period following World War II had a major impact on the population and production growth of the Shire however the long-term effect would not have been achievable to the same extent without the network of irrigation channels.

Serious droughts affected the colony from 1877 to 1881 which resulted in legislation to set up water trusts to establish and manage local works.

The Shepparton Shire Waterworks Trust was established in October 1882 during a period of drought and was responsible for the Shires of Shepparton and Numurkah. In 1883 the Waterworks Trust constructed the Pine Lodge Weir at a site chosen by the government. Water from this weir was to be pumped into Broken Creek and it was claimed that the pumps had "filled seventy miles of the Broken creek." Ironically floods in 1884 washed away the south bank by the weir and in 1887 the flooded Broken Creek was a mile wide at Katamatite and the Baala Creek at Numurkah was "higher than had ever been known". By 1889 the Trust reported that weirs had been constructed on the Baala and Broken Creeks at Numurkah, Wunghnu, Kaarimba and Nathalia. The Trust was also keen to establish an Irrigation Trust as surveys showed that the region was "well adapted to irrigation".

The Yarrawonga Shire Wateworks Trust was gazetted in June 1885. In 1887 Casey's weir was erected and a channel cut into Broken Creek. The cost for these works was shared between the Shepparton and Yarrawonga Trusts. By 1891 channels had been cut from Broken Creek into Boosey and Yabba Creeks, and a number of weirs created with further planned.

Other waterworks trusts combined to provide water across shire and trust boundaries with networks of weirs, dams and channels. From 1905 the State Rivers and Water Supply Commission co-ordinated and supervised the multiple waterworks and irrigation trusts across the state. Similarly the inter-colonial agreements of 1885 between New South Wales and Victoria, and the River Murray Commission including South Australia co-ordinated the use of the Murray River for irrigation in the three states.

The early irrigation schemes in the Shire were essential to the productivity of the region, however the Yarrawonga Main Channel ensured the future of the Murray Valley Irrigation Area. Tenders for the channel were called in November 1935 and in October 1939 the first water flowed in the irrigation area through these channels.

Tractors and pneumatic picks were used to excavate the Channels and horse drawn scoops removed the rubble to the banks where it was collected by trucks and used for road making or filling in the area. A unique device known as a

"chinaman" was a great labour saver. It was a trapdoor in the centre of a bridge built across the high banks of the channel. Horse drawn scoops emptied their contents through the trapdoor into trucks position below.

Channel digging was hard work with long hours and seven-day weeks. The men generally camped at the work areas, moving camp as the channels progressed. A variety of scoops were used including the McCabe, "a one man lever scoop, patented by J McCabe of Yarrawonga."

The south west corner of the Shire was faced with a different problem with the regular flooding of the Goulburn River. This problem was addressed initially in 1898 when construction began on levee banks on the eastern side of the Goulburn. These were partially successful with 40,000 acres recovered for cultivation, however the area through to Nathalia and Barmah was still affected by floods well into the twentieth century.

Source : Noel A Loughnan, *Harness Waters - A River Dammed*, p. 42
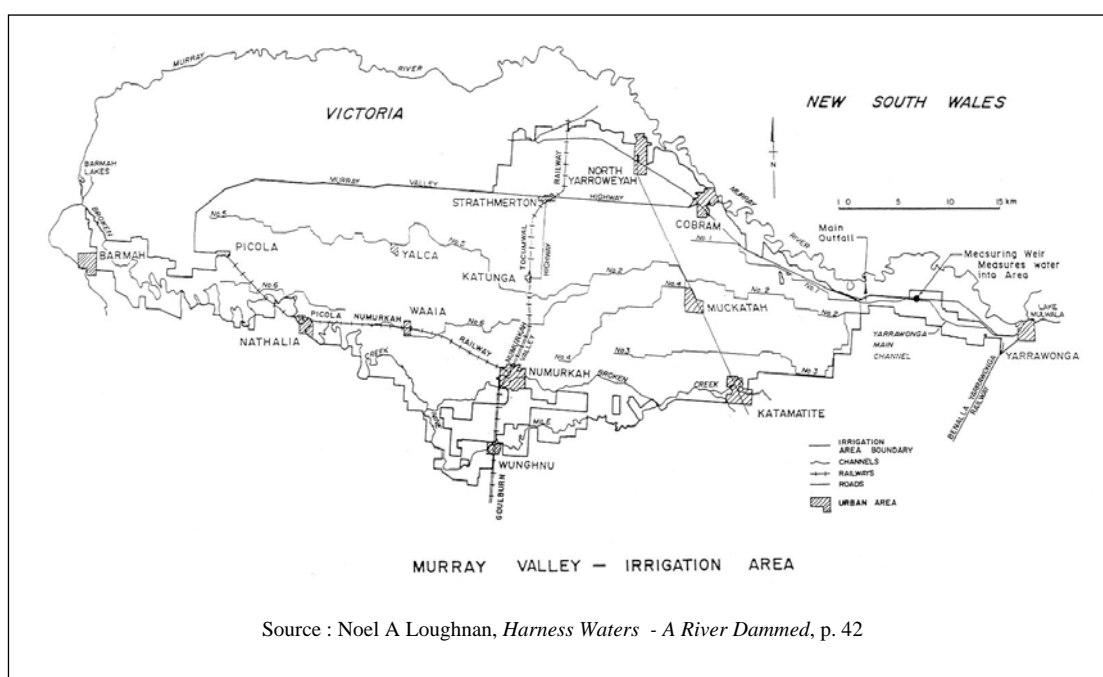
The approximate border of the Murray Valley Irrigation Area extends from Yarrawonga to Cobram, North Yarroweyah, Strathmerton, Picola, Barmah, Nathalia, Wunghnu, and Katamatite. [41]

Township Supply

Early settlers obtained their water from rivers, creeks, lagoons and wells. The volume and quality of supply was governed by rains and drought and in some cases heavily impacted by the construction of the railway lines from the south which temporarily blocked the flow of Broken Creek.

Numurkah initially relied on the lagoon in Baala Creek and a well on the south-west corner of Quinn and Gray Streets outside the Bible Christian parsonage. The lagoon was often dry, however the construction of a weir at Dunbulbalane in 1887 by the Yarrawonga Waterworks Trust diverted water from Broken Creek into Baala Creek. In October 1888 tenders were called for a water tank, tower,

engine-house and settling tanks at Numurkah. The 70-foot tower was constructed with 70,000 bricks and iron tank on top. In the meantime the Shire engineer had set up a steam pump on the bank of the lagoon. In 1892 the Numurkah Shire Waterworks Trust was established as a separate entity to the Shepparton Shire Trust.

Water towers were a major addition to the water infrastructure of the Shire, with towers at Yarrawonga (1886), Numurkah and Nathalia (1888) and a group of water towers designed by John Monash (1909) around Tungamah and St James.

By 1891 the towns of Yarrawonga and Tungamah also had a reticulated water supply through the Yarrawonga Shire Waterworks Trust. Most towns had to rely on creeks, wells and carted water for many years and did not receive reticulated water supplies until the twentieth century with Cobram celebrating the opening of their town supply in 1906 and more remote areas such as Barmah waiting until 1963. [42]

Nathalia Weir with tower and engine house, c. 1908
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, a01162

Communications

Telegraph and Postal

Surveys for Telegraph lines virtually coincided with surveys for the two main railway lines through the Shire. Towns on the Shepparton to Numurkah line were the first to benefit with the telegraph linked to Numurkah in 1879. The Benalla to Yarrawonga Telegraph line was surveyed in 1882, again coinciding with the opening of the railway line in 1883.

The association between the telegraph line and railway line is shown in a report from the *Numurkah Standard* in 1888 when the official opening of the Numurkah to Cobram line was delayed because "Passenger trains cannot run until gates at crossings are erected, gates cannot be erected until gate-keepers appointed, telegraph office cannot be opened until railway complete, passenger trains won't run until telegraph office opened."

Official postal services were introduced with the coach runs throughout the region in the 1870s and extended to temporary and permanent Post Offices as the towns developed and railways opened. In some cases the stationmaster also filled the role of postmaster.

Extant buildings associated with the postal service include the late nineteenth century former post offices at Tungamah (1890) and Nathalia (1887); the Federation period post office at Yarrawonga (1903) and an interwar post office at St James.

Tungamah Post Office c. early 1900s

Source: Campbell 2002.
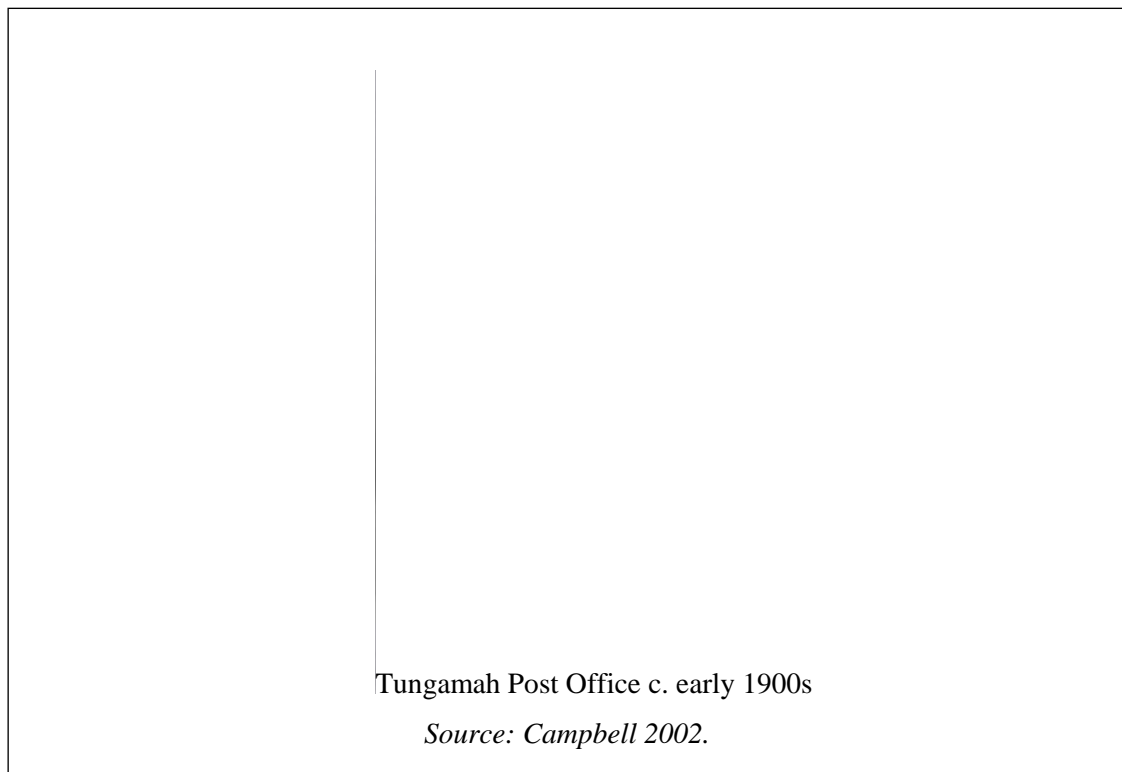
The telephone was introduced to the region from c.1910 competing for excitement with the introduction of electric street lighting soon after.[43]

Newspapers

Newspapers in the Shire developed around the centres of the former shires in the region and covered both town and rural issues in their respective areas. Strong competition existed between some papers with the editors using their pages to push specific causes and views. Some had only a brief existence while others survived under their own identities or merged with other nearby newspapers. Three of the early newspapers still exist in the Shire - the *Cobram Courier*, the *Numurkah Leader* and the *Yarrawonga Chronicle*. The 1895 *Numurkah Leader*

building is extant in Melville Street, Numurkah; while a shop associated with the *Nathalia Herald* after 1888 can be found in Blake Street, Nathalia.

The first newspaper in the region was the *Shepparton News* which commenced in 1877. This was followed by the *Shepparton Chronicle* in 1882 which merged to form the *Shepparton Advertiser* in 1885, incorporating at various stages the *Numurkah Guardian and Wunghnu Observer,* the *Goulburn Valley Farmers' Gazette* and the *Goulburn and Murray Farmers' Chronicle*.

The *Yarrawonga Mercury and Tungamah and Lake Rowan Express* commenced in 1879 and operated under various names and combinations including the *Yarrawonga Mercury and Southern Riverina Advertiser* and the *Yarrawonga Mercury and Mulwala News* until October 1936. The *Yarrawonga Chronicle* commenced in July 1883 and the *Yarrawonga Progress* in August 1929.

Numurkah began with the *Numurkah Standard* which ran from 1880 to 1918. The *Numurkah Guardian and Wunghnu Observer* commenced in March 1884 before merging with the *Shepparton Advertiser* in October 1885. The long-running Numurkah Leader began in April 1895.

The *Tungamah and Lake Rowan Express* commenced in October 1882 and in 1883 when it expanded to include the *St James Gazette* the newspaper's owner purchased premises in Barr Street. From 1916 the paper was printed in Yarrawonga and merged with the *Yarrawonga Chronicle* in 1936. The *Moira Independent*, later known as the *Tungamah Independent*, began in 1883 and was also located in Barr Street, Tungamah.

The *Nathalia Herald* began in February 1884 and operated until June 1975, and a second paper, the *Nathalia Leader* ran for just over a year from April 1895.

The *Cobram Courier* commenced in September 1888 in Station Street, Cobram.

Another newspaper operating for a time in the region was the *Strathmerton Gazette* which lasted just seven months in 1889.[44]

3.   Building Settlements and Towns

Major Centres

Five shires were amalgamated to form the Shire of Moira in November 1994. The five towns which were the administrative centres of these former shires were Cobram, Nathalia, Numurkah, Tungamah and Yarrawonga. At the time of amalgamation the population of Nathalia was 1455, the populations of Cobram, Numurkah and Yarrawonga were more than 3,000, however Tungamah had fallen to only 320.[45]

Cobram

Cobram, the largest town in the Shire, is in the Parish of Cobram and in 1994 was the administrative centre of the former Shire of Cobram. The town was surveyed in 1873 and proclaimed in 1912. Population figures recorded for Cobram show an increase in the 1890s following the opening of the Numurkah to Cobram railway line in 1888 and a significant increase with the post World War II Soldier Settlement in the area: 282 (1891), 598 (1901), 864 (1911), 995 (1947), 1,695 (1954) 2,888 (1966) and 3,865 (1996).

Cobram is situated on the Murray River and in the Murray-Goulburn irrigation district. It was named after Cobram Station, the main station on Octavius Phillpotts' pastoral run on the bank of the river.

Cobram was initially in the Shire of Tungamah. In 1953 this shire was split and the population of both the Shire of Cobram and the town grew with the Soldier Settlement period following World War II. The populations of the Shire of Tungamah also increased during this period however that of the town decreased from its peak in the 1890s.

Settlers moved into the region in the 1870s when land became available for selection and the area now known as Cobram East near the Cobram Station bore the name of Cobram. The name was soon changed to Cobram East when the current township of Cobram was established. This was also the location of the cemetery and the original burial site for the Station. The first school (SS2166) opened in 1879 in a portable classroom and by 1882 there were 56 children enrolled. Cobram East School moved to a new permanent site in 1892. By the early 1900s numbers had declined and the school closed and re-opened several times before it was permanently closed in 1946 when the students travelled to the Cobram Consolidated School.

The family of Charles and Eliza Tuck was one of the first to settle in Cobram in the late 1870s. In c. 1883 their sons built their first sawmill near the river end of the town and locals adopted the name of "Mill End" for this area of Cobram.

Harry and Emma Farrall erected the first general store on the corner of Punt Road and Sydney Street, as Punt Road was the main track to the river from the Yarrawonga road (Murray Valley Highway). Farrall was a carpenter and worked on various buildings in the town including the Grand Central Hotel and St Margaret's Anglican Church.

In 1884 the newly formed Cobram Railway League petitioned the government for a railway line from Numurkah to Cobram. Although the government had surveyed the "110th Section" for the town of Cobram, in October 1887 they purchased land from John Stewart for the railway station to the south west of the town and outside the crown land area. There were many protests from local farmers against this location however Stewart had pre-empted the decision by subdividing part of his 320 acres and offering "159 excellent Business Sites" for auction at Donaldson's Hotel, Numurkah, in April 1887.

Stewart sold eighty allotments at the auction - a full two months before the government offered blocks in the surveyed town which was to the north west from the corner of Warkil and Mookarii Streets. There was little interest in the government auction and it was many years before this surveyed town area developed. The 'Mill End' of Cobram was however, associated with the significant orchadists, with the 'Riverview' residence on River Road one such building once the centre of an early orchard in the 1890s. In the meantime businesses, shops and houses were being erected near the railway station. By January 1888 telegraph poles were erected and the townspeople eagerly awaited the opening of the railway line. The town already included: blacksmith, general store, grocery store, butcher shop, saw mill, foundry, National Bank, golf club, cricket club and athletics club.

