The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek, Maragle

European Context and Land Use History

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Reedy Creek, Maragle, NSW

— European Context and Land Use History—

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Contents

CONTENTS

List of Figures  iii
List of Tables vi

INTRODUCTION

Limitations of this Study  1
Data Sources 1

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PASTORAL LANDSCAPE

The origins of the pastoral landscape: Maragle Station 2
The Beginnings of the Patchwork 10
The Small Selections 10
Exemplifying genuine and predatory practice 11
Implications of selection on the Pastoral Landscape 14
The Shrinking Pastoral Holdings 16
Offsetting the losses to the Selectors 17
The ‘New’ Tooma-Maragle Complex 18
Historic infrastructure in the immediate study area 36
The Soldier Settlement Blocks 36

MINING

The Early Period 49
Expanded Mining 49
Sustained Mining at Maragle Creek 54
Mining at Maragle Back Creek 54

TIMBER GETTING AND SAWMILLING

Forest Blocks 55
Logging and Milling 56

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE HISTORY LAND CLEARING IN THE STUDY AREA

Nineteenth Century Methods of Land Clearing 57
Ringbarking 57
Burning the Bush 57
Other Losses of Vegetation 58
Land Clearing at Maragle 58
Creek and River Modification 62
Ponding 62
Creek Bank Erosion 62
Siling 63
Natural events 63
Bush Fires 63
Rain Storms 63
Other Environmental Issues 63

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ENDNOTES

REFERENCES 81
List of Figures

Figure 1. Sales advertisement for Maragle Station, 16 December 1847 (T. Stubbs, 1847a). ................................................. 3
Figure 2. The first cartographic mapping of Maragle Station, shown as ‘Marigal’, Section of Paul Edmund de Strzelecki’s map of 1840 (Strzelecki [Strzelecki], 1840). ............................................................. 5
Figure 3. Maragle Station in 1841, as mapped by John Arrowsmith (1841). .......................................................... 5
Figure 4. Maragle Station in 1843, as mapped by James Wyld (1843). ................................................................. 6
Figure 5. Maragle Station in relation to the other runs in the Upper Murray (Reuss & Browne, 1860). ...................... 6
Figure 6. Maragle Station (‘Marracle’) in relation to the other runs in the Upper Murray (Owen, 1869). .................. 7
Figure 7. Maragle area, County of Selwyn, as mapped by Sands (1886). ......................................................... 7
Figure 8. Maragle Station in relation to the other runs in the Upper Murray (Andrews, 1920). .......................... 8
Figure 9. Advertisement for fencing gangs, December 1868 Maragle (T. Garland, 1868a). ................................. 8
Figure 10. Lands selected by the Jones family in April 1875 (not shown is nº 4, Parish of Hay, which is to the north of nº2) (Department of Lands, 1919a). ........................................................................... 12
Figure 11. Lands selected by the Crisp family in April 1875 (Department of Lands, 1919a). ............................ 12
Figure 12. Lands elected by Joseph Wood January 1875 to October 1878. (Department of Lands, 1919a). ........... 13
Figure 13. Lands elected by Robert and William Seignor August 1875 to October 1878. ........................................... 13
Figure 14. The Maragle (49,000 acres), Tooma (31,350 acres) and The Pound run (19,200 acres). ......................... 14
Figure 15. ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885, with hand annotation until July 1889 .......... 14
Figure 16. Section of the ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885, with hand annotations until July 1889 (Department of Lands, 1889). ............................................................. 15
Figure 17. Section of the 1881 Parish Map of Hay, showing the woolshed block of Maragle Station (portion 8) surrounded by Travelling Stock Routes (TSR) (Department of Lands, 1881). ......................................................... 16
Figure 18. The location of Maragle Station as shown on the ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885 (Department of Lands, 1889). ................................................................. 19
Figure 19. The location of Maragle Station as shown on the Parish Map of Tooma ......................................................... 19
Figure 20. Interpretation of ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885 (Figure 15) showing the various reserves. F—Forest Reserves; T—Travelling Stock Reserves; W—Water Reserves ................................................. 20
Figure 21. Interpretation of ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885 (Figure 15) showing the station infrastructure. Known fence-lines are mapped in red. Legend: 1—Woolshed Paddock; 2—Old Maragle Homestead; 3—portion labelled “Homestead Block Head Station”; 4—Public School; 5—Tooma Hotel; 6—Property Charles Woodhouse; 7—Tooma Homestead. ................................................................. 20
Figure 22. The map 1894 of the Parish of Maragle, hand annotated until June 1919 (Department of Lands, 1919a). .... 21
Figure 23. Central section of the 1894 map of the Parish of Maragle (hand annotated until June 1919) showing the key sections discussed in the text (Department of Lands, 1919a). ................................................................. 21
Figure 24. The landscape of Maragle Homestead, Tooma Station, in 1917 as an example of the extent of late nineteenth and early twentieth land clearing in the wider study area. ........................................................................ 22
Figure 25. The landscape of ‘Meragle Creek’, as seen by the artist Robert Johnson (ca. 1950), as an example of the nature of the landscape in the late 1940s. ................................................................................ 22
Figure 26. Managers on record for Maragle (Ma) and Tooma (To) Stations .......................................................... 29
Figure 27. Comparative chronology of the Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations 1838–1899 ................................. 30
Figure 28. Comparative chronology of the Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations 1900–1945 ........................................ 31
Figure 29. Morton’s House in 1948. ......................................................................................................................... 32
Figure 30. Morton’s House in 1948. ......................................................................................................................... 32
Figure 31. Morton’s House photographed in the winter of 1948 or 1949. ................................................................. 33
Figure 32. The relocated slab hut as seen from the north (December 2016). ......................................................... 33
Figure 33. The relocated slab hut as seen from the southwest (December 2016). .................................................... 34
Figure 34. The relocated slab hut as seen from the west (December 2016). ............................................................. 34
Figure 35. The interior of the relocated slab hut. Joist at northern eave. Detail showing remains of Hessian wall covering and newspaper insulation (December 2016). ......................................................... 35
Figure 36. Section of page 21 of the Albbury Banner of 18 July 1913 showing the same text passage as Figure 35. ...... 35
Figure 37. Surveyor’s Mark ( hayatı  58) in Stringybark at north-western corner of the section of the (former) Maragle State Forest extending into the property (Figure 43). ................................................................. 38
Figure 38. Surveyor’s Mark (û 58 17) in Stringybark at north-eastern corner of the property (Figure 43).......................... 38
Figure 39. Remains of the pre-1948 boundary fence (‘dog fence’) at the eastern boundary. .............................................39
Figure 40. Detail of the pre-1948 boundary fence (‘dog fence’) at the eastern boundary. .................................................39
Figure 41. Detail of the pre-1948 boundary fence (‘dog fence’) at the eastern boundary. .................................................40
Figure 42. Detail of the pre-1948 boundary fence (‘dog fence’) at the eastern boundary. .................................................40
Figure 43. Location map of the survey marks and historic features discussed in the text. 1—Blazed Tree (Figure 38); 2—Blazed Tree (Figure 37); 3—Original location of Morton’s Hut; 4—Relocated slab hut.............41
Figure 44. Section of the ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885, with hand annotations until July 1889 (Department of Lands, 1889) .................................................................41
Figure 45. Section of the Parish map of 1894 hand annotated until June 1919 (Department of Lands, 1919a) .................42
Figure 46. Section of the Parish map of 1919 hand annotated until March 1927 (Department of Lands, 1927b) .......42
Figure 47. Map showing the portion numbers (all Parish of Maragle, unless noted otherwise), main roads and creeks (based on the 1894 parish map)..........................................................43
Figure 48. Maragle Settlement Area as shown on the Parish Map. Block B is at the top right..................................43
Figure 49. Lithographed map issued to prospective applicants of lots in the War Service Land Settlement Maragle Estate (Information Bureau, 1948b). ..................................................................................44
Figure 50. Section of a lithographed map issued to prospective applicants, showing blocks ‘B’ and ‘C’ (Information Bureau, 1948b).................................................................45
Figure 51. Section of the Parish map of 1927, as hand annotated until January 1966, showing the partitioning for the War Service Land Settlement Scheme (Department of Lands, 1966).............................45
Figure 52. Boundaries of Lot 62, DP1112450 (dark yellow) superimposed with boundaries of land portions of 1894. The light yellow section was originally part of Block ‘B’ of the War Service Land Settlement Scheme.........................46
Figure 53. Section of a map issued to prospective applicants (Information Bureau, 1948b) adjusted to the same frame as previous images. .................................................................46
Figure 54. Section of the Parish map of 1965 hand annotated until August 1989 (Department of Lands, 1989) ......47
Figure 55. Verne Lyons planting the first tree on his soldier settlement block 1948..................................................47
Figure 56. Verne Lyons’ soldier settlement residence under construction, 1950. .....................................................48
Figure 57. Verne Lyons’ completed soldier settlement residence, 1950. ...............................................................48
Figure 58. Mineral resources of the Tooma, Maragle, Tumbarumba catchment (Tayler, 1876). Mapped are Gold (yellow), silver (blue) and tin (purple). .........................................................50
Figure 59. The Tumbarumba / Tooma River System. The southern tributaries to the Tooma River are omitted. Marked are the principal creeks and rivers as mentioned in the text..................................51
Figure 60. Sluicing operations at Heinecke’s Claim, Back Creek, in 1890 (The Tourist, 1890a).................................53
Figure 61. Sluicing operations of the Union Jack Gold Mining Company at Tumbarumba Creek, demonstrating the extent of environmental destruction along a creek line.........................................53
Figure 62. State forest allotments and reserves in the study area........................................................................56
Figure 63. Development of DSE over time (see Table 8 and Table 9 for data) .........................................................59
Figure 64. Aerial image of the study area as taken on 12 March 1945 (Property and Survey Branch, 1945b)...........61
Figure 65. The immediate study area, looking southeast from Morton’s Hut. ..........................................................61
Figure 66. Maragle Creek in flood in the 1950s. ........................................................................................................62
Figure 67. Maragle Creek in the 1950s. .................................................................................................................62
Figure 68. Aerial Image of 2004 (Land and Property Information, 2014). .................................................................64
Figure 69. Aerial Image of 2004 superimposed with land portions of 1894. ..............................................................64
Figure 70. Aerial Image superimposed with the map issued to prospective applicants for the War Service Land Settlement Scheme.................................................................65
Figure 71. Aerial Image of 2004 superimposed with the boundaries of Lot 62, DP1112450 (Land and Property Information, 2014) .....................................................................................................65
Figure 72. Comparison of the Aerial Image of 1945 (Property and Survey Branch, 1945b) with that 2014 (Land and Property Information, 2014) ........................................................................66
Figure 73. Comparison of the Aerial Image of 1945 (Property and Survey Branch, 1945b) with that 2014 (Land and Property Information, 2014) ........................................................................67
Figure 74. Comparison of the Aerial Image of 1945 (Property and Survey Branch, 1945b) with that 2014 (Land and Property Information, 2014) ........................................................................68
List of Tables

Table 1. Spelling variations of Maragle.................................................................................................................. 3
Table 2. Tooma Wool Clip (greasy wool) .................................................................................................................. 18
Table 3. History of the portions in the vicinity of the study area .............................................................................. 23
Table 4. Forfeited 40-acre selection lots in the study offered for sale (Anonymous, 1882b, 1882a, 1902; Crick, 1902; Hassall, 1900; Robertson, 1882a, 1882b) ......................................................................................... 27
Table 5. Maragle Creek Claims October 1863-December 1876 ................................................................................. 52
Table 6. Mining Leases on record in the Government Gazette ...................................................................................... 52
Table 7. Selected reserves on the former Maragle run ............................................................................................... 55
Table 8. Documented and inferred stocking levels at Maragle Station ....................................................................... 59
Table 9. Documented stocking levels in 1884 and 1892 .......................................................................................... 59
Table 10. Lease rentals (£ per 1,000 acres) for Maragle and Tooma stations ............................................................... 59
Table 11. Stock numbers of individual holdings at Maragle and Tooma based on the livestock census of December 1884 .............................................................................................................................................. 60
Table 12. Synoptic table of the main developments at the study area .................................................................... 69
Introduction

This study found its origins in the need to provide the European Context and Land Use History for a cultural heritage survey of ‘Eudlo,’ at Maragle (Snowy Valleys Shire, NSW). The property is located at the junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek (Lat. 35.891044 S, Long. 148.183598 E).

The research objectives of this study are circumscribed by the fact that the property is largely cleared, is bordered by patches of remnant bushland, and that Reedy Creek, near its junction with Maragle Back Creek exhibits a notably steep and high erosion bank. A systematic review of the published and archival sources has been carried out to examine the historic record with regard to the trajectories of European land use and land modification in the wider study area. This history of land use modification can be characterised by three thematically different spheres:

i | pastoral exploitation and concomitant changes to the vegetation pattern and vegetation structure of remnant bushlands;

ii | gold mining and the associated changes to water courses and stream banks; and

iii | timber getting, saw milling and forestry operations.

These three areas of research will be discussed in turn. The document concludes with a discussion of the implications of the European land use on the nature and extent of land modification. This latter part will inform any predictive modelling related to the survival of Indigenous sites in the study area.

Limitations of this Study

This report focusses on the historic trajectories as they impacted the landscape of the study area. This report specifically does not examine the social history of the area.

This report also does not cover aspects of the relationship between the Indigenous communities in the area and the influx, and impact, of European settlers and miners. European-style value systems, and hence a disruption to Indigenous customary practices, were imposed in the Upper Murray region in the mid-1830s. They became commonplace in the wider study area in the late 1830s with the establishment of a police post at Tumut, run by Commissioner Henry Bingham (Bingham, 1841b, 1841a).

The physical, and mental trauma endured by the Indigenous communities as caused by the alienation and modification of their land; by the imposition of European values on their social structure and behaviour patterns; and by the introduction of communicable diseases, is implicitly understood and formally acknowledged here.

Data Sources

To date, no historic overview of the European land use history of the Maragle Creek area has been compiled. Some broader overviews of European settlement exist in the form of works by Andrews (1920), Martin (1963), Carmody (1981) and Frew and Frew (2009).

The research carried out for this document entailed a systematic survey of Australian newspaper sources, historic maps, cadastral maps, and aerial imagery, as well as a search of the State Records of NSW, the Public Records Office of Victoria and the National Archives of Australia. At the time of writing, no nineteenth century journals, farm diaries and other primary manuscript data have been located that have a bearing on the study area.
The Development of Pastoral Landscape

The largest change to the environment of the Maragle area by far was caused by the development of a pastoral landscape from the late 1830s onwards. This entailed a large-scale clearing of vegetation with concomitant erosion, and the introduction of a range of exotic species. The pastoral development period in the Bago-Maragle area can be broken into three major phases:

i | the initial alienation of the land from the Indigenous community through the government-sanctioned establishment of squatting runs (ca 1840 to 1875);

ii | subsequent intensification of agriculture through the establishment of small- and medium-acreage farms (1875–1945); and

iii | subsequent re-consolidation into larger holdings as part of the Soldier Settlement Scheme (1945–present).

The origins of the pastoral landscape:

Maragle Station

Even though the first Europeans crossed through the countryside near Albury as early as 1824 (Hamilton Hume & William Hovell) (Andrews [ed.], 1981, p. 130ff; Bland, 1831, p. 37), the general area at first saw little disruption. The N.S.W. government in Sydney was reluctant to over-extend its resources and thus actively discouraged any settlement south of Goulburn. Serious European land use of the Albury area started in 1835 with the establishment of the grazing run of Mungabareena (by James Wyse for Charles H. Ebden) (Andrews, 1920, p. 22ff; 170f). European utilisation increased between 1837 and 1840 when, during the period of squatting extension, more and more land on both sides of the Murray was taken up by large grazing runs.

Early European transversal of the Upper Murray, then the ‘Upper Hume,’ area occurred in the late 1830s. The first grazing runs were established in the late 1830s, with Tooma and Mannus in 1838 (Andrews, 1920, p. 166f; 176f); Maragle in 1839 (p. 167f) and Burra and Tumbarumba in 1840 (Andrews, 1920, p. 155f; 177f).

A number of alternate spellings for Maragle are on record (Table 1). While some are typesetting errors, others reflect the variation in pronunciation, particularly during the early period (until the mid 1860s) when the spelling was much more phonetic.

During the early period of European squatting history in the area, until about 1930, the history of Maragle Station is closely intertwined with that of Tooma(h) Station abutting to the south. The intensification of European land use in the study area commenced in the mid 1840s and continued until after World War II.

It appears that Maragle Run was first taken up in 1839 by Dr Thomas Bell.10 It is likely that Bell, who resided in Braidwood (NSW), owned the run, but not necessarily lived there himself. Stewart M.Mowle, reminiscing in 1902 about his time at Manus Run from 1845 onwards, recalls that an H.A. Thomas was at Maragle and James Garland at Tooma (Mowle, 1902).

Bell’s involvement with Maragle, however, was relatively short-lived. On 16 December 1847 Maragle Station was offered for sale by auction, described in an advertisement in the Sydney Morning Herald as

“Maragle, Upper Hume...with a capital station, stockyard and 150 head of cattle...a very extensive station that will carry 1,000 head. Just the thing for the young beginner” (T. Stubbs, 1847a, 1847b).

The auction, initially scheduled for 27 December 1847, was deferred to 3 January 1848 (T. Stubbs, 1847c, 1848), when the property was sold to George Mair and James Garland, the owners of the adjacent Tooma(h) Station (Thomson, 1848b, entry n 65). No information on the sale price was published. Garland appears to have acted as the main figure head and front.

The first formal appearance of Maragle on a map occurred in 1840.11 In his traverse of the Australian Alps from Yass to Melbourne, Paul Edmund de Strzelecki passed through Bago,12 Mannus (‘Manes’)13 and Wetere Stations,14 mapping a few stations that were off his track, such as ‘Osbornes Station,’15 Murray Station,16 Tooma (‘Tuma’) and also Maragle (‘Marigal’) (Figure 2) (Streleski [Strzelecki], 1840).17

Strzelecki’s data were then incorporated in the June 1841 issue of Arrowsmith’s map of the south eastern portion of Australia (Figure 3), which shows ‘Tuma,’ ‘Marigal,’ ‘Bura,’ and ‘Welorogang’ (Arrowsmith, 1841).18 Similar data were included in Wyld’s map of New South Wales of 1840 (Figure 4).19 Intriguingly, on the latter map Tooma is omitted, suggesting that Maragle at the time had greater name recognition in Sydney.
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Table 1. Spelling variations of Maragle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Refers to</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maracle</td>
<td>diggings</td>
<td>(General Post Office, 1859, p. 492)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parish</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Department of Lands, 1885b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Department of Lands, 1885b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maragal</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>(D. Campbell, Hepburn, &amp; Co, 1877b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maragel</td>
<td>creek</td>
<td>(Garran, 1886 [Gen Map of NSW])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maragle</td>
<td>back creek</td>
<td>(Hanson, 1893, p. 255)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creek</td>
<td>field20</td>
<td>(Hanson, 1893, p. 255)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Philip, 1875?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run</td>
<td></td>
<td>(T. Stubbs, 1847a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>station</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Thomson, 1848a, nº 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marangle</td>
<td>electorate</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1914)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1926)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>petty sessions</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1878)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>station</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Dougharty &amp; Parker, 1892a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marigal</td>
<td>locality on map</td>
<td>(Streleski [Strzelecki], 1840)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marigle</td>
<td>creek</td>
<td>(Mort &amp; Co, 1861b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marracle</td>
<td>run</td>
<td>(Owen, 1869)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gold field</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1905)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meracle</td>
<td>popula tion centre</td>
<td>(Rogers, 1881)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meragle</td>
<td>creek</td>
<td>(Owen, 1869)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diggings</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1858r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merayle</td>
<td>locality</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1877b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mergul</td>
<td>station</td>
<td>(Thomson, 1848b, entry nº 65)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creek</td>
<td>mountains</td>
<td>(Thomson, 1848b, entry nº 65)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moreka</td>
<td>diggings</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1858w)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creek</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1858u)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1848, the boundaries of Maragle run were first formally gazetted:

“Bell, Thomas, now J Garland. Name of run, Maragle. Estimated area, sixteen thousand acres. Estimated grazing capabilities, six hundred and forty cattle. The Maragle station bounds Mr Garland’s station of Toomah by a line from a point immediately above the junction of the Spring Creek with the Maragle Creek ascending a spur of the Maragle Mountain one mile north west to the summit, thence one mile west along a range topping the falls into the Cows Creek to the junction of this creek with the Tumberumba thence ascending the Cows Creek to the point herein first mentioned. NB - This run has been transferred, with the sanction of the government, to Mr James Garland, in whose name the lease will accordingly be prepared” (Thomson, 1848a, entry nº 12).

Figure 1. Sales advertisement for Maragle Station, 16 December 1847 (T. Stubbs, 1847a).

James Garland and George Mair seem to have acquired Maragle as a northern extension of the Tooma run, but without a desire to invest in any improvements beyond what was already in existence and what was absolutely necessary. From then onwards, Maragle was treated as an outstation (and summer paddock) of Tooma (Andrews, 1920, p. 168), frequently referred to as Mair’s21 ‘upper station’ (c.f. Anonymous, 1858r).

The boundaries of the early runs were gazetted (see above) but often only quite generally mapped (Figure 5–Figure 8).

We can assume that at the time of purchase from Bell, Maragle would have had at least a small stockman’s / shepherd’s hut (presumably a slab hut with bark roof),22 with a small stockyard for the horses. Garland’s holdings of Tooma and Maragle were confirmed in January 1854 for another twelve years (Thomson, 1854b).23

By 1854, the size of Maragle run had been increased to 49,000 acres. The annual rent had been set at £10, under the assumption that the run in its limited state of ‘improvement’ at that time had a carrying capacity of 640 head of cattle. At that time, at least one (stock)hut existed in the southern section of the...
run (Thomson, 1854a, p. 297 entry nº 12).24 The annual rent for Garland’s Tooma run (31,350 acres) was set at £17/10 under the assumption that the run had a carrying capacity of 7,000 sheep (Thomson, 1854a, p. 300 entry nº 59).25

While all formal references point to cattle as the primary object of Garland’s pastoral endeavours, there is reference to sheep also being run.26 Even though James Garland is listed in the Government Gazette as lessee of the run, it seems to have been George Mair who ran the station with a staff of at least 14 farm hands.27

The management of Tooma and Maragle went solely to George Mair in 1857, when Garland left for Sydney (Andrews, 1920, p. 177), becoming the sole lease-holder in 1860 (ibid). G. Mair is mentioned as the owner of the station in 1860 (Anonymous, 1860a).

At least some of the land at Tooma must have been cleared for the production of grain, as there is reference to a water-powered flour mill on Tumbarrumba Creek, owned and or operated by George Mair in the mid 1850s (see p. 62). Owned by the Tooma and Maragle Stations, the mill and the associated miller’s cottage were listed as part of the improvements on Tooma Run when the run was put up for auction in March 1861 (Mort & Co, 1861b). In 1856,28 George Mair was reputedly caught and crushed by the wheel but survived (L. Jones & Jones, 1990, p. 328). In 1879 the mill was bought by John Seaton, dismantled and moved to Thowgla Creek, Gravel Plains (now Towong) (L. Jones & Jones, 1990, p. 329).29

By late March 1861 both Tooma and Maragle Stations appear to have been so far in debt, that the mortgagees forced a sale, offering both properties, with a combined 3,500 head of cattle, for auction (Mort & Co, 1861b). At that time, the land was described to

“consist of alluvial plains, open forest and whinstone ranges, … abundantly watered by the Tumut River and the Manus, Tumbarrumba and Marigle Creeks” (Mort & Co, 1861b).

In addition to Tooma and Maragle, both Bringrenbrong and Khancoban stations had also been run by the same owner(s) (Mort & Co, 1861a) and were likewise sold off in April (Mort & Co, 1861c).

