people place heritage

CONTEXT

NATIONAL CULTURAL
HERITAGE VALUES
ASSESSMENT &
CONFLICTING VALUES
REPORT

The wild horse population
Kosciuszko National Park

December 2015

Prepared for NSW
National Parks and
Wildlife Service

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Cover photo source: shm.com.au 'Don't fence us in', 26 August 2004

Report Register

This report register documents the development and issue of the report entitled *National cultural heritage values assessment & conflicting values discussion report: The wild horse population Kosciuszko National Park* undertaken by Context Pty Ltd in accordance with our internal quality management system.

Project No.	Issue No.	Notes/description	Issue Date	Issued to
2037	1	Progress Report & Research Plan	28 August 2015	Rob Gibbs NSW NPWS
2037	2	Draft Report	22 October 2015	Rob Gibbs NSW NPWS
2037	3	Final Draft Report	18 November 2015	Rob Gibbs NSW NPWS
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CONTEXT

CONTENTS

C◉NTEXT

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This desktop study was commissioned by the NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) of the Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH) to better understand the cultural heritage values associated with the Kosciuszko National Park (KNP) wild horse population.

Cultural heritage legislation in Australia, and particularly at the national level focuses on places – sites, buildings, landscapes - using specific criteria to consider the nature and degree of cultural significance inherent in that place, and defining the attributes that are considered to be essential to the retention of the identified heritage values. In this study, the wild horse population is considered as an attribute of the place - Kosciuszko National Park – or parts of that place. The National Heritage List criteria and assessment guidelines were used to frame the assessment of cultural heritage significance.

Kosciuszko National Park, as part of the mainland alpine and high country areas, has a history of pastoral occupation starting in the 1840s and concluding progressively from the 1940s as areas were designated for protection. Part of pastoral land use was the release, recapture, breaking of horses for use as stock horses. At times horses became pests and were killed, or were caught and killed for their skins. Mobs of wild horses were part of the montane pastoral landscape.

The idea of mountain stockmen and brumbies is evocative and powerful within the Australian imagination, created through literary work and images, with Paterson's 'The Man from Snowy River' and Mitchell's *Silver Brumby* series being significant influences. It is part of a continuing fascination with the distant 'bush' and remoteness, and the vastly different lives and experiences of those who live elsewhere.

The number and geographic extent of the populations of wild horses across KNP has expanded, causing serious concern about their impacts on other park values including fragile alpine and sub-alpine and karst environments and species. NPWS has a Wild Horse Management Plan (2008) in place and is currently developing a new plan. This report will form part of the considerations in developing that plan.

To encompass the breadth of potential meanings and associations of the wild horse populations in KNP within a cultural heritage assessment framework, the project included:

- A wide ranging review of historical materials including artistic and literary sources is organised in relation to state and national historic themes, and expressed through a succinct historical narrative that traces the history of the wild horse population and changing representations and perceptions over time. (Section 3).

- Compilation of information about the cultural heritage values attributed to the KNP wild horse populations by Australian communities, drawing on existing sources and focusing on High Country community/ies and Australians broadly (Section 4).

- A review of available information on selected wild horse populations in Australia and overseas, focusing on information on the recognised cultural heritage values of these populations, followed by a comparison with the KNP wild horse populations in relation to the 'value themes' arising from the history and community associations (Section 5).

- An assessment of the cultural heritage values of the KNP wild horse populations, drawing on previous cultural heritage assessments of the Australian Alps and KNP and applying the National Heritage List criteria and assessment guidelines (Section 6).

- Discussion of the interplay between cultural and natural heritage values, concepts of conflicting values and possible responses to these conflicting values in the development of policy (Section 7).

C⬤NTEXT

The key value themes arising from the historical analysis and used to set the context for the consideration of cultural heritage values of the KNP wild horse populations were:

- Nature and a sense of 'wildness', linked to the cultural concepts around an 'untamed' Australian landscape and the influence of 'the bush' on the development of Australian national identity and character

- The High Country cultural landscape in relation to pastoral occupation and land uses

- The 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies.

The heritage assessment contained in Section 6 offers a preliminary assessment based on existing materials and using the National Heritage List criteria and thresholds. No new values research was undertaken. The assessment is designed to enable NPWS to understand cultural heritage values associated with the wild horse populations so that these can be considered in the development of the next Wild Horse Management Plan and in the wider context of park management.

The heritage assessment found that the wild horse population is an attribute associated with the cultural heritage significance of Kosciuszko National Park in relation to five criteria: (a) events and processes, (d) representativeness, (e) aesthetic characteristics, (g) social value and (h) significant people. Section 6 provides this analysis, noting the extent and the range of attributes for each value. For example, in relation to the history of pastoral land use and transhumance, the North-East Kosciuszko landscape is already recognised as having national heritage values as part of the 'Australian Alpine National Parks' listing. Part of this history is the establishment of wild horse populations. A diverse range of tangible and intangible attributes remain today to help us understand this story: wild horses are only one of these attributes, and like the other attributes, are now disconnected from the activities of pastoralism and transhumance.

The report concludes with a chapter designed to explore the relationship of cultural and natural heritage values broadly, and to consider how conflicting values may be considered in the context of protected area management. Conflicts between values are not uncommon in the cultural heritage domain, often based on differences in perceptions and values arising from individual and collective cultural frameworks and experiences. Resolving such differences in the context of place management may be difficult and time-consuming, requiring efforts by all parties to find solutions that offer 'mutual gains'. Section 7 does not offer a solution, nor could it. The solution needs to be found by the parties involved. Section 7 does, however, explore some of the considerations and ways of framing the conflicts. It also draws attention to a legislative framework which is place-based, and to the processes of moving from significance to policy that form part of best practice approaches in both the cultural and natural heritage spheres.

It concludes that the cultural heritage values identified should be addressed, and that this implies retaining a wild horse population in an appropriate location or locations within the KNP as one of the attributes of the identified cultural heritage values. But equally, the impact of an expanding wild horse population on both natural and cultural heritage values across a widening landscape must be addressed to ensure that these values are not put at risk.

1   INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NPWS) of the Office of Environment and Heritage (OEH) is seeking through this report to better understand the heritage values of the Kosciuszko National Park (KNP) wild horse population, within the context of the cultural and natural heritage values associated both with the horses and the Park in order to establish management procedures and options within the Kosciuszko National Park Wild Horse Management Plan.

Existing related studies and listings highlight the importance of both the natural and cultural heritage values of the KNP landscape. For example, the Man and Biosphere Bureau of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) listed the KNP as a biosphere reserve in 1977, while the Australian Federal Government included the KNP on the National Heritage List as part of the Australian Alps National Park and Reserves area in 2008, and the Commonwealth Department of Environment and Heritage commissioned Stage 2 of the project *Identifying Inspirational Landscapes*, which included an assessment of KNP in 2005 (Context developed the methodology in Stage 1 of this project). These, along with a number of other overlapping assessments, are summarised in Appendices 1 and 2 of this report.

1.2 Objectives

Given the need to manage KNP, including the wild horse population, according to best practice, the NPWS seeks through this report to gain articulation of the cultural heritage values associated with the KNP wild horse population against established National Heritage List criteria, and to analyse these values within the context of other already identified natural and cultural heritage values, many of which are of State, National and International significance.

The importance of this assessment and discussion is in the context of the potentially conflicting nature of these cultural and natural heritage values; in other words the conservation of one value may adversely impact on another value. This study contributes to the KNP Wild Horse Management Plan Review Project that the NPWS is currently conducting.

1.3 Scope

National heritage is administered under the Commonwealth *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Act* (1999) (EPBC Act). This Act requires the Department of the Environment and the Australian Heritage Council to undertake a rigorous statutory assessment process. As part of this process there is a public consultation phase, as well as a requirement to consult in writing with owners, occupiers and Indigenous people with a right or interest in the place.

This report does not provide an assessment to a statutory level. Rather, this report provides an assessment according to National Heritage List criteria and thresholds drawing only from existing sources. The assessment does not include the collection of primary data through public consultation or community values research. NPWS has however undertaken an extensive community and stakeholder engagement process as part of the KNP Wild Horse Management Plan review that has examined management options and issues including heritage and community values surrounding the wild horse population and the KNP more generally. These engagement reports were part of the material reviewed as part of this assessment

Cultural heritage values identified as meeting the National Heritage List criteria and threshold of significance can then be discussed in the context of natural heritage values of the same significance threshold. To facilitate this process, the first half of the report provides the cultural heritage values research and assessment data, while the second half of the report provides a discussion around both the cultural and natural heritage values.
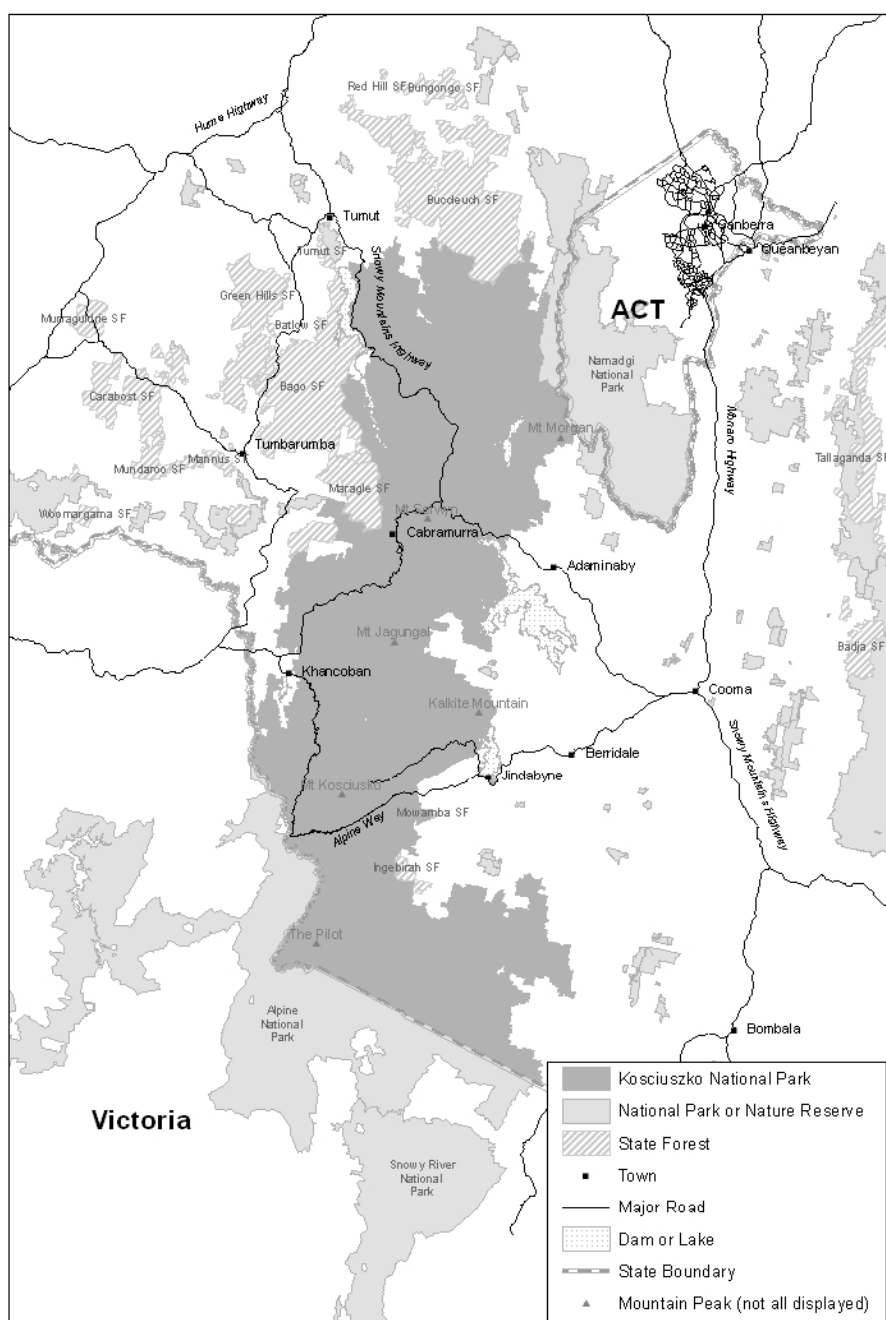
Map 1: Kosciuszko National Park (Source: Kosciuszko National Park Plan of Management, 2006)

1.4 Team

This report was developed by the following team of Context heritage consultants:

- Dr Georgia Melville – project manager, cultural anthropologist and community heritage specialist, with a project focus on the assessment of cultural heritage values

- Chris Johnston – community heritage specialist, with a focus project on natural and cultural heritage values assessment and discussion

- Dr Helen Doyle – senior historian, with a project focus on historical research and writing as well as historical values assessment

- Catherine McLay – historian and archaeologist, with a project focus on community values research, comparative analysis, and the identification of key value attributes.

The Context team were provided information where required by the NSW Parks and Wildlife Services project manager Rob Gibbs and project assistant Joanne Knowles, as well as the National Parks and Wildlife Services Project Control Group, comprising: Tom Bagnat, Mick Pettitt, Olwen Beazley, Caroline Laurence, Steve Cathcart, Pam O'Brien, Stuart McMahon and Ben Russell.

1.5 Acknowledgements

Thanks go to the Project Control Group made up of expert members with knowledge of the Kosciuszko National Park cultural and national heritage values. This group convened three times to inform and review the project work.

Support was also provided by Jeff Carboon, Bruce Wehner and Andrew Nixon of Parks Victoria, as well as the Australian Alps National Parks Library Service, along with the NSW Office of Environment and Heritage Library.

2   CULTURAL HERITAGE ASSESSMENT METHODOLOGY

2.1 Approach

In Australia, heritage values are officially understood by assessing them against set criteria. There are national, state and local level heritage criteria, which are similar but not identical. A major difference between these is the level of significance or 'threshold' that the values must reach. The National Heritage List criteria state that the characteristics being assessed must be of 'outstanding value to the nation', while characteristics assessed against state heritage criteria must be of 'significance to the people of NSW'. Finally, local significance generally refers to significance within a particular local government area. The final report of this project is to provide a national-level heritage assessment. The project scope does not include a state or local level assessment.

The purpose of this report is to identify cultural heritage values relating to the Kosciuszko National Park (hereafter referred to as KNP) wild horse population and, following this identification, to understand and discuss these values in relation to the natural heritage values of KNP.

The natural heritage values of the KNP have been previously assessed and listed as nationally and internationally significant. It is for this reason that a cultural heritage values assessment is considered in this report according to the national assessment framework. This parallel assessment allows for a more meaningful discussion of these values in terms of how they intersect.

Also guiding this project, the *Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter* (2013) provides best practice principles for identifying and managing cultural heritage in Australia. The Charter and its associated practice notes offer guidance in understanding and assessing cultural heritage significance, as well as in managing situations when conflicting values co-exist.

It should be remembered that the assessment of living animals, and in particular an introduced wild animal population as heritage is new ground both in Australia and overseas. The only known wild horse population on a heritage list is the Dartmoor Pony population of England, which are native to the landscape they continue to inhabit. The wild horse population is neither a place nor a value. In the national heritage assessment approach in Australia, the term 'attribute' is best applied. It is this approach we have taken for this project.

2.2 Tasks

In order to develop this report, the following tasks were undertaken:

- Review of existing documentation

- Historical research and writing

- Community-based social and aesthetic values research and writing

- Identification of associated communities that value the KNP wild horse population at a national level

- Identification of comparative wild horse populations in Australia and internationally

- Identification and analysis of cultural heritage values against National Heritage List criteria and thresholds and identification of tangible and intangible attributes relevant to each cultural heritage value, including the KNP wild horse population

- Development of a cultural heritage values Statement of Significance

- Identification of known natural heritage values relating to the KNP

- Identification of the locational extent of both the cultural and natural heritage values

CONTEXT

- Analysis and write-up of the interaction between cultural and natural heritage values.

2.3 National heritage assessment criteria and thresholds framework

National heritage is administered under the Commonwealth *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Act* (1999) (EPBC Act).

The national heritage 'significance threshold' (the level of value that must be evidenced) is:

Of 'outstanding' heritage value to the nation. This means that a value must be able to be demonstrated to be of important to the Australian community as a whole. To understand if this is the case, the value must be compared to other similar values to determine if it is 'more' or 'less' significant, or if it is unique.

The National Heritage List criteria against which the heritage values of a place are assessed are listed below.

- Criterion (a) the place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history

- Criterion (b) the place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history

- Criterion (c) the place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Australia's natural or cultural history

- Criterion (d) the place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of:

  − a class of Australia's natural or cultural places; or

  − a class of Australia's natural or cultural environments;

- Criterion (e) the place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group

- Criterion (f) the place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period

- Criterion (g) the place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons

- Criterion (h) the place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history

- Criterion (i) the place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance as part of Indigenous tradition.

Explaining the National Heritage List criteria

The relevant guidelines provide a summary description for each criterion and significance indicators. The descriptions are quoted below from the guidelines (AHC 2008).

A) Events and processes

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history

This criterion applies generally to natural environment places which contain exemplary evidence and products of past or continuing climatic, geological, geomorphological, ecological or biological processes.

This criterion applies generally to Indigenous environment places, which have figured in defining events resulting in important changes to the political, economic, or social fabric of Indigenous Australia, relate to economic, political or social processes characteristic of Indigenous Australia during different periods of its history, or places that best demonstrate a characteristic way of life in the history of Indigenous Australia.

This criterion applies generally to historic environment places, which are connected with landmark or defining events of importance that have had enduring consequences to the nation resulting in important changes to the political, economic, scientific or social fabric of Australia, that may be of national importance for their ability to define an activity important to the nation demonstrating a key political, economic, scientific or social process that has significantly shaped Australia's development, or have a high diversity of features that best demonstrate a characteristic way of life in the history of Australia.

B) Rarity

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history

This criterion applies generally to places possessing uncommon, rare, or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history where these aspects are of national significance to Australia.

Simple possession of uncommonness, rarity, or endangered aspects is insufficient. A good knowledge of the national context of the particular uncommonness, rarity, or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history possessed by the place and the degree of the importance of this within Australia's natural or cultural history, is critical to an assessment of whether the place is of such significance that it is of 'outstanding heritage value to the nation'.

C) Research

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's potential to provide information that makes a contribution of national importance to the understanding of Australia's history, cultures, or the natural world

This criterion applies generally to places with a potential to provide information from a variety of sources as a resource for research. This includes natural, Indigenous, historical, social scientific or other information which may be embodied within, be at the place, or be associated with it.

D) Principal characteristics of a class of places

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of:

(i) a class of Australia's natural or cultural places; or

(ii) a class of Australia's natural or cultural environments.

This criterion applies generally to places that represent all or the critical elements characteristic of a class or type, style or design of outstanding importance within Australian natural or cultural places or environments.

CONTEXT

E) Aesthetic characteristics

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group

The ascription of aesthetic value may be given to a place whether it is a natural or cultural place. In relation to natural places, it is human perception of the natural place which creates the aesthetic value.

This criterion shares wording and concepts with criterion (g). They have the same meaning in both criteria.

Communities may be any group of people whose members share a locality, government, or cultural background. They can be locally based, regional, metropolitan or national groups, but should be a recognised community.

F) Creative or technical achievement

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period

This criterion applies generally to places that illustrate a high degree of creative or technical achievement, excellence, innovation, accomplishment, extension or creative adaptation, in a variety of fields of human endeavour such as in art, engineering, architecture, industrial or scientific design, landscape design, construction, manufacture, craftsmanship or some other technical field.

G) Social value

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons

This criterion applies to places in the public consciousness for which a community or cultural group exhibits a strong or special attachment at the national level. The ascription of social value may be given to a place whether it is a natural or cultural place.

Communities may be any group of people whose members share a locality, government, or cultural background. They can be locally based, regional, metropolitan or national groups, but should be a recognised community. The place has to be important because of the community's attachment to the place.

The heritage value can include religious or spiritual places, mythological places, or places of important identity. Nationally recognised groups may include religious denominations, ethnic communities, societies, incorporated groups, or political groups.

This criterion shares wording and concepts with criterion (e). They have the same meaning in both criteria.

H) Significant people

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history

This criterion applies generally to places in the first instance rather than people. The strength and nature of the association of the person or group of persons with the place, related to the particular and important contribution made by the person or group to Australia's natural or cultural history, is critical to identifying places of outstanding heritage value to the nation.

I) Indigenous tradition

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance as part of Indigenous traditions

This criterion applies generally to places that are important as part of Indigenous tradition. Indigenous tradition is defined in the Act (s.201(4)) as, 'the body of traditions, observances, customs and beliefs of Indigenous persons generally or of a particular group of Indigenous persons'.

Further information on both criteria and threshold assessment, is provided in the Australian Heritage Council (2009), *Guidelines for the Assessment of Places for the National Heritage List*.

3   HISTORY

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the history of wild horses, or brumbies, in the area now known as KNP from the beginning of white settlement in the region to the present. This history draws on documentary and pictorial sources about the history of KNP (and to some extent the wider district) in an effort to understand historical perspectives of the 'status' of wild horses in the landscape of KNP It traces the development of the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies and how these have impacted on popular perceptions of wild horses at KNP.

3.1   Historic themes

	National framework subthemes	NSW framework subthemes
2. Peopling Australia	**2.1 Living as Australia's earliest inhabitants**	**Aboriginal cultures and interactions with other cultures**
	Carbon-dating indicates that Aboriginal people occupied the rock shelters until the mid-nineteenth century, that is well into the colonial period (APAA 2008). Exploratory and scientific expeditions used Aboriginal tracks to access the High Country, e.g. Howitt's ascent of Mt Kosciuszko in 1866 (Gardner 1989). There were Aboriginal claims of gold deposits in the Alpine area (Gardner 1989). Aboriginal men worked as stockmen and brumby runners, fence builders . (AHC 2008) 'Hume and Hovell in 1824 passed nearby what is now Kosciuszko National Park and reported in their journals; "Whatever place we have been in, whether on top of the highest mountain or in any of the deepest ravines, we always find evident marks that the natives occasionally resort to them, although there does not appear to be any inducement for them to visit these secluded places".' (Good 1992a:131, cited in Peter Crabb). *Associated people:* There are certain to be Aboriginal people in the area who had associations with the wild horses at KNP in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Consultation would be required to identity these people.	
	National framework subthemes	**NSW framework subthemes**
3. Developing local, regional and national economies	**3.3.2 Looking for overland stock routes** **3.5.1 Grazing stock** **3.11 Altering the environment** **3.11.2 Reclaiming land** **3.11.4 Clearing vegetation**	**Agriculture** **Environment - cultural** **Landscape** **Pastoralism**
	Pastoralists from 1823 brought cattle, sheep and horses to the high country; graziers burnt the land seasonally to encourage pasture growth (Hancock 1972). Pastoralists were guided into and through the mountains by Aboriginal people, following Aboriginal paths and benefiting from Aboriginal knowledge. Aboriginal men were engaged as stockmen and brumby runners. Local graziers held leases in the alpine country for summer grazing. Brumby-running was a local source of income. Horses transported people and goods into the alpine areas. Criticism of the environmental effects of cattle grazing in the alpine areas came as early as the 1860s, and again in the 1890s, and the 1930s (Dawson 2005; Helms 1890s); some species of alpine plant life were wiped out by grazing practices. Illegal grazing of cattle continued after restrictions were introduced in the 1940s-1960s. *Associated people:* James Spencer (early pastoralist); Charlie Carter (brumby-runner and horse skin trader); Tom Mitchell (local grazier); Richard Helms (naturalist, fl. 1890s); George Day (horseman and alpine skiing promoter).	

CONTEXT

	National framework subthemes	NSW framework subthemes
4. Building settlements, towns and cities	**4.5 Making settlements to serve rural Australia**	**Land tenure** **Accommodation**
	Kosciusko Chalet and road through (1909); surveyors' camp and paddock (c.1900s). Chalet for tourists at Charlotte Pass (1930); building an alpine village. Settlement associated with the Snowy River Hydro-electric Scheme (1949-1970s). A number of rudimentary huts were erected for mountain cattlemen in KNP. *Associated people:* Tom Mitchell (local grazier) and George Day (horseman and alpine tourism promoter).	

	National framework subthemes	NSW framework subthemes
5. Working	**5.1 Working in harsh conditions** **5.1.2 With dangerous jobs and workplaces** **5.8 Working on the land**	**Labour**
	Scientific and exploratory expeditions from the 1840s, Mt Kosciuszko Observatory (1896- early 1900s). Survey teams, surveyors' camps; road makers. Pack horse drivers. Stockmen, graziers, horse thieves (e.g. 'Bogong Jack'), cattle rustlers, brumby-runners, horse trappers. Loggers and timber workers. Working in tourism, providing horse transport or trail rides. Working as caretakers of alpine tourist facilities. Snow leases on Crown land operated in the High Country of NSW, under various government regulations, from the 1830s until 1967/72. Working in scientific and conservation fields to investigate and protect the alpine environment. *Associated people:* Exploratory and scientific expeditions: Paul Edmund Strzelecki (explorer); Ferdinand Mueller (botany); Eugène von Guérard (artist), J.M. Maiden (botany); Edgeworth David (geology); Clement Wragge and his nephew (established the Mt Kosciusko Observatory, 1897); Charlie Carter (d.1959) (recluse and horse skin trader); Charles Kerry (photographer and promoter of alpine tourism); George Day (horseman and superintendent of Mt Kosciusko Chalet); 'Bogong Jack' (alias John Payne), fl. 1829-1859, cattle duffer.	

	National framework subthemes	NSW framework subthemes
7. Governing	**7.6.9 Conserving Australian resources** **7.6.10 Conserving fragile environments** **7.8 Establishing regional and local identity**	**Government and administration** **Law and order**
	The NSW colonial government permitted grazing licenses (snow licenses) in the High Country from the nineteenth century. There was criticism of grazing (and, through association, the presence of wild horses) in the Snowy Mountains area as early as the 1860s (Dawson 2005). Establishment of the Soil Science Committee in 1932 recognised the need to stop the soil erosion at Mt Kosciuszko (Hancock 1972). Conservation movement lobbies to have Mt Kosciusko declared a State Park (1944) and a National Park (1967), governed by the Kosciuszko Park Trust. The Snowy River Hydro-electric Authority was a government authority that was influential in prohibiting grazing within the water catchment.	

CONTEXT

	Kosciusko National Park management from 1967- Recognition of a fragile ecological system; closure of the Mt Kosciuszko summit road in 1967. *Associated people:* Myles Dunphy (influential conservationist); Sir Garfield Barwick (president of the ACF and member of the Kosciusko State Park 1944-1970); Geoff Mosely (chair of ACF, 1973-1986); Neville Gare (forester and superintendent of KNP from 1959); Baldur Byles (forester and member of the Kosciusko State Park Trust, 1944-1970).	
8. Developing Australia's cultural life	**National framework subthemes**	**NSW framework subthemes**
	8.1 Organising recreation **8.1.4 Enjoying the natural environment** **8.5 Forming associations** **8.5.1 Preserving traditions and group memories** **8.11 Making Australian folklore** **8.11.1 Celebrating folk heroes** **8.11.2 Myth-making and story-telling** **8.14 Living in the country and rural settlements**	**Leisure** **Creative endeavour** **Social institutions**
	Recognition from 1840s of Mt Kosciuszko as remote; isolated; as a wilderness; sublime, dangerous. Appreciating the natural environment – in terms of both the fragile ecology and the rugged, remote and dangerous aspect to the alpine country. Note the general 'absence' of wild horses in early (visual) depictions of this wilderness landscape. Development of 'The Man from Snowy River' legend from the 1890s onwards, popularised by A.B. 'Banjo' Paterson's poem, which was first published in the *Bulletin* in April 1890. Brumby-running as a popular 'sport' amongst station owners Broader 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies, notably Elyne Mitchell's *Silver Brumby* series (from 1958) which reinforces this legend of the wild horses and introduced the story to younger audiences. Increased celebration of the Snowy River legend from the early 1980s through the feature films (*The Man from Snowy River*, 1982; *The Man from Snowy River II*, 1988). 1987: tourism groups advertise Snowy River 'Horseback Safari' at Mt Kosciuszko. (Horseback Safaris have been operating at KNP since 1982; *Canberra Times*, 17 Nov 1991) The name 'Brumbies' was adopted for the newly formed ACT rugby team in 1996. The 'Snowy River' theme was exhibited to the world at the Sydney Olympic Games Opening Ceremony in 2000. A number of placenames in KNP have equine associations*:* e.g. Dead Horse Gap (near Thredbo), Grey Mare Range, Horse Camp, and Horse Flat. *Associated people:* Barcroft Boake, poet (1866-1892); A. B. 'Banjo' Paterson (poet), Mary Gilmore (poet); Tom Mitchell (grazier and lawyer), Elyne Mitchell (writer, local historian and horsewoman), Charles Kerry, fl. 1890s (tour leader, mountain climber, and photographer).	
9. Marking the phases of life	**National framework subthemes**	**NSW framework subthemes**
	9. Marking the phases of life	**Persons**
	Many accounts of Mt Kosciuszko allude to the beauty and timelessness of the landscape (Elyne Mitchell).	

3.2 Historical narrative

3.2.1 Origin of wild horses at Mt Kosciuszko

The wild horse population in KNP (*Equus caballus*), also known as brumbies and mountain horses, are the descendants of horses brought into Australia by foreign settlers from 1788 for use as stock horses, pack horses, work horses and general domestic horses. They comprised Thoroughbreds, Arabians, as well as Timor ponies, British ponies, horses from what was then British India, Draught horses and Capers from South Africa, as well as combinations of the above breeds (Walter 2002; Rolls 1984).

The wild horses in KNP are not a specific breed nor are they genetically different to domesticated horses or to any other wild horse populations in Australia, (with the exception of Pangaré Brumbies on the coast of Western Australia, south of Geraldton - http://self.gutenberg.org/articles/brumby)..Brumby expert Brian Hampson notes that 'All genetic studies performed in Australia and NZ have found no unique genetic markers in brumbies that would distinguish them from cross breed domestic horses (Brian Hampson to Context P/L, pers. com., 8 April 2014).

From the 1830s and 1840 when the Monaro and Snowy Mountains district was first settled, the occasional Thoroughbred and other breeds escaped from pastoralists, overlanders, or stockmen, or became lost, and inter-mixed with a growing wild horse population. A wild horse population was established in the Mt Kosciuszko area by the 1850s and probably by the 1840s. In 1861, during the ascent from Kiandra of Mount Inchcliffe, near Thredbo, the members of the climbing expedition sighted 'immense herds of wild horses, which would be impossible to break in' (*Age*, 7 January 1861). The presence of 'immense herds' would suggest that the horses were well established in the mountain environment at that time.

There are various accounts of horses accidentally escaping at Mt Kosciuszko, including the horse/s belonging to Georg von Neumayer's scientific expedition of 1869. Domesticated horses were also intentionally released into the wild at Mt Kosciuskzo from at least c.1900 by graziers and stockmen in order to 'improve' the wild horse population with fresh stock. Whereas in other pastoral districts of NSW the wild horses were culled on a large scale, the difficult terrain of the mountainous area of Kosciuszko provided a place of refuge for escaped and wild horses. By the 1890s, the wild horse population was probably greater in the Alps than in the Riverina and other districts. In 1890, Richard Helms noted 'A great number of unowned horses are found all over the ranges' (cited in Slattery 1998: 145).The area's wild horse population had some economic value in providing readily available stock that could be drawn on by settlers for trade, for local use, or to be sold to the knackery for meat or hides, as well as for their manes and tails. Wild horses were also traded as remounts for British India or as stock horses. Brumby-runners would select, capture and yard the best animals to break in and sell. The practice of capturing wild horses, or brumby-running as it was known, continued into the 1920s and (probably) the 1930s (Walter 2002: 122), but was discouraged in the 1940s with the classification of the KNP area as a State Park. Despite this, some brumby-running continued, according to the photographs of horseman George Day catching and breaking-in brumbies at Mt Kosciuszko in 1948 (*Adelaide Chronicle*, 14 October 1948).

The cancellation of grazing leases, or 'snow leases', in the new Kosciusko State Park (later KNP) took place in a staggered fashion from the 1940s until 1967, with the higher altitude areas being cancelled first followed by the lower areas, owing to the fact that the Park was made up of different parcels of land, each with different leasehold terms that needed to be honoured. Whilst the population of wild horses was not anywhere near as large as it had become by the early 2000s, there were some wild horses in parts of KNP through the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, and these would not have paid heed to the boundaries between areas of ongoing valid leasehold and the Kosciusko State Park (later KNP). The Cascades in the southern section of KNP was noted in 1962 for the 'large numbers of brumbies which roam the area' and it was observed that 'because of its inaccessibility, their numbers keep on

increasing' (Geehi Club 1962).It is likely that brumby-running activities occasionally crossed over into the Kosciusko State Park/KNP area during this time.

It appears that after brumby-running ceased, the remaining wild horse population was left unmanaged. When KNP was established, management of all aspects of the landscape, including the wild horses, became a focus.

In 1990 Jennifer Dyring reported on the location of wild horses in the Australian Alps with the following findings:

(1) the absence of horses in the ACT;

(2) small isolated populations in northern Kosciuszko at Peppercorn, Wild Horse and Nungar Plains, and in nearby Bago and Maragle State Forests;

(3) a small population at Botherum Plain near Lake Jindabyne;

(4) a large continuous population south of Thredbo River extending through southern Kosciuszko to the Victorian border;

(5) a continuation of the same population in Victoria, in the Cobberas–Tingaringy National Park (now part of the Alpine National Park, Vic.); and

(6) a population on the Bogong High Plains near Omeo and smaller populations at Mount Willis (west of Lake Dartmouth) and on the Moroka and Caledonia Rivers (Dawson 2005:3-4).

A population of wild horses in the Namadji NP was eradicated in the 1980s. In 2002 Michelle Walter (now Michelle Dawson) re-examined the distribution of wild horses in the Australian Alps, concluding that wild horses were found in Kosciuszko National Park and the Alpine National Park, Victoria, and were also found on the border of the ACT. She noted that the distribution of wild horses had not changed greatly between 1990 and 2002, but that there had been a significant increase in population in the northern section of KNP and alpine areas near Mt Kosciuszko (Dawson 2005:3-4).

In 2009 Michelle Dawson (formerly Walter) reported that the number of wild horses in KNP had grown at a rate of 21.65 per cent per year since the last population count in 2003 and that the distribution areas had also increased (Dawson 2009:3). The natural increase of the wild horse population currently far outnumbers those being captured and removed.

3.2.2 Aboriginal connections to the KNP wild horse population

The Traditional Owners of the wider Mount Kosciuszko/Snowy Mountains region, the Ngarigo, Wiradjuri, Wolgalu, Ngunnawal and Ngyimpa, lived in the area for many thousands of years, and continued to occupy their Country after the arrival of pastoral settlers and the imposition of a pastoral economy on the area. Aboriginal people continued to make summer visits to Mt Kosciusko in the 1860s by which time there was certainly a wild horse population in the Snowy Mountains. Aboriginal men worked for pastoralists as stockmen and drovers, horse breakers, station hands, trackers and general labourers, while Aboriginal women worked as domestic servants and nurse maids.

Aboriginal people often acted as guides for explorers, scientific expeditions, pastoralists and surveyors through 'unknown' alpine country, with the result that long-established Aboriginal routes and tracks often became stock routes for cattle and horses (AHC 2008). The explorer Alfred Howitt and his party followed an Aboriginal path when they ascended the Snowy Mountains from Omeo (Vic.) in the 1866, noting that 'such a path is made by black feet' (cited in Mitchell 1985:72).

Wesson claims that Aboriginal people were involved in the mustering of brumbies from the Alps to be used as cavalry horses, and that sometimes Aboriginal people would trade horses for food (Wesson 1994, cited in AHC 2008:30-31).

Aboriginal people continued to value many sites within the KNP as places important to their cultural practices (Goulding and Buckley. 2002; Waters 2004;Context 2014). Many of these places may now be inhabited by wild horse populations and subject to impacts.

3.2.3 Wild horses as pests

Wild horses in the pastoral districts of NSW were criticised as 'great pests' to settlers as early as 1843 (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 October 1843). Historian George Main claims that graziers in NSW considered 'mobs of wild horses a demonic barrier to pastoral development' (Main 2005: 144). In the 1860s and 1870s, it was a common practice for station owners in NSW, including those in the Monaro district, to routinely cull wild horses because they were considered a pest and a nuisance. Station owners complained that the wild horses interfered with the station horses by luring away the mares, competed with stock for valuable feed, and cut up the runs with their hooves. Many thousands of wild horses were hunted and killed during this period. The animals were generally shot but another early killing method was to slit their throats as they came through a barrier and leave them to run off and die. Often the hides, manes and tails were removed, and part of the flesh, and the carcasses were burnt (*Queanbeyan Age*, 10 April 1875). There are numerous newspaper reports from this period, relating to the wild horses as pests, including accounts from the Braidwood, Tumut and Queanbeyan districts. One newspaper item in 1872 noted that wild horses were a nuisance in Monaro plains and ranges, referring to 'the countless hordes of wild horses which invest the plains and ranges' (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 21 May 1872). Another report of 1903 looked back to 'the excitement of the roaring days when hundreds of wild horses were shot as a pest in one day in the shade of Kosciusko' (*SHM*, 21 October 1903).

The large-scale slaughter of wild horses continued in Queensland in the 1920s and 1930s, particularly in the Gulf country, where horse numbers were out of control. The meat of the animals was used in the manufacturer of fertilizer, and the manes and tail were a source of income for brumby trappers.

3.2.4 Connections between the Australian brumby and the KNP wild horse

The Australian brumby is found today in various parts of Australia, notably the alpine region of NSW, including KNP, and Guy Fawkes NP; Namadji NP (ACT), Alpine National Park (Vic.); the Barmah State Forest (Vic.); Coffin Bay (SA); Carnarvon National Park (Qld) and the Northern Territory (west of Alice Springs, in the Gulf region, in the Victoria River District and to the south of Darwin extending as far as Katherine. The brumby and the wild horse are essentially one and the same, 'brumby' being a colloquial Australian term for a horse that has been raised in the wild. The term 'brumby' was in usage in NSW by 1881, one theory being that it derived from a Queensland Aboriginal word, *booramby*, meaning 'wild' (*Australian National Dictionary* online; Baker 1966: 66). Another theory was that it derived from the name of an early settler in NSW, Sergeant James Brumby, who on moving to Tasmania in c.1804, released his horses into the wild (Campbell 1966).

The term 'brumby' has romantic associations through its portrayal in Australian cultural history. In this regard the historical tradition of the 'brumby' is closely associated with the wild horse population of KNP due to the strong cultural associations of the Snowy River brumbies expressed through the Banjo Paterson poem of 1890, 'The Man from Snowy River', and all its subsequent manifestations,. Paterson himself explained why 'The Man' in the poem hailed from the Snowy River:

> *'To make any sort of a job of it I had to create a character, to imagine a man would ride better than anybody else. and where would he come from except from the Snowy? And what sort of a horse would he ride except a half-thoroughbred mountain pony?'* (Paterson, *Sydney Mail*, 21 December 1938, cited in http://www.khuts.org/).

The intrinsic connection of the brumby to the landscape of KNP has also been powerfully shaped by Elyne Mitchell's immensely popular *Silver Brumby* books, which she wrote from the 1950s to the 1970s. These books have been read by millions of children and remain in print today.

The wild horses of the Australian Alps now occupy vast areas of alpine, sub-alpine and montane country in the south-east of NSW and the north-east of Victoria, with large numbers of wild horses found in the KNP. Whilst the various mobs tend to occupy favoured grazing areas within the region, the horse population is a mobile one that pays no heed to state boundaries or to the boundaries of the various national parks.

3.2.5 Wartime connections

Australia contributed a large number of horses, known as remounts, for cavalry use in the Boer War (1899–1902) and while some of these may have been sourced from brumby stock, it is difficult to establish whether or not any of these horses were specifically sourced from the region that now constitutes KNP.