In September 1888 the first issue of the *Cobram Courier* attacked the delay in opening the railway line:

> It is simply outrageous that people … should be put to heavy and serious pecuniary losses through the departmental difficulties with which our governmental system is trammelled … thus it takes fully five days of

> transit for goods to reach Cobram from Melbourne … in fact we are much worse off than when we had entirely to depend on the good old-fashioned bullock wagon. Evasive answers is all we get from petitions, letters, prayers and threats alike.

The business people and farmers finally celebrated on October 1, 1888 when the railway line opened.

1888 was a year of great progress for Cobram. In that year: Dr. Kennedy set up his practice (his house the Lisfarron Estate of 1889 is extant in Broadway Street); the first policeman was appointed; State School No. 2881 opened and was used as a church and town meeting room and entertainment centre; the Post Office opened; the Bank of Australasia opened; the Royal Victoria Hotel was built; the Cobram Football Club played its first game; and the local newspaper, the *Cobram Courier*, commenced. Businesses advertising in the first issue of the paper included: Fancy Goods Repository, Brick Yards, Timber Yards, Undertaker, Bootmaker, Saddler & Harness maker, Chemist & Druggist, Sawmills, Drapery and Millinery, Coffee Palace offering accommodation, Furniture and Glass suppliers, Tobacconist & Hairdresser including a circulating library, Baker & Confectioner, Blacksmith, Wheelwright, Commission Agent, Plans and Specifications (John McCullagh), Butcher, Auctioneers, Cordial and Aerated Waters, Plumbers, and Carpenters & Builders. The commercial areas of Cobram's history are included within the bounds of the Cobram Town Centre Precinct. The Masonic Hall is one site associated with one such colonial ear store.

The following year: the police station, lock-up and stables were built from bricks fired in the local kiln; J McNamara & Co established the Cobram Punt Company; the Cobram Agricultural and Pastoral Association was formed and the first Show held; the first [horse] race meeting was held; the first church, the Wesleyan Church, was built; and the first Presbyterian service was held in the school.

The only business to lose trade in this period was the river traffic as the railway had virtually replaced the need for this form of transport. River steamers were then only used for local transport of timber to the timber mills and pleasure outings to Tocumwal on the locally owned *S.S. Victoria*.

The Court of Petty Sessions commenced in 1890 and was held in the local hall, possibly the school. It was 1912 before Cobram had its own Court House.

Cobram in 1912
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, a01106

The next major stage in the development of Cobram was the construction of the Cobram-Barooga Bridge over the River Murray which was opened in 1902 and considered a far more important event to the region than the Federation of Australia in 1901. Cobram became the centre of an enlarged farming district both sides of the river due to the combination of the railway line and the bridge over the River Murray. This is reflected in the 1903 Australian Handbook:

COBRAM, a post town, with telegraph, money-order and savings bank office, on the Murray River, in the county of Moira, electoral district of Yarrawonga and Benalla, and police district of Benalla, Shire of Tungamah. It is a terminal station on the Numurkah and Cobram line, 165 miles NE of Melbourne : fares, 27s 8d and 18s 7d, return, 41s 8d and 25s. A coach runs to Berrigan (NSW) every day. Hotels : Cobram and Victoria. Banks: National and Australasia. There are in the township I.O.O.F., A.N.A. societies. Presbyterian, and Wesleyan churches, Roman Catholic and Anglican services held in institute, a State school (No. 2881), police station, Court of Petty Sessions, chemist, saw-mills, foundry, sundry stores and tradesmen's shops, resident physician, Racing, Rowing, Rifle, Football, Tennis, and Bicycle Clubs, mechanics' institute and public hall capable of seating 400 persons. It is an agricultural district. Vine, dairying, fruit and wine industries. The local race club holds its meetings, and shows are held annually under the auspices of the Cobram Agricultural and Pastoral Association. Shooting, fishing and boating. Lighted with kerosene. Formation : clay and sand. Newspapers: Cobram Courier, published every Thursday. Population of district about 2,000.

Irrigation from the early 1890s changed the type of farming conducted in the region with an increase in dairy farming, orchards and vines and the formation of a Wine and Fruit Growers Association.

Following World War I European immigrants settled in the area with a large group of Italian market gardeners arriving in the 1920s. This migration pattern continued after World War II particularly with the Italian community who predominantly came mainly from the villages of Varapodio and Molochio in the province of Calabria. In 2004 people with Italian heritage make up a large percentage of the population of the Cobram region. Since the Gulf War a group of approximately 300 immigrants from Iraq have added to the multi-cultural groups in the area.

In 1922 St Joseph's Catholic School, run by the Sisters of Mercy, opened in Cobram, and forms the centre of the Cobram Church Precinct. This may have been influenced by the arrival of immigrants from Italy, traditionally a Catholic stronghold. Other schools opened in Cobram were the Cobram Special Development School in 1985 and Christ the King Anglican College in 2000.

The activation of the Murray Valley Irrigation Area from 1939 and the Soldier Settler period from the 1940s resulted in a three-fold increase in the population and was the most significant event in the history of the Shire.

In 1948 the Murray Valley Soldier Settlers League was formed and through their resolve in 1949 the Murray Valley Co-operative Dairy Products and Trading Company, later known as the Murray Goulburn Co-operative Company, was formed. "By the 1970s the Co-operative was one of the largest dairy companies in the southern hemisphere, operating in the Southern Riverine (N.S.W.) as well as Victoria."

The impact on the town from the 1950s can be seen by the opening of the Cobram Consolidated School in 1952, the creation of the Shire of Cobram in 1953, the opening of a High School in 1962 and the continued development in tourism.

1994 statistics for farming in the Shire of Cobram: fruit orchards - 2,139 ha.; vegetables - 206 ha.; wheat - 606 ha.; dairy cattle - 22,000; sheep and lambs - 20,500; pigs - 5,500.[46]

Cobram in 1946
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, rw003792 and rw003793

The key events and growth patterns in Cobram were emulated in the towns of Nathalia, Numurkah and Yarrawonga – each town was the administrative centre for their shire, connected to the railway network, located on either the Murray River or Broken Creek and part of the Murray Irrigation Area and Soldier Settlement scheme.

Nathalia

Nathalia is in the Parish of Barwo and in 1994 was the administrative centre of the former Shire of Nathalia. The town was surveyed in 1879 and proclaimed in 1880. The township site was enlarged by further surveys in 1886 and 1889.

Population figures recorded for Nathalia show an increase in the 1890s following the opening of the Numurkah to Nathalia railway line in 1888 and a significant increase with the post World War II Soldier Settlement in the area: 689 (1891), 828 (1901), 954 (1947), 1,859 (1961) and 1,455 (1996).

Nathalia is situated on a horseshoe bend on Broken Creek protected from river floods by a levee bank. Initially the settlement and the first school, opened in 1877, were named Barwo, however the name Nathalia was gazetted in 1880 and the name of the school changed to Nathalia in 1882.

The school was located in section 8 of the surveyed town and was gazetted for school use in 1877, however the first land sales in the town did not take place until 1879 in sections 1 and 11 in the northwest section of the town. The next sections sold were 2 and 3 incorporating all the land on the eastern side of Blake Street, the main road from Echuca to Cobram, between the creek and Boaden Street. These sales were followed by the sections bounded by Pearce and Camp Streets and the creek. The western end of these sale areas is incorporated into the Nathalia Town Centre Precicnt, including the major commercial development strip along Blake Street.

In 1884-85 Nathalia was a 16 mile coach trip from Numurkah and Post Office Directories listed the town as having a Wesleyan and Roman Catholic Church, Post and Money Order Office, two banks, three publicans, wineseller, four storekeepers, miller, wheelwright, draper, saddler, tinsmith, two blacksmiths, bootmaker, baker, druggist, auctioneer and clerk of petty sessions.

By 1888-89, following the opening of the railway line, the directory listing was considerably longer. The telegraph office, Church of England and newspaper, *Nathalia Herald*, were now operating together with five hotels. Of these the Courthouse, Bridge (1880s), and Nathalia (1891) remain, the latter two in the Town Centre Precinct. A later site, associated with the Railway Hotel stands in the Old Town Precinct. Not only had the number of businesses increased but the town now offered the type of businesses essential for a growing and sophisticated centre. The list was impressive including: Blacksmiths; wheelwrights; coach builders; saddler; coach company; carriers; stock and estate agent; livery stables; horse & cattle salesmen; veterinary surgeon; agricultural implement makers; auctioneers; tinsmith; ironmongers; painter, glazier, paperhanger & sign writer; brickyards; timber & general merchants; architect (Edward Brensing); contractors; carpenters; furniture, crockery & glassware dealers; fruiterers; storekeepers; grocers; butchers; chemists; druggists; tobacconist; bootmakers; drapers; hairdressers; tailors; outfitters & habit makers; dressmakers; watch makers & jewellers; bakers & pastrycook (specialist caterer for balls & picnics); solicitors; health officer & public vaccinator; doctor; photographer; cordial makers; flour mill; boarding house; and dining rooms.

The population and building boom in anticipation of the opening of the railway was described as "shoppers made their way gingerly past scaffolding and piles of sawn timber or the litter of bricks waiting to be carted away as building after building went up." The commercial legacy of the boom can be seen in the impressive facades of the former Commercial Bank (1898) and former Bank of Australasia (1889) in Blake Street.

In October 1888 the newly formed Nathalia and Lower Moira Agricultural Pastoral and Horticultural Association held its first agricultural show. Nathalia was a major centre for wheat and barley growing but had also developed in

dairying and orchards. The climate enabled the growers of peaches, apricots and grapes to get their produce to market as early as November. The Nathalia Dairy Company opened a butter factory in 1892 however a large percentage of the shares were unpaid and the company went into liquidation. A second refrigerated factory was established near the flour mill in 1895 with more success. The butter factory later became a milk receiving depot for the Cobram based Murray Goulburn Co-operative Company.

Blake Street, Nathalia, c. 1910
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, pc001854

The Nathalia Irrigation League established in 1914 was unsuccessful in having existing and planned irrigation schemes extend to Nathalia and wheat continued to be the main produce from the area. Goulburn Irrigation reached Nathalia in 1930.[47] However, the Nathalia region was forced to wait until 1951 for the construction of irrigation channels from the Murray scheme and the effect on the district was a 70% increase in population between the censuses of 1946 and 1961. During the interwar and immediate postwar period, tobacco growing and processing developed as a significant industry in the area, with Goulburn water pumped from Broken Creek, and exemplified by the tobacco kilns behind the Mechanics Institute.

Additional schools were needed and in 1959 the Nathalia High School opened, a Catholic school opened in 1961, and in 1974 it was extended to secondary school level.

In 1957 the region split from Numurkah to form the Shire of Nathalia.

1994 statistics for farming in the Shire of Nathalia: meat cattle – 17,700; dairy cattle – 26,500; sheep and lambs – 64,000.[48]
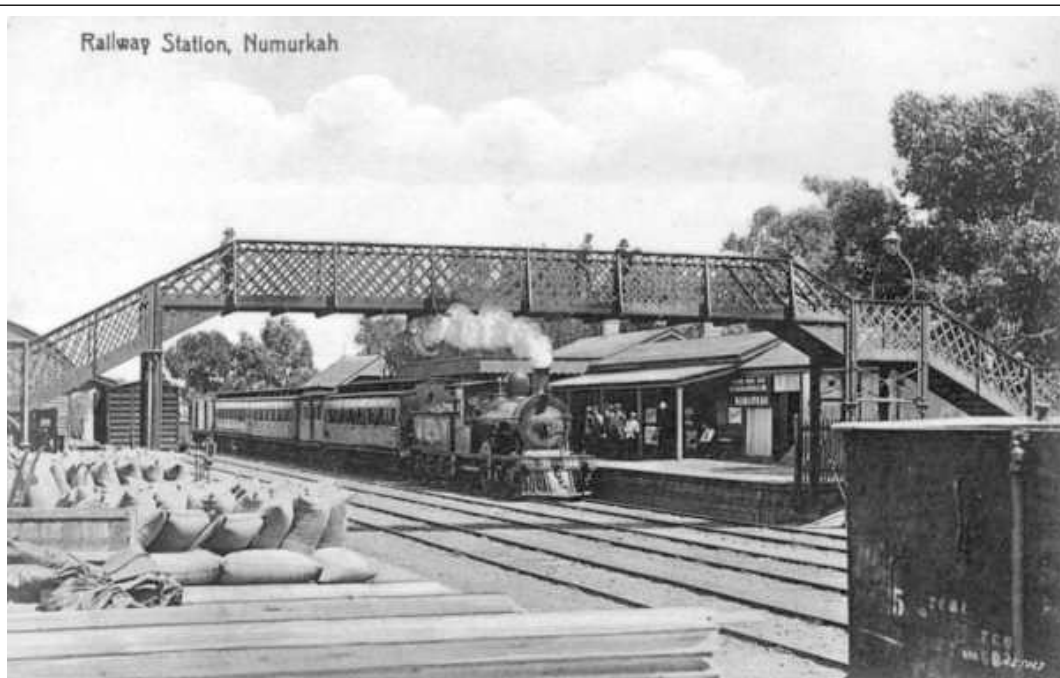
Numurkah

Numurkah is in the Parishes of Katunga and Drumanure and in 1994 was the administrative centre of the former Shire of Numurkah. The town was surveyed and proclaimed in 1875. Population figures recorded for Numurkah show a dramatic increase in the 1880s following the opening of the Shepparton to Numurkah railway line in 1881 and extensions in 1888 to Cobram and Picola, and a further significant increase with the post World War II Soldier Settlement in the area: 96 (1881), 1,011 (1891), 1,174 (1901), 1,519 (1947), 2,658 (1976) and 3,128 (1991).

Numurkah is situated on Broken (Baala) Creek[49] in the Murray Valley irrigation area. There are differing views on the origins of the name, however several sources cite it as an aboriginal word meaning heavy shield or war shield.

The first land sale was held on January 11, 1878 for sections 1 and 2 bounded by Brenion, Meiklejohn, Knox and McCaskill Streets, followed by sections 3-6 immediately to the north in March 1878. These sections were between the railway station and the creek and divided by Melville Street, leading to Tocumwal Road. Land for the school was also gazetted in 1878 and the Numurkah State School No. 2134 opened in September 1879.

The Shire of Numurkah was commenced in May 1879 – the second shire to secede from the Shire of Echuca. In 1892 the shire was expanded with the addition of the parishes of Barmah, Kotupna and Moira. In 1957 part of the shire became the Shire of Nathalia when the area was reduced from 765 to 279 square miles.

When the railway line opened in 1881 Numurkah had four hotels, a Bible Christian Church, general store, butcher, baker, newsagent and its own newspaper, the *Numurkah Standard*.

Numurkah Railway Station, c. 1908
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, pc001821

Numurkah benefited from being the railway terminus for seven years until 1888 and was the focal point for the north west of the Shire. From a population of just 96 in 1881, Numurkah reached a staggering 1,011 by 1891. This dramatic increase is reflected in the Post Office Directory for 1888-89 which lists ten hotels, of which the Telegraph (1882) and Numurkah (1910) remain; seven boarding houses; and the Numurkah Coffee Palace, Boarding House and Restaurant. The large number of hotels and boarding houses was obviously essential for providing accommodation for the increasing population until such time as house building caught up with the needs. The period also saw significant development of religious institutions with the Presbyterian church (1889) and Roman Catholic Presbytery (1889).

In 1890 the *Numurkah Standard* reported on the view of Numurkah from the newly constructed pedestrian overpass above the railway line. Although some buildings were constructed of brick, Numurkah was predominantly a weatherboard town. The journalist criticised the "meanly arranged" street widths; the "wretchedly arranged … building areas … due to the natural desire to crowd as many houses as possible for letting purposes on a block"; the general architecture with "buildings small, badly fronted, dingy back lanes are narrow and at times dirty"; and that the town was "absolutely innocent of anything in the way of arboreal beautification". The crowding of houses was compared to "a back alley in a poor quarter in a large city" and it was difficult to understand in a country area with room to expand why the town was so crowded that "we have no room for pure air, so restricted that we cannot find room for a few health-giving trees in our gardens."

The crowded weatherboard buildings contributed to a number of large fires in the town where a row of businesses would be lost in a single blaze, sometimes only stopped by the presence of a brick building. The local fire brigade was particularly active in the mid 1880s and hotels seemed particularly susceptible to fire, however one benefit from the fires was that some weatherboard buildings destroyed in fires were replaced with brick or iron buildings.

Numurkah Courthouse
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection

Two of the brick buildings erected in this period were the Mechanics' Institute in 1883 and used for the first Church of England service, court house (1889), balls, concerts, lectures and a variety of entertainment, and the Numurkah Court House built in 1889 at a cost of £1931.