While the main development seems to have occurred at Tooma Station, the improvements at Maragle station consisted of a stockman’s hut, a stockyard and a small paddock (Mort & Co, 1861b). The sales notice also makes reference to 160 acres30 of freehold land (presumably around the main homestead at Tooma) and 1,000 bushels of wheat, indication that area had been cleared for grain production (presumably also at or near Tooma homestead, and probably part of the freehold).31

It is not clear who bought the property at the time, but it is on record that on 10 July 1862 the leases of both Tooma and Maragle runs were transferred from Robert Napier to Arthur Dight and John Hay (Moriarty, 1862, p. 1293). We do not know anything about Robert Napier at the time of writing. Napier may have been an intermediate buyer, or he may have been the mortgagee.32

Even though Dight and Hay owned the property, it appears that George Mair continued to reside there, possibly now in the capacity as manager.33

In 1865, as part of the conversion of the existing leases to pastoral leases under the Crown Lands Alienation Act 1861, the Maragle run with its 49,000 acres was appraised at £39 annual rent compared to the previous £10 (Anonymous, 1865b). At the same time, the Tooma lease was assessed at £80, which reflects the different state of ‘improvements,’ i.e. land clearing and subsequent increase in carrying capacity.

By the end of the same year, four areas34 at Maragle Station were reserved from conditional purchase for the preservation of water supplies (Cowper, 1865b, p. 3017; 1865a, p. 2964). In early July 1867, three of those reserved were cancelled again (Wilson, 1867).35

In January 1866 Maragle Station, then owned by Messrs Hay and Dight, was sold by Powers, Rutherford & Co to Messrs George Henry Greene36 and Arthur Wolfe Chomley.37 The sale included 2,500 head of cattle, 50 horses and 160 acres of freehold (Anonymous, 1866c).38 It would appear that Thomas Garland, son of James Garland, may have stayed on as station manager.39
Figure 2. The first cartographic mapping of Maragle Station, shown as ‘Marigal’. Section of Paul Edmund de Strzelecki’s map of 1840 (Strzelecki, 1840).

Figure 3. Maragle Station in 1841, as mapped by John Arrowsmith (1841).
Figure 4. Maragle Station in 1843, as mapped by James Wyld (1843).

Figure 5. Maragle Station in relation to the other runs in the Upper Murray (Reuss & Browne, 1860).
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 6. Maragle Station (Marracle') in relation to the other runs in the Upper Murray (Owen, 1869)

Figure 7. Maragle area, County of Selwyn, as mapped by Sands (1886).
The major improvement necessary to convert runs into effective stations, was to create fenced in paddocks. To that end, station owners put out fencing contracts for tender. These were commonly filled by Chinese work gangs who had a reputation for efficient and timely work (Laidlaw, 2009). On record is, for example, one such call for tender (Figure 9), issued in November 1868 by Thomas Garland. He required fifteen miles of log and brush fencing for both Tooma and Maragle (T. Garland, 1868b). Fencing was critical to avoid straying stock. Lack of fencing and/or supervision led to the cattle theft from Tooma (Anonymous, 1867) and the sale of stolen cattle to Tooma (Anonymous, 1868, 1870a).

Even though the sale occurred in January 1866, the transfer of runs was not documented until sometime in 1869. During that year, Tooma was first transferred from Arthur Dight and John Hay to George Henry Greene and Arthur Wolfe Chomley, and then from these to the Trust and Agency Co of Australasia Ltd (Moriarty, 1870, p. 1322). The transfer list makes no reference to Maragle. When Maragle was appraised at £39 annual rent in 1870, the lease was apparently officially still held by Arthur Dight and John Hay (Anonymous, 1870b).

It is difficult to illuminate the financial relationships at this point. The Trust & Agency Company of Australasia Limited, incorporated in London in 1860 had been set up to invest British capital in the Australian colonies and meet a demand in Australia for longer term mortgage loans (Trust and Agency Co of Australasia, 1960). It is possible that the latter was a major investor in the Tooma purchase, but not in the purchase of Maragle. The comparative chronology shown in Figure 27 is based on that assumption.

In March 1869 we have on record formal sales of small allotments on Tooma, signalling that the parcelisation land through selection had begun:

“on the right bank of Mannus Greek, opposite [Thomas, ed.] Garland’s 160 acres on Tooma Run” (lot F, 65 acres) and “on the left bank of Tumbarumba Greek, at the confluence of Maragle Greek” (lot G, 40 acres) (Forster, 1869, p. 758)

In December 1869, Chomley and Greene, owners of Tooma, as well as Warelegang, advertised four of
their paddocks as subleases for the summer (Chomley & Greene, 1869). Given the emphasis on summer, we can speculate that these paddocks would have been on Maragle and possibly also on Tooma stations.

A travelling writer submitting his columns to The Empire and the Australian Town and Country Journal, describes Greene’s Tooma Station, but makes no reference to Maragle (Anonymous, 1870c, 1870d). This can be interpreted such that Maragle Station was non-descript and possibly also quite underdeveloped, else it would have been visited.

Greene’s name is primarily and prominently connected with Tooma, where he lived until he sold out in 1875 (Anonymous, 1889c). Chomley, on the other hand, was an investor and silent partner, as he worked for the Victorian Attorney General’s Office (e.g. Anonymous, 1865a), and later was the Secretary to the Law department (e.g. Anonymous, 1866f).

Dight and Hay seem to have begun to shift the economic base of Maragle from purely cattle to a mix of cattle and sheep, with the latter predominating (see Table 8). Greene certainly continued that development. Tooma and Maragle runs, comprising a total of 81,000 acres, were again advertised for auction on 20 January 1871. The sales notice claimed that all land was fenced and subdivided into nearly 12 large and 7 smaller paddocks. The stations included 200 acres of freehold and an additional 594 acres that had been selected (but not yet fully paid off). A ‘good homestead and garden etc.’ existed on Maragle (Powers, Rutherford, & Co, 1870, 1871b). While the sales interest appears to have been low, at least Maragle eventually sold. On 8 March 1872 Maragle Station was formally transferred from Dight and Hay to John Cox (Pretious, 1872c, p. 640), while the Tooma run was still owned by the Trust and Agency Company of Australasia.

At one point after that, Andrew Kinleside appears either as a manager or as an investor. In June 1874 we find an impounding notice, signed by Greene and Kinleside, Tooma (Greene & Kinleside, 1874). In May 1875 the partnership between Greene and Kinleside was dissolved by mutual consent. Even though this occurred in May, this appears not to have been made public until late November, when a series of advertisements was inserted in the NSW Government Gazette, notifying the public and asserting that Greene would be responsible for any amounts owing (Greene & Kinleside, 1875c, 1875a, 1875b). We can speculate that this delay occurred in order to allow Kinleside to obtain the financial support needed to continue. Tooma was eventually sold, with a John M’Donald acquiring at least some of it by private sale in June 1875 (Anonymous, 1875d). The sales information is a tad confusing, as one correspondent noted that “the Tooma station has changed hands: Messrs. Kinleside and McCartney having purchased the home station, and Mr. M’Donald the sheep run with 20,600 sheep (Anonymous, 1875b).

It is not clear at the time of writing, which section of Tooma was deemed to be the ‘sheep run.’ It appears that when Greene dissolved his partnership with Kinleside, he had to liquidate some of his assets to fund his two-year round the world trip which commenced in 1875 (Carnell, 1979). Kinleside himself did not have the funds to buy out Greene on his own, and thus was forced to sell some of Tooma to John M’Donald, as well as to take on Edward Hartman Macartney as co-investor in the rump of Tooma. One wonders why Macartney did not take up the ‘sheep run’ as well, but it is likely that he was, at that time, also financially extended. It is possible that he already owned Myall Plains, a property near Jerilderie (Anonymous, 1877e).

In August 1875 the lease of Tooma was appraised at £35/acre, with G.H. Greene still the lessee (Anonymous, 1875a). Intriguingly, the Maragle run, then held by John Cox, was assessed at £70/acre (Anonymous, 1875a). This was formalised by gazettal in October 1875 (Garrett, 1875, p. 3497). This differential suggests that at that time the carrying capacity of Maragle was higher, possibly due to the fact that less land had been selected on Maragle and thus more of the prime fattening paddocks were available, while on Tooma much of the land in the plains had been selected. It seems that Maragle was managed by a Mr. Jones.

At one point, some or all of Maragle seems to have been bought, or subleased, by Cox to Macartney and Kinleside. The details are, at this point, altogether unclear. Irrespective of their access to Maragle, Macartney and Kinleside required even more grazing land for their operations, possibly to make up for the land on Tooma lost to McDonald. They are on record in April 1877 as having leased additional paddocks from Basil Gray’s Waleregang Station, which abuts Tooma to the southwest (Anonymous, 1877i). At one point between 1875 and 1877 Macartney and Kinleside acquired John M’Donald’s section of Tooma, restoring sheep grazing capacity to Tooma.

Macartney and Kinleside are on record as selling stock from Tooma to Melbourne during the period from February 1877 to February 1878 (Anonymous, 1877g, 1877h, 1878d). Soon after Andrew Kinleside
seems to have withdrawn from the partnership (effective 1 May 1877) (E.H Macartney & Kinleside, 1877b, 1877a).

Meanwhile, on Maragle, John Cox selected 207 acres of his land (portion 22) in August 1877 for conversion to freehold under conditional purchase rules. After his death, the executors of his will were permitted (in April 1883) to pay up the outstanding balance to ensure full transfer of title (Farnell, 1883).

The Beginnings of the Patchwork

Between 1875 and 1881 some intensification of land use occurred. In 1875 a number of parcels of land had been selected for conditional purchase (see below). From now on, the history of the area is bifurcated: the fate of the increasing number of small selections vs. the gradually waxing fortunes of the larger pastoral holdings.

The Small Selections

After the passage of the Crown Lands Alienation and Occupation Acts of 1861 (colloquially referred to as the Robertson Land Acts), individuals could select small areas (up to 320 acres) of land for eventual conversion into freehold. These conditional purchases entailed a requirement for an ongoing improvement of the property for the duration of the purchase process (i.e. until the land had been paid up in full). Such improvement encompassed, inter alia, the clearing of vegetation and conversion into pasture or (preferably) arable land, the digging of dams, as well as fencing. Ringbarking was seen as one of these options (New South Wales Government, 1882).

Selection of land under the conditional purchase option had to comply with a number of stipulations: i) the area being limited to 40 to 320 acres charged at £1 per acre; ii) paying a deposit of one quarter of the purchase price, iii) adding ‘improvements’ to the value of £1 per acre, iv) the selector residing on the land, and v) occupying the land for three years.

Compliance with the conditions was policed by land inspectors, with the pastoralists often denouncing anyone who did not comply in order to rid themselves of the nuisance. The consequences were severe: failure to comply with the conditions meant forfeiture of the selection. Once forfeited, the land allotment, as surveyed, was then offered for sale at regular land sales held by the various land offices. Any improvements that had been made were valued and pro rata added to the price per acre that had to be paid (‘upset price’). While most lots sold at the upset price, some lots were passed in, while the more sought after lots sold at a premium.

While pastoralists themselves would attempt to select portions of land that had strategic value for the running of the pastoral property (such as creek lines, dams, crossings etc) and portions that contained structural assets (see below, p. 16), conflict could arise over the value of the improvements to be paid. An example are two small land blocks “on and near the left bank of Maragle Creek, about ¼ mile above the crossing of the Tumbarumba and Tooma Road” (lots A and B, 2 acres each) (Wilson, 1871b, p. 2927). Both were offered for sale at Tumbarumba on 31 January 1872 because the two lots “contained improvements and were applied for as such, but the claims forfeited for non-payment of the appraised value by [Coomley and Greene]” (Wilson, 1871b, p. 2927).

When offered at the sale, the price had been set at £1 per acre with no mention of additional costs for the improvements. A consultation of the Parish map for Tooma (Department of Lands, 1894b) shows that these two lots were portions 24 and 25 and that they formed the core of Maragle homestead (Figure 19). It appears that George Greene thought the better of it and acquired both lots for the second time.

Perusal of the records shows that a number of the early selections were forfeited due to lack of improvements. We can speculate that some of the selectors may have been lured by the name recognition of Maragle, possibly due to the goldfield, and others by the reputation of Maragle as a high-quality grazing run. Many of these selectors had, in all probability, no idea as to the realities of the area in terms of its lack of transportation infrastructure and the lack of economic support structure. Unlike the Riverina, which had comparatively good road networks running in cardinal directions from a number of rural service centres, such as Deniliquin, Wagga Wagga and Albury, the Upper Murray backed onto the Australian Alps. While traversable on foot, as had been common practice among Indigenous Australians for generations, as well as on horseback on some of the bridle tracks, this was not so for wheeled transport. Many stations, Maragle included, were quite literally at the end of the road.

This geographical confinement limited the opportunities for agricultural intensification on smaller acreages, which were less viable for standard pastoral activities. Consequently, some of the smaller selectors later (by 1884) focussed on high value livestock, such as horses.
Not surprisingly, a number of these lots were deemed unviable by the selectors and abandoned, or the improvements required under the purchase conditions could not be met. A number were forfeited in 1881 and offered again for sale in February 1882 (Robertson, 1882a) (Table 4). While some of the lots had seen ‘improvements’, others had no development (and thus also no further land clearing or fencing) at all (portions 2, 3, 7 and 12). Of these forfeited lots, portions 6, 8, 11 and 13, all of which had improvements, did not sell and were reoffered in September 1882 (Robertson, 1882b).

Exemplifying genuine and predatory practice

Just as much as pastoralists engaged in disruptive practices, so did some of the selectors. Some of the selections at Maragle that were eventually forfeited appear to have been made to occupy lands for the purpose of future on-sale. Their shape and location leaves little room for alternative interpretations.

A good example for predatory practice are the four selections made by the Jones’ family in 1875. On 1 April they selected nº 2 (John Richard Jones); 13 (Michael Jones); and nº 4 in the Parish of Hay (John Jones). Four weeks later, on 28 April, Mary Jones selected portion 11 (Department of Lands, 1894a). Their 40-acre selections were all narrow, 62 chain long strips of land, with a 6.5 chain frontage of the left bank of a Meragle Creek (nº 13) or Meragle Back Creek (nº 2, 11 and Hay nº 4). They were so widely scattered that they had little functional value (Figure 10).

Even more blatant than the Jones’ was the Crisp family, who on 29 August 1875, a day after Mary Jones had selected portion nº 11,60 selected a number of lots: Amos Crisp selected nº 6, William Crisp portion nº 7 and John Crisp selected nº 8. All were at the left bank of Maragle Back Creek. Two of their portions (nº 7 and nº 8) emulated the approach taken by the Jones: narrow, 62 chain long strips of land, with a 6.5 chain wide creek frontage. Their choice of nº 6 was even more strategic, a 40-acre triangle just south of the confluence of Reedy Creek and Maragle Back Creek (Figure 11).

For all intents and purposes, selection of these narrow strips of land had all but one objective: to break up and disrupt the possible selection of larger blocks and inhibit stock movement, and thus (hopefully) force the surrounding land owners to acquire these disruptive blocks at a premium.

Given the scattered nature of their holdings, if was not surprising that they were unable to improve them at the rate required. On the one hand, this offered little opportunity at making use of the economy of scale of adjacent blocks. On the other, the shape of the block was for all practical purposes, non-sensical. Given that the block had to be fenced eventually, and given that fencing was one of the major costs, any side that did not require fencing, was beneficial. The choice of a 6.5 chain wide creek frontage implied a more than double investment in fencing than, say a square block of the same acreage, with one side fronting the creek.

People who genuinely try to farm together and support each other’s endeavours, tended to select land either abutting or at least very close to each other (see the Lutheran German practice in the Riverina, Spennemann, 2014). Indeed, although a single owner, Joseph Wood is an example for genuine practice. On 28 January 1875, Wood selected 200 acres on the left bank of Maragle Back Creek (nº 4). Later that year (14 October) he added 320 acres abutting the western boundary (nº 5) thereby extending his creek frontage. Three years later, on 3 October 1878, he added a further 120 acres (nº 33), this time adjoining the eastern boundary of nº 4, albeit without frontage to the creek. In total, Wood now owned the maximum permissible amount of 640 acres, all in a single, cohesive block (Figure 12).

Another example of genuine practice is that of Robert and William Charles Seignor. On 18 August 1875 Robert Seignor took up a 200-acre block (nº 9) on the left bank of Maragle Back Creek, just to the south of Amos Crisp’s nº 6. This was a good choice in itself, as it also had frontage to Reedy Creek. Moreover, Seignor may have gambled that Crisp might default on his conditional purchase allowing him to control the entire southern frontage of the confluence. On 13 January 1876 William Seignor selected 200 acres on the right bank of Maragle Back Creek (nº 14) directly opposite of Robert Seignor holding nº 9. William expands his holdings on 6 July of the same year, by selecting another 100 acres (nº 15), abutting to the south of his holding and thus extending his creek frontage. A year later, on 28 June 1877 he expands to the north adding 100 acres (nº 24). His final expansion, to the maximum permissible amount of 640 acres, occurred on 30 August of the same year, when he selected 240 acres (nº 25). When seen by itself, the latter block is extremely peculiarly shaped (Figure 13), but his selection makes much sense as it rounds off his holdings, creating a large, cohesive block.
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 10. Lands selected by the Jones family in April 1875 (not shown is nº 4, Parish of Hay, which is to the north of nº 2) (Department of Lands, 1919a).

Figure 11. Lands selected by the Crisp family in April 1875 (Department of Lands, 1919a).
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 12. Lands elected by Joseph Wood January 1875 to October 1878. (Department of Lands, 1919a).

Figure 13. Lands elected by Robert and William Seignor August 1875 to October 1878. (Department of Lands, 1919a).
Implications of selection on the Pastoral Landscape

We have in hand a ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ that shows of Macartney & C. holdings before the reorganisation in mid 1885 (Figure 15) (Department of Lands, 1885b).61 That map neatly demonstrates the resulting fragmentation of the landscape. The areas shaded in pink on that map were lands that had been successfully taken up by selectors by mid 1885, while those conditional purchases marked off with tick marks and crossed tick marks (Figure 16) had been successfully taken up on 13 October 1886 (Department of Lands, 1889). Given the other annotations on the printed version, mainly referring to the value of the improvements (see Figure 44 for detail), we can assume that the conditional purchases marked off with tick marks all complied with the stipulations of the Crown Lands Alienation Act 1861a) during the twelve months the map was being marked up. Given that selectors had four years to fulfil the stipulations of their conditional purchase, it would appear that the majority of these land portions were selected in 1881 and 1882.

The growth in the rural population which went hand in hand with the increased parcelisation of the land by selectors of small holdings, is also reflected in the need to establish a public school. A provisional school existed at Tooma since at least 1880.62 The reserve for the Public School on the Tooma Run was dedicated on 18 January 1884 (Figure 21, nº 4) (Department of Lands, 1894b).

The NSW Lands Act underwent a major revision in 1884 which excluded leasehold lands from conditional purchase options (Crown Lands Act of 1884 [NSW 48 Vic no. 18]). To assess the status quo of land-ownership in the colony, a census of all land and stock-holders was carried out in December 1884 by the Police and Stock Inspectors.63 The census included the following two individuals on Maragle:

i | J[ames] Nugent, who on his 370 acres ran 33 head of cattle, 5 sheep, 4 pigs and 36 horses64 (Legislative Council of NSW, 1885, p. 203);65 and

ii | J[ohn] Reid, who on his 640 acres owned 40 head of cattle, no sheep, 1 pig and 15 horses66 (Legislative Council of NSW, 1885, p. 203).

While Maragle had only two small land owners apart from Macartney & Co, much more land at Tooma Station had been taken up by selectors. The census shows sixteen landholders with land parcels ranging from 80 to 850 acres (on average 328 acres). All selectors ran cattle as well as horses, with a third keeping a small number of pigs. None of the small landowners ran sheep (which is not surprising given the size of the allotments).

The great depression of 1890 to 1895, which widely affected rural Australia, also left its mark in the Maragle area, particularly between 1892 and 1894. A combination of drought, bursting property bubbles in Melbourne and Sydney, rising unemployment, and a drying up of liquidity from UK sources, coupled with a collapse of several Australian banks, a depression in the USA and a reduced demand for Australian wool created economic conditions that affected rural Australia in particular (Davidson, 1975; Merrett, 2013; Rutherford, 1948; Shaw, 2012; Stapledon, 2012).
Figure 16. Section of the ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Ranns’ of 1885, with hand annotation until July 1889 (Department of Lands, 1889).
Just as elsewhere in the Riverina (c.f. Spennemann, 2014), many overcapitalised landowners could no longer service their debts and had to surrender their holdings to the banks. The problems started in 1892 and worsened dramatically in 1893. A perusal of the office copy of the 1894 parish map of Maragle is illuminating in that regard (Department of Lands, 1919a). The names of many original owners which were printed on the lithographic copy of 1894, are struck out and replaced with the new owner (Figure 45). Perusal of the NSW Government Gazette of the day shows that the majority of collapses in the Tooma, Maragle and adjacent areas occurred before September 1892.

Not surprisingly, then, the 1894 returns of livestock lists only seven individuals for Maragle, the majority with small holdings and a small number of stock.67 The largest individual stockholder was [John] Reid with 20 horses and 40 head of cattle on 2,860 acres (Anonymous, 1894b). In May 1896 the titles to 10 portions in the Parish of Maragle and 36 portions in the Parish of Tooma were formally transferred to the Bank of Australasia (Anonymous, 1896a; Pinhey, 1896), with others in October the following year (Anonymous, 1897a).

Some could hold on for a while, but when the conditions did not improve they too lost their land. In May 1896 the titles to 10 portions in the Parish of Maragle and 36 portions in the Parish of Tooma were formally transferred to the Bank of Australasia (Anonymous, 1896a; Pinhey, 1896), with others in October the following year (Anonymous, 1897a).

**The Shrinking Pastoral Holdings**

While the small selectors were eating into the larger pastoral holdings, the station owners tried to protect their assets by peacockimg through pre-emptive leases. The station house blocks, as well as other expensive infrastructure, were protected through strategic pre-emptive leases. For example, the 640-acre woolshed block on Maragle (Figure 21, nº 1), on the left bank of Paddys [sic] River, was first alienated by John Cox in July 1877, as was a thin strip of land, connecting the north-eastern corner woolshed block with Paddys River in the north, providing another access to water.69 At the same time, the pastoralists had an open ear with some staff in the Lands Department in Sydney, who were sympathetic to their needs. Thus, when we consider the position of the woolshed block in more detail (Figure 17), we note that on three sides, the block has access to travelling stock routes, thus ensuring that investment in the woolshed can never be landlocked by selectors.

Even though in the 1830s to 1860 Maragle was the end of the road, pastoral expansion continued to up the slopes. The area to the east of Maragle, called ‘New Maragle’ (Figure 8) and described by Andrews (1920, p. 168) as a “block of rough country on the western slope of Kosciusko,” was taken up as a lease in 1873 by Richard Blackwood. The first indication that there may have been some conflict between the pastoralists and the selectors comes in 1876. In October 1876, Blackwood seems to have held rights to the ‘Meragle and Summer runs’ when he cautioned against trespass (Lett, 1876).71 This suggests that small selectors, not having fully fenced their properties, may have had stock stray onto station land. It may also refer to illegal mining operations being attempted (for mining see p. 49 ff).

The Tooma, Maragle and Myall Plains72 runs were put up for sale in February 1877, advertised as “lightly stocked with 20,200 first class sheep, and 2500 superior well-bred fattening cattle, horses, working plant, purchased land, etc.” (Walker & Co, 1877a). In March 1877 the properties were split and offered separately at auction. Meragle was described as being

"in that part of the Murray district known as the Murray district, having an area of about 49,000 acres of fine grazing land and 2,030 acres purchased land, all well improved, fenced, and subdivided ; good homestead, new woolshed for 20 shearers, sheep and cattle drafting yards, &c; together with 7,000 sheep,"
750 head of well-bred cattle, 25 horses and working plant. *This Station is well grassed and watered, and is suited in all seasons for depasturing either sheep or cattle* (Walker & Co, 1877b).

Worth noting here is the percentage of land that had been converted into freehold at the time. While this comprised 2,030 out of 49,000 acres (4.1%), it was much higher on Tooma, where 6,700 of the 37,000 acres (18.1%) had been converted into freehold (acreages after Walker & Co, 1877b). None of the three stations sold even though the auction was well attended (Anonymous, 1877e).