Prior to that, large numbers of Australian horses were supplied as remounts for the British Army, via India, from the 1870s and possibly earlier. They were gathered mainly from pastoral stations and while station horses may have a genetic connection to the wild horses of the NSW Alps, there is no definitive evidence that remount horses were directly taken from the brumby population of what is now KNP (Parsonson 2014: 129-133).

Australian Waler horses were also recruited as remounts during World War I. A local newspaper article reporting on a sports day for the NSW Light Horse in Sydney in 1916, quoted a military leader who commented that 'it was hard to believe that most of these fine-looking and well-trained horses were bush brumbies a few months ago' (*Farmer and Settler* (NSW), 14 March 1916). There is no clear indication this was in fact the case and furthermore, while it is claimed that these brumbies were gathered in NSW, their precise origins are not known ('Walers', AWM website).

During World War I, many Snowy River towns in NSW, including Cooma, Jindabyne, Tumut and Binalong, supplied local men for service in the Australian Light Horse (*Manaro Mercury*, 1 March 1920). The Cooma district already had its own established Light Horse brigade prior to the onset of war and some Cooma men joined the 1st Light Horse in 1914 (*Manaro Mercury*, 24 April 1914; *Singleton Argus*, 24 April 1917). In October 1915, 50 additional men were recruited for the Australian Light Horse at the Goulburn Recruitment Depot, including men from the Monaro and Snowy River townships (*Goulburn Evening Penny Post*, 12 October 1915). These recruits may have enlisted with their own horse, as was the common practice, so it is likely – or at least possible – that some of these horses that went into active service in the Great War were bred at least in part from the Snowy Mountains wild horse population. Another more tenuous, but all the same interesting link between the Light Horse and the Snowy Mountains is that Sir Harry Chauvel, who was the commander of the Australian Light Horse during their greatest victory, the Battle on Beersheba in 1917, was the father of the writer and champion of the Snowy Mountain wild horses, Elyne Mitchell (Pollard 1965: 136).

During World War I, many local men joined up and those who joined the Light Horse took their own horses with them from home. These horses did not return home, except one, a horse named 'Sandy', which was the horse belonging to General William Bridges, whose body was returned to Melbourne for a military funeral in 1915. Sandy's origin is not known, but on his return to Melbourne he lived at the Maribyrnong remount depot (Context 2003:14).

In 1916, when Australian volunteer recruitment figures were in decline, a recruitment march was organised under the banner 'The Men from Snowy River', which marched for 23 days. This took in many of the towns of the Snowy Mountains region of NSW, in an effort to rally local men to enlist. Those who joined the march continued on to the Goulburn recruitment depot where they joined up [http://themenfromsnowyriver.com.au/]. There is no evidence that these men took their horses with them, suggesting they joined standard infantry divisions rather than the Light Horse. A re-enactment of the Snowy River recruitment march was undertaken in late 2015..

The 'Men from Snowy River' recruiting drive, passing through Queanbeyan in 1916 (source: Australian War Memorial)

Men of the 55th Battalion who had joined up via the 'Men from Snowy River' recruitment march in 1916 (source: Australian War Memorial)

During World War II, there were also calls for Australian wild horses to be readily available for war service. Yet while this was certainly advocated it is unclear whether any wild horses were in fact provided. In 1921 General Sir Harry Chauvel had criticised the suitability of Australian-bred horses for the cavalry (*Sunday Mail* (Brisbane), 14 May 1939), and with increased in mechanisation it would seem unnecessary to use untrained wild horses when domestic horses had not long before been considered by an Australian cavalry leader to be below par. A proposal that appeared in a local paper in 1942 that the Snowy River 'brumbies' be considered for this task, on account of their strength and agility (*Tweed Daily*, 1 May 1942), suggests that they had not been used for this purpose in World War II up until that time. Whether any horses from the KNP area were captured and trained for war service after 1942 is at this time unknown but does not seem likely.

3.2.6 Associations with the High Country cultural landscape

There are a number of tangible elements in the High Country landscape relating to horses — mainly stock horses through their association with seasonal sheep and cattle-grazing, but also relating to wild horses through the activities of brumby-running and horse-trapping, and the physical impact of their use of the landscape as a habitat. The various physical elements in the landscape associated with stock horses and brumbies include cattle yards, brumby runs, huts, brush fences, bridle tracks and salt licks (Truscott 2006: 127). Other elements could be added to this list, such as remnant post-and-rail fencing, fence post holes, tethering posts, horse paddocks (associated with huts), and natural elements, such as the favoured grazing ground at Lake Cootapatamba glacial lake, and the rugged spurs that horsemen climbed to gain access to high ground, as well as any archaeological remains associated with cattle-grazing and brumby-running. Wild horses have also made their own marks on the landscape, for example;

CONTEXT

disturbance to the ground and vegetation at their favoured watering places. In the Cascades area in the 1960s, for example, it was noted that 'the brumbies have made many tracks of their own' (Geehi Club 1962, *Snowy Mountains Walks*).

Of all these elements, the huts are probably the most evident and the most common element in the cultural landscape of KNP. The huts were built by and used by stockmen, horse-trappers, brumby-runners, miners and others. Many of the huts that were used by brumby-runners had an associated yard; others had a tethering post A significant hut is Cascades Hut, which inspired the writer Elyne Mitchell in her work, probably owing to the identified wild horse population in that vicinity in the 1950s and 1960s (Geehi Club 1962). Another surviving hut 'Tin Mines' at KNP was occupied from the late 1930s to the 1950s by horse skin trader and recluse, Charlie Carter, who derived an income selling brumbies for their hides (http://www.khuts.org/).

In the period following the end of permissive cattle grazing and brumby-running in KNP, the huts have been used for recreational purposes, for example by bushwalkers, downhill skiers, cross-country skiers, adventure trekking, fishermen and cyclists, as well as artists and writers. Some huts were used by parties doing scientific work and some were built specifically for hydrographers working on the Snowy Mountains Scheme (Geehi Club 1962, *Snowy Mountains Walks*). Historically, in the 1970s and 1980, the huts were also used by recreational horse-riders (Godden Mackay Logan 'Kosciuszko NP Huts Strategy', 2005, ch 12).

3.2.7 Conflict between grazing and natural values

There was criticism of cattle and stock horse grazing in the High Country as early as the 1860s (Dawson 2005: 2). In the 1890s, amidst growing appreciation of the value of the Australian natural environment, naturalist Richard Helms raised awareness about the damage being done to the fragile alpine environment through grazing (Sullivan and Lennon, 2003). .

Those who advocated the protection of the natural environment saw stock and cattle-grazing as exploiting the natural environment for personal gain. They criticised the economic benefits that pastoralists and others had been enjoying for decades for a relatively nominal grazing fee at the expense of a 'pristine' natural environment for all. The pastoralists in turn argued that grazing in the High Country was making an important contribution to the local economy. For pastoralists the wild horses, which were closely associated with cattle-grazing, were akin to an unlimited natural resource that could be captured and exploited as needed. Yet, the station owners themselves had regarded the wild horses as a pest in the 1860s and 1870s and shot them down in large numbers.

Tensions increased in the 1930s as attention turned to the mountains as a watershed for agriculture, industry and human water consumption, and hence an area to be kept clear of introduced animals. In the 1940s, the proposed Snowy Mountains Hydro-electric Scheme meant that the catchment of the Snowy River needed to be kept free from grazing to ensure water purity. Once the Kosciusko State Park was declared in 1944, grazing began to be phased out, starting with the high-altitude areas and moving to the phasing out of grazing in lower altitude areas in 1958. By 1972 grazing was phased out of all remaining areas of KNP. [http://www.environment.gov.au/epbc/notices/assessments/victoria-alpine-national-park/pubs/att-a-statements-of-unacceptability-of-alpine-grazing-100112.pdf]

Various scientific studies and research findings, as well as individuals such as the prominent Canadian science writer Jared Diamond, have supported the cessation of cattle-grazing in Australia as essential in the conservation of Australia's fragile alpine environment.

In Victoria, there was also heated debate over grazing in the Alpine NP in the 1980s. There were further calls for the reintroduction of cattle-grazing in Victoria's high country after serious bushfires of 2006, arguing that grazing helps retard the spread of fire. Some cattle farmers argued the case for grazing, based on tradition and maintaining the heritage of the high country. In NSW this emotive argument has also been used to defend and protect the wild horse population in KNP.

3.2.8 Changing perceptions of Kosciuszko and its wild horses

In the earliest European written and visual representations of Mt Kosciuszko (i.e. 1850s–1880s) horses are generally absent from the landscape. Kosciuszko was perceived and presented as an alpine wilderness, a spectacle of wild, untamed nature, with allusions to the sublime and the romantic landscapes of eighteenth-century European tradition (this includes the works of Eugene von Guérard 1862, 1863; Samuel Calvert 1863; J. Shark 1872; and W.C. Piguenit 1903). Possibly the earliest description of the Snowy Mountains of NSW was penned by the explorer William Hovell, who on seeing a distant view of the snow-capped Alps on 8 November 1824, recorded:

> *a prospect came in view the most magnificent. This was an immensely high mountain covered nearly one-fourth of the way down with snow, and the sun shining upon it gave it the most brilliant appearance* (cited in Prineas and Gold 1997: 103).

Strzelecki, the Polish explorer who ascended the summit in 1842, was struck by the view from near Mt Townsend of the Murray River gorge; he wrote, 'To follow the course of the [river] from this gorge into its farther windings is to pass from the sublime to the beautiful' (cited in Geehi Club 1962).

In nineteenth-century descriptions and images of Mt Kosciuszko, 'Man' is represented as conquering nature. While the wild horses that were released or escaped into this environment came to later be regarded as an element of this wild landscape — as they were present in the region from the 1850s or thereabouts — no early paintings or photographs have been identified that depict this association.

Eugène von Guérard, Mt Kosciusko, 1862 (SLNSW)

Mt Kosciuszko by Samuel Calvert, 1863 (IMP SLV)

Eugène von Guérard, North-east view, Kosciuszko, c.1866 (AGNSW)

Mt Kosciuszko photographed by J. Shark, 1872 (SLV)
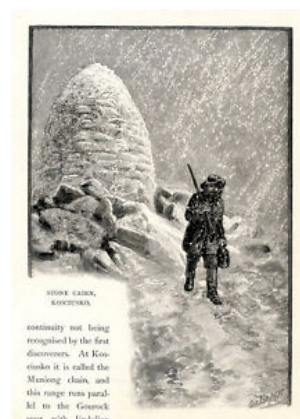
Stone cairn, summit of Mt Kosciuszko (Garran, *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*, 1886)

1886 W. Macleod, Granite rocks, Betts Camp, Mt Kosciuszko (Garran, *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia*)

W.C. Piguenit, Kosciusko, 1903 (AGNSW)

Wild horses are noted in nineteenth-century documentary sources, usually as an incidental reference rather than as a subject in themselves. Notwithstanding the high regard that NSW colonial society held for horses (especially race horses), it should be noted that horses were generally treated as a possession or a resource — to be acquired or discarded as the need arose. In the 1860s and 1870s, wild horses in NSW were regarded as a nuisance and a pest, and were regularly killed in large numbers by graziers in an effort to control their population. As far as can be determined from the newspaper reports, the wholesale slaughter of wild horses during that period occurred without any significant emotional response or public outcry.

Nineteenth-century artistic works in NSW depict domesticated horses as objects of beauty and nobility (particularly race horses), but most often for their usefulness — as a means of moving people; stock (as stock horses); and goods (as pack-horses). The horses most often depicted are the so-called 'mountain horses', some of which were former brumbies, that were bred for their strength and endurance, and their ability to handle the difficult alpine terrain. There are few known nineteenth-century artworks, however, that depict the wild horses of NSW, which suggests that, unlike domesticated horses, they were not particularly valued or revered as a subject of study at that time.

The usefulness of the brumbies extended to them being sought after for racing and jumping competitions in country NSW. Some brumbies that had been broken in proved competitive in a local area, and earned a local reputation for their success. A degree of respect was also shown for brumbies that displayed valued physical traits, and this was particularly evident in attitudes to the mountain horses, or the 'Monaro horses', which were reputed noted for their superior strength and agility, and sure-footedness in the steep mountain country.

By the early twentieth century, there was a new romantic appreciation of wild horses in Australia, which is further developed in the following section.

Meanwhile, by the early 1900s, the settler population was conquering the mountain terrain in other ways. This included various scientific and exploratory expeditions, including the establishment at the summit of Mt Kosciuszko of a government trigonometric station by 1892 and Clement Wragge's meteorological station in 1897, and Professor Edgeworth David's geological field trips with students from Sydney University.
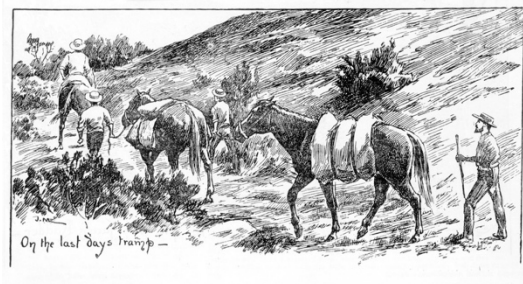
On the last day's tramp, *Illustrated Australian News*, 1892 (SLV)
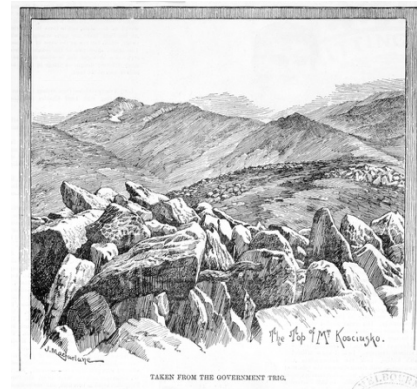
Summit of Mt Kosciuszko at the government trig station, 1892 (SLV)
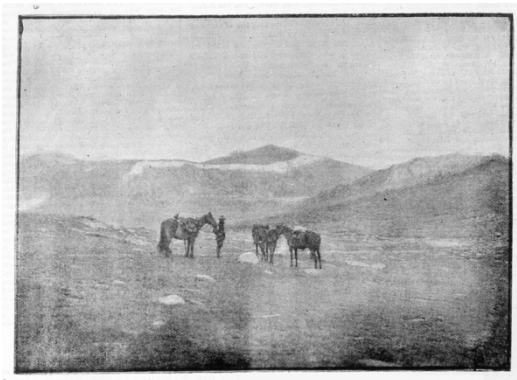
A trip to Kosciuszko by Dr O'Donnell, *Illustrated Australian News*, 1893 (SLV)

Expedition to establish the first observatory at Mt Kosciuszko, 1897 (Powerhouse Museum)

Expedition to establish the first observatory at Mt Kosciuszko, Charles Kerry, 1897 (Powerhouse Museum)

Edgeworth David geology excursion at Mt Kosciuszko, 1914 (Uni Syd Archives)

The early twentieth century also saw the beginnings of alpine recreation, through snow-skiing, trout fishing, horse-riding, sight-seeing and bushwalking. In regard to these activities, with the exception of horse-riding, the mountain horses often provided practical assistance to participants but were not the central focus. Local stockmen and horsemen also took part in brumby-running as a recreational activity. While there was an increase in images associated with tourism and recreation at Kosciuszko in the early 1900s, there was seemingly an absence of horse imagery.

Other significant works in the early twentieth century ignored the wild horses. E.J. Brady's *Australia Unlimited* (1918), a mammoth tome of Australia's endless resources and capacity for development, which celebrates the grandeur and special quality of Australia's natural environment, includes a long section on Mt Kosciuszko. This mentions the 'daring horsemanship' of the 'riders of Monaro' but makes no reference to the wild horses of the Kosciuszko area either as an economic resource or as part of the scenery (Brady 1918: 192-198).
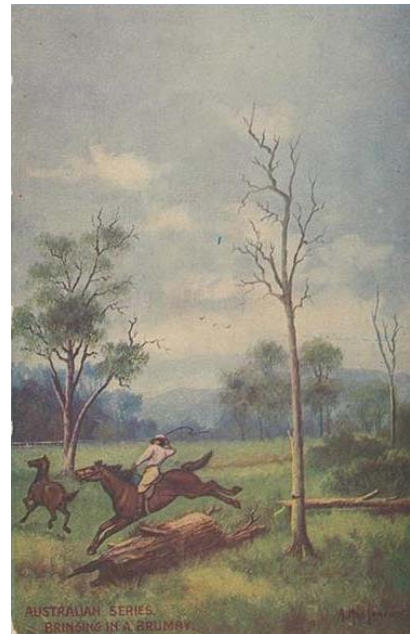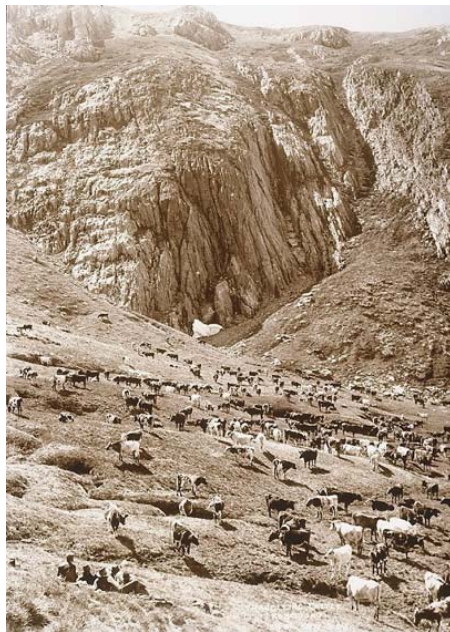
View from Mt Kosciuszko, 1900 (SLV)

Harvey, View to Kerry Mountains from Alpine lookout, c.1875-1920 (SLV)

Snowy River at Jindabyne, 1906 (SLNSW)

Travel poster promoting trout fishing 1908 (SLNSW)
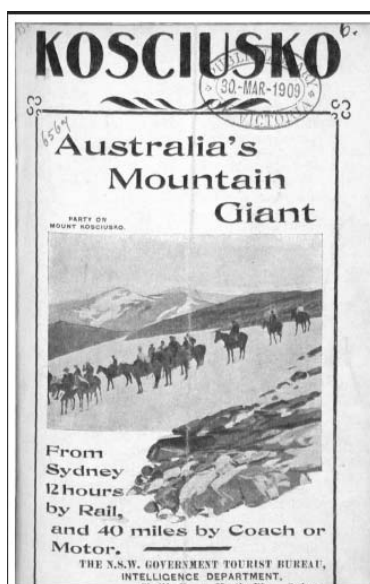
'Kosciusko: Australia's mountain giant', travel poster, c.1909 (SLV)
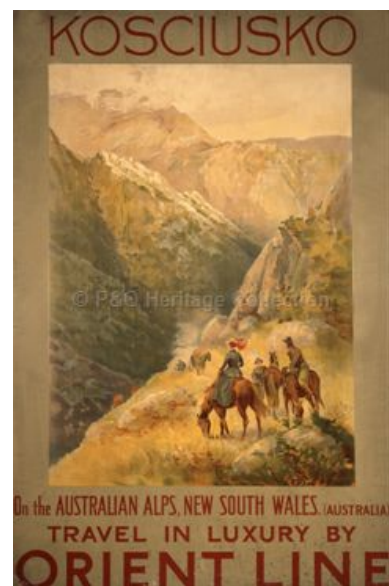
Seeing Kosciusko on the Orient Line, c.1909 (P&O heritage collection)
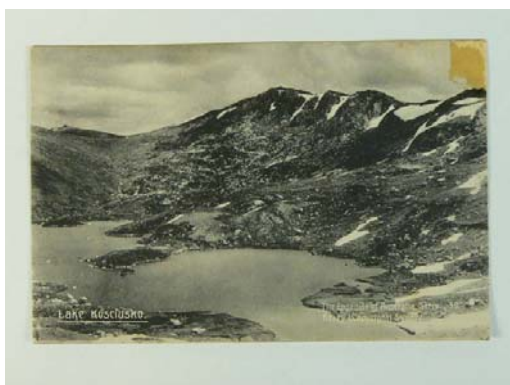
Postcard, 'Lake Kosciusko', c.1920 (NMA)

Postcard, 'Mt Kosciusko', 14 September 1920 (NMA)

Howard Ashton, 'The Last of the Trees
Kosciusko', 1923 (AGNSW)
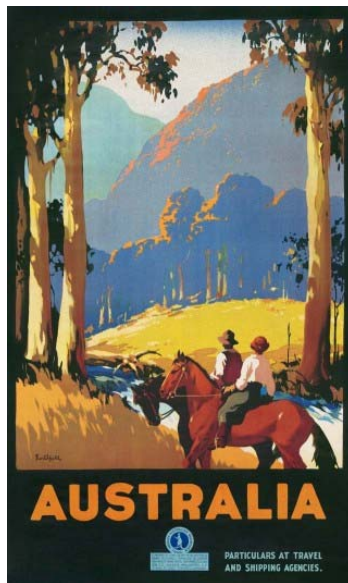
James Northfield, tourist
poster, c.1930
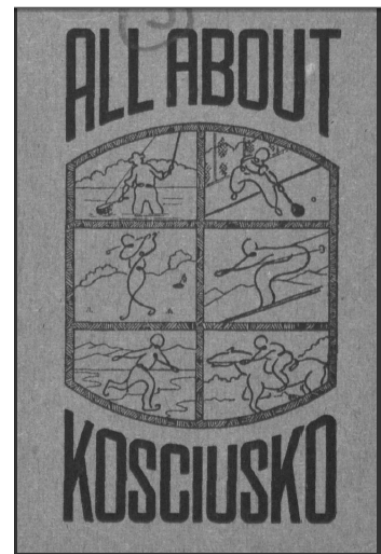
Cover of *All About Kosciusko*, a
tourist publication of 1941 (SLV)

The development of snow-skiing at Mt Kosciuszko as a popular recreational activity in the
1920s generated new imagery of the alpine landscape. Tourist postcards depicted a
domesticated landscape of pleasant wintry scenes and the new Kosciuszko chalet. This was a
landscape of people enjoying a novel recreational activity in the snow and a landscape that was
devoid of horses. Yet ironically, the period from the c.1900s to the 1920s could probably be
described as the heyday of brumby-running (Williams 1997: 170). Tourism displaced some of
the horse-related associations of the mountains. Many of the placenames of the Mt Kosciuszko
landscape that were traditionally associated with cattle and horses, such as Smiggins Camp,
were appropriated and given new meaning by snow-skiers.
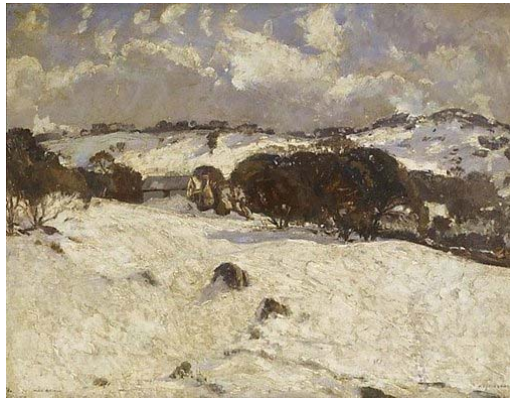
Will Ashton, 'Smiggins Camp Kosciusko', 1928 (AGNSW)

Will Ashton, 'Smiggins Camp Kosciusko', 1928 (AGNSW)

Will Ashton, 'Kosciusko', c.1930 (NLA)

Will Ashton, 'Kosciusko' winner of the Wynne Prize, 1930.
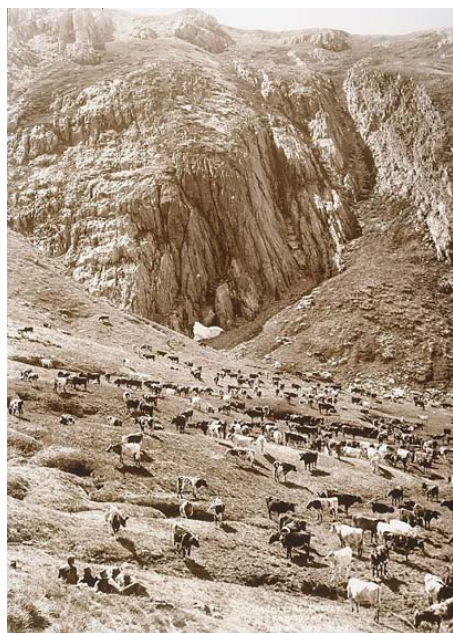
Travelling cattle, Mt Kosciuszko, c.1884-1917 (AGNSW)
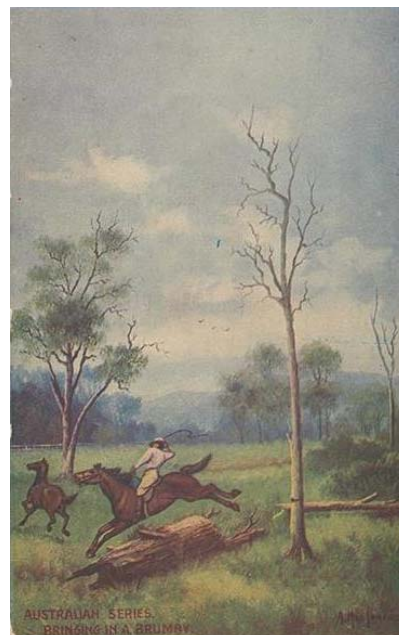
Postcard, 'Bringing in a Brumby', c.1910 (NMA)

CONTEXT

3.2.9 The development of 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies

The wild horses, or brumbies, of the Kosciuszko district are associated with a large body of Australian literature and folklore, spanning over one hundred years, from the 1890s to the present day. Images of brumbies, which also begin to appear in the 1890s, contribute to popular understandings about wild horses in Australia.

This section traces the development of various mythologies about the Snowy Mountains horses, through an analysis of art and literature sources relating to Kosciuszko and its wild horse population, to help demonstrate how these narratives have shifted over time and how they reflect changing cultural and political perspectives and values in Australia. This aids in our understanding of the historical, social and aesthetic values of the wild horses of KNP.

Following many decades of fairly disparaging attitudes towards wild horses, there was a discernible shift in the 1880s and 1890s in popular attitudes to the wild mountain horses. Terms such as 'splendid' and 'magnificent' begin to be applied to the wild horses of the district. A sales notice for a pastoral run in the Kiandra district in 1880, for example, advertised '200 splendid wild horses on the run' (*Queanbeyan Age*, 28 Jan 1880). An article on the Upper Murray District in 1885 noted the wild horses that occupied the nearby Snowy Mountains on the border between Victoria and NSW. A local pastoralist named Findlay declared, 'he did not let his horses run on the back hills as there was danger that they would join the mobs of wild horses that are frequently found in the high mountains'. The article continued: 'These horses are said to be remarkably swift and agile, and whenever seen are always in excellent condition' (*North Eastern Ensign* (Benalla), 24 Nov 1885).

While the wild horses of the Snowy Mountains began to be recognised for their strength and agility from the 1880s, it was the great popular success of A.B. Paterson's poem, 'The Man from Snowy River', that firmly established the wild mountain horses in Australian folklore and gave the poem a place in the national consciousness. The poem's appeal can be largely attributed to its timing, coinciding as it did with the key transformative period of the 1890s in Australian history. This period saw the conscious and critical shaping of an 'Australian' national identity, which drew almost exclusively on rural, mining and pastoral life, and celebrated the noble (white) frontiersman, the achievements of the (fast-disappearing) pioneering past, and upwards trajectory of economic progress. The nationalistic movement of the 1890s, and the development of the so-called 'Australian Legend', as articulated by Russel Ward in 1958, was seen to derive from the experience of settlers in 'the bush' (Ward 1958). The Australian Legend celebrated social and political democracy, and had a wide appeal across class and gender divisions. Paterson's poem celebrated democracy in finding greatness in the small rider on the weedy beast. The Man from Snowy River was a colonial 'everyman', who with skill, determination and courage could outride the rest and prove his worth. Importantly, 'The Man' is the central character of the poem and the horse a mere appendance to 'The Man'.

The writers and artists who were responsible for the development of the so-called 'Australian Legend', were mostly city-dwellers in Sydney and Melbourne (Ward 1958; Davison 1978). Enthusiasm for Paterson's 'The Man from Snowy River' made it a continuing influence in shaping popular culture. Through the first half of the twentieth century, the poem was widely taught in schools, and the collection of verse, *The Man from Snowy River and Other Verses* (1895) was a best-seller that has been reprinted countless times and remains in print today. Paterson himself made other references to the 'Snowy River' legend of the wild horses in poems and short stories.

In addition, here was a poem/song titled 'Away Down the Snowy River' (author unknown) popular in c.1902 (and recited on the occasion of a ministerial visit to Mt Kosciuszko in that year), and a feature film, titled *The Man from Snowy River*, was produced in NSW in 1920. These works generally celebrated 'The Man' more than they did the wild horses. Interest developed (and has persisted) in the true identity of 'The Man' — who he was and where he was from.

There was also a nostalgic element to Paterson's writings. In his poem 'In the Droving Days' (1891), Paterson looks back nostalgically to the days of youth that he spent droving, a time when he felt at one with nature and 'saw the fleet wild horses pass'. By the 1890s, the first

generation of 'pioneers' was passing on, and with them passed the old ways of the bush (Davison 1995). This is reflected in various references in the 1890s to the practice of catching and running in large numbers of wild horses as an activity that was 'in the past'. The writer of a travel piece on a trip to Mt Kosciuszko in 1898, for example, adopted a sentimental view of the practice of brumby-running, referring to the 'in the good old brumby-chasing days' (*Cootamundra Herald*, 19 January 1898).

The earliest images of wild horses at, or near, Mt Kosciuszko that have been identified as part of this research are from a series of paintings by Charles Hammond created in the c.1890s to accompany the poem by 'Banjo' Paterson poem, which was first published in the *Bulletin* in April 1890 and subsequently as part of Paterson's best-selling collection, *The Man from Snowy River and Other Verses*, in 1895.

Charles Hammond, Snowy River series No. 2, 1890s (SLV)

Charles Hammond, Snowy River series No. 3, 1890s (SLV)

Charles Hammond, Snowy River series No. 5, 1890s (SLV)

Charles Hammond, Snowy River series No. 6, 1890s (SLV)

Cast and crew of the film *The Man from Snowy River* at Mulgoa (NSW), 1920 (SLNSW)

Promotion poster, *The Man from Snowy River*, (*Brisbane Courier*, 23 August 1920)

From the 1940s onwards, with horse ownership in rapid decline and the popularity of Mt Kosciuszko as a tourist destination gaining momentum, the wild mountain horses are depicted more frequently and in a more romantic and nostalgic guise. A series of photographs by Jim Fitzpatrick (dated 1949 and possibly staged), which show wild brumbies being herded and trapped, provide a powerful picture-story. Contributing factors to this development most likely include the beginning of restrictions on cattle-grazing in the newly declared Kosciusko State Park (1944); the widespread use of the motor car and greater mechanisation in general; and the beginning of construction of the Snowy River Hydro-electric Scheme in 1949. These modern developments signalled the end of the old way of life that included alpine cattle-grazing, and brumby-running and trapping, all of which arguably became more celebrated after their demise than in their heyday. There marked the beginning of a pointedly nostalgic treatment of the wild horses and the brumby-runners.

Brumbies being driven into stock yard Jim Fitzpatrick, 1949 (NLA)

Mob of brumbies at sunset, Jim Fitzpatrick, 1949 (NLA)

George Day, photographed in 1949, was described as 'a Man from Snowy River' (NAA)

The Brumby Master, Jim Fitzpatrick, 1949 (NAA)

George Day breaking in brumbies at Mt Kosciuszko (*Adelaide Chronicle*, 14 October 1948)

Brumby-running at Mt Kosciuszko, 1948 (*Adelaide Chronicle*, 14 October 1948)

Writer Elyne Mitchell (née Chauvel) of Corryong (Vic.) made a significant contribution to the romanticisation of the wild mountain horses at KNP through her children's fiction, commencing with *The Silver Brumby* in 1958 and continuing into the 1970s, with a total of 12 books in all. These books have been reads by millions of children worldwide, have been through countless print-runs and remain in print today. An early conservationist and a keen horsewoman, Mitchell gave her fictional brumbies a home in the alpine country that she felt such a deep connection with. Locations at KNP that she frequently used as a setting for her stories include The Cascades and Main Range ('Corryong and the Man from Snowy River', http://www.nma.gov.au). Mitchell humanised the horses, giving them greater public appeal and, unlike Paterson, depicted 'Man' (the brumby hunter) as the enemy rather than the hero. By giving the wild horses pseudo-Aboriginal names (Thowra, Baringa, Yarraman, Goonda, etc.), Mitchell successfully imbedded the introduced animals more firmly into the Australian landscape, giving them a sort of 'natural' right of occupation.

Mitchell also celebrated the natural environment of the Alps in several important non-fiction works, including *Australia's Alps* (1942) and *Speak to the Earth* (1945), in which she advocated the importance of a greater engagement with the natural world. These books are both deeply personal and proudly nationalistic, in which she clearly places the wild horses within the majesty, romance and 'tradition' of the alpine environment (Mitchell 1945; Truscott et al., 2006: 60). Mitchell, the daughter of a grazier, was married to grazier Tom Mitchell of Corryong, who had long-established family connections to the Snowy River area. Elyne Mitchell was probably also influenced in her affection for the Australian-bred horses through her father, General Sir Harry Chauvel, who helped to train the Australian Light Horse in the First World War and was the commander of the victorious Anzac Mounted Division at the Battle of Beersheba in 1917 (Hill 1979). Although it should be noted that Chauvel commented in 1921 that only 3 per cent of Australian-bred horses were of a good enough standard for the cavalry (*Sunday Mail* (Brisbane), 14 May 1939).
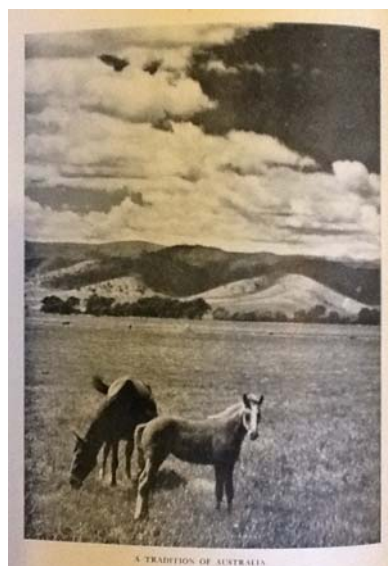
This photograph, titled 'A tradition of Australia', was the frontispiece to Elyne Mitchell's *Speak to the Earth* (1945)
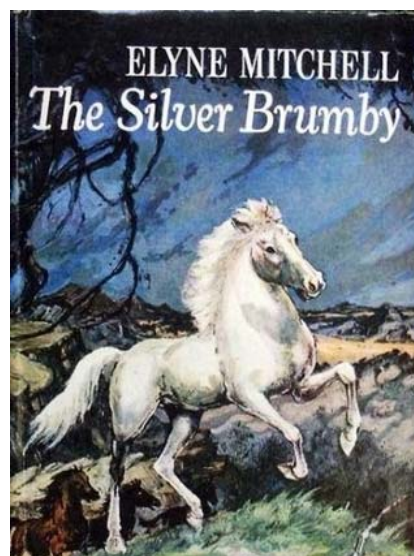
Cover of the first edition of Elyne Mitchell's *The Silver Brumby*, published in 1958

Running parallel to the development of the legend of 'The Man from Snowy River', from the late-nineteenth century and through the twentieth century, was a wilderness narrative, which celebrated the natural landscape as pristine, wild, and worthy of preservation. Within this narrative, Kosciuszko's wild horses are generally absent or ignored, <u>or</u> considered damaging to the environment; likewise, cattle-grazing is criticised (Garran 1886; Helms 1893). This narrative continued through the work of the conservation movement of the 1930s and 1940s, which saw the creation of the Kosciuszko State Park, and the declaration of designated wilderness areas or 'primitive areas' within KNP in 1962 (Johnson 1974: 18). Conservation interests gained strength at Mt Kosciuszko in the 1960s and 1970s, buoyed by the formation of the Australian Conservation Foundation in 1964, but these concerns were often in opposition to the proposed works of the Snowy Mountains Authority. The growth of the conservation movement led to tensions between those who sought to preserve the alpine wilderness and its fragile ecology, and those who sought to exploit its natural resources for economic gain. The political battle between these two ideologies would give impetus to, and help cement, the modern-day 'Snowy River' legend by arguing for example that the High Country wild horses are part of 'our heritage'. On the other hand, the Snowy River mythologies associated with the works of Paterson and Mitchell, and a plethora of other Australian poets and bush writers, inserts these wild horses into the wilderness as their 'rightful' place. In popular culture, the wild, majestic beauty of the horses and the wild, majestic beauty of the landscape were drawn together in a kind of natural association.

Frank Hurley, Kosciusko summer, c.1940s-50s (NLA)

Mt Kosciuszko, photographed by John Collins, 1965 (SLV)

The 1970s saw an unprecedented interest in Australian history, local history and heritage, which attracted the support of government and university history departments. The Federal government provided funding to the embryonic Australian film industry, out of which came a number of classic Australian history films, including *Picnic at Hanging Rock* (1975) and *Gallipoli* (1981). The 1970s also witnessed the popularity of folk music, Australian folklore and 'Australiana', which celebrated in a romantic and nostalgic vein the stories and objects of the Australian pioneering past. The mountain cattlemen were now very much a thing of the past in NSW, as the eminent historian Sir Keith Hancock declared in 1972: 'Today, Banjo Paterson's man on horseback is a stranger to the Snowy Mountains' (Hancock 1972: 180). Brumbies formed a major part of this developing national mythology. Ian McKay's bronze statue titled 'The Man from Snowy River', installed at Cooma in 1961, acknowledged the passing of the Snowy Mountains cattlemen and the poem that had made them famous. In 2010, a statue of the Man from Snowy River was also erected at Corryong in Victoria.
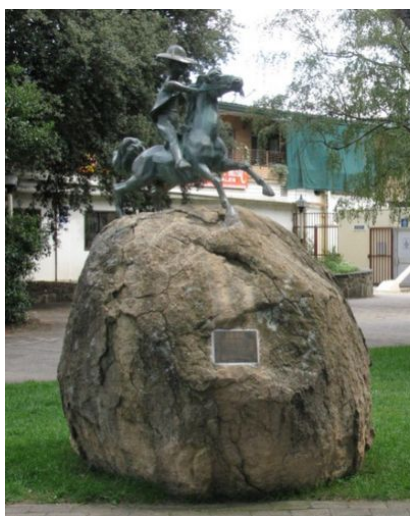
Ian McKay statue, 'The Man from Snowy River', Cooma, installed 1961 (Monument Australia website)

Brett Garling statue of the Man from Snowy River, installed at Corryong (Vic.) in 2010 (National Museum of Australia website)

By the 1980s, with alpine cattle-grazing well and truly finished in New South Wales, the story of the wild mountain horses and the men who pursued and captured them, gained enormous romantic appeal and became firmly established as an Australian legend. Here there was a notable shift. Unlike the early representation of the wild mountain horses in literature, as 'useful' or as per Banjo Paterson, as 'small and weedy', imagery of the Snowy Mountains horses from the 1980s presents them as strong, gallant, and almost self-consciously heroic.

W.F. Refshauge, in *Searching for the Man from Snowy River*, notes that the 'Mountain ponies were small but hardy' (Refshauge 2012: opp. 72). In Banjo Paterson's poem of 1890, the Man from Snowy River is a 'a stripling on a small and weedy beast'. A newspaper report of 1940, comparing the various wild horse populations in Australia, described the Snowy River brumbies as only half the size of the horse on the plains but great stayers (*Braidwood Review*, 27 August 1940). Early documentary sources concur, describing a particularly strong and wiry breed of horse that was used in the mountain country. A newspaper report of meteorologist Clement Wragge's expedition to the Mount Kosciuszko Observatory in 1902 took note of the hardy 'Monaro mountain horse':

> *The party found that the mountain horses they took were strong, wiry and 'sure-footed. Not having any shelter at Betts Camp for them they were left out all night, in the morning, although their manes were covered in icicles, the animals were not the worse. Mr Wragge did not think there was any horse in the world that could beat the Monaro mountain horse'* ('The Roof of Australia', *Maryborough Chronicle*, 15 April 1902).