Larger businesses in Numurkah included flour mills established in 1881, coach builders, brickmakers, tinsmiths and cordial makers. Jenkins and Davies began their cordial manufacturing in Numurkah in 1882 and also had establishments at Nathalia and Cobram. Another drink manufacturer at Numurkah was the Tarax Brewery Company which was established by George Albert Pethard in 1899. By 1902 he had moved his operations to Bendigo before finally setting up in Melbourne. The former Coxon's Foundry was particularly important in the early secondary industry in the town.

In 1901 the population of Nurmurkah was 1,174 and the region was an important agricultural, pastoral and horsebreeding region. Although the area was predominantly wheat growing, other farming activities developed in the late 1800s including pigs, dairy cattle, Clydesdale horses, orchards and grape vines. The Shire was predominantly a dry farming region for the next fifty years. Of this, the Showgrounds site was a particular testament, as a recreational, agricultural and community site from 1882.

The population of the town, after its initial ten-year explosion, grew to only about 1,400 by the late 1930s. The depression of the 1930s, the wheat crisis (oversupply and low prices) and World War II impacted the Shire with many small towns virtually disappearing and the population stagnating or declining,

As with Cobram and Nathalia, the Soldier Settlement Scheme and Murray-Goulburn Irrigation scheme had a huge impact on Numurkah. In 1946 a camp for 300 workers was set up at the northern end of the town and the administrative headquarters for the Soldier Settlers was established at Numurkah. The task for these workers was to prepare "The Settlement". Many of the 300 workers were post-war immigrants and on the completion of the work, many also settled in the area. In the next thirty years the population almost doubled.

1994 statistics for farming in the Shire of Numurkah: dairy cattle – 52,800; meat cattle – 11,300; sheep and lambs – 35,000.[50]

Tungamah

Tungamah is in the Parish of Tharanbegga and in 1994 was the administrative centre of the former Shire of Tungamah and its predecessor the Shire of Yarrawonga. The town was surveyed and proclaimed in 1875. The peak population in the town occurred during the period from the opening of the railway line in 1886 and 1893 when the Shire of Tungamah in 1893 was established: 408 (1891), 393 (1901), 376 (1933), 271 (1961) and 305 (1996).

Tungamah is a rural town located on Boosey Creek.and is not part of the Murray Valley Irrigation Area but in the dry farming region of the Shire. The origins of the name are generally accepted as an aboriginal word meaning wild turkey however more recent references state that Tungamah is a variation of the Yorta Yorta word Dangamai meaning crow.

An ill-equipped group of Germans led by the "prophetess" Maria Heller formed a community near Tungamah in 1870 however the settlement was abandoned after many of the group died of scurvy or starvation.

The Shire of Yarrawonga initially met in Yarrawonga however in 1882 the meetings were moved to Tungamah which was more centrally located in the shire. This move probably influenced the route of the railway line from Benalla which was opened to St James in 1883, despite attempts by Lake Rowan to have the line through their town. The line from St James through Tungamah to Yarrawonga was opened in 1886 and Tungamah became an important railhead linking the surrounding district with the Murray River trade and the railway line south.

The surveyed town plan of Tungamah shows allotments on both sides of the creek however little development occurred south of the creek and the earliest town land sales from 1875 were at the south end of Barr Street on the north bank of the creek.

In 1883 a wooden bridge replaced the ford and makeshift footbridge over Boosey Creek in Barr Street. A 1911 lithograph shows a clay hole, bricks, and hut on land owned by E. Kyne west of the ford on the south side of the creek. Local bricks from kilns north and south of the creek were used for the construction of buildings in the town including the Victoria Hotel, Post Office, former National Bank and the three churches on the hill.

The number of solid brick buildings in the town and the 1888-89 Post Office Directory give the impression of a solid thriving town serving a large population. The population at the time was about 400 in the town and 7,000 in the Shire of Yarrawonga. After the shire was split into North Yarrawonga and Yarrawonga, renamed Tungamah, the population was a little over 3,000. This was close to the peak period for the town with the population decreasing to 305 in 1996.

Mr A. Hill's General Store photographed c. 1895

Source: Tungamah Museum/ Campbell 2002.
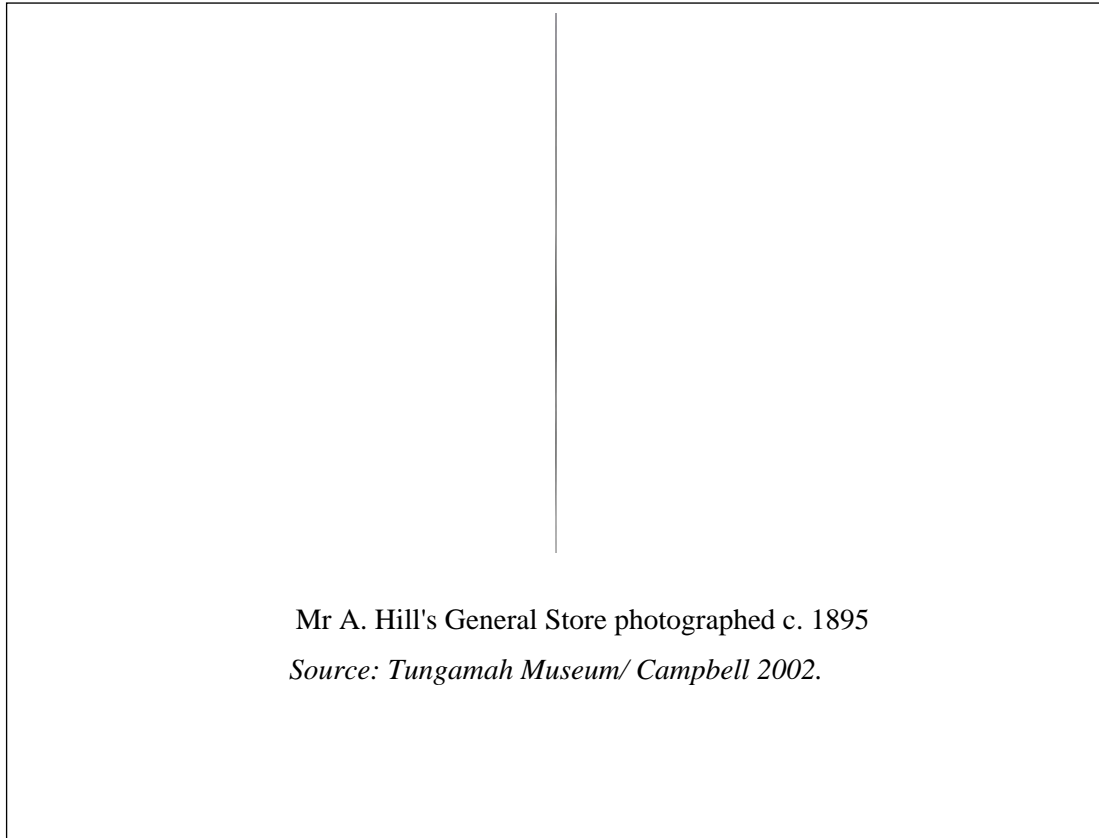
In 1888-89 Tungamah had three banks, two weekly newspapers, a State School, and Post, Telegraph and Money Order Office. Businesses listed in the directory included: two solicitors; two surgeons; hotels – Royal, Victoria, Commercial, Farmers' Arms, Tungamah and Cocked Hat; newspapers – Express and Independent; bookseller; tailor; merchants; grain dealers; stationer; butchers; coach painters; watchmaker; dressmakers; commission agents; auctioneers; blacksmith; bootmakers; storekeepers; contractors; blacksmiths; carriers; two boarding houses; livery stables; bakers; chemist; machinists; tobacconists; cordial manufacturer; photographer; saddler; milliner; coach factory and the Tungamah Flour Mill which was destroyed by fire in 1888.

The town of Tungamah may have been small in size and population but community spirit abounded with many community and sporting groups. A plaque unveiled in October 1994 also demonstrates this spirit. On that day, designated as "family day", the community gathered in Jubilee Park to commemorate the end of the Shire of Tungamah.

1994 statistics for farming in the Shire of Tungamah: sheep and lambs – 153,000; dairy cattle – 31,000; meat cattle – 25,700; cereal planting – 17,020 ha.; wheat harvested – 25,700 tonnes.[51]
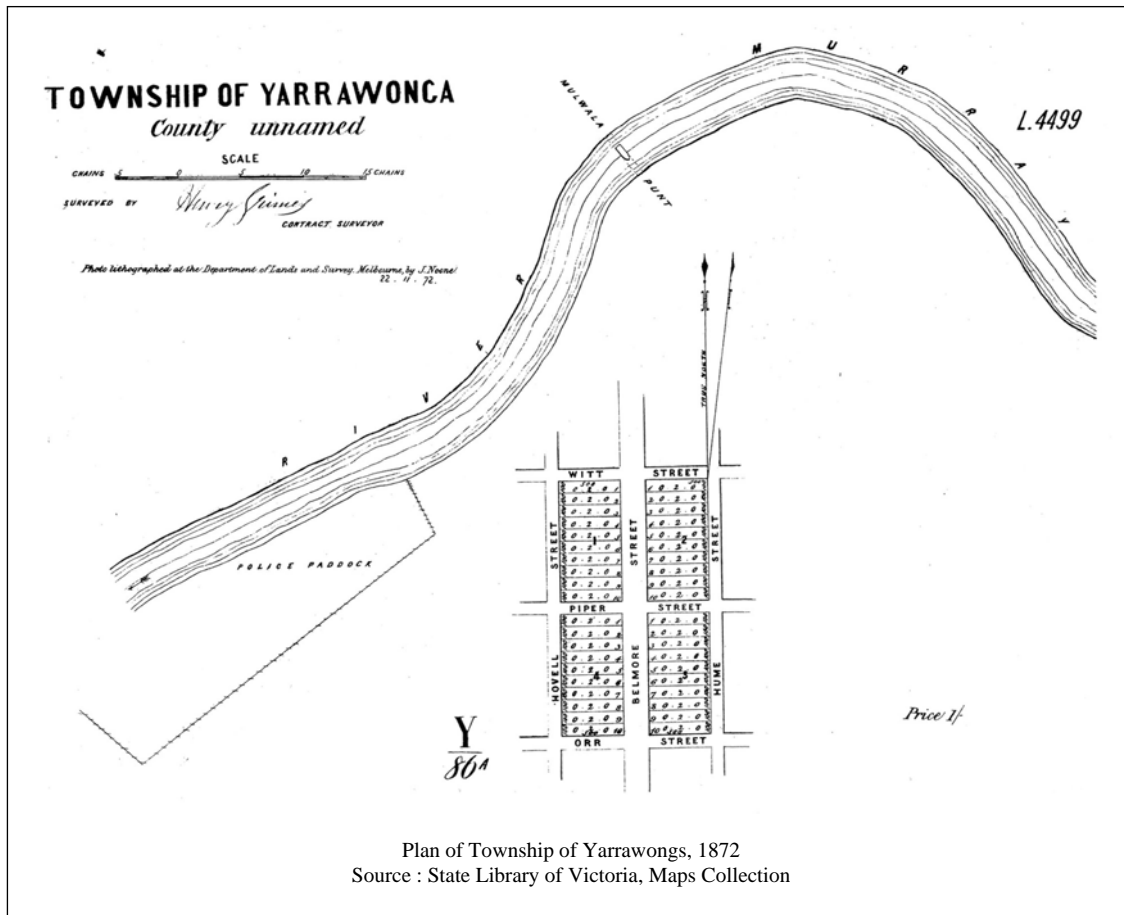
Yarrawonga

Yarrawonga is in the Parish of Yarrawonga and in 1994 was the administrative centre for the former Shire of Yarrawonga. The town was surveyed in 1868 and proclaimed in 1881. Population figures recorded for Yarrawonga show an increase in the 1880s following the opening of the Benalla to Yarrawonga railway line in 1886 and a significant increase coinciding with the construction of the Yarrawonga weir in the 1930s, and the development of the Goulburn-Murray Irrigation Area and growth in tourism from the late 1940s in the area: 366 (1881), 1,278 (1891), 1,438 (1901), 1,908 (1933), 2,953 (1954), 3,603 (1991), 3,435 (1996).

Yarrawonga is situated on the Murray River at the head of the Murray-Goulburn irrigation area. The town shares Lake Mulwala with the town of Mulwala across the border in New South Wales with many facilities shared between the two towns.

Yarrawonga was named after Elizabeth Hume's pastoral station established in 1842. By 1850 a police camp had been established to the west of the first town blocks sold. Henry Grimes, Contract Survey, surveyed only four sections in the town in 1868, bounded by Hovell, Witt, Hume and Orr Streets. This survey plan is titled "Township of Yarrawonga, County unnamed" indicating an early survey of a town in the Shire. Nine allotments in Sections 1 and 2 were offered for sale at the Benalla Lands Office on September 2, 1873 with all being sold. The rest of the township to the north of the Wangaratta-Echuca Road was laid out in 1875 and allotments to the south of this road in 1886.

The development of the town in the 1880s can be directly attributed to opening of the railway line connecting the river town to the capital of Melbourne in 1886, and the erection in 1891 of the bridge across the river to Mulwala making Yarrawonga an important railhead for farms in the Shire as well as those across the border in New South Wales.

Yarrawonga was already well established before the railway line opened in 1886. In 1884-85 the town had several stores, two banks, four churches, four hotels, a State School, two flour mills, a weekly newspaper, and a Post, Telegraph and Money Order Office. The Yarrawonga Brewery opened in 1885 and the Anglo-Australian Brewery opened in 1886. These breweries closed in 1907 and 1912 respectively. The Court House was built in 1888, a Catholic convent and school was built in 1889 and the first Mechanics' Institute in 1892. The railway present railway station was built in 1888. A new post office was opened in 1903 and a State Savings bank in 1912.

Plan of Township of Yarrawongs, 1872
Source : State Library of Victoria, Maps Collection

The development of Yarrawonga in the late 1800s is shown in the 1903 Australian Handbook:

> Yarrawonga, a post town, with telegraph, money-order office, saving bank, receipt and pay office and electrical [sic] registrar's office, on the banks of the Murray 161½ miles NE of Melbourne, 420 feet above sea level, and is in the shire of Yarrawonga, the county of Moira and electorate of Benalla and Yarrawonga. It is the terminus of the branch line from Benalla, fares from Melbourne, 29s and 19s 4d. Two trains daily, Monday, Tuesday and Thursday; other days one train; in summer two trains daily. Within the borders of the town are eight hotels, the Yarrawonga, Commercial, Royal Mail, Exchange, Terminus, Criterion, Farmers' Arms, and Victoria; branches of the Australasia, Commercial and National Banks, a State school (No 1819), Congregational, Anglican, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan churches, Salvation Army barracks, convent, county court, insolvency court, court of petty sessions, office of the Inspector of Stock and Customs, and police camp, a mechanics' institute with library (5,000 vols.), private and Roman Catholic schools. There is a flourishing agricultural society here, with one of the best equipped show grounds in the north-east, also vine and fruit growing association. Three parks - the Alexandra, Victoria, and Athletic, and a splendid, well-appointed racecourse. The country is

described as first-class pastoral and agricultural land, being red soil, slightly sandy, with rich clay subsoil. Latterly vine and fruit growing has been taken up largely, the climate and soil being especially adapted for their cultivation. Wine distilling has been established, and dairying has assumed large proportions. An extensive water supply scheme (a Trust) has been formed to supply water to stock throughout a considerable portion of the adjacent shire of Tungamah.[52] Town has excellent urban water-works (Trust), the water supply being pumped from the Murray and conveyed by pipes through the streets; it is lighted with kerosene. Yarrawonga has had a most rapid growth; a few years ago it had no existence; it is now one of the most important towns on the Murray. It has besides the places above-mentioned, two saw-mills, a farmers' co-operative grain store, butter factory, a number of general stores, and tradesmen's shops, two flour mills, three cordial factories, brickyard, three public halls for meetings, Masonic M.U.I.O.O.R., I.O.O.F., and W.C.T.U., A.N.A. and Hibernian societies, and many private residences. A natural highway approaches the River Murray here on both sides, and a fine bridge has been erected by the Governments of Victoria and New South Wales. Coaches run to Wangaratta, Peechelba, Bundalong, Boosey, Invergordon, Burramine, Numurkah, and Katamatite, and to Berrigan and Jerilderie in New South Wales. In the shire 44,537 acres are under cultivation, of which 29,187 are wheat. The area of Yarrawonga shire is 220 square miles; the net annual value of ratable property is £36,671, and population, 3,200, dwellings 700, ratepayers on the book 760, rate 1s. Population of town 1,500. Newspapers : The Yarrawonga Chronicle and Mercury.

The most significant change in the history of Yarrawonga began with the construction of the Yarrawonga Weir (1935-39) and the subsequent Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Scheme. This led to significant interwar residential and commercial development in both commercial and residential areas, as well as some immediate postwar additions to the area.