The three properties had to be put on the market because, as mentioned earlier, the partnership between Edward Hartman Macartney and Andrew Kinleside was to be dissolved (effective 1 May 1877) (E.H Macartney & Kinleside, 1877b, 1877a).

It appears that Kinleside wanted out, or more likely was forced out of the partnership, as he did not leave the area. We find him selecting land at Maragle in June 1876 and July 1877. Not only was Kinleside appointed as one of the sheep directors for the Hume district in September 1877 (Anonymous, 1877c; Garrett, 1877), but by July 1879 he is also on record as living at Maragle. It is also possible that he purchased some part of Maragle from Cox, as he is on record there until 1881. His Maragle land holdings were repossessed by the Bank of Australasia in September 1892 (Copeland, 1892a, p. 7221f).

Macartney was able to attract fresh investors possibly as part of the seemingly amicable separation from Kinleside. A new partnership was formed, the triumvirate of Edward Hartman Macartney, Morton Rolfe and Edward Moorhouse. Trading under the name Macartney & Co they resumed sheep sales to Melbourne in May 1878 (Anonymous, 1878e). They also dramatically reshaped the whole area.

**Offsetting the losses to the Selectors**

The selectors posed a major threat to the viability of the pastoral enterprise at Tooma-Maragle. Occupying prime and well-watered land, and breaking up the area leaving behind small and disjointed blocks, the selectors left the pastoralists facing a stark choice. One option was to move into intensified agriculture, such a grain production, which would entail a dual financial penalty: the abandonment of the pastoral infrastructure and thus a loss of investment, and the full clearing of the land, to allow seamless ploughing, which required further capital. Apart from the financial impost, it was also a fundamental shift in outlook. The other option was to maintain the infrastructure, and the way of life, and to expand the holdings, looking for additional pastures.

Macartney, Rolfe and Moorhouse chose the latter. They decided to not only run Tooma and Maragle, but to substantially expand their holdings to offset the losses of land to the selectors. An obvious candidate was The Pound run which abuts Tooma and Maragle to the south-east (see Figure 14).77

The first direct reference to The Pound run occurs in 1854 when its existence is mentioned while sharing a joint boundary with Maragle (Thomson, 1854a). Soon after, in 1856, The Pound is on record as having been abandoned or forfeited (Thomson, 1856). It is unclear who acquired it. J & J Thompson are on record in 1866 as running 2,820 sheep on Pound station (Anonymous, 1866c). How long they owned it (if at all) is uncertain. In December 1871 the rent of the The Pound was assessed at £30 and a Robert Gayer is listed as lessee (Wilson, 1871e). A transfer of lease from Robert Gayer to T.Y. Wolseley is noted in March 1872 (Pretious, 1872c, p. 639), but the lease appears to have lapsed under Gayer’s name on 26 April 1872 (Pretious, 1872a). The run was then offered for sale by the government in June 1872 and assessed at £30 (Pretious, 1872b). It seems that George Greene, who part-owned Tooma at the time, acquired the lease.

In January 1875, when George Greene began divesting himself of his real estate holdings, he sold The Pound Station to John Holloway sen. (Anonymous, 1875f). Holloway & Sons improved the property with the erection of a new dwelling and kitchen, as well as fencing. A ‘Mr Holloway, of Maragle Station,’ is also on record as selling 800 head of cattle in January 1877 (English, Peck, & Co, 1877). It is not clear what actual land Holloway owned on Maragle, or whether this was just a spurious reference to improve the sales value of the cattle. The Holloways decided to sell The Pound in late 1877. Destocked, The Pound was offered at auction in Wagga Wagga on 4 October (Anonymous, 1877a; D. Campbell et al., 1877b). The property was passed in, subsequently offered for private sale (D. Campbell, Hepburn, & Co, 1877a) and sold during January 1878. It was apparently acquired by Macartney & Co, who in August 1878 were formally granted the lease at an annual rental of £30. In 1882 the rent was raised to £40 (Renwick, 1882).

In addition to The Pound, Macartney & Co expanded further into the hills, even though they were only suitable for summer grazing. In 1878 they also took up the lease of Black Jack or Manjar Station (once called New Meragle B), which is located to the
southern of Meragle and to the east of The Pound (Andrews, 1920, p. 151).87

By February 1878 Myall Plains run (6,770 acres)88 (Anonymous, 1885b; Walker & Co, 1877a) was still owned by Macartney & Co (Anonymous, 1878d) who also acquired adjoining freehold. When in July 1885, the Myall Plains Pastoral Holding nº 338 was created, much of the land had been selected (Department of Lands, 1885a, 1886), making the run no longer viable.

In addition to their wool flock (Table 2),89 Macartney & Co continually bought large flocks of sheep, fattened them and sold them to Melbourne.90

Table 2. Tooma Wool Clip (greasy wool)

<table>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Bales</th>
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<td>1884, Jan</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>11 ¾</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1884d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887, Jan</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(Australasian Mortgage &amp; Agency Co, 1887)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888, Jan</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>8 ¼</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1888)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888, Jan</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>8 ½</td>
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</table>

The 'New' Tooma-Maragle Complex

By November 1881, Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations were owned by Macartney & Co (Dougharty & Co, 1881a, 1881b, 1882). It is not, as yet, clear when the transfer from Cox to Macartney & Co occurred91 and how this relates to Cox' death. It seems, however, that Macartney & Co was initially merely a commercial vehicle of convenience maintained by interested parties, because by the end of the year they had decided to sell. In November 1881, the remainder of Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations, stocked with 53,000 sheep and 500 dairy cattle, were offered at auction in Melbourne. They were described thus:

“...These stations are admirably improved, being subdivided into over 75 paddocks by strong and lasting fences; two modern mansions, replete with every comfort and convenience, new and extensive woolshed, complete plant, a large area of country ring-barked; and is, perhaps, the most perfectly-watered run known...It is a beautiful sheep-walk, covered with nutritious grasses, and the sheep looking in fine order, sound, and healthy, carrying heavy fleeces of fine wool. The climate is delightful, and when the rung country comes into its grazing capacity, there will be few grander or more productive properties in Australia” (Dougharty & Co, 1881a).

In the previously mentioned 1884 census of land and stock holders, Macartney & Co is listed as the major land owner with 108,000 acres of holdings on Maragle, Tooma, & Pound Stations. That company was a major producer, at that time owning 543 head of cattle, 42,819 sheep, 11 pigs as well as 237 horses (Legislative Council of NSW, 1885, p. 203). When Macartney retired from the business,92 it was carried on under the names of Morton Rolfe and Edward Moorhouse (Garrett, 1888, p. 4543).93 The partnership was formally dissolved on 2 February 1888 (Edward Hartman Macartney, Rolfe, & Moorhouse, 1888) and the new partnership constituted.

A major reorganisation of the pastoral holdings across NSW in July 1885 saw the boundaries of Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations redefined, and all three properties consolidated into the Tooma Pastoral Holding (Nº 310) (Farnell, 1885, p. 4882f).94 Even though formally gazetted as Tooma Pastoral Holding,95 the name had no resonance with the public, and owners, as well as the markets, relied on the name recognition of the former Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations.

When considering the ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ (Figure 15), the larger reserves for water and timber are obvious, as well as for traveling stock and camping (Figure 20). It is noteworthy that these are predominantly located on the Maragle run, indicating that this was less developed at the time of reserve declaration and hence more ‘valuable’ from a reserve perspective.

When the New Maragle run was established, Maragle proper eventually became known as ‘Old Maragle’ (see Figure 19). The major investments on the run were the Tooma homestead complex with station building, stable, yards and accommodation for station hands (Figure 21 n°6), valued at £2,340, the woolshed with associated yards (Figure 21 n°1), valued at £2,245, and Maragle homestead complex, valued at £1.850/10 (Department of Lands, 1889).

The 1893 map of the Parish of Tooma (Department of Lands, 1894b) shows the location of Maragle homestead just south of and abutting Maragle Back Creek. While the bulk of portion 78 was owned by J.C. Mahon, two small portions (24 and 25) were owned by G.H. Greene (Figure 19).96 It can be assumed that these comprised the station building itself and possibly the men’s quarters. The only earlier map that shows any detail, ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885 (Figure 18), indicates that the ‘Homestead Block Head Station” was located north of Maragle Back Creek (Parish of Maragle, Portion 30), while portion 78 shows no subdivision.

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The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 18. The location of Maragle Station as shown on the ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885 (Department of Lands, 1889)

Figure 19. The location of Maragle Station as shown on the Parish Map of Tooma (Department of Lands, 1894b)
Figure 20. Interpretation of ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885 (Figure 15) showing the various reserves. F—Forest Reserves; T—Travelling Stock Reserves; W—Water Reserves.97

Figure 21. Interpretation of ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885 (Figure 15) showing the station infrastructure. Known fence-lines are mapped in red. Legend: 1—Woolshed Paddock; 2—Old Maragle Homestead; 3—portion labelled “Homestead Block Head Station”; 4—Public School; 5—Tooma Hotel; 6—Property Charles Woodhouse; 7—Tooma Homestead.
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 22. The map 1894 of the Parish of Maragle, hand annotated until June 1919 (Department of Lands, 1919a).

Figure 23. Central section of the 1894 map of the Parish of Maragle (hand annotated until June 1919) showing the key sections discussed in the text (Department of Lands, 1919a).
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 24. The landscape of Maragle Homestead, Tooma Station, in 1917 as an example of the extent of late nineteenth and early twentieth land clearing in the wider study area.58

Figure 25. The landscape of ‘Meragle Creek,’ as seen by the artist Robert Johnson (ca. 1950), as an example of the nature of the landscape in the late 1940s.59
### Table 3. History of the portions in the vicinity of the study area.100

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portion</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Lands File References</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Ownership History</th>
<th>Value of Improvements</th>
<th>Sources</th>
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<tr>
<td>Parish of Maragle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>A.C.P 77–444; S281-1522</td>
<td></td>
<td>Selected by John Cox 25 October 1877&lt;br&gt;Patrick and Richard Cox executors&lt;br&gt;Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia&lt;br&gt;1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>1885: £87/10</td>
<td>(Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1894a, 1919a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>C.S. 78-7,987; 78-34,820; C.P. 75-249; S351-1,522</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Selected 1 Apr 1875 by John Richard Jones;&lt;sup&gt;103&lt;/sup&gt; forfeited 10 Dec 1878&lt;br&gt;bought by Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse&lt;br&gt;1895 owned by Bank of Australasia&lt;br&gt;1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>1882: nil&lt;br&gt;1885: £13</td>
<td>(Department of Lands, 1894a; Farnell, 1878a, 1878b; Robertson, 1882a)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>S1224</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>owned by Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse&lt;br&gt;1895 owned by Bank of Australasia&lt;br&gt;1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>1882: nil&lt;br&gt;1885: £877/2/5</td>
<td>(Department of Lands, 1894a; Robertson, 1882a)</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>C.P. 75-42; S305-1,522</td>
<td></td>
<td>Selected 28 Jan 1875 by Joseph Wood&lt;br&gt;Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia&lt;br&gt;1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros&lt;br&gt;resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £385</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1878c; Robertson, 1882a; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CT 1182 fol. 127</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td>C.P. 75-914; S305-1,522</td>
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<td>Selected 14 Oct 1875 by Joseph Wood&lt;br&gt;Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia&lt;br&gt;1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros&lt;br&gt;resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £162/10</td>
<td>(Copeland, 1892a; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CT 1182 fol. 127</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>C.S. 78-7,986; 78-34,826; C.P. 75-319; S349-1,522</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Selected 29 Apr 1875 by Amos Crisp;&lt;br&gt;forfeited 10 Dec 1878&lt;br&gt;bought by Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse&lt;br&gt;1895 owned by Bank of Australasia&lt;br&gt;1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros&lt;br&gt;resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1882: £52/6&lt;br&gt;1885: forfeited</td>
<td>(Farnell, 1878a, 1878b; Robertson, 1882a, 1882b; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CT 2882 fol. 57</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>C.S. 78-7,976; 78-34,825; C.P. 75-320; S350-1,522</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Selected 29 Apr 1875 by William Crisp;&lt;br&gt;forfeited 10 Dec 1878&lt;br&gt;bought by Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse&lt;br&gt;1895 owned by Bank of Australasia&lt;br&gt;1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros&lt;br&gt;resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1882: nil&lt;br&gt;1885: £15</td>
<td>(Department of Lands, 1894a; Farnell, 1878a, 1878b; Robertson, 1882a; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CT 2882 fol. 57</td>
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### The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

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<td>Selected 29 Apr 1875 by John Crisp; forfeited 10 Dec 1878 bought by Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse 1895 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1882: £48/1/6 1885: forfeited</td>
<td>(Department of Lands, 1894a; Farnell, 1878a, 1878b; Robertson, 1882a, 1882b; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CG 1351 fol. 210</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>C.S. 80-19,025; C.P. 75–811; S307-1522</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Selected 18 Aug 1875 by Robert Seignior; pre 1880 transfer to Duncan M’Callum; 1880 transfer to Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse; Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £223/15</td>
<td>(Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1894a, 1919a; Haasall, 1900; Hoskins, 1880a; Robertson, 1882a, 1882b; Sheahan, 1948b) (Copeland, 1892a); title vol. CT 2882 fol. 57</td>
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<td>C.S. 80-18,996; C.P. 75–812; S306-1522</td>
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<td>Selected 19 Aug 1875 by David Black; 1880 transfer to Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse; Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>1885: £175</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Hassall, 1900; Hoskins, 1880b; Robertson, 1882a)</td>
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<td>C.S. 78-7,974; 78-34,819; C.P. 75–321; S348-1,522</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Selected 29 Apr 1875 by Mary Jones; forfeited 10 Dec 1878 1895 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1882: £44/6 1885: forfeited</td>
<td>(Department of Lands, 1894a, 1919a; Farnell, 1878a, 1878b; Robertson, 1882a, 1882b; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CG 1351 fol. 129</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>C.S. 78-8,001; 78-34,805; C.P. 75-252; S353-1,522</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Selected 1 Apr 1875 by Michael Eades; forfeited 10 Dec 1878 1894 owned by Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse; 1895 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>1882: nil 1885: £12</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Department of Lands, 1894a; Farnell, 1878a, 1878b; Robertson, 1882a)</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>C.S. 78-7,988; 78-34,818; C.P. 75-250; S354-1,522</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>Selected 1 Apr 1875 by Michael Jones; forfeited 10 Dec 1878 sold Sep 1882 forfeited 1901 sold March 1902 with improvements of £6/acre in 1919 owned by T. Robertson, J.G. Robertson, Jane G Robertson and F.R.G Robertson</td>
<td>1882: £80/– 1885: forfeited</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1902; Crick, 1902; Department of Lands, 1894a, 1919a; Farnell, 1878a, 1878b; Robertson, 1882a, 1882b)</td>
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<td>14</td>
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<td>C.P. 76-9; S454-1522</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>Selected 13 Jan 1876 by William Charles Seignior Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £231/5</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1919a; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CT 2981 fol. 246</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>C.P. 76-202; S455-1522</td>
<td>Selected 21 Jun 1876 by William Charles Seignior Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £205</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1919a; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CT 2430 fol. 208</td>
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<td>250</td>
<td>C.P. 78-141; S456-1522</td>
<td>Selected 1 June 1878 by Andrew Kinleside Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>1885: £231/5</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1894a, 1919a)</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>S454-1,522</td>
<td>bought by Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse</td>
<td>1885: £107/10</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>C.P. 77-323; S589-1522</td>
<td>Selected 9 Aug 1877 by Thomas Ballard Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £176/5</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1894a, 1919a; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CG 1182 fol. 132</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>637½</td>
<td>C.P. 77-309; S595-1522</td>
<td>Selected 26 Jul 1877 Andrew Kinleside Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £583</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1877b, 1881, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Hoskins, 1881b)</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>C.P. 77-231; S590-1522</td>
<td>Selected 7 Jun 1877 by Alexander Watson; Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>1885: £445/5</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1877d, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Hoskins, 1881b)</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>C.P. 77-363; S591-1522</td>
<td>Selected 18 Aug 1877 by Peter James Eagan Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £135</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1881, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Hoskins, 1881b; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CG 1182 fol. 135</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>207</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Cox in 1894 owned by Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse 1895 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £199/7/6</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Hassall, 1900; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CT 2430 fol. 207</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>S538-1,522</td>
<td>selected in Jun/Aug 1877 1895 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £0?</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Department of Lands, 1894a, 1919a; Hassall, 1900; Hoskins, 1881b; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CG 1351 fol. 21217</td>
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<td>C.P. 77-276; S592-1522</td>
<td>Selected 28 Jun 1877 by William Charles Seignior Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £33</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1919a; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CT 2981 fol. 246</td>
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<td>Portion</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>C.P. 77-360; S592-1522</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>Selected 30 Aug 1877 by William Charles Seignior Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros resumed 17 Dec 1947</td>
<td>1885: £33</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1919a; Sheahan, 1948b); title vol. CT 2981 fol. 246</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>RESERVE</td>
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<td>see Table 7 (p. 55)</td>
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<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Department of Lands, 1919a)</td>
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<td>27</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>C.P. 77-385; S594-1522</td>
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<td>selected 20 Sep 1877 by Charles William Davis Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>1885: £206/7/6</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1894a, 1919a)</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>372</td>
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<td>in 1894 owned by Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse 1895 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>430</td>
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<td>1885: fully paid up</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1878b; Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1894a, 1919a; Hoskins, 1880c)</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>230</td>
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<td>1885: £237/15</td>
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<td>40</td>
<td>C.S. 78-7989; 78-34,817; C.P. 75-251; S352-1,522</td>
<td></td>
<td>Selected 1 Apr 1875 by John Jones; forfeited 10 Dec 1878 1881 owned by Macartney, Rolfe &amp; Moorhouse 1895 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>1885: £13</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Department of Lands, 1881; Farnell, 1878a, 1878b; Robertson, 1882a)</td>
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<td>320</td>
<td>C.P. 75-973, S453 -1,522</td>
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<td>selected 2 Dec 1875 by Robert James Reynolds Sep 1892 owned by Bank of Australasia 1900 acquired by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>1885: £262/10</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900; Copeland, 1892a; Department of Lands, 1881, 1918)</td>
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In addition to his investment at Tooma, as part of the partnership between himself and Edward Moorhouse, Morton Rolfe also used the liquidity crises of 1892 as an opportunity to acquire conditional purchases before they were forfeited. For example, together with a Edmund Considine Parkes, he acquired 40 acres on Tooma and 889 acres on Waleregang from various members of the Whitehead family and another 100 acres on Waleregang from the Appletons (Copeland, 1892a).

When the holdings were once again offered for sale by auction in Melbourne in late 1892, they were still referred to as 'Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations.' At the time, the holdings combined ran 41,110 sheep and 1,300 cattle, with a plant of 250 horses (Dougharty & Parker, 1892d). This time, the rump of Maragle Station was described in the advertisement thus:

"Maragle consists of 10,272 acres (or thereabouts) of freehold and CP land, divided into 10 paddocks by post, rail wire and stubb fencing, heavily grasses and lightly timbered. It is watered by the Maragle, Back and Reedy Creeks, on it is a 16-roomed weatherboard homestead (lath and plastered throughout), with shingle roof and underground tank, attached being a good weatherboard five-stalled stable, hay shed and other outbuildings, with stock-yards, sheep drafting-yards etc. About 10 miles from the homestead is the woolshed for 32 shearers, with butts and outbuildings. The property is watered by the Maragle" (Dougharty & Parker, 1892d).

The auction occurred on 22 December 1892 (Dougharty & Parker, 1892b, 1892d), but it is unclear who, if anyone, bought the properties.

It is quite possible that the property did not sell, as Rolfe and Moorhouse, of Tooma, are on record as selling 7,000 wethers in March 1893 (Anonymous, 1893). The 1893-1895 depression did not pass them by, however.

In consequence of the bankruptcies of the 1890s depression, the Bank of Australasia, as the main creditor, ended up with large and consecutive holdings (see Table 3). It is somewhat ironic that the reconstruction of the pastoral landscape in the Tooma/Maragle area came about as a result of the bankruptcies of the very small land holders that had spelled the end of pastoralism. While these bankruptcies occurred across the Riverina, they did not result in the re-aggregation of land into major holdings in the other parts of the Riverina (see Buxton, 1967; Gammage, 1986). Thus one has to ask why the Upper Murray region followed a different trajectory. It can be speculated that in the Tooma/Maragle area in particular, the collapse occurred to be gradual but linear.
It was those properties at the ends of the valley that collapsed first (with the exception of Reid’s), followed by those closer to Tooma. There is a possible correlation between the state of improvements, which was less among those properties selected later, and the economic viability of the properties, and thus their resilience against collapse. The second element would be the fact that the freehold selections that went bankrupt, were, on the whole, backed against a government-owned estate that was available for lease. Thus the pastoral industry had a level of food security that other areas in the Riverina could not offer as they were much more intensively developed.

By September 1894 Tooma Station is on record as being owned by the Bank of Australasia (Anonymous, 1894a)124 and run by managers appointed by the bank. For example, an Orwell B Patterson is on record as manager of Tooma from November 1898 to December 1899 (Anonymous, 1898a; Patterson, 1899b, 1899a).

In October 1899 the Bank of Australasia wished to divest itself of the holdings and, consequently, Tooma station was again put up for sale. The sales advertisement stresses the consolidated nature of the former Tooma, Maragle and Pound stations and breaks down the tenure system as 28,794 acres of freehold land and 61,031 acres of crown land under preferential occupation licence (34,106 acres at £106, and another 26,925 acres at £70).125 The advertisement notes that

“There are about 207 miles of fencing, two very comfortable and complete; homesteads, stockyards, woolshed, shearing space for 42 shearers; and shed cover, for 1200 sheep. The run throughout is well and permanently watered by numerous running creeks and watercourses” (Trenchard & Co, 1899b).

In November 1900 Tooma station, as well as Mr Lukin’s property adjoining Tooma,126 were purchased by Thomas Robertson and Bros (Anonymous, 1900). On 17 November Thomas Robertson and Bros de-stocked their holdings, selling 10,000 sheep at auction on site (Griffith & Co, 1900).127

At that time, the Tooma woolshed was in a sorry state of repair. A correspondent to ‘The Worker’ noted in 1902 that “[t]he woolshed and huts [were] to be demolished, and a new set of buildings erected, with a mowing plant” (X, 1902). It appears that the good intentions did not go very far, however, as little had changed by 1905, at least as far as the hut accommodation was concerned (Evans, 1905). In part, this seems to have been due to the fact that the new owners shifted the production focus from pastoral endeavours to intensification, mainly in the form of grain and potatoes.

As before, the property was placed in the hands of a manager, David Langlands while the investors resided elsewhere.128 Under Langlands’ management, Tooma became a highly mechanised station, heavily relying on water power (via a Pelton wheel) to drive the shearing machines, chaff-cutters, saw mills and also the electric generators (Anonymous, 1906). Langlands envisioned that 50 to 60 families could live on Tooma, presumably as share farmers, to improve wheat production (Anonymous, 1906). As manager, he was also responsible for the widespread introduction of exotic grasses and plants as fodder (see p. 63). Intriguingly, as early as 1906 the owners of the property were concerned about the future management of water rights (Anonymous, 1906).

In the early 1900s, Tooma was briefly under consideration as the site for the future capital of Australia (Cheserton, 1904), but the idea gained little traction.

The combined Tooma, Maragle and Manus stations and associate land holding, totalling 93,333 acres, were acquired in late August 1910 by Germain Nicholson McMicking,129 with the intent of immediately subdividing and reselling (Anonymous, 1910c).130

A Harry Watson of Wodonga bought 6,600 acres of Tooma Station in late August (Anonymous, 1910b).131 A month later, at the end of September, McMicking auctioned off the rest of Tooma Station,132 livestock, operating plant and buildings including the Tooma hotel and General Store.133 Soon after, it seems, Maragle was sold to Hugh and Arthur Bullivant.134 Hugh Edward and Arthur Hose Bullivant, who also had station interests at Narrandera (Henry, 1923, p. 4304; Symons, 1911), acquired Maragle Station, because it was well-watered and provided the Bullivants’ holdings with a level of drought-proofing. The Bullivants are on record for Maragle from 1912 to 1925 when the station and stock were sold separately (Anonymous, 1925b; Meurant, Blake, Watts, & Clark, 1925b, 1925a).