CONTEXT

Writing much earlier, in c.1837, Farquhar McKenzie, a Scots settler seeking pastoral lands in the Monaro district, described the

> *'Wandering "Stockmen" … [who] are generally mounted on a poor looking ewe necked horse – which is however handy, well trained and sure-footed – the rider's heels are armed with a formidable pair of spurs and in his hand he carries a whip with a short handle but a lash at least 3 yards in length, used for driving cattle – his talk is of Rum, Tobacco, Cattle, Horses, Brands, Increase and Stockyards, always interlaced with abundance of oaths and imprecations … He prides himself on knowing all the ranges, creeks, gullies and swamps for 100 miles around – the situations and the distances of different places and where particular horses and cattle are to be found'* (cited in Hancock 1972: 35).

While Banjo Paterson's 'Man from Snowy River' legend certainly contributes significantly to perceptions of the wild horses at Mt Kosciuszko today, this is an idea that has evolved over time, from its beginnings in the 1890s and reinvigoration from the 1940s, but was most powerfully expressed, and in a sense reinvented, in the 1980s to be later presented at the 2000 Olympic Games as a 'quintessential Australian symbol' (this quote taken from 'Calls for brumby culling', ABC Radio, 29 May 2013).

From the 1980s onwards, heroic representations of 'brumbies' and 'men on horseback' are evident in national imagery. The name 'Brumby' was given to a new model of car in the 1990s as well as a newly established rugby football team in the ACT. Comparable imagery of wild horses from the US, widely circulated in Australia through billboards and television advertising (for instance, 'Come to where the flavour is, Come to Marlboro Country' c.1980), helped to fuel the myth of the Australian wild horse as embodying the spirit of the masculinist bushman hero.

US Marlboro cigarette advertisement (*Bulletin*, 29 January 1980)

The feature film *The Man from Snowy River* (1982) both drew on this interest and garnered greater support for the legend. The film was produced by George Miller, formerly of the television production house, Crawfords. A sequel, *The Man from Snowy River II* in 1988, was followed by 'The Man from Snowy River' Arena Spectacular and the Australian Outback Spectacular, and the theme was continued with a 'Snowy River' segment at the Sydney Olympics Opening Ceremony in 2000, broadcasting and promoting this particular aspect of Australian identity to the world. In Australian cinema studies, it is argued that the *Snowy River* films present an appealing aspect of Australian history that all Australians can be proud of, but that the legend presented is a carefully constructed and commercially viable one (O'Regan 1996). Described by some critics as a 'kangaroo western', *The Man from Snowy River* (1982) was influenced in some part by the Wild West genre of American film-making that had dominated the picture theatres of Australia in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s.
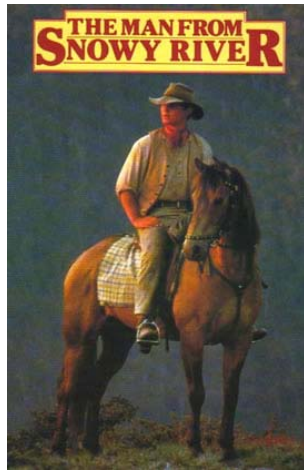
The Man from Snowy River film publicity, 1982

The Man from Snowy River movie poster, 1982 (Pinterest)
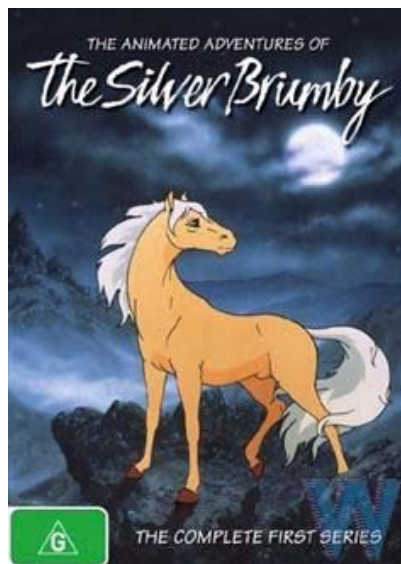
Publicity poster for *The Silver Brumby* animated film, 1993

2000 Sydney Olympic Opening Ceremony 'Man from Snowy River' segment

Outback Spectacular, 2014

Image from Outback Spectacular, 2015

Australian $10 note, 1993 (Flickr)

Cover of Jackie French, *The Girl from Snowy River* (2012)

Elyne Mitchell's popular children's book *The Silver Brumby* was also made into a film in 1993. In a kind of circular reinforcement, the Snowy River brumbies in this guise take on the human character traits that were celebrated by the emerging nationalists in the 1890s, and reinvigorated in nationalistic popular culture of the 1980s — traits such as physical strength and camaraderie, being rough and ready, and resourceful; and having a sense of freedom and independence. There was, however, also vulnerability about Mitchell's brumbies and their often precarious existence in the midst of a range of dangers, including man.

The landscape occupied by the wild horses and the 'Man from Snowy River' type is portrayed as grand and heroic, and both dangerous and beautiful. Leading Australian environmental historian George Seddon wrote tellingly at this time, 'It would seem that many Australians have a strong emotional investment in the High Country, more so than any other single landscape' (Seddon 1986: 327, cited in *Cultural Heritage of the Australian Alps*, 1992: 152). Recognition of the antiquity of Kosciuszko, and its sense of timelessness, helped to give the wild horses, both in literature and in reality, a mythic stature set in the High Country landscape described as a type of wilderness or wild place.

The 'Man from Snowy River' legend of brazen horsemen and wild horses also had a deeper cultural and political purpose. It is argued that the colonial newcomers were confronted by a strange and difficult country. They occupied the High Country initially in an ad hoc fashion and from 1889 through grazing leaseholds granted by the NSW Government, which like all land settlement in Australia was made possible through the dispossession of the Aboriginal people. (It should be acknowledged, however, that many of the brumby-runners were not leaseholders, much less land-holders, but instead made a living as pastoral workers or stockmen). The newcomers sought to possess and conquer the country; to claim it not only legally (in accordance with the British system of land legislation) and physically (through occupation, fencing, huts, etc.), but also culturally and psychologically — the latter by developing deeper forms of attachment through shaping and nourishing a new cultural tradition. Placing 'wild horses' in the 'natural' landscape imposed the culture of the newcomers deep into this landscape; this was a twofold imposition – first, naturalising the wild horses as a being an intrinsic part of the natural environment and hence, in effect, enabling the foreign (invading) culture to take cultural possession of the new country; and second, demonstrating white man's superiority and heroism in occupying and conquering a hostile environment through his ability to capture the wild horses.

Film critic, Helene Forster, however, sees deeper meaning to *The Man from Snowy River* and the Snowy Mountains environment. In her PhD thesis, Forscher examines the role of animals in Australian film and suggests that *The Man from Snowy River* (1982) is not so much about the taming of the wild land (and, by extension, its wild horses), as critical to the shaping of Australia national identity, but rather that she recognises this 'wildness' as innate to Australia

and the need to work with, and to accommodate, this quality. The wild horses, although feral, represent the reversion to the 'wildness' that the Australia environment engenders: a recognition of the power of nature. Forscher claims that the film *The Man From Snowy River* examines 'the constant negotiations between the tame and wild that have shaped not only white Australian's relationship with the land, but also man's relationship with the environment in general' (Forscher 2007: 129).Ultimately, the masculinist 'Man from Snowy River' legend gave the landscape a new narrative and a new meaning, at the expense of both natural and Indigenous cultural heritage. In this depiction of the landscape there was a marked absence of Aboriginal people, and women, and these absences served to reinforce the importance of the white bush 'man' (stockman, grazier, brumby-runner) in the 'settlement' of the High Country. Conversely, the eradication of the brumbies from the pastoral districts of NSW in the nineteenth century had been so thorough that poet Mary Gilmore reflected that settlers intended for the horses 'to be blotted out like the blacks' (Mary Gilmore, *More Recollections*, 1935, cited in Main 2005: 144)

Whilst the 'Man from Snowy River' legend continues to have an enduring appeal to many Australian people, it also has its critics, including those who considered its inclusion in the Sydney Olympic Opening Ceremony as somewhat passé. Since the 1990s and 2000s, the meanings of the 'Man from Snowy River' legend have been deconstructed in cultural studies and film studies. (See, for example, Nicholson, 'Actually I'm just writing a PhD deconstructing the entire Snowy River myth' cartoon *Australian*, 17 October 1995; O'Regan 1996).

Peter Nicholson, 'The Man from Sandy River', *Australian*, 17 October 1995 (SLV)

3.2.10 Conclusion

The history of Australian perceptions post-1820s of wild horses in terms of their association with the area of land that now constitutes KNP can be seen to broadly fit three modes of thought. The first is of Mt Kosciuszko as a rugged and dramatic wilderness, a place of natural beauty — sometimes celebrated and sometimes feared — but a place that was largely devoid of wild horses. This was the predominant view of the early explorers and early settlers in the surrounding district. Whilst wild horses certainly existed at Mt Kosciuszko and district by the

mid nineteenth century these horses were rarely noted, much less celebrated, for their own sake, at least not until the 1880s and 1890s. Visitors on recreational and scientific trips to Mt Kosciuszko often mentioned sightings of wild horses, but these sightings were generally not accompanied by praise-worthy comments about the animals. The 'wilderness' view persisted into the twentieth century and into the present time by conservationists, notably with the designation of 'wilderness areas' or 'primitive areas at KNP in 1962. A parallel theme in the idea of KNP as a place representing wilderness or wildness, which emerged later, was of the wild horses as an intrinsic part of this wild landscape. This idea is particularly evident, for example, in the *Silver Brumby* books by Elyne Mitchell (from 1958), where the horses are portrayed as embodying the spirit of the High Country. This view celebrates the freedom, beauty, strength and nobility of the wild horses in the High Country, but also recognises a vulnerability to their survival — initially on account of brumby-running and the trade in wild horses, but more recently due to the opposition to their continued existence in the alpine national parks in both NSW and Victoria mounted by the conservationist movement.

The second prevailing historic view of KNP, as part of the 'High Country', is as a cultural landscape defined by its use for sheep and cattle grazing and hence occupied by men (and some women) on horseback, working as stockmen and brumby-runners. There are references to horse traps and horse tracks from the late nineteenth century. Patterns of land use, various vernacular structures and the horses themselves are generally seen by many in the local High Country community as an intrinsic part of this cultural landscape, regardless as to whether or not there is agreement they should remain in the landscape. For the broader Australian community, the link between KNP and wild horses is strongly connected to the Snowy Mountains mythology rather than to an appreciation of a pastoral High Country cultural landscape.

The third view of KNP is informed by the Snowy Mountains mythologies that derived from the writings of Banjo Paterson and Elyne Mitchell and a plethora of other bush writing and Australian folklore, and which are reinforced in other cultural forms. One strain of this, 'The Man from Snowy River' legend, was strongly shaped by Paterson's 'The Man from Snowy River poem' of 1890, and subsequent reinforcements of this legend. Paterson presents the wild horses of the High Country as heroic brumbies, which together with their bold and daring riders help to symbolise the masculinist Australian bush type. Descriptions of the wild horses of the High Country changed in the 1880s and 1890s, becoming less critical and more favourable. Descriptions such as 'splendid' and 'magnificent' were used to describe the wild horses of the district. This view was adopted in the 1890s as part of a romantic nationalist strain of Australian literature, and was subsequently retold in the 1980s and though to the early 2000s in a new, more overtly nationalist tone. In this recent turn, the wild horses are seen as representing the 'quintessential' Australia and the associated imagery of stockmen on powerful mountain horses has been successfully used in various commercial enterprises.

The broader contexts in which the KNP horse population is therefore understood throughout the rest of this report are:

- Nature and a sense of 'wildness', linked to the cultural concepts around an 'untamed' Australian landscape and the influence of 'the bush' on the development of Australian national identity and character

- The High Country cultural landscape (in relation to pastoral occupation and land uses)

- The 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies.

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CONTEXT

4 EVIDENCE OF COMMUNITY-BASED CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES

4.1 Introduction

The following section presents existing evidence of the known cultural heritage values held by communities in Australia relating to the KNP wild horse population. One of the central aims of this report was to undertake a preliminary cultural heritage assessment against national criteria and thresholds, and therefore the identification of known community connections in this section is focused on potential values at a national level.

The report's scope included a review of existing data (no primary community research was undertaken). Evidence in this section was therefore drawn from existing literature, community consultation data and oral history interviews, as well as further historical and public domain research. There is a reasonable amount of data available in the public realm concerning cultural heritage values of wild horse populations generally in Australia (often found in diverse sources - from primary representations of wild horses in literature and art as well as previous general cultural heritage assessments – see Appendix 1). There is a substantial body of information on the management of the KNP wild horse population (Straight Talk 2015a-f and Bluegrass Consulting 2015 for example) but relatively limited material on that explicitly examines community-held cultural heritage values specific to the KNP wild horse population. Evidence in this section has therefore been drawn from community-based data attributed to other wild horse populations in Australia where this can be applied in a general sense to the KNP wild horse population; this includes community values research undertaken for the Barmah National Park (Context 2014c) and the Guy Fawkes River National Park (Heritage Working Party 2002. This data is sparse, however provides a reasonable indication of community connections that may apply to the KNP wild horse population.

This section therefore does not present the results of targeted research into community connections that might usually be presented for a national level heritage assessment. This evidence is instead collated to provide a foundation to the cultural heritage values analysis and assessment in Section 5 of this report.

The following evidence is grouped into the three broad value themes that were identified in Section 3 'History' of this report.

- Nature and a sense of 'wildness', linked to the cultural concepts around an 'untamed' Australian landscape and connections between Australian identity and 'the bush'

- The High Country cultural landscape (in relation to pastoral occupation and land uses associated with the pastoral period)

- The 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies.

This evidence of community connections to the wild horse population was gathered in support of two of the National Heritage criteria; *(e) aesthetic characteristics* and *(g) social value* – both of which require evidence of association between the identified communities and the identified values.

The approach to these criteria involved the following steps:

1. Identify the communities or cultural groups with potential associations with or experiences of the place site through research and community profiling
2. Establish that these associations or experiences exist
3. Analyse available evidence about these associations with, or experiences of, the place in terms of their importance to each community or cultural group and in relation to each criterion
4. Examine whether the threshold for the National Heritage List is met – that is 'outstanding heritage value'.

4.2 Identified communities

Two communities have been recognised as holding connections to the KNP wild horse population at a national level – the Australian community and the High Country community. A significant number of people from these communities hold special or strong cultural heritage value associations with the KNP wild horse population.

The identification of these communities does not assume that all Australian and High Country community members hold positive cultural heritage associations with the KNP wild horse population. It is also acknowledged that a sizeable number of Australian and High Country community members instead hold no or negative value associations of different types with the same wild horse population.

Australian national community

For the purposes of this report, the Australian national community is defined as long-term Australian residents with no direct links to the AANP/High Country, except potentially as occasional visitors.

Members of this community associate with KNP's wild horse population through indirect, and often symbolic associations with the High Country landscape, the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies and ideas related to nature, vast 'untamed' mountain landscapes, and the sense of 'wildness' evoked by wild horses.

The Australian national community would include those who recognise and feel an affinity with prevalent national images and narratives of the wild horses that can be seen in widely available sources, such as the Sydney Olympics Opening Ceremony in 2000, the Australian $10 note, the poem, 'The Man from Snowy River' (A.B. 'Banjo' Paterson) and the *Silver Brumby* literature (Elyne Mitchell) There are no significant art works in national collections that relate to wild horses apart from the relatively unknown Hammond series of the 1890s.

Not everyone who lives in Australia today will recognise these elements as components of national identity, and it has been suggested that they may fade over time. In relation to this report, our focus is on what is evident today, rather than hypothesizing about how values and contributors to national identity may change over time.

High Country community

For the purposes of this report, the High Country community comprises families and descendants of High Country pastoralists and others who worked stock or ran brumbies in the High Country, residents in the Park's immediate vicinity or gateway towns, and a range of people who, as part of groups, have strong ties to the Park, such as horse riding groups, recreational groups, or wild horses advocacy groups — for example, the Snowy River Horse Riders Association (SRHRA); the Snowy Mountains Bush Users Group (SMBUG); and the Kosciuszko Brumby and Horse Camp Conservation Society (KBHCCS).

This community is characterised by direct links with the High Country environment, through generations of the same families living in the area, knowing the landscape intimately, and for some, the local horse populations. Some people in this community, for instance, may have, or may have had, brumby runners or stockmen in their family. The Minister for the Environment and Heritage (2005:17) points out the validity of this community at a national level, noting that rural communities around the entire fringe of the Australian Alps have shared association with the place, and their collective connection is widely recognised.

4.3 Evidence of community cultural heritage values

4.3.1 Wildness

Australian community

This value theme examines the idea of wild horses as closely aligned with ideas of wild mountain landscapes and connected to Australian 'bush' identity despite horses being an introduced species. This section indicates that positive community connection to horses as part

of a wild environment is strong; conversely, for others in the Australian community seeing wild horses in a natural environment represents a threat and an impact. Some people may hold these two perspectives simultaneously.

For many individuals, witnessing horse populations active in the wild inspires a positive aesthetic reaction linked to a sense of freedom, elation and awe at their independence and unfamiliarity with humans.

Beauty such as theirs was something with which one lived joyously – racing with the wind, with storm and snow, dancing in the frost or among the golden wattles, galloping, galloping in the spring sun. Life might be dangerous, with beauty that was so difficult to hide… (Mitchell 2000:73).

When I broke my own horse in and was able to take myself out there as a teen, I felt the most amazing experience. I was on one of the last musters, when a small group came to a halt in front of me. They were so close. I was mesmerized by them. From that day I have ridden out there many times to see them, photograph them and admire them. I have then felt connected to my ancestors and the beauty of nature (Survey Respondent 99, Context 2014c:13).

I gain deep value in seeing Brumbies living free, and evolving with their … environment to coexist in small, sustainable numbers (Survey Respondent 55, Context 2014c:13).

Australians [should] continue to see Alpine Brumbies living wild… for future generations to enjoy (Submission 61, Parks Victoria 2013:118).

Data on values ascribed to wild horse populations elsewhere in Australia indicates that a visual appreciation of wild horses in a wild setting occurs irrespective of geographic location. This aesthetic value in many parts of Australia may be characterised by the picturesque Australian 'bush' rather than the alpine High Country for example, in the Barmah National Park:

My family has a long association with the forest and the brumbies have always been part of the landscape for my entire life and have been a unique attraction to the bush. My parents used to graze the team of horses on the common when harvest was completed (pre and post war) so I feel an attachment to them (Survey Respondent 15, Context 2014c:15).

For some members of the wider Australian community, observing horses in the wild evokes feelings of pride at their strength and endurance to have thrived in the harsh Australian landscape:

It is our belief they wild horses have earned the right to left wild (Submission 73, Parks Victoria 2013:172).

The Brumbies are magnificent beasts and to be walking through the beautiful redgum bushland and happen across a heard of them, especially when the new foals are about is truly breathtaking (Survey Respondent 22, Context 2014c:14).

The [Victorian Brumby Alliance] believes strongly that the majority of the Australian public want to keep Brumbies in our wild landscapes (Submission 62, Parks Victoria 2013:124).

Despite being introduced animals, Australian wild horses are often valued as highly as native species, and as unique beings:

These horses are "unique" to Australia, they are, in my eyes part of Australia like the roo, koala, wombat etc.: they are part of this, harsh and unique country we call Australia (Forum 3, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:37).

It is hard to describe how wonderful it feels to see how beautiful the Brumbies are... I would rate the sighting of Brumbies more special than seeing a kangaroo or koala because there are so few of them (Survey Respondent 68, Context 2014c:16).

...because it has grown up in a herd environment, it understands its place in this interactive environment.... [there are] reports on a stallion leading a blind mare to food and water sources, stallions swimming out to shepherd a floundering foal during a river crossing, etc...they are a breed onto their own. They have gone back to an earlier stockier build through natural selection, they have shorter backs and necks... they are distinct to the area, shaped by the way the forest has been managed by the farmers and the loggers....they're a

good example of interweaving with the community cultural environment (Survey Respondent 147/Interviewee 6, Context 2014c:16).

A balance must be maintained between the heritage value of the wild horse and the need to protect and preserve the environment (Submission 75, Parks Victoria 2013:177).

Wild horse populations attract visitors, who often express they should remain part of the National Park environment because of their cultural heritage values:

… it would be a shame if the horses were eradicated from the [National] Parks altogether… they are a part of our culture and folklore, and they are a tourist attraction (Forum 13, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:57).

*Many people simply like to visit [national parks] – if you like, in the romantic notion of seeing mobs of brumbies. And many of those who visit the Kosciuszko National Park, say exactly that. And the thrill, the experience they have in sighting brumbies ... may be unparalleled by any oher experience in those conservation areas (*Richard Smallwood, Australian Horse Alliance, Heritage Working Party 2002:30).

That many park visitors regularly gain pleasure from seeing Brumbies living wild (Submission 61, Parks Victoria 2013:118).

I love horses, and horses and feral don't go together. I am a cat lover but do see cats as feral… cats are destructive, horses are more passive (Straight Talk 2015c:6).

The place of the wild horse in our cultural heritage needs to be balanced against the issue of environmental damage (Submission 75, Parks Victoria 2013:180).

High Country community

For the High Country community, KNP's wild horse population hold multilayered values constructed over years of association. Interestingly, data collected by Straight Talk (2015) alludes to a silence within sections of this community because of the politicised and controversial nature of the issue. However, when focusing on a 'positive' cultural heritage view, wild horses are seen as part of the wild mountain landscape and the mountain lifestyle.

One local resident described:

There is an obligation and due diligence to all Australians to protect our heritage and the brumby is part of this, of course this is not to be at the cost of the environment, so the challenge comes in finding a balance. Heritage horses stem from lines that served us when we needed it most and it is important to protect them (Forum 3, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:37).

The KNP is viewed by many as a refuge for the wild horses; they add to the Park's natural sense of place:

…I believe KNP to be the horses rightful sanctuary, it is only the area they inhabit and proven impacts we should be discussing (Forum 20, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:72).

It is imperative to maintain a good balance between the natural environment and tourism and utilisation of our natural assets (Submission 73, Parks Victoria 2013:172).

Other High Country community members continue to view the wild horses as pastoralists and cattlemen did historically – as assets of use value in the Australian landscape:

I find brumbies to be the best of the best of horses. They are hardy, loyal, tough, excellent doers, and will create the bonds I am looking for so much easily, due I imagine to their upbringing by other horses in a proper herd environment away from significant human interaction (Forum 3, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:37).

In the KNP, hoofed animals – and pastoral activity generally – have been damaging to the Park's ecological values (NPWS 2008: 8-12). Some members of the High Country and wider Australian communities have voiced the opinion that KNP's wild horse population imposes adverse risk to the ongoing maintenance of the Park's natural attributes and that they are no more part of Australian heritage and folklore than other large 'feral' animals, such as the camel

and water buffalo (Forum 13, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:55-57). Stakeholder consultation at KNP undertaken in 2014 highlighted that almost 40 per cent of a total 405 respondents identified horses as the biggest threat to Kosciuszko's ecological values (Straight Talk 2015f:12-13). This conflict highlights that while some communities see the wild horses as a key attribute relating to a 'wild' landscape, for other communities, wild horse populations are seen to have an adverse impact on the very same landscape and similarly expressed values:

Walking around the head of the Snowy River there's… dung fouling up the river so as to make water purification necessary (Forum 1, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:33).

Huge piles of stallion markers everywhere around Tantangra Dam. (Forum 1, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:33).

If you go up to the head waters of the Snowy River the damage to the river is very obvious. It does look reminiscent of a paddock in a lot of places, dung everywhere and the waters edge looking boggy and torn up (Forum 2, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:35).

A sustainable population of horses in the park may be possible, but this needs to be sustainable from a 'conservation of natural heritage' perspective, as well as sustainable in terms of economic viability to maintain that "sustainable population" (Forum 4, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:39).

I would add further that in assessing the effect of any animal, a holistic approach is needed. Vegetation composition is only one aspect. Other issues would include vegetation quality, water quality, effect on native animals, fish and insects, erosion, soil composition, and so on (Forum 4, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:39).

Horses are killing alpine ecosystems, and certainly don't subscribe to any 'do no harm' doctrine. They are neither a natural nor sustainable part of the alpine ecosystem (Forum 6, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:43).

It's heartbreaking to see the trashing of our beautiful mountains and the further endangering of endangered species like the iconic corroboree frog (Forum 7, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:45).

The key issue is that feral animals (and exotic plants) are altering the natural environment and its balance (Forum 7, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:45).

I strongly want to protect our environment there is far too much habitat destroyed with development and it pushes all our wildlife closer and closer to extinction which saddens me deeply (Forum 9, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:49).

Horses don't provide any benefits to natural heritage in Australia. Drainage of bogs and waterways doesn't help in the face of fires or climate change, and selective grazing of palatable species, enabling the proliferation of less palatable species that burn hotter and harder, doesn't help either. They are both likely to result in increased fire frequency and intensity (Forum 20, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:71).

There are also members of the High Country community who dispute the wild horses' impact on the alpine environment and furthermore, question whether or not their removal will result in an adverse ecological response:

The brumbies have lived in the mountains for nearly 180 years, and include cattle for over 100 years also. How many native species (plant or animal) have become extinct in this time because of them? NONE! (Forum 1, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:33).

…ecosystems adapt and find a new equilibrium and it may well prove that if all brumbies were removed from the Park that the area would be adversely affected in ways that we cannot foresee (Forum 7, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:45).

This [Alpine trail-riding] group accepts that horses are not native to Australia and that given the structure of Alpine soils, any hard footed animal does have the potential to cause damage. However this group is strongly of the opinion that the damage done or the potential for damage to be done by wild horses must be seen in perspective with the damage done by other land use changes (Submission 75, Parks Victoria 2013:178).

4.3.2 High Country cultural landscape

Pastoralism facilitated significant change in the High Country region and evidence of this activity remains across the landscape, including the wild horse – or 'brumby' – population at Kosciuszko National Park.

Australian community

For the Australian community, wild horse populations can evoke feelings of national pride as visual reminders of the colonial era. Wild horses are reminiscent of colonial pastoral traditions such as cattle-grazing and are associated with mounted stockmen who continue to feature in Australian popular culture. This association is particularly strong in the alpine landscape, which presented fresh challenges for colonists, epitomising the battling High Country stockman and evoking emotional responses related to the symbolic Australian frontier:

> *Horses have made a huge contribution to Australia's early development and many people see horses as an iconic emblem of Australia's history* (Submission 46, Parks Victoria 2013:16).

> *The Alps provide a glimpse of Brumby 'living history' from decedents of a bygone age* (Submission 61, Parks Victoria 2013:117).

Values-based assessments of wild horse populations found elsewhere in Australia have found that wild horses '…have historic, cultural and a very significant economic value in Australia (Heritage Working Party 2002:10)'. These values include their vital role in the exploration and development of the colony and in the Australian agriculture and livestock industries.

> *I don't think there can be any argument that feral horses - known as brumbies of course, affectionately called brumbies - have played an important role in the cultural values of certainly White Australia in parts of [New South Wales] and indeed in other states* (Interview with Richard Smallwood, Australian Horse Alliance, 30th October 2001 in Heritage Working Party 2002:29-30).

> *The pastoral theme associated with the park represents a high country variation characterised by transhumance, unique within Australia to the Australian Alps and the Central Plateau of Tasmania. The stories and traditions of high country pastoralism have been commemorated by famous artists and writers and hold an important place in the consciousness of many Australians, albeit often in a romanticised way* (DE&C NSW 2006:10)

High Country community

Horses played a vital role for pastoralists in overcoming the High Country's difficult terrain in order to service their land and stock. For many High Country community members, the Kosciuszko horse population is a visual reminder of agricultural activity that included mustering, horse riding, grazing cattle as well as wild horses themselves. Sometimes called 'brumby chasing', mustering wild horses for population control and remount became an important tradition for local stockmen, many of whom continue to recall specific sounds and feelings, as well as a sense of place in the 'High Country', in connection with this activity (Holth & Barnaby 1980:167):

> *It truly amazes me that people who don't live in and around the park, and who have no history there think they know how to manage the park better than the people who have been doing it more than effectively for years before it become a national park* (Forum 25, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:83).

> *…let the mountain horseman access lands to manage their horses how they always did. Through true horsemanship skill and bush craft* (Forum 14, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:59).

It was acknowledged by the Minister for the Environment & Heritage (2005:12) that although seasonal alpine grazing at KNP ceased in the late-1970s, meanings ascribed activities such as horse-riding in the present are considered a memorialisation of this practice that holds ongoing significance for local communities.

Of particular relevance to the High Country community is the practice of 'brumby-running' or 'trapping'. The capture and breaking-in of brumbies is viewed by many of the High Country community as a significant recreational exercise that is highly competitive and dangerous (Holth & Barnaby 1980:89-90). The activity is traditionally a means for participants to

CONTEXT

demonstrate their skill in horsemanship and familiarity with the rugged terrain, creating social capital and a sense of community:

…we used to round up brumbies in [Crackenback] and bring them up the spur into Trapyard. That's how Trapyard got its name. We brought the horses up and got them up into Trapyard, that was the first, and then George Day built a stockyard. After that he brought them up into the stockyard. When he got them there he put a rodeo on to break the horses in, so we had the rodeo (Huenke interview with John Abbotsmith 1982:62).

It was so exciting when the men arrived for the brumby chase… occasionally [mum and I would] join the chase to the sound of whips cracking and men calling out to each other as they crashed through the bush. (Dean Turner interview with Jack McCallum 1986:1107)

Some local stockmen mustered and broke-in wild horses for commercial sale and kept any exceptional animals for their own personal use:

He had a couple of roan pack horses. "Oh," I said to Charlie, "Geez, I'd love a horse." He said, "Next time I come in I'll bring you a horse." So he brought me in a little brumby mare filly. Oh God! Anyhow, I took her over to Polly McGregor's house. There was quite a big yard there. And I had a young fellow, Marvin McGregor, doing the mouthing, mouthing her. I thought, oh, she'd be pretty good. So I went over there one day, and I put the bridle on her, and I had no saddle. I jumped on her bareback (Huenke interview with Danny Collman 1986:454).

Although brumby mustering and remounting is no longer legally practiced by the local High Country community in the KNP, associations attributed to the this wild horse population are derived from the area's long history as a cultural landscape:

I noted that the bush-skills and horsemanship of the community remain valued in the region in spite of pastoralism being absent from SRNP and KNP and that this is recognised by their involvement in park management activities such as the removal of feral animals. I concluded that the association of community with place was derived from the long history of pastoralism, rather than the presence or absence of a contemporary activity (Minister for the Environment & Heritage 2005:17).

They are part of the history of the area and along with the cattlemen have assisted in keeping the area viable. I can remember my father telling me of the wild horses both there and in the high country. They have been there for hundreds of years and it will be a shame if my grandchildren don't get to experience them the same as I did as a child… it is one of the reasons that people go there, in the hope of seeing a 'wild' horse - to see a bit of our Australian history. ... Lots of really positive memories of seeing young foals running with their mothers through the early morning. Hearing my father talking about the wild horses and wanting to go and see them. I think that there is an Australian 'bushie' in most of us (Survey Respondent 236, Context 2014c:14).

A local resident stated:

My experience with 'running' is that a few locals do cut out young foals for their own use from time to time... but it is very limited (Forum 23, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:79).

On the subject of cessation of brumby mustering by the 1970s, a former Councillor of an unidentified Shire stated that:

Oh well, of course you know it'd be very true to say no that it does not exist today, as far as bush horses and running horses and riding in the bush cause they don't do it, but these rodeos that they buck out of the chutes, there's no doubt there's an odd very famous man riding those (Gare interview with Councillor Leo Barry 1970:89-90).

4.3.3 'The 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies legend

Australian community

Australia's wild horses – 'affectionately called brumbies' – have played an important role in the cultural memory of Australia, evoking feelings of admiration of the High Country pioneer harnessing nature to overcome the challenging landscape (Richard Smallwood, Australian Horse Alliance, Heritage Working Party 2002:29-30).

For many members of the Australian community, narratives of 'The Man from Snowy River' characterise this cultural memory. The legend defines stockmen and women as possessors of 'horsemanship skill and bush craft', representing occupation and land use of Australia's expansive, natural landscape during the pastoral period (Forum 14, Bluegrass Consulting 2015:59). This legend provides a strong link to Australia's colonial history, evoking picturesque ideas of horsemanship in the mountains and the mountain lifestyle (AHC 2008:G Social Value).

Inspired by Banjo Paterson's iconic poem of the same name, the 'Snowy River' legend epitomises the capable, confident horseman mustering wild horses, thereby overcoming a natural frontier:

> *He sent the flint-stones flying, but the pony kept his feet,*
> *He cleared the fallen timber in his stride,*
> *And the man from Snowy River never shifted in his seat —*
> *It was grand to see that mountain horseman ride.* (Paterson 1890)

The story is purportedly identified with the High Country lifestyle rather than with one individual:

> *I've heard lots of stories since. Jack Brodie, a World War veteran, he knew Banjo Patterson, Jack Adams was another one that knew him, and Norman McGufficke. They always said that Banjo Patterson* (sic) *told them that it was no particular man, just some man from Snowy River. Clancy of the Overflow was no particular man, he was mentioned in that somewhere* (Huenke interview with Ernie Bale 1982:63-64).

For the Australian community, the '…[*brumbies*'] existence is a story, a historical legend' and a universal narrative all Australians can identify with (Survey Respondent 236, Context 2014c:25). Indeed:

> *In the minds of many Australians whether they are descendants from our Indigenous, convict colonials or our many peoples' lineage, be they horsemen or not, city or country, there is a feeling of having a living link and a connection to our country's heritage through the Australian brumby* (Christine Hare, Brumby Heritage & Protection Society, Heritage Working Party 2002:29-30).

'The Man from Snowy River' legend has been at the forefront of major Australian events such as Sydney's Royal Easter Show, as well as in the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games' Opening Ceremony, where 120 horsemen and women appeared, to '…represent an important part of [Australian] culture…' on the international stage (Richard Smallwood, Australian Horse Alliance, Heritage Working Party 2002:30).

In the Australian national identity, wild horses or brumbies represent a crossroads between pastoral occupation and a contrasting sense of vast 'untamed' mountain landscapes in which the wild horses may evoke picturesque feelings of 'wildness'. Brumby mythology features strongly in Australian popular culture, having been immortalised on the Australian $10 note and romanticised in art, film, music, television and literature, such as in Elyne Mitchell's *Silver Brumby* series:

> *The [Alpine National Park] is an Australian and International icon. Australia – the country whose folklore is full of tales of our mountain Brumbies, the country that immortalised the wild horse in the opening ceremony of the Olympic games in 2000. The country that was raised on the tales of Elyne Mitchell and the Man from Snowy River. The country of people who are passionate about our beautiful landscape and our rich links with that landscape. Our country was explored, settled and supplied by the forebears of our Brumbies and their links with our culture and our national identity are deep and strong* (Submission 62, Parks Victoria 2013:124).

> *…they are an Australian icon and a part of what makes us so special* (Survey Respondent 190, Context 2014c:16).

> *Horses hold a special place in Australia's history, so much so that they are on our $10 note* (Submission 73, Parks Victoria 2013:172).

Most Australian Trail Horse Rider Association members have a strong emotional connection to the Australian Brumby, (as is also the case for much of the Australian population in general). We therefore believe that for the good of the nation's identity (as well as the more tangible benefits that come from tourism) there should always remain a continued presence of the Wild Horse, in the Victorian High Country (Submission 76, Parks Victoria 2013:184).

High Country community

The High Country community value 'The Man from Snowy River' legend for its link with KNP both conceptually as the Australia community does, as well as directly due to similar experiences.

In 2005, the Minister for Environment and Heritage noted that:

… KNP has long been popularly associated with the Paterson poem 'The Man from Snowy River' and a plethora of similar images, stories, rituals, festivals, horsemanship, practices and trades, bush-craft and hut construction skills, lifestyles, and folklore (Minister for the Environment & Heritage 2005:11).

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NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service (NSW NPWS) 2003, Horse Management Plan for the Alpine Area of Kosciuszko National Park. NSW Government, Sydney.

Paterson, A.B. 1898, *The Man from Snowy River and Other Verses*. Angus & Robertson, Sydney.

Straight Talk 2015c, 'Focus Groups Report, KNP Wild Horse Management Plan'.

Straight Talk 2015f, 'Second Online Survey Report for KNP Wild Horse Management Plan'.

Artworks

The following list of artworks provides evidence of an appreciation of the Kosciuszko landscape, which in some cases includes the wild horse population (examples marked as #).

1839: A western view of Mt Kosciuszko from Welareang (NLA, reproduced in Mitchell 1985)

1840: Sketch by James Macarthur of the Dargals (reproduced in Mitchell 1985)

1842-43: Sketches of the Monaro area and Snowy Mountains by Oswald W.B. Brierly, as part of an expedition through the area from Dec 1842 to Jan 1843 (SLNSW)

1862-66: Eugene von Guérard sketches and paintings of Mt Kosciusko

1870: Snowy River, near the Monaro Track, photograph by C. Walter, *Illustrated Australian News*, 16 July 1870 [SLV] – shows river near Didduck Junction

1886: Two sketches in Andrew Garran, *Picturesque Atlas of Australasia* (Sydney, 1886-88) – 'Stone cairn, Kosciusko' and 'Granite Rocks, Betts Camp, Mt Kosciusko'

c.1890s: Charles Hammond series of 6 paintings for publication of the A.B. Paterson poem, 'The Man from Snowy River'#

1892: 'On the Snowy River, looking South: Three miles from the NSW boundary line', *Illustrated Australian News*, 2 May 1892, wood engraving by J. Macfarlane (SLV)

1897: Album of photographs of the Snowy Mountains, 1897-1902: includes Mount Kosciuszko Observatory, 1 album (24 silver gelatin printing-out paper photoprints); 23.5 x 28.5 cm (SLNSW)

1903: W.C. Piguenit painting 'Kosciusko' oil, 1903 (AGNSW) (discussed in *New Worlds from Old*, 1999)

1917: Walter Burke, *Photography Amongst the Snow at Kosciusko*. NSW Government Tourist Bureau, 1917

1920: Movie poster, *The Man from Snowy River*, 1920 [Wikipedia]#

c.1930: 'Australia', showing horses and distant mountains; James Northfield commercial travel poster, c.1930#

c.1930s-40s: Edna Walling, photograph of the source of the Snowy River (SLV)

c.1930: Will Ashton, *Kosciusko*, wins the Wynne Prize in 1930 (held AGNSW)

1939-51: series of 23 black and white photographs by George Petersen (1894-1958) depicting Mt Kosciusko and Snowy River area (SLNSW - no reference to wild horses)

1945: Max Dupain photos of Mt Kosciusko, c.1946 (published in *Max Dupain's Australian Landscapes*, Viking, Ringwood, 1988)

1949: The Brumby Muster, A heard of brumbies being rounded up in the Australian Alps [photographic image] / photographer, J Fitzpatrick. 1 photographic negative: b&w, acetate [NAA]#

1958: Cover of the first edition of Elyne Mitchell's *The Silver Brumby*, artwork by Ralph Thompson#

1961: Frank Hurley, *Snowy Mountains, A Camera Study*, Sands, Sydney, 1961

1961: Ian McKay, sculpture, *The Man from Snowy River*, installed at Cooma#

1976: Fred Williams painted *Kosciusko* in 1976

1995: Peter Nicholson, 'Actually I'm just writing a PHD deconstructing the entire Snowy River myth' cartoon published in the *Australian*, 17 October 1995 [SLV]#

2000s: One of Australia's most prolific commercial photographers, Steve Parish, on his Nature Connect website, presents a series of photos and accompanying text about Mt Kosciuszko but no mention of the wild horses

2010: Statue of The Man from Snowy River erected at Corryong; artist Brett Garling#

Literature and music

The following list evidences an appreciation of the High Country landscape, which in many cases includes the wild horse population (examples marked as #).