Tourism flourished around Lake Mulwala and in 1957 the first of Yarrawonga's aquatic festivals was held. In January 1974 the Yarrawonga Chronicle reported that the summer tourist season had seen the towns population quadruple.

1994 statistics for farming in the Shire of Yarrawonga: cattle – 23,000; sheep and lambs – 78,000; wheat harvested – over 16,000 tonnes.[53]

Other Towns

This group of towns are either existing or parts of former towns.

Barmah

Barmah is in the Parish of Barmah and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Nathalia. The town was surveyed in 1866 and proclaimed in 1896 although a settlement existed in the area from the 1850s. Population figures recorded for Barmah show a large increase in the early 1900s: 27 (1854), 76 (1871), 73 (1881), 85 (1901), 328 (1911), 183 (1947) and 167 (1961). The number of dwellings recorded in the nineteenth century was very small with a noticeable increase at the beginning of the twentieth century: 0 (1854), 8 (1871), 9 (1881) and 18 (1901).

Barmah is a rural village located on the Murray River and its fluctuating development and history relate to two important historic activities in the area.

The first stage of Barmah's development was as a transport centre, of which the Barmah Punt is a significant reminder. From the mid 1850s properties in the west of the shire without river frontage took their wool to Barmah for loading on the barges towed by river boats to Echuca.[54] This activity declined with the expansion of the railway network into the Shire in the 1880s and 1890s.

The second activity, and largest, was the timber industry in the Barmah Forest, of which the Evans Mill site is a significant reminder. Large numbers of red gum sleepers were cut from the forest for the Bendigo to Echuca railway line constructed in 1863-4. The timber industry has continued into the twentieth century although more controls were placed on the industry by government departments. Other subsidiary industries involved in the Barmah Forest including stock grazing, duck shooting, fishing, yabby farming and leech collecting.

Recently tourism has been associated with the Barmah State Forest and the Dharnya Centre.

Barmah Forest, 1970
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, pfw009639

Land auctions were held for the village settlement in 1866 and 1869. The punt was in operation from at least 1866 and by the 1870s the settlement included a

store and hotel. The Barmah school, moved from Picola, opened in 1896 and operated until 1954 when it was returned to Picola as a private residence.

Electricity did not come to Barmah until 1961, prior to a reticulated water supply achieved in 1963 the river bank was lined with windmills for domestic water supply, a bridge replaced the punt in 1966, and the telephone connected in 1967.

In support of the developing tourist industry, a caravan park was opened in 1966 and a boat ramp in 1970.[55]

Katamatite

Katamatite is in the Parish of Katamatite and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Cobram and its predecessor the Shire of Tungamah. The town was surveyed in 1874 and proclaimed in 1885 on a township reserve gazetted in 1875. Katamatite is a rural township located on Boosey Creek near its junction with Broken Creek and recorded population figures are: 120 (1901), 367 (1921), 586 (1961), 204 (1996).

Stock Feed at Katamatite Railway Station, c. 1940-1950
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, rw003765

Katamatite was in the centre of a large wheat growing area. The Shire of Tungamah petitioned the government for the Dookie to Katamatite Tramway which opened in 1892.

Katamatite State School opened in 1878 and still serves the community today. A Methodist Church was opened in 1882, a Presbyterian Church in 1884, and the Mechanics' Institute was erected in 1884. Katamatite became part of the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area resulting in dairy farms replacing many of the wheat paddocks.[56]

Lake Rowan

Lake Rowan, formerly known as Karrabumet, is in the Parish of Karrabumet and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Tungamah. The town was surveyed and proclaimed in 1873. Although the town was known as Lake Rowan from its inception, it was not formally gazetted with that name until 1953. The subdivision of the town was quite extensive, possibly in anticipation of the Benalla to Yarrawonga railway line being routed through the town. Unfortunately Lake Rowan lost out to St James and the town never achieved the status originally perceived. The population of 99 in 1881 had dropped to 69 by 1891 and the number of dwellings had dropped from 16 to 9 in the same period.[57]

Picola

Picola is in the Parishes of Picola and Narioka and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Nathalia. The township was proclaimed in 1907 but the proclamation was not renewed following the 1951 township review. Population figures recorded for Picola show a sharp increase after 1901 possibly reflecting an increase in trade following the opening of the railway line in 1896: 62 (1901), 337 (1911), 123 (1947), 128 (1966).

At one stage Picola competed with Nathalia as an important centre in the region because it was closer to the Echuca to Tocumwal coach route, however Nathalia grew, possibly because of its location on Broken Creek and the benefits of a reasonable water source.

In 1888-89 Picola had a Union Church, State School, Post Office, hotel, two blacksmiths, two saw mills, and a store. State Schools also existed at nearby Picola North and Picola West. The railway, opened in 1896, was used for the transport of wheat, livestock, and red gum from the Barmah State Forest and processed through the Picola saw mills.

The rural settlement of Picola supports a mixture of irrigated farms, wheat growing areas and timber milling.[58]

St James

St James is in the Parish of St James and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Tungamah. St James was a privately subdivided township located near the railway station. Population figures recorded for St James show an increase in the early 1900s: 131 (1891), 166 including Lake Rowan (1901), 427 (1911), 198 (1961).

In 1883 the line opened from Benalla to St James and in 1886 the extension from St James to Yarrawonga was opened. The reason St James was created was purely for its location on the railway line. By 1894 St James had five hotels, two banks, two churches, two stores and a creamery.

St James's biggest claim to fame is its association with the formation of G. J. Coles and Company. In 1892 George Coles bought shops in St James and Lake Rowan and in 1895 he built his family home in St James. His son, George junior, had "worked for several rural and Melbourne retailers" and in 1910 purchased the St James business which was the beginning of the famous company. A plaque commemorates this "North Eastern Store" in the main street. "Back-To"

celebrations were held in St James in 1977 and in conjunction with the celebrations Sir George Cole financially assisted the St James Golf Club and Recreation Reserve.

Wheat growing continues to be the main farming activity in the district.[59]

Strathmerton

Strathmerton is in the Parish of Strathmerton and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Numurkah. Population figures for Strathmerton reflect the effect of the opening of the railway line from Numurkah to Cobram in 1888, the line from Strathmerton to the Murray River in 1905 and the continuation to Tocumwal in 1908: 53 (1891), 181 (1901), 456 (1911), 240 (1947), 625 (1954), 399 (1976).

One hundred township allotments were sold in 1887 in anticipation of the opening of the railway line. The current State School No. 2790 opened in 1886, and the Wesleyan Church opened in 1889.

In 1903 the Australian Handbook described Strathermerton:

> Strathmerton, (Co. Moira, shire Numurkah), post town, with money-order and telegraph office, savings bank, agency, and railway station, 145½ miles NE of Melbourne, fares 26s 1d and 17s 6d. Has branch Bank of Australasia, two hotels, two general stores, public hall, police station, grain stores, public reserve, and a number of tradespeople's shops. Anglican, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan churches, State school (No 2790), social institution, temperance, cricket and football clubs. Agricultural district.

Strathmerton was included in the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area in the late 1940s and early 1950s which resulted in a large population increase from 240 in 1947 to 625 in 1954.

Strathmerton's principal industry is the Kraft Foods dairy factory which was erected in 1950. By 1992 the factory was using milk from 215 suppliers in the region to produce the Kraft range of Philadelphia cheese and about 90% of the Coon range of cheese.

The Ulupna Island Flora and Fauna Reserve on the Murray River is included in the Strathmerton district, as is the historic Coonanga Homestead built in 1866.[60]

Waaia

Waaia is in the Parishes of Waaia and Baulkamaugh, and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Nathalia. The original town of Waaia was surveyed in 1875 however this town did not develop and when the Numurkah to Nathalia railway was being planned in 1886 a privately subdivided township was surveyed on the line about 3½ miles north of the old township reserve. The population figures recorded for Waaia reflect the impact of the railway line and the inclusion of the town in the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area: 31 (1891), 302 (1911), 169 (1947), 314 (1954), 141 (1961).

In 1888 the town had a hotel, general store, butcher and grain agent operating from the railway station. Waaia school No. 2986 opened in 1890 under the name of Baulkamaugh West.

Waaia received another population boost in the early 1950s when the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area extended to the town and Soldier Settlers took up farms in the area.

Waaia claims some notoriety from the fact that the author Patsy Adam-Smith's family worked on the railway at Waaia in the 1930s.[61]

Wilby

Wilby is in the Parish of Pelluebla and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Yarrawonga. It was surveyed and proclaimed in 1888 on a township reserve gazetted in 1875. Wilby School No. 2288 opened in 1888 and was formerly known as Pelluebla East. The school closed in 1973. The population of Wilby was 40 in 1891 and 51 in 1901. In 1960 the township included a Post and Telegraph Office, two churches, Mechanics' Institute, hotel and store.[62]

Wunghnu

Wunghnu is in the Parishes of Drumanure and Mundoona and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Numurkah. The town was surveyed in 1873 and proclaimed in 1875. Population figures recorded for Wunghnu show a large increase some years after the 1881 opening of the Mangalore to Numurkah line: 69 (1891), 232 (1901), 317 (1911), 239 (1947), 159 (1966).

Wunghnu is situated on Nine Mile Creek and is in the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area. The origin of the name is a variation of the Yorta Yorta word Wanya meaning boomerang as the town is located on a boomerang shaped bend of the creek.

Land sales took place in 1877 and were focussed along Carlisle Street, however allotment sales in the first few years were quite widespread including some north of the creek. Most town allotments were a standard size of two roods however Section 15 immediately north of Walters Street and near the railway station contained ten very narrow allotments of only 32 perches. These were all sold between 1885 and 1888. The current school No. 1938 opened in 1877 in a wooden portable building.

In 1903 the Australia Handbook described Wunghnu:

> Wunghu, a post town in the county of Moira, and electoral district of Numurkah and Nathalia, situated on Nine Mile Creek, tributary of Broken Creek, with station on the Numurkah Railway, 129 miles NE of Melbourne : fares 23s 1d and 15s 4d. Coaches run to Karrimba and Mundoona. It has a money-order office and savings bank and telegraph connection, also Oddfellow and Rechabite lodges, mechanics' institute (with library and reading room), Bible Christian chapel, and a State school (No. 1938). Bank of Australasia. Hotels : Cumberland and Royal. Lighted with kerosene. It is an agricultural district, with chocolate soil and clayey subsoil. Population 295; district about 1,000.

The impressive Mechanics' Institute was opened in 1887 however soon after the front of the building was destroyed by fire. 10,000 bricks were needed to erect another two-storey façade.

The Wunghnu Flour Mill opened in 1879 however it closed c. 1900. Wunghnu suffered due to its proximity to the growing town of Numurkah and gradually its population declined. In 1998 the local school had thirty pupils.[63]

Yarroweyah

Yarroweyah is in the Parish of Yarroweyah and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Cobram. The town was privately subdivided adjacent to the railway station. Population figures for Yarroweyah show an increase some years after the 1888 opening of the railway line and a large increase associated with the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation and Soldier Settlement schemes: 81 (1901), 374 (1911), 282 (1947), 838 (1961).

Yarroweya was the name of Elizabeth Hume's pastoral run established in 1842.

Schools were opened at Yarroweyah in the Wesleyan Church in 1881, at Yarroweyah South in 1884 and at Yarroweyah North in 1891. By 1903 businesses in the town included a blacksmith, store, hotel and creamery.

In 1947 eighteen farms in the Yarroweyah area became 108 irrigated farms under the Soldier Settler Scheme. Although the town and district population increased, the schools were closed between 1950 and 1953 when the pupils were transported by bus to the Cobram Consolidated School.[64]

Other Settlements

This group includes places that may be considered villages, hamlets or rural / agricultural settlements. Villages or hamlets were not proclaimed as towns as they were often considered "transient" – they existed for a purpose that may not exist in years to come. Census population figures for some of these settlements can be misleading as there is generally no defined boundary as in a surveyed or proclaimed town. The figures can sometimes include the surrounding district.

There are numerous small settlements and agricultural areas throughout the Shire which at times have had schools, churches, hotels and public halls – the following includes a sample of some of these. [65]

Bathumi

Bathumi is in the Parish of Bundalong and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Yarrawonga. The township was surveyed and proclaimed in 1874 on a reserve gazetted in 1870 and is 5 miles east of Yarrawonga. Since the construction of the Yarrawonga Weir most of the original township reserve is generally submerged under Lake Mulwala. In 1994 Bathumi was a popular water-skiing and fishing area.[66]

Bundalong

Bundalong is in the Parish of Bundalong and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Yarrawonga. It is located on the Murray River near the junction with the Ovens River. It was one of the earliest towns to be surveyed with a police reserve set aside in 1859 and the town, suburban allotments and country lands surveyed by Pinniger by 1860. The 1860 plan identified a proposed site for a wharf indicating the importance of river transport to the area.

There were at least two schools in the district. One school No. 2593 at Bundalong South on the Wangaratta road was opened between 1878 and 1884 and later renamed Esmond. The other school No. 3444 opened in 1903 and was at the Bundalong Village Settlement closer to the Murray and the area surveyed by Pinniger.

In 1914 the population of Bundalong was listed as 60 and the settlement included a school, church and hotel. In 1994 it was described as a "good irrigation area, with some orchards, pastures, etc. Very popular tourist and holiday resort, many holiday homes erected on the water frontage.[67]

Burramine

Burramine was in the former Shire of Yarrawonga. It is on the site of "Byramine" one of the oldest pastoral homesteads in the State established in 1842 by Elizabeth Hume, widowed sister-in-law of the explorer Hamilton Hume.

This settlement had one of the first schools in the Shire when the Burramine School No. 1766 opened in 1876 followed by three other schools at Burramine East, South and West.

In 1903 the settlement was described as having a Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Church, State schools, Roman Catholic schools, two hotels, a creamery and various stores. Farming in the district included agricultural, viticultural and dairying and there were large red gum forests nearby.

The population of the settlement was 62 in 1961 and the area continued as an irrigated farming region.[68]

Dunbulbalane and Invergordon

Dunbulbalane is in the Parish of Dunbulbalane and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Tungamah. Obviously it was anticipated that this area would develop through land selection from the 1870s as in 1880 a fairly extensive plan of subdivision was produced for the settlement. A more conservative plan in 1887 included a site for the school, a Wesleyan church and twelve house blocks.

In 1879 school No. 2192 opened as Dunbulbalane but was later renamed Katandra North. Enrolment numbers fluctuated and the school was closed in 1924. Another school No. 2366 opened as Naringaningalook and was later renamed Dunbulbalane. It was established to serve the south eastern section "of the Parish of Naringaningalook and parts of the Parishes of Katamatite and Dunbulbalane".

Dunbulbalane West School No. 2076 opened in 1878 and was renamed Invergordon in 1895. This school was closed in 1948, however in 1957 the Soldier Settlement Commission commenced the Invergordon Settlement Area. A total of 170 new properties were created including 81 orchards, 89 dairy farms and eleven areas were set aside for township purposes such as a school, church and council needs.

The settlement was initially referred to as the Dunbulbalane Settlement however the locally preferred name of Invergordon was adopted for the settlement and the township that subsequently developed.

To cater for the increased population in the settlement area, Dunbulbalane / Invergordon School No. 4896 commenced in 1961 and extra classrooms were added in 1962, 1963, 1965 and 1969. Enrolments reach a peak of 200 pupils however due to weather and drainage problems, the orchards proved unsuccessful

and were converted into dairy farms. The subsequent decrease in population resulted in enrolments falling below 90 in the 1990s.[69]

Katunga

Katunga is in the Parishes of Katunga and Strathmerton and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Numurkah. It is an agricultural district with a rural village that was privately subdivided to accommodate the railway line and station.

The Katunga South school No. 2269 was opened in 1880 under the name of Katunga North. When the railway line came through in 1888 the school had to be shifted a short distance on the same 2-acre site. A new building was erected on the site in 1907 despite petitions from parents to erect it in the township one mile to the North. At that stage it was called the Katunga School. In 1952 the name of the school changed once again, this time to Katunga South when another school, Katunga School No. 4689, opened half a mile to the west of the township. Both of these schools were operating in 2003.

The settlement developed with the opening of the railway line and in the 1880s and 1890s included a Wesleyan and Anglican Church, grain store, cattle yards, hotel, store and football club. At times there would be more than 100,000 bags of wheat at the railway siding waiting for shipment. The church was actually shared between the two religions until 1901 when the Anglicans held their services in the newly erected public hall.

The population of the district more than tripled by 1954 when most of the former wheat growers left the area and Soldier Settlers moved onto the newly irrigated farms subdivided for orchards and dairy farms.

Soldier Settlement property near Katunga, 1954
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, a29357

In 1951 a lucerne mill owned by W. S. Kimpton and Sons was opened in the settlement. The mill burnt to the ground a week after it commenced operations but was rebuilt and operating within six months.