In 1920 the Bullivant Bros are on record as owning 10,000 acres with 36 horses, 451 cattle and 6,343 sheep (Sands, 1920, p. 85c).

In July 1925 the Bullivants sold Maragle and auctioned off their herds (Meurant et al., 1925b), the station itself having been sold privately to John Naughton and Edmund L. Naughton,135 a family with major holdings of grazing properties.136 On 28 July 1926, Edmund Leo and John Naughton, together
with Edmund Naughton and William J. Naughton formed the Maragle Pastoral Company Proprietary Limited, with a capital of £75,000 (in £1 shares) with the aim “to purchase from H.E. Bullivant, A. H. Bullivant, Fannie E. Bullivant, and L. S. Bullivant, the property known as 'Maragle,' near Tumbarumba (N.S.W.), and carry on the business of station owners” (Anonymous, 1926a, 1926c). The Maragle Pastoral Co. soon expanded its holdings, for example acquiring parts of the former Tooma Station (Anonymous, 1928b).

Duncan Cameron, on record as manager of Maragle in 1912–1914 (Anonymous, 1912b, 1914d), and as P&P inspector in 1925 (Anonymous, 1925a), also owned some of the station land. He offered his 1,280 acre property ‘The Falls,’ part of the woolshed portion of Tooma, at auction on 6 October 1928. The sales notice stressed that “The timber on the whole of the country has been dead for many years, except on some small areas left for shade and shelter. The improvements consist of small New Iron Hut; 50 acres cleared and cultivated, securely fenced and subdivided into three paddocks” (Dalgety & Co, 1928). The property was passed in at £2/10 per acre, but immediately afterward bought by Maragle Pastoral Company (Anonymous, 1928a, 1928d).

E. J. Naughton seems to have run Maragle as tightly as possible, with little interest in maintaining or upgrading station infrastructure. By the late 1920s the shearing quarters at Maragle had become dilapidated to such an extent that the shearers and station hands had to be housed in tents (Withers, 1929, 1937, 1940a, 1940b, 1942). This caused concern, and later much friction, with the Shearers’ Union, in 1929, 1937, and 1940 so much so that Naughton was prosecuted for non-compliance with the Shearers’ Hut Accommodation Act of 1905 (Withers, 1940a).

**Figure 26. Managers on record for Maragle (Ma) and Tooma (To) Stations**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Ma</th>
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<tr>
<td>George Mair ?</td>
<td>fl. 1864</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>144</td>
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<td>Thomas Garland</td>
<td>fl. 1868</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>145</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jones</td>
<td>fl. 1874</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>146</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orwell B Patterson</td>
<td>fl. Nov 1898–Dec 1899</td>
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<tr>
<td>David Langlands</td>
<td>fl. 1902–1909</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>Duncan Cameron</td>
<td>fl. 1912–1914 (1925?)</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>149</td>
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</table>

A comparative chronology of the three stations, Maragle, Tooma and the Pound, is provided in Figure 27 and Figure 28.
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<td>1866</td>
<td>George Henry Greene &amp; Arthur Wolfe Chomley</td>
<td>J &amp; J Thompson ?</td>
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<td>Greene &amp; Chomley with Trust and Agency Co of Australasia</td>
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<td>Greene &amp; Kinleside</td>
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<td>Kinleside &amp; Macartney</td>
<td>George Greene</td>
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Figure 27. Comparative chronology of the Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations 1838–1899
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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<th>Maragle</th>
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<td>1914</td>
<td>Harry Watson</td>
<td>Hugh and Arthur Bullivant</td>
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<td>1933</td>
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Figure 28. Comparative chronology of the Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations 1900–1945
Figure 31. Morton’s House photographed in the winter of 1948 or 1949.132

Figure 32. The relocated slab hut as seen from the north (December 2016)
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 33. The relocated slab hut as seen from the southwest (December 2016)

Figure 34. The relocated slab hut as seen from the west (December 2016)
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 35. The interior of the relocated slab hut. Joist at northern eave. Detail showing remains of Hessian wall covering and newspaper insulation (December 2016).

Figure 36. Section of page 21 of the Albury Banner of 18 July 1913 showing the same text passage as Figure 35.
Historic infrastructure in the immediate study area
A 1948 map of the area, produced for prospective participants in the War Service Land Settlement Scheme (see below), gives evidence of the structural development of the immediate study area at the end of the Naughton period (Figure 30). The area to the west of Maragle Creek shows a cottage at the end of a road coming from the south and passing through the adjacent block. This cottage would have served as an outrider’s or boundary rider’s base while the property was managed by the Naughton’s.

Photographic evidence of the site dates to 1948, when the place was temporarily occupied by Francis Verne Lyons until his permanent residence could be built (Figure 29—Figure 31). The photographic evidence shows two buildings side-by-side, a shorter slab hut to the north (in the foreground of Figure 30) and a longer weatherboard building in the south. The slab hut seems to have had a stone-walled bathroom at the eastern end, and a fireplace at the western end. Both dwellings were roofed with corrugated iron. A flat roofed porch fronted the centre of both buildings to the east (Figure 29).

The slab hut was dismantled in the late 1940s and relocated to Verne Lyons’ homestead at the southern margin of the property. It was reused as a cowshed, and later a chook shed (Figure 32—Figure 34). The corrugated iron does not seem to have been reused, as the shed is now covered with 1950s Kawasaki River Brand iron. The joists exhibit the remains of the wallcovering of the original slab hut, namely pieces of Hessian fastened with tack, as well as sections of newspaper that had been used for insulation. Some of the newspaper text remains readable (Figure 35) and could be identified as belonging to the bottom of page 21 of the Albury Banner of 18 July 1913 (Figure 36).

The Soldier Settlement Blocks
In 1941 the NSW government initiated the War Service Land Settlement Scheme, which was supported by the Commonwealth from 1944 (Powell & Macintyre, 2015, ch. 8; Rural Reconstruction Commission, 1944). The scheme saw the acquisition and subsequent subdivision of land to allow servicemen returning from World War II to settle on the land.

The NSW government desired to acquire Maragle Estate to turn it into soldier settlement blocks and formally resumed the property on 17 December 1947 (Sheahan, 1948a, 1948b). Failing to reach an agreement for its purchase with the owner, the Maragle Pastoral Co Pty Ltd, the NSW State Government went to compulsory acquisition (Anonymous, 1948). In order to not repeat the mistakes made with the Soldier Settlement Scheme following World War I (c.f. Lake, 1987; Rural Reconstruction Commission, 1944), the original lots were combined into larger, more economically viable sections. This restructuring of Maragle Estate required the closure of a number of road researches and the creation of new access roads (Sheahan, 1948e).

The scheme was gazetted on 30 July 1948 (Sheahan, 1948c, 1948d) and widely advertised throughout New South Wales. The ballot for the allocation of the Soldier Settlement Blocks saw a total of 612 applications for the fourteen blocks available on Maragle Estate (Anonymous, 1948a), 575 of which were deemed eligible and went into the ballot (Anonymous, 1948b, 1948d). The entire settlement scheme was lauded as a success (Anonymous, 1954).

A lithograph map was issued to prospective applicants (Information Bureau, 1948b)(Figure 49). Of relevance to the area under investigation is allotment block ‘B’ (C.S.L. 48–32) with an area of 1125 acres and 37 perches (455.4 ha) (Figure 54), which was allocated to Francis Verne Lyons, 39 Beach Road, Bondi (Anonymous, 1948b, 1948d). The block is comprised of the old portions 6, 7, 9, 14, 24 25, 34, as well as that part of portions 21 and 23 which lies between the road reserve and Reedy Creek (Figure 51, Figure 47). Block ‘B,’ which was deemed to be ‘suitable for fat lamb production’ (Information Bureau, 1948b), was assessed with a capital value of £5,959 (annual rent £148/19/6), with structural improvements of fencing (valued at £207/12) and buildings (£35) (Sheahan, 1948c, p. 1890). The map issued to prospective applicants (Figure 49) shows the spatial distribution of some of the vegetation (Figure 53).

In the formal notification, as gazetted on 30 July 1948, the land of Block ‘B’ (new portion 58) was described as:

“Undulating to strongly undulating land (some hilly) of granite formation. Grey-brown sandy loam. About 587 acres fully improved for grazing under natural pastures, about; 400 acres under pasture improvement (sub. clover); about 113 acres requires further timber treatment, balance about 25 acres unimprovable. About 138 acres timbered with green stringy bark, gum and apple suitable for fencing purposes” (Sheahan, 1948c).
Almost all land west, and the majority of the land east of Maragle Creek comprised on ‘hilly to undulating brown soil’ (south of Reedy Creek and west of Maragle Creek) and ‘hilly to undulating grey-brown soil’ (north of Reedy Creek). The land was generally cleared with some areas under subclover. The land west of Maragle Creek saw patchy tree cover of densities, mainly scattered Stringybark (*Eucalyptus blaxlandii* and *E. capitellata*), gum (*Eucalyptus* spp.) and apple (*Angophora floribunda*), with thick stands at the western margin along the Maragle spur, as well as at the eastern margin abutting Maragle State Forest. A small patch north of Maragle Creek was covered with open stringy bark, gum, briar and blackthorn (Figure 53). The latter two plants, sweet briar (?*Rosa rubiginosa*) and blackthorn (?*Bursaria spinosa*), are weeds (the first introduced, the latter native) that invade unimproved grasslands and disturbed bushland (Anonymous, 2016; Stelling, 1998).

The boundaries of the property were marked by blazed trees with markings cut into the heartwood. A Stringybark in the north-western corner of the small section of the (former) Maragle State Forest which protrudes into the property (Figure 43) carries the mark (⇧ 58) (Figure 37), while another Stringybark in the north-eastern corner of the property carries the mark (⇧ 58 17) (Figure 38). The boundary itself was protected from dingoes and feral dogs by a mesh fence, which had narrow, rabbit-proof mesh at the bottom and a wider mesh at the top (Figure 39). The very top exhibited a strand of barbed wire (Figure 40–Figure 42). Remains of the fence exist at the northern and eastern boundary.

The area to the west of Maragle Creek shows a cottage at the end of a road coming from the south and passing through the adjacent block (Figure 50). The area is marked ‘Mortons House,’ with the area to the east of Maragle Creek labelled ‘Upper Mortons.’ The naming of the land is not clear and there appear to be two options for the naming. On the one hand, Tooma and Maragle Stations and been owned by Morton Rolfe and Edward Moorehouse since 1882 (see Table 12). On the other hand, a perusal of Sand’s *Sands’ New South Wales Directory* shows a Joseph Morton, selector, living in Maragle in the mid-1920s (Sands, 1924, p. 195a; 1925, p. 203a; 1926, p. 207a).

Lyons moved the focus of the land allotment to the small rise on the southern boundary of the property, and erected a residence made from concrete bricks (Figure 56–Figure 57).
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 37. Surveyor’s Mark (58) in Stringybark at north-western corner of the section of the (former) Maragle State Forest extending into the property (Figure 43).

Figure 38. Surveyor’s Mark (58 17) in Stringybark at north-eastern corner of the property (Figure 43).
Figure 39. Remains of the pre-1948 boundary fence ('dog fence') at the eastern boundary.

Figure 40. Detail of the pre-1948 boundary fence ('dog fence') at the eastern boundary.
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 41. Detail of the pre-1948 boundary fence ('dog fence') at the eastern boundary.

Figure 42. Detail of the pre-1948 boundary fence ('dog fence') at the eastern boundary.
Figure 43. Location map of the survey marks and historic features discussed in the text.
1—Blazed Tree (Figure 38); 2—Blazed Tree (Figure 37); 3—Original location of Morton’s Hut; 4—Relocated slab hut.

Figure 44. Section of the ‘Plan of The Pound, Tooma and Maragle Runs’ of 1885, with hand annotations until July 1889 (Department of Lands, 1889)
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 45. Section of the Parish map of 1894 hand annotated until June 1919 (Department of Lands, 1919a).

Figure 46. Section of the Parish map of 1919 hand annotated until March 1927 (Department of Lands, 1927b).
Figure 47. Map showing the portion numbers (all Parish of Maragle, unless noted otherwise), main roads and creeks (based on the 1894 parish map).

Figure 48. Maragle Settlement Area as shown on the Parish Map. Block B is at the top right.
Figure 49. Lithographed map issued to prospective applicants of lots in the War Service Land Settlement Maragle Estate (Information Bureau, 1948b).
Figure 50. Section of a lithographed map issued to prospective applicants, showing blocks 'B' and 'C' (Information Bureau, 1948b).

Figure 51. Section of the Parish map of 1927, as hand annotated until January 1966, showing the partitioning for the War Service Land Settlement Scheme (Department of Lands, 1966).
Figure 52. Boundaries of Lot 62, DP1112450 (dark yellow) superimposed with boundaries of land portions of 1894. The light yellow section was originally part of Block 'B' of the War Service Land Settlement Scheme.

Figure 53. Section of a map issued to prospective applicants (Information Bureau, 1948b) adjusted to the same frame as previous images.
Figure 54. Section of the Parish map of 1965 hand annotated until August 1989 (Department of Lands, 1989).

Figure 55. Verne Lyons planting the first tree on his soldier settlement block 1948.
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 56. Verne Lyons’ soldier settlement residence under construction, 1950.166

Figure 57. Verne Lyons’ completed soldier settlement residence, 1950.167
Mining

In the mid and late 1850s, rural Australia was in the grip of the various gold rushes. One alluvial goldfield followed another, with prospectors rapidly moving up the rivers and creeks to find the sources of the alluvial gold deposits.

The period of gold mining in the Maragle and Tumbarumba Creek Catchments (Figure 59) can be divided into three, slightly overlapping phases:

i | discovery and alluvial mining (1858–1870);
ii | sluicing of alluvial deposits (1870–1910); and
iii | reef mining (1875–1920)?

On the Maragle Creek and Maragle Back Creek system the reef mining activity was largely restricted to the New Maragle area at the upper reaches of Maragle Creek, as well as Tumbarumba Creek, and is of no concern here.

Overall, the state of records is rather poor with regard to the formal documentation of mining leases. Willis (1972, p. 2) comments on the paucity of information, especially in relation to claims. This is particularly true for the early period of alluvial mining at Maragle Creek and its tributaries of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek. Records for Creek Claims commence in the mid-1860s (Table 5). The records become slightly better once mining moved further into the hills, exploiting the reefs, esp. Pilot’s Reef at New Maragle (Table 6).

The Early Period

Gold was first discovered in Manus Creek (Figure 59) two miles from Tooma Station in 1854 (Anonymous, 1854). It was not very long after this time that prospectors moved up the creeks.

In March 1858, rich finds of alluvial gold were in the Maragle (‘Meragle’) area, the labelled “Mair’s” (Tooma) upper station.’ The discovery was first reported in Albury’s Border Post of 10 April 1858 (Anonymous, 1858r) and often verbatim republished in numerous Australian papers, leading to a rush. Albury, the only rural service centre close to the diggings, saw both a number of miners passing through, but also sold most of the supplies and provisions (Anonymous, 1858t) both to passing miners and to merchants operating in the goldfield (Anonymous, 1858d). Consequently, the Border Post carried numerous reports on the development of the diggings, in particular in the early days, with frequent reports on the amount of gold found. The early reports, such as six pounds of gold exhibited at Fallon’s store in Albury (Anonymous, 1858a) fuelled the rush.

Some of the early mining was carried out on behalf of the owners of adjacent stations (Anonymous, 1858t) as well as by paid labourers at £1 to £4 per week, depending on working conditions and temperature (Anonymous, 1858m, 1858g, 1858n). Even though some pundits saw the field only as a summer venture (Anonymous, 1858l), many were determined to stay and soon built huts (Anonymous, 1858g). The population at Maragle grew quickly, with the majority of the diggers coming from the Ovens and Beechworth fields (Anonymous, 1858l). The population reached about 200 miners by June 1858 (Anonymous, 1858d) and 500 by September, when the temperatures were still low (Anonymous, 1858b). While early on miners helped themselves to live stock from Mair’s station (e.g. Anonymous, 1858p), business was such that entrepreneurs delivered goods (Anonymous, 1858d) and soon established stores (Anonymous, 1858g) and a pub (Anonymous, 1858g). Crime was, of course, not far behind (Anonymous, 1858x).

During winter, the Maragle field was both bitterly cold (Anonymous, 1858d), covered by snow (Anonymous, 1858k) with the ground frozen up to six inches and more (Anonymous, 1858g). Once coarse fragments of auriferous quartz were discovered in September 1858, systematic searches were made to find the quartz reefs and commence deep lead mining operations with shafts and adits. The Meragle Gold Field was formally proclaimed on 3 November 1858 with the following boundaries:

“The Gold Field on Crown Lands at Meragle Creek, from its rising, in the County of Selwyn, to its junction with the Mannus and Tooma Creeks, disemboguing into the Murray River” (Robertson, 1858).

Expanded Mining

As was common to all such gold discoveries, the initial rush occurred to the location where the gold was first discovered, with many claims staked out. Soon after, prospecting parties began to fan out up and down the water course as well as the tributaries. Indeed, as soon as September 1858 Tumbarumba and Tumbarumba Back Creek (Figure 59) were also mined:
“Mr Brickell has just returned from the [Maragale, ed.] diggings, with 200 ounces of gold, and reports that the population are doing excellently. There are some two hundred diggers at the Tumberumba [sic] and [Tumbarumba, ed.] Back Creek, and three hundred at Meragle” (Anonymous, 1858b).

The easily available alluvial gold soon ran out and hand washing gave way to more large-scale sluicing operations where the alluvial flats of creek lines were subjected to jets of water, washing out the fine dirt that could then be sent through sluice boxes that would collect the gold (commonly through mercury amalgamation). Charles Edward de Boos, mining warden for the Southern District, wrote in 1875:

“I reached the new and old Maragle diggings, situated about 20 miles east of the latter locality [Tumbarumba, ed.]. The alluvial which at one time gave very rich returns is now worked out, and operations are confined exclusively to sluicing. Some twenty or thirty men find employment here” (de Boos, 1875, p. 24).

Some operations were both extensive and expensive. For example £3,000 were expended at Burra Creek to cut (and tunnel) a 400 yard tailrace to feed the sluicing operations (Clark, 1875, p. 15).

Indeed, by that time mining moved upstream into the area called ‘New Meragle,’ which on 22 November 1872 was formally proclaimed as a goldfield (Farnell, 1872). Maragle continued to produce well into the 1890s (Anonymous, 1890a). A correspondent to the Australian Town and Country Journal wrote in November 1890

“Gold mining in this district consists principally of ground sluicing, several claims being worked with hydraulic patent giant nozzles. The principal site of operations of this method is in Tumbarumba Creek, [Tumbarumba, ed.] Back Creek, Pound Creek, Burra Creek, Meragle Creek and its tributaries, also at New Meragle, Paddys River, and Spencers Creek (The Tourist, 1890a).

Of note were the sluicing operations by Heinecke and Eccleston (Figure 60), as well as the Tumbarumba Flat Sluicing Co and the Union Jack Gold Mining Company (Figure 61).

The mining activity in the area seems to have been fluctuating, subject to availability of water and, one presumes, alternative opportunities. Travelling to Bago, the observer ‘The Tourist’ noted:

“There are many sluicing claims being worked on [Tumbarumba, ed.] Back Creek, and the other smaller creeks off this road, with profitable results.” (The Tourist, 1890b).

Soon after, mining had largely ceased as this observation in March 1898 suggests:

“At Meragle very, little work is being done owing to the great scarcity of water. The Tumbarumba Flat Sluicing Co. are still washing, with, I believe, fair returns. At [Tumbarumba, ed.] Back Creek and Upper Tumbarumba a number of men are reported to be making fair wages” (Anonymous, 1898b).

In October of the same year, sluicing seems to have fully ceased as Tumbarumba “creek, … was at the time of our crossing running very freely, and a nice clear stream” (Macedon, 1898). This does not seem to have lasted for long, as mining was to boom again soon after:

In fact, things in mining appear to be booming at Cherry Hill and neighbourhood, Meragle, Tumut River, Quartzville, and [Tumbarumba, ed.] Back Creek” (Anonymous, 1901).

There is also evidence that some sluicing, and the associated sludge issue, still (or again) occurred at [Tumbarumba, ed.] Back Creek in 1906.

Figure 58. Mineral resources of the Tooma, Maragle, Tumbarumba catchment (Tayler, 1876). Mapped are Gold (yellow), silver (blue) and tin (purple).
Figure 59. The Tumbarumba / Tooma River System. The southern tributaries to the Tooma River are omitted. Marked are the principal creeks and rivers as mentioned in the text.
Table 5. Maragle Creek Claims October 1863-December 1876

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Claim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jun 9, 1864</td>
<td>George Green</td>
<td>creek claim at Merage of 400 feet to employ 3 men, nature of work unspecified.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 12, 1865</td>
<td>San Ling Doh &amp; Co</td>
<td>creek claim at New Merage of 400 feet to employ 10 men in cutting a race.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 30, 1865</td>
<td>J…. Blain</td>
<td>creek claim at Meragle Creek of 400 feet to employ 4 men cutting a tail race.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 26, 1865</td>
<td>Patrick Jackson</td>
<td>creek claim at Meragle Creek, of 400 feet, to employ 3 men, cutting a tail race.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 4, 1865</td>
<td>Robert Pallings(?)&amp; Co</td>
<td>creek claim at Old Merage of 400 feet employing 4 men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 25, 1870</td>
<td>John Reid &amp; Party</td>
<td>at Old Merage near the old hut known as ?Sydruys and lying between that &amp; ?Sydruys yard. Alluvial works over seven acres.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 8, 1875</td>
<td>Harry Bourke (1875 Jan 15)</td>
<td>at Old Merage – the big flat about half way between ?Supplies and Reids, a creek claim (abandoned) of 600 feet employing 3 men building a tail race.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 6, 1875</td>
<td>James Nugent</td>
<td>at new Marage – Jim the Natives Creek, extent 200 feet, employing one man sluicing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 12, 1875</td>
<td>John Moody and others</td>
<td>at Merage, sluicing 800 feet employing 1 man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 17, 1875</td>
<td>J? St Smith, Geo Crommelin, Jas Mailer?, William Hater?, (61-62-76-79 Feb 1876)</td>
<td>at Old Meragle Creek in abandoned ground over 800 feet employing 4 men cutting a race.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 17, 1876</td>
<td>F Blasse?</td>
<td>On the right hand branch of New Maragle Creek about 15 yards above the crossing to Kiandra, Alluvial sluicing over ground 140 feet by 140 feet employing one man to work at cutting a race.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. Mining Leases on record in the Government Gazette

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>acres</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Lease</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meragle Creek</td>
<td>George W. Crommelin et anon</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>72-584</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Lucas, 1876a, 1876b, 1876c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meragle Creek</td>
<td>Israel Hargraves et al</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>73-293</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Lucas, 1875a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meragle Creek</td>
<td>Frederick Southee et anon</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>73-297</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Lucas, 1876d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Meragle</td>
<td>Robert MacMicking et al</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>72-620</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Lucas, 1878b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Meragel</td>
<td>F.H.Grundy et al</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>72-623</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Lucas, 1878a, 1878b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Meragel</td>
<td>George Nagel</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>Tumb 77-5</td>
<td>(Lucas, 1876c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot’s Reef, New Meragel</td>
<td>Jonathan Colley et anon</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td>73-243</td>
<td>(Lucas, 1876a, 1876b, 1876c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilot’s Reef, New Meragel</td>
<td>Robert M’Micking et al</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>73-246</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Lucas, 1876a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N° 1, S. Pilot’s Reef, New Meragel</td>
<td>James Smithson et al</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>73-352</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Lucas, 1876a, 1876b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Meragle Creek</td>
<td>Richard Cook &amp; William Scammell</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8 Mar 1875</td>
<td>Tumb 5</td>
<td>(Suttor, 1878a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native’s Creek near Meragel</td>
<td>Richard Cook</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23 Aug 1876</td>
<td>Tumb 1</td>
<td>(Baker, 1879)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 60. Sluicing operations at Heinecke’s Claim, Back Creek, in 1890 (The Tourist, 1890a).