1890: A.B. Paterson poem, 'The Man from Snowy River' first published in the *Bulletin* #

c1890s: A.B. Paterson, 'An Outback Marriage: A story of colonial life', p. 130: #

'Word was carried from selection to selection, across trackless mountain-passes, and over dangerous river crossings, until even Larry, the outermost Donohue, heard the news in his rocky fastness, miscalled a grazing lease, away in the gullies under the shadows of Black Andrew mountain. By some mysterious means it even reached Briney Doyle, who was camped out near the foothills of Kosciusko, running wild horses into trap-yards. This occupation had taken such hold on him that he had become as wild as the horses he pursued, and it was popularly supposed that the other Doyles had to go out with horses to run him in whenever they wanted him.'

1890s: A.B. Paterson, story in *Song of the Pen*, 1983, p. 582:#

I remember riding into Yass with a mate who was on one of the wild horses and we were going along quite well until ... I've heard of men getting good horses out of brumby mobs, but the only good ones ever I saw were up on Mount Kosciusko

c.1890s: Barcroft Boake poem, 'On the Range' (mentions wild horses, Monaro, Nungar Creek)#

c. late 1890s-1900s: (Stella) Miles Franklin, born at Tumut, NSW, author of *Childhood at Brindabella* (1963), in which she writes of the high country: *'No other spot has ever replaced the hold on my affections or imagination of my birthplace'* (cited in Jill Roe, *Stella Miles Franklin: A biography*, 2010)

1895: poem by Will Ogilvie, 'Where the Wild Horses Come to Water' #

c.1901: poem by Ethel Mills, 'The Brumby's Death' #

c.1902: poem / song 'Away Down the Snowy River', recited on the occasion of a ministerial visit to Mt Kosciuszko (*Sydney Mail*, 22 February 1902)

c.1910s: Mary Gilmore (wrote about the Guy Fawkes brumbies) #

1918: Marie Pitt, poem 'John Riley's Last Ride', *Weekly Times Annual*, 2 November 1918 (cited in Refshauge, 2012)

1920: Allie West (Muriel A.L.A. West), poem, 'The Man from Snowy River's Last Ride', *Sydney Sun*, 19 January 1920 (cited in Refshauge, *Searching for the Man from Snowy River*, 2012) #

1928: Mary Gilmore poem, 'Horses of the Mind' #

c.1930: Mary Gilmore poem, 'The Wild Horses' #

c.1939: A.B. Paterson: 'The Man from *Snowy* River . . . was written to describe the cleaning up of the wild horses in my own district. To make a job of it I had to create a character, to imagine a man who would ride better than anybody else, and where would he come from except from the Snowy?' (cited in Clement Semmler, *The Banjo of the Bush*, 1966, reprinted 1984) #

1942: Elyne Mitchell, *Australia's Alps*, 1942 #

1945: Elyne Mitchell, *Speak to the Earth*, 1945 #

1945: Gordon Campbell, *Song of the Snowy River, and Other Poems*, 1945 (UniMelb)

1946: Smokey Dawson, 'Girl from Snowy River', song, c.1946 (UniMelb)

1958: Elyne Mitchell, *The Silver Brumby*, 1958, and other subsequent titles in the *Silver* Brumby series #

1961: Frank Clune, *Across the Snowy Mountains*, 1961

1961: Frank Hurley, *Snowy Mountains, The Camera Study*, Sands, 1961

c.1960s: David Campbell, various poems

1974: Dick Johnson, *The Alps at the Crossroads*, Victorian National Parks Association

c.1963: 'The Wild Horses' by Mary Gilmore, arranged for soprano and alto voices with piano accompaniment / the poem by Dame Mary Gilmore; set to music by Hal Evans. [music] 1963, English, Printed music edition. #

1981: *Australia A Timeless Grandeur,* Reg Morrrison and Helen Grasswill

1983: *Discover Australia's National Parks and Naturelands,* Michael and Irene Morcombe

1984: 'Kosciusko' © Midnight Oil, *Red Sails in the Sunset*, 1984 (includes the lyric 'Older than Kosciusko')

1984: *Wild Australia,* Readers Digest

1988: *Australia's Wilderness Heritage, Vol 1,* Geoff Mosley et al.

1999: *Victoria's National Parks Explorers Guide*

2004: *Inspired by Nature*, Steve Parish

2004: *Australia's National Parks - A Journey of Discovery*, Steve Parish

2012: French, Jackie, *The Girl from Snowy River*, 2012 (juvenile literature) #

2012: Refshauge, *Searching for the Man from Snowy River*, 2012 #

2012: *On the Trail of the Silver Brumby* (new illustrated edition of the works of Elyne Mitchell) #

2003: Massey, Katherine and Mae Lee Sun, *Brumby: A celebration of Australia's wild horses* #

2011: Michael Keenan, *In Search of a Wild Brumby*, 2011 #

2013: Mark O'Connor, poetry book about the High Country (not about horses; a shift to the natural environment)

Numeralla and Nariel folk festivals feature folk music associated with the mountains

Moving images and live performances

The following list evidences an appreciation of the Kosciuszko landscape, which includes the wild horse population (examples marked as #).

1982: Burrows, Geoff, *The Man from Snowy River* (feature film) #

1982: *The Plains of Heaven* film

1982: *Snow: the Movie* (film)

1986 The Far Country (film)

1987 *Cool Change* (film)

1988: Burrows, Geoff, *The Man from Snowy River II* (Australian drama film sequel based on the Banjo Paterson poem 'The Man from Snowy River') #

1993: Tatoulis, John *The Silver Brumby* (Australian drama - family film based on Elyne Mitchell's Silver Brumby series of novels) #

1993-1996: The Nine Network, *The Man from Snowy River* (Australian adventure drama television series based on the Banjo Paterson poem 'The Man from Snowy River') #

1994-1998: Stephens, Jon & Malmgren, Judy, *The Silver Brumby* (Australian animated children's television series based on Elyne Mitchell's *Silver Brumby* series of novels) #

c.2000s: regular 'Snowy River' segment as part of Sydney's Royal Easter Show #

2000: Jones, Ignatius *Summer Olympics Opening Ceremony* (tribute to the heritage of the Australian stock horse, including reference to 'brumbies', complete with music and moving image from the Man from Snowy River film, 1982) #

2015: Outback Spectacular includes 'The Man from Snowy River' segment (live performance) #

5   COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES

5.1 Introduction

This section of the report identifies and describes other wild horse populations located in Australia and internationally within public land or national parks in order to compare and contrast their cultural heritage values with the KNP wild horse population. The comparison was undertaken in relation to the three contextual themes used throughout this report:

- Nature and a sense of 'wildness', linked to the cultural concepts around an 'untamed' Australian landscape and connections between Australian national identity and 'the bush' (where 'the bush', which represents a range of landscape types, is essentially the opposite of 'the city')

- The High Country cultural landscape (in relation to pastoral occupation and land use patterns associated with the pastoral period)

- 'The Snowy River' mythologies.

These wild horse populations were identified through bibliographic and online searches. This is not an exhaustive list; there are other wild horse populations that were not analysed as they were not considered comparable or because of a lack of publicly available data on heritage-based values.

The Australian comparisons considered in this section are: Guy Fawkes River National Park (NSW), Victorian Alps, Coffin Bay parks (SA), Barmah National Park (Vic), Namadgi National Park (ACT), and various locations in Queensland and Central Australia. The international examples considered are: Kaimanawa Range, New Zealand, United States (Montana, Wyoming, Oregon, Nevada), and Dartmoor (England).

The wild horse populations examined are all examples of domesticated horses that have escaped or been released to form 'wild' or semi-wild populations of horses. In the case of the Dartmoor England, while horses are native to England, the Dartmoor ponies are a long domesticated breed managed as a semi-wild population.

The wild horses of Mongolia, known as Przewalski's horse are claimed to be the only remnant of an indigenous horse population that has never been domesticated surviving anywhere in the world. They are native to the Steppes of Central Asia and were once extinct in the wild and have now been reintroduced in Mongolia at the Khustain Nuruu National Park, Takhin Tal Nature Reserve, and Khomiin Tal (Boyd and Houpt 1994). Some taxonomists consider it to be a subspecies of wild horse (*Equus ferus przewalskii)*, but some regard Przewalski's horse as a species, *Equus przewalskii*. Przewalski's horse is one of three known subspecies of *Equus ferus*, the others being the domesticated horse *Equus ferus caballus* and the other the extinct tarpan *Equus ferus ferus*. The Przewalski horse is protected as a rare and endangered species.5.2   Comparative examples of wild horse populations

5.2.1 Australian wild horse populations

Australia has the largest population of wild horses in the world, with an estimated 400,000 animals across the country (Nimmo *et al.* 2007). Given the nation's significant pastoral history, with horses forming an integral part of this history, it is not surprising that wild horses are still found in many parts of Australia. Studies on the impact of wild horses on Australia's indigenous – and in many cases ecologically rare – environment have been conducted in regions where wild horse concentrations are high. Cultural heritage values are frequently only indirectly included as part of the discussion on wild horse management in Australia, and therefore cultural heritage-based value data is often lacking in the public domain. This may reflect broader perceptions of wild horses as an invasive species with little value warranting

consideration, or a lack of understanding of the horses' potential as heritage attributes for some communities.

Guy Fawkes River National Park, New South Wales

Guy Fawkes River National Park (GFRNP) is located in the north east of New South Wales and contains a large wild horse population. In 2001 a Heritage Working Party was established at GFRNP to prepare a report for the NSW Minister of Environment assessing the horses' heritage significance. The report noted that there were conflicting community values in the horses' ecological impact on the indigenous environment, which resulted in planning for the removal of the population. The report also found that the horses hold substantial cultural, historical, aesthetic and social value for the local community, and that these values were sufficiently evident for a specific GFRNP policy to be developed for values management outside the Park (NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service 2006).

Europeans populated the Guy Fawkes River region from the 1830s, at which time pastoralists who established the area's first cattle grazing stations took up land. Horses were bred predominantly for export in the remount trade but also to cater for the needs of local stockmen. Horses bred on stations roamed freely across unfenced acreages and were only occasionally mustered to be selected for sale (Fahey 1984). Today's wild horse population at GFRNP is descended from these animals, as well as those that were intentionally released by pastoralists in earlier decades once they had outlived their usefulness.

In terms of heritage value, the report's key findings contend that the wild horses at GFRNP:

> …are important in the cultural history of the Guy Fawkes area; have a special association with a group of persons of importance in the cultural history of the Guy Fawkes area, namely the Light Horse regiments; have a strong association with some sections of communities in the Guy Fawkes area; are important in demonstrating the principal characteristics of an item of significant national cultural heritage, namely the brumby. (Heritage Working Party 2002:1)

In summary, the Working Party identified social, cultural and historic value at a local level as well as aesthetic associations with a national cultural icon, being the 'brumby'. It is also argued that local community value of the GFRNP wild horse population is often directly linked with first-hand experiences of local community members, highlighting that there is a strong, special and ongoing association (Heritage Working Party 2002:28).

The report does not expand on the specific 'principal characteristics of an item of significant national cultural heritage value' that the horses were found to embody (Heritage Working Party 2002:1). However, other sections of the report refer to these characteristics more broadly as incorporating the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies and the featuring of wild horses in other forms of Australian popular culture, such as in the 2000 Sydney Olympics' Opening Ceremony, the Sydney Royal Easter Show, as well as on the Australian $10 note (Heritage Working Party 2002:10). This infers that the cultural and aesthetic value of the wild horses at GFRNP lies in their representation of an overarching national historic/cultural theme of the Australian 'brumby' icon, as identifiable attributes within GFRNP itself. Compared to the wild horses in GFRNP, the wild horse population at KNP is directly linked with Paterson's 'Man from Snowy River' legend, being situated within the actual mountain landscape that inspired the story, and therefore is a stronger contender nationally in relation to wild horses as an attribute of the 'Man from Snowy River' legend.

Also central to the GFRNP horses' significance is their contribution to local cultural and historical themes, for instance; their ability to represent the cattle and horse grazing narratives that once dominated the area's economic industries, as well as representing individuals important to the region's pastoral history. For the local community, the horses feature strongly in social and cultural memories of mustering and breaking in 'wild' horses, inspiring feelings of taming the rugged landscape (Heritage Working Party 2002:28).

These findings indicate that the Guy Fawkes River horse population represent a former cultural landscape of pastoral occupation and land use in the region. GFRNP is not part of the Australian Alps, and so is not directly associated with the alpine 'High Country' cultural

landscape, although the region possesses similar geomorphological features and therefore similar pastoral and land use narratives. The strength of values held are evident when taking into account the sense of loss and strength of feeling aroused when an aerial cull of wild horses took place at GFRNP in 2000.

It is also noted in the report that not all local community members hold these values; some for example do not feel the horses hold any heritage or historic value at all (Heritage Working Party 2002:28). The horse population's genetic profile entered the discussion, which was found not to be unique in terms of recognised Australian breeds; indicating associations held by some community members who value the GFRNP horses as a rare genetic breed are scientifically unfounded (Heritage Working Party 2002:29-30). However, there was a general feeling that local people wished to be involved in the horses' ongoing management – irrespective of the outcome – as previous generations of stockmen and women had done (Heritage Working Party 2002:1). Community consultation resulted in the development of the Guy Fawkes River National Park Horse Management Plan (2006), which states the objective of removal of wild horses from GFRNP completely, with provision for the horses' local heritage significance to be managed and conserved outside of the Park.

Victorian Alps

The Victorian Alps comprise the southernmost section of the Australian Alpine National Parks (AANP), and is home to a large wild horse population estimated at approximately 10,000. The horses occur in two separate groups, with a smaller population on the Bogong High Plains extending into neighbouring areas, as well as a larger population in the eastern Alps (east of Omeo) connecting with the wild horse populations of KNP. In 2013 a draft wild horse management plan for the Victorian Alps was developed, which initiated consultation with a range of community groups that included discussions on heritage-based values (Parks Victoria 2013).

Polarised values and perceptions were captured as part of the development of the management plan (similar to NSW NPWS processes for the 2008 wild horse management plan and current review) through roundtable discussions, public submissions and surveys with key interest groups. Participants in these community consultations included local alpine residents, horse owner/rider groups, tourists/recreational users, animal welfare associations, national park interest groups and those with a general interest in wild horse management.

A summary of all 84 public submissions – which excludes data obtained from roundtable discussions and public surveys – indicated that 67 respondents felt that '[a] major consideration [was] resolving significant and increasing horse damage to the environment of the Alps' (Parks Victoria 2013:4). Only 7 public submissions directly addressed the horses' cultural heritage value, expressed for example as:

> The outcome [of the Wild Horse Management Plan should] recognize the Heritage of the wild horses in the Alpine regions and the benefits of seasonal grazing; i.e. bushfire control and the historical value of the horses to visitors and overseas tourists. (Submission 41, Parks Victoria 2013:62-63)

Data from the Round Table Group (RTG) discussions – which comprised a range of stakeholders – do not mention the horses' heritage value; instead the dialogue focused on management goals and objectives in removing the horses, control methods, as well as strategies for monitoring and evaluation following removal. As part of these discussions, the RTG noted that 'cooperative management with Kosciuszko National Park in NSW is an essential element in managing the eastern Alps population', given that it's eastern border adjoins KNP (Parks Victoria 2013:3).

A public survey of Victorian residents conducted in 2012 demonstrated equally polarised views on wild horses in the Victorian Alps. The survey – which asked respondents to agree or disagree on a sliding scale to each question – used language such as 'spirit', 'heritage', 'roam freely' and 'bush' in statements about the horses, which are similarly expressed values to those identified for KNP. Survey data revealed that 55 per cent of respondents agreed and 21 per cent disagreed that 'wild horses are part of the spirit and heritage of Victoria', while 48 per cent

CONTEXT

agreed and 29 per cent disagreed that 'wild horses should be able to roam freely in the Victorian bush'. 41 per cent of respondents also agreed that 'wild horses damage the environment in Victoria' while 35 per cent disagreed; when asked whether they considered wild horses to be a 'pest animal' in Victoria, 22 per cent agreed and 49 per cent disagreed (Parks Victoria 2012:6).

These findings demonstrate that while many respondents viewed the Victorian Alps' wild horse population as an asset – representing aspects of Australian national identity and heritage– many also acknowledged that the horses have a detrimental impact on the natural landscape, illustrating that conflicting values can be held simultaneously.

Parks Victoria and DEPI are currently taking this public consultation data into consideration in the development of a draft Victorian Alps Wild Horse Management Plan.

Queensland

There are currently populations of wild horses in areas across Queensland numbering approximately 100,000. While most wild horses in Queensland inhabit arid and semi-arid western and northern parts of the state, they can also persist in forest country along the east coast, including areas close to Brisbane (DEEDI 2009:2). The largest populations occur in sand hill areas and plains with low scrub, which are most abundant in Cape York, the north western part of the Queensland−Northern Territory border, Carnarvon National Park and an area south of Maryborough (DEEDI 2009:9). Wild horses have long been considered a pest in Queensland, with widespread culling of the animals being carried out from the 1920s to the 1940s.

There are currently no heritage value-based assessments of Queensland's wild horse populations available in the public realm. However, in 2009 the Department of Employment, Economic Development and Innovation (DEEDI) released a report on wild horse populations in Queensland, called *Pest Animal Risk Assessment: Feral Horse*. The title immediately designates wild horses as 'feral pests' and provides a detailed account of their ecological impact on Queensland's indigenous environment:

> *Feral horses compete for food with cattle, damage native plants and water holes within national parks and provide a potential reservoir for exotic diseases such as equine influenza. Their impact appears particularly significant during drought when large numbers congregate at drying water holes, competing for water with cattle and damaging refugia for native animals and plants* (DEEDI 2009:2).

The report does not contain any reference to cultural heritage values attributed to Queensland's wild horses, except for a brief account on their history of introduction through colonial settlement. However, it does contain a short statement on their 'value as a resource':

> *In alpine areas of Australia, feral horses might be contributing to the region's tourism appeal, due to the romance associated with wild brumbies combined with their place in Australian history. In other areas, Indigenous Australians perceive feral horses as an important resource, with opportunities for employment and cash return* (DEEDI 2009:18).

The report acknowledges that '…the total impact of feral horses in Queensland requires further study and quantification, since little data currently exists to guide decision making and prioritisation' (DEEDI 2009:2). Whilst heritage-based value data on Queensland's wild horses is lacking, issues surrounding their management are currently in the media spotlight after two vehicle collisions involving wild horses on Queensland's highways resulted in passenger fatalities (*Brisbane Times*, 1 October 2015). Queensland's National Parks Minister Steven Miles provided the following statement in response to the incidents:

> *Queensland Parks and Wildlife Services maintains fences around the Clement State Forest but unfortunately feral horses are a problem on both state and private land.*
>
> *Public safety is always the government's first priority and I want to assure the community we are working on a solution to [the] problem of feral horses* (*Brisbane Times*, 1 October 2015).

The Australian Brumby Alliance webpage discusses population numbers and the distribution of wild horses in Queensland, acknowledging that the animals currently pose serious risk to motorists due to high population levels and a lack of appropriate containment (Australian Brumby Alliance 2015). The webpage refers to the animals as 'brumbies', implying an association with the Snowy River legend/mythology, which incorporates brumby iconography. It also mentions a Queensland affiliate group, called the South East Queensland Brumby Association, which is involved in the rescue and re-homing of wild horses from the Tuan and Toolara State Forests, indicating a local interest in wild horse conservation in at least some parts of Queensland (Australian Brumby Alliance 2015).

Wild horses in forest country in Central Queensland (DEEDI 2009:7)

Aerial view of plot on the Buckland Tableland, Central Queensland, where wild horses have been excluded by fencing (DEEDI 2009:14)

Wild horses in Kakadu National Park, Northern Territory (DEEDI 2009:7)

Emergency crews in attendance at the scene of a road fatality near Townsville, Queensland, where a vehicle collided with a wild horse on the Bruce Highway (*Brisbane Times*, 1 October 2015)

Coffin Bay, South Australia

Coffin Bay (CB) is located at the southern extremity of the Eyre Peninsula's wheat-growing region in South Australia. The area contains a number of parks including Coffin Bay National Park, Kellidie Bay Conservation Park, Mount Dutton Bay Conservation Park, Whidbey Isles Conservation Park and Avoid Bay Islands Conservation Park. The draft management plan for these five parks was released for public comment in 1999, with 61 submissions received, many of which specifically referred to the management of the wild horse population in these parks, indicating strong public opinions about their management (DEH 2004:1).

The five parks' management plan (DEH 2004) is the first of its kind for Coffin Bay. Its aim is '…to balance the protection of natural and cultural values with recreational use and enjoyment of the parks' (DEH 2004:ii). According to this plan:

> *Horses were introduced to the Coffin Bay Peninsula in the 1800s. During the early 1900s, horses were bred in the area as remounts for troops during WWI. Descendants of this breeding program inhabited the park in uncontrolled numbers for most of the twentieth century. In 1991/92 DEH entered into an agreement with an interested community type now known as the 'Coffin Bay Pony Preservation Society' to reduce the number of horses and their consequent impacts on the park* (DEH 2004:21).

The plan does not specifically address wild horse heritage values but does speak of the horses' negative ecological value. For instance, the horses are referred to by DEH throughout the

document as 'feral' and 'introduced animals'; that they have '… prevented regeneration of the … Drooping Sheoak – Dryland Tea-tree Grassy Low Woodland, which originally occupied much of the Coffin Bay Peninsula' (DEH 2004:1). In reference to the mid-nineteenth century, it notes that 'Horse and cattle grazing … occurred but it soon became clear that the land could not sustain such use' (DEH 2004:24).

Evidence of community interest in the management of Coffin Bay's wild horse population is shown by the DEH entering into an agreement with a community group known as the Coffin Bay Pony Preservation Society (CBPPS) in the early 1990s. CPBBS designated the horses the Coffin Bay Ponies and lobbied for the herd to remain in their 'natural home', despite being an introduced species, due to their local heritage value to the Coffin Bay area (Axford & Brown 2013:12). The agreement sought to reduce the number of horses and their resultant impact on CBNP, limiting population numbers to a herd of 21 animals in order to control reproduction rates. However, this agreement has since been re-examined and the idea of maintaining the 'feral' herd in a park with a high population of native herbivores was deemed inviable. The plan states that:

> *For these reasons, efforts were made to secure land outside the park near Coffin Bay that could provide suitable habitat for the herd. Since this was achieved in February 2004 with assistance from State Government funding, all horses have been removed from the park* (DEH 2004:21).

This decision received close media scrutiny at the time and inspired emotional responses from locals, some of whom affirmed their perception of the animals as heritage assets:

> *[T]he Coffin Bay ponies, with a pedigree dating back to a herd of Timor ponies, the kind immortalised in the Man from Snowy River, are to be evicted next month… But locals are fighting the state government decision, saying the ponies have heritage value… "To us they mean a bloody lot", said Joe Cooper, a stockman in the area long before it was declared a national park… "They're a unique breed of horses."* (Bagust n.d.: unpaginated).

The Coffin Bay Brumby Preservation Society (2012) hosts a website that provides a timeline relating to wild horses in Coffin Bay, Lower Eyre Peninsula. CBBPS is part of the Australia Brumby Alliance, and their main aim is '…to save the Brumby and have them recognised as part of Australian heritage' (CBBPS 2012:1-2).

Although the Preservation Society's website does not directly discuss the wild horses' heritage value, it does include expressions of value in the use of a range of emotive words and phrases that can be assumed to articulate values held by members of the Society, such as: 'special animals', 'historic ponies', 'public outcry', 'environmental impact', 'hardy little pony', 'culling', 'mass destruction', 'compromise', 'control program', 'small herd', 'invaluable', 'polo ponies', 'Army remounts' and 'ancestors' (CBBPS 2012:1-2).

There is limited data available on the community values of the Coffin Bay horses; however, an indicative comparison with KNP is possible. The horse population at CB does hold cultural heritage value in relation to pastoral occupation and land use associated with local post-settlement history and therefore similar to KNP (see Bagust quote above), but within a very different type of environmental setting. Despite this, the local community asserts a link to the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies, again suggesting the perceived connection of all wild horses to the national historic/cultural theme of the Australian 'brumby'.

There is no evidence in the management plan to suggest that the Coffin Bay horses represent ideas of horses in pristine, wild, natural environment in a way comparable to KNP. However, the Society's logo of a free-running horse over a map of the area does suggest that concepts such as 'wild' and 'free' are likely to be part of this group's values. One of the CBBPS' merchandise items shows the ponies in a 'natural' unfenced landscape, reaffirming this perception.

Logo of Coffin Bay Brumby Preservation Society showing a wild horse running freely (Coffin Bay Brumby Preservation Society 2012)

Merchandise item of Coffin Bay Brumby Preservation Society depicting wild horses (Coffin Bay Brumby Preservation Society 2012)

Another indication is that in 2008, this group changed its name, replacing the word 'pony' with 'brumby' so that they could link with the Australian Brumby Alliance, stating that 'with a voice Australia wide the Brumby will be acknowledged for their heritage value [and] be able to roam in the National parks as they have done for generations' (CBBPS 2012). Today the horses that once free-roamed the CBNP have been rehoused on private property acquired for that specific purpose, called Brumby's Run. CBBPS continues to manage the horse population at Brumby's Run as 'wild horses', focusing on preserving the 'historic' connections of the current generation of horses with the 1839 Timor ponies, and continuing the tradition of catching and domestication (CBBPS 2012).

The quote from Bagust (above) demonstrates a link in community thinking between the CB horse population and the 'Snowy River' mythology/legend, but no community consultation has been undertaken as part of the present project to investigate the basis of this link. It is also not known whether the removal of horses from CBNP over ten years ago has impacted upon the community-held values expressed in the 1990s.

Central Australia

Wild horses were well established in Central Australia by the 1870s and presently, major concentrations occur to the west of Alice Springs, in the Gulf region, in the Victoria River District and to the south of Darwin extending as far as Katherine (Dobbie *et al.* 1993). Wild horse populations in Central Australia were first formally surveyed in the 1980s by the Conservation Committee of the Northern Territory (CCNT) and found to number approximately 200,000 (Dobbie *et al.* 1993). A culling program was then initiated and local landholders were provided financial incentives to participate.

There is currently very limited publicly available data on heritage values and stakeholder interests in Central Australia's wild horse populations. The arid central Australian landscape is also very different to that of the alpine region, making comparison difficult because of the lack of data on heritage values, and the different historical and landscape contexts.

Interest in wild horse management is equally contentious in central Australia as in the Alps and other places in Australia, highlighting the conflicting values attributed to wild horse populations generally. In Central Australia it was found that feral animals, including horses, are considered by the Traditional Owners to have a right, through long association, to live on country (Rose 1995). As Rose (1995:108) explains, 'feral animals are not seen as being owned by people, they belong to the land on which they live'. This perception may be seen as similar to that expressed by those who appreciate wild horses in KNP as contributing to a sense of wildness and freedom in an 'untamed' landscape. Values held by Traditional Owners in central Australia may lie in contrast to those held by Traditional Owners of Alps region, due to the disparate land-use narratives associated with each region.

The 1980s' culling program in Central Australia is also of interest to this report as generating worldwide media attention on wild horse management, including criticism from animal rights activists, one of whom stated:

Men who go around shooting animals should be castrated. They're no different from rapists and murderers who should share the same fate. It's like watching white hunters in Africa; they say they're "culling". I say "killing". It's pathetic that there is no place for horses to run. Surely, the Australian government can find a bit of land in that vast country where the horses can live in peace (quoted in Symanski 1994:251).

In 1987 legal action ensued via the International Court of Justice for Animal Rights, resulting in the conviction of several members of the Australian Government for initiating the culling program. This was a landmark case that sparked national and international interest in wild horse management (Nimmo & Miller 2007:412).

Management of Central Australia's wild horses was again brought into the media spotlight in 2013, in response to the Central Land Council's (CLC) plans for an aerial cull to bring populations under control. The cull was initiated under circumstances described as an 'environmental crisis', where introduced animals including horses, donkeys and camels were dying in the thousands due to lack of food and water. CLC director David Ross stated that 'nobody wants to see suffering, especially the Traditional Owners of the land who love the horses but are well aware of the terrible consequences of out-of-control populations'. . The article also makes reference to Central Australia's wild horses as descendants of the Waler breed, and their participation in the Australian Light Horse Brigade in World War I; whether accurate or not, this highlights a perception of the horses as part of Australian military history, which is similar to the case at KNP (*Australian*, 22 May 2013).

Barmah National Park, Victoria

Barmah National Park (BNP) is located adjacent to the Murray River on the state border between Victoria and New South Wales. BNP is large River Red Gum forest containing a large number of Aboriginal cultural heritage sites, and an internationally recognised wetland conservation zone under the Ramsar Convention, being home to ecologically rare and threatened species. BNP also contains a population of wild horses that hold similarly expressed social and aesthetic values to those at KNP, as well as comparable conflicting values related to the horses' impact on the natural environment. This wild horse population also has an impact on significant Aboriginal cultural heritage. Despite BNP's geographic disparities with KNP, being a River Red Gum landscape, the heritage values are comparable and contribute to an understanding of heritage values attributed to wild horse populations by the Australian community generally.

In 2014 an assessment of the heritage-based values attributed to BNP's wild horse population was conducted as part of a broader strategy being developed by Parks Victoria for their ongoing management (Context 2014c). The assessment methodology took into account information on the horses' origins and considered findings from previous studies and assessments, together with new consultation data from an on-line survey and focus groups. The diverse nature of stakeholders involved produced equally varied opinions. The participants who attributed primarily 'negative' values to the wild horses – in terms of their impact on the indigenous environment and Aboriginal cultural heritage – were mainly natural environment advocates, land managers or public servants, recreational users and tourists, and the Traditional Owners (Context 2014c:12):

> *Large foreign animals do not belong in a national park. It's simple. The purported cultural "heritage" values are nonsense* (Survey Respondent 155).

> *They are NOT wild horses they are FERAL horses* (Survey Respondent 242).

> *Wild brumby in the Barmah Forest represent one thing to me and that is the destruction of habitat for native fauna* (Survey Respondent 129).

Communities who attributed 'positive' values to the BNP wild horses identified as horse owners/riders, or those interested in animal welfare, interested in history or heritage, local residents or those with a family connection to the area (Context 2014c:12). Respondents with a personal affiliation with BNP – whether as local residents, former residents, or those with a familial connection to agriculture and grazing in the area – emphasised the importance of the horses' contribution to local identity:

My family has a long association with the forest and the brumbies have always been part of the landscape for my entire life and have been a unique attraction to the bush. My parents used to graze the team of horses on the common when harvest was completed (pre and post war) so I feel an attachment to them (Survey Respondent 15).

They are important due to the history of this area. They have provided me with endless dreams and thoughts as a child about riding out in the forest amongst the brumbies. When I broke my own horse in and was able to take myself out there as a teen, I felt the most amazing experience. I was on one of the last musters, when a small group came to a halt in front of me. They were so close. I was mesmerized by them. From that day I have ridden out there many times to see them, photograph them and admire them. I have then felt connected to my ancestors and the beauty of nature (Survey Respondent 99).

For the High Country community, Kosciuszko's wild horses conjure similar memories of a former cultural landscape in terms of pastoral occupation, stock riding and brumby running. Cultural landscapes are highly relevant to the development of local economies, and communities and identities associated with them, and that wild horses can be a significant aspect of this association.

The aesthetic value of wild horse populations at BNP, by inspiring feelings of freedom, awe and beauty is also comparable to that of Kosciuszko. This association is sometimes referenced within the Australian 'bush' landscape as well as in the location-specific environment:

The environment does not have to be a pristine example of how it "should" or "ought to be" be for me to enjoy its beauty. Like all things it evolves and changes in response to the things that are around it and it is a mixture of past and present. It tells a story of what is and what was (Survey Respondent 108).

I gain deep value in seeing Brumbies living free, and evolving with their forest environment to coexist in small, sustainable numbers (Survey Respondent 55).

The Brumbies are magnificent beasts and to be walking through the beautiful redgum bushland and happen across a heard of them, especially when the new foals are about is truly breathtaking (Survey Respondent 24).

It is hard to describe how wonderful it feels to see how beautiful the Brumbies are… I would rate the sighting of Brumbies more special than seeing a kangaroo or koala because there are so few of them (Survey Respondent 68).

For some respondents, the wild horses at BNP are tangible reminders of cattlemen and cattle grazing activity and Australian 'brumby' iconography, therefore contributing to overarching themes that form part of Australia's national identity:

They are an Australian icon and a part of what makes us so special (Survey Respondent 190).

They are part of the history of the area and along with the cattlemen have assisted in keeping the area viable. I can remember my father telling me of the wild horses both there and in the high country. They have been there for hundreds of years and it will be a shame if my grandchildren don't get to experience them the same as I did as a child. Horses and cattle in Barmah are a tradition - it is one of the reasons that people go there, in the hope of seeing a 'wild' horse - to see a bit of our Australian history…Lots of really positive memories of seeing young foals running with their mothers through the early morning. Hearing my father talking about the wild horses and wanting to go and see them. I think that there is an Australian 'bushie' in most of us (Survey Respondent 236).

This association is similar to the links with the Snowy River legend/mythology, which epitomises idealised versions of the High Country stockmen and the brumby in Australian nation-building, and while representing a somewhat different history to that of KNP and the Alps, the Barmah horses are still seen as connected the High Country horse populations and the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies in spite of geographic disparities.

Namadgi National Park, ACT

Namadgi National Park (NNP) forms the northern end of the Australian Alps network of national parks in the Australian Capital Territory. Wild horses were eradicated from NNP in the 1980s following a large snow event in 1964 that had wiped out the majority of the wild

horse population (ACT Parks, Conservation & Lands 2007:2). However, since 2001 small groups of wild horses have been recorded in the south-western area of NNP that are most likely part of larger populations from the northern part of Kosciuszko National Park (ACT Parks, Conservation & Lands 2007:3). In 2007 the ACT Parks, Conservation & Lands Department released a Feral Horse Management Plan with stated objectives:

Removal of the current feral horses (and therefore their impact) from NNP

Reduction of the requirement for on-going feral horse control in NNP (ACT Parks, Conservation & Lands 2007:12)

The report refers to the horses as 'feral' and contains no information on heritage-based values attributed to them, although a small amount of information on 'brumby running' activity and the historic distribution of wild horses at NNP is provided:

Organised "brumby running" (the chasing and capturing of wild horses) was undertaken at least as early as the 1920s, and remained popular in the area up until the early 1960s (Higgins 1993). Almost all of the early brumby running undertaken in the Brindabella area was co-ordinated by the first Cotter Catchment ranger, Jack Maxwell. Over 200 feral horses were reported to have been sighted near Snowy Flats and Mt Ginini in 1929. Other populations were present at Smokers, Kangaroo and Creamy Flats. The historic distribution of feral horses within NNP is illustrated by the location of horse trapping yards (Higgins 1993) (ACT Parks, Conservation & Lands 2007:6).

While full community consultation data was not included in the Plan, it is noted that a range of stakeholders, including local landowners, were consulted as part of its development:

Animal welfare stakeholders in the ACT have been consulted on this Plan (2007) through the ACT Animal Welfare Committee. The Plan has also been circulated to the Flora and Fauna Committee, Natural Resource Management Advisory Committee and to members of the Interim Namadgi Advisory Board. Neighbouring land holders and managers will also be advised of the ACT's intention to carry out feral horse control in NNP (ACT Parks, Conservation & Lands 2007:12).

The Plan resolves to continue implementing control methods by trapping and euthanasia, with aerial shooting as a secondary option. It also states that wild horse management at NNP will be reviewed on a regular basis as new information or circumstances come to light, or to incorporate any collaborative approaches with adjacent parks – including KNP – as other management plans are developed (ACT Parks, Conservation & Lands 2007:16).

5.2.2 International wild horse populations

International wild horse populations were identified for their potential to reflect comparable values to those at KNP. Although the three key value themes identified in this report are not directly applicable to wild horse populations worldwide – being derived from the Australian context – they can be applied more generally as indirect value themes: to cultural landscapes (in relation to pastoral occupation and land use in a colonial environment), nation-building legends/mythology, and ideas of a wild natural landscape.

Wild populations of the modern domestic horse exist in France, Greece, Portugal, Spain, Sri Lanka, Iran, United States of America, Alaska, Canada, Mexico, Columbia, West Indies, New Zealand, Hawaii, Galapagos, Africa, United Kingdom, Russia, South America, Falkland Islands, Kerguelen Islands and Hispaniola (DEEDI 2009:12).

Kaimanawa Range, New Zealand

The Kaimanawa Range on New Zealand's North Island contains a wild horse population, that while not within a national park, is somewhat comparable to that of KNP in terms of heritage-based value themes. As in the Australian 'High Country', the horse population here is defined in public consciousness by its close association with their habitat. The horses are commonly known as the 'Kaimanawa horses' or 'Kaimanawa heritage horses' and are also referred to as such by management authorities (NZ Department of Conservation 2012). While it is apparent in the site's 2012 *Wild Horses Plan* that the Kaimanawa horses do represent social, historic and aesthetic value for some individuals, there is currently no data publicly available to establish the

type or extent of communities who hold these associations. The Kaimanawa horse population is also located primarily on NZ Defence Department lands used for military training, and so management objectives are less focused on environmental values but still factor in the discussion.

The 2012 Plan sought to 'weigh up the "benefits and liabilities" of various options, catering for the different values to a greater or lesser degree' (NZ Department of Conservation 2012: introduction). The identification of values was facilitated by the Kaimanawa Wild Horse Working Party, established by the NZ Department of Conservation in 1994 to:

> *Facilitate the development of an appropriate and effective plan for the management of Kaimanawa wild horses.*
>
> *Increase the degree and effectiveness of public participation, in the planning process.*
>
> *Increase the understanding of the issues by the interest groups who represent and inform the wider public.* (NZ Department of Conservation 2012)

The Plan does not state the type or range of communities consulted, only referring to survey data broadly as 'public comment'. Respondents were asked open-endedly to identify words or statements they attribute to Kaimanawa's wild horses, either 'positive' or 'negative', which were then collated into consistent key themes. The 'positive' values associated with the Kaimanawa wild horse population were identified as:

> *Aesthetic/cultural/emotional value*
>
> *Large herd*
>
> *Amenity/novelty/exotic value*
>
> *Intrinsic/existence/wild free/spiritual value*
>
> *Remnant/representative/historic value*
>
> *Research opportunities/scientific value*
>
> *Grazing adventive grasses may retain the character of modified tussock lands;*
>
> *Commercial value ($)*
>
> *Grazing may reduce risk of wild fire* (NZ Department of Conservation 2012: Part C 'Associated "values" of Kaimanawa horses').

These key value themes demonstrate spiritual, historic, cultural and aesthetic significance associated with the Kaimanawa wild horse population, but the specifics of these associations are unclear. It is apparent that the horses hold cultural heritage/representative value for some individuals, but not on what grounds — i.e. potentially in terms of pastoral/colonial history, which is similar to KNP. The horses also hold value due to the sense of wildness, freedom and novelty they inspire, but it is unclear in what context. For instance, is this aesthetic and spiritual association linked with the horses exclusively, or with the horses viewed in their natural landscape setting as is the case at Kosciuszko. There is also (obviously) no direct link between the horses and the Australian 'Snowy River' legend/mythology in these themes, however; words such as 'representative' and 'intrinsic' could suggest associations with New Zealand national identity building for certain communities.

In terms of their impact on the indigenous landscape, the Kaimanawa wild horses' survey produced polarising opinions from respondents that bear comparison to Australian examples. 'Negative' values collated into key value themes were:

> *Destructive capacity, reparation ($ value)*
>
> *Aid dispersal of adventive grasses*
>
> *Costs of maintaining a herd ($ value)*
>
> *Nuisance value (escapes/Waiouru Township)*

Hazard value (access to SHI) (NZ Department of Conservation 2012: Part C 'Associated "values" of Kaimanawa horses').