Excessive rainfall in the region caused many of the irrigated farms to be flooded and many of the orchards converted to dairy farms. Barley, oats and sunflower seed are also grown in the area and in 1977 the Monichino winery opened on a former orchard[70]

Kotupna

The agricultural district of Kotupna was in the former Shire of Nathalia. The village of Kotupna, also referred to as Katupna, near the Goulburn River had developed around Taylor's timber mill however following the closure of the mill in 1883 the village was abandoned. By 1893 the settlement had moved further north and included a hotel, shop, state school and Methodist Church.

In 1994 the district was described as having a Post Office and Public Hall and was a popular fishing area.[71]

Telford

Telford is in the Parishes of Pelluebla and Yarrawonga and in 1994 was in the former Shire of Tungamah. The settlement is on the Benalla to Yarrawonga railway line which opened in 1883.

School No. 2241 named Hill Plain was opened in 1880 on private property in a wooden shingle roofed building replaced by a school building in 1882. In 1888 the school was relocated to the nearby township of Telford and the school functioned from the Telford Presbyterian Church until the renamed Telford School was occupied in 1889. The school later operated part-time with Telford West School before they were combined in 1917. In 1923 the school was again relocated in Telford and was finally closed in 1965.

In 1914 Telford was described as an agricultural district with a State School, Public Hall and Hotel. The hotel and post office in Telford were destroyed by fire in 1931 and in 1994 Telford was listed as having only a Public Hall.[72]

Yabba North

In 1994 Yabba North was in the former Shire of Tungamah. Yabba North is on the Dookie to Katamatite Tramway which opened in 1892. The small township of Cato Town was surveyed in the late 1880s. It was possibly named after Mr. Cato who operated a blacksmith store in the area however the location has always been known as Yabba North.

The Yabba Yabba School No. 2483 opened in 1882. Attendance at the school fluctuated throughout its history with the school being closed or part-time on several occasions. The school was finally closed in 1951.[73]

Youanmite

In 1994 Youanmite was in the former Shire of Tungamah.

Youanmite School No. 2393 opened in 1881 more than ten years before the Dookie to Katamatite Tramway came to the area. The school was burnt to the ground in 1897 and replaced by a closed school from Boosey South. The school

closed in 1915. Another school, Youanmite No. 2921, located north west of No. 2393, opened in the Bible Christian Chapel in 1889. In 1907 this school moved into a departmental building and continued operating until its closure in 1960. The Youanmite Township School No. 3641 opened in 1910 and was located near the railway station, post office and general store. "Township" was officially dropped from the name of this school in 1919 and this school continued until the late 1990s.

It was anticipated that the township would develop as a result of the railway however this was not the case. In 1914 the settlement was described as a farming and dairying district with three churches, creamery and butter factory and blacksmiths shop.[74]

4.   Industry

Primary Industry

Pastoral Activities

The majority of pastoral runs in the Shire were sheep runs however Yielima, Strathmerton, Yarroweya and Mundoona were listed as cattle properties and Kotupna carried both. Horses, bullocks, some dairy cattle and other farm animals were also essential to sustain the squatters, their families and workers in remote areas. Established homesteads generally included vegetable gardens and orchards watered from the rivers or creeks on the property.

When land was opened up for selection in the 1870s, the smaller properties could not sustain their stock during drought periods, particularly as a percentage of the land had to be cultivated. In the north west of the shire, the selectors petitioned the government to declare a common on which they could graze their herds without paying the exorbitant fees demanded by the squatters. Unselected land in the parishes of Picola and Barmah, and the Barmah State Forest were considered ideal for a grazing common, in particular the area known as Kinnear's Island. For four months each year following the annual flooding of the area, it became "the finest natural pasture" and would be ideal, particularly during periods of drought. The Barmah Common was gazetted in 1878 and managed by the Shire of Echuca before being transferred to a local committee in 1882.   The Common was available to farmers within five miles of the boundary for an annual fee of 2 shillings per annum per head of sheep, 4 shillings for cattle and 5 shillings for horses. Further to the north the Yielima Common was established in 1885. In the early 1900s there were three muster yards but by the mid 1950s only the Barmah yard was used. The agistment season commenced about November 1 each year, depending on the receding floodwaters, and the muster would take place in the first week of May.

Since the introduction of irrigation in the Shire, pastoral activities are predominantly in the southern and eastern dry (non-irrigated) areas.[75]

Agriculture

The production of wheat in the Shire developed with the arrival of selectors in the 1870s. By 1877-78, of the thirteen counties, the County of Moira was the second highest producer of wheat in Victoria with a total of 889,774 bushels. In 1929 this figure had risen to more than four million bushels.

Current information from the Shire of Moira shows the importance of agriculture to the region:

Agricultural land use accounts for approximately 71% of the total land area, divided equally between irrigated and dry land production. The value of agricultural production, excluding dairy, is estimated at more than $300 million and employs 28.7% of the population. Approximately 1,350 farms in the Shire provide a cost efficient source of fresh produce and raw materials for the supply of value-added products to rapidly expanding export markets around the world.[76]

Stock Feed being harvested near Katamatite, c. 1940-1950
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, rw003763

Dairy Farming

Since the squatting era, pastoralists and then settlers generally kept a small number of dairy cows for local milk and butter production. From the 1870s, landholders near the rivers and creeks, and from the 1890s with the introduction of some irrigation to the area, the size and number of dairy herds increased.

The impact on dairy farming of the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area and the Soldier Settlement Scheme of the 1940s can be seen in the dairy cattle statistics for the County of Moira, particularly compared to the number of other cattle in the county. 1940-41: dairy cattle – 23,498; other cattle – 29,023. 1950-51: dairy cattle – 46,190; other cattle – 25,124. These figures were for the entire county, not the smaller area occupied by the Shire. In 1994 statistics for dairy cattle for local shires were Numurkah – 52,800; Tungamah – 31,000; Nathalia – 26,500; and Cobram – 22,000; a total of 132,300.[77]

Horticulture

The region is often referred to as the nation's "Food bowl" and the horticultural industry of the Shire is important economically at a local, regional and state level.

The development of horticultural farms parallels the development of dairy farms with both relying on a reliable water supply. W H Curtis started one of the first irrigated orchards in the region at Cobram in 1892 on his property called "Riverview". Initially this orchard included apples, apricots, peaches, pears, figs, oranges, lemons and vines.

Other orchards and vineyards developed in the area from the 1890s including the properties of Cochrane, Stewart, Miller, and E S Brown. Stewart's property comprised of orange trees and a vineyard including wine cellars. In 1907 Brown constructed a seven-mile long channel drawing water from a lagoon near the Cobram Station homestead to his vineyard at "Seven Hills". Brown was a driving force in the irrigation of the area and became chairman of the Cobram Irrigation League. The Cobram Irrigation Company was created in 1915 and in the same year constructed a pumping station near Curtis's orchard. Water was pumped via channels to several properties in the area including Pullar's peach orchard which became one of the oldest soft fruit orchards in the region. The local Wine and Fruit Growers Association was formed in the 1890s.

Cobram Homestead, 1973
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, jc004650

Citrus orchards developed during the First World War assisted by the dam, water tower and underground pipes constructed by the Cobram Water Trust. These orchards were mainly located near the "Mill End" of Cobram. The 'Riverview' Victorian residence was the centre of one such orchard estate on River Road.

Tobacco growing developed in the early 1930s and for a period was a flourishing industry with tobacco kilns "quite a feature of the area", with curing sheds at Nathalia a particular example of this aspect of the industry.

The number of orchards and market gardens increased in the late 1920s with the influx of Italian immigrants. Small shire and private irrigations schemes continued to provide for the horticultural industry with more than 1,000 acres under irrigation in the Cobram area by 1922. Fruit growers' associations were formed and by the late 1920s the Cobram Packing Shed was handling c. 35,000 cases of citrus fruit.

The major expansion occurred in the 1940s with the opening of the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area and the subdivision of blocks as dairy farms or orchards for the Soldier Settlement Scheme.

By 1950-51 the number of fruit trees in the County of Moira included: peaches – 512,380; pears – 384,749; apricots – 171,046; oranges – 76,497; plums – 65,575; and smaller numbers of lemons, limes, apples, quinces, grapefruit, cherries and mandarins.

Fruit and vegetables from the Shire were dried locally, processed locally for wine, shipped fresh to market, or sent for processing to SPC at Shepparton or Ardmona at Mooroopna. These companies were established in 1918 and 1921 respectively and amalgamated in 2002 as SPC Ardmona Ltd.[78]

Secondary Industry

Dairy Industries

The Shire of Moira stated in 2003-4 that:

> The dairy industry is a major contributor to, and is closely integrated to the Shire's economy, and that of the broader region. The Northern Irrigation Region of Victoria generates some $1,225 million in output, provides 16,300 jobs as well as $390 million in income for local households. Dairying utilises 490,000 hectares of irrigated land in the region and produces about 25% of Australia's milk.

The construction of the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area and the Soldier Settlement Scheme of the 1940s had the greatest impact on the growth of the dairy industry in the Shire. In 1948 the Murray Valley Soldier Settlers League was formed and through their resolve in 1949 the Murray Valley Co-operative Dairy Products and Trading Company, later known as the Murray Goulburn Co-operative Company, was formed in Cobram. "By the 1970s the Co-operative was one of the largest dairy companies in the southern hemisphere, operating in the Southern Riverina (N.S.W.) as well as Victoria."

Other factories included the Kraft Foods dairy factory erected in Strathmerton (1950), and Holdenson and Nielson's factory at Numurkah which was taken over by Petersville and then Ibis before relocating to Shepparton. Milk was collected in cans until bulk collection commenced in 1957.

Prior to the 1950s, milk, butter, cream and cheese factories existed across the region. The creameries separated the milk which was then transported to Shepparton. There were butter factories in Nathalia (1892), Numurkah (1904), Yarrawonga (by 1903), Youanmite and Tungamah. It has been claimed that the Tungamah Butter and Cheese Factory (1888-9) was one of the first in the colony. By 1900 there were creameries at Yabba, Numurkah (1894), Wunghnu (1891), Wilby, Boosey, Burramine South, Marungi (1893), Mundoona (1892), Tungamah, Yarroweyah, Peechelba, Lake Rowan, and Youanmite.[79]

Food Processing

In addition to the processing of milk, fruit and vegetables, wheat was one of the main commodities handled in the region. The first flour mill, the Barwo Flour Mill, was opened by Richard Blake in 1876 in Nathalia. Blake's business enterprises also extended to a general store, hotel, bakery and saw mill and the main street of the town was named after him. Management of the mill was taken

over in 1886 by Edward Richardson who then built his own mill in 1887. The Barwo mill closed in 1897 and Richardson's Nathalia Mill prospered. In 1894 the Nathalia mill was destroyed by fire, rebuilt and then again destroyed by fire in 1928. Richardson apparently intended to rebuild after this fire, however this did not occur.

The Wunghnu Flour mill opened in 1879 and operated until c. 1900. Various mills opened throughout the Shire with many destroyed by fire, rebuilt, then burnt again – a regular hazard with flour mills. The mills also struggled with changes in technology for milling and fluctuating flour prices and competition from larger mills, particularly in Melbourne.

Before the first railway line was opened in the Shire in 1881 flour was initially carted to the nearest station at Avenel, then carted or shipped to Echuca. The extension of the railway lines into the wheat growing areas of the shire created opportunities for the distribution of locally milled flour and the number of mills flourished. Ironically the railway and development of better roads in the district also led to the end of the flour mills in the region due to the ease of transporting grain to the larger mills in Melbourne.

Wilson's Yarrawonga Flour Mill was the longest surviving mill in the region operating from before 1882 until 1969. Other mills which operated at various times included: Cobram Flour Mill (1909-1930); Katamatite Flour Mill (c. 1898); Numurkah Flour Mill (1881-c.1891); Numurkah Roller Flour Mill (1881-c.1897); Tungamah Flour Mill (1880s-1888); and the Yarrawonga Empire Flour Mill (pre 1884). Although there were major rivers in the region, the flour mills were predominantly steam-driven and none of the mills were water-powered as no rivers provided the speed and volume of water required.

Yarrawonga also boasted two breweries – the Yarrawonga Brewery, which operated 1885-1907, and the Anglo-Australian Brewery 1886-1912.

In 1977 the Cobram Abattoir was established and in 2002 it employed 205 people and processed 11,000 lambs and 1,900 cattle weekly.[80]

Forest Industries

Barmah was one of the major centres for the timber industry focussing on the large river red gums along the Murray River. The red gum was in demand for bridges and railway sleepers and initially the timber was cut and hauled to mills at Echuca by river boat. In 1869 it was reported that 5,000 railway sleepers were cut for the Victorian government and that mills along the Murray River "provided most of the railway sleepers throughout Australia and later exported them to New Zealand, India and Pakistan".

To protect the valuable red gum from indiscriminate felling, the Victorian Government introduced an "export duty of ten shillings per hundred super feet" in the 1877 Customs Duties Bill. Timber cutting licenses were also restricted to mill-owners.

Mills in the north and west of the Shire were located at Barmah (Evans Mill), Cobram, Yielima, Picola, Nathalia and Yarrawonga. Other centres also had saw mills with two operating in the early decades of the twentieth century. Sawmilling continued in the Barmah Forest with varying degrees of government control into the 1980s. A scientific study into the regeneration of the red gums resulted in the government recognising the importance of the hardwood forest and

introducing greater control over the timber industry in the Barmah Forest outside the areas of State or Regional parks.[81]

Manufacturing Industries

A large industry in the region was established at Numurkah in 1947 to produce prefabricated houses for the Soldier Settlement Scheme. Clement Langford Pty Ltd were contracted by the SSC to assist with difficulties and delays in building houses on-site. The factory also constructed houses for the SSC at Robinvale.

Other early industries in the region included coach builders, foundries and farm implement factories. In 1949 the Gold Cross shoe factory was established in Cobram and taken over by Clarks Shoes in 1964. Councils such as the Shire of Cobram also established industrial estates and encouraged small manufacturing industries to the area.[82]

Tourism

In addition to being a transport corridor, the Murray River has been an attraction for tourism, leisure and sport for many years. In the 1850s it was recommended that "waterfront reserves … be established along the banks" and locals and visitors alike have taken advantage of access to the river. Local communities formed sporting clubs which in turn attracted more tourists to the area. The Cobram Rowing Club held its first event in 1890; the Yarrawonga Yacht Club was formed in 1938; water skiing was introduced to Yarrawonga in 1949; and the angling club was formed in 1958. Caravan parks developed in towns along the river from at least the 1960s and the award-winning RACV complex was opened in 1985. Lake Mulwala with forty-four kilometres of shoreline is a major attraction to the towns of Yarrawonga and Mulwala and is a fitting tribute to the foresight and endeavours of the volunteers from the local communities. Yarrawonga has also attracted tourists in the form of steam train

Camping and caravans at Yarrawonga, 1954
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, a29301

excusionists to the railway station.

The Barmah State Forest is the largest Red Gum forest in the world. It was subjected to indiscriminate and poorly managed forest industries from 1863, despite a Royal Commission on State Forests and Timber Reserves in 1899. Better controls were not implemented until 1922 by the Forests Commission. A detailed study of the flora and fauna of the forest was carried out between 1977 and 1980. In 1985 an educational and interpretative centre was opened and in 1987, following recommendations by the Land Conservation Council, the Barmah State Park was formally gazetted.

These two major attractions at the north eastern and north western corners of the Shire were the catalyst for growth in visitors to the region and have been augmented with - more tourism areas along the Murray and other waterways in the shire; additional sporting facilities such as golf clubs; a range of accommodation including resorts, country clubs, caravan parks, hotels, motels, bed and breakfast, units and host farms; and a number of activities and attractions for the visitor with Arts and Crafts, museums, water sports, river cruises, animal and farm attractions, and food and wine outlets based on local horticulture, agriculture and industries.[83]

5.   Governing

Road Boards

The first form of local government in the region came about when the Echuca Road District was proclaimed on February 19, 1864. From an initial area of 340 square miles, by 1870 the Road District had expanded to include 3,200 square miles.[84]

Shires

The Shire of Echuca was created on May 26, 1871. It extended along the Murray River from Echuca to Yarrawonga and south to Rochester and Shepparton and included the area now in the Shire of Moira.[85]

Shire of Yarrawonga (1878-1994)[86]

On May 15, 1878 the Shire of Yarrawonga was the first to secede from the Shire of Echuca. The first meeting of the Shire was held on October 2, 1878 at the Farmers' Union Arms Hotel in Yarrawonga however in 1882 the shire moved its meetings to Tungamah where it met in Mr McIntyre's hotel. In May 1889 the shire was subdivided into five ridings which included the following parishes:-

Eastern Riding – Boomahnoomoonah, Bundalong, Peechelba (part), Pelluebla and Yarrawonga;

Central Riding – Boosey, Burramine, Tharanbegga and Youarang;

North West Riding – Cobram, Katamatite, Naringaningalook and Yarroweyah;

South West Riding – Dunbulbalane, Katandra, Yabba Yabba and Youanmite;

Southern Riding – Boweya, Karrabumut, St. James and Waggarandall.