Figure 61. Sluicing operations of the Union Jack Gold Mining Company at Tumbarumba Creek, demonstrating the extent of environmental destruction along a creek line.
In July 1899 the declaration of the separate Maragle Creek Goldfield was revoked and added to the Tumbarumba Goldfield (Young, 1899).

A Parish Map for Tooma showing dredging leases (from 1906 until 1934) shows leases on Tumbarumba Creek and Tooma River, but none on the lower reaches of Maragle Creek which are part of the Parish of Tooma (Department of Lands, 1936).

**Sustained Mining at Maragle Creek**

While the sluicing on the Tumbarumba Creek system is well documented, it also occurred on Maragle Creek. At the same time, some lands had been taken up by selection, which limited opportunities for sluicing, and also caused conflict due to erosion. To protect the mining opportunities, reserve 16,003 was gazetted on 16 July 1892 for gold mining (Copeland, 1892b). With a width of 4 chain on either side of the creek, the reserve encompassed the headwaters of Maragle Creek, commencing at watershed at the Tumut Falls all the way to the northern part of Maragle Parish (Department of Lands, 1894a, 1894b, 1923).

**Mining at Maragle Back Creek**

As mentioned above (p. 49), soon after the discovery of alluvial gold in Maragle Creek, prospecting parties began to fan out up and down the water course as well as the tributaries. Given that major goldmining occurred in Maragle Creek, and gold had also been found in Tumbarumba, Burra and Paddys Creeks to the west, we can assume that at the very least exploratory mining would have occurred along Maragle Back Creek located to the east of the famed Maragle.

While the nature and extent of the exploratory mining, from panning of alluvial deposits to testing for potential seams, remains unclear, mining on Maragle Back Creek was certainly not a commercially sustainable venture. A correspondent to the *Australian* commented on his time at Tooma and noted in March 1905 that:

“We live on a station called Tooma, which is a large run, and is well watered by the Tooma River and its numerous affluents, including the Tumbarumba Creek, the Paddy’s River, Maragle Creek, and others. "Maragle," the homestead, is situated on Maragle Creek. [Maragle, ed.] Back Creek joins it just below the house. There is a marked difference in these streams, because, while Back Creek is clear, Maragle is muddy and thick, but this is mainly owing to miners, who are sluicing further up the creek” (Langlands, 1905).
Timber Getting and Sawmilling

The history of timber getting and formalised forestry in the study area mirrors that of other areas on the south-western slopes of NSW: a patchwork of reservation for water, timber and public purposes, with the reserves first gazetted and then, in part or whole, revoked. This revocation occurred either because areas were identified that better suited the intent, or because the lease-owners objected and lobbied for changes.

A number of reserves were cut out of Maragle run. Of specific relevance are three reserves near Maragle Back Creek, two timber reserves (no. 2,105 and 2,855) and one reserve for public purposes (no. 2,530) (Table 7).

Forest Blocks

On 10 March 1879 the timber reserve no. 2,105 was gazetted (Hoskins, 1879), which was located at the north-western section of the immediate study area (Figure 62). That reserve was revoked on 17 October 1881 and, with redefined boundaries, re-gazetted as no. 2,844 (Department of Lands, 1881; Hoskins, 1881d). The boundary redefinition had no impact on the study area, as the eastern margins were the same. In 1917 that reserve became Clarke’s Hill State Forest No. 557 (see below).

Also on 10 March 1879, portion 26, abutting the (then) reserve no. 2,105 as well as portions 2 and 17 of the study area, was set aside for public purposes as a reserve no. 2,530 (Department of Lands, 1881), which was modified on 12 July 1880 (Hoskins, 1880e). On 26 April 1918 the status of that reserve was modified. It was reserved from sale other than auction (as reserve no 52,772), which meant that it could not be selected under other purchase rules (Department of Lands, 1919a).

On 14 September 1917 two state forests (Department of Lands, 1919b) were dedicated that have relevance to the area under discussion: ‘Maragle State Forest No. 556’ abutting the study area to the east (Vincent, 1917)187 and ‘Clarke’s Hill State Forest No. 557’ abutting to the north-west (Figure 62) (Vincent, 1917).188 As the forests were kept as timber reserves, the State Forestry department had no objections to grazing and thus saw such licenses as an additional income stream. Grazing was licensed189 in ‘Maragle State Forest No. 556’ with calls for tenders in 1920 (T. H. Williams, 1920), 1921 (Anonymous, 1921e), 1927190 (Anonymous, 1927a) and again in 1946 (Byles, 1946). In ‘Clarke’s Hill State Forest No. 557’ grazing was also licenced. Offered for pasturage were 3,160 aces in 1921 (Anonymous, 1927b); 1,640 acres in 1940 (Byles, 1940); and 2860 acres in 1947 and 1948 (Byles, 1947, 1948).

Table 7. Selected reserves on the former Maragle run.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reserve No</th>
<th>Date gazette</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>area</th>
<th>Date revoked</th>
<th>Notes</th>
<th>Source(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2,104</td>
<td>10 Mar 1879</td>
<td>timber</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>[191] (Hoskins, 1879)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,105</td>
<td>10 Mar 1879</td>
<td>timber</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>17 Oct 1881</td>
<td>[192] (Hoskins, 1879, 1881d)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,530</td>
<td>10 Mar 1879</td>
<td>public purposes</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>26 Apr 1918</td>
<td>[193] (Department of Lands, 1881; Hoskins, 1880e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,855</td>
<td>17 Oct 1881</td>
<td>timber</td>
<td>1,950</td>
<td></td>
<td>[194] (Hoskins, 1881c)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52,772</td>
<td>26 Apr 1918</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[195] (Department of Lands, 1919a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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187 Vincent, 1917
188 Vincent, 1917
189 Anonymous, 1921e
190 Anonymous, 1927a
191 Hoskins, 1879
192 Hoskins, 1879, 1881d
193 Department of Lands, 1881; Hoskins, 1880e
194 Hoskins, 1881c
195 Department of Lands, 1919a
Logging and Milling

Commercial logging of timber was limited to that area which was accessible by heavy transport. The lack of passable roads was noted repeatedly (Anonymous, 1860a, 1860b), especially beyond the areas cleared for farming. Many of the tracks were unsuitable for bullock teams (Byles, 1932b, p. 11). Even if timber could have been extracted and moved to the main stations, there was no reliable onward transport to the major markets Albury, or beyond, to Melbourne. The lack of a railway connection for heavy goods transport was repeatedly deplored (Anonymous, 1906), with the railway reaching Cudgewa as late as 1921 (Anonymous, 1921a). Consequently, any timber getting, as late as the 1930s, was limited to local consumption.

There is only limited information on the operation of saw mills in the study area. The historic information on these mills is, on the whole, sketchy as the millers did not have to advertise their products to earn a living. They serviced, in essence, a captive market in the form of the local pastoralists and farmers, as well as the miners. Sluicing in particular required the races to be boxed with sawn timber if water loss was to be avoided.

Officially, sawmilling in the Maragle Creek areas commenced in 1879 with the erection of the water-powered Hide’s Mill at Pilot Hill (Hatich, 1997, p. 21). It is not altogether clear, however, whether Mair’s water-powered flour mill at Tooma, which is on record for at least 1861, and probably from the mid 1850s (see p. 4), also had saw milling capabilities. Such dual systems are known from the area.

A saw mill on Burra Creek followed a few years later:

“Mr. F. Hussell has started a saw-mill on the Burra Creek, and works the machinery by means of a water-wheel. He can turn out 10,000 feet per week. He also supplies staves for wine casks in large quantities” (Anonymous, 1883).

A third mill ‘Doughty’s Mill’, was established at Tumbarumba Back Creek in about 1885 (Hatich, 1997, p. 21). While some of these mills shifted location over time, most were moved away from the area in the mid 1920s (Hatich, 1997, p. 21).

The majority of (known) commercial saw milling occurred at the creek to the west of Maragle Creek. It appears that no commercial milling was carried out along Maragle Back Creek.

In addition, a number of bush saw pits exist in the forests surrounding the study area, suggesting selective extraction of timber for local use.

Figure 62. State forest allotments and reserves in the study area.
Implications for the History Land Clearing in the Study Area

At the time of initial European squatting, we have to assume that the vegetation of the area was a densely covered woodland of Stringybark, various gums, including peppermint and apple. The creek lines and confluences of creeks would, in all likelihood, have been more open and grassed. No formal vegetation data exist.\(^\text{203}\)

Nineteenth Century Methods of Land Clearing

European squatters relied on cattle and sheep as their main livestock. Whereas sheep preferred to feed on well grassed paddocks or saltbush, cattle could feed in open woodland and forests, browsing on various leafy bushes and young regrowth (Department of Agriculture and Fisheries, 2015; Lefroy et al., 1992). The European custom of fattening up swine in forests (Regnath, 2008) was more labour intensive and also not a practice that was very common among graziers of English extraction,\(^\text{204}\) even though it was briefly advocated.\(^\text{205}\) Running herds of cattle in forests would reduce the amount of understorey and thus open up forest, eventually transforming it into open woodland (Henderson & Keith, 2002; Tasker & Bradstock, 2006).

Ringbarking

An effective way of improving the grazing capacity of wooded areas was to ringbark most of the trees by cutting off the flow of sap through the sapwood and thus effectively killing the tree (for historic practices see Abbott, 1880; Anonymous, 1872a). Grasses (as well as weeds) would colonise the area once shaded by the canopy, and thus improve the carrying capacity of the area. At the same time though, the loss of deep rooted vegetation cover increased erosion and also reduced water retention capacity of the soils leading to small creeks running dry (see observations by Abbott, 1880).

As mentioned earlier, after 1861 individuals could select small areas (up to 320 acres) of land for eventual conversion into freehold. These conditional purchases entailed an ongoing improvement of the property; this encompassed, clearing of vegetation and conversion into arable land as well as fencing. Ringbarking was seen as one of these options (New South Wales Government, 1882).

Not all trees in a paddock or area would be ‘rung’ as some were retained for shade as well as for future timber needs. Ring-barking was carried out by European farm workers and later especially by Chinese work gangs contracting for such work (Laidlaw, 2009). Over time, the dead timber would either be cut for firewood or would be destroyed by bushfires/grass fires. As long as the land was only used for grazing, there was little need to de-stump a paddock. Only when the land was to be converted into fully arable land, the dead timber would be removed by work gangs, stump and all.

By the late 1870s the debate on the perceived benefits of ringbarking began to swing towards conservation, with many expressing the fear that excessive ring-barking, for short term pastoral gain, would result in the loss of valuable timber. Consequently, ringbarking became a regulated activity.\(^\text{206}\)

Moreover, there was a time lag between the death of the tree and colonization by grasses. The allopathic nature of many Eucalypt species suppresses competition (Florentine & Fox, 2003; Zhang & Fu, 2009) under the canopy (above their root zone). Thus even after the tree has been killed, the effects of the residual chemical inhibit cover by pasture. The resulting bare soil became prone to erosion.

In addition, trees could be pulled out with their stumps if the roots had been severed. That was not without risk, however, as the following excerpt attests:

“...a young man named Egglestone, employed at Tooma station, on the Upper Murray, was killed on Tuesday by a tree falling on him. He was engaged clearing a paddock at Tooma station, and had hitched a team of bullocks to a tree, which came away suddenly, and falling on him, caused instantaneous death” (Anonymous, 1892).

Burning the Bush

Another means of land clearing was the lighting of bush fires, usually near the end of the grazing season. In 1932, State Forester Baldur Byles noted that

I am quite safe in saying that 99 per cent. of the fires in the mountains are lit by human agency. People living in the mountains may talk about lightning, glass bottles and spontaneous combustion, but anyone getting to know them well soon realizes what the mountain folk do not admit except among themselves, viz., that nearly all the fires are deliberately lit by stockmen for one reason or another... Why do stockmen light the fires? The
reason is … to clear away the collection of rank, unpalatable grass which has accumulated during past seasons. In addition to this fires are lit in order to clear the scrub away from tracks along which stock are driven… [One] can readily sympathise with both these motives; in one case the accumulation of dead grass makes the production of fat stock impossible, while in the other case the dense scrub makes the job of driving stock a very slow and difficult one’ (Byles, 1932b, p. 30f).

This was not a custom new to the 1930s, but an old established practice. Indeed, in the 1850s to 1880s it was seen as a sign of improvement in Australia,207 New Zealand208 and beyond.209 When the New Maragle run was advertised to be sold in 1888, it was described in the advertisement as:

“90,000 acres of first-class summer country, consisting of good open country, well grassed, which has been much improved by being burnt every year. There are sheep yards on the run” (Taylor, Buckland, & Gates, 1888b, 1888a).

We can speculate that during the early period of the establishment of the Tooma and Maragle runs, fire management was a prime tool for those areas that were deemed ‘summer country’ until they could be improved. Maragle, as Tooma’s ‘upper station’ (c.f. Anonymous, 1858r), was a prime candidate.

Other Losses of Vegetation

Additional loss of timber occurred during fencing operations, especially the three rail fences, when suitable timber would be cut and split/sawn. We have on record, for example, the call for 15 miles of log and brush fencing issued in December 1868 (Figure 9). Fencing that was lost in bushfires had to be replaced with fresh timber. An example are the two miles of fencing lost in a fire in February 1890 (Anonymous, 1890b).

Land Clearing at Maragle

Land clearing on Tooma was well under way in the late 1860s and not only focussed on the flat near the creeks, but also up some of the hills, as this 1873 comment attests to:

On the large bald hills, opposite Tooma station, abutting on the confluence of the Meragle and Tumbarumba Creeks, about equidistant from Ournie and Tumbarumba townships, gold was struck last week under the basalt” (Anonymous, 1873)

We can make some inferences on the extent and speed of land clearing at Maragle itself. After his purchase of the run in 1847, Garland seems to have focussed his improvement on Tooma, while keeping Maragle as a back block and possibly a (summer) fattening area. This assertion is supported by the rent the NSW colonial government charged for Tooma and Maragle runs. When corrected for acreage, the rent increased disproportionately for Tooma (Table 10), indicating that the property had a progressively increased carrying capacity. Maragle run was improved as well of course, as is evidenced by the increased number of cattle that could be stocked there (Table 8), but the improvement did not progress at the same rate as Tooma.

Not all data sets can be split, especially in the mid 1880s, as quite a bit of land had been selected and thus no longer contributed to the carrying capacity for the pastoral run. For example, in December 1884 the 108,000 acres of the combined holdings on Maragle, Tooma, & Pound Stations. carried 543 head of cattle, 42,819 sheep, 11 pigs as well as 237 horses (Legislative Council of NSW, 1885, p. 203). When the station was offered for sale by auction in late 1892, more or less unchanged as far as acreage is concerned, the stocking was reported at 1,300 head of cattle, 41,110 sheep and 250 horses (Dougharty & Parker, 1892d). In the absence of pastoral farm diaries, we cannot split these figures in a reliable way into the three runs.

Any attempt at standardising the various stocking figures is made difficult by the fact that both cattle and sheep were farmed as were, at least in some instances, horses. One way of standardisation was to convert all stocking figures into dry sheep equivalents (DSE), an arbitrary unit used in Australia for the comparison of pastures (McLaren, 1997). This allows us to explore whether the carrying capacity increased over time (as would be expected) or not.

Using those years for which have accurate data, or accurate estimates, solely for Maragle (Table 8), there appears to be no significant correlation in the DSE over time (Figure 63, dotted trend line, $R^2=0.37032$). If we include the combined values for 1885 and 1892 (Table 9), the correlation is comparatively high (Figure 63, solid trend line, $R^2=0.76367$).

Another indication for the differential extent of improvements can be gleaned from the percentages of leasehold land converted into freehold via the mechanism of pre-emptive leases. When Tooma and Maragle were put up for auction in March 1877, 18.1% of Tooma had been converted into freehold land, but only 4.1% of Maragle (acres after Walker & Co, 1877b).
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 6. Development of DSE over time (see Table 8 and Table 9 for data)

Table 8. Documented and inferred stocking levels at Maragle Station.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Total DSE</th>
<th>DSE/Acre</th>
<th>Source Type</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1847, Dec</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,191.0</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>sales advertisement</td>
<td>(T. Stubbs, 1847a, 1847b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847, Dec</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7,940.0</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>commercial rating</td>
<td>(T. Stubbs, 1847a, 1847b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848, Oct</td>
<td>640</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5,081.6</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>crown lease rating</td>
<td>(Thomson, 1848a, entry nº 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854, Jan</td>
<td>640</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5,081.6</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>crown lease rating</td>
<td>(Thomson, 1854a, entry nº 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861, Mar</td>
<td>910</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7,225.4</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>sales advertisement</td>
<td>(Mort &amp; Co, 1861b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866, Jan</td>
<td>830</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,750.2</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>sales advertisement</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1866a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871, Jan</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>15,550</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>16,070.0</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>sales advertisement</td>
<td>(Powers et al., 1871b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877, Mar</td>
<td>750</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7,800.0</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>sales advertisement</td>
<td>(Walker &amp; Co, 1877b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Documented stocking levels in 1884 and 1892

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Total DSE</th>
<th>DSE/Acre</th>
<th>Source Type</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1884, Dec, census</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maragle selectors</td>
<td>(Legislative Council of NSW, 1885, p. 203).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1010</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>1146.1</td>
<td>1.13</td>
<td>Maragle selectors</td>
<td>(Legislative Council of NSW, 1885, p. 203f).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5252</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>6573.4</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>Tooma selectors</td>
<td>(Legislative Council of NSW, 1885, p. 203).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108,000</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>42,819</td>
<td>53206.8</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>Macartney &amp; Co</td>
<td>(Legislative Council of NSW, 1885, p. 203).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892, Dec, sales advert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Macartney &amp; Co</td>
<td>(Dougharty &amp; Parker, 1892d).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108000</td>
<td>1300</td>
<td>41100</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>57713.7</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>Macartney &amp; Co</td>
<td>(Dougharty &amp; Parker, 1892d).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Lease rentals (£ per 1,000 acres) for Maragle and Tooma stations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Station</th>
<th>Maragle 49,000 acres</th>
<th>Maragle 33,350 acres</th>
<th>Tooma 54,350 acres</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feb 1854</td>
<td>£10</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>£17/10</td>
<td>(Thomson, 1854a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 1865</td>
<td>£39</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>£80</td>
<td>(Arnold, 1865)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 1870</td>
<td>£39</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>£80</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1870b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At least some of the land at Tooma must have been cleared for the production of grain, as there is reference to a water-powered flour mill owned and operated by George Mair in the mid 1850s (see p. 4).

When Tooma, Maragle and Pound Station were sold by auction in late 1892, the land at Tooma station was described as “chiefly volcanic, and is good red soil; is lightly timbered, principally red gum all rung.” (Dougherty & Parker, 1892d). The description suggested that the land of the other two properties was of a similar type.

While it can be assumed that at least some of the land owned by the small selectors at Maragle and Tooma would have been used for grain production (Table 8), there is no obvious avenue that allows us to quantify the extent of this. While it is tempting to use a ratio of stock number to acreage owned, this does not take into account aspects of relative wealth and state of land improvement.216

When the combined Tooma, Maragle and Pound stations were again put up for sale in October 1899, the advertisement extolled that

“The freehold lands consist of well-grassed hills intersected with gullies, valleys, and rich alluvial flats, the latter being exceptionally rich and fattening. These lands have been highly improved, all the timber having been ringbarked and the smaller saplings grubbed out. The Crown lands are chiefly hilly and mountainous, well grassed, and exceptionally well suited for summer

country, for which purpose they are chiefly used. The station is divided, into 50 paddocks, exclusive of several small cultivation paddocks” (Trenchard & Co, 1899b)

In the early 1900s, the combined Tooma, Maragle and Pound stations were run by an energetic manager, David Langlands, who pushed the intensification of agriculture. In addition to introducing a variety of exotic pasture grasses to improve the productivity of the pastures (but see p. 63), he also orchestrated an increase in wheat production and the planting of potatoes on the flats (Anonymous, 1906).

When the Naughton’s ran the property from 1925 onwards, the focus was again on sheep production. Earlier, mention was made that Naughton steadfastly resisted to upgrade his shearing quarters to legally acceptable standards (p. 29). While this is, primarily, a social issue, it is indicative of E. J. Naughton’s attitude, who seems to have run Maragle as tightly as possible, with little interest in maintaining or upgrading infrastructure. This observation may well have some bearing on Naughton’s land management practices, as it suggests that the Naughton’s may well have pushed the stocking capacity to a level of overgrazing.

In addition to the mapping and historic references, we have in hand photographic imagery dating back to the 1940s. The earliest aerial photography was flown on 12 March 1945 at 17,000 feet, using a Fairchild K-17 aerial camera.218 The resulting imagery is at a scale of 1:34,000,219

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Table 11. Stock numbers of individual holdings at Maragle and Tooma based on the livestock census of December 1884.214

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Holding</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Horses</th>
<th>Cattle</th>
<th>Sheep</th>
<th>Pigs</th>
<th>Total DSE</th>
<th>DSE/acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nugent, J.</td>
<td>Maragle</td>
<td>370</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>636.4</td>
<td>1.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reid, J.</td>
<td>Maragle</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>472.7</td>
<td>0.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macartney &amp; Co.</td>
<td>M,T&amp;P</td>
<td>108,000</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>543</td>
<td>42,819</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>53208.8</td>
<td>0.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell, Thomas</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>268.9</td>
<td>2.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blomley, Thomas</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1429.3</td>
<td>2.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davies, Thomas</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>200.6</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donelan, R.</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>850</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>665.1</td>
<td>0.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson, Louiza</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>364.2</td>
<td>1.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson, J.A.</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>78.2</td>
<td>0.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fahey, J.</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>320</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilbert, S.</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>317.0</td>
<td>0.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griffiths, W. J.</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>270.8</td>
<td>1.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griffiths, J.</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>206.0</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lukins &amp; Master</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>603.6</td>
<td>5.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magunnty, Mrs.</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>260.8</td>
<td>0.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCallum, D.</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>445.7</td>
<td>2.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richards, Thomas</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>220.5</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheather, Charles</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>552</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>701.5</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyrrell, M.</td>
<td>Tooma</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>369.2</td>
<td>0.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M,T&P— Maragle, Tooma, & Pound Stations

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The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 64. Aerial image of the study area as taken on 12 March 1945 (Property and Survey Branch, 1945b).

Figure 65. The immediate study area, looking southeast from Morton’s Hut.220
Creek and River Modification

There is evidence that shows that the creeks and rivers in the catchment saw some modification, even though the exact locations and timelines are not well documented. The impact is two-fold: the modification of the stream flow through ponding and the modification of the creek banks through mining operations.

Ponding

In the early and mid-nineteenth century, the operation of any powered machinery, such as sawmills and flour mills, usually required access to water power.

In the 1850s a water-powered flour mill existed on Tumbarumba Creek, owned by the owners of Tooma and Maragle Stations (see p. 4). The mill operated until 1879. The existence of the mill implies some pondage on the creek. As the mill pond would have been sited at a place convenient and suitable for the purpose, we speculate that this was also a location that may have exhibited some aspects of natural pondage. Traditionally, such locations were suited to the establishment of fish traps by the Indigenous owners of the country.

In the early 1900s Tooma became a highly mechanised station, heavily relying on water power (via Pelton wheel) to drive the shearing machines, chaff-cutters, sawmills and also the electric generators (Anonymous, 1906). In this set up, however, smaller pondage and a more efficient head of water.

Creek Bank Erosion

The most dramatic modification, of course, occurred as a consequence of the mining of the alluvial gold deposits by means of sluicing. The historic image of the Union Jack Gold Mining Company operating at
Tumbarumba Creek, nicely illustrates the extent of damage wrought (Figure 61).

Silting

The downstream effects of the sluicing were devastating:

"Along the course of this stream one sees ample evidence of the damage done by the mining operations higher up. The whole bed of the creek has been silted up, in some places to a height of 12 ft., and the water is forced to make new courses. One of the results is that hundreds of acres of rich, flat country have been rendered valueless owing to inundation and the deposit of great quantities of sludge." (Anonymous, 1906).

Natural events

Bush Fires

MacArthur (1953) noted that in human memory, bushfires burnt every year somewhere in the Australian Alps, with major conflagrations in 1904, 1926 and 1939. The extent to which fires have affected Maragle and the study area in particular are sketchy at the time of writing (November 2016).