These themes highlight concerns for the horses as nuisances to locals, i.e. 'pests' and potential hazards, the cost of maintaining them as well as their damaging influence on the landscape. Although the Working Party's assessment did not weigh the identified positive and negative values against one another, the report does cite the survey data directly, including public comments such as: 'the horses are much more important than some small plants' and 'the horses are introduced and should not be allowed to live in areas of indigenous vegetation, in any numbers' (NZ Department of Conservation 2012: Part C 'Benefits & Liabilities'). The Working Party then assigned a 'relative importance' to each value in relation to management issues. For instance, by recognising that some community members may attribute a range of associations and values to the wild horses; however, their main concern was the horses' welfare and humane treatment throughout the course of their management.

The outcomes of the Kaimanawa Wild Horse Working Party's community consultation was a series of recommendations to attempt to resolve conflict over the horse population's management, to be incorporated into policy:

Eliminating the impacts of the horses on important conservation values,

Ensuring all treatment of the horses is humane,

Establishing ways to preserve and control the horse herd long term to eliminate the negative and retain the positive values they have,

Deciding who is best to carry out long-term management. (NZ Department of Conservation 2012: 'Executive Summary')

Kaimanawa wild horses (NZ Department of Conservation 2012: introduction)

Kaimanawa Heritage Horses

United States

Wild horse populations in the United States are found in the western states of Montana, Wyoming and Oregon, as well as the northern state of Nevada. Being widely distributed across public rangelands, wild horses in the US are not associated with one specific location, but rather, with a cultural construct of the 'West' of North America as an unforgiving, untamed landscape ascribed socially as one of the final American frontiers. The high level of cultural, spiritual, historic and aesthetic value associated with wild horses in the US is – of all international examples analysed – the most comparable to those embodied by the wild horse

population at KNP, due to their high relevance in the nation's cultural identity, as well as a close association with a specific habitat and America's colonial history.

Modern wild horse populations in the Americas are descended from domestic horses introduced by Spanish colonists from the early sixteenth century onwards. The integration of horses into Native American culture also saw their dispersal all over the US and a number of Native American groups were responsible for fostering genetically unique breeds like the Appaloosa. Today wild horse populations in the United States are often known as 'Mustangs', a term derived from a Mexican Spanish word meaning 'animal that strays'.

The Mustang represents the 'Wild West' mythology in American popular culture, defined by imagery of the cowboy or frontiersman surviving in a harsh and unforgiving landscape in a manner that is comparable to the 'Man from Snowy River' legend at KNP. Cowboys were also known as 'Mustangers' who – historically – caught, broke in and drove free-ranging horses to market in what is now Northern Mexico, California, Texas and New Mexico. The role of metaphors and imagery of cowboys, mustangs and the Wild West in American culture is highly pronounced. As Levy (2012:2) notes:

> [Wild West] mythology is fundamental to the telling of American histories and the construction of American identities.

Mustangs embody this mythology through their aesthetic characteristics as untamed assets of the wild landscape, which evokes patriotic feelings associated with the unforgiving American frontier (Levy 2012:10-13). The Wild West featured prominently in music, literature, art, film and other forms of American popular culture in the late-1800s and the first half of the twentieth century, as an intersection between American history, the search for a national identity, and exploration of the West as a commercially viable and rich cultural frontier. Similar to the depiction of wild brumbies on the Australian $10 note, images of mustangs also appear on Nevada's commemorative State Quarter, shown below. Representations of wild horses also feature in works of art found in national gallery and museum collections, attesting to their aesthetic and social value at a national level.
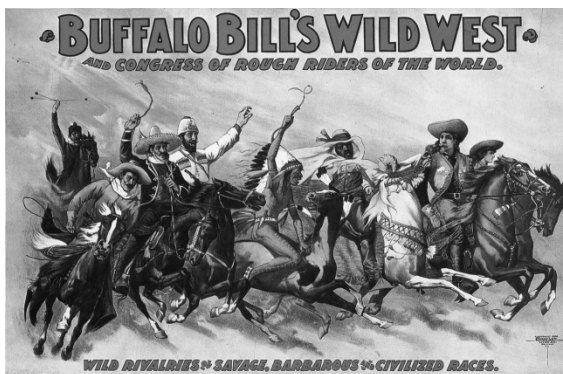
Promotional poster for film *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*
c.1896

Nevada State Quarter

Otis Dozier, *Saddling Wild Horse*, lithograph c1941-1942, National Gallery of America

Image from Bureau of Land Management website showing wild horses in the foreground of a mountainous natural landscape

Community-held values attributed to wild horses in the US are often polarising, with cultural heritage perspectives running counter to concerns about the damaging impacts the horses have on the natural environment. Aside from a small group located at the Assateague Island National Seashore Reserve off the coast of Maryland and Virginia, American wild horse populations primarily inhabit Bureau of Land Management (BLM) rangelands, the equivalent of Crown land in Australia (BLM 2015). BLM land is subject to a livestock grazing permit system available to ranchers, whose animals must then compete with wild horse populations for the rangelands' food resources (BLM 2015). This issue adds to existing controversy over the horses' impact on the natural environment, specifically in riparian areas, as well as those containing threatened and endangered species, sensitive plant species, and cultural or historical objects (BLM 2015).

Interestingly, palaeontological research has shown that the equine taxon (*Equus*) originated in North America between one and two million years ago in the form of the American Periglacial Horse *Equus caballas*, and continued to inhabit North America until its descendent *Equus lambei* disappeared from the record around 13,000-14,000 years ago (Kirkpatrick & Fazio 2010). Horses did not appear again in the American landscape until the 1500s and were – by that time – domesticated animals. The Americas therefore contain the earliest paleontological remains of wild *Equus* taxon in the world, demonstrating that wild horses were once a native species in North American (Kirkpatrick & Fazio 2010).

Dartmoor, England

Dartmoor National Park (DNP) is an area of moorland located in south Devon, England and is home to an equine breed commonly known as the 'Dartmoor Pony'. Unlike the wild horse population at KNP, horses are native to the British Isles, with fossils dating back to 700,000 BP and strong evidence that wild horses remained in Britain after it became an island separate from Europe by about 5500 BC. Ponies at Dartmoor were domesticated by 3500BC and used as transport, a practice that continued during the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century, when they were used in local granite and coal-mining activities (Stuart 2006; DNPA 2006:4). The Dartmoor Ponies are also the only heritage-listed wild horse population in the world.

Ponies within DNP are owned by local farmers and roam 'Common Lands' leased within the Park in a semi-wild state (DNPA 2006:4). The animals are fertility controlled and currently number fewer than 1500 – a substantial reduction to their post-war population of around 30,000 – and are now considered a rare breed with less than 700 breeding mares remaining (DNPA 2006:4). As the Dartmoor National Park's management authority describes:

CONTEXT

The ponies on Dartmoor are an integral part of the landscape and many visitors to the National Park come specifically to see these animals in their natural environment. The healthy survival of the pony on the moor is in the minds of many people. (DNPA 2006:5)

This statement highlights a strong community value attributed to the Dartmoor Pony for the local and national community as well as recreational users, given their continuing associations with a national park as their historic habitat. Unlike at Kosciuszko, Dartmoor Ponies are considered a significant contribution to the Park's ecosystem, having already been part of it for several thousand years, and also feature on the Park emblem shown below. Mobile pony herds are dispersed into other areas of the Park during late summer to early autumn as part of DNP's 'conservation grazing' strategy, which increases floristic biodiversity by grazing land that would otherwise scrub over (DNP 2014). Management authorities have recognised that this species is a valuable asset to the Park for recreational, cultural and ecological reasons.

Stakeholder consultation has established community-held values for the Dartmoor Ponies but this information is not publicly available. Based on the historic and archaeological record, it is possible to discern that the Dartmoor Pony is not viewed within the same pastoral context as Australian wild horse populations. At Kosciuszko this is defined by associations with colonial occupation, land use and way of life. Unlike the KNP wild horses, the Dartmoor Pony is an indigenous animal viewed as an attribute of the natural landscape that has important associations dating back to Europe's prehistory. The Dartmoor Ponies are also visual reminders of important historic themes of the Industrial Revolution when they were utilised for transport purposes; while not a colonial association, this link with a highly significant and defining moment of the nation's history is comparable to the pastoral land-use narratives that the Kosciuszko wild horse population inspires.

As a native animal, the Dartmoor Pony does not present the same conflicting values as does the wild horse population at KNP, in terms of their impact on indigenous ecosystems. The Dartmoor Pony does, however, occupy a strong and dominant place in what is regarded as a wild and untamed landscape as a once-wild species. The Dartmoor Pony may also be closely aligned with ideas of a pristine, wild, natural environment being an integral natural asset of the Park, as defined by the management authority (DNPA 2006:5). The heritage importance of the Dartmoor Pony, in terms of the extent of cultural associations, cannot be further analysed at this time due to a lack of available community values data.

Dartmoor National Park emblem

5.2.3 Summary

The table below summarises each horse population described above.

Australian examples	Status	Comparison (summary)
Guy Fawkes River National Park (NSW)	Present	Not directly associated with High Country narratives, but similar pastoral occupation and land use themes
Victorian Alps	Present	Directly associated with High Country narratives, parallel pastoral occupation and land use themes; contiguous with KNP.
Namadgi National Park (ACT)	Present in reduced numbers	Directly associated with High Country narratives, parallel pastoral occupation and land use themes; contiguous with KNP.
Coffin Bay parks (SA)	Removed to off-park land	Not directly associated with High Country narratives, but similar pastoral occupation and land use themes
Barmah National Park (Vic)	Present	Not directly associated with High Country narratives, but similar pastoral occupation and land use themes
Queensland: various locations	Present	Not directly associated with High Country narratives; populations in a number of locations. Some similar pastoral occupation and land use themes.
Central Australia: various locations	Present	Not directly associated with High Country narratives; populations in a number of locations. Some similar pastoral occupation and land use themes.
International examples		
Kaimanawa Range, New Zealand	Present	Not associated with High Country narratives, nor seeking to connect to them. Assumed to be pastoral escapes?
United States (Montana, Wyoming, Oregon, Nevada)	Present & protected	Not associated with High Country narratives, nor seeking to connect to them. Cultural connections to Spanish colonists in C16th and integrated into Native American culture
Dartmoor (England)	Present & protected	Not associated with High Country narratives, nor seeking to connect to them. A distinct breed and domesticated c 3500BC.

5.3 Comparative analysis by contextual theme

5.3.1 Wildness

Wild horse populations are valued for their 'wildness', evoking a sense of freedom and of 'untamed' land, and linking humans to a creature that is more familiar as a domesticated

animal. These ideas are applicable to a range of settings beyond the Australian alpine landscapes as the examples above have illustrated. Guy Fawkes River National Park, Barmah National Park and Coffin Bay National Park do not contain alpine environments, but possess similar qualities in terms of their rugged, pristine, expansive landscapes. For at least the local communities at each of these places, it is evident that wild horse populations are intrinsically linked to wildness as a positive aesthetic quality..

Wild horse population at Coffin Bay has been successfully removed, and therefore no longer continue to hold these associations in their former context. While the Barmah population is not situated within an alpine landscape, it is perceived by a range of communities as an aesthetic attribute of the natural forest setting, inspiring similar feelings to the wild horses in KNP, including awe and a sense of freedom and beauty.

The Eastern Victorian Alps are part of the Australian Alpine National Parks network and are therefore the most relevant comparison to that of KNP. The Victorian Alps are home to a wild horse population that equally evokes the wildness value theme, in terms of the horses being an inspirational embodiment of spirit and freedom when viewed within the natural landscape. Due to their geographic distribution within the same natural environment of the Australian Alps, the wild horse populations of the Victorian Alps and KNP can be considered to be one population, of importance to comparable communities and holding comparable values.

5.3.2 The High Country cultural landscape

While it is apparent that many of the wild horse populations identified are valued by a range of communities as representations of particular cultural landscapes, the Eastern Victorian Alps are the only example of this association directly within a High Country landscape comparable to that of KNP, being geographically and intrinsically connected to KNP, transcending cadastral boundaries. In contrast to the other examples, the Victorian Alps' wild horse population has the unique ability to demonstrate comparable pastoral occupation, stock riding and brumby running themes as those exhibited at KNP and equally represent the mountains, mountain land uses and cultural practices. It is anticipated that the communities who value the Eastern Victorian Alps' wild horses in this way will represent similar experiences of and connections to the high country in terms of history, family associations and locality.

5.3.3 The 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies

The Snowy Mountains mythologies can be defined as incorporating a range of literary and folk influences, notably Banjo Paterson's 'The Man from Snowy River' legend, as well as the humanised brumbies of Elyne Mitchell's children's books.

'The Man from Snowy River' legend is an important theme within Australia's national identity and as such, has been identified in association with a number of the wild horse populations discussed in this section. Identifiable communities at Guy Fawkes River National Park, Coffin Bay National Park and Barmah National Park specifically mention the Snowy River legend/mythology as a heritage value attributed to wild horse populations in each park respectively. Given that the Man from Snowy River legend is not directly associated with any of these places, their representativeness of this contextual theme is indirect. In contrast, the Victorian Alps are directly associated with the Snowy River legend/mythology, being part of the mountain alpine landscape where it originated. One Victorian community (Corryong) claims ownership of 'the Man' and, in response, holds an annual Man from Snowy River Festival that celebrates and continues some cultural practices, such as roping a horse from horseback. The Victorian Alps were also used as the setting for the two *Man from Snowy River* films in 1982 and 1988.

5.4 Comparative analysis summary

In comparison with other wild horse populations, the KNP wild horse population strongly represents the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies, notably through the influence of Paterson and Mitchell, as well as having an historical connection to the High Country cultural landscape

created through pastoralism. The wild horse population is also valued for the aesthetic qualities of wildness. The analysis also found that there are no wild horse populations outside the Australian Alps that better represent the three key value themes identified, although some other wild horse populations may embody similar values such as identity-building within communities, cultural memories of past land uses and cultural practices, and ideas of the untamed natural landscape.

Unlike comparable wild horse populations within Australia, KNP and the Victorian Alps' wild horses are the only populations directly associated with 'The Man from Snowy River' legend, which was in turn inspired by the Snowy Mountains landscape. For some members of the Australian community, KNP's wild horses represent powerful ideas of horsemanship in the mountains and the mountain lifestyle expressed in 'The Man from Snowy River' legend. This legend and associated 'brumby' mythologies of Elyne Mitchell form an integral part of Australian folklore and Australia's national identity in the present. The wild horses continue to represent a dichotomy between civilisation and wildness, being seen simultaneously as domesticated assets of pastoral occupation and as wild natural creatures in a natural mountain landscape.

As introduced animals with expanding populations in a number of natural landscapes and protected areas in Australia, community views are polarised around two perspectives: horses either as 'pest' animals or as valued cultural attributes. For some members of the Australian community, wild horses are 'pest' animals, out of place in protected areas and seen primarily as destructive, damaging to indigenous – and in many cases, ecologically rare – habitats within KNP and in other national parks and protected areas in Australia. In contrast, when witnessed in the natural landscape, KNP's wild horses express ideas of freedom and wildness for some members of the Australian national community in spite of their introduced status. The *Silver Brumby* books of Elyne Mitchell reveal horses in a particular and powerful humanised way, presenting them as a part of 'nature' and giving them a level of 'indigeneity' through the use of Aboriginal names. This narrative is a counterpoint to the capturing of brumbies expressed in Paterson's poem, 'The Man from Snowy River', although both perspectives celebrate the special qualities of the 'mountain horse': namely, strength, agility, intelligence and a love of freedom

Horses also reflect important historical narratives of colonial settlement and economic development, having been critical to Australia's burgeoning economy in a number of activities and industries. The relationship between humans and horses is long-standing and horses continue to be held in high regard as domesticated animals that support human endeavours. While this value may be primarily connected to domesticated horses and other evidence of their important role, the history of KNP demonstrates that the releasing, recapturing and harvesting of wild horses formed a part of pastoral activity in the High Country.

These themes are echoed in relation to other wild horse populations in Australia, suggesting that the wild horses in most locations hold some cultural heritage values (as well as economic/utility and potential companion animal values).

However, KNP (along with the adjoining conservation reserves in Victoria and the ACT) appears to offer the strongest evidence of specific narratives and values associated with High Country pastoral activities and transhumance, as well as with brumby running and brumbies in Australian mountain and alpine landscapes. Brumbies also remain a focus of cultural practices associated with stockmen and women, although these practices are now focused off-park.

KNP's wild horses are synonymous with High Country grazing, brumbies and brumby running and the High Country cultural landscape, and continue to carry that association for both the High Country and may also for Australian communities.

5.5 Section references – comparing wild horse populations

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CONTEXT

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6 ASSESSMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES

6.1 Framing this assessment

The following analysis and assessment provides an understanding of the cultural heritage values associated with the wild horse population of KNP in relation to the National Heritage List criteria and thresholds.

6.1.1 Concepts

The AANP is a distinctive landscape representing particular historical narratives and contemporary experiences. As Lennon points out, because alpine landscapes are so limited in Australia, 'the significance of cultural landscapes and features that represent alpine themes, or demonstrate adaptation of human activity to the alpine environment need to be considered in a continental context' with the only comparable environment being in Tasmania (Lennon 1999: 32-33). It should be expected therefore that human responses to this environment, and the evidence remaining from past activities may not be present in any other landscapes across Australia.

Truscott et al. (2006) expressed a similar view in an assessment of the cultural values of the Australian Alps arguing that the experience of humans living in the Alps is quite different from other Australian experiences, forming a special national story … that of the 'Australian experience of the Alps … one largely unique in Australia'. The 'Alps experience' may be a modifier of 'more general stories of the Australian experience' such as pastoralism, and may give places in the Alps a distinctive set of National Heritage values not shared by associated sites in the lowlands' (Truscott et al. 2006:8).

The distinctiveness and singularity of this region in the Australian context is apparent in the comparisons in Section 5, and in the way that the narrative associated with wild horses in the Australian Alps underpins the narratives and values expressed elsewhere.

Further, Lennon notes other aspects of the Alps cultural landscape that make it distinctive, and that require particular care in analysis of values. She points to cultural continuity as a key, noting that many human activities have continued over long period and are represented by similar evidence in the landscape. For example, the use of Aboriginal pathways into and through the Alps cultural landscape represents Aboriginal and pastoral transhumance, and later recreation. Vernacular hut construction offers evidence of an overlapping set of narratives from pastoralism, mining, skiing to bushwalking. The Alps acted as a barrier and a pathway, and the form and nature of the landscape shaped human activities. She also points to the multifaceted nature of cultural significance, to which one could add natural significance, where one feature or landscape demonstrates several categories of significance at once, sometimes compatible or synergistic but at other times in conflict (this is further explored in Section 7).

6.1.2 Values and attributes

The National Heritage List criteria are considered as expressions of heritage values, with these values potentially being embodied or exhibited in, or expressed through specific attributes. For example, a hut may exhibit specific historical and design values in its construction and materials – its tangible attributes – and may have social significance associated with intangible attributes such as stories and memories.

In this project, it is the cultural significance of the wild horse population that is being assessed, and therefore the aim is to understand the values associated with this 'attribute' or component of the KNP landscape. The historical narratives represented by the wild horses may also be represented by other attributes, such as pastoral buildings, brumby yards or – in relation to contemporary experiences – in landscapes where wild horses are seen today.

CONTEXT

6.1.3 Scope

This represents a preliminary understanding of values based on existing data available in the public realm and able to be gathered within the scope of the project. A full listing of references consulted indicates the breadth of available material. No direct community research into contemporary values was undertaken, however community values data gathered by others was used. Further research may be warranted to more fully understand the values of the High Country community in particular, and to define more closely the attributes that embody expressed values.

Having said this, the existing data provided enough evidence to make this preliminary assessment against the recognised assessment framework, and to meet with the other central aim of this report – to understand how potential cultural heritage values at a national level sit within the larger context of other KNP values. This discussion on the interplay of values is found in Chapter 7.

6.2 Previous assessments of cultural heritage values relevant to the assessment of the KNP wild horse population

There have been no previous broad-scale or systematic assessments of the cultural heritage values of the wild horses in the KNP for the broader Australian community, or to associated communities or cultural groups. Rather, there have been a number of assessments that provides useful guidance for this assessment. These assessments are listed below and detailed in Appendix 1:

- Lennon (1999) prepared a report for the Australian Alps Liaison Committee exploring the International Significance of the Cultural Values of the Australian Alps.

- The Kosciuszko Independent Scientific Committee (2003) developed an assessment of the values of the Kosciuszko National Park. This assessment included a chapter on cultural values by Sharon Sullivan and Jane Lennon.

- Crocker & Davies (2005a & b) conducted a preliminary cultural heritage assessment that included KNP, using the National Heritage List criteria and thresholds for the national theme 'Inspirational Landscapes' on behalf of the Commonwealth Department of Environment and Heritage.

- The Minister for the Environment and Heritage (2005) considered an emergency submission by the Snowy Mountains Horse Riding Association (SMHRA) for National Heritage Listing of horse riding in the KNP as a tangible part of Australia's cultural history.

- Truscott et al. (2006) prepared a preliminary assessment of the non-Indigenous, or historic, cultural values of the Australian Alps national parks which was designed to form part of a wider assessment of National Heritage List (NHL) values associated with this suite of protected areas that spans the Australian Capital Territory, New South Wales and Victoria.

- The Australian Alps National Parks and Reserves was assessed by the Australian Heritage Council, recommended for addition to and entered onto the National Heritage List in 2008 (AHC 2008).

6.3 Analysis of cultural heritage values against national heritage criteria and thresholds

Criterion (a) Events and processes

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history.

Indicators:

a.8 Economic, political or social processes

> *h.a.8 Ability to define an activity important to the nation that demonstrates a key economic, political or social process that has significantly shaped Australia*

a.9 Richness of assemblages or cultural landscapes

> *h.a.9 Places with a high diversity of features that **best** demonstrate a characteristic way of life in one or more periods of the history of Australia*

The National Heritage Assessment undertaken of the Australian Alps National Parks and Reserves (AANP) identified the Alps as holding a 'significant place in Australia's pastoral history' relating to transhumance grazing, that is the annual movement of stock and stockmen to summer pastures, a pattern evident in the Alps and the Tasmanian Central Plateau and one which continued for more than 150 years. Within KNP it is recorded that this practice 'lead to the establishment of well defined stock routes and stock mustering points such as the town of Jindabyne' (King 1959, 131) and a 'complex of tracks and routes that provided access from all directions.' Nationally, transhumance can be compared to other significant pastoral activities and stock movements such as overland droving; these have become an important aspects of Australia's cultural history and identity, and in the continuity of this pastoral practice in the Alps represents a 'distinctive high country way of life' (AHC 2008:16-17).

The AANP cultural landscape contains:

> *a significant proportion of a cultural landscape associated with the pastoral experience of the Australian Alps and in particular the economic and social response to drought of high country / high pasture summer grazing (a form of transhumance)* (Truscott et al. 2006:125).

The pastoral history of the Australian Alps includes the use of horses for mustering (and other purposes), release of horses into the wild population and the capture of wild horses for domestication and, at times, the eradication of wild horses that were a nuisance to pastoralists in the Alps. These practices may have included release and recapture of domesticated or semi-domesticate horses.

Some evidence of early pastoralism remains within Alps including homesteads, outbuildings and associated structures, fencing, brumby yards, pathways and tracks and the modified pastoral landscapes themselves, however the bushfires of 2003-04 had a significant impact on pastoral and grazing heritage sites in the Alps (Truscott et al. 2006:20). Such features represent a focal point at which the interactions between pastoralists and wild horses may be interpreted, either through surviving buildings and structures, or through documentary sources and oral histories.

Another important historical activity connected to the wild horses was brumby-running, that is the rounding up, capture and sale of groups of wild horses. Brumby runners were active in the Alps probably from at least the 1860s and the people who took up this occupation included stockman, bushmen and station workers. But by the 1950s, Elyne Mitchell's evocative stories presented a different perspective — through the eyes of the brumbies themselves, the brumby runners were the enemy, destroyers of the freedom experience by the horses and of their family groups. Truscott et al. (2006:60) notes the *Silver Brumby* series of books (still in print today) and films as continuing the 'connection of young people in their imagination with the Alps'.

Brumby-running, like a number of other bush activities, required little in the way of structures and facilities, perhaps some yards, a campsite or a basic hut, and a simple structure for slaughtering and skinning unwanted horses. Place names at KNP, such as Horse Yard and Horse Camp, suggest some of the locations for this activity. In the 1940s at the tail end of the brumby-running period, horseman George Day gathered the wild horses he had mustered at Charlotte Pass.

CONTEXT

There are continuing cultural practices associated with pastoralism, transhumance and brumby-running in the Alps, although not within KNP. The advocacy by mountain cattlemen for continued access to mountain pastures for example has been argued on the basis of enabling a cultural practice of national importance to continue, as well as to reduce fire risk. Part of the image portrayed relies on the romanticism of mountain men and their horses (http://www.mcav.com.au/). Other practices, such as roping of brumbies, continues through festivals such as the annual Man from Snowy River Festival in Corryong and possibly in other places. The word brumby is a part of Australian English and evokes the 'wild bush horses' of Paterson's poem, although its popularity from the mid twentieth century may be more due to Elyne Mitchell's *Silver Brumby* books. Groups that seek to preserve wild horses have adopted the term too, indicating it carries positive connotations.

In their chapter on cultural values in Kosciuszko National Park, Sullivan and Lennon (KISC 2003) highlight two themes of national significance relevant to Criterion (a) and wild horse populations: pastoralism, and scientific research, conservation and park management.

Pastoralism

Pastoralism in the Alps started with squatters moving into the lower country and soon into the mountains, engaging in the transhumance of stock to the High Country from the 1830s, probably promoted by drought. Transhumance is an important theme in the history of the Kosciuszko region and is closely linked in popular imagination to the image of mountain horsemen. As the land settlement process became more regularised through legislation, summer grazing leases were established from 1889. The third period, from the 1920s onwards reflects changes in lease conditions in response to the recognition of over-grazing on the High Country, with around 70 per cent of the intact pastoral huts remaining in 2005 dating from the 1930s−50s period. Homesteads or huts associated with these three main periods of pastoralism in KNP survive (Godden Mackay Logan 2005:31-32). While pastoralism was a large factor in Aboriginal dispossession, some Aboriginal people certainly worked as stockmen and in other roles, retaining direct connections and engaging with the area in new ways.

Families and communities associated with the pastoral period, up until the creation of the Park and the phasing out of grazing licences, retain connections to the area and to particular localities and cultural features. Horses played a vital role in the pastoral industry, and wild herds once established provided a source of 'mountain bred' riding horses, an economic return through skin sales, with brumby-running or roping 'a well-known form of recreation for riders of the high country from the 1920s onwards', an activity which has become the basis for a competitive rodeo event (Sullivan and Lennon 2003:142; Man From Snowy River Festival http://www.bushfestival.com.au/). As well as huts, homesteads and complexes, Sullivan and Lennon list a range of other evidence of pastoralism that remains in KNP including cultural heritage items such as mustering yards, fences, stock tracks, watering points, huts (etc), and introduced animals (including wild horses) and evidence of brumby capture such as salt troughs and brumby traps. They also note intangible heritage attributes as including place names, personal and community associations and traditions, bush skills, stories and memories, language/terminology, songs, festivals (etc) (Sullivan and Lennon 2003:142). They consider montane pastoralism and seasonal transhumance to be 'more strongly represented in the Alps than anywhere else in Australia' and to be of regional historic significance. They also note that while little remains of the early squatting era in KNP (Coolamine and Currango), there are some properties outside KNP that have important remains of early pastoralism and active and continuing traditions. Further it is the 'variety, geographic spread and representativeness of the pastoral huts … their association with traditional pastoral routes and summer grazing settings that make them a unique manifestation of a particular type of grazing' (Ibid, 142).

Sullivan and Lennon (2003:143) recognise wild horses as an attribute associated with pastoralism, noting that ' horses played an important role in the cultural history of the region … have a strong association with some sections of the local communities in the Kosciuszko area and the direct descendants of pastoralists and pastoral workers … the stories and traditions associated with them have a strong association with a group of people of importance in the … cultural history of Australia - poets, artists and writers in the pastoral tradition; the

most celebrated wild horses in the Australian pastoral tradition are those associated with Kosciuszko, which have to some extent become a national icon, along with their riders and musterers…'.

In summary, montane pastoralism is a theme of national historical significance at KNP. The evidence of this long and diverse period of activity is represented in both tangible cultural heritage features – primarily structures and landscape elements - and intangible attributes – primarily associations, traditions and knowledge. Horses and some other introduced species (such as domestic plantings) are a tangible attribute associated with pastoralism.

Scientific research, conservation and park management'

In relation to the theme of 'scientific research, conservation and park management', Sullivan and Lennon note that the history and achievement of alpine science is part of the cultural heritage of Kosciuszko, and links narratives and places associated with land reclamation and revegetation and studies of vegetation and ecological systems for example, to actions designed to protect and conserve natural values and wilderness. The development of the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme is noted as a key driver of conservation concerns in the twentieth century and more recently the century-long impacts of cattle and sheep grazing on fragile alpine ecosystems. At the same time the increasing popularity of recreation in the bush is presented as a factor in the growing awareness of the need to conserve fragile environments. As a consequence, Kosciuszko State Park was established (becoming a National Park in 1967) and grazing phased out from the 1940s. The first 'primitive area' was declared in 1963 and today there are nine 'wilderness areas' within KNP. The removal of stock from the High Country to protect ecological values had a consequent impact on cultural values including 'the loss of a way of life and treasured traditions' for those people with close and long-standing associations with high country grazing (Sullivan and Lennon 2003:148-149). This loss is today expressed in part by the desire to retain wild horse populations in KNP, or similarly by the desire to conserve huts and engage in rebuilding them as a way of continuing traditional vernacular building skills and community connections with specific places (Godden Mackay Logan 2005: 110-111).

Sullivan and Lennon consider that 'scientific research, conservation and park management' is a theme of international and national significance (Sullivan and Lennon 2003:150) and have identified tangible features and localities that demonstrate this theme.

They also identify two intangible attributes associated with this theme. Interestingly, these attributes underpin the conflicting values evident today (see Section 7 for further discussion):

- The strong tradition of conservation, activism and dedication that created the park and seeks to maintain its values;

- Loss of a way of life and treasured traditions, and a breaking of strong emotional ties that resulted from the cessation of grazing in the high country (Sullivan and Lennon 2003:150).

They conclude that 'The contribution of alpine research in Australia to the creation of an enriched global perspective on alpine research generally should also be acknowledged' (Sullivan and Lennon 2003:150).

Based on their work, it is not known if any of the features or localities associated with this theme are adversely impacted by wild horse populations, nor if the wild horse population is itself an attribute associated with significant research localities noted as contributing to the assessed significance.

In conclusion:

- The Alps has been recognised as of national significance 'holding a significant place in Australia's pastoral history relating to transhumance grazing, and this includes KNP (AHC 2008)

- The Alps cultural landscapes associated with pastoral occupation and land-use processes have been recognised as recognised as of national significance, and this includes KNP (AHC 2008)

- The North-East Kosciuszko pastoral landscape is singled out within the AANP listing in relation to criterion (d), but equally offers evidence in relation to criterion (a)

- The High Country cultural landscapes of AANP and beyond demonstrates a particular way of life and set of traditions associated with alpine pastoralism, as evidenced through literature and community associations (see criterion (g)).

Threshold: The KNP landscape, as part of AANP, is likely to be <u>above threshold</u> against this criterion at a national level.

The <u>tangible</u> attributes that embody this value include:

- homesteads, outbuildings and associated structures

- huts, campsites and their settings

- features associated with stock and horses: mustering yards, fences, stock tracks, watering points, salt troughs, brumby traps

- pathways and tracks

- the modified pastoral landscapes themselves

- wild horse populations, as an element remaining from a distinctive way of life.

The <u>intangible</u> attributes include:

- knowledge, language/terminology, skills and practices such as roping from horseback

- place names

- personal and community associations

- stories and memories.

The <u>relative significance of each attribute</u> within this substantial suite of attributes has not been assessed within the scope of the present work. However, certain features have been recognised as attributes of this value in the AANP assessment (AHC 2008) and subsequent listing, as 'the former stockman's huts, the relict former grazing landscapes, stock yards and stock routes'.

In relation to the <u>wild horse populations as an attribute</u>:

- the wild horse populations are assumed to be descendants of the wild horse populations that were connected to the activity of alpine pastoralism

- the wild horse populations are in far greater numbers and spread across a far wider area than during the period of alpine pastoralism with which they were associated

- the wild horse populations are no longer part of the activity of pastoralism as this activity is no longer present in KNP

- the wild horse population is not genetically distinctive although they may have some particular characteristics that enable them to be distinguished from domestic horses.

Locational extent of value: AANP generally, with concentration on the North-East Kosciuszko landscape (which has been identified as meeting the national threshold as the most intact area of the High Country cultural landscape within the KNP).

Criterion (b) Rarity

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history.

Indicators:

b.2 Processes, activities, beliefs, or other aspects of culture that are uncommon, rare or endangered (cultural values)

h.b.2 The criterion particularly applies to places which characterise past ways of life, custom, process, land use, function or design that were always few in number, or that are now few in their surviving number due to subsequent destruction. Places may include:

o *those demonstrating uncommon aspects of human occupation and activity;*

o *those demonstrating a past human activity or aspects of culture that is now rare, obsolete or no longer practised; or*

o *those with uncommon integrity in their national context.*

The way of life and the cultural practices associated with pastoralism may be considered under this criterion if it is considered that these are uncommon, rare or endangered. Certainly today, this way of life and most of the associated cultural practices no longer continue within the KNP, nor in most of the public lands across the Alps. Some aspects of this way of life probably remain throughout the region on private land where limited high country grazing still occurs.

The significance assessment of the KNP huts states that the huts are rare 'because of the unusually accurate record that they bring to the history of this important cultural landscape that, in itself, is rare and of national significance', noting that the huts provide a rare sense of 'place and time that evokes history through continuity of use' and offer 'rare evidence of individual and family associations that have continued even though the use that prompted the association has been terminated' (Godden Mackay Logan 2005:112).

A similar argument could be advanced in relation to the wild horse population, that is that they represent and evoke a way of life that has or is vanishing. Sites and structures associated with brumby running are increasing rare within KNP as a result of deterioration and fire.

The wild horses may be seen as representing a bygone 'bushman' era that is part of a diminishing wild and 'natural' mountain habitat increasingly being encroached upon by human activity and development. In large part drawn from representations from the symbolism associated with the 'Man from Snowy River' legend, a sighting of these animals in the 'wild' High Country may be considered by some to be special and rare. However, this perception relates more to the evocation of a feeling, rather than the reality an expanding wild horse population in terms of numbers and areal extent in KNP or the number and extent of wild horse populations throughout Australia (Australia has the largest wild horse population in the world, with an estimated 400,000 animals across the country, Nimmo *et al.* 2007). The experiential sense of witnessing a rare phenomena – that is seeing a wild horse in an alpine or high country landscape –may be better understood under criterion (e) aesthetic characteristics.

The Australian Heritage Council's assessment of the National Heritage values of the AANP (AHC 2008:21) concluded that the AANP does not have rare historic values at the national level, noting that 'the suite of huts in the AANP are exceptional as a collection and are included in the assessment against criterion (g)' but that historic transhumance and pastoralism is not rare nationally, as these activities also occurred in Tasmania 'albeit to a much lesser degree'. Other assessments, such as that of Sullivan and Lennon (2003) and Truscott et al (2006) have come to different conclusions. The former suggests that 'The pastoral theme, as it is expressed in the Alps in general and Kosciuszko in particular, represents a unique high country variation of a way of life and a period of economic and social development that is of historic significance at a national level' and that the 'variety, geographic spread and

representativeness of the pastoral huts of Kosciuszko, and their association with traditional pastoral routes and summer grazing settings, make them a unique manifestation of a particular type of grazing'.

Truscott et al (2006:122-123) observes that 'there are key events and processes that have taken place in the Alps that are rare events for the nation. In part this is due to the rarity of the Alps environment itself, resulting in key events and processes only occurring within this landscape. Associated intangible values are in many cases dependent on the rarity of the Alps experience within the broader Australian landscape. Some of these associations and stories associated with the Alps are nonetheless central to the community's sense of identity' and concludes that the Alps therefore have outstanding national value to the nation for the national theme *the Alps experience* for criterion (b). Example places and landscapes – such as Currango Pastoral Landscape - are identified in relation to criterion (b).

In conclusion:

- Wild horse populations are an attribute of high country pastoralism and transhumance as described in relation to criterion (a):

- Pastoralism and transhumance have been assessed as not being rare nationally in relation to the criterion (b) threshold by the Australian Heritage Council (2008)

- There are places within KNP that represent a past way of life associated with high country pastoralism, transhumance and brumby running, and that this way of life (which may be now be rare) no longer continues in KNP

- Wild horses, in themselves, are not a rare phenomena in KNP nor in the Australian Alps, nor in the wider Australian landscape.

Threshold: The KNP landscape, as part of AANP, is likely to be <u>below threshold</u> against this criterion at a national level. The attributes of this landscape are therefore not of national significance on this analysis.

Criterion (c) Research

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Australia's natural or cultural history.

Indicators:

c.2 the history, ways of life, and/or cultures in Australia

> *h.c.2 This criterion applies to sites or areas with potential to contribute to research on Australian history and culture. The research potential must be demonstrable and must relate to the development of an understanding of Australia's history and culture. The research and teaching value will be within the site or fabric of the site and must be of national importance.*

The AHC's assessment report on the AANP for the National Heritage List concluded that the AANP does not hold outstanding value to the nation in terms of the potential for the place to yield information that contributes to historic, Indigenous, ecological or climate related information (AHC 2008:21).

Further, the research carried out for this report found no evidence supporting the potential for the wild horse population of KNP to contribute to scientific studies into the natural history of Australia, nor to the history, way of life and/or cultures in Australia

Further, the genetic stock of the KNP wild horse population has not been identified as being any different to other wild horse populations elsewhere in Australia (Brian Hampson to Context Pty Ltd, pers com, 8 April 2014), nor any different genetically from Australian horses generally.

Threshold: The KNP landscape, as part of AANP, is likely to be <u>below threshold</u> against this criterion at a national level. The attributes of this landscape are therefore not of national significance on this analysis.

The wild horse populations, not being a distinct genetic population, could not be considered in relation to this criterion.

Criterion (d) Principal characteristics of a class of places

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of: i) a class of Australia's natural or cultural places; or ii) a class of Australia's natural or cultural environments.

Indicators:

The place best represents the characteristics of its Class by virtue of its combinations of:

d.7 A particular way of life

> *h.d.7 The class of place or environment demonstrates a particular way of life*

d.8 A particular use or land use

> *h.d.8 The class of place or environment demonstrates a particular land use*

Under this criterion, the place should represent all or the critical elements representative of a particular land use of importance in the history of Australia. The place may be significant because it is characteristic of either an unusual or common type. It may represent traditional or vernacular land use practice (AHC 2008:33).

The North-East Kosciuszko landscape has been assessed as an outstanding representative alpine pastoral landscape that demonstrates the key elements characteristic of a way of life associated with high country grazing, and for this reason meets the national threshold for this criterion (AHC 2008). In an earlier assessment, the Commonwealth Minister for the Environment and Heritage (2005:16) considered that that KNP sub-alpine and alpine environments, as well as KNP alpine grazing properties may have outstanding heritage value to the nation under this criterion.

Truscott et al. (2006:123) argues that the national threshold is reached for the Australian Alps National Parks due to '…an array of elements forming cultural landscapes and concentrations of stories that typify the Alps experience'. Key elements work together to provide this representational value: these include open grasslands formed by extensive grazing over time, the scattering of huts built for a range of historical uses and displaying diverse vernacular styles, permanent pastoral properties, and former stock routes weaving through the landscape (AHC 2008:23).

Truscott et al. (2006:123) also notes that,

> *Since Paterson's The Man from Snowy River was first published, cultural places, elements, features and landscapes, even names themselves (such as 'Snowy'), associated with the pastoral and grazing story-line in the Australian Alps have been part of the myths associated by the community with the Alps, and a notion of a characteristic way of life.*

The centrality of the 'brumby' associated with the 'Man from Snowy River' legend also indicates that the KNP wild horse population is in turn an important element of the pastoral way of life it depicts, as well as the traditions and land use practices specific to this mountain environment.