In 1890 the shire covered an area of 830 square miles, had a population of 9500, and had 2380 ratepayers on the roll.

On April 17, 1891 the Shire of North Yarrawonga was created with the parishes of Bundalong, Burramine, Boomahnoomoonah, Peechelba, Pelluebla and Yarrawonga removed from the Shire of Yarrawonga.

On May 12, 1893 the original Shire of Yarrawonga was renamed the Shire of Tungamah, and the Shire of North Yarrawonga was renamed the Shire of Yarrawonga.[87]

The first council meeting for the "new" Shire of Yarrawonga was held on June 24, 1891 at Prevot's Victoria Hotel in Yarrawonga, and later in the Shire Office in Belmore Street.[88]

Extant shire buildings are the 1892 former Shire Hall, and the 1930 Shire Hall, both in Belmore Street, Yarrawonga.

Shire of Numurkah (1879-1994)

The Shire of Shepparton was the second shire to secede from the Shire of Echua in May 1879 with the date recorded variously as 26th, 27th and 30th. The name of the Shire was changed from Shepparton to Numurkah and gazetted on September 11, 1885. In 1890 it covered an area of 600 square miles, had a population of 6800, and had 1023 ratepayers on the roll. It was redefined on May 30, 1892 when the Moira Riding, comprising the parishes of Barmah, Kotupna and Moira, was removed from the Echuca Shire and annexed to the Numurkah Shire. By 1925 it covered an area of 765 square miles, had a population of 5768, and had 1337 ratepayers on the roll. According to the 1994 Victorian Municipal Directory, the name of the shire was changed from Numurkah to Nathalia on April 26, 1957 and redefined on May 30, 1957. The "new" Shire of Numurkah was constituted May 31, 1957.[89]

Shire of Tungamah (1893-1994)

The history of the Shire of Tungamah dates back to the original Shire of Yarrawonga created in 1878. Following the separation of the Shire of North Yarrawonga in 1891, the original shire was renamed the Shire of Tungamah in 1893. On April 1, 1953 the North Western Riding was severed from the Shire of Tungamah to create the Shire of Cobram.[90]

Shire of Cobram (1953-1994)

The Shire of Cobram was created when the North Western Riding was severed from the Shire of Tungamah on April 1, 1953. The new shire included the parishes of Cobram, Katamatite, Naringaningalook and Yarroweyah.[91]

Shire of Nathalia (1957-1994)

The Shire of Numurkah was renamed the Shire of Nathalia on April 26, 1967 and the redefined Shire of Nathalia was created when the Moira Riding and the Western Riding were severed from the Shire of Numurkah on May 30, 1957.[92]

Amalgamation

The Moira Shire Council was created on November 18, 1994 with the amalgamation of the former shires of Cobram, Nathalia, Numurkah, Tungamah (less the Katandra district), and Yarrawonga (less the Peechelba district). The Shire covers an area of 4,057 square kilometres and has a population of more than 26,000.[93]

Law and Order

Police Camps in the Shire were established as early as 1840 when the early settlers paid an "assessment on stock" to the New South Wales government for police protection.

When the region was opened up for land selection in the 1870s, towns were surveyed in the region and areas reserved for police paddocks. The Victorian Police had been established for more than twenty years by the time towns in the area were established, and police were assigned to these locations as the settlements developed. In Cobram the first policeman was appointed in 1888 and the station, lock-up and stables built in 1889. Police, and later police stations, were at: Cobram (1888); Numurkah; Yarrawonga; Katamatite (1881); Tungamah (by 1891); Yarrawonga; Nathalia (pre 1882); Numurkah; St James; and Lake Rowan.[94]

Public Buildings

Court Houses were established in the main administration centres of four of the five shires that made up the Shire of Moira. In Yarrawonga the local court was first gazetted in 1878 and the court house was built in 1888. A licensing court was operating in Tungamah some time before 1886 and the court house was constructed in 1889-90 when the population of the town was more than six hundred. The first court hearings in Numurkah were held in the Farmers' Arms Hotel before moving to the Mechanics' Institute. Tenders were called for a court house which was erected in 1890. The Court of Petty Sessions in Cobram was initially held in the local hall, possibly the school, then the Mechanics' Institute from 1892. The Cobram court house was built in 1912.

The first Shire Office in Yarrawonga was constructed c. 1892 beside the old Post Office and the Shire Hall was completed in November 1930.

Post Office, Shire Hall and State Savings Bank, Yarrawonga, c. 1916
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, a01095

The Numurkah Shire first met upstairs in the Mechanics' Institute before the opening of the Shire Hall in 1889. The construction of this building created some difficulties as bricks from brickworks at Shepparton and Numurkah were found to be different sizes resulting in thick joints for the Numurkah bricks.

Tungamah Shire first met in rooms in McIntyre's Hotel before the Shire Hall was constructed in 1884.

The Shire of Cobram met for the first time in 1953 in the Mechanics' Institute. In 1956 when the Shire proposed building their own council chamber, the ratepayers protested demanding that the money be spent on more important items such as streets and drainage. The council, however, proceeded with the building plans for chambers and Shire Hall.

The "newest" shire, Nathalia, opened their municipal offices in December 1957.[95]

6.   Community Life

Compared to areas closer to Melbourne and regions which flourished following the gold rush in Victoria from the 1850s, the Shire was very late developing settlements and towns. This development occurred from the 1870s when land in the region was opened up for selection and the 1880s when railway lines were extended into the Shire.

In 1888 Sutherland described the dramatic changes in the Lower Goulburn District which had taken place in just a few years. Prior to the 1870s "townships" in the region were described as "sparsely inhabited road-side hamlets, consisting, for the most part, of the inevitable half store, half bush inn".

Descriptions of the residents in the Shire in 1888 showed that the majority had been in the colony for more than twenty years and many had in fact been born in the colony. The two largest representative groups had been involved in gold mining or farming in other parts of the colony. The residents listed were generally farmers with a mixture of business or town people.

As the majority were not new to the colony, they would have experienced the development of new townships or lived in established townships. This experience and expectation of similar environments would have had some influence on the rapid development of townships in the Shire.[96]

Accommodation

During the period of pastoral runs, hotels were often amongst the first structures to appear in settlements predominantly catering for travellers and coach stops. They were also some of the earlier buildings erected in the towns, particularly towns on the railway lines in the region. They provided accommodation, refreshment, and a centre for community activities and meetings until buildings were erected for specific purposes.

Numurkah was an example of a town that grew so quickly that additional accommodation was obviously essential for the increased population. By 1888-89 the town had ten hotels and seven boarding houses as well as houses for rent. Early houses were built predominantly of weatherboard.

Weatherboard cladding was also the standard for the large number of houses built for the Soldier Settlement Commission in the late 1940s. The architectural firm of

Buchan, Laird and Buchan, initially located in Geelong, were contracted to the SSC to design and build houses for the scheme.

The same architectural company, formerly called Laird and Buchan, were responsible for the design of the Alexander Miller Homes located in towns around Victoria. Alexander Miller was renowned for his charitable work and in each town where he had a store he made a bequest to the town for the erection of a group of cottages for "indigent and aged people". In 1907 Alexander Miller purchased one of the earliest department stores in Numurkah, first owned by Louis Charles Lefebvre. George Bitcon purchased the store in 1918, however following Miller's death in 1914, Numurkah was the recipient of a Miller bequest for the Alexander Miller Homes in Callander Street.[97]

Employment

Employment opportunities in the Shire fluctuated in conjunction with the key development phases: squatters, river boats, land selection, railway lines, irrigation schemes and Soldier Settlement.

Primary and secondary industries offered both year-round and seasonal employment, particularly with the timber industry, wheat farming and production, and fruit and vegetable picking since the 1950s.

Employment in the towns grew as commercial businesses expanded to meet the needs of the growth in population. Larger employers included flour mills, and dairy, butter and cheese factories. In the last half of the twentieth century the shoe factory and abattoir in Cobram and the munitions factory at Mulwala also expanded employment opportunities.

Short term employment, although sometimes spanning several years, was created by major construction projects in the Shire including: railways, the Yarrawonga Weir, the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area, and the Soldier Settlement Scheme.

Community work and services

Residents in the Shire had to contend with many natural disasters such as floods, bushfire and locust plagues, and community tragedies involving fire, accidents and general health.

The community were quick to volunteer during any disaster and as the towns developed organisations such as the fire brigade, ambulance and emergency services were formed in the major centres such as Numurkah.

Towns such as Numurkah with crowded weatherboard buildings suffered many years of town fires which destroyed multiple buildings on several occasions. Despite the absence of mains water, the Fire Brigade and water-carters were praised for their efforts during one such fire in 1885 which destroyed five businesses in Melville Street.

In 1891 Numurkah also opened a sub-centre for the St John Ambulance Association. This service became more essential with the development of the motor vehicle in conjunction with poor roads, and the opening of the district hospital in Numurkah.[98]

Educating

Mechanics' Institutes and Libraries

Mechanics' Institutes in Victoria provided a community facility for "the diffusion of literary, scientific and other useful knowledge and the literary advancement

and recreation of its members and the community generally" as well as a venue for social and civic functions. Many were used for court sessions, church services and schools until buildings were erected for their specific needs.

Mechanics' Institutes were established in the Shire at Cobram (1892), Katamatite (1884), Lake Rowan (1880s), Nathalia (1886), Numurkah (1882), St James, Tungamah (1883), Wilby (c. 1889), Wunghnu (1885), and Yarrawonga (1879).

The Katamatite Mechanics' Institute was built in 1884 and a Free Library was added in 1885. The piano used for the grand opening of the new building in 1891 "had to be carried six miles over bad roads". After the Second World War the building has handed over to the RSL and renamed the Katamatite Memorial Hall.

The Nathalia Mechanics' Institute opened in January 1887 and although there were plans for a second storey to be added it closed in its second year. It later re-opened for two years before closing in 1894 when it was sold to the Independent Order of Rechabites. The failure of the Institute was attributed to its opening during the harvest season, its location too far from the main street, and visitors being "ankle deep in dust in summer and ankle deep in mud in winter."

The Numurkah Mechanics' Institute erected in 1883 and used for the first Church of England service, court house, balls, concerts, lectures and a variety of entertainment.

The Tungamah Mechanics' Institute and Free Library was erected in 1883 and in addition to local social functions, was also used for the Court of Petty Sessions and some church services. Extensions were made in 1915 following a fire in the original building, and a new building was erected in 1930.

The Wunghnu Mechanics' Institute was opened in 1887 however soon after the front of the building was destroyed by fire. 10,000 bricks were needed to erect another two-storey façade.

The Yarrawonga Mechanics' Institute and library have been located in at least four different buildings - the first building was erected in 1892; in 1910 the Athenaeum Hall was purchased; in 1930 part of the new Town Hall was allocated for the library and reading room; and in 1999 the library was moved into a new building and became part of the Goulburn Valley Regional Library Corporation.[99]

Schools

Prior to the Education Act of 1872, denominational, non-vested, National and Common Schools provided education in Victoria. Due to the late development of towns and settlements in the Shire, the majority of the first schools in the region were State Schools.

The first formal schools opened in 1876 at Barmah East, Burramine, Katandra, Kaarimba (later Mundoona) and Tungamah. In 1877 schools opened at Bathumi, Pelluebla South, Waaia (later Waaia South), Wunghnu, Yarrawonga, Waggarandall (later Yundool), and in 1878 at Burramine East, Invergordon, Katamatite, Kotupna, Nathalia (Barwo), and Picola. Of these early schools, Tungamah (No. 2225), Wunghnu (No. 1938), Yarrawonga (No. 1819), Katamatite (No. 2069), and Nathalia (No. 2060) are still operating.

Other nineteenth century schools still operating are Numurkah (No. 2134 opened 1879), Katunga South (No. 2269 opened 1880), Strathmerton (No. 2790 opened 1886), and Cobram (No. 2881 opened 1888). After the Second World War, a

new school was built at Cobram which became Cobram Consolidated School No. 2881. Consequently many nearby schools were closed and the students transported to the Consolidated School.

Some schools commenced in huts constructed by local residents until the government agreed to provide portable buildings or erect formal schools. Many schools operated part-time as local populations fluctuated and one school, Baulkamaugh South, opened in 1889 in the local Bible Christian Church and appears to have continued in these premises until it closed in 1938.

Other schools opened in the local church, mechanics' institute or public hall until a government building was provided, and the local buildings were also used during periods of renovation or rebuilding.

State School and Garden, Wunghnu, c. 1908
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, a00831

Schools were also opened in areas that never became towns, servicing the local farming population. Since 1876, there have been 93 government schools allocated a school number in the Shire. In addition to the schools mentioned above, schools were opened at: Bajanna, Barmah, Barwo West, Baulkamaugh, Baulkamaugh East, Bearii, Boomahnoomoonah, Boomahnoomoonah East, Boosey North, Boosey South, Boweya North (formerly Karrabumet and also Almonds), Bundalong West, Burramine South, Burramine West, Cobram East, Drumanure, Dunbulbalane (formerly Naringaningalook), Esmond (formerly Bundalong), Invergordon (also known as Dunbulbalane), Invergordon South, Kaarimba, Katamatite East, Katandra North (formerly Dunbulbalane), Katunga, Katunga South, Koonoomoo, Kotupna East, Lower Moira, Marungi, Muckatah (formerly Katamatite North), Mundoona North, Mywee (formerly Sheepwash

Creek), Naring East (formerly Naringaningalook East), Naringaningalook (Naring West), Narioka, Picola North, Picola West, St James / St James Railway Station, St James North, Strathmerton, Strathmerton East, Strathmerton West, Telford / Hill Plain, Telford West, Ulupna, Ulupna North, Waaia (formerly Baulkamaugh West), Waaia West, Waggarandall North, Waggarandall North West, Waggarandall West, Waggarandall West / Wattville, Wilby (formerly Pelluebla East), Yabba Yabba, Yabba Yabba South, Yalca East, Yalca North, Yalca South, Yarrawonga South, Yarroweyah, Yarroweyah South, Yielima, Yielima North, Yielima North West, Yielima South, Youanmite, Youanmite (formerly Youanmite Township), Youanmite South, and Yundool (formerly Waggarandall).

Following the large population growth in the late 1940s, High Schools were opened at Numurkah (1951), Yarrawonga (1954), Nathalia (1959), and Cobram (1962).

Catholic schools were opened in Cobram, Nathalia, Numurkah and Yarrawonga. The Josephite Sisters opened St Joseph's School in Numurkah in 1889, the Sisters of Mercy who arrived in 1890 established Sacred Heart School in Yarrawonga, the Mercy Sisters also opened St Joseph's School in Cobram in 1922, and Franciscan Sisters opened St Mary of the Angels in Nathalia in 1961.

In 2000 Christ the King Anglican College opened in Cobram.[100]

Recreation and Leisure

Recreation Reserves such as those at Yalca and Wilby were included in the survey of towns and communities in the Shire were quick to establish football and cricket clubs within the first few years of the towns being established. Showgrounds also concurrently developed to serve recreational as well as agricultural purposes, such as those at Cobram and Yarrawonga.

Cobram Football Club played its first game in 1888 and the first horse race in the town was held in the same year. By 1903 the town boasted a variety of sporting groups including racing, rowing, rifle, football, tennis and bicycle clubs. Although some towns were quite small in population numbers, participants from the rural areas ensured that sporting clubs were well supported.

Many of the sporting clubs in river towns such as Yarrawonga and Cobram were an integral part of the development of tourism in the region. Golf, rowing, yachting and water skiing activities combined with an ideal climate for aquatic and outdoor sports became major drawcards for tourists to the region. Picnics and outings on the river boats provided a less energetic outing for locals and tourists alike.

Hotels, public halls and Mechanics' Institutes were also used for community dinners, dances and functions, often used as fund-raisers for other community activities, associations and buildings. Brass bands were also formed and participated in many functions throughout the history of the towns. Rotundas in a park setting were popular for band performances such as the rotunda opened in Numurkah in 1907.[101]

Community Associations

One of the most unusual and productive association was the Grove Picture Company in Yarrawonga. It was formed in 1925 by the Trustees of Alexandra Park, better known as the "The Grove". Early profits went into the development of Alexandra Park however, despite some lean years, the purchase of a second picture show, outdoor summer theatres, and the growth in popularity of films, the Company was

also able to support other town and regional activities. The theatre, in the Shire Hall, and the company closed in May 1964 having provided $120,000 to the community over almost forty years.