In February 1890 a bushfire burnt two miles of fencing on Tooma, while the firefighting efforts of station staff saved the property (Anonymous, 1890b). Perusal of the newspaper record gives us some indication that a fire burnt in the Maragle State Forest in February 1926, threatening to merge with another fire front at Tooma (Anonymous, 1926). In 1930 approximately 300 acres burnt at O'Keefe's property on Tooma (Anonymous, 1930a).

In addition, we have some observations from 1932. As part of his study of the ‘mountainous part of the River Murray catchment’ for the Commonwealth Forestry Bureau, Byles (1932b), carried out foot surveys of the various catchments and forest blocks. In his notes he wrote for the Tooma-River, Pound Creek Maragle and Maragle Back Creek catchments that:

“All through the area the stands have been thinned and badly damaged by fire and all the old trees are burnt at the butt. With the exception of patches on the ppt and v.s. west-facing slopes of Black Jack, there are no areas of dead fire-killed timber. This comparative absence of fire-killed timber may be attributed to the lower rainfall and consequent lighter scrub and to the absence of v.s. and ppt slopes such as are found in the southern art of the catchment. (Byles, 1932a, p. (40) 2).

While it is unclear how much property burnt in 1926 and 1930, the fire of January 1939 certainly affected the area:

“At Maragle every outbuilding and shed on the properties of Mr. J. Reid and Mrs E. Lees were destroyed. Much valuable grazing country has been swept over by the fires” (Anonymous, 1939).

According to personal recollections by David Lyons (D. Lyons, 2016), none of the fires that affected the wider study area (see below) impacted on the Lyons’ property after 1948.

Bushfires also burnt in Clarke's Hill State Forest in February 1952 (Anonymous, 1952a, 1952b), but did not affect the immediate study area.

Rain Storms

Rain storms can have a detrimental effect on soil cover if the vegetation cover has been removed.

The previously mentioned report by Byles makes reference to erosion in the Reedy Creek catchment:

“gullying is also to be found on most of the tributaries to Sparks Creek, Maragle Creek and Maragle Back creek. This gullying has taken place on level or gently sloping granite country almost free of rocks and where the soil is a leached gray grit over a yellow clayey grit of great depth. It appears that this part of the country from Possum Point up to the northern ‘bend in Maragle Creek and east to Cowra. Trig is particularly subject to erosion in the Reedy Creek where, on a slope of less than 10, all litter and debris had been washed away into the bottom of the gully and the soil eroded down to a depth of 12 ins. in places. It appeared to be a very recent occurrence, and upon inquiring I was told that some three weeks previously there had been a very heavy thunder storm and the greatest fall of rain had occurred in that spot” (Byles, 1932a, p. (40) 3).

Other Environmental Issues

The historic record consulted for this study makes reference to the introduction of exotic species. It was deemed worthwhile to collate and document these observations as a separate section.

David Langlands, manager of Tooma from 1899 to 1910, was responsible for the widespread introduction of exotic grasses and plants as fodder. A 1906 report notes that he introduced 11 species, mentioning the following: Scarlet clover (Trifolium incarnatum), red clover (Trifolium pratense), Alsike (Klondike) clover (Trifolium hybridum), cocksfoot (Dactylis glomerata), rye...
grass (*Lolium* sp), prairie grass (*Bromus wildeiwie*), native prairie grass as well as Kentucky bluegrass (*Poa pratensis*) (Anonymous, 1906).

Langlands boasted that the fodder could be harvested four times a year, yielding four tons per acre annually (Anonymous, 1906).

In 1906 rabbits were reported as numerous in the hills surrounding Tooma (Anonymous, 1906).

Perusal of the historic sources shows the introduction of trout into Maragle Creek between 1885 and 1914 (Jephcott, 1914), with formal stocking by the Trout Fisheries Association (Anonymous, 1920a), of which some of the Tooma landowners were members.225

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**Figure 68. Aerial Image of 2004 (Land and Property Information, 2014).**

**Figure 69. Aerial Image of 2004 superimposed with land portions of 1894**
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Figure 70. Aerial Image superimposed with the map issued to prospective applicants for the War Service Land Settlement Scheme

Figure 71. Aerial Image of 2004 superimposed with the boundaries of Lot 62, DP1112450 (Land and Property Information, 2014).
Figure 72. Comparison of the Aerial Image of 1945 (Property and Survey Branch, 1945b) with that 2014 (Land and Property Information, 2014).
Figure 73. Comparison of the Aerial Image of 1945 (Property and Survey Branch, 1945b) with that 2014 (Land and Property Information, 2014).
Figure 74. Comparison of the Aerial Image of 1945 (Property and Survey Branch, 1945b) with that 2014 (Land and Property Information, 2014).
### Table 12. Synoptic table of the main developments at the study area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>Maragle Station established by Dr Thomas Bell</td>
<td>(Andrews, 1920, p. 167f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848, Jan 3</td>
<td>Maragle Station sold at auction in Sydney to James Garland</td>
<td>(T. Stubbs, 1847a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848, Oct 12</td>
<td>Maragle run, 16,000 acres with a grazing capability of 640 head of cattle, lease held by Thomas Bell, now James Garland (who also owned adjacent Toomah Station)</td>
<td>(Thomson, 1848a, 1848b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848, Oct 18</td>
<td>Formal transfer of lease from Thomas Bell to James Garland</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1848; Thomson, 1848c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854, Jan 6</td>
<td>Pastoral leases for Tooma and Maragle confirmed to James Garland</td>
<td>(Thomson, 1854b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854, Feb 10</td>
<td>Maragle run, 49,000 acres with a grazing capability of 640 head of cattle lease held by James Garland, appraised at £10 annual rent</td>
<td>(Thomson, 1854a, p. 297 entry nº 12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tooma run, 31,350 acres with a with a grazing capability of 7,000 sheep held by James Garland, appraised at £17/10 annual rent</td>
<td>(Thomson, 1854a, p. 300 entry nº 59)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858, Mar/Apr</td>
<td>Gold discovered at Mair’s Station, Maragle Creek</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1858r)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1858, Sep</td>
<td>200 miners working at Maragle Back Creek</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1858b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861, Apr 23</td>
<td>Toomah and Maragle Station sold at auction by the mortgagees</td>
<td>(Mort &amp; Co, 1861b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862, Jan</td>
<td>Toomah and Maragle runs owned by Robert Napier</td>
<td>(Moriarty, 1862)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1862, Jul 10</td>
<td>Toomah and Maragle runs transferred to Arthur Dight and John Hay</td>
<td>(Moriarty, 1862)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865, Oct 30</td>
<td>Maragle run appraised at £39 annual rent, owned by Arthur Dight and John Hay</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1865b; Arnold, 1865)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Toomah run appraised at £80 annual rent, owned by Arthur Dight and John Hay</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1865b; Arnold, 1865)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865, Dec 28</td>
<td>Two areas at Maragle Station (nº 259 &amp; 260) were reserved from conditional purchase</td>
<td>(Cowper, 1865a, p. 2964).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1865, Dec 30</td>
<td>Two areas at Maragle Station (nº 429 &amp; 430) were reserved from conditional purchase</td>
<td>(Cowper, 1865b, p. 3017)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867, Jul 5</td>
<td>Reserves nº 259, 260 and 430 cancelled</td>
<td>(Wilson, 1867)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866, Jan</td>
<td>Toomah and Maragle Stations purchased by George H Greene and Arthur Chomley</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1866a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869, Apr</td>
<td>Subdivision commences at Tooma. County lot G, 40 acres sold</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1869b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870, Oct 31</td>
<td>Maragle appraised at £39 annual rent (lease by Arthur Dight and John Hay) and lease extended for another 10 years</td>
<td>(Robertson, 1870)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871, Jan 20</td>
<td>Toomah and Maragle Stations offered for sale</td>
<td>(Powers et al., 1871b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872, Mar 8</td>
<td>Maragle Station transferred to John Cox</td>
<td>(Pretious, 1872c, p. 640)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>G.H. Greene moves from Tooma</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1889c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875, Oct 31</td>
<td>Maragle run appraised at £70 annual rent, owned by John Cox</td>
<td>(Garrett, 1875)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877, Feb 14</td>
<td>Tooma, Maragle and Myall Plains runs put up for sale</td>
<td>(Walker &amp; Co, 1877a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877, Mar 7</td>
<td>Tooma, Maragle and Myall Plains runs put up for auction</td>
<td>(Walker &amp; Co, 1877c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877, May 1</td>
<td>Partnership E.H. MacCartney &amp; Andrew Kinleside (Tooma, Maragle and Myall Plains runs) dissolved</td>
<td>(E.H Macartney &amp; Kinleside, 1877b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877, Aug 14</td>
<td>John Cox selects 207 acres or portion 22 for conversion into freehold</td>
<td>(Farnell, 1883)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879, Mar 10</td>
<td>Forest reserves established along Maragle Back Creek (nº 2,105)</td>
<td>(Hoskins, 1879)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880, Jul 12</td>
<td>Reserves for public purposes established along Maragle Back Creek (nº 2,350)</td>
<td>(Hoskins, 1880e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881, Oct 17</td>
<td>Forest reserve established along Maragle Back Creek (nº 2,855)</td>
<td>(Hoskins, 1881c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Forest reserve nº 2,105 revoked</td>
<td>(Hoskins, 1881d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882, Jan</td>
<td>Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations owned by MacCartney &amp; Co</td>
<td>(Dougharty &amp; Co, 1881a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882, Feb 10</td>
<td>Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations offered at auction</td>
<td>(Dougharty &amp; Co, 1881a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882, Feb 22</td>
<td>Land Sale of eight lots at Albury (four passed in)</td>
<td>(Robertson, 1882a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882, Sept 6</td>
<td>Land Sale of four lots at Albury</td>
<td>(Robertson, 1882b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca 1883</td>
<td>John Cox dies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883, Apr 21</td>
<td>Selection of John Cox selects 207 acres complete (MS 83-6335)</td>
<td>(Farnell, 1883)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884, Jul 8</td>
<td>James Nugent listed as owner of Maragle running sheep</td>
<td>(Bruce, 1884, p. 4527)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre Jul 1885</td>
<td>Tooma and Maragle stations lease held by Morton Rolfe and Edward Moorhouse</td>
<td>(Copeland, 1899)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885, Jul 26</td>
<td>Tooma Pastoral Holding boundaries resumed (incl Maragle)</td>
<td>(Farnell, 1885, p. 4882f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888, Feb 2</td>
<td>partnership between Macartney, Rolfe and Moorhouse dissolved</td>
<td>(Edward Hartman Macartney et al., 1888)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888, Feb 2</td>
<td>partnership between Rolfe and Moorhouse formed</td>
<td>(Edward Hartman Macartney et al., 1888)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892, Dec 22</td>
<td>Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations offered at auction</td>
<td>(Dougharty &amp; Parker, 1892d)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899, Oct</td>
<td>Consolidated Tooma, Maragle and Pound Stations offered for sale</td>
<td>(Trenchard &amp; Co, 1899b).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899, Jul 12</td>
<td>Meragle goldfield revoked and made part of new Tumbarumba goldfield</td>
<td>(Young, 1899)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900, Apr 18</td>
<td>Land Sale of four lots at Tumberumba</td>
<td>(Hassall, 1900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900, Nov 15</td>
<td>Thomas Robertson and Bros purchase Tooma</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900, Nov 17</td>
<td>Thomas Robertson and Bros selling 10,000 sheep at auction</td>
<td>(Griffith &amp; Co, 1900)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pre 1910</td>
<td>Tooma and Maragle stations owned by Thomas Robertson and Bros</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1910c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910, Aug 24</td>
<td>combined Tooma, Maragle and Manus stations were acquired by Germain Nicholson McMicking</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1910c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910, Sep 25–27</td>
<td>Tooma Station auctioned off</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1910a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maragle Station acquired by Hugh Edward and Arthur Hose Bullivant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manus Station retained by McMicking</td>
<td>(Egan-Lee, 1911)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925, July</td>
<td>Maragle Station sold to Naughtons</td>
<td>(Meurant et al., 1925b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1926, July</td>
<td>Maragle Pastoral Company formed with a capital of £75,000</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1926a, 1926c)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947, pre Dec</td>
<td>Maragle Estate owned by the Maragle Pastoral Co Pty Ltd</td>
<td>(Sheahan, 1948a, 1948b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947, Dec 17</td>
<td>Maragle Estate compulsory resumed by the NSW government</td>
<td>(Sheahan, 1948a, 1948b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948, Aug 13</td>
<td>Soldier Settlement Blocks of Maragle Estate advertised</td>
<td>(A. R. Jones, 1948e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948, Nov 5</td>
<td>Ballot for allocation of Soldier Settlement Blocks, Block H allocated to F.V.Lyons</td>
<td>(Anonymous, 1948d)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

I am indebted to the following individuals who kindly supported or commented on aspects of the research going into this document: Rachael David (Mountain Landcare Tumbarumba); Ron Frew (local historian, Tumbarumba); John Furphy (local historian, Tumbarumba); Gail Fuller (Spatial Area Network, Charles Sturt University, Wagga Wagga); Emma Gray (Librarian, Original Materials Branch, State Library of NSW); David Lyons (Property Owner, Maragle); Greg Lyons (Property Owner, Maragle); Simon McDonald (Reference Archivist CSU Regional Archives, Wagga Wagga); Trudi Prideaux (Outreach Librarian, CSIRO Information Management & Technology, Canberra); and Helen Walter (Morawa District Historical Society).

Endnotes

1. Preferred Citation of this document:

2. This document was written as part of a wider assessment of the cultural heritage of the property ‘Eudlo’ at 4 Maragle Back Creek Road, Maragle 2653 (Snowy Valleys LGA, Lot 62, DP1112450).

3. When considering the length of the streams upstream of the junction of Reedy Creek and Maragle Back Creek (Figure 59) it becomes evident that the main contributor of water is actually Reedy Creek and that the headwaters of Maragle Back Creek are in fact a tributary. Maragle Back Creek is a major tributary to Maragle Creek, which in itself is a tributary to Tumbarumba Creek which drains into the Tooma River and from there into the Upper Murray River.

4. Nineteenth and twentieth Australian newspapers as well as dredging map with annotations until February 1923 (Department of Lands, 1923).

5. The consulted historic mapping imagery is comprised of the following:
(Arrowsmith, 1838a, 1838b, 1841, 1842a, 1842b, 1850, 1853; Phillip, 1875; Sands, 1886; Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1853; Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1860; Streliski [Strel柴ki], 1840; Wyld, 1860); Maps showing the boundaries of the pastoral runs. Accessible were maps by Reuss and Browne (1860) and Owen (1864, 1869).


PARISH OF MARAGLE: Consulted were the following editions of the maps: Second edition, both the printed version (Department of Lands, 1894a) and the office copy with hand annotations until June 1919 (Department of Lands, 1919a).—Fourth edition, both the printed version (Department of Lands, 1919b) and the office copy with hand annotations until July 1927 (Department of Lands, 1927b).—Fifth edition, both the printed version (Department of Lands, 1927a) and the office copy with hand annotations until 12 January 1966 (Department of Lands, 1966).—Sixth edition (Department of Lands, 1965) and the following specialised maps, all based on the sixth edition: Land Titles Office Charting Map (Department of Lands, 1973); Status Branch Charting Map (Department of Lands, 1989) and Regional Charting Map (Department of Lands, 2001).

PARISH OF HAY: Consulted were the following editions of the maps (which abuts the study area in the north: First edition, both the printed version (Department of Lands, 1881) and the office copy with hand annotations until January 1895 (Department of Lands, 1895a).—Second edition, both the printed version (Department of Lands, 1895b) and the office copy with hand annotations until March 1918 (Department of Lands, 1918).—Fourth edition, both the printed version (Department of Lands, 1917) and the office copy with hand annotations until August 1931 (Department of Lands, 1931).

PARISH OF TOOMA: Consulted were the following editions of the maps: Second Edition both the printed version (Department of Lands, 1894b) as well as dredging map with hand annotations until August 1936 (Department of Lands, 1936). There is another second edition, undated, with a different legend, both as printed version (Department of Lands, 1894) and the office copy with annotations until February 1912 (Department of Lands, 1912).—Fourth edition: both the printed version (Department of Lands, 1911) and the office copy with annotations until September 1921 (Department of Lands, 1921).

PARISH OF BURRA: Consulted was the following edition of the maps: Fourth edition, both the printed version (Department of Lands, 1916), and the office copy with hand annotations until October 1934 (Department of Lands, 1934).

PARISH OF NURENMERENMONG: Consulted was the following edition of the maps. Second edition: both the printed version (Department of Lands, 1888), and the office copy with hand annotations until April 1923 (Department of Lands, 1923).

7. Aerial Imagery: The earliest aerial photography was flown on 12 March 1945 (Property and Survey Branch, 1945a). Of relevance for the immediate study area are the images flight K.D.1235, run 5, frames 18792, 18793 and 18794; and to a lesser degree flight K.D. 1235, run 6, frames 19395, 19396 and 19397 (Property and Survey Branch, 1945a, 1945b, 1945a, 1945c, 1945g, 1945f). The following two sets of aerial images are referenced on a Parish Map but have not been consulted:
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

Aerial Photography of 9 November 1961: Yarrongobilly NSW 1139 Runs 9 and 10; scale 1:40,500; NLA MAP Aerial Photograph Collection I 55 15 775.

Aerial Photography of 29 April 1972: Yarrongobilly NSW2011 Runs 5 and 6; NA MAP Aerial Photograph Collection; I 55 15 765.

The most recent sets of imagery are the Standard Orthorectified Imagery taken with the Leica ADS40 airborne digital sensor (Land and Property Information, 2014).

8. Not all archival sources were systematically accessed for the study. Omitted were those that were deemed peripheral based on their file titles or record series.

9. Care need to be exercised not to conflate Maragle Station near Tumbarumba, with Merage Station, a small property on the Tumut River, also in the Upper Murray area (see note 91).

10. Referred to as Dr. Bell in Thomson (1848b, entries n° 59 & 65).—Thomas Bell is mentioned as the first lessee of Maragle run: (Andrews, 1920, p. 167).—Dr Thomas Bell, RN (1797– 13th Nov 1854), naval surgeon, owned Bendoura near Braidwood (Talbot, 2015).

11. The broad area was first shown on maps in 1838. Arrowsmith's 1838 map of the south eastern portion of Australia has no detail at all (Arrowsmith, 1838b), while his 1838 map of eastern portion of Australia shows the Tumut River (Arrowsmith, 1838a). A similar map was published by Clint (1839).

12. Bago Station (as shown on Strzelecki's map, Figure 2) is so far not known from other sources. The location as marked is that of Glenroy run (see Andrews, 1920, p. 160).

13. For Mannus Station ('Manes' as shown on Strzelecki's map, Figure 2) see (Andrews, 1920, p. 168).

14. 'Wetere Station' (as shown on Strzelecki's map, Figure 2) is so far not known from other sources. The location as marked is that of Waleregang Station (see Andrews, 1920, p. 179).—Indeed, the locality is labelled 'Wlerengang' on John Arrowsmith's map of the 'south eastern portion of Australia' (Arrowsmith, 1841). Arrowsmith also reproduces Strzelecki's route, thus clearly deriving his cartographic data from Strzelecki. It is highly probable that 'Welerengang' is a typographic/transcription error for 'Wele'renge' as 'Walerengang'/'Welerengang' phonetically similar.

15. 'Osborne's Station' (as shown on Strzelecki's map, Figure 2) correlates with Henry Osborne's Copabella Station (see Andrews, 1920, p. 157).

16. Murray Station (as shown on Strzelecki's map, Figure 2) correlates with Jingellie Station (see Andrews, 1920, p. 163).

17. The map was originally published with a despatch by Governor Gipps (Gipps, 1841).

18. Arrowsmith's map of 1841 also reproduces Strzelecki's route from Yass to Melbourne. —See also the unchanged reprints of 1842 (Arrowsmith, 1842b), as well as 1853, but the latter reprint omits Strzelecki's track but includes boundaries n° 67 'Selwyn' (Arrowsmith, 1853). Arrowsmith's map was copied by Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1853), with the difference being that the area between Osborne's and Manes Station is marked as open country; map re-issued in 1860 as unchanged reprint (Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 1860).—But on other maps issued by the Arrowsmith, Tooma and Margale are not mentioned (Arrowsmith, 1842a, 1850).

19. The map was re-issued several times, unchanged as far as the Tumbabarumba region is concerned: (Wyld, 1843, 1849, 1852, 1855). The only addition on the 1852 map is the outline of the County of Selwyn. The same information was also included in Wyld's map of South Australia (Wyld, 1860f). Only in later editions were additions made, such as the inclusion of Tumbabarumba (Wyld, 1872), but Tooma is still not mentioned.

20. “An undulating grassy plain, lying between Maragle and Cowra Creek, to the W. of Mane's Range” (Hanson, 1893, p. 255).

21. George Mair, also spelled 'Mear 'Mears,' 'Meares,' and 'Meyer' in contemporary papers (e.g.Anonymous, 1858c; Anonymous, 1858e); for name correlation see (Andrews, 1920, p. 177); also spelled 'G. Moir' (Anonymous, 1860a).—George Mair, together with wife and son (George jr), as well as a William Mair is listed for Tooma in a list of subscribers to the 1855 patriotic fund (Anonymous, 1855b). Listed as Magistrate in 1859 (Cowper, 1859). In 1864 George Mair is listed as Justice of the Peace, resident at Tooma (Forster, 1864, p. 1700).

22. Manus ('Mannas') run, for example, had a slab and bark hut on the station in autumn 1845 (Mowle, 1902).

23. Officially the leases were granted for 14 years, effective 1 January 1852 (Thomson, 1854b).

24. The boundaries of this run were described thus: “Bounded on the south-west by part of the north-east boundary of James Garland's Tooma Run, being the dividing range between the Spring and Maragle Creeks, and extending in a north north-westerly direction about 3 miles; commencing on the said Maragle Creek at a point immediately above the confluence of the Spring Creek; on part of the south by part of the northern boundary of James Garlands' Tooma Run, being the spur range westerly for about 2 miles, which branches from the dividing range between the Maragle and Cowra Creeks and terminates at the confluence of the latter creek with the Tumbabarumba Creek; on the north-west by the south-east boundary of Wm. Bartholomew's Burra Run, being the Cowra Creek upwards for about 7 miles 40 chains in a north easterly direction to a point due west of the confluence of Big Gunya Creek with Maragle Creek; on the north by a line east about miles to the said confluence of Big Gunya and Maragle Creeks, crossing the latter creek; on the north-east by a spur range which commences on the Maragle Creek immediately opposite the said Big Gunya Creek, and runs in a south-easterly direction about 7 miles to the dividing range between the Maragle Creek and Tooma River; on the south-east by the north-west boundary of the Pound Run, being the dividing range between the Maragle Creek and Tooma River in a south-westerly direction until the spur branches, which terminates on the Maragle Creek about 40 chains below Maragle Hut; oil the remainder of the south by part of the northern boundary of James Garland's Tooma Run, being the said last named spur range in a direction west by north about 2½ miles to its termination on the Maragle Creek at a point where there is a tree marked T; and then by the Maragle Creek upwards to the point immediately above the confluence of the Spring Creek aforesaid” (Thomson, 1854a, entry n° 12).

25. In the late 1850s Tooma Station ran sheep (see Anonymous, 1858p).

26. In June 1851 Garland publishes a notice that a Thomas Price was sought under warrant, as he had absconded from his property after Price had lost some sheep (J. Garland, 1851).