In conclusion:

- North-East Kosciuszko landscape is of national significance as it demonstrates the principal characteristics of an alpine pastoral land use and landscape (AHC 2008).

- The AANP, KNP and the High Country more broadly demonstrates key elements characteristic of a pastoral way of life specific to the alpine environment.

Threshold: The KNP landscape, as part of AANP, is likely to be <u>above threshold</u> against this criterion at a national level.

The characteristics referred to in the concept of a class of place can be considered as the principal attributes associated with this value.

The <u>tangible</u> attributes that embody this value are those that provide a 'spatial arrangement indicative of a typical pastoral landscape' and as identified by the AHC (2008) include:

- extensive visible grazing modified landscapes manifesting predominantly as open grasslands

- an exceptional array of huts that show a range of vernacular styles

- exceptional permanent pastoral properties

- former stock routes that weave across the landscape.

While the AHC (2008) did not identify the wild horse populations as an attribute, the conclusion drawn here is that they are a tangible attribute associated with this value.

As was stated for criterion (a), the <u>relative significance of each attribute</u> within this substantial suite of attributes has not been assessed within the scope of the present work. However, the features recognised as attributes of this value in the AANP assessment (AHC 2008) and subsequent listing would take precedence.

In relation to the <u>wild horse populations as an attribute</u>, the nature of these populations has changed over time, as stated in relation to criterion (a) above. Unlike the relict landscape of North East Kosciuszko, the wild horse populations are expanding their range and exist well beyond the areas that might be considered to form part of the 'spatial arrangement indicative of a typical pastoral landscape', even recognising that the wild horse mobs were never contained with in bounded area.

Locational extent of value: AANP and KNP generally in relation to the pastoral way of life; the North-East Kosciuszko landscape as a representative alpine pastoral landscape that also demonstrates the key elements characteristic of the associated way of life.

Criterion (e) Aesthetic characteristics

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group.

Indicators:

h.e.1 Aesthetic quality is determined by the response derived from the experience of the environment or of particular natural and cultural attributes within it. This response can be evoked by visual or non-visual elements but is predominantly visual and related to the concept of beauty. It can include related to this, emotional responses, sense of place, sound, smell, or any other factor having a strong impact on human thoughts, feelings and attitudes.

In addition the guidelines note that as 'the value derives from personal experience, it needs to be strongly acknowledged from many sources that are recognised throughout the nation' and that the 'community or cultural group must be noted in the assessment and be a recognised community or group' (AHC 2008:36).

The portrayal of the wild horses in fictional literature by writers such as Elyne Mitchell as well as in current-day community expressions and experiences — imbue them with an aura of mystique and elusiveness:

> *Beauty such as theirs was something with which one lived joyously – racing with the wind, with storm and snow, dancing in the frost or among the golden wattles, galloping, galloping in the spring sun. Life might be dangerous, with beauty that was so difficult to hide…* (Mitchell 2000:73).

The KNP, as part of the AANP, has previously been assessed as holding national level aesthetic value because it is an 'uncommon landscape' of uniquely wild and remote alpine

qualities, a 'powerful landscape' of high mountain peaks and plateaus, and a cultural icon, with Mount Kosciuszko as a 'defining image' in the mind of Australians (AHC 2008:26 - drawing from the Inspirational Landscapes place assessments of Crocker and Davies 2005a, b & c).

The natural landscape qualities of KNP evoke strong aesthetic responses recognised in it's the NHL listing for the AANP: 'mountain vistas, alpine streams and rivers, natural and artificial lakes, the snow-clad eucalypts and the high plain grasslands, summer alpine wildflowers, forests and natural sounds. Much of the terrain of the AANP is highly valued for its remoteness, and naturalness, including views to and from the region that capture snow clad ranges and mountain silhouettes against clear skies as well as expansive views of natural landscapes from the high points of the Alps. These mountain landscapes have inspired poets, painters, writers, musicians and film makers.'

The KNP landscape is also powerful cultural landscape that represents nationally important defining images and creative expressions (Crocker & Davies 2005a:91). This High Country cultural landscape displays a richness of assemblages, of which there are many, densely layered aspects (Ibid:127). It is noted that in terms of landscape integrity, the North-East Kosciuszko landscape best represents this alpine pastoral value, with other areas of Kosciuszko having been degraded through other valued activities such as recreational skiing and tourism infrastructure (AHC 2008:23).

Aesthetic values evident in the landscape are expressed as inspiration for art, literature and the moving image, both historically and contemporarily (for example, von Guerard 1863 and c.1866; Pigenit 1903), in the breadth and depth of community responses to, and the popularity of, artistic alpine imagery, as well as the community responses provided in the Regional Forest Agreement Studies workshops (1999 and 2000). The High Country natural alpine landscape is recognised as a nationally significant landscape for its aesthetic characteristics, with the Minister for Environment and Heritage (2005:16-17) noting that there is no comparable landscape in Australia.

Truscott et al. (2006:124) establishes that many replicated images of the Alps are 'location free'; they are symbols of the whole area known as 'the Alps'; this is confirmed in the analysis of pictorial sources undertaken in the present project.. They inspire stories of national identity and achievement. They represent beauty, strength and freedom. This aspect of 'placelessness' has also been evidenced for some communities in reviewed material relating to the 'brumby'. For example, for the Australian community, the 'brumby' is an evocative image representing a key aspect of Australia's history and national mythology, but is somewhat 'placeless'. While it is linked to the Snowy River through Paterson and the High Country generally through Mitchell, presentations of this mythology at more recent cultural events such as the Sydney Olympics appear less specific to a time or place. For the High Country community, who have had direct experiences of the wild horse population in the High Country, there seems to be a stronger connection made between the evocation and imagery of the 'Australian brumby', the Snowy Mountain landscape and the wild horse population of the KNP. This would need to be further tested.

In terms of known locational associations between the Australian brumby and a geographic place, the aesthetic vision of a wild and majestic horse has its origins in A.B. Paterson's 'The Man from Snowy River' poem of 1890. Evidence exists in the poem's name as well as in the following excerpts, that the Snowy Mountains landscape is specifically associated with this aesthetic.

> *The Snowy River is a place central to the Australian Alps experience, a symbol evoking potent defining images of Australian national identity and achievement. Whilst not seen by most Australians, its name reinforces Australians' sense of larrikinism and connection with the Bush identity, resulting from Paterson's widely known ballad, 'The Man from Snowy River'. The portrayal of the river and the steep-sided country 'up by Kosciusko's side', binds that identity to the Alps* (Truscott 2006:133).

An article in the *Sydney Mail* (21 December 1938, cited in http://www.khuts.org/), quotes Paterson explaining the relevance of the Snowy River landscape as:

CONTEXT

*To make any sort of a job of it I had to create a character, to imagine a man would ride better than anybody else, and where would he come from except from the Snowy? And what sort of a horse would he ride except a half-thoroughbred mountain pony?*Paterson also refers specifically to pine-clad gullies, which are found in the southern regions of the KNP:

> *And down by Kosciusko, where the pine-clad ridges raise*
> *Their torn and rugged battlements on high,*

Together with evidence in the public realm of the 'Australian brumby' pictured contextually in the High Country cultural landscape, the sense of 'wildness' and the Man from Snowy River legend, ties the KNP wild horse population to the aesthetic appreciation of the Australian brumby by the Australian and High Country communities. Specific examples of these contextual connections include the national (and to some extent international) reach of imagery linked to 'The Man from Snowy River' poem and 'The Silver Brumby' novel series; the Snowy River Australian brumby on the Australian $10 note; and the Snowy River brumby featuring in the Opening Ceremony of the 2000 Sydney Olympics. These are all considered to be relevant expressions of national cultural identity.

Important elements identified as relating to aesthetic value include the KNP wild horse population (Bluegrass Consulting 2015:35-37; Mountain Journal 2014); mountain topography (Mountain Journal 2014; AHC 2008); views and vistas (National Parks 2015); water courses (Mountain Journal 2014); feelings of solitude and remoteness (Bluegrass Consulting 2015); and wildness imagery (Elyne Mitchell's *Silver Brumby* series*)*.

In conclusion:

- The Australian Alps are an 'uncommon landscape' of uniquely wild and remote alpine qualities, a 'powerful landscape' of high mountain peaks and plateaus, and a cultural icon, with Mount Kosciuszko as a 'defining image' in the mind of Australians. Most of the aesthetic qualities associated with AANP and KNP are recognised as arising through aspects of naturalness as indicated above.

- Within the Australian community, there is evidence that the aesthetic qualities of the 'Australian brumby' – a wild horse in a wild place – are valued. For most Australians, this is not an experiential aesthetic appreciation, but rather is associated with the iconography of the brumby and linked to the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies. The combination of a place of great beauty and inspiration and emotions associated with a perceived sense of freedom, strength, courage and independence that are expressed through a range of landscape attributes including the wild horses, evoke a strong human response. This is not a universal value, but nor is this required to achieve the national threshold.

- For the High Country community, again probably in part but expected to be a held across this community, the aesthetic experience of seeing wild horses in the High Country is valued due to a greater and more intimate aesthetic connection to the specific horses or horse mobs and to the landscape. It is likely that it is linked to specific locations such as to the Snowy River area in south KNP based on the Man from Snowy River legend, but also in a more general folkloric sense to the AANP landscape more widely.

Threshold: The KNP landscape, as part of AANP, is likely to be above threshold against this criterion at a national level.

The tangible attributes that embody this value include:

- Natural landscape qualities such as naturalness, remoteness, powerfulness, wildness

- The experience of witnessing wild horses in the landscape (where this is results in a positive aesthetic experience – see below).

Locational extent of value: AANP and KNP generally, recognising that the experiential aesthetic values exist only in relation to people who connect a positive aesthetic value to seeing wild horses in the landscape. The locational extent is therefore linked to access.

A positive aesthetic experience is less likely to result from the experience of witnessing wild horses for those who seek high levels of remoteness, naturalness and natural landscape integrity.

Criterion (f) Creative or technical achievement

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period.

Indicators:

f.1 A high degree of achievement in design, art, or craftsmanship

f.2 A high degree of achievement in combining built features into a natural or designed landscape to achieve a productive or aesthetic purpose.

f.3 A high degree of ingenuity or innovative use of material.

Neither past assessments nor this assessment have any uncovered evidence to support creative and technical achievement associated with the KNP or its wild horse population at the national level.

Threshold: Below threshold

Criterion (g) Social value

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons.

Indicators:

g.1 Social, cultural or spiritual reasons that could include: traditional, religious, ceremonial or other social purpose, including a celebratory or commemorative use, or association with community action.

The AANP has previously been assessed as holding social value at a national level for the broad Australian community due its landscape, 'The Man from Snowy River' myth, legends of horsemanship in the rugged High Country landscape, and the iconic Mount Kosciuszko (AHC 2008:27). The National Heritage List entry also notes that many other specific community groups have special associations with the wider Australian Alps for a range of social and cultural reasons, and that some of these groups are nationally recognised, such as the mountain cattlemen. The Commonwealth Minister for the Environment and Heritage (2005:17) concluded that rural communities around the entire fringe of the Australian Alps (i.e. the High Country community) have shared associations with the place, and their collective connection is widely recognised. The Minister argues that strong and special associations by individual groups alone — such as the mountain cattlemen and recreational horse riders — would not meet the national threshold (Ibid 17).

The Minister's assessment (2005:17) noted that bush skills and horsemanship of the High Country community remain valued despite the absence of pastoral practices in the KNP The Minister suggests that the continuation of social value is derived from the long history of pastoralism rather than the presence or absence of contemporary pastoral practices.

The activity of 'brumby running' is a pastoral practice still valued by today's High Country community and associated with the KNP wild horse population; it is regarded by some as a desirable way to remove wild horses from KNP. Brumby-running is said to have occurred from the mid to late nineteenth century, continuing in the 1920s and (probably) the 1930s (Walter 2002: 122), discouraged in the 1940s with the classification of the KNP area as a State Park, and later reintroduced for a short period.

Valued tangible attributes relating to the associated activities of stock riding, brumby-running and horse-trapping include the activities themselves; landscape elements such as favoured grazing grounds (The Cascades area for example) and rugged spurs climbed by horsemen to

gain access to high ground; built forms such as cattle yards, brumby runs, huts, brush fences, bridle tracks and salt licks (Truscott 2006: 127), as well as remnant post-and-rail fencing, fence post holes, tethering posts, horse paddocks (associated with huts). These huts were generally built by and used by stockmen, horse-trappers, brumby-runners, miners and others. Of particular importance to this theme is Currango homestead (built by alpine grazier Tom O'Rourke 1873); Cascades Hut (which inspired the writer Elyne Mitchell in her work, probably owing to the identified wild horse population in that vicinity in the 1950s and 1960s (Geehi Club 1962); as well as Charlie Carter's Hut, occupied from 1938 to 1959 by horse trapper and recluse, Charlie Carter, who derived an income selling brumbies for their hides (http://www.khuts.org/).

Truscott et al. (2006:134) argued that the national threshold for social value of the Australia Alps generally is reached because of the iconic status of the place and the Australian community's sense of national identity based on cultural myths such as 'The Man from Snowy River', originating in 1890, and continues as one of the central nation-building narratives of post-colonial Australia. This symbolism has its roots in the simple but aesthetically evocative image of horses in the wild mountainous landscape — often linked to the horses' mere presence in the landscape — there because of their original usefulness. 'The Man from Snowy River' legend also celebrates the archetypal hero of man on horseback achieving success against the odds.

Within the national mythology, the wild horses are an Australian icon that the wider Australian and High Country communities hold in great esteem, evidenced in the continual appearance of the 'Snowy River brumby' in the public sphere (A.B. 'Banjo' Paterson's poem, which was first published in the *Bulletin* in April 1890; Elyne Mitchell's *Silver Brumby* series from 1958; feature films *The Man from Snowy River*, 1982; tourism groups advertise Snowy River 'Horseback Safari' at Mt Kosciuszko 1987; *The Man from Snowy River II*, 1988; the name 'Brumbies' was adopted for the newly formed ACT rugby team in 1996; Sydney Olympic Games Opening Ceremony in 2000; while a number of placenames in KNP have equine associations: e.g. Dead Horse Gap near Thredbo, Grey Mare Range, Horse Camp, and Horse Flat). This social connection to the Snowy River/Mountains brumby also evidenced in the strong community reactions to any perceived threat to wild horse populations across the country, where the symbol of the 'Australian brumby' is often invoked.

The expression of these connections and feelings are also likely to be linked to a range of poetry, literature, music, art and photography (the paintings of von Guerard and Chevalier; the poetry of Banjo Paterson, Barcroft Boake, Will Ogilvie, Ethel Mills, David Campbell and Douglas Stewart; and the novels of Miles Franklin and Elyne Mitchell).

In conclusion:

- The KNP holds social value at a national level as part of AANP for the broader Australian community due to its cultural landscape, 'The Man from Snowy River' myth, legends of horsemanship in the rugged High Country landscape, and the iconic Mount Kosciuszko (AHC 2008). This value relates to an element of Australian national identity.

- The High Country community have enduring strong and special associations with this landscape based on their direct experiences over generations, and through association with alpine pastoralism over generations.

Threshold: The KNP landscape, as part of AANP, is likely to be <u>above threshold</u> against this criterion at a national level.

<u>Tangible</u> attributes valued by the wider Australian community and the High Country community include:

- features associated with stock riding, brumby-running and horse-trapping, including some huts

- favoured grazing grounds for wild horses

- the rugged Snowy River and Snowy Mountains landscape (evoked in Elyne Mitchell's *Silver Brumby* and A.B. Paterson's *The Man from Snowy River*)

- key elements associated with the High Country cultural landscape (as listed under the analysis section for criteria a).

Tangible attributes for the High Country community may include:

- specific places of particular importance to certain families/individuals due to their long association with that place.

Intangible attributes associated with this value for the High Country community include:

- Australian bush life and bush skills, including horsemanship

- place names

- feelings of emotional connection with the land (based on the physical remains, the traditions of the pastoral era and long association)

- stories, songs, language, dress festivals etc. (the Bush Poets festival, the work of Ted Winter, and the Kosciuszko Huts Association's recordings of stories and traditions).

Connections for the High Country community may be expressed in activities such as continuing advocacy for the protection of their traditional activities (such as High Country grazing); active involvement in conservation of specific huts; engagement in oral history and writing to record and pass on their stories; continuing engagement with a range of related cultural practices (riding horses, roping, running grazing properties etc), including offering horseback mountain experiences to tourists.

Locational extent of value: AANP generally, with concentration on the North-East Kosciuszko landscape (previously assessed as the most intact High Country cultural landscape of KNP and an iconic landscape), the Snowy River area (associated most strongly with the Man from Snowy River legend), and Cascade Hut and Snowy Mountains landscape (evoked by the *Silver Brumby* novels).

For the wider Australian community, the associations are most likely to sense of a shared connection to the mythology of the Australian 'Snowy Mountains' and 'bushman', and to an appreciation of the broader mountain landscape, rather than to very specific places.

For the High Country community, deeper associations with specific places are likely.

Criterion (h) Significant people

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history.

Indicators:

h.1 The place had an important formative effect on a nationally recognised person or group

h.2 The major national achievements of a nationally recognised person or group occurred at this place.

Associative value requires the identification of people who have a special, notable, enduring or strong association with a place and the place should be where the person or group achieved their national importance (AHC 2008). Both A.B. 'Banjo' Paterson and Elyne Mitchell's lives and works are deeply connected with the landscape and wild horses of the KNP.

Mitchell, for example, wrote 12 books between 1958 and 1970s about the wild horses around KNP — with key locations being The Cascades and Main Range —, commencing with *The Silver Brumby*, in which she successfully 'humanised' the horses to a wide Australian public and gave these introduced animals a greater 'natural' right to occupation in the Australian landscape. Her connections to the region and its wild horses came from her marriage to grazier Tom Mitchell, who had long-established family connections to the Snowy River area. Cascades

Hut, with its wild horse population during those decades, also inspired the writer in her work (Geehi Club 1962). Mitchell's interest in horses was also probably influenced by her father, grazier and professional soldier General Sir Harry Chauvel, who helped to train the Australian Light Horse in the First World War and was the commander of the victorious Anzac Mounted Division at the Battle of Beersheba in 1917 (Hill 1979).

While, Paterson, for example, wrote the poem, 'The Man from Snowy River' in April 1890; he also wrote other works that depicted the 'brumbies', such as 'How Wild Horses Are Yarded' 1890, 'An Outback Marriage: A story of colonial life' and 'Song of the Pen' c.1890s, 'Brumby's Run' 1895, and 'Wild Horses' 1930s. 'The Man from Snowy River' in particular shaped Australian popular culture. The Snowy Mountains and Snowy River area had an important and formative effect on Paterson. He spent considerable time in the Snowy Mountains and surrounding area, working and staying with friends.

Works by other people of possible national standing are also linked to Australian wild horse populations, such as folk poet Breaker Morant, but their work does not specifically relate to the KNP landscape. Other High Country community members with strong connections to wild horse culture of the pastoral era (such as Spencer, early pastoralist; Charlie Carter, hermit and horse skin trader; Tom Mitchell, local grazier; Richard Helms, naturalist(1890s); and George Day, horseman and alpine skiing promoter have been identified, however evidence has not been found to show their associations reach the national threshold.

The Minister for Environment and Heritage (2005:18) concluded that Paterson wrote a generic poem celebrating a way of life, rather than celebrating a particular place or person and that '…there are a large number of other localities around Australia with equally strong and perhaps stronger ties to Paterson's poetry, career and life, including a number of areas in NSW and Queensland in the Murray Darling Basin'. The Minister also concluded that '…there are a number of works equally associated with Paterson, most notably "Waltzing Matilda"', and that he could not establish a special or sufficiently strong connection between the life or works of Paterson and the area that the Kosciuszko National Park encompasses.

'The Man From Snowy River' is a major achievement and highly recognised nationally, and this poem is linked to the Snowy River landscape and wild horses by Paterson himself:

> *To make any sort of a job of it I had to create a character, to imagine a man would ride better than anybody else. And where would he come from except from the Snowy? And what sort of a horse would he ride except a half-thoroughbred mountain pony?' (Paterson, Sydney Mail, 21 December 1938, cited in http://www.khuts.org/).*

In conclusion:

- The High Country environment and landscape – the Snowy River, Snowy Mountains, Main Range/Cascade Hut in particular – are known to have had an important formative effect on A.B. 'Banjo' Paterson and Elyne Mitchell, two nationally important literary figures that are enduring and inextricably associated in the public mind with the High Country.

- Banjo Paterson's and Elyne Mitchell's literary works are nationally important and intrinsically related to the High Country, including KNP and its wild horse populations. Both are nationally recognised individuals for their creative endeavours.

Threshold: The KNP landscape is likely to be <u>above threshold</u> against this criterion. The attributes that embody this value include:

- the literary works themselves

- specific locations associated with these individuals in the creation of their literary works

- wild horse populations as an element of the places described in their works.

Locational extent of value: Australian Alps generally, with a focus on the primary locations associated with their works such as the Snowy River and Snowy Mountains area and Main Range/Cascade Hut.

Criterion (i) Indigenous tradition

The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance as part of Indigenous tradition.

Indicators:

The place demonstrates an aspect of Indigenous tradition which is of national significance to Australia for the following:

i.1 Creation beings and spirits – physical places in the land created by creation beings or inhabited by spirits

i.2 People – places associated with people's ritual and ceremonial transformations

i.3 Land – 'increase', trade, or ceremonial sites relating to nurturing the land.

Many Aboriginal people have significant and continuing links to the Australian Alps, through their tribe and clan connections, through past and present work experiences, through visiting and travelling through the area and, more formally, through the Australian Alps Traditional Owners Reference Group. Projects such as those undertaken by Goulding and Buckley (2002) and Context (2014a) have demonstrated that Aboriginal people with these connections value both traditional Country connections (e.g. travel routes, dreaming trails, ceremonial places) and historical connections (e.g. places where people worked, camps).

The Kosciuszko Plan of Management (2006) contains a statement developed by the 'Kosciuszko Aboriginal Working Group on behalf of Aboriginal people associated with the mountains' that expresses the significance of this area to Aboriginal people through an image and words, including:

> *Living by natural cycles, the land provides our people with life, ceremony, family lore/law, and resources, such as tools, plant medicine, plant food, waters, fish, animals and insects e.g. the Bogong moth, while the melting of the snow gives life to the many creeks and rivers that flow out of the mountains. There are places of spiritual and physical significance to our people, and we are committed to working in partnership with others to protect, maintain and manage these places.*

This statement is broad in scope and does not identify specific locations and values.

The Context (2014) project concluded that what is apparent from all of the sources – literature, past studies and consultation with Aboriginal people – is that Aboriginal people's cultural and spiritual values and connection to the Australian Alps are multi-facetted and include connections to:

- country – and encompass powerful feelings of connection to country

- identity – personal and clan

- other clans and tribes with the Alps as that place of connection and exchange

- the spiritual realm through ceremonial places.

While the consultations undertaken for this project were not focused on impacts on values, feral animals and plants came up in several meetings, with concerns expressed about the adverse impacts they were having on country:

> *Weeds and feral animals should be removed from the Alps. Some things – like cattle – are really having a detrimental effect. (Question by facilitator: What are they hurting that is important to you?) It could be a little Corroboree frog – could be important to our ceremony – there is always a downside. Even after years and years of studies but what has actually happened in the Alps – there are feral animals and they been introduced by human beings and we need an eradication program (Context 2014b:24).*

Throughout the consultation, great respect was expressed towards Country, towards native plants and animals and their totemic connections with people, and the importance of caring for the environment of the Alps. It is suggested that it is likely that Aboriginal people with tribal, clan or historical association with the KNP or the Alps more broadly will consider that the wild horses are a risk to places and practices that may be considered under criterion (i).

Other types of Indigenous community value held by Traditional Owners and Indigenous people with historical and contemporary connections to the KNP wild horse population are not covered by this criterion. They are instead encompassed in a general sense under High Country and Australian community connections explored in *criterion (a) events and processes* and *criterion (e) aesthetic characteristics* and *criterion (g) social value*. Values associated with the contact period and post-contact Aboriginal life and history of the KNP landscape, including items from the pastoral era are of potential significance, cannot be identified because the required research has not taken place (Sullivan and Lennon 2003:137).

In conclusion:

There is no evidence to support the existence of 'Indigenous tradition' values associated with the KNP wild horse population at the national level. The indicators of significance require that the place or attribute relate to creation beings and spirits and places in the land that they have created; places associated with people's ritual and ceremonial transformations, and/or places associated with 'increase', trade, or ceremonial sites relating to nurturing the land. There are no known associations between the presence of wild horses and Indigenous traditions for Aboriginal communities associated with KNP or the wider Alps landscape.

There are historical and contemporary heritage values held by members of Indigenous tribe and clan groups associated with the Alps and KNP that can be considered under other criteria, given the well-documented roles of Aboriginal people in contributing to the pastoral development of the region.

Threshold: Below threshold.

6.4 Statement of cultural heritage significance

This preliminary assessment identifies that the KNP wild horse population is an attribute of five values each of which is considered to have outstanding heritage value to the nation in relation to AANP and/or KNP or part thereof:

- *Criterion (a): The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history;*

- *Criterion (d): The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of:*

    i)   *a class of Australia's natural or cultural places;*
    ii) *a class of Australia's natural or cultural environments*

- *Criterion (e): The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group.*

- *Criterion (g): The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history.*

- *Criterion (h): The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history.*

The Australian Alps (AANP) has been previously assessed as of outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history *criterion (a)*. This assessment is based on the significance of High Country pastoralism and the 'Alps experience' as a historical process, which has contributed to the shaping of an aspect of Australia's national identity. Within this High Country cultural landscape and pastoral way of life, parts of KNP have been highlighted as offering significant evidence of pastoralism. The KNP wild horse population is recognised as a tangible attribute associated with this value, one of a suite of tangible and intangible attributes.

In relation to *criterion (d)*, the Australian Alps (AANP) generally, and the North-East Kosciuszko landscape specifically, has been previously assessed as an outstanding representative alpine pastoral landscape that demonstrates the key elements characteristic of the associated way of life. This is based on the range and continued integrity of its representative elements — alpine and sub-alpine terrain, extensive grasslands, huts, pastoral properties, the 'bushman and bushwoman', former stock routes, historical narrative and wild horses —in the High Country cultural landscape. The KNP wild horse population is recognised as a tangible attribute associated with this value, again one of a suite of tangible and intangible attributes.

Against *criterion (e)*, the KNP is an aesthetically valued landscape because it is an 'uncommon landscape' of uniquely wild and remote alpine qualities, a 'powerful landscape' of high mountain peaks and plateaus, and a cultural icon, with Mount Kosciuszko as a 'defining image' in the mind of Australians. The qualities of naturalness are important attributes associated with some key aesthetic values.

The KNP wild horse population is recognised as a tangible attribute associated with the positive aesthetic experience of witnessing wild horses in the landscape. This appears likely to reach the national threshold due to the strong aesthetic appreciation attributed to the 'Australian brumby' across the Australian community (and linked to the Snowy River mythologies), and by the High Country community for the same reason, as well as for their more intimate aesthetic connection to the KNP landscape, their own histories and to wild horses.

The Australian Alps (AANP) has been assessed as having social value *criterion (g)* to a national level for the Australian community and the High Country community due to its much loved High Country cultural landscape and the Man from Snowy River legend; a value derived from the long social and cultural history associated with, as well as the practice of, pastoralism in the area. The landscape, the legend, and past pastoral activities have reached iconic status in the nation-building mythology of Australia. The KNP wild horse population is recognised as a tangible attribute associated with this value, again one of a suite of tangible and intangible attributes, and strongly evidenced in the continual appearance of the 'Snowy River brumby' in the Australian and High Country communities' public realm of expression.

The High Country environment and landscape – the Snowy River and Main Range/Cascade Hut in particular – have had an important formative role in the lives and works of writer Elyne Mitchell and poet A.B. 'Banjo' Paterson in relation to *criterion (h)*. Mitchell's *Silver Brumby* series reached national acclaim, and both Mitchell as a person and the *Silver Brumby* stories are inextricably linked to attributes of this value including the KNP cultural landscape, the idea of a 'wildness' aesthetic, and the to the wild horse population itself. Paterson's poem 'The Man from Snowy River' is a key work of Australian literature, and one of Australia's most popular and best known poems, that tells the story of a stockman, a brumby and the Snowy Mountains environment (of which the KNP forms part). The Snowy River area had an important and formative effect on Paterson. He spent considerable time in the Snowy Mountains and surrounding area, working and staying with friends. These landscapes and the wild horses are attributes of this value.

6.5 Section references – cultural heritage values analysis and assessment

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7 MANAGING COMPLEX AND CONFLICTING VALUES

7.1 Managing values

NSW NPWS has a responsibility to protect the natural and cultural values in the areas they manage. These responsibilities are established under legislation at the state level.

The challenge for park management is to manage the KNP for the full range of natural and cultural values, recognising that some values may conflict – that is that an element of the KNP landscape may hold or express certain values, but may adversely affect other values. This is a relatively common challenge in relation to cultural values and features in natural areas, and less often in relation to natural values in a cultural landscape. Wild horses are an example of the former.

This section of the report explores issues and perspectives in managing natural and cultural heritage values, looks at some concepts and guidance around conflicting values, proposes principles and examines some options that might be considered in relation to retaining the cultural values associated with the wild horse populations in the KNP (and potentially elsewhere in the Alps).

7.2 Natural heritage values

7.2.1 Frameworks used to understand natural heritage values

In Australian heritage practice and legislation, natural heritage places and natural heritage values are often considered separately from cultural heritage places and values, while recognising that any place may have both elements and values.

The Australian Natural Heritage Charter (AHC & AIUCN 2002) establishes the concepts and principles underpinning the understanding of natural heritage values, serving in parallel to the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter on cultural heritage. Natural environments may have both natural and cultural heritage values, and even when there is no physical evidence, natural places may be imbued with particular cultural meanings. Aboriginal people, in general, do not support an approach that divides nature and culture.

The Australian Natural Heritage Charter (ANHC) defines natural heritage as the natural living and non-living components – the *biodiversity* and *geodiversity* - of the world that humans inherit. This Charter recognises a range of kinds of values 'from existence value to socially-based values'. The fundamental distinction made between natural and cultural heritage through this Charter is that natural heritage comprises 'natural and dynamic *ecological processes*, *earth processes* and *evolutionary processes*, and *ecosystems'* (that) are able to be self-perpetuating (AIUCN 2002:4).

Article 1.3 defines *natural significance* as 'the importance of *ecosystems*, *biodiversity* and *geodiversity* for their existence value or for present or future generations, in terms of their scientific, social, aesthetic and life-support value' (AIUCN 2002:9). This Charter recognises that a natural environment may have both socially-derived values (aesthetic, social, scientific for example) as well as existence value. The Guidelines to the ANHC interpret the values in the Charter and how they might be considered.

The concept of existence values is a distinctive feature of the ANHC: existence value 'recognises that living *organisms*, *earth processes* and *ecosystems* may have value beyond the social, economic or cultural values held by humans' (AHC & ANHC 2002:x). While it can be argued that all values held by humans are essentially cultural, evidenced by the fact that values vary over time and between cultures, this is a semantic point in relation to this issue. Another issue however is how we regard humans in the Australian landscape, given Australia's long Aboriginal history; this is discussed later in the report.

The natural values of Kosciuszko National Park have been assessed and integrated into the KNP Plan of Management through the work of the Kosciuszko Independent Scientific Committee (KISC) which reported in 2003. Some of the natural values identified in the

National Heritage List citation for the Australian Alps are specifically recognised as residing within the KNP.

7.1.2 Previous statutory listings of natural heritage values

Two NHL nominations were submitted for the KNP, one derived from the values identified by the KISC (2003) and another focused on dingoes. These nominations were included in the Australian Heritage Council's (AHC) work plan for two consecutive years but were not assessed, thereby becoming ineligible for consideration unless re-nominated.

The Register of the National Estate has three listings for large natural areas within the KNP as well as a number of cultural heritage listings:

- The Kosciuszko Alpine Area

- Kosciuszko National Park [1981 boundary]

- Mount Kosciuszko Glaciated Area.

Australian Alps National Parks and Reserves (AANP) is listed on the National Heritage List, based on an extensive listing of cultural and natural values, some of which apply across the whole Alps area, while others are associated with a particular location, ecosystem, landform or human activity.

In 2003 the KISC reported on the values of KNP, including heritage values and economic values. It also provided the first comprehensive assessment of the condition of the park, and the pressures it faces and recommended KNP for National Heritage listing (KISC 2003:287). KISC defined two types of values – *core values* of natural and cultural heritage and *derived values* (social, recreational, tourism, economic) that are dependent on the core values (KISC 2003:239). They also distinguished between values they considered to have international and national significance; there is a strong alignment between these values as is evident in Appendix 3 below. This table brings together the *core values* ascribed to the natural environments of the Australian Alps in the NHL citation for this larger landscape, including values expected to be found within KNP, and the values described in the KISC 2003 report.

The values associated with what can be defined as the natural environments of KNP encompass biodiversity, geodiversity and ecosystem related values, and cultural or social values such as aesthetic appreciation of and community associations with the natural environment. Some uses that occur within the KNP such as recreation and tourism are dependent on some or most of these heritage values.

7.2 Summary of known cultural and natural heritage values

7.2.1 Known natural heritage values

The following summary list of known natural values relating to KNP has been drawn from our review of existing materials. In particular, this information comes from the report by the KISC (2003), the National Heritage Listing for the Australian Alps, and the RNE natural environment listings for Kosciuszko National Park. Refer to Appendix 3 for a more complete presentation of this material.

Based on these sources, the following natural values are recognised:

- As the central and least dissected protected area within the Australian Alps bioregion and the nationally listed 'Australian Alps National Parks and Reserves'

- For its high-altitude landscape and topographic diversity

- For its diverse range of glacial and peri-glacial features, including the Kosciuszko plateau glaciated area which is unique in mainland Australia in exhibiting landforms shaped by Pleistocene glaciation

- For the suite of surface karst features and caves, in particular the Yarrangobilly karst area for its features and for the dynamics of karst landscape formation

- For the scientific value of the great soil groups represented, including the alpine humus group, and of fossil soils and soil remnants

- For the natural fire regimes that have created subalpine, montane and lowland landscapes covered with a catena of eucalypts

- As a landscape and refuge that supports a rich, diverse and unique assemblage of plant and animal species that have evolved to survive in an environment subject to extreme climatic variation

- For its high level of species endemism across a wide range of flora and fauna taxa which form a significant and unique component of Australia's biological heritage

- For its rare, threatened or near threatened species

- For its alpine and sub-alpine ecosystems uncommon in Australia including a range of features including sub-alpine treeless flats and valleys, peats and sediments

- For its aquatic ecosystems, including glacial lakes and the headwaters of significant river systems and catchments, including undiverted river sections

- For its evidence of the adaptation and dominance of a single genus (Eucalyptus) over the entire elevation all range from the coast to the subalpine tree line

- As the focus for continuing scientific and ecological research since the 1830s

- For its wilderness areas and values which represent existence, biodiversity and aesthetic values, the latter reflected in the characteristics of remoteness and naturalness

- As a powerful, spectacular and distinctive landscape valued for its remoteness, naturalness and mountain vistas

- For its special associations and meanings for the Australian and other associated communities as Australia's 'High country' and linked to aspects of national and local identity

- As a place enjoyed for its natural scenery, mountainous landscapes, opportunities to enjoy snow-covered landscapes and to enjoy solitude and self-reliant recreation (again linked to remoteness and naturalness).

The Straight Talk panel survey (a random sample survey), while not directly examining natural values, indicates that the primary purpose of a National Park is seen to be protecting and conserving native plants and animals (71%) and natural and unique landscapes (59%) (Straight Talk 2015d:9). These responses can be interpreted as representing natural values more towards the existence end of the natural values spectrum proposed in the ANHC.

Other purposes of national parks recognised in the panel survey are closely aligned to natural values but with a more social dimension include: 'public recreation within and enjoyment of natural areas' (47%); 'to allow for and promote appreciation of nature'; and 'to allow for education and research' (17%). Protecting and conserving cultural heritage and historic sites is recognised by fewer respondents (39%), suggesting it is seen as a secondary rather than a primary purpose (Straight Talk 2015a:10; Straight Talk 2015d:9).

When asked specifically about KNP, most respondents (83%) strongly agreed that KNP is home to rare or threatened native flora, fauna and unique ecosystems, with half (49%) agreeing that native flora and fauna in KNP should be protected at all costs. (Straight Talk 2015a:10; Straight Talk 2015d:9).

Asked about the heritage values of KNP in terms of 'what makes KNP so special and/or unique', interestingly the responses strongly recognise both the existence and socially derived

values. For example 'snow and related activities' was selected by 50% of respondents, and 'natural beauty/size' by 45%, 'unique landscape/wilderness' by 34%, with some complementary natural aspects such as 'flora' and 'fauna' also selected by 16% and 15% respectively. History/heritage was rarely selected (3%).

A number of the natural values listed in the summary above were not individually tested, while others were encompassed within a single word or short phrase.

The overall Straight Talk project also included specific engagement with the stakeholder groups that represent the pro-wild horse and pro-environmental and conservation positions. It is notable that while each side appears to hold deeply entrenched positions, both value national parks highly and both seek humane treatment for the wild horses although what is considered humane varies between these positions. Neither perspective is considered to represent wider community views and values (Straight Talk 2015:69; Straight Talk 2015a:1).

7.2.2 Known cultural heritage values

Section 6 assesses the cultural heritage significance of KNP in relation to the three key themes associated with wild horses using the National Heritage List criteria. The table below provides a brief summary of these values and the tangible and intangible attributes associated with each of these values.

Criterion	Values	Attributes
(a)	Horses, domesticated and wild, have strong connections to the nationally significant theme of montane pastoralism and transhumance on the Australian mainland that is most strongly represented in KNP (but also represented in other part of the Australian Alps). They are also connected to a particular way of life and set of traditions associated with alpine pastoralism. This theme is recognised as of national significance.	Homesteads, huts and complexes associated with pastoralism including fences, yards, stables, etc Stock routes and watering points and the like Pastoral landscapes associated with summer grazing Wild horses, and associated features (e.g. salt troughs, brumby yards/traps) Knowledge, traditions, skills, language, memories and stories, place names (etc) associated with montane pastoral uses and with brumby-running, yarding, breaking-in, etc.
(b)	Pastoralism as a land use and way of life is considered in some studies to be of national significance in relation to criterion (b) because of its adaption to an environmental setting that is rare in the Australian context. Wild horses represent one aspect of a way of life that is today uncommon, rare or endangered, but that does not exist within KNP. Continuing associations with this way of life as it is expressed in KNP probably occur through visiting KNP, association with specific huts or other features (including with maintenance via KHA), and participation in planning and	Attributes of montane pastoralism and transhumance as above.

CONTEXT

Criterion	Values	Attributes
	consultation processes on wild horse management. This is related to criterion (g).	
(d)	North-East Kosciuszko landscape demonstrates the principal characteristics of an alpine pastoral land use and landscape. A pastoral way of life specific to the alpine environment is evident in a number of locations within AANP, KNP and the High Country more broadly	Attributes similar to (a), with a focus on how the attributes in combination demonstrate the characteristics of a class or type of place. This includes their spatial arrangement and the relationship of a wild horse mob to the 'pastoral' landscape..
(e)	Many of the aesthetic values are based on naturalness of the landscape. Seeing wild horses running free in the landscape is a powerful aesthetic experience evoking an appreciation of wildness and freedom that appears to be strongly culturally-linked to literary sources that have created the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies. A culturally based admiration for the horse as a species that has long-served as a companion and aid to humans, expressed broadly in the qualities attracted to horses as a species, and expressed through the Straight Talk consultation analysis as a shared desire for humane and respectful treatment of horses.	The experience of seeing a group of wild horses in the landscape, and potentially linked to specific locations. Possibly, knowing that there are wild horses in the mountains, even if not seen.
(g)	'Mountain traditions' as represented by stockmen on horseback are nationally significant elements in an Australian sense of identity, with the evidence strongly represented in literature, art, song, film and in cultural activities/events. The connections between High Country communities and descendants of those involved in montane pastoralism and transhumance are deep and enduring.	Attributes of montane pastoralism and transhumance (above). Specific places of particular importance to certain families/individuals due to their long association with that place. Cultural practices and specific knowledge associated with particular experiences or ways of managing pastoral activities, brumby-running etc. Continuing advocacy for the protection of their traditional activities (such as High Country grazing) Active involvement in conservation of specific huts Engagement in oral history and writing to record and pass on their stories.