"The Grove", Yarrawonga, c. 1907
Source : State Library of Victoria, La Trobe Picture Collection, a01096

Other organisations which existed throughout the Shire included the Country Women's Association, Red Cross, Agricultural Societies, the Murray Valley Development League, RSL Clubs, Australian Natives Association, various Lodges, Apex Clubs, Chambers of Commerce, Senior Citizens' Groups, Legacy, Kirwanis, and Rotary Clubs.

Many groups worked together to achieve the desired outcome for their community. An example of this is the Yarrawonga Elderly Citizens' Club which met in several venues including the RSL Rooms, Church of England Hall, and CWA Rooms until their own clubrooms were opened in Hovell Street in 1960. The Committee of this club then began a Meals on Wheels program in 1962, and in conjunction with the Victorian Housing Commission erected the "Old People's Home Units" in 1966.[102]

Worship and Churches

In the early years there was not a predominance of any individual religion. The first churches were established in the late 1870s with many religions being represented by the 1890s. Early services were often held in private homes and halls and not all centres had a purpose built church. Some of the churches established in the Shire include:

The **Church of England** established churches at Almonds, Barmah, Boweya North, Cobram, Katamatite, Katunga, Nathalia, Numurkah, St James, Strathmerton, Tungamah, Waaia, and Yarrawonga.

Roman Catholic missions were first established in the region at Yarrawonga, Numurkah and Shepparton, each having a church and presbytery. In 1890 Sisters of Mercy, direct from Co. Wexford, Ireland, established their convent in Yarrawonga and in 1897 a convent was established by the Sisters of Joseph at Numurkah. Roman Catholic churches were established at Barmah, Bundalong, Burramine, Cobram, Katamatite, Nathalia, Numurkah, Strathmerton, Tungamah, Wilby, and Yarrawonga.

The **Bible Christian Church** established a mission and their headquarters in the region in 1879 at Wunghnu under the Rev. John Orchard. A parsonage was later erected and a new church built in 1918. In December 1879, the Numurkah church was opened however this was destroyed by fire, and its brick replacement was also damaged by fire. In 1882 the Bible Christians erected buildings at Baulkamaugh, Yalca and Bearii.

In 1881-82, the Bible Christian chapel at Mundoona was leased as a temporary school while the Mundoona (No. 1775) school building was moved one and a half miles north of its original location. Baulkamaugh South School (No. 2920) also ran in a Bible Christian church however this was a permanent arrangement for the life of the school which opened in 1889 and closed in 1938. This church was south of the Numurkah-Nathalia railway line and east of Waaia. A new church was built at Bearii in 1904. There were also Bible Christian churches at Tungamah, Yarrawonga and Youanmite.

Wesleyan services were established at Wunghnu and Numurkah soon after the Bible Christian churches. The Rev. J.J. Brown, a Wesleyan minister stationed at Shepparton, established services at Katamatite, Youanmite and Dunbulbalane between 1878 and 1879.

The first **Methodist** services in the region were held in private homes in Nathalia until a church was erected in Nathalia and Yielima in 1878. The Nathalia church was replaced by a brick church in 1882 and churches were built at Yalca (1880/81)[103], Picola West (1885), Narioka (1886) and Kotupna (1892). The Yielima church was later moved to Nathalia as the transept of the old church which became the Sunday School.

Methodist services in Cobram were first held in 1887 at Grant and White's foundry and W.H. Curtis's general store until the church was opened in 1890. This church was sold to the Presbyterians c. 1894 and Methodist services lapsed until an arrangement was made to hold alternate services in the building.

Wesleyan / Methodist churches were also established at Bearii, Bundalong Village, Cobram, Katunga, Peechelba, Strathmerton, Waggarandall, Yarrawonga and Yarroweyah.

Leading up to and following the amalgamation of the churches into the united **Methodist Church of Australia** in 1902, some buildings were sold or relocated in a rationalisation of churches in individual towns. The Wesleyan church in Wunghnu was moved to Numurkah and the Primitive Methodist church in Wunghnu was purchased by the Bible Christians.

Presbyterian churches were established at Burramine, Cobram, Katamatite, Lake Rowan, Nathalia, Numurkah, Picola, Tungamah, Yarrawonga and Yarroweyah; **Congregational** at Boweya North, Bundalong, Peechelba, Wilby, and Yarrawonga; **Church of Christ** at Yarrawonga; and **Salvation Army** at Bundalong Village, Numurkah and Yarrawonga.[104]

Remembering the Fallen

Many people from the Shire were involved in both World Wars and experienced many losses from their communities. Places of enlistment during the Second World War included Bundalong, Cobram, Katamatite, Nathalia, Numurkah, Picola, St James, Strathmerton, Tungamah and Yarrawonga. Although many may have moved to Melbourne or other larger centres prior to enlistment, the Second World War Nominal Roll showed that 1,596 were residents in the Shire at the time of enlistment and 3,014 were born in the Shire.

Honour Rolls for the First and Second World War were hung in many halls throughout the Shire and monuments, memorial windows, plaques and buildings were dedicated in memory of the fallen and those who served.[105]

Notable Avenues of Honour were also planted throughout ths shire, such as the poplar trees at Nathalia and an avenue of 230 currajongs at Yarrawonga, of which there are a number extant at the railway station where the Avenue began, and a tree in Belmore Street near where it ended at the war memorial. Memorial trees were also planted at various sites such as Gilmour Street and at the school at Yarrawonga and in other townships around the shire.

Arts and Science – Local Architect

Allan McDonald was born in Inverness, Scotland. He married in Victoria in 1876 and lived at Toolamba south-west of Shepparton until c. 1881 when the family was living in Numurkah. McDonald was an "architect, house-surveyor and valuator" and Bolton Street in Numurkah was renamed McDonald Street after the man residents of the town referred to as "our local architect … who planned many of Numurkah's early buildings.

McDonald's work was not restricted to Numurkah and buildings in the Shire designed by McDonald included: Cobram - Mechanics Institute (1892), hotel (1892); Katamatite - business premises for Browns, Corke & Co (1897); Kotupna – hotel (1893); Nathalia – Roman Catholic Church (1892); Katunga – villa residence (1889); Numurkah – church (1885), Wesleyan Church (1888), hotel (1889), grandstand (1891); Wunghnu – Mechanic's Institute (1887), cottage – post office (1890).[106]

Hospitals, Medical and Health Services

Numurkah's first doctor was Dr. M.U. O'Sullivan who arrived in 1881. Both the doctor and the chemist conducted their business from rooms in Day's Hotel, and another doctor in 1885 operated from the Commercial Hotel. By 1886 Mrs Hussey ran what is considered Numurkah's first hospital from Avenel House in McDonald Street. Through the early 1900s private hospitals operated from Saxton Street and near the Presbyterian Church, and further private hospitals were running in 1930 (Penzance) and 1943 (Araluen).

Fund raising commenced in 1945 for the Numurkah and District War Memorial Hospital which ran from "Penzance" until the new building was opened in 1957 by Dr Edward "Weary" Dunlop. The Numurkah Ambulance service was formed in 1952.

Yarrawonga's first resident doctor was Dr. Denis, a Frenchman who practiced in Mulwala before moving across the river in 1887. He built his home and practice, "Verdun", on the corner of Tom and Piper Streets. Another doctor's practice was on

the south-east corner of the same intersection and both practices operated for many years with succeeding doctors from these premises.

Three Nursing Homes operated in Yarrawonga from the early 1920s. At the same time the first hospital was opened by Sister Lowe in Hovell Street. It was predominantly a Maternity Hospital but accepted other minor medical cases. This was replaced in 1924 by a privately run "real" hospital on the corner of Lynch and Piper Streets. The original hospital became the Nurses Home when a new hospital was erected beside it in 1938. In 1946, with the approval and assistance of the Hospitals and Charities Board, this hospital was purchased by the "citizens of Yarrawonga and District" and in 1947 became the Yarrawonga District Hospital. Additional buildings were erected in Hume and Piper Streets to accommodate the growing community.

Other services in Yarrawonga included a branch of the Red Cross Society, the Yarrawonga Hospital Transport Association (ambulance service) established in 1935, and the Infant Welfare Centre established in 1944 in a shop in Belmore Street until a new Infant Welfare and Pre-School Centre was opened in 1957.

The Nathalia Progress Association called a public meeting in Nathalia in 1949 to discuss the establishment of a hospital in the town. At that time Nathalia had only a small private hospital, 'Mayo', and concerns were raised that with the imminent population growth from Soldier Settlers, the town needed its own public hospital. In 1951 the private hospital was purchased and fund raising continued for a nurses home and new hospital building. The new hospital was opened in December 1955.

Dr Kennedy operated a private hospital "Lisieux" in Cobram from 1930 and in 1949 the Cobram and District Hospital was opened in the same premises. Other small private hospitals were run by nursing sisters including Howells, O'Rourke and Hamilton.

Private hospitals in Tungamah in the early 1900s included the "Matronity Home", "St Enda" in part of the old Royal Hotel building, and "Gennazano". Although the Moira Hospital Committee was set up in 1883 when the first doctor set up in Tungamah, their efforts to establish a hospital failed, and by the 1930s residents went to hospital facilities in the larger towns.

The only Bush Nursing centre in the Shire operated from Katamatite 1928-1942.[107]

Cemeteries

Records of early burials in the Shire during the period prior to the land settlement of the 1870s generally exist only in individual certificates or documents. Land for cemeteries was set aside when towns were surveyed and cemetery trusts established to operate them. Cemeteries in the shire, showing approximate commencement dates, include: Barmah (1878), Barmah Forest (private cemetery) (1854), Bundalong (1880), Burramine (1875), Cobram (1876), Karrabumet / Lake Rowan (1879), Katamatite (1880), Nathalia (1854), Numurkah (1883), Tungamah (1883), Waggarandall (1886), Wilby (1891), Wunghnu (1880), Yabba (1867), Yalca North (1895) and Yarrawonga (1877).[108] There was also a private cemetery at Yielima on the property known as Yielima Homestead and they are mostly Macdonall's buried there.[109]

1   Shire of Moira web site, http://www.moira.vic.gov.au/ .
2   Hibbins, G M, *Barmah Chronicles,* Lynedoch Publications Pty Ltd, Richmond, 1991, p. 20.

[3]   Hibbins, *Barmah Chronicles,* pp. 8-9.

[4]   Moira Shire Heritage Database, No. 248.

[5]   Billis, R V & Kenyon, A S, *Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip,* 2nd Edition, Stockland Press Pty Ltd, Melbourne, 1974, pp. 285-6; Hibbins, Gillian, *A History of the Nathalia Shire: The Good Helmsmen*, The Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1978, pp. 20-21, 29.

[6]   Loughnan, A Noel (Ed.), *Harnessed Waters - A River Dammed,* Yarrawonga Shire Council, Yarrawonga, 1989, pp. 10-13; Note: The spelling of squatting runs by Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip*, have been used rather than variations appearing in Spreadborough & Anderson, *Victorian Squatters*. Parishes named after these runs also varied from the originals, e.g. Yarroweyah instead of Yarroweya.

[7]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, p. 180.

[8]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, pp. 191-2.

[9]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, p. 230.

[10]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, p. 285; Dobson, Isabel, *Naringaningalook 'meeting of many waters'*, "Back To" Committee, Naringaningalook, 1980, p. 5; Note: The names Broken River and Broken Creek appear on different maps for the same waterway. Both were gazetted in 1881 with the former classified as a tributary of the Goulburn River and the latter as a tributary of the Murray River. This document uses the "local" version – the name used in the source being referenced.

[11]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, p. 230.

[12]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, pp. 244, 290; Curr, Edward M, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria,* 2nd Edition, Melbourne University Press, Carlton, 1965, pp. 76-82 et seq; Hibbins, *Barmah Chronicles*, p. 78; Moira Shire Heritage Database, No. 79.

[13]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, pp. 244; Hibbins, *Barmah Chronicles*, p. 22.

[14]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, p. 285.

[15] Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, p. 263.

[16]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, pp. 191-2.

[17] Tim Mannion, Nathalia Historical Society, advised Lorraine Huddle verbally on 5 Aug 06 that "Ulupna" was cut off the western end of Strathmerton West about 1874. The homestead was called "Korong" and was situated on the west side of the Geodetic Road now called Kerwin Street on the banks of Korong Creek. When this run was abandoned Bearii was formed by the subdivision of hte home paddocks, which had been partly clrared andthe western boundary adjoined Yielima.

[18] Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, p. 282; Hibbins, *A History of the Nathalia Shire*, pp. 20-22, 32, 36-39; Moira Shire Heritage Database, Nos. 76, 155 (Inventory site). Tim Mannion, Nathalia Historical Society, advised Lorraine Huddle on 5 Aug 06 that "Ulupna" was cut off the western end of Strathmerton West about 1874. The homestead was called "Korong" and was situated on the west side of the Geodetic Road now called Kerwin Street on the banks of Korong Creek. When this run was abandoned Bearii was formed by the subdivision of the home paddocks, which had been partly cleared and the western boundary adjoined Yielima.

[19] Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, p. 285; Hibbins, *A History of the Nathalia Shire*, pp. 20-22,24.

[20]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, p. 304.

[21]   Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, p. 306; Loughnan, *Harnessed Waters*, pp. 10-13; Moira Shire Heritage Database, No. 72.

[22] Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*, pp. 244; Hibbins, *Barmah Chronicles*, pp. 22-23.

[23] According to Tim Mannion, Nathalia Historical Society, historically, there never was a Yorta Yorta tribe in the area. Yorta Yorta was formed in 1986 by indigenous peoples who have come into the area in the last twenty or so years. Verbal discussion with Lorraine Huddle 5 August 2006.

[24] Loughnan, A Noel (Ed.), *From Ballanda to 1967: The Story of Yarrawonga,* Yarrawonga Apex Club, Yarrawonga, 1968, pp. 13-4; Curr, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria*, p. 107; Fahey, Charles, *The Barmah Forest - A History*, Department of Conservation, Forests and Lands, Melbourne, 1988, pp. 4, 8-11.

[25] Chappel, K L., *Surveying for Land Settlement in Victoria 1836 - 1960*, Office of the Surveyor General, Melbourne, 1996, pp. 11-19; *Township and Parish Guide Victoria 1955*, Department of Crown Lands and Survey, Melbourne, 1955, p. 59; Register of Historical Maps and Plans (microfiche), Survey and Mapping Victoria, Melbourne, 1990; Watson, Angus B, *Lost & Almost Forgotten Towns of Colonial Victoria : A Comprehensive Analysis of Census Results for Victoria 1841 - 1901,* Angus B Watson, 2003, [data extracted for each town in the Shire].

[26] Chappel, *Surveying for Land Settlement in Victoria 1836 - 1960*, pp. 11-19; *Township and Parish Guide Victoria 1955*, p. 59; Register of Historical Maps and Plans; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, [data extracted for each town in the Shire]; Plan of Township of Yarrawonga, Contract Surveyor Henry Grimes, Litho. dated November 22, 1872. Source: State Library of Victoria, Maps collection, Y86A; Plan of Country Lands Parish of Bundalong, Charles Pinniger Assistant Surveyor, February 14, 1860. Source: State Library of Victoria, Maps collection, B59; Summary of Survey and Auction Sale of Land in the Township of Yarrawonga, September 2, 1873. Source: State Library of Victoria, Maps collection, 820 bje 1837.

[27] Cabena, Peter & McRae, Heather & Bladin, Elizabeth, *The Lands Manual: A Finding Guide to Victorian Lands Records 1836-1983*, Royal Historical Society of Victoria, Melbourne, 1992, pp. 3-4; Dunlop, Alan J, *Wide Horizons : The story of Yarrawonga, Tungamah and Cobram Shires,* Alan Dunlop, Bentleigh, 1978, pp. 30-31; *Township and Parish Guide Victoria 1955*, pp. 25-57; Monash University 'Gazetteer of Australian Cities, Towns and Suburbs' web site. http://www.arts.monash.edu.au/ncas/multimedia/gazetteer/list/ .

[28] Cabena, McRae & Bladin, *The Lands Manual*, p. 5; *Victorian Year Book, 1909-10*, p. 568; Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, p. 19.

[29] The actual number of blocks in the Murray-Goulburn Irrigation Area varies even within the same sources – e.g. Smallwoood in *Hard to go Bung* identifies 531 blocks in the scheme, p. 246, and 560 to be developed, p. 78.

[30] According to Tim Mannion, Nathalia Historical Society, "What the previous land owners before acquisition resented was being paid 1940s valuations in 1950 after hanging on through the war time shortages and drought in hope of irrigation and prosperity. The excised area in the north had their irrigation water taken off them to put extra into the settlement. It was never returned or compensated for. Many good farmers were forced to leave the district. They did not resent the soldier settlers. "

[31] Smallwood, Rosalind *Hard to go Bung: World War II Soldier Settlement in Victoria 1945-1962*, Hyland House Publishing Pty Ltd, Melbourne, 1992, pp. 6-15, 24-27, 62, 72-3, 75, 78-9, 246; Aldridge, Mary, *A Blockie's Wife : The Story of the Murray Valley Soldier Settlement,* Mary Aldridge, Numurkah, 1991, p. 8.