27. A list of subscribers to the 1855 patriotic fund (Anonymous, 1855b) lists the following for Tooma (station) George Mair, together with wife and sons George jr and William. In addition, listed are a Catherine Russell (presumably a governess), as well as John Goody, John Heary, James Heary, Michael Heary, Thomas Barnes, Hugh McCallum; Hugh McCallum jr; Duncan McCallum, John McCallum, John McCaullf, John Williams, William Thompson, Charles Macdivott, and John Crispin.
29. It would appear that Seaton acquired the mill to either add capacity to his existing mill or to replace the stones. The *Orms and Murray Advertiser* noted in September 1879 that “The proprietor of the Gravelss Plains flour mill is making great preparations for the coming harvest, by thoroughly over hauling the machinery, and replacing the old building with a new one” (Anonymous, 1879a).
30. A different advertisement (erroneously) claims 200 acres (Mort & Co, 1861d).
31. The property sold, with cattle sold at £4/7/6 per head and improvements ‘at a valuation’ (Mort & Co, 1861c).
32. The name appears in relation to a number of pastoral holdings in New South Wales in the 1860s but there is other obvious connection to the Upper Murray.
33. George Mair is listed as Justice of the Peace, resident at Tooma, in July 1864 (Forster, 1864, p. 1700).
34. The four reserved areas were defined as:

   “No. 259. On the Meragle Run, county of Selwyn. The Crown Lands within the following boundaries: Commencing at a point on the Meragle Creek, 40 chains north from the junction of Meragle Back Creek; bounded on the south by a line west, 40 chains, and by a line east, crossing the Meragle and Maragle Back Creek, 4 miles; bounded on the north by a line 1 mile distant from and parallel to the south boundary” (Cowper, 1865a, p. 2964).

   “No. 260. The Crown Lands within the following boundaries: Commencing on the Maragle Creek, at a point about 2½ miles northerly from reserve from sale until surveyed, &c., No. 259, and bounded on the south by a line west to Paddy’s River, and by a line east, crossing Meragle Creek, 4 miles; bounded on the north by a line 1 mile distant from and parallel to the south boundary” (Cowper, 1865a, p. 2964).

   “No. 429. Maragle: Commencing at a tree marked M1 on the Maragle Creek, 1/2 a mile north of the junction of the Back Creek with the Maragle Creek; and bounded on the south by a line extending east and west to the boundaries of the Maragle Run; on the north by a line distant 1 mile from and parallel to the southern boundary; and on the east and west by portions of the boundary lines of the run” (Cowper, 1865b, p. 3017).

   “No. 430. Maragle: Commencing at a tree M2, on the Maragle Creek, 3/8 miles north of the junction of the Back Creek with the Maragle Creek; and bounded on the south by a line extending east and west to the boundaries of the Maragle Run; on the north by a line distant 1 mile from and parallel to the southern boundary; and on the east and west by portions of the boundary lines of the run” (Cowper, 1865b, p. 3018).

   Reserve entry n°258 abuts the boundary of Maragle Station to the south (Cowper, 1865a, p. 2964). Note that reserve entries n° 427 and n° 428 also refers to ‘Maragle,’ but that this run is actually in Central NSW at the Edward River (Cowper, 1865b, p. 3017); typographic error corrected in March 1870 (Forster, 1870).

35. Reserves N° 259, 260 and 430 were cancelled on 5 July 1867 (Wilson, 1867).
36. For contemporary biographical sketches of George Henry Greene see (Anonymous, 1889b, 1890c).—See also (Carnell, 1979).
38. Reprinted in the *Wagga Wagga Express* (Anonymous, 1866d); *South Australian Weekly Chronicle* (Anonymous, 1866b), and the *Mailand Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser*, which erroneously cites “Australasian Jan 26” (Anonymous, 1866a).
39. See advertisement for fencing contract (T. Garland, 1868b); see also mention in court case (having purchased stolen cattle) (Anonymous, 1870a).
40. The same advertisement was still run in December 1868 (T. Garland, 1868a).
41. Or possibly the first part of 1870.
42. The paddocks were reputedly capable of carrying nine, ten, twelve and sixteen thousand sheep respectively (Chomley & Greene, 1869).
43. At the same time, some land lots on Tooma were apparently sold off by the government as frehold: County for G, 40 acres offered for sale, left bank of Tumbarumba Creek at confluence with Maragle Creek (Anonymous, 1869b).
44. In 1870 G.H. Greene sells cattle at Beechworth (J. H. Gray & Co, 1870,—Mentioned for June 1872 (Anonymous, 1872b)—adds 13,000 sheep to Tooma (driven via Gundagai) (Anonymous, 1874).—In 1875 G.H.Greene is gazetted as lessee of Tooma (Andrews, 1920, p. 177).
45. For example, in March 1874 G.H. Greene adds 13,000 sheep to Tooma (driven via Gundagai) (Anonymous, 1874).
46. They were withdrawn from auction the day before the auction was to take place, but remained available for private purchase (Powers, Rutherford, & Co, 1871a). We can assume that this occurred because of limited pre-auction interest.
47. In October 1875 the rump of the Tooma run was owned by the Trust and Agency Company of Australasia (Garrett, 1875, p. 3498) and assessed at £35, at half of what the Maragle run was deemed at.
48. Andrew Kinleside is on record as selecting 320 acres at Tooma on 19 June 1873 (CS 26100, CP 73-6157) which were then transferred to a Daniel Smith, and from him to EH Macartney and Andrew Kinleside, and then to Macartney, Rolfe and Edward Morton (Hoskins, 1880d, p. 933).
49. The sale was handled on private terms by Hastings, Cunningham & Co (Anonymous, 1875e, 1875d, 1875e, 1875g).—In December 1875 Greene divests himself of eleven ‘back and harness horses,’ all listed in the advertisement with their pedigree (M’Culloch, Campbell, & Co, 1875).
50. Myall Plains, sheep property, was described as being fifteen miles from Jerilderie (Anonymous, 1877e, 1878d).
51. For example, in 1874 three horses were impounded on Maragle by Mr Jones, manager of Tooma Station (Bradley, 1874).
52. E.H. Macartney and Kinleside (1877a) call themselves “grazers, at Tooma, Meragle, and Myall Plains Stations”
53. For the ownership sequence at Waleregang see Andrews (1920, p. 179).
54. Just south of and fronting portion 11. In 1900 owned by Edward Hardman Macartney, Morton Rolfe and Edward Moorhouse (Hassall, 1900).
55. The formal application has been for 200 acres, but actual selection and improvements were for 207 acres (Farnell, 1883).
56. The relevant acts are (Crowns Lands Alienation Act 1861a; Crown Lands Alienation Act 1861b); amended (Lands Acts Amendment Act 1875; Lands Acts further Amendment Act, 1880); revised (Crown Lands Act, 1884).
57. These sales were both formally gazetted (Hoskins, 1881b, 1881a; Robertson, 1882a, 1882b) and reported in the press (Anonymous, 1881, 1882b, 1882a, 1884a, 1884b).
58. They are marked under his name on the Parish Map (Department of Lands, 1894b).
59. The lack of passable roads is noted repeatedly (Anonymous, 1860a, 1860b), as is the rising increased cost of living (due to high transportation costs) (Anonymous, 1906). Transportation issues continued to be a concern as late as the 1930s. At that time, motor vehicles could only go as far as Reid’s selection at the Upper Maragle, with light horse-drawn vehicles able to move a bit further. Many of the tracks were unsuitable for bullock teams (Byles, 1932h, p. 11).

60. One wonders whether Mary Jones’ selection was not made to pre-empt the Crisps from making a similar move. The dates are too close to be a coincidence.

61. With hand annotations until 1889 (Department of Lands, 1889).

62. In September 1880 a Ms Ellen Donelan was appointed teacher at the Provisional School in Tooma (Anonymous, 1880; Robertson, 1880), but probably since 1876 (Paton & McNidder, 1976).—By 1885 Henrietta Glazebrook, teacher, at Tooma Public School (Anonymous, 1885a).

63. Presented to Parliament on 1st January 1885, this census of Landholders in New South Wales provides a range of data: apart from the name of the occupier of the land, the (often generalised) name of holding and post town of holding, the census also recorded the number of acres, horses, cattle, sheep and pigs (Legislative Council of NSW, 1885).

64. The number of horses on Nugent’s 370 acres far exceeds the number of horses required for personal transport and for working the farm, which suggests that Nugent bred horses for profit.—In mid 1884 a James Nugent was listed as an owner on Maragle running sheep (Bruce, 1884, p. 4527). Yet the December 1884 census, lists him with only 5 sheep.

65. James Nugent ( stopwatch) died 26 December 1890 (W. Williams, 1891).

66. See the observations made for James’ Nugent’s holdings (see note 64).

67. Intriguingly, they all share two family names (Perrot and Reid) mentioned are: C. Perrot (4 horses, 2 head of cattle); D. Perrot (7 horses, 5 head of cattle); J.E. Perrot (5 horses); F. Reid (4 horses); G.H. Reid (1/4 acre, 3 horses); H.R. Reid (9 horses, 2 head of cattle); and J. Reid (2600a 20 horses, 40 head of cattle) (Anonymous, 1894b).

68. ‘Peacocking’ was the practice of graziers to occupy strategy sections of a grazing run, mainly water sources as well as communication routes (Buxton, 1967).

69. IP 77–145 30 July 1877 (Department of Lands, 1881).

70. And thereby effectively enveloping W.R.1,760 (see Figure 20, n° W1). IP 72-2177 (Department of Lands, 1881).

71. New Maragle Run was for sale (unstocked) in January 1879, together with, Bogong, Happy acks and Summer Run (Enterschank, Eaglestone, & Mann, 1879).

72. Myall Plains run is in the Berrigan area of NSW.

73. In May 1876 we have him impounding horses on Walragang (B. Gray, 1876).

74. Andrew Kinleside’s holdings were, inter alia, Maragle Portion 16, 250 acres, selected on 1 Jun 1876 (Copeland, 1892a, p. 7221) and portion 19, 637 3/4 acres, selected on 26 July 1877 (see Table 3) (Copeland, 1892a, p. 7222).

75. A son of his was born there (Anonymous, 1879b).

76. Perusal of Trove shows numerous references to an Andrew Kinleside at Young from 1885 onwards.

77. Overall, information in the ‘The Pound’ scarce and consequently the history of the property, especially the early period, is rather sketchy at the time of writing.—The station ‘The Pound’ is shown on Andrews’ (1920) map of stations, but not included in his descriptions.—Mentioned as “The Pond” in 1860 (Anonymous, 1860b).

78. The 1856 boundaries of this run were described thus: “No. 40. The Pound. Estimated Area—10,000 acres. The Pound Station extends from the junction of the Pound Creek with the Tooma River 5 miles north along said creek, including all the falls into, or from the east and west, giving an average breadth of 4 miles” (Thomson, 1856).

79. A Thomas Richards, the Pound Station, mentioned in a list of brand marks for horses (Jaques, 1867, p. 1992) as is his brother (or son?) George in the following year (Jaques, 1868, p. 2064).

80. In addition there are a few other references to The Pound, mainly to individuals, apparently not directly connected with the lease: A G Graves impounded livestock on The Pound in 1870 (Welby, 1870); Hugh McCullum, miner, living at on The Pound, was declared insolvent in May 1865 with assets less than £100 (A. Campbell, 1865).—James Murrell, squatter, Pound Station, died there in 1871, with Joseph Hanson, Pound Station, being his executor (Blackmore, 1871).

81. T.Y. Wolseley also on record as part owner of Gall Gall A, B, C & D (Morriaty, 1868, p. 523; Wilson, 1871c), but there is no other mention of the transfer of The Pound to Wolseley.

82. The 1872 boundaries of this run were described thus: “No. 21. The Pound. Estimated area—19,200 acres. The Crown Lands within the following boundaries: Commencing on the right bank of the Tooma River at a tree marked t, about 2 miles above the Oppossum Point Hut; bounded thence on the west by part of the eastern boundary of Tooma Run, being a spur-range bearing north-north-west for about a mile and a half to the dividing range between the Tooma River and the Maragle Creek; thence by that dividing range in a northerly direction for about 2 miles; thence on the north by part of the southern boundaries of Maragle and Nurumerarama Runs, being the said dividing range in an east-north-easterly direction to the main range separating the waters of the Tumut from those of the Murray River; on the east by part of the western boundary of New Maragle Run, being the said main range southerly, to the Mangan or Black Jack mountain; thence on the south by a spur-range in a south-westerly direction to the Tooma River; thence by that river downwards, to the point of commencement. Rent, £30."

83. Pound Station hut, then no longer used, was still in existence in 1894 (Anonymous, 1894c).

84. In January 1876 ‘small capitalists’ were alerted to the sale of a cattle station “[in] the Tooma River, New South Wales, nearly all fenced and partly subdivided, suitable for summer country, together with 800 head of superior-bred cattle’ (Gibson & Co, 1876). We do not know whether it sold. It is quite possible that this was The Pound.

85. The auction advertisement described the property thus: “Pound Station (unstocked) containing an area estimated at 25,000 acres, sub-divided into three large Sheep Paddocks, three-Horse Paddocks, Cultivation Paddock now under crop. The improvements consist of new Dwelling and Kitchen; Men’s Hut, Stockyard, Garden, &c. A large proportion of the fencing has been recently erected, and is substantial, being sheep and cattle proof. This run adjoins Maragal and Tooma runs, and is about twenty miles from Tumbarumba. It is available in winter as well as summer, in proof of which it may be stated that it has carried and partially fattened thirteen thousand wethers during the past winter, which are now being removed for shearing. There is ample country fenced to carry 20,000 sheep for seven months in the year” (D. Campbell et al., 1877b).

86. As the last advertisement appeared on 5 January 1878 (D. Campbell, Hepburn, & Co, 1878), we can assume that the property sold during January 1878.
The Junction of Maragle Back Creek and Reedy Creek—Context and Land Use History

88. In the Parish of Palmer, County of Urana.
89. Tooma commenced shearing in early November (Anonymous, 1884c) to middle of November (Anonymous, 1887, 1891a). Hence the clip reached the Melbourne market in January.
90. For example: 5,500 Merino wethers destined for Tooma (Anonymous, 1885c); 9,000 store wethers from Tooma sold to Euroa (and on to Melbourne) (Anonymous, 1886a); 1,700 fat wethers from Tooma to Melbourn (Anonymous, 1886b); 13,000 wethers from Tooma to Melbourne (Anonymous, 1889a) for Rolfe & Co; 14,000 two-tooth wethers from Hay to Tooma (Anonymous, 1891b).
91. In November 1879 a 'Merage' property on the market which has nothing to do with the Maragle under discussion. This property, also known as Cunningham, was comprised of two paddocks with frontage to the south side of the Tumut River (Powers, Rutherford, & Co, 1879).
92. Andrews (1920, p. 177) mentions a date of 1881 as the year of Macartney's retirement.
93. Land holdings of Tooma Pastoral Holding No. 310 in 1889: 30,530 acres freehold, 29,196 acres lease hold (Hanson, 1889, p. 1436); in 1899 32,814 acres freehold (Copeland, 1899).
94. The 1885 boundaries were: "Commencing on the northern boundary of the holding, the Cowra Creek or Paddy's River, on the west boundary of portion No. 20 of 500 acres, parish, of Maragle, county of Selwyn; thence along part of the west boundary of that portion bearing south to its south-west corner; thence along part of the south boundary of that portion bearing east about 8 chains; thence a line bearing south to the north-east corner of portion No. 154 of 332 acres, parish of Tooma; thence along the eastern boundary of that portion and its prolongation bearing southerly to the north-west corner of portion No. 160; thence along the north boundary of that line bearing east to its north-east corner; thence along part of the east boundary of that portion bearing south about 10 chains; thence a line bearing east to the south-west corner of town reserve No. 2,106, notified 30th March, 1879; then along the south boundary of that reserve bearing east to its south-east corner; thence a line bearing east about 1 mile 50 chains; thence a line bearing south to a point on the north boundary of portion No. 6, C.M.V. Prober's 200 acres, bearing west 40 chains from its north-east corner; thence along part of the north boundary of that portion bearing east to the Tooma River, the southern boundary of the holding" (Farnell, 1885, p. 4882).
95. See also Garrett (1888, p. 4543) and Hanson (1889, p. 1436).
96. The house blocks are still marked on the 1921 office copy (Department of Lands, 1921).
97. The numbers on Figure 20 refer to the following reserves:
   - **Camping and Travelling Stock Reserves:** T1—T.S.R. 1,744, notified 13 Feb 1877; T2—T.S. & C.R. 45,114, notified 23 Sep 1908; T3—T.S.R. 2,921, notified 6 Mar 1882; T4—T.S.R. 2,725, notified 21 Feb 1881; T5—T.S.R. 23,660, notified 1 Dec 1879; T6—C.R. 2,677, notified 10 Jan 1881; T7—C.R. 194a, notified 27 Dec 1865.

Gazette numbers from Parish maps as well as the plan of Tooma Holding (Department of Lands, 1881, 1889, 1894a, 1894b, 1916) (Cowper, 1865b, p. 3017).
99. The viewpoint of the photographer was located at about 35°58'33"S 148°04'51"E, with the view looking south-east. I am indebted to Greg Lyons for the identification of the viewpoint.
100. Oil on canvas on board, 44.5 x 54.5 cm. Signed by the artist, but undated on the board.— The image is not reproduced or listed in the published sources on Robert Johnson's paintings (Johnson, 1967-a, 1967-b, 1938; Johnson, Smith, & Gellert, 1934).— Johnson kept records of his sold paintings, which depict this painting (Johnson, 1920-1963). The notebook indicates that the title was 'Merage Creek Upper Murray River' and that the painting had been sent for sale to the Morton Gallery in Brisbane on the 7th of December 1950 and had been sold and paid for by the 1st of March 1951. Thus we can assume that the painting was created sometime in 1950 or, possibly 1949. I am indebted to Emma Gray (Librarian, Original Materials Branch, State Library of NSW) for consulting Robert Johnson's notebooks.
101. Image courtesy of Sotheby's, but © Robert H. Johnson or assignee (Furphy, 2016). Nota bene: The image is reproduced here as part of academic scholarship as an illustration of the land use history of Maragle Creek and not as a reproduction as an artwork per se.

The viewpoint of the artist was located at about 35°54'43"S 148°05'55"E, with the view looking east-north-east. I am indebted to Greg Lyons for the identification of the viewpoint.
102. All lots in the Parish of Maragle, County Selwyn, except lot H which is Parish of Hay. All within the Maragle Goldfield, open to conditional purchase.
103. Abbreviations: C.L. Conditional Lease; C.P. Conditional purchase; C.S. Conditional Sale.
104. Location: "On the left bank of Maragle Back Creek, at and near its junction with Reedy Creek, adjoining and near the north boundary of Robert Seignior's conditional purchase portion No. 9 of 200 acres, and extending therefrom up the creek with intervals about 1 mile. Maragle Run A11. 79-676-7" (Robertson, 1882a).
105. Described as a 'minor' in the land records (c.f. Farnell, 1878b).
106. Forms part of the former Tree Reserve 2,106.
107. Location: "On the left bank of Maragle Back Creek, and lying between Robert Seignior's conditional purchase portion No. 9 and David Black's conditional purchase portion No. 10 of 200 acres each. Maragle Run A11. 79-676-6" (Robertson, 1882a).
108. In 1879 Robert Seignior is in economic trouble and has to sell many of his assets. In addition he forfeits a 600 acre pre-emptive lease that he had taken out on 14 October 1873 ( Hoskins, 1880f, p. 6287).
109. The three partners were Edward Hardman MacCartney, Morton Rolfe and Edward Moonhouse.
110. Location: "On the left bank of Maragle Back Creek, and lying about mile north-easterly from Joseph Wood's conditional purchase portion No. 4 of 320 acres, and about 17 chains northerly from water reserve No. 429, Maragle Run A11. 79-676-7" (Robertson, 1882a).
111. Described as 'spinster' in the land records (c.f. Farnell, 1878b).
112. Location: "On the left bank of Maragle Creek, and about 1½ north-westerly from conditional purchase portion No. 11..."
of 40 acres, lot E of this sale. Maragle Run. Aln. 79-676” (Robertson, 1882a).

110. Location: “On the left bank of Maragle Creek, and about 1 mile north-westerly from conditional purchase portion No. 11 of 40 acres, lot E of this sale. Maragle Run. Aln. 79-676” (Robertson, 1882a).

112. Described as a ‘minor’ in the land records (c.f. Farnell, 1878b).

113. On the south bank of Reedy Creek.

114. Andrew Kineslside also held a pre-emptive lease of 675 acres in Maragle Parish PL 77-187 CP77-2289 (Baker, 1877).

115. Peter Eagan also held a pre-emptive lease of 1,920 acres in Maragle Parish CL 7824-187 CP77-2538 (Farnell, 1877).

116. Location: “Situated between the south bank of Reedy Creek and reserve No. 429, and between Peter Eagan’s conditional purchase portion No. 21 of 225 acres and Andrew Kineslside’s conditional purchase portion No. 19 of 637½ acres. Maragle Run. Aln. 79-6000” (Hoskins, 1881a).—In 1900 described as “About 12 miles south-easterly from Tumbaru-amba, fronting the left bank of Reedy Creek, east of and adjoining the Bank of Australasia’s portion 21, west of their portion 19. Ah 99-17821” (Hassall, 1900).

117. Exclusively of a road 2 chains wide (Hoskins, 1881b).

118. This is the Head Station home paddock shown on the pastoral map of 1885 (Department of Lands, 1885b).

119. “Lot 56a, county Selwyn parish Maragle; situated between the south bank of Reedy Creek and reserve No. 429, and between Peter Eagan’s conditional purchase portion No. 21 of 225a and Andrew Kineslside’s conditional purchase portion No. 19 of 537½a; Maragle run” sold at £1/5 per acre (Anonymous, 1881).

120. Location: “On both banks of Maragle Back Creek, and lying about 1 mile up the creek from portion No. 2, lot A of this sale, Parish of Maragle, Maragle Run. Aln. 79-676” (Robertson, 1882a).

121. All lots exclusively of a road 1 chain wide.

122. A preliminary announcement occurred as early as October 1892 (Dougharty & Parker, 1892a).

123. An earlier advertisement stated 38,000 sheep (Dougharty & Parker, 1892c).

124. In January 1897 stock moved to Tooma Station run by the Bank of Australasia (Anonymous, 1897b).—cattle auction at Tooma in 1898 (Younghusband & Co, 1898).

125. The total stock run on the combined Tooma Station was 784 head of cattle and 251 horses in addition, as well as 28,773 sheep, with another 800 to 1000 lambs expected. The breakdown of the sheep flock was 12,570 Merino ewes 5-7 years and 231 Lincoln rams, as well as crossbreeds, namely 9,029 rising 2-tooth, 6,454 rising 4-tooth, 129 rising 6-tooth (Trenchard & Co, 1899a, 1899b).

126. In January 1899 Lukins & Masters, owners of the Tooma Hotel (Maw, 1897), were selling 49 cattle from Tooma (Anonymous, 1899).


128. A David Langlands is on record as manager of Tooma in 1902 (McLaurin, 1902) and 1906 (Anonymous, 1906). See also references to a HH Goodwin in 1902 (McLaurin, 1902).

129. Also spelled M’Micking (Anonymous, 1910c).—Germain McMicking was elected councillor for Tumbarumba Shire (Trenchard & Co, 1899a, 1899b) and soon after for Manus. Robert McMicking seems to have engaged in ‘peacocking’ on Manus. For example, on 3 June 1875 a Fletcher Thomas Nicholson took out four Conditional Purchases (CP 75–753 to 75–756) on Manus run, all of which were transferred to McMicking (Hoskins, 1888c, p. 4295).—Robert MacMicking is also on record for Manus Run (nº 176, 10,860 acres) well before 11 July 1885 (Copeland, 1889; Garrett, 1888, p. 4541). A ‘R. St. R. McMicking’ is on record for Manus Station in 1899 (Cook & Ross, 1899; 1901 (Fegan, 1901) and a Ringan McMicking in 1902 (McLaurin, 1902).

130. The history land transfer from Manus Station to Germain McMicking is not fully clear at the time of writing. The minutiae of this issue have no bearing on the immediate study area.

131. In 1918 Watson was living at Tintalutra on part of the former Tooma Estate (Anonymous, 1918b).—Watson is on record for Tooma for 1916–1919: (Anonymous, 1916, 1917a, 1918a, 1918b, 1919).

Watsons’ property was sold in September 1919 to A. Stan O’Keefe of Yama (Yamma) Station (near Narrandera) (Elliot & MacDonald, 1919b). O’Keefe is on record at Tooma for 1920 to 1930, selling cattle (Anonymous, 1921b, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925c, 1926c), as well as agisting sheep, such as 30,000 sheep from Yamma in 1927 (Anonymous, 1927c). Tooma Station was to be managed from October 1927 by Harry Scott (ex Jengillie) (Anonymous, 1927d), while O’Keefe used the property as his summer residence (Anonymous, 1930b). Foundation member of the Trout Fisheries Association (Anonymous, 1920a).