CONTEXT

Criterion	Values	Attributes
		For some, continuing a range of related cultural practices (riding horses, roping, running grazing properties etc), including offering horseback mountain experiences to tourists.
(h)	The High Country cultural landscape, the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies, and the natural 'wildness' of the Snowy River environment have had an important and enduring formative effect on A.B. 'Banjo' Paterson and Elyne Mitchell, who are both nationally recognised individuals for their creative endeavours.	Specific places or landscapes associated with their writings, for example: • the Lower Snowy is regarded as the setting for Paterson's poem • Cascade Hut in Southern KNP is where Mitchell wrote her *Silver Brumby* series • locations within the Snowy Mountains that were used as settings in the *Silver Brumby* books • the wild horse populations in these locations.

7.3 Geographical relationship between cultural and natural values and wild horse populations

Appendix 2summarises the recognised cultural and natural heritage values of KNP in relation to their cultural or natural environments, and their extent or specific locations, if known. Some of these values relate to the Australian Alps (AANP) National Heritage Listing (which includes KNP) while others are derived from the KISC (2003) or other heritage listings. The table is presented in relation to the NHL criteria.

Comparative mapping of values and associated environments was outside the scope of the present report and the observations made here should therefore be regarded as indicative, and a basis for a more comprehensive analysis if required to assist with management decision-making at a future time.

7.3.1 Location of wild horse populations

Wild horses are widely distributed over both the northern and southern sections of the KNP and NPWS advises that horses currently occupy approximately 300,000ha or 43% of the park and are present across the adjoining Bago and Maragle State Forest based on satellite data analysis (NERP 2014). Figure 2 (NPWS 2006) shows the locations of four disjunct horse populations including the eastern side of north KNP from the Kiandra Long Plain and Tantangara areas through to the ACT border; and on the western edge of the Northern KNP contiguous with State Forest areas. There is a separate horse population on the Snowy Plains. In Southern KNP, the horse population extends from the Thredbo River and south to the Lower Snowy River all the way to and across the Victorian border.

In 1990, Dyring undertook abundance and estimates for two small catchments in southern Kosciusko National Park, noting that the horse populations are concentrated in grassland and heath communities, and avoid forests. Dyring drew together information from a number of

sources in relation to horse numbers, noting that numbers of horses in the high country have fluctuated, declining in response to drought years or bush fires, and increasing after grazing leases returned to the Crown and as demand for army horses reduced after the Second World War. In the 1950s numbers of horses apparently rose following the introduction of myxomatosis and the reduced competition by rabbits. Intensive culling by cattlemen with high country grazing leases followed, and numbers were reduced by up to 50 % in some areas (Dyring 1990:2-3).

She provides estimates of the number of feral horses in NSW, ACT and Victoria, and describes the population in the KNP as follows:

> *In Kosciusko National Park, populations are centred around three regions: in the northern section of the Park mainly in the large frost-hollow areas such as Peppercorn (20 horses), Wild Horse (50 horses) and Nungar Plains (Hardy pers comm); in the Byadbo region east of the Snowy River and in the southern section of the Park south of Dead Horse Gap through to the Victorian border (Hardy pers comm). Numbers in that region have been estimated at several hundred, although the inaccessibility of the region precludes an accurate survey. The Byadbo Wilderness region* is *home to fewer feral horses due to the drier, less hospitable nature of the country. Small, isolated mobs occur in localised pockets such as at the Geehi Rest Area, towards the western boundary of the Park (Deck pers comm). Geographical barriers, such as the exposed alpine Main Range, prevent the migration of horses between these regions. Feral horses are found outside the Park in adjoining forested areas such as the Maragle and Bago State Forests to the west, where about 60 animals have been estimated (Deck pers comm), and on the south-eastern Park boundary, east of the Barry Way at Muzzlewood Flat where 13 brumbies were noted (Allen pers com)* (Dyring 1990:3-4).

There are some estimates of the expansion of the wild horse populations over time from the 1820s when there were no horses in the Alps, to today, with Dyring's c.1990 estimate (above) based on observations by park's staff and others. One survey method used from 1999-2002 estimated that the total population of horses in the Australian Alps National Parks was about 5,200 with approximately 3,000 in Kosciuszko National Park (Walter 2002). Post-2003 bushfire surveys estimated that the horse population had been reduced by half in the southern region of the Park, but that the northern horse population was intact and continuing to increase Walter (2003). And a subsequent survey of horse numbers in 2005 using similar methods estimated that the population of horses in the southern part of Kosciuszko was about 590 with a density of 1.56 horses per km², while the northern end had about 1120, with a density of 1.67 horses per km². This gave a total of 1,700 horses in the park. The average group size recorded on the surveys was 4.38 for the south and 4.17 for the north (Montague-Drake 2005). Today the number is estimated at 9,500 across the Australian Alps with an estimated 6,000 of those horses within KNP The wild horse population in the Alps is estimated to be expanding at a rate of between 6 – 17% per annum (AALC 2015).

Horses have a preference for grassland grazing and this has been confirmed through recent satellite data monitoring (NERP 2014); other ecosystems such as the White Cypress Pine-White Box Woodlands (Bishwokama et al 2014) are also being studied currently.

Management action to limit the extent or control the numbers of wild horses in KNP has been limited. The 2008 *Horse Management Plan for Kosciuszko National Park* records that c. 1970 the NPWS 'introduced, for a trial period of three years, a system of licensed horse roping/brumby running in the Park as a way to manage the activity, and as a means of controlling horse numbers. Very few licences were issued and all were for the southern part of the Park in the Tin Mines area, Lower Snowy and Byadbo areas. There were reports of unlicensed roping in the north and south of the Park but by 1972 horse-roping itself was causing concern. People were worried about the environmental damage caused by the activity and about the welfare of the horses, and many wondered whether horse roping was actually controlling horse numbers' (NPWS 2008:7). With the adoption of the KNP Plan of Management in 1982, the Byadbo and Pilot Wilderness areas were declared as wilderness, banning recreational horse riding in these areas an effectively ending licensed brumby running. The plan notes some illegal brumby running continued after this date and that some people have continued to release horses into the Park (NPWS 2008:7).

Since 2002 horses have been removed from the KNP primarily by trapping in yards using feed, salt and molasses to attract the horses to the yards, and over that time about 206 horses have been removed (NPWS 2008:17). NPWS advise from its trapping records that a further 2979 horses have been trapped and removed since the 2008 Wild Horse Management Plan was adopted giving a total of 3185 horses removed from the park since the program began in 2002.

The 2008 *Horse Management Plan* has provided a framework for ongoing management; this plan is currently being revised.

7.3.2 Location of natural values of exceptional significance

Three management units have been identified in the KNP Plan of Management (2006) as containing natural and cultural values of exceptional significance ('Areas of Exceptional Natural and Cultural Significance')that are particularly vulnerable to human induced disturbances: these are the alpine landscapes of the Main Range and the Yarrangobilly and Cooleman Plain karst catchments. The natural values in these locations relate to:

- the limited extent of alpine areas within Australia, making this landscape of itself highly significant

- the presence of alpine endemic plant species that are highly vulnerable to damage, with the short summer growing season meaning that recovery from damage is slow

- the headwaters of the Snowy, Murray and Murrumbidgee Rivers rise in the park, making it one of the most important catchments in Australia.

- the sphagnum bogs and snow patch communities play an important role in water quality because of their water holding capacity.

- the karst ecosystems - Yarrangobilly and Cooleman Plain areas are especially significant for their beauty, their rocks and soil and water-related qualities and require a whole of catchment protection strategy (NPWS 2006:5-6).

The Plan of Management recommends that wild horses be completely excluded from these three areas.

NPWS advises that alpine, sub- alpine, montane, grassland, open woodlands, open and closed forest, dry rain shadow woodland ecosystems and habitat types are all impacted by the wild horse population. All of these ecosystems and habitat types have natural heritage values recognised at state or Commonwealth level; for example, the endangered ecological communities of Alpine Sphagnum Bogs and associated Fens, and the Aquatic Ecological Community in the Snowy River Catchment. There are also individual threatened species such as the Broad Toothed Rat, Alpine She Oak Skink, and Guthega Skink that occur and rely on these ecosystems. Grazing by horses and other introduced herbivores is listed as a threatening processes contributing to the decline of threatened and endangered flora such as the orchid species *Caledenia montana* or *Pterostylis alpina* for example.

The 2006 Plan of Management for Kosciuszko National Park seeks to reduce the distribution and abundance of introduced animal species including feral horses found in the Park, and to exclude feral horses from key areas. In addition to the three areas above – the Main Range Management Unit, the Yarrangobilly Management Unit and the Cooleman Plain Management Unit, areas of the Park where horses have not been or have only recently been recorded (e.g. Jagungal) are targeted.

The 2008 Horse Management Plan identifies priority Horse Free Areas in relation to horse distribution and these three key natural value locations; Figure 2 from the Plan is included below.,

The continued expansion of the wild horse populations has heightened the conflict between wild horses and natural values.
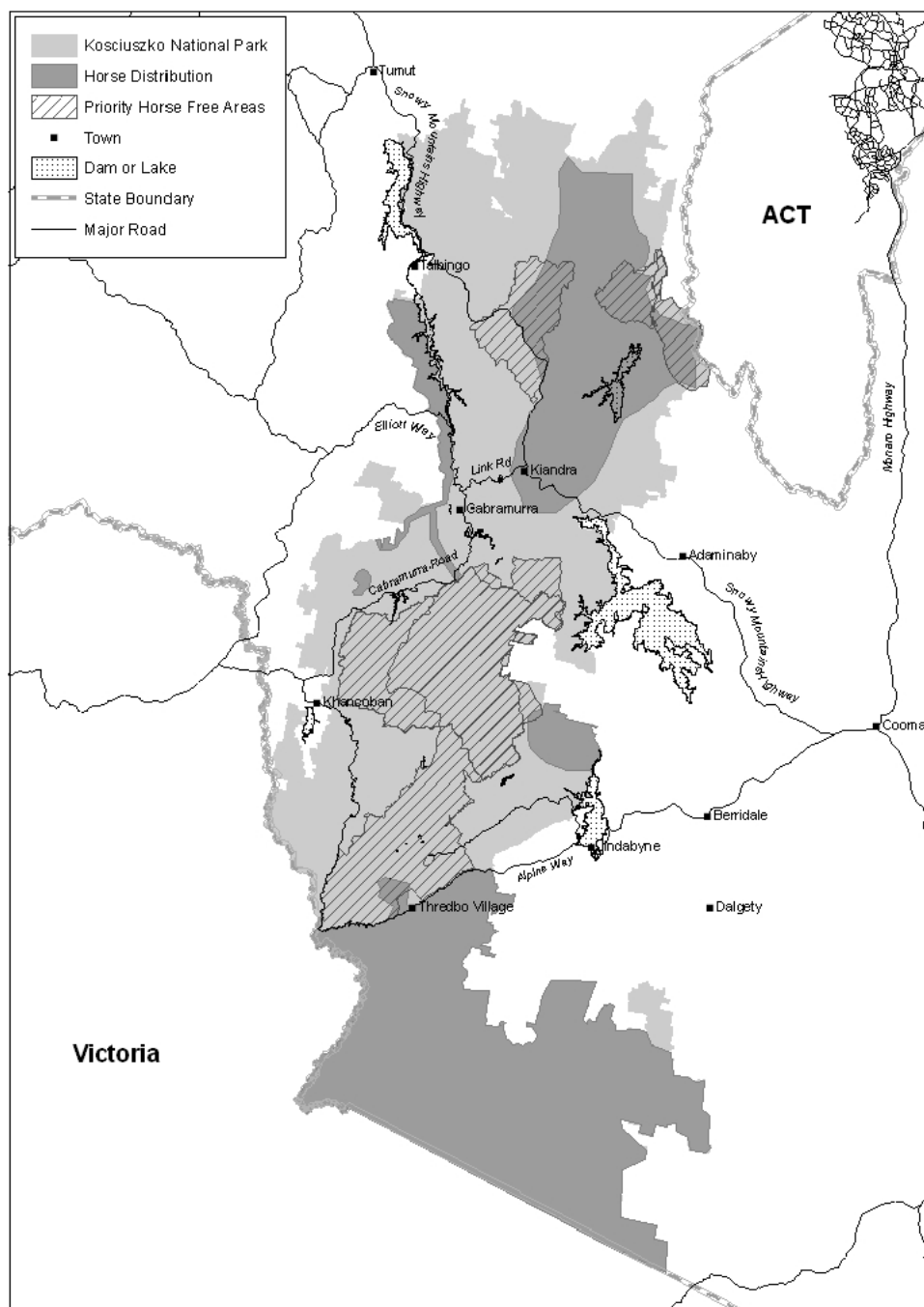
Map 2: Map of Kosciuszko National Park showing current approximate horse distribution and proposed horse free areas (Source: Horse Management Plan for Kosciuszko National Park, 2008)

Wilderness represents both cultural and natural values; wilderness areas are designated based on their natural values as extensive natural areas with minimal evidence of human intervention, remoteness from mechanised access and a high degree of naturalness (Kirkpatrick 2003:111).

There are nine declared wilderness areas in the KNP, representing around half of the area, and other areas within the KNP are considered by users to also be wilderness (Kirkpatrick 2003:112). The nine areas are listed below and of these three – the Byabo, Pilot and Jagunal Wilderness Areas have wild horses at population numbers and with a geographical spread that will be in conflict with wilderness as a natural and cultural value.

- Byadbo (80,725 ha) - The Byadbo wilderness includes extensive areas of cypress pine and white box woodland in the rain shadow of the alps, as well as some dry montane forest and woodland.

- Pilot (80,168 ha) - This wilderness area contains subalpine grassland and woodland, montane forests, and dry forest and woodland. The Murray River rises within this area, which is contiguous with legally defined wilderness in Victoria.

- Jagungal (67,188 ha) - This wilderness area includes subalpine grasslands and woodland in the snow country, and montane forest in areas of high relative relief.

- Bogong Peaks (28,797 ha) - The Bogong Peaks wilderness ranges from cypress pine woodlands on the lower slopes to subalpine woodlands and heath on the plateau, with rugged country occupied by montane forest in between.

- Goobaragandra (33,666 ha) - This highly rugged wilderness area in the north of the park and consists largely of montane forest and woodland.

- Bimberi (18,004 ha in Kosciuszko National Park, 56,088 ha in total) - The Bimberi wilderness extends from Kosciuszko National Park to other reserves, including Namadgi National Park in the Australian Capital Territory. In the Kosciuszko National Park it covers steep slopes ranging from the alpine environment of Mount Bimberi to dry forest in lowland river valleys.

- Indi (11,636 ha) - This small wilderness area extends from near the Murray River to the Alpine Way, south of Khancoban, on the western slopes of the park. Most of the area is steep and heavily forested, with some areas of old growth.

- Western Fall (15,174 ha) - The Western Fall wilderness encompasses much of the steep western fall of the Main Range. Its steep slopes support much wet eucalypt forest, some of which is old growth.

- Bramina (10,899 ha) – This area at the northern end of KNP is centred on Bramina Hill (1400m), cascading via Cooleman and Bull Flat Creek's deep gullies, to the Goodradigbee River at 700m. Moist montane forests dominate with Alpine Ash and Snow Gum communities at higher elevations.

7.3.3 Location of cultural values associated with wild horse populations

The KNP Huts Conservation Strategy (Godden Mackay Logan 2005) maps huts and homesteads in relation to geographic landscape units and vegetation communities, and the three key historic stock routes into and through the KNP: the northern stock route, the central stock route and southern stock route (now the Barry Way).

The Huts Conservation Strategy does not separately map those huts and homesteads associated with the key value theme of pastoralism, however, it provides the information required to do this. To this, one would add other features associated with brumby running during the period of montane pastoralism and transhumance; NPWS has an extensive database of cultural heritage features in the KNP. More recent brumby-running activities may also be important if they have continued a tradition – for example if they are associated with families that engaged in brumby-running prior to the cessation of grazing in the KNP as such features may well have associative social values (criterion g). Mapping of this set of features will clarify which huts are an attribute of pastoralism in relation to criterion (a), (b) and (g). It should be noted that illegal activity of brumby running within the park and horse riding within wilderness areas are complicating factors with such an approach.

The other locations that could be mapped are those where wild horse populations may be regarded as having positive aesthetic values or negative aesthetic values. Visitor nodes where wild horses are seen may be associated with positive values, whereas sightings of wild horses in more remote, wilderness and natural areas have be associated with negative values. Knowledge of park staff could be used to select some locations or further define an approach to this task.

In some locations such as along major road, interaction between visitors and wild horses may result in serious safety issues.

7.3.4 Mapping

The Huts Conservation Strategy (Godden Mackay Logan 2005:48-53) illustrates a method that would enable a better understanding of the relationships between cultural values related to wild horse populations, the distribution of wild horses and the natural values most at risk.

This is not to suggest that mapping will solve the conflicting values, but rather that it may enable a considered response to the options suggested later in this section that discuss ways that wild horse-related cultural values may be recognised and conserved.

7.4 Appreciating conflict

Conflict arises when there are differences that are not reconciled. Methodologies that work towards consensus or conflict resolution can help us understand the factors involved in generating conflict.

Conflict can be defined to mean a disagreement in which the involved parties perceive a threat to their interests, values, identities or rights. Conflicting heritage values arise from these four elements:

- *interests*: are the underlying desires or needs that individuals or groups seek to attain

- *values*: are deeply held views about the way the world is or should be and may be spoken of as truths

- *identities*: are our conceptions of ourselves as individuals and as part of the social and cultural groupings we associate with, giving us multiple identities.

- *rights*: are principles or normative rules encoded in a legal system, social conventions, or ethical theory, and often able to be enforced by legal means.

Culture is an essential part of how interests, values and identities are framed, hence the importance of recognising cultural diversity (or difference) in the *Code of Ethics of Co-existence in Conserving Significance Places* (Australia ICOMOS 1998).

Culture is said to relate to the 'symbolic dimension of life, that is the place where we are constantly making meaning and enhancing our identities' (LeBaron 2003:1). And while we might think of a 'culture' as broad and all inclusive – for example, Australian culture – in reality a society is comprised of many cultures and cultural groups, each with their own perspectives on the world. This is recognised in the NHL criteria *(e) aesthetic value* and *(g) social value* each of which refers to a community or cultural group. Each person is part of many cultural groups, with each offering ways of understanding who we are in relation to others (our identities) and offering us ways to perceive and interpret information and to help shape our values. Where an aspect of cultural identity is threatened or misunderstood, it may become strongly defended and more fixed. Consensus building asks that people engage with each other in ways that enable them to appreciate what is shared (interests, values and identities) as well as what is different, and to understand the ways that they make meaning and construct their identities (LeBaron 2003:1).

In many situations of conflict, what is evident is 'position', that is where people adopt and hold a position that seeks or demands, a single, specific and desired outcome. In relation to KNP and the wild horse population, two positions have been adopted: one position seeks the removal of horses from KNP and denies or minimises their cultural values and the other position advocates for the retention of the wild horse population and denies or questions claims of environmental damage. It is also apparent that there is a broad spectrum, range or gradation of community views and opinions between these polarised ends.

Straight Talk reported for example that 'the views of environmental and horse advocates are polarised at either end of the wild horse management spectrum … (and) unlike community

members, these stakeholders are not open to revising their views' (Straight Talk 2015a:1,13). They have a strong investment in the issue and a fixed position, suggesting that each group's identity has been shaped and continues to be focused and reinforced through this conflict.

The conflict between these different perspectives is noted as being based, for some stakeholders, on feelings associated with the removal of pastoral/grazing activities from the KNP landscape which is interpreted as a condemnation of their past land management practices and denial of their right to their heritage and to continue to engage in cultural practices within the KNP landscape. For example, brumby-running or roping is one such cultural practice which is now practised either illegally within KNP or outside the KNP through events such as the Man from Snowy River Festival (http://www.bushfestival.com.au/) and is supported as a means of wild horse management by those for whom it is part of their heritage (Straight Talk 2015:18). It should also be noted that brumby running or roping whilst recognised as a cultural practice has broader community and management concerns over its animal welfare and humaneness aspect as well as its effectiveness as a population management technique which led to its banning. This creates a dilemma for management where cultural practice of one community may be out of alignment with broader community acceptance and norms.

Resolving conflict in such circumstances requires particular approaches designed to understand identities and associated values and interests. Finding commonalities, appreciating different perspectives and reducing the sense of identity threat may be key elements. Conflict resolution and consensus building approaches offer specific methodologies and techniques in this area: see for example the Consensus Building Institute (http://www.cbuilding.org/) and Beyond Intractability (http://www.beyondintractability.org/).

Section 7.5 below takes this discussion further.

7.5 Conflicting natural and cultural heritage values

7.5.1 Introduction

As the Straight Talk report acknowledges, views about wild horse populations in protected areas are highly polarised:

> *The management of wild horses is a complex issue which often attracts strong opinions, particularly at either end of the management spectrum (which ranges from no population control methods to complete eradication). As is often the case in these situations, the expression of extreme views discourages community members with more moderate views from participating in open discussions, so that public discourse becomes dominated by polarised views, which do not reflect broader community opinion or the genuine complexity of issues. Seeking the involvement of the more silent middle-ground in any public debate is important to ensuring that government decisions do, in fact, genuinely reflect the values of the broader community (and not just those of vocal stakeholders) and have broad community support* (Straight Talk 2015a:2).

This section of the report examines the concepts of conflicting and shared values, the cultural factors engaged in conflicting values and some of the heritage guidance available in relation to recognising, respecting and resolving conflicting value.

7.5.2 The natural – cultural split

In Australia and other western countries, heritage has typically been divided into natural and cultural domains, reflecting an underlying dualism. The diagram below from the Australian Natural Heritage Charter (AHC & AIUCN 2002) represents these two domains, while acknowledging that there may be an area of overlap and ANHC introduces the concept of 'existence value', proposing that 'living *organisms*, *earth processes* and *ecosystems* may have value beyond the social, economic or cultural values held by humans' (2002:5). As well the ANHC recognises that:

- places may have both natural and cultural heritage values … (and) these values may be related and are sometimes difficult to separate.

- some people, including many Indigenous people, do not see natural and cultural values as being separate (in other words, the separation into natural and cultural values is a cultural construct), and

- that the concept of *natural heritage* recognises the role Indigenous people have played in using and shaping Australian landscapes for at least 50 000 years and possibly much longer (AHC & AIUCN 2002:4).

The latter point suggests that the cultural influence exerted by Indigenous people forms part of what we today call natural heritage, and because of its long duration is inseparably intertwined with climatic and ecological processes. By contrast, post-colonial settlement is recent and is considered to have changed 'natural systems' over a period of time which would not allow those natural systems to adjust or accommodate or evolve with these changes. The introduction of the dingo to Australia offers an intermediate time scale of 4,000 years, with the dingo being considered today as part of Australia's indigenous fauna. Within the framework of the ANHC, for example, the dingo is an indigenous species and the horse is not:

> **Indigenous species** *means a species that occurs at a place within its historically known natural range and that forms part of the natural biodiversity of a place.* (Article 1.9)

But Straight Talk's community engagement identified that there is a low level of community awareness that wild horses are not native to Australia (2015a:1). It may be that 'wildness' in itself is closely linked to 'nature' in many people's minds, and while some introduced species are well known as 'pests' because of past plagues and continuing public information campaigns, rabbits being a prime example, a number of other introduced species may not be regarded in this way. For example, deer may be regarded as 'wild game' as are a waterbirds such as the Mallard duck, both introduced species. The species regarded as part of 'nature' in popular understanding is clearly not the same as the definition of indigenous species in taxonomy and the ecological sciences. It would be interesting to examine any research undertaken on this topic and to examine if, as some species naturalise into a local area, they become accepted over time as part of 'nature' and enjoyed by many for same reasons as a native/indigenous species.
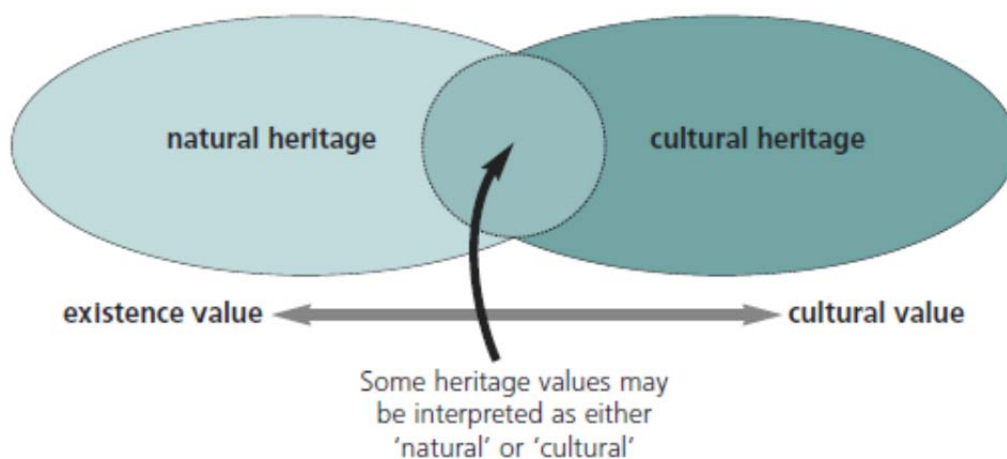
Natural and cultural heritage values. (Source AHC & AIUCN 2002:4)

7.5.3 Heritage values – different, conflicting, changing and competing

Heritage values can be different - that is the same place or attribute of a place may be valued but for different reasons. These different values can be complementary in relationship to each other, synergistic or neutral. For example, historical values associated with a pastoral occupation landscape are likely to be complementary to social values derived from cultural traditions associated with pastoralism. The same attributes may be valued - a building for example - or the attributes may be different - historical values may be embodied in a building and its setting for example, whereas the social values may be embodied in a practice such as travelling via a traditional route on horseback to the building (for example, Lees Paddocks in the Upper Mersey Valley, Tasmania (Russell et al. 1997). In this instance, the values are closely linked and may be held by the same or different people and the values and the attributes that embody the values are complementary or synergistic, that is each enhances the other.

Differences in heritage values might be neutral where the two values and the attributes that embody those values can sit side by side without 'interfering' with each other. In other words, the perspective of the viewer, the person holding one value, is not offended by the other value or attribute even though they may not share that value. For example, an old mining track within a forest may represent a past activity, and be valued as an historic relic. Because the mining has long ceased and the area is now protected, a person who values the natural and species values of the forest may not perceive the mining track or its historic values as conflicting, but rather as neutral. Factors in this hypothesised perception of 'acceptance' could include: the fact that the 'damage' is old and is not continuing or expanding and that the landscape is recovering, evidenced by the return of naturalness. The idea of ruinous buildings returning to nature aligns with this perspective.

In KNP of course, the wild horse population is thriving and expanding its range and thereby increasing its impact on other values, natural and cultural.

Values-based management, the current model in Australia in heritage and national park management might be used to suggest that the relative importance of the values should be used where values conflict. In other words that if one value is assessed as 'outstanding' and another is 'local' then it is the 'outstanding' value that should be given the priority in management, and where values conflict, the 'outstanding' value and its attributes would be conserved and the conflicting 'local' value and its attributes would be removed.

There are many examples of where this type of decision-making framework has been applied in cultural heritage practice. For example, in a program of building works, fabric of lesser significance may be removed to better reveal the significance of a building as a whole. And while the Burra Charter states that the 'Conservation of a place should identify and take into consideration all aspects of cultural and natural significance without unwarranted emphasis on any one value at the expense of others' (Article 5.1) it also recognises that 'relative degrees of cultural significance may lead to different conservation actions at a place' (Article 5.2). Managing the values of National Heritage and World Heritage properties, for example,can pose particular challenges because of the focus on the outstanding values, resulting in other heritage values being ignored, citing Kakadu as an example (Marshall 2000:34).

In this way, heritage values may be seen to compete with each other, with the 'stronger' values winning. This blunt approach is not advocated here; greater sensitivity to all values and the management of their interactions is to be preferred.

7.5.4 Co-existence of values

The *Code of Ethics of Co-existence in Conserving Significance Places* (Australia ICOMOS 1998) was developed in response to a specific and complex issue faced by Australia ICOMOS; it is set in the context of a number of national and international agreements including the Australia ICOMOS Burra Charter, (Marshall 2000:31-32). The Code is based on accommodating cultural diversity in heritage practice, advocating a pluralist approach that recognises that there are often multiple values associated with any one place. The Code defines values as 'beliefs that have significance for a cultural group' and requires 'acknowledgment of and sensitivity to the

values of all associated cultural groups'. Each of those multiple values may be held by different people, or some may be shared, and the attributes that hold the values may also be the same or different.

The Code is one attempt to address value differences, recognising the potential for conflict in such differences, and proposing processes that can manage places and values where there are diverse cultural significances.

The Code focuses on understanding values and guides a practitioner in their approach to this task. In particular, a practitioner should 'identify and acknowledge each associated cultural group and its values' (Article 9), 'facilitate the exchange of information among groups' (Article 11) and enable 'each cultural group to participate in the decision-making processes which may affect the place'.

The guidance offered on a decision–making process that would accord with the principles in the Code is one of:

- 'co-responsibility among cultural groups for the assessment and management of the cultural significance of the place;

- accepted dispute settlement practices at each stage at which they are required; and

- adequate time to confer with all parties, including the least outspoken, and may require the amendment of existing procedures in conservation practice.' (Australia ICOMOS 1998: Article 12).

Ultimately the Code advocates 'co-existence of differing perceptions of cultural significance rather than resolution' and proposes the idea of 'accepting compensation as a possible element in managing irreconcilable cultural difference' (Articles 14 and 15).

One of the authors of the Code, Duncan Marshall points out that the Burra Charter does not 'promote a particular conservation outcome, other than achieving the conservation of cultural significance' (Marshall 2000:35) and the same could be said of the ANHC. This is the essential challenge in managing conflicting values.

The Code could become an explicit part of standard NPWS consultation processes where the existence of conflicting values amongst cultural groups is recognised in a planning process, such as in the development of a Plan of Management. This would complement and extend the ways in which NPWS currently actively engages with stakeholders in planning processes.

7.5.5 Shared heritage

The term shared heritage relates to places with multiple values, particularly where there is a question about whether these values are shared, divergent or conflicting values. Shared heritage has become shorthand particularly for place where there are both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal community values. What is shared may be the history of a place for example, even when it is a history of past conflict. The values held and embodied in the place may be quite different for each cultural group, and yet both parties shared this history. Unless the conservation of one set of values results in the loss of significance in relation to the other set of values, co-existence of both sets of values would be the aim. However, if one group considers their values are damaged by the values of the other group, a true conflict can be considered to exist. An example would be at Kamay-Botany Bay National Park where the retention of introduced trees on the sand dune at the back of The Meeting Place precinct was considered to have adversely impacted historical values. These historical Aboriginal values related to event of the Cook landing here, with the Indigenous qualities of the sand dune (its form, vegetation, fauna, stories) reflecting the other side of the story – the view of 'Australians' (to use Bill Gammage's term) as Cook and his party came ashore (Context 2008).

So the process of 'making' shared heritage may reflect different cultural groups acting together, or acting separately at different times, and 'shared' may therefore express positive or negative relationships between the different cultural groups associated with the place. Shared heritage also includes recognising the values that others hold for a heritage, the cultural responsibilities

they might have for that heritage, and the potential for differences in values amongst those who hold values for that place. It means working with and respecting difference (Context Pty Ltd, 2015:11-12).

7.6 Responding to conflicting values within KNP

Historically, Aboriginal people were displaced and dispossessed by exploration, pastoralism and settlement and subsequently pastoralism was displaced by water harvesting and conservation. In each instance, certain values were privileged over other values. Today, greater attention is being paid to appreciating and managing for multiple values.

From the discussion earlier in this chapter, it is apparent that alignment, difference or conflict in relation to heritage values relates to:

- the interests and identities of the 'viewer' - that is how they perceive each value and the relationship between those values

- the location of the values - whether the values occur in same place

- the attributes of the values - whether they cause dissonance in perceptions or actually cause harm to another value.

This section explores conflicting values in relation to KNP.

7.6.1 KNP management frameworks

Legislative responsibilities

National Parks are relatively large areas of land set aside to protect and conserve areas containing outstanding or representative ecosystems, natural or cultural features that provide opportunities for public appreciation and inspiration and sustainable visitor use and enjoyment. They are permanently reserved for conservation and for public education and recreation.

NPWS has legislative responsibilities to protect natural and cultural values through international agreements, national heritage listing, Commonwealth and State legislation and NPWS policies.

The KNP Plan of Management (2006:14) identifies the principal legislation governing the management of Kosciuszko National Park as the New South Wales (NSW) *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974*. It requires the protection and maintenance of natural and cultural values, and the fostering of public appreciation, understanding and enjoyment of those values. Other significant legislation relevant to the current project includes the Commonwealth *Environment Protection and Biodiversity Conservation (EPBC) Act 1999* and Regulations 2000.the NSW *Wilderness Act 1987, Threatened Species Conservation Act 1995, and the Heritage Act 1977*. NPWS also has obligations in relation to public safety, for example in relation to risks associated with free-ranging wild horse populations in the vicinity of high speed public roads.

There is no clear guidance that establishes the primacy of values where values conflict, or where the protection of one value adversely affects other values. NPWS advises that in developing a management response, they would consider factors such as the level of significance, rarity, risk etc.

KNP Planning documents

The Kosciuszko National Park 2006 Plan of Management identifies a number of overarching principles designed to guide management objectives, policies and actions. They include:

> **Interconnectedness of Values and Places** - *acknowledgement of the interconnected nature of many of the values and attributes of the park, and that all landscapes and elements of landscapes have been influenced by human activities to some degree. This concept underlies the need to manage specific park values, and threatening processes such as weeds, fire and feral animals, across the broader landscape (beyond the park) and in integrated ways. It recognises that action to protect one value may impact upon the management of other values;*

Limits of Acceptable Disturbance – *acknowledgment that all human activities and uses of the park result in some degree of impact, and of the need to manage such disturbances within physical and social impact thresholds;* (NPWS 2006:22).

The Plan recognises that that action to protect one value may impact upon the management of other values.

Similarly, the NPWS Corporate Plan recognises that conservation should be 'landscape based, incorporating and integrating natural values, Aboriginal cultural and broader community values and historic heritage values both within and beyond the protected area system'… and that 'conservation of historic heritage within the reserve system incorporates the retention and interpretation of both significant historic places and significant past land use evidence in the broader context of the NSW landscape and the settlement history of NSW' (NPWS website, quoted in Godden Mackay Logan 2005:92).

The Kosciuszko National Park Huts Conservation Strategy (Godden Mackay Logan 2005:92), in observing that there may be both **perceived** and **real** values conflicts in relation to the retention of huts and associated cultural features in the KNP, notes that the management frameworks available to NPWS are designed to support consideration of both natural and cultural values. Using the example of the huts and their associated ongoing uses they note that:

> *'while these are perceived by some as negative incursions on and into the natural landscape, the prevailing common ground, which corresponds to the objectives (2A) of the NPW Act, is for a means whereby natural and cultural values can exist and be managed in harmony. NPWS policy provides the foundation for resolving philosophical debates by articulating a clear role for cultural heritage values within landscape conservation* (Godden Mackay Logan 2005:92).

In arguing the case for huts, the Godden Mackay Logan report also refers to the IUCN definition of Category VI landscapes as: 'landscapes protected mainly for landscape conservation and recreation that recognise the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic ecological and/or cultural value and often of high biological diversity' (Godden Mackay Logan 2005:93).

While these documents provide essential framing, achieving a resolution where values conflict in relation to the wild horse populations is more difficult, in part because of the challenges in managing a living population that in most seasons is thriving and expanding its range within the KNP and as a consequence it's potential to negatively impact and detract from other values.

7.6.2 Recognising all values

Considering the Code (Australia ICOMOS 1998) in relation to the KNP wild horse population, the current project and the Straight Talk community engagement project, provides a basis for understanding the cultural values associated with the wild horse population in their own right and in relation to the natural environment of KNP.

The Straight Talk data also suggests that the community values national parks more for their native plants and animals than for the protection of wild horses, but an unasked question is whether the purpose of a national park is or should be to protect a wild horse population per se (Straight Talk 2015a:10).

In using the same framework of criteria applied for the NHL assessment of AANP, and drawing in the work of KISC (2003), this report therefore fills an important information gap in the understanding of the cultural heritage values of KNP and is a step towards enabling the potential for the co-existence of what are currently conflicting (and competing) values.

Looking at the three elements of 'proper process' described in the Code (7.4.4 above) achieving agreement between both sides of the debate that these conflicting values exist now, and have existed since at least the 1940s would be a step forward, based on Article 14 of the Code. The development of the Plan of Management, the wild horse management plan process

CONTEXT

and this heritage values assessment have all been steps in this process of investigation, acknowledgement, and seeking shared responsibility in finding a solution.

Recognising the existence of conflicting values should not, however, be interpreted as 'doing nothing'. As is discussed below in relation to change, the wild horse population is continuing to expand and affect other values.

Conflict resolution methods could be used to help both sides reframe their understanding of the issues: reframing can influence how one views the world, the relationship between one's own and the other parties' values and interests, and the language used in communications between participants (given that language – feral, invasive, wild - is such a strong trigger in this debate) (Kaufman et al 2003:3). Equally it can be useful for those involved in conflict to learn about the cultural perspectives of the others, through interactive experiences that foster the recognition of shared identities and values as well as those that are different (LeBaron 2003:1).

7.6.3 Appreciating intactness and change

KNP is not an intact natural landscape. Leaving aside what Kirkpatrick calls the 'subdued' influence of Aboriginal peoples on the landscape and the question of what is 'natural', KNP is today a large, contiguous natural area for the most part managed for the maintenance of natural processes. Moreover, half (50.15%) of the KNP is designated as 'wilderness' and there are other areas within the KNP considered by users to also be wilderness (Kirkpatrick 2003:112). KNP contains 18.6% of the declared wilderness in NSW but is only 0.86% of the state's land area. The types of wilderness country found in KNP are also found in the high country of Victoria and ACT, and while there are human modifications to the landscape created since the European occupation of Australia, the extent of modification in the areas with highest naturalness is limited and is not expanding (Kirkpatrick 2003:110-112).

Like the Burra Charter, the ANHC allows change that is compatible with the natural or cultural significance of the place. This is a stringent test, as compatible means respecting the significance of the place and involving no or minimal impact on significance:

> *Article 9 - The conservation policy should determine uses that are compatible with the natural significance of a place. Uses that will degrade the natural significance should not be introduced or continued.* (AHC & IUCN 2002:14)

If there was a proposal to introduce a wild population of horses to the KNP today, and with what is known about the impacts of wild horse populations, this would not be acceptable in terms of the guidance offered by the ANHC or the Burra Charter.

However, there are wild horse populations in the KNP already, and they have been present in some locations for more than 100 years. Change is still a factor that can be considered in relation to managing conflicting values. Where there is presently a wild horse population in an area of KNP that has a high level of naturalness, then the conflicting values exist. Where a wild horse population has not yet expanded into an area with a high level of naturalness, then the expansion of that population is a 'change' that will introduce this values conflict into a locality where there is none at present.