[32] *ADB*, Melbourne, vol. 2. pp. 495-498; Bossence, W H, *Numurkah,* Hawthorn Press Pty Ltd, Melbourne, 1979, pp. 39-42.

[33] Hibbins, *Barmah Chronicles*, p. 28; *Victorian Railways : Gradients & Curves,* Victorian Railways, c. 1927, pp. 2-4.

[34] Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 28-9; Campbell, Colin, *Alpha to Omega : Shire of Tungamah 1878 - 1994,* Shire of Tungamah, Tungamah, 1994, pp. 23-6; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 50, 55-6, 64-5, 68, 145, 174; Hibbins, *A History of the Nathalia Shire*, p. 223.

[35] Bossence, *Numurkah,* pp. 13, 83-4; Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, p. 50; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, pp. 23-6; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 55-6, 64-5, 68, 145, 174; Hibbins, *A History of the Nathalia Shire*, p. 223.

[36] *Victorian Railways*, pp. 96-7, 101-2, 103; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, pp. 29-30; Railway Map Victorian Lines, Mark Bau, 1999; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, references for each town; Gazetteer of Australian Cities.

[37] Robert Whitehead, Seymour Railway Heritage Centre, 2006.

[38] Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 29-31; Loughnan, *Harnessed Waters*, pp. 18-9; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 46-7, 54-6, 140-1, 151; Rogers, Kenn, *The Story of Cobram : A Social History by Kenn Rogers,* Cobram Historical Society, Cobram, 2002, pp. 56-7, 199, 216; Hibbins, *Barmah Chronicles*, pp. 91, 99, 142; Bossence, *Numurkah,* pp. 84, 174.

[39] Shire of Moira web site.

[40] Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 23-7; Loughnan, *Harnessed Waters*, pp. 13, 20-35, 65-6; *Victorian Municipal Directory*, various years - see Appendix A.

[41] Loughnan, *Harnessed Waters*, pp. 42-3, 49-50; *VMD*, 1888, 1889; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 121-6; Hibbins, *A History of the Nathalia Shire*, pp. 148-50.

[42] Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 121-6; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 124-6; *VMD*, 1888, 1889; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, p. 95; Hibbins, *Barmah Chronicles*, p. 91.

[43] Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, pp. 53-4; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 142-3; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 87, 231-2; Register of Historical Maps and Plans.

[44] *Newspapers in Australian Libraries: A Union List, Part 2. Australian newspapers*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 1985; Campbell, Colin, *Just About Tungamah 1875 - 2002 : A Brief History of the Township*, Tungamah and District Historical Society, Tungamah, 2002, pp. 37-8; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 79-82; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 137-43.

[45] *VMD*, 1994.

[46] *VMD*, 1994, p. 377; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 104; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, p. 126, 156, 162-3, 139, 140-1; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, pp. 14, 41-59, 65-7, 72, 76-7, 225, 339, 346; *Vision and Realisation*, 3 Volumes, Education Department of Victoria, Melbourne, 1973, Vol. 3. pp. 800-1, 826-7; Challinger, Michael, *Historic Court Houses of Victoria*, Palisade Press, Ringwood, 2001, p. 63; *VMD*, various years - see Appendix A; Gazetteer of Australian Cities; Information provided by the Cobram Historical Society, 2004; Plan of Parish of Cobram, 1967. Source: State Library of Victoria, Maps collection, 820bje 1837.

[47] Tim Mannion, Nathalia Historical Society. August 2006.

[48] *VMD*, 1994, p. 640; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 331; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 796-7, 866; *VMD*, various years - see Appendix A; Gazetteer of Australian Cities; Wise's Victoria Post Office Directory 1884-1885, 1888-1889; Hibbins, *A History of the Nathalia Shire*, pp. 99-101, 132-3; Plan of Township of Nathalia, 1953. Source: State Library of Victoria, Maps collection.

[49] Broken Creek / Baala Creek. References in the 1800s identified these as two separate creeks when the Waterworks Trust diverted water from Broken Creek into Baala Creek. Early descriptions of Numurkah stated it was situated on Baala Creek however later and current descriptions show Broken Creek.

[50] *VMD*, 1994, p. 649; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 347; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 799, 866-7; *VMD*, various years - see Appendix A; Gazetteer of Australian Cities; Wise's Victoria Post Office Directory 1884-1885, 1888-1889; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 97, 105, 119-21, 146, 155, 334-5, 341-3; Plan of Township of Numurkah, 1918. Source: State Library of Victoria, Maps collection; Baragwanath, Pam, *If The Walls Could Speak : A Social History of the Mechanics' Institutes of Victoria*, Mechanics Institute Inc., Windsor, 2000, p. 221; Challinger, *Historic Court Houses of Victoria*, p. 147; Clark, Ian & Heydon, Toby, *Aboriginal Placenames of Victoria*, Database on CD-Rom, Victorian Aboriginal Corporation for Languages, Melbourne, 2002.

[51] *VMD*, 1994, p. 791; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 454; *VMD*, various years - see Appendix A; Gazetteer of Australian Cities; Campbell, *Just About Tungamah*, pp. 24-6, 72, 73-4; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, pp. 8, 48; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 30, 47, 61; Wise's Victoria Post Office Directory 1888-1889; Plan of Township of Tungamah, 1911. Source: State Library of Victoria, Maps collection; Challinger, *Historic Court Houses*, p. 188; Clark & Heydon, *Aboriginal Placenames of Victoria*; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. p. 804; Jones, Lewis and Peggy, *The Flour Mills of Victoria 1840-1990 : An Historical Record*, The Flour Millers' Council of Victoria 1990, Melbourne, 1990, p. 207; Information from Colin Campbell, Tungamah and District Historical Society.

[52] This quote from the 1903 Year Book infers that the Yarrawonga Shire was responsible for the supply of water to Tungamah Shire. This is incorrect and the confusion was possibly based on the original name of the Trust - the Shire of Yarrawonga Waterworks Trust. The Trust was renamed in 1893 to the Tungamah (Shire of) Waterworks Trust in the same year as the Shire of Yarrawonga was renamed the Shire of Tungamah.

[53] *VMD*, 1994, p. 868; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 500; *VMD*, various years - see Appendix A; Gazetteer of Australian Cities; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 177-8; Wise's Victoria Post Office Directory 1884-1885, 1888-1889; Plans of Township of Yarrawonga, 1872 and 1959. Source: State Library of Victoria, Maps collection; Challinger, *Historic Court Houses*, p. 203;

Baragwanath, *If The Walls Could Speak*, p. 299; Clark & Heydon, *Aboriginal Placenames of Victoria*; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 957-8; Jones, *The Flour Mills of Victoria 1840-1990*, p. 328.

[54] Barmah was foremost a timber town. Thousands of railway sleepers were cut in the Barmah forest for all Victoria and exported to India. Many of the saw mills cut redgum blocks for Melbourne streets. They were almost all cut with axe crosscut saws and broad axes. Bridge piles and wharf bridge timber supply was a big industry. River paddle steamers and barges loaded mill logs where they were cut for transport to Echuca before the railway got to Picola around 1950. Source: Tim Mannion, Nathalia Historical Society 2005.

[55] *VMD*, 1994, p. 640; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 27; Gazetteer of Australian Cities; Hibbins, *Barmah Chronicles*, pp. 28, 91, 120, 136; Fahey, The Barmah Forest, pp. 16-24, 35-40; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. p. 836.

[56] *VMD*, 1994, p. 791; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 236; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 48-9; Wise's Victoria Post Office Directory 1888-1889; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. p. 797; Jones, *The Flour Mills of Victoria*, p. 215; Baragwanath, *If The Walls Could Speak*, p. 167.

[57] *VMD*, 1994, p. 791; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 253.

[58] *VMD*, 1994, p. 640; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 361.

[59] *VMD*, 1994, p. 791; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 391.

[60] *VMD*, 1994, p. 649; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 422, Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 203-7; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. p. 824; Moira Shire Heritage Database, Nos. 43, 76, 85.

[61] *VMD*, 1994, p. 640; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 459; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 830-1.

[62] *VMD*, 1960, p. 948; *VMD*, 1994, p. 868; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 484; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. p. 972.

[63] *VMD*, 1994, p. 649; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 492; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 214-27; Baragwanath, *If The Walls Could Speak*, p. 294.

[64] *VMD*, 1994, p. 378; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 501; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 814, 820-1.

[65] Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. xii.

[66] *VMD*, 1994, p. 868; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 30.

[67] *VMD*, 1914, p. 663; *VMD*, 1994, p. 868; Plan of Country Lands Parish of Bundalong, Charles Pinniger Assistant Surveyor, February 14, 1860. Source: State Library of Victoria, Maps collection, B59; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 983, 1001, 1008.

[68] *VMD*, 1994, p. 868; Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 7-10; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 956-7, 958, 969, 987; Moira Shire Heritage Database, No. 72.

[69] *VMD*, 1994, p. 791; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 104; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, pp. 33, 37, 48; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 797-8, 802-3, 810-11, 860; Dobson, Isabel, *Naringaningalook 'meeting of many waters',* "Back To" Committee, Naringaningalook, 1980, p. 33.

[70] *VMD*, 1994, p. 649; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 237; Bossence, Numurkah, pp. 187-192; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 806, 860.

[71] Hibbins, *A History of the Nathalia Shire*, pp. 121-122; Moira Shire Heritage Database, Nos. 16 (extant?), 129.

[72] *VMD*, 1914, p. 626; *VMD*, 1994, p. 791; Watson, *Forgotten Towns*, p. 442; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, p. 37.

[73] *VMD*, 1994, p. 792; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, p. 39; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. p. 817.

[74] *VMD*, 1914, p. 626; *VMD*, 1994, p. 792; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, p. 38; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 804-5, 811, 828-9, 840-1; Information provided by Colin Campbell, Tungamah and District Historical Society.

[75] Billis & Kenyon, *Pastoral Pioneers*; Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 21-9; Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 7-9; Fahey, *The Barmah Forest*, pp. 28-32, 40-2.

[76] *VYB*, 1877-78, 1928-29; Shire of Moira web site.

[77] *VMD*, 1994, p. 377; *VYB*, 1940-41, pp. 418-9; *VYB*, 1950-51, pp. 116-7; Gazetteer of Australian Cities; Note: statistics for the Shire of Yarrawonga in 1994 do not include dairy cattle, only cattle, wheep and wheat.

[78] *VMD*, 1994, p. 377; *VYB*, *VYB*, 1950-51, pp. 120-3; Gazetteer of Australian Cities; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, p. 65, 107, 156, 170; Martindale, H G, *The Plains Turn Green,* Cobram Apex

79 Club, Cobram, 1965, pp. 11-14; Moira Shire Heritage Database, No. 8; SPC Ardmona, Company History, www.spcardmona.com.au .

Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 49, 50, 145; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, pp. 14, 41-59, 65-7, 72, 76-7, 225, 339, 346; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 102-5, 207; Campbell, *Just About Tungamah*, pp. 71-2; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, p. 38; Hibbins, *A History of the Nathalia Shire*, pp. 132, 146; Gazetteer of Australian Cities.

80 Ford, Myrtle L, *Flour Mills and Millers of the Goulburn Valley 1858 – 1980*, Myrtle L Ford, Shepparton, 1983, pp. 5-6; Jones, *The Flour Mills of Victoria 1840-1990*, pp. 141-2, 189, 207-212, 215-6; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, p. 350.

81 Hibbins, *Barmah Chronicles*, pp. 40, 44; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, pp. 41, 49; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 42-3; Campbell, *Just About Tungamah*, p. 75; Smallwood, *Hard to go Bung*, pp. 161-3; Fahey, *The Barmah Forest*, pp. 37-40, 48.

82 Smallwood, *Hard to go Bung*, pp. 161-3; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, pp. 239, 351-2.

83 Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 39-42; Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 48-9; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, pp. 73, 256-7, 284, 299; Fahey, *The Barmah Forest*, pp. 16, 35-7, 46.

84 Bossence, *Numurkah*, p. 155.

85 Bossence, *Numurkah*, p. 155.

86 Note : The years shown in brackets beside each shire are indicative years for the period that a shire of that name operated. The detail for each shire shows that these years can be quite misleading due to the creation of new shires seceding from existing shires and the subsequent name changes that occurred.

87 *VMD*, 1890, pp. 514-515; *VMD*, 1925, p. 718; Bossence, *Numurkah*, p. 155; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, pp. 4-6.

88 Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 51; *VMD*, 1925, p. 719.

89 *VMD*, 1890, p. 426; *VMD*, 1925, p. 602; *VMD*, 1960, pp. 803, 810; *VMD*, 1994, pp. 638, 647; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 153-5.

90 *VMD*, 1890, pp. 514-515; *VMD*, 1925, p. 718; *VMD*, 1960, pp. 890-1; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 153-5; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, pp. 4-6.

91 *VMD*, 1960, pp. 625, 890-1; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, pp. 4-6.

92 *VMD*, 1890, p. 426; *VMD*, 1925, p. 602; *VMD*, 1960, pp. 803, 810; *VMD*, 1994, pp. 638, 647; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 153-5.

93 Shire of Moira web site.

94 Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 14, 75; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, p. 51; 'History of Victoria Police', www.police.vic.gov.au .

95 Baragwanath, *If The Walls Could Speak*, pp. 63, 147, 188, 203; Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 51-54; Bossence, *Numurkah*, p. 160; Campbell, *Alpha to Omega*, p. 9; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, pp. 236, 240; Hibbins, *A History of the Nathalia Shire*, p. 220.

96 Dunlop, *Wide Horizons*, pp. 30-1; Sutherland, Alexander, *Victoria and its Metropolis : Past and Present, Vol. 2,* McCarron, Bird & Co, Melbourne, 1888, pp. 290, 292-320.

97 Wise's Victoria Post Office Directory 1884-1885, 1888-1889; Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 72, 121, 233, 242, 257; Architectural Index Database, Susie Zada, 2001.

98 Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 120, 293-4.

99 Baragwanath, *If The Walls Could Speak*, pp. ix, 167, 215, 221, 294, 299; Campbell, *Just About Tungamah*, pp. 22-3; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, p, 76; Mechanics' Institutes database.

100 *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. Goulburn Region, pp. 753-875.

101 Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, p. 49; Bossence, *Numurkah*, p. 129; *VMD*, various years; Gazetteer of Australian Cities.

102 Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 40-41; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, pp. 84, 339-344.

103 The Yalca Wesleyan church was built late 1880. early 1881 on land donated by Mr Samuel Smith. The Church was opened on 17th April 1881. It later became a Methodist church and is now a Uniting Church. Notes from Mr Stanley Brown, Yielima August 2006.

104 *Some of the Fruits of Fifty Years: Annals of the Catholic Church in Victoria,* A H Massina & Co., Melbourne, 1897, pp. 78-80; Allen, Maree G. RSM, *The Labourers' Friends*, Hargreen Publishing Company, North Melbourne, 1989, pp. 133-4, 140; Benson, C Irving, *A Century of Victorian Methodism,* Spectator Publishing Co., Melbourne, 1935, pp. 486, 489-90, 491-2; *St James 1988 :*

Southern Riding of Tungamah Shire, "Back-to" St James 1989 Committee, St James, 1989, pp. 29, 39; *History of the Churches of Yarrawonga and Mulwala and district townships*, Yarrawonga-Mulwala Ecumenical Committee, Yarrawonga, 2001; *Vision and Realisation*, Vol. 3. pp. 784, 828.

[105] World War 2 Nominal Roll, www.ww2roll.gov.au .

[106] Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 68, 234, 263, 270; Architectural Index Database, Susie Zada, 2001.

[107] Bossence, *Numurkah*, pp. 286-2, 293-5; Loughnan, *From Ballanda to 1967*, pp. 38-41; Hibbins, *A History of the Nathalia Shire*, pp. 208-9; Priestley, Susan, *Bush Nursing in Victoria 1910 - 1985 : The First 75 Years*, Lothian Publishing Company Pty Ltd, Port Melbourne, 1986, pp. 98, 245; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, p. 349; Campbell, *Just About Tungamah*, pp. 32-3.

[108] Killion, Martyn C H & Garnsey, Heather E, *Cemeteries in Australia: A Register of Transcripts,* Australasian Federation of Family History Organisations, Sydney, 1994; Rogers, *The Story of Cobram*, p. 339; Cemetery Transcriptions, CD Rom, Australian Institute of Genealogical Studies, Blackburn, 2003.

[109] Tim Mannion, Nathalia Historical Society, verbal discussion with Lorraine Huddle 5 August 2006.