132. The minutiae of the Tooma subdivision have no bearing on the immediate study area.

133. (Power & Son, 1910).—The property was passed in at £2000 at the auction 25 to 27 September 1910 (Anonymous, 1910a) and sold privately thereafter.

134. McMicking retained Manus with occupation licence nº 310 (Treflé, 1912).—In January 1914 the Occupation Licences for both Manus (now a rump of 1,456 acres) and Tooma (23,506 acres) (Treflé, 1914) were withdrawn, but the license for Maragle seems to have continued.


136. There appears to be no direct reference to the buyer. A full year later the Naughton brothers formed the Maragle Pastoral Company Proprietary Limited (Anonymous, 1926a, 1926c). While we can assume that Bulivant’s Maragle was sold en bloc to the Naughtons, it is possible that it was partially subdivided. A perusal of the NSW directories shows the following land owners for Meragle / Meragle Creek: Bradley, John grazier (Sands, 1927, p. 228a).

Bradley, Thomas selector (Sands, 1924, p. 195a); (1925, p. 203a; 1926, p. 207a; 1927, p. 228a).

Lees, Alexander grazier ‘Algebra’ 5375 acres (Sands, 1911, p. 98c); (1914, p. 99c; 1924, p. 195a; 1925, p. 203a; 1926, p. 207a; 1927, p. 228a; 1932, p. 225a). In 1911 Lees owned 16 horses, 43 head of cattle and 154 sheep (Sands, 1911, p. 98c) and in 1914 he had 14 horses, 107 head of cattle and 93 sheep (Sands, 1914, p. 99e).

McLachlan, James grazier, 3850 acres (Sands, 1924, p. 195a; 1925, p. 203a; 1926, p. 207a; 1930, p. 127e). In 1930 McLachlan owned 10 horses, 71 head of cattle and 150 sheep (Sands, 1930, p. 127e).
At Maragle I was able to get the huts there condemned, a
huts, but so far has defied the Department of Labor and In-
dustry. However, they have now received their final
properties Naughton's owned a number of stations in addition to
Merungle, Booligal, Reid, Henry John Reginald grazier with 3578 acres
sheep (Sands, 1916, p. 85c; 1923, p. 1864). Reid, Reginald selector

On record as owning the stock brand, which was later tr
Amuck. Yet the owner has had his shearers and shed hands
shearings. This also applies to Maragle station. This place
met a decent result of my report that this state of affairs will be altered. I
they have had the shearers in tents for years. So I trust as a
not paying the rates. I have reported Munderoo West and
seems to be just a skeleton staff and there are a few place

At the time of E Naughton's death in December 1933, the
Naughtons expanded the holdings, adding other grazing
lands (Smith, 1927). Reid, Reginald selector (Sands, 1927, p. 228a; 1932, p. 225a). Reid, Hubert grazier (Sands, 1916, p. 85c; 1923, p. 1864).

Moreover, “The Falls” is an undulating basalt formation; has a frontage to Paddys River and is watered by numerous streams in which trout abound” (Dalgety & Co, 1928).

“...on record as owning the stock brand, which was later transferred to Maragle Pastoral Company Proprietary Limited (Smith, 1927).

At the time of E Naughton’s death in December 1933, the Naughtons owned a number of stations in addition to Maragle: Merungle, Booligal, Kajuliah, Berry Jerry, Cobungra, Windouran etc. (Anonymous, 1933a, 1933b). The Naughtons expanded the holdings, adding other grazing properties (Anonymous, 1936).

Moreover, “The Falls” is an undulating basalt formation; has a frontage to Paddys River and is watered by numerous streams in which trout abound” (Dalgety & Co, 1928).

“...the hut accommodation in these parts is not very good. I trust the hut inspector will pay a visit through the Tumbaramba district” (Withers, 1929). Maragle is mentioned.

Since my last report I have been in Tumbaramba district doing the station hands. There are not many station hands employed on these stations during the last few years. There seems to be just a skeleton staff and there are a few places not paying the rates. I have reported Munderee West and Maragle in regard to their hut accommodation—in Maragle they have had the shearsers in tents for years. So I trust as a result of my report that this state of affairs will be altered. I met a decent lot of chaps at Maragle” (Withers, 1937).

However, they have now received their final notice, so the shearsers and shed hands will have decent huts for the coming shearing. This also applies to Maragle station. This place has had exception after exception on the grounds that it was relief country, but in the face of this there has been shearing there every year, and up to 16,000 sheep have been shorn. Yet the owner has had his shearsers and shed hands camped in tents. I had an interview with the inspector at Tumbaramba in regard to this accommodation. He pointed out that final notice had been sent on to these people, so there should be decent huts there in the near future” (Withers, 1940b).

“Maragle, five stands, 13,000; Jack Rynhart, Rep...At Maragle, E. J. Naughton is still without accommodation for his men. He has them in tents. He has had three or four ex emptions, and received final notice early this year to build huts, but so far has defied the Department of Labor and Industry. The inspector in-charge of the Tumbaramba district has done all that was possible to do, so now there will have to be a prosecution (Withers, 1940a).

143. “At Maragle I was able to get the huts there condemned, and our members were shifted into the manager’s quarters” (Withers, 1942).

144. (Forster, 1864, p. 1700).
145. (T. Garland, 1868a).
146. (Bradley, 1874).
165. Image courtesy Greg Lyons, Maragle.
166. Image courtesy David Lyons, Maragle.
167. Image courtesy David Lyons, Maragle.
168. See for example: “Warden’s Court — Robert Joyce, application for suspension of work at a quartz claim at [Tumbarumba, etc.] Creek in order to procure machinery, F. Heinecke, one of the objectors to the suspension, in his evidence stated: I know Joyce’s shaft, and the water is not bad; they could keep it down with buckets as they did last winter; we can work our shaft as we have a tunnel drain; there has been no work done on Joyce’s claim for over two months; we obtained a suspension for four months, but I did not serve Joyce with a notice; we have made arrangements for outside capital for our claim, and the arrangement make the other claims of more value; we have struck something in our shaft; which induced others to come in with capital, and, it warrants our going down with the shaft; we will not be raising any stone for about three weeks; I have no objection to a suspension to the end of the year. — Suspension granted Joyce to 30th January, 1897” (Anonymous, 1896a).
169. “In new ground, [creek claims extended] 100 feet along the course of the stream for each miner; in old and abandoned ground, 200 feet along the course of the stream for each miner, by the width of such river or creek” (Wood, 1908, p. 11).
170. See also the annual reports of the Department of Mines: (Langford, 1876, p. 93; 1878, p. 133; 1880, p. 131; 1881, p. 139).
171. Also spelled ‘Mear’s’ and ‘Meares’ in contemporary papers (e.g. Anonymous, 1858c; Anonymous, 1858h); for name correlation see (Andrews, 1920, p. 177).
172. Examples are (Anonymous, 1858b)//(Anonymous, 1858e).
173. For the role of Albury as a major crossing point across the Murray see Spennemann (2015); for its development as a rural service centre on the Sydney to Melbourne Road, see Bayley (1954) and Spennemann (2003).
174. Early reporting in Albury’s Border Post (Anonymous, 1858e, 1858f, 1858g, 1858d, 1858h, 1858i, 1858b, 1858d, 1858m, 1858n, 1858q, 1858t, 1858b, 1858e, 1858x).
175. (Travelling Miner, 1873a, 1873b).
176. In 1872 the New Maragle Goldfield was proclaimed on 22 November 1872 (Farnell, 1872).— Tumbarumba Goldfield boundary abuts the NW watershed of Maragle Creek (Wilson, 1866).
177. See expectations expressed by Clark (1860, p. 109).
178. For the mining technique of sluicing, see Ritchie and Hooker (1997) — “A sluicing claim may not exceed 5 acres. No sluicing claim shall in length exceed four times its breadth. The number of miners required to be efficiently employed on a sluicing claim is two miners for any area not greater than 3 acres, and three for any area greater than 3 acres” (Wood, 1908, p. 11).
179. These were described thus in the contemporary press: “Heinecke and Eccleston are working a splendid alluvial sluicing claim; the wash is about 200yds in width, and is from 6ft to 12ft in thickness. On the top of the wash is a bank of cement ironstone on the top of which is 8ft of black mineralised stuff of a lignite character. Upon being broken up it has the appearance of decomposed vegetable matter, and showing coal in the process of formation; above this is about 15ft of soil. This claim has been worked for the past 12 years with profitable results; the last washing up, the labor of two men, produced 17oz. A water headrace is brought four miles on to this claim, which gives 12 sluice heads in winter and six in summer. The effect of these sluice heads falling to so great a depth has a very pretty cascade effect. Hydraulic sluicing is also resorted to, as will be seen in our illustration of the workings on this claim on page 27. In the wash are large boulders of granite quartz, jasper, and the gravel wash, contains sandstone and gem sand. The hydraulic is worked with a canvas pipe and 2½ in giant nozzle this, with the fine sluice heads and splendid get away for their tailings in Back Creek, makes this claim easily workable at a minimum cost yielding excellent results, and would, if worked with more recent economic appliances, and on a larger scale, yield astonishing results” (The Tourist, 1890a).
180. The same observer noted for a different area: “Heinecke, sen., has been working his alluvial claim for a considerable time, and making money out of it. About three miles south of Heinecke’s a syndicate are working Mate and Co’s ground” (The Tourist, 1890b).
181. See also the Reference to the miner F Piazi who died at Back Creek in June 1896 (Anonymous, 1896c). Piazi had moved from Maragle to Back Creek.
182. See this newspaper reporting: “A very large gathering of miners and others interested in the mining of the district met on Saturday evening, in response to C. Heinecke’s invitation to dis- cuss the momentous sludge abatement question. The chair was occupied by Mr. Kelly, whilst Mr. Wm. Manley was appointed secretary. It was unanimously decided that all present form themselves into a committee for the purpose of procuring evidence such as will show both sides of the question when the Sludge Abatement Board sits in Tumbarumba, and to that end collectors of such evidence on behalf of the mining industry were duly appointed as follows: — Messrs. Tonkin and Murphy, at Tarcutta and Laurel Hill; Messrs. George, Frederick, and Charles Heinecke, Rudolph Heinrich, James Mullins, A. Baille, and F. O’Brien, at Tumbaramba, Back Creek, and Quarriville; Mr. John Dalton, at Meragle. A resolution was carried to the effect that the Minister for Mines be asked to have Tumbarumba Creek proclaimed a sludge channel” (Anonymous, 1908).
183. Drawn from “Tumbarumba Goldfields Extended Claims, Creek Claims October 1863-Dec 1876” (unsourced photocopy in the Tumbarumba Archives).—The author is indebted to Ron Frew (Tumbarumba) for making the source available and for extracting from that document the data shown in Table 5. A number of elements were unreadable.
184. Image courtesy Rex and Ursula O’Brien (Tumbarumba) via Ron Frew.
185. “The Crown Lands within the following boundaries: Commencing on the watershed at the Tumut Falls being the course of the Maragle Creek; and thence by a strip of land 4 chains on each side of the said creek downwards to the north boundary of portion 32 of 430 acres, and north boundary of portion 27 of 325 acres, Parish of Maragle—exclusive of all sold lands” (Copeland, 1892b).
186. The Parish Map of Nurenmerenmong shows the existence of water races, as well as small dams at the head of Maragle Creek (Department of Lands, 1923).
187. Declared Maragle State Forest No. 556 on 14 September 1917 (Vincent, 1917); extended 30 October 1970 (Beale, 1970); extended 21 May 1971 (Fife, 1971a); extended 23 July 1971 (Fife, 1971b); extended 6 November 1974 (Freudentstein, 1974); extended 18 August 1976 (Gordon, 1976b); extended 27 October 1976 (Gordon, 1976a); extended 17 May 1989 (Causely, 1989); added to Kosciusko National Park, gazetted 30 March 2001 (Department of Lands, 2001).
188. Initially gazetted as timber reserve n° 2,105 on 10 March 1879 (Hoskins, 1879), boundaries redefined and re-gazetted as n° 2,844 (Department of Lands, 1881; Hoskins, 1881e);
declared Clarke’s Hill State Forest No. 557 on 14 September 1917 (Vincent, 1917); partially revoked 1 March 1923 (Weare, 1923); extended 27 June 1934 (Vincent, 1934); public road in forest closed 29 May 1970 (Lewis, 1970); extended 30 Oct 1970 (Beale, 1970); extended (Lewis, 1972a); small parcel revoked 5 Oct 1972 (Lewis, 1972b); parcel moved to travelling stock and camping reserve (Lewis, 1974); declared Clarke’s Hill Nature Reserve, gazetted 30 March 2001 (Department of Lands, 2001).

189. Occupation permit for pasturage.

190. Tenders for one or five years (Anonymous, 1927a).

191. Boundaries: “No. 2,104. County of Selwyn, parishes of Tooma and Maragle, area 4,000 acres. The Crown Lands within the following boundaries: Commencing at a point on the right bank of Maragle Creek, east of the north-east corner of portion 103, parish of Tooma; and bounded thence on part of the south by a line bearing west, partly forming the north boundary of portion 103 aforesaid, to the east boundary of portion 120; thence on part of the west by part of the east boundary of that portion and the east boundary of portion 119, bearing north to the north-east corner of the latter portion; thence again on part of the south by part of the north boundary of portion 119 aforesaid, bearing west to a point south of the south-east corner of portion 118; thence again on part of the west by a line bearing north, partly forming the east boundary of that portion to its north-east corner; thence again on part of the south by part of the north boundary of that portion bearing west to the southeast corner of reserve 1,761 from sale, being reserve 251 from lease, notified 8th August, 1877; thence again on part of the west by the east boundary of that reserve bearing north to its north-east corner; thence on part of the north by a line bearing east to a point south of the south-west corner of portion 8; thence on the remainder of the west by a line bearing north to that corner; and thence on the remainder of the north by the south boundary of portion 8 aforesaid, and its easterly continuation, bearing east to Maragle Creek aforesaid; thence on the southeast by that creek downwards to the point of commencement. Forms part of Maragle Run. [Ms. 78-14,646]” (Hoskins, 1879).

192. Boundaries: “No. 2,105. County of Selwyn, parishes of Maragle and Hay, area about 2,000 acres. The Crown Lands within the following boundaries: Commencing on the left bank of Maragle Creek, at the north-west corner of portion 27, parish of Maragle; and bounded thence on part of the south by part of the north boundary of that portion bearing east to the west boundary of portion 26, parish of Maragle; thence on part of the east by part of the west boundary of that portion bearing north to its north-west corner; thence again on part of the south by the north boundary of that portion bearing east to the Maragle Back Creek; thence on the south-east by that creek upwards to the south extremity of the west boundary of portion 4, parish of Hay; thence again on part of the east by the west boundary of that portion bearing north to its north-west corner; and thence again on the south by part of the north boundary of the last mentioned portion bearing east to a point south of the south-west corner of portion 3, parish of Hay; and thence again on the east by a line partly forming the west boundary of that portion bearing north to its north-west corner; and thence again on the south by part of the north boundary of that portion bearing east to the south-west corner of portion 15, parish of Hay; thence again on the east by the west boundary of that portion bearing north to its north-west corner; and thence again on part of the south by part of the north boundary of that portion bearing east to Maragle Back Creek aforesaid; thence by that creek upwards to the south boundary of portion 14, parish of Hay; thence on part of the north by part of the south boundary of that portion bearing west to its south-west corner; thence again on the north by a line westerly to the south-east corner of portion 6, parish of Hay; and thence again on the north by a line bearing west partly forming the south boundary of that portion to Maragle Creek aforesaid; thence by that creek downwards to the north-west corner of portion 7, parish of Hay; thence on the remainder of the south, on the west, and on the remainder of the north by the north, east, and south boundaries of that portion bearing east, south, and west to Maragle Creek aforesaid; thence by that creek downwards to the point of commencement. Forms part of Maragle Run. [Ms. 78-14,646]” (Hoskins, 1879).

193. Boundaries: “No. 2,530. County of Selwyn, parish of Maragle, Maragle Run, area about 207 acres, including portion No. 26 of 200 acres exclusive of road. The Crown Lands within the following boundaries: Commencing on the right bank of the Maragle Back Creek at the north-east corner of portion No. 25; and bounded thence on the south by part of the north boundary of that portion bearing west 50 chains 80 links; thence on the west by a line bearing north 33 chains 34 links; thence on the north by a line bearing east 70 chains 78 links to Maragle Back Creek aforesaid; thence on the southeast by that creek downwards bearing south-westerly, to the point of commencement. Reserved from lease as No. 570, this day. Plan catalogued S. 593-1,522. [Ms. 80-8,966]” (Hoskins, 1880).

194. Boundaries: “No. 2,855. County of Selwyn, parishes of Maragle and Hay, Maragle Run, area about 1,950 acres. The Crown Lands within the following boundaries: Commencing on the left bank of Maragle Creek, at the north-west corner of portion No. 27, parish of Maragle, bounded thence on part of the south by the north boundary of that portion bearing east to the west boundary of portion No. 26, parish of Maragle, thence on part of the east by part of the west boundary of that portion bearing north to its north-west corner; thence again on part of the south by the north boundary of that portion bearing east to Maragle Back Creek, by that creek upwards to the southern extremity of the west boundary of portion No. 4 parish of Hay; thence by the west and part of the north boundaries of that portion north and east to a point due south of the south-west corner of portion No. 3; thence again on the east by a line partly forming the west boundary of that portion north to its north-west corner; thence again on part of the south by part of the north boundary of that portion bearing east to the south-west corner of portion No. 15 thence again on the east by a line forming the west boundaries of portions Nos. 15 and 35 north to the north-west corner of the latter portion; thence again on the south by part of the north boundary of that portion bearing east to a point due south of the south-west corner of portion No. 32; thence again on the east by the west boundary of that portion north to its north-west corner; thence on the southeast by a line partly forming part of the north west boundary of portion No. 14, north-easterly to the south east corner of portion No. 34; thence on part of the north by the south boundary of that portion west to the east boundary of portion No. 6; thence by part of the east, the south, and part of the west boundaries of that portion, south, west, and north to the south-east corner of portion No. 33; thence on the remainder of the north by the south boundary of that portion west to the Maragle Creek aforesaid; thence by that creek downwards, to the point of commencement,—but exclusively of portion No. 7, parish of Hay. The above is in lieu of reserve No. 2,105, cancelled this day. [Ms. 81-17,675]” (Hoskins, 1881).

195. Reserved from sale other than auction, gazetted 26 April 1918 (Department of Lands, 1919a).

196. See end note 59.
197. See the following description for the end of the nineteenth century: “the well-known property, Tooma. … The road through the latter part of this run is between two hills known as ‘The Sisters,’ and is both rough and precipitous. I was glad to arrive at the township of Tooma sound in limb.” (Macdon., 1898).

198. We know, for example, that the Cudgewa flour mill was given additional sawmilling capabilities in 1878 (Anonymous, 1878a).

199. The Burra Creek mill was still operational in March 1907 (Anonymous, 1907a). Moved to Tumbarumba township in 1925 (Hatch, 1997, p. 21).


201. See mapping of 1948 vegetation (Information Bureau, 1948b) as well as comments on vegetation in 1906 “for the most part (where not cleared) splendidly timbered with Stringybark and peppermint” (Anonymous, 1906).

202. The land at the southern reaches of Tooma Station, near Tumbarumba Creek is described thus: “This part of it is curious-looking country. Its surface manifestations consist wholly of grass tree, blackthorn, and rocks. The grass trees, with the one tussock to each plant, and the single stem rising in the midst of it like spike to a height of ten and twelve feet, make an odd kind of forest. They are so evenly dotted over the hills that at a distance one gets the impression of a carefully cultivated field with the plants set out in measured order. There is very little of this class of country however, on the run” (Anonymous, 1906).

203. Depending on preservation conditions, the swampy ground to the west of the study area (coords -35.895848, 148.166448) may yield pollen data.

204. An analysis of the 1885 census of landholders in NSW shows that the keeping of pigs predominates among farmers German extraction (Spennemann, 2007; Spennemann & Sutherland, 2008).

205. By making reference to European and U.S. American examples (e.g. Anonymous, 1844).

206. See the permits issued by the relevant land offices: (Albury Lands Office, 1907; Tumbarumba Lands Office, 1907).—See (B. J. Stubbs, 1998) for context.

207. See also (Anonymous, 1855a).

208. “Here, of course, bush is an encumbrance, and miles and miles of it are burnt every year to clear the land for farming” (Anonymous, 1885d).

209. Australian sources also cite Indian examples for the same practice: “in accordance with the usual custom, the tract must get burnt to improve the pasture for the village cattle; and very few of the seedlings, now apparently so vigorous and healthy, will survive that ordeal. Perhaps the year following, the process may be repeated, and so on every second or third year at the longest, so long as there are cattle and herdsmen in the neighbourhood. After the second or third burning at the most the seedlings will have been completely destroyed, and with them a good many of the unsound and worthless trees left at the general clearing. Some of the more vigorous stumps may for many years continue to throw out a few sickly shoots, which can never come to anything, as every successive fire destroys exactly what they have grown since the preceding one” (Anonymous, 1869a).

210. The sales advertisement in March 1861 mentioned 3,500 head of cattle for the combined Maragle & Tooma stations. Two data sets exist to correct these figures for Maragle alone (Feb 1854, Oct 1865; Table 10). If we assume (unproven) that the rate of change was gradual, then the ratio for March 1861 would be 2.83, which implies, that of the 3,500 head of cattle, about 912 came from Maragle and the remainder from Tooma.

211. The sales advertisement in January 1866 mentioned 2,500 head of cattle for the combined Maragle & Tooma stations (Anonymous, 1866a). Given that in October 1865 the carrying capacity of Tooma was assessed to be as twice that of Maragle (Arnold, 1865), the number of cattle was apportioned proportionally (830 vs 1670) as was the number of horses (16 vs. 34, total of 50).

212. According to the sales advertisement, the 15,500 sheep comprised of 8100 ewes, 150 rams, 4200 wethers, and 3100 weaners (Powers et al., 1871b).

213. The livestock figures appear very high compared to the data we have for the period before and after. If we combine the stock data for Tooma and Maragle as they appear in the March 1877 sale (Walker & Co, 1877b), then there were 1,750 head of cattle and 18,000 sheep. This figure is close to that of 1871 and thus suggests that the data for 1871 in fact represent the combined Tooma and Maragle holdings.


215. The term ‘rung’ refers to the trees being ring-barked.

216. For example, it is quite possible that some farmers had just selected land at that time and were in the process of improving it, but so far had only small numbers of stock.

217. Of relevance for the immediate study area are the images flight K.D.1235, run 5, frames 18792, 18793 and 18794 (flown west to east); and to a lesser degree flight K.D. 1235, run 6, frames 19395, 19396 and 19397 (flown east to west). The flight path of run 6 is to the south of run 5. Prints of the series are held by the National Library of Australia, MAP Aerial Photograph Collection 1 /55 /15 /775.

218. Fitted with a 153.4mm lens.—For background and description of a Fairchild K-17 aerial camera see Spennemann (2016b).

219. For WWII-era aerial photography see Spennemann (2012).

220. Image courtesy David Lyons, Maragle.

221. Image courtesy David Lyons, Maragle.

222. Image courtesy David Lyons, Maragle.

223. The article continues: “All through this district the pick of the country for grazing, dairying, or any other agricultural purpose is to be found along the creek flats, and this is being gradually made worthless by the effects of the mining operations in the Tumbarumba district, while at the same time the water supply of thousands of people down the river is being gradually polluted over hundreds of miles of country. The astonishing thing is that the public generally tolerate this long continued mischief” (Anonymous, 1906).

224. It should be noted that no systematic search was carried out for this topic.

225. Such as Colin Rankin and Stan O’Keefe. The principal objectives of the newly association were “to urge the destruction of the cornroot … and to take control of the liberation of yearling trout and fry, now in the hands of scattered individuals (Anonymous, 1920a).
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