Compared to historical accounts, the increasing numbers, density and geographical extent of wild horses within many areas of KNP is – in these terms - a change and one that is adversely affecting other values. This is reflected in the KNP Horse Management Plan where there is an expressed intention to exclude horses from areas of the park where horses have not been or have only recently been recorded (e.g. Jagungal) (NPWS 2008). Considering the expansion of the wild horse population in this way may assist the parties come to an agreement about:

- the importance of avoiding any expansion of the areas in KNP where there are these conflicting values

- the locations where wild horses numbers should be reduced or horses eliminated completely to protect and conserve other values, and

- where appropriately sized wild horse populations may be retained to acknowledge, protect and conserve the cultural and social values that they hold for these communities.

7.6.4 Seeing horses

Given that the wild horse population has been identified as one of the attributes of a range of cultural heritage values in this report, it is important to understand where horses are an attribute rather than an impact.

Many of the cultural values associated with wild horses relate to seeing them in the landscape. The experience of 'wildness' and 'nature' is created by seeing animals that are undomesticated. Moreover, Australian culture ascribes specific positive attributes to horses as a species: they are seen by some/many as noble, intelligent, beautiful, courageous, and companions. This view has its origins in antiquity, but in the colonial Australian context horses were very much appreciated as partners in the settlement of the country. These cultural constructions do not easily accommodate the obverse – the horse as a destructive force in a valued natural environment. Some people may respond in similar ways to other introduced and wild species - rabbits, hares, foxes, pigs and deer for example – but this seems less likely based on community awareness about these species as feral animals. As stated above, Straight Talk's community engagement identified that there is a low level of community awareness that wild horses are not native to Australia (2015a:1).

Seeing large native wild animals is uncommon in Australia, with many animals largely nocturnal and only a limited number of larger native fauna that are easy to see; the most common being another 'herd' animal, the kangaroo. It may also be a reflection of a viewer's perceptions, with many native birds, reptiles and invertebrates readily seen but not held in the same regard as mega fauna whether native or introduced.

The quality of wildness may imply that it needs to be experienced within a wild landscape, however it appears that most visitors to the KNP are not visiting formally declared wilderness areas, although these visitors may still perceive the landscapes they visit as wild.

In relation to horses as an attribute of a cultural value, it would be valuable to map the location of wild horses in relation to visitor areas and positive visitor encounters with wild horses (see also 7.2.3). Equally, negative visitor encounters with horses in wilderness areas could also be mapped. In this way it may be possible to determine where wild horses could be regarded as an attribute versus an impact. It may be that sufficient data (or surrogate data) is available to enable this to be done now. A related question is whether there is a threshold at which perceptions of wild horses as a positive cultural value changes to a negative impact? Does this relate to a threshold population size for example? And in relation to the aesthetic values associated with wild horses, is the experience more or less valued if it is easy to see wild horses – that is, wild horses are common - compared to a 'rare encounter'? Of course, managing visitor experiences in relation to a living and free roaming population of wild animals that have cultural values, is a unique and significant challenge..

7.6.5 Other landscapes

Protected areas are designated because unprotected areas are often allowed or accepted to be degraded through land uses and activities that are relatively unregulated. Many protected areas are remote, rugged or in other ways not suited to more intensive economic activities. Sometimes they are the only areas left with any pretensions to naturalness.

The population of wild horses in KNP is wild because it roams free. It is not domesticated or in any way tamed. However, these horses are highly valued by some for domestication and this was once a key reason for maintaining a wild population. In the past, this wild population was a resource, and was managed as such. New blood was introduced from time to time, the horses were culled, rounded up and selected animals taken to be trained as stock horses. The nature of the high country landscape resulted in wiry, resilient and able-footed mounts. In some ways, this management approach is similar to that used in Dartmoor, although there the ponies are

owned but allowed out onto the moors to roam free, although the parallel is probably closer to that of the historical summer cattle grazing licences in the high country.

In Coffin Bay (SA) as a result of the decision to remove horses from the park, the horses that once free-roamed the park have been rehoused at Brumbys Run, a private property acquired for the purpose and where the horse population continues to be managed as 'wild horses'. The aim is for people to be able to see and appreciate horses in the wild, to preserve the 'historic' connections of the current generation of ponies with the 1839 Timor ponies, and to continue the tradition of catching and domestication of wild horses. (http://www.coffinbaybrumby.org.au/history.htm, and http://www.coffinbaybrumby.org.au/newhome.htm, accessed 16.10.2015).

Retaining a connection to the wild stock appears to be important to those who advocate for brumbies. Brumbies may be tamed, owned, pastured and remain 'brumbies'. For example, the Australian Brumby Horse Register enables registration of a horse as a brumby if the dam and sire are 'authentic or registered' Brumbies. This suggests that the setting may be able to be changed while the wild horse value remains the same.

7.7 Retaining cultural values associated with horses

Sullivan and Lennon (2003:143) point out that conflicting values are inevitably embedded in the history of pastoralism and the pastoral landscapes within KNP, and that pastoralism has affected both natural and Aboriginal values and attributes:

Significant evidence of the pastoral era on the landscape includes impressive and appealing cultural landscapes, vegetation change, a changed fire regime, the presence of wild horses and other introduced species, and distinctive erosion patterns. Much of this evidence constitutes damage to the pre-European environment left by the Aborigines, but it also has significant historical and scientific value. It should also be noted that current horse riding, especially in the north of Kosciuszko is impacting on Aboriginal sites, both known and unknown.

This section explores some of the ways that the cultural values of wild horses may be able to be conserved and interpreted, within or outside KNP. It examines the ways in which the wild horse populations are related to each of the value themes, and considers specific opportunities to conserve and interpret the cultural values.

All of the possibilities explored below involve a level of management of wild horse populations combined with acknowledgement of their cultural heritage values. Recognising a heritage value does not mean that it will be able to retained, nor that it is desirable or appropriate to retain it everywhere. Management actions such as removing or eradicating horses from certain areas and reducing their distribution may in fact be aligned with their cultural heritage values. In a large protected area such as KNP that is situated within a wider series of protected areas, values need to be considered in relation to specific localities, as well as for the KNP or Australian Alps as a whole.

7.7.1 From values to policy

As best practice guidance, the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS 2013) and the Australian Natural Heritage Charter (AHC & AIUCN 2002) establish a sequence for considering values, and then shaping an appropriate policy designed to conserve and interpret those values.

The development of policy involves consideration a number of factors in addition to the obligations arising from significance, including:

- statutory requirements and the non-statutory policy context

- the land owner or manager's needs and resources: in this instance this would include aspirations and commitments reflected in adopted Plans and policies, and financial and other resources

- the physical condition of the place, or parts of the place

- practical matters such as logistical issues and remoteness

- relationships with and values expressed by the full range of stakeholders.

Few precedents in cultural heritage management relate to introduced animal species. The legislative frameworks and guidelines are essentially place-based and the values are regarded as inherent in the place. Increasingly, intangible heritage attributes such as knowledge, traditions, rituals (etc) are also recognised.

A brief examination of the Australian Heritage Database suggests that introduced animals are generally noted as a threat because of adverse impacts on the place, rather than as an attribute. Places with associations with brumby running are identified – such as yards and huts – but brumbies are not.

While introduced animals are rarely recognised, introduced plants are commonly a cultural heritage attribute. Where introduced plants occur in a location where the plant may 'escape' into the natural environment, the policy response is usually one of 'control'. That is, the plant may be allowed to remain, but its spread restricted by weeding out wildlings, cutting seed heads and fruits etc, or even the removal of the plant if management actions are not able to contain the adverse impacts. The management policy response to conflicting natural and cultural values in relation to wild horses will need to be derived from consideration of conservation principles, the importance of limiting adverse impacts on significant values, the resources available and the acceptability of particular actions.

7.7.2 Wild horses and pastoralism

In relation to pastoralism, the evidence that remains in KNP today is essentially a relict cultural landscape, that is a landscape containing evidence of a past land use and ways of life that are no longer practiced. Some but not all of the elements of this land use/way of life are present within the park. For example, grazing animals have been removed, and likewise the people that tended them. Some practices continue in KNP, such as use of vernacular building skills to repair huts, and others continue outside the park (such as grazing, stockriding and roping). The wild horse populations are largely a consequence of pastoralism – but these populations today are no longer subject to the cycles of engagement between pastoralists and wild horses that characterised this land use – that is releasing, catching and breaking of horses and at times their slaughtering for skins or culling as pests.

In relation to pastoralism, it is suggested that the wild horse populations are a significant attribute only in so far as they form part of pastoral land use and ways of life. This no longer occurs within the KNP. Without the active management of the montane horse populations that was part of pastoral land use, those populations have expanded well beyond the range they are thought to have occupied during the pastoral period (see section 7.2.3 Location of wild horse populations) and population numbers have dramatically expanded as well. Part of pastoralism was the taking of horses from the wild, and this pastoral-related practice has now stopped.

An analogy could be drawn between horses and another introduced species, the rabbit. In the early decades of European settlement in Australia many species were brought here in the hope that they would acclimatise and flourish 'in the wild', rather than as domesticated animals or agricultural crops and by introducing familiar species Australia would feel more like home. The introduction of 24 wild rabbits for hunting by Thomas Austin in October 1859 on his property, Barwon Park, near Geelong is widely regarded as the origin point of rabbits in southern Australia. Austin also brought in other species. It might be that today, rabbits at Barwon Park could be seen as an attribute associated with the history of Austin, Barwon Park and acclimatization. Rabbits elsewhere however, would not be regarded as evidence of this particular aspect of history.

Some people have suggested that brumby running or roping be used a method of capturing and removing wild horses. In the high country context, this could be argued to represent the reintroduction of a cultural practice associated with a significant land use and therefore might

be considered to be an appropriate conservation action under the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS 2013). Following the establishment of the national park, a system of licensed brumby running was introduced to allow capture and removal of wild horses, however as a result of environmental and animal welfare concerns this approach was abandoned in the 1980s. Other issues with brumby running had also emerged by this time including frequent disregard for park regulations, and diminishing skills in brumby running. Local community feeling was also shifting against brumby running, both by those who wanted to see the horses removed completely and others who saw brumby running as a threat to the conservation of brumbies as part of the heritage of the high country (Hardey 1993).

Roping of wild horses, while acknowledged as a cultural practice is not widely regarded as humane today. The Straight Talk consultations indicate that the majority of community representatives thought brumby running or roping was unacceptable or completely unacceptable based on the stress and/or pain inflicted on horses and concern about its effectiveness. The views of horse advocates were split between completely acceptable, neutral and completely unacceptable, and environment advocates considered the method unacceptable or completely unacceptable (Straight Talk 2015g:58).

Another option is to retain wild horse populations in their historical locations as in these places they represent an aspect or attribute of the pastoral narrative and that their retention on such locations would enable the cultural significance of pastoralism to be better understood and interpreted.

For the KNP managers, this would present some considerable challenges. NPWS advises that many of the historical summer grazing locations include highly sensitive and fragile ecosystems and habitats such as bogs and fens. Retention of a wild horse population in such an historical location may require fencing of the horse population or the significant ecosystem or habitat. This may not be feasible. As well, it would require a method of population control to ensure that the horse population did not expand beyond what could be sustained by the ecosystem. What would be gained would not be the full expression of pastoralism and its engagement with wild horses (as some of the activities involved would not to be publicly acceptable today), but it would retain a presence of horses in the landscape to evoke that particular past.

The option of retaining wild horse populations in their historical locations is somewhat like the management approach for the Dartmoor ponies, where the ponies are owned and allowed to roam free, but their welfare is the responsibility of the owner and they are fertility controlled. A variation on this option would include seasonal introduction of a 'wild horse' population into specific localities. The Dartmoor ponies model raises the question of who would own and manage a population of 'wild' horses in an historical location? The implications of a population that was moved in and out of the Park could increase the potential for introduction of weeds or disease, and these may be limiting factors when weighed against environmental and ecological values.

If this option was to be considered, it would require carefully historical research and analysis to select one or more localities where a sustainable population of wild horses could effectively represent this aspect of pastoralism, and at the same time not cause adverse impacts on other values. Potential locations could be identified from studies such as the KNP Huts Conservation Strategy (2005) and the NPWS cultural heritage database. The National Heritage Listing of AANP identifies a number of places associated with pastoralism and the following are listed below as examples only:

- Cascades Hut is located about 50 metres off the fire trail from Dead Horse Gap to Tin Mines. It was built in 1935 as part of a summer pastoral grazing run and was restored in the 1970s. The hut has a strong association with the *Silver Brumby* novels.

- Coolamine Homestead was established in the 1880s and is an important example of an alpine pastoral grazing run. The complex today consists of Southwell House and main homesteads, the cheese house, an iron building in front of Southwell House, yards and outhouses.

- The Currango Pastoral Landscape shows evidence of former grazing leases of Currango plain and contains 25 buildings constructed between 1851 and 1926, including Old Currango and Currango Homesteads and their outbuildings. The landscape was grazed from the 1830s. Old Currango Homestead, built in 1873 and subsequently modified, is the oldest homestead in Kosciuszko National Park. The Currango homestead complex was built in 1895 and is the largest and most intact homestead complex of the 11 snow belt stations and is the only one that has been almost continuously and seasonally occupied since the 1850s. The homestead is still functioning for tourism.

The example of Coolamine Homestead above illustrates the significant challenges in this approach the accepting a wild horse population in this area is in direct conflict with karst natural heritage values and the wild horse exclusion zone established in the 2006 KNP Plan of Management.

There may also be opportunities to retain a wild horse population in one or more historical locations, but outside KNP and other protected areas. This is the approach adopted by the Coffin Bay Brumby Preservation Society (see section 5.2.1) where a property has been purchased to support a herd of wild horses are that managed as 'wild', continuing the tradition of catching and domestication of selected horses.

7.7.3 Wild horses and 'mountain traditions'

Reflecting on the community engagement undertaken as part of the KNP Huts Conservation Strategy (2005), it appears likely that families with long and enduring connections to montane pastoralism and transhumance will want to retain their connections to the places and landscapes that form part of their own history. This might be expressed in many ways: for example, by wanting wild or domesticated horses retained in that particular area, by seeking access to that area on horseback to bring the presence of horses back into the landscape, or through interpretation, recording their histories or by other means. Some may seek to have wild horses managed in traditional ways via brumby roping, or to have their knowledge of wild horses brought into discussions about future management and control. Others may be concerned at the expansion of horse populations, recognising that they (or their predecessors) actively managed wild horses during the pastoral period. For some, continuing a range of related cultural practices (riding horses, roping, running grazing etc) on their own properties or by offering horseback mountain experiences to tourists may contribute to retaining their sense of connection.

Support for the expression of horse-related cultural practices off-park, through the Man from Snowy River and other festivals and local community events, may offer NPWS the opportunity to build relationships and express respect.

The removal of grazing from KNP did result in bad feelings as there was 'insufficient recognition of the loss of a way of life and treasured traditions, and of the breaking of strong emotional ties' (Sullivan and Lennon 2003:149). Continuing advocacy for the recognition of their history and its attributes – including wild horse populations - is therefore likely.

It is difficult to assess whether the options above would effectively retain significant meanings and associations for high country communities and families (recognised under criterion (g)) as so many other elements in the high country pastoral way of life are no longer present within the KNP. Targeted engagement with these communities is needed to explore this issue.

7.7.4 Wild horses and 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies

The influence of the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies on the Australian psyche is an aspect of national significance. It is interesting to contemplate the attributes of this aspect of significance and what is needed to conserve these meanings.

The Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS 2013) recognises 'meanings' as an attribute of place:

Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects (Article 1.2)

Meanings are defined as what 'a *place* signifies, indicates, evokes or expresses to people' (Article 1.16) and meanings are to be respected in determining conservation actions. This includes opportunities to continue or revive significant meanings (Article 24.2).

In relation to KNP and wild horses, these meanings are intangible. They can be expected to be held by many of the visitors to KNP, and also will be held across the wider Australian community, many of whom may never visit KNP.

The Burra Charter is very intentionally in using the words 'respect', 'continue' and 'revive'. Meanings are cultural expressions that cannot be conserved except through aculture or sub-culture itself. Meaning should be expected to change over time, and the meanings described as 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies demonstrate this. However, it should not be expected that the meanings associated with wild horses will disappear; they may over time, or they may strengthen. Meanings can be respected through interpretation – through careful consideration of language for example – and by the continued engagement with those for whom those meanings are particularly important.

The aesthetic values attributed to the experience of seeing wild horses in the landscape are related to the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies as well as to broader cultural values associated with the admired characteristics of horses. The opportunity to see wild horses in the landscape, particularly in places related to the history of pastoralism or locations evoked in literary sources offers a way to retain positive aesthetic values, just as reducing the likelihood of seeing a wild horse in a remote wilderness area helps retain that very different aesthetic experience.

Opportunities to see wild horses could be presented as a special experience, and made available in particular locations (as discussed above) or through guided tours.

7.7.5 Telling the stories of wild horses

The '*cultural significance* of many *places* is not readily apparent, and should be explained by *interpretation*. Interpretation should enhance understanding and engagement, and be culturally appropriate' (Australia ICOMOS 2013: Article 25). Interpretation is not a substitute for retaining values and the attributes of those values, but it is an important and powerful way to engage people with the stories of a place, of times past and people past and present. Moreover, all conservation actions (and many management actions) should be regarded as interpretive actions – that is, they are part of how the cultural significance of the place is presented.

The stories associated with wild horses are many, and stretch back over time, as well as looking to the future. Interpretation can help explain management decisions and dilemmas, enabling visitors to KNP to appreciate complexity and to reflect on their roles and responsibilities toward the park. And given the issues still to be addressed and resolved, interpretation of wild horses will need to be expressed in a way that engages visitors in dialogue around conflicting values.

There may be opportunities to interpret the role of horses (domesticated and wild) in relation to pastoralism as well as in relation to other themes. For example, Sullivan and Lennon (2003:148) comment on the esteem attributed to the skills of horsemen involved in pastoralism or associated with the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies compared to the lack of recognition of those engaged in scientific exploration:

> … *the anti-intellectualism in the Australian psyche has failed to acknowledge adequately the extraordinary feats of endurance and imagination in the scientific explorations of the early researchers such as Howitt and von Mueller. These people are not as nationally recognised as is the ethos encapsulated in The Man from Snowy River ….*

There are possibly many opportunities to interpret wild horses in the landscape, particularly in historical locations or places evoked in literary sources. A wide range of interpretive methods and media may be appropriate – fixed interpretation, brochures/books, and 'apps'. Technology and portable smart devices are likely to enable new forms of interpretation that may be able to bring a landscape to life again; certainly some web-based mapping systems currently offer ways to 'roll back' to earlier landscapes and to predict the likely outcomes of current trends.

In relation to wild horses, interpretation should seek to express both 'good' and 'bad'. The pastoral era for example, in combination with powerful literary imagery, created what we have referred to as the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies. Part of that story is also the slaughter of horses for skins, the everyday life of those living in the mountains, the involvement of Aboriginal people, the roping of wild horses etc. And the fact that aspects of that story continue through families with associations to the mountain life would be a respectful inclusion.

7.8 Conclusions

In summary, retaining the presence of wild horses in the landscape is desirable to retain the identified cultural values, however, it is concluded that wild horses should only be retained in locations where:

- the presence of wild horses represents and helps interpret a nationally significant value, and

- the population of wild horses can be limited or broadly contained to specific locations and their associated impacts on other values managed to acceptable levels.

Further, the historical theme of scientific research and conservation is also regarded as of national significance, and it is the rising awareness of the natural and aesthetic values of the KNP landscape that led to the end of the grazing era; this theme should also be recognised as the dominant cultural theme in the post-national park period. Interpretation of the different periods of displacement of people and land uses could offer an effective way to engage visitors in dialogic rather than didactic interpretation.

Allowing the continued expansion and increasing abundance of wild horses across KNP is not required to retain any of the cultural values considered in this report, and it is concluded that actions to remove horses outside their historical locations or reduce populations densities within their historical locations to mitigate impacts on other values can be undertaken without damage to those cultural values.

That said, there are cultural values associated with wild horses, and particularly with the wild horses of KNP and other parts of the Australian Alps that may be considered to extend beyond these historical locations. This includes the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies that relate to the Snowy Mountains/Lower Snowy areas, and the broader cultural feelings attributed to horses generally which demands a humane response to their management.

7.8.1 Natural values and pressures on these values

In 2003, the KISC has examined the natural and cultural heritage values present in the KNP, the pressures that have the potential to threaten the significant values of the KNP and the condition and trend in condition of natural and cultural values. In relation to managing the wild horse population, they identified key pressures as including:

- Management skills, knowledge, competencies and resources to ensure that management activities do not impact on identified values (for example, 'uncoordinated feral animal control' impacting directly on natural values or 'insufficient monitoring and research' leading to the degradation of values through inappropriate conservation practice' (KISC 2003:250).

- Pressures on ecological processes, including through introduced plants and animal species causing 'substantial impacts on the park's biodiversity and the natural ecological communities by disturbance of the ecological processes on which their conservation depends' (KISC 2003:250). The animal species identified are feral horses, pigs, deer, hares and rabbits. The impacts caused by horses and rabbits include changes in the vegetation species and abundance in karst areas, riparian tracts, in lower subalpine areas and along roadsides in higher areas, and by horses and pigs in frost hollows (KISC 2003:251).

Other pressures identified by NPWS include resource constraints (competing priorities for funding and resources), the complexities arising from the strongly polarised and politicised

CONTEXT

perspectives around environment, cultural heritage and animal welfare, and the effectiveness and acceptability of different population control methods, including the rehoming or disposal of removed or excess horses.

7.8.2 Cultural values and pressures on these values

Sullivan and Lennon (2003:158) considered the condition of the cultural values in KNP in 2003, noting that the physical condition of tangible structural items is not well known, with the huts and homesteads the best documented. They note that places with high public visibility and active use are generally in good condition. Some cultural values have declined through the establishment and management of KNP, including some evidence of pastoralism (e.g. fence lines, some huts) while wild horse populations have increased. Conflicts between natural values and cultural values have tended to favour natural values, resulting in the removal or neglect of cultural features; however, the wild horse population has flourished.

Cultural values related to horses recognised in this report may also be at risk. The aesthetic values of wild horses, for example, may only exist if the horses appear healthy. Thin, hungry or dying horses will trigger feelings of humane concern but not aesthetic admiration. This in turn raises questions such as how 'wild' a horse population in KNP should be, the extent to which natural processes such as drought, fire, heavy snow falls should dictate population parameters and whether management intervention should be considered or not. Historically, such management intervention was unlikely.

Perceived lack of appreciation for the way of life and connections to the landscape by people associated with pastoral activities has been deeply felt by those communities, leading to a diminution of some social aspects of the park's heritage:

> *… the loss of legitimacy and acknowledgment suffered by those whose way of life this was and is. In turn, this means that the heritage values of Kosciuszko's pastoral era have suffered in the past through lack of recognition, inclusion and interpretation. People feel unduly blamed for damage that has occurred to the park as a result of pastoralism, and some feel that this damage has been exaggerated or wrongly attributed'*

In terms of trends, the commissioning of this report indicates that NPWS today is aware of and keen to understand and acknowledge cultural values associated with wild horses, and in fact cultural values broadly. There are still significant pressures on these cultural values, including the risk factors of decay, neglect, fire and vandalism and perhaps an emphasis still on tangible heritage items at the expense of the intangible. Conflicts between natural and cultural values will inevitably remain a challenge for park management, and will increasingly require more nuanced understandings and perhaps new guidance to assist park managers.

Sullivan and Lennon (2003:160) suggest that 'conservation of all the significant natural and cultural values' should be the aim of management planning for KNP, noting that cultural values need to be given a higher priority, and stronger partnerships are needed with those who have 'custodianship of such values' – that is with 'appropriate people with traditional knowledge and feelings of responsibility in the local European community as well as in the Aboriginal community'. They also point to the need to conserve and celebrate heritage through the conservation of physical evidence and that:

> *'… in many cases - especially with intangible items or evidence of the past, such as the Kosciuszko horses - acknowledgment, commemoration, community celebration and recording or alternative use may be the most appropriate way of conserving elements of our past while looking after other values.*
>
> *It is also important to acknowledge the distinction between community association and links with heritage as illustrated in past practices, and the present situation, in which these land use practices may not be an appropriate method of conserving all the cultural and natural values of the park.'*

7.8.3 Opportunities for further investigation

Based on the analysis and discussion in this report, it is recommended that NPWS consider the following:

1. That NPWS establishes a simple mapping system that can provide a basis to consider priority locations for the retention of wild horse populations. This means understanding the geographic relationship between natural values, cultural values and wild horse populations. Establishing a simple mapping system that contains several layers of data would be a valuable investment now and into the future. The layers should include:

   o wild horse population distribution data – past and present

   o cultural features associated with pastoralism and 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies and of relevance to wild horses (with some indication of the level of significance)

   o KNP management units

   o vegetation communities, threatened species, karst environments, wetlands (bogs and fens)etc

   o 'Areas of Exceptional Natural and Cultural Significance' (NPWS 2006)

   o designated wilderness areas

   o visitor nodes, especially those where visitors are seeking to engage with history

   o areas where horses are commonly seen by visitors or park staff.

2. That NPWS commission a project or projects designed to gain a better understanding of and to build ongoing working relationships with those families and individuals with associations with pastoralism in KNP who want a continuing connection to KNP and management of the landscape or places where they have a significant association. An important aspect is to understand their perceptions of wild horses in the past and present, encourage sharing of knowledge about horse numbers, extent and management in the pastoral period, and to understand possible ways to express the significant meanings they hold in relation to horses.

3. That NPWS engages a specialist to develop methods and approaches designed to build consensus and achieve mutual gains outcomes where there are conflicting heritage values. This could have wide application as issues of conflicting values are increasingly common in protected area planning and management.

4. That NPWS commission research into visitor and wider community perceptions of the aesthetic qualities of wild horses and the concepts of naturalness and wilderness.

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APPENDIX 1: PREVIOUS ASSESSMENTS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE VALUES

- Australian Heritage Council, **Australian Alps National Parks and Reserves: National Heritage Assessment,** 2008.

Aspects of the national significance assessment for the AANP that provide context to cultural heritage values associated with the KNP wild horse population are as follows:

Criterion (a) events and processes - The AANP has outstanding heritage value to the nation for historic values relating to transhumant grazing. The KNP in particular contains important stock routes (Ibid: 17).

Criterion (b) rarity – the AANP does not have outstanding value to the nation for rare values associated with transhumance and pastoralism. As these historic values also exist elsewhere (such as in Tasmania, although to a lesser degree). These values are instead considered more relevant for consideration under criterion (g) (21).

Criterion (c) research – in relation to historic values, the AANP does not hold outstanding value against this criterion (21).

Criterion (d) principal characteristics of a class of places - The North East Kosciuszko landscape holds outstanding value to the nation through its demonstration of the principal characteristics of an alpine pastoral landscape, such as: extensive visible grazing modified landscapes manifesting predominantly as open grasslands; an exceptional array of huts that show a range of vernacular styles; exceptional permanent pastoral properties; and former stock routes that weave across the landscape. Together these elements offer a spatial arrangement indicative of a typical pastoral landscape. The North East Kosciusko landscape is the only landscape in the KNP that provides this sort of relatively intact heritage landscape (23).

Criterion (e) aesthetic characteristics – the AANP is assessed as holding outstanding heritage value to the national for its aesthetic values. The KNP high mountain peaks and plateaus are valued as a 'Powerful Landscape'; the KNP's uniquely wild and remote alpine qualities are valued as an 'Uncommon Landscape'; the bountiful and rich aesthetic expressions of the Alps generally and the cultural icon of Mount Kosciuszko provide value as a 'Defining Image' (26). The assessment finds there is strong community attachment to these aesthetic characteristics, evidenced in the depth and breadth of community responses to, and the popularity of, artistic alpine imagery; as well as community responses provided in workshops held for the Regional Forest Agreement Studies (1999 and 2000); and the landscape's inspiration value to art, literature and film both historically and contemporarily (26). "It would seem that many Australians have a strong emotional investment in the High Country, more so than in any other single landscape (Seddon 1986 cited in AHC 2008:27)".

Criterion (f) creative or technical achievement – not considered for assessment (26).

Criterion (g) social value – the AANP holds social value to a national level to the broad Australian community due to its landscape, 'The Man from Snowy River' myth, legends of horsemanship in the rugged 'high country' landscape, and the iconic Mount Kosciuszko (27).

This connection is evidenced in the importance of Banjo Patterson's 'The Man from Snowy River' poem, the depiction of the Man from Snowy River on the Australian $10 note, its representation in the opening ceremony of the 2000 Sydney Olympic Games; as well as in the success of Elyne Mitchell's Silver Brumby novels (26). "It would seem many Australians have a strong emotional investment in the High Country, more than in any other landscape (Seddon 1986 cited in 27)".

It is noted in this assessment that numerous other specific community groups (at least 157) have special associations with the wider AANP for a range of social and cultural reasons.

CONTEXT

For instance, the mountain cattlemen of the high country are a recognised national group whose practices have been handed down through the generations to contemporary times. Although associated cultural practices are rarely carried out inside the park today, their imagery retains national iconic popularity (27).

Criterion (h) significant people - The AANP generally meets national threshold for this criterion in relation to the life and works Baron Ferdinand von Mueller, Eugen von Guerard, A. B. 'Banjo' Paterson, Elyne Mitchell and David Campbell. Specifics for KNP are not provided, however A. B. 'Banjo' Paterson and Elyne Mitchell are the only two of this list whose works are strongly with connected to the wild horse population (28).

Criterion (i) Indigenous tradition - there is insufficient evidence to demonstrate national heritage value under this criterion (this is in part due to the lack of existing documentation about Aboriginal traditions associated with the AANP). However, it is noted that some traditional Aboriginal routes and pathways through the alpine area most probably became colonial exploration, recreational, mining and stock routes. Within the pastoral industry, Aboriginal people played an important role often as stockmen, station hands, house servants and 'trackers'. Wesson (1994, cited in AHC 2008:30-31) also states that Aboriginal people were involved in the mustering of brumbies from the Alps to be used as cavalry horses, and that sometimes Aboriginal people would trade horses for food.

- The Minister for the Environment and Heritage (2005) considered an **emergency submission by the Snowy Mountains Horse Riding Association (SMHRA) for National Heritage Listing of horse riding as a tangible part of Australia's cultural history**. The submission sought consideration based on horse riding's relation to 'The Man From Snowy River' story, mountain grazing and other associated cultural practices. The submission specifically related to the geographic area of the Snowy River National Park (SRNP) and the Kosciusko National Park (KNP) (Ibid. 11).

The Minister stated that the Australian Alps (encompassing the SRNP, KNP, Alpine National Park and Namadgi National Park) form a complex cultural landscape of logging, mining, summer seasonal alpine and transhumant grazing, hydro-electricity generation and scientific exploration, and that alpine grazing is a nationally distinctive practice due to its specific 'high country' nature and character (Ibid 11).

The Minister highlighted that KNP, over other areas of the Australian Alps, holds a high degree of integrity in terms of these cultural landscape features (Ibid 11). The KNP high country pastoral properties of Coolamine and Currango in particular were identified as locations of high integrity, as were a significant collection of huts relating to early land use practices (Ibid 11). KNP was further recognised for its popular associations "…with the A. B. 'Banjo' Paterson poem 'The Man from Snowy River', and a plethora of similar images, stories, rituals, festivals, horsemanship, practices and trades, bush-craft and hut construction skills, lifestyles, and folklore".

It was concluded that "…there is sufficient evidence available relating to the past practice of high country grazing, with summer snow leases grazing, as being a significant component of Australia's grazing story, and a part of the story of developing an understanding of the land and its resource use, to conclude that KNP may have outstanding heritage value to the nation under criterion (a)" (Ibid 12).

However the Minister also identified that recreational horse riding today did not meet with any NHL criteria to a national level. It was identified in Minister's consideration of data "…that the KNP may have historic National Heritage values under criteria (a) and (d), that KNP and SRNP may have Indigenous National Heritage values under criterion (a), natural National Heritage values under criteria (a) and (d), and KNP may have aesthetic National Heritage values under criterion (e)".

To provide details from this report relevant to the cultural heritage value assessment of the wild horses in the KNP:

Criterion (a) events and processes - although directly connected with alpine summer seasonal grazing – recreational horse riding memorialises past activities rather than being a relict of it (the activity ceased in 1973 in KNP), and although being significant to individuals, is not of outstanding significance to the nation (Ibid 12).

Criterion (b) rarity – contemporary recreational horse riding in the KNP is not considered by the Minister to be an uncommon, rare or endangered aspect of Australia's cultural history within the national grazing story. Although grazing on horseback no longer occurs in the Park, the recreational activity of horse riding is not endangered (Ibid 15).

Criterion (c) research – there was no clear evidence given in the submission and therefore this criterion was not considered (Ibid 16).

Criterion (d) principal characteristics of a class of places – it was found that the KNP sub-alpine and alpine environments, as well as KNP alpine grazing properties, may have outstanding heritage value to the nation under this criterion (Ibid 16).

Criterion (e) aesthetic characteristics – KNP may have outstanding heritage value under this criterion to the Australian community due to its natural landscape. It is seen as a place of inspiration, rejuvenation and adventure. This is evidenced in tourist images, the way the landscape is portrayed in Australian art and literature, and throughout artistic history (DEH 2004). The Minister noted there were no comparable natural landscapes in Australia to those found in the Australian Alps (Ibid 16-17).

Criterion (f) creative or technical achievement – no claim was made against this criterion (Ibid 17).

Criterion (g) social value – SMHRA and MCAV (the Mountain Cattlemen Association of Victoria) put forward for consideration their special associations with the KNP based on continued traditional practices of visiting the mountains and traveling through them on horseback. The Minister found that the evidence for did not exceed regional recognition. However it was noted that rural communities around the entire fringe of the Australian Alps have shared association with the Australia Alps (communities of which SMHRA and MCAV form part). It was noted that this more encompassing regional community has an intimate association with the place that is still widely recognised. Bush-skills and horsemanship of this community remain valued despite the absence of pastoral practices in the KNP. This continued social value is derived from the long history of pastoralism that remains important to people today, rather than the presence or absence of any contemporary activity (Ibid 17).

Criterion (h) significant people – A. B. (Banjo) Paterson, Elyne Mitchell, Miles Franklin and Betty Casey Litchfield were put forward by SMHRA for their significant associations with KNP. A. B. (Banjo) Paterson wrote poetry about the Australian Alps, with the Snowy River being one of the only definable localities in his works. The Minister's Department advised that Paterson was wrote a generic poem celebrating a way of life, rather than celebrating a particular place or person. The Minister concluded that "..there are a large number of other localities around Australia with equally strong and perhaps stronger ties to Paterson's poetry, career and life, including a number of areas in NSW and Queensland in the Murray Darling Basin". He also concluded that "…there are a number of works equally associated with Paterson, most notably 'Waltzing Matilda'", and that he could not establish special connection between the life or works of A. B. (Banjo) Paterson and KNP at a national level (18). Miles Franklin – although this author is strongly associated with the northern region of KNP, the association between the life or works of Franklin and the KNP was not extensive enough to be considered of a NHL threshold (18). In terms of Elyne Mitchell, the Minister did to feel the criterion could be applied to this author as her life and works were most associated with her property near Towong, outside of KNP (18). While the Minister also did to feel the criterion could be applied to poet and artist Betty Casey Litchfield, as her life and works are most associated with Cooringdon, which falls outside of KNP (Ibid 18).

Criterion (i) Indigenous tradition – No claim was made against this criterion as part of the submission for consideration (Ibid 19).

- Crocker & Davies (2005a & b) conducted a **preliminary cultural heritage assessment using the National Heritage Criteria and Threshold for 'Inspirational Landscapes'** for the Department of Environment and Heritage.

Useful assessments made of relevance to the KNP wild horse population are as follows:

KNP was included as part of 28 landscapes in Australia considered outstanding to the Nation for their aesthetic appeal. It was found that numerous landscape features of the Australian Alps generally provide "…inspiration for local, regional and statewide communities of importance to all Australians (Crocker & Davies 2005a:34)".

Powerful Landscape

"Criterion (a) events and processes - Banjo Paterson's 'The Man from Snowy River' represents an iconic creative response to the Kosciuszko landscape which is recognised as an important part of Australia's cultural history. It is clearly and directly associated with this landscape and demonstrably recognisable at a national scale.

Criterion (e) aesthetic characteristics - The extreme scale, exceptional landforms are nationally recognised evidenced by numerous publications and the status of this area as the highest part of the Australian continent. Inspiration is also nationally evident in numerous artistic endeavours and visitation to this area.

Criterion (g) social value - The landscape clearly has special associations for particular communities locally and regionally, including Indigenous. Insufficient evidence was available to determine if this place represents the most significant landscape to a definable community or cultural group."

Uncommon Landscape

"Criterion (g) social value - The landscape clearly has special associations for particular communities locally and regionally, including Indigenous. Insufficient evidence was available to determine if this place represents the most significant landscape to a definable community or cultural group."

Defining images and creative expressions

"Criterion (a) events and processes - Banjo Paterson's 'The Man from Snowy River' represents an investigation iconic creative response to the required landscape which is recognised as an important part of Australia's cultural history. It is clearly and directly associated with this region, although whether it is specifically associated with the Kosciuszko landscape at a national scale (as opposed to the Victorian high country) is unclear.

Criterion (g) social value - The landscape clearly has special associations for particular communities locally and regionally, including Indigenous. Insufficient evidence was available to determine if this place represents the most significant landscape to a definable community or cultural group.

Criterion (h) significant people - Eugen von Guerard's, Max Dupain and Banjo Patterson are all important figures in Australia's cultural history. Each of these individuals have significant recognisable works inspired by or associated with Kosciusko. Patterson and von Guerard's Kosciusko-related works are among the defining works of these artists. The only remaining element of proof would be the association of the work to the landscape, which is clear in the case of von Guerard, and likely in the case of Patterson (Crocker & Davies 2005b:91)."

Contemplative Landscapes

"Criterion (e) aesthetic characteristics - The wildness and naturalness of this landscape are nationally recognised in publications and inspiration is nationally evident in numerous artistic endeavours and visitation to this area, including recreational pursuits inspired by appreciation for the naturalness of the landscape (e.g. bushwalking).

Criterion (g) social value - The landscape clearly has special associations for particular communities locally and regionally, including Indigenous. Insufficient evidence was available to determine if this place represents the most significant landscape to a definable community or cultural group (Crocker & Davies 2005b:92)."

Cultural Practices

Potentially criteria (a) events and processes, (g) social value, (i) Indigenous tradition, but further investigation is required (Crocker & Davies 2005b:92)."

- The Kosciuszko Independent Scientific Committee (2003) developed an **assessment of the values of the Kosciuszko National Park. This assessment included cultural values** (Sullivan and Lennon).

This report states:

Horses have played a vital role in the development of Australia, and certainly the development of the pastoral industry in the high country would have been impossible without them. Australia now has the largest population of wild horses in the world. Horses were introduced to the Kosciuszko area in the 1820s and 1830s. They were essential for pastoral life in the high country, and also provided a major method of ;sightseeing and recreation until the introduction of roads and four-wheel drive vehicles. They became established as wild populations as they escaped from their owners or were released by them, especially in drought times. After the establishment of wild herds in the mountains, further horses were also released to upgrade these herds, which were used as a new source for stock horses, were trapped for skin sales, and were used for the Cooma and Jindabyne rodeos. 'Brumby running' or roping was a well-known form of recreation for riders of the high country from the 1920s on (NPWS 2002b). Horses were already very common by the 1890s, and the wild horses of Kosciuszko were the subject of probably the most famous Australian poem - The Man from Snowy River. Through this poem, and many other national and local stories about the pastoral way of life in general and the role of wild horses in particular, the horse and the horse riders of the region have acquired a romantic image and widespread recognition as an important part of the history of the mountains and of Australian folklore more generally. The running of wild horses continued in the park under licence until 1982, when this practice ceased because of concern over environmental damage. However, numbers have continued to increase and one current research estimate is that there are presently 3000 wild horses in the Kosciuszko area, (NPWS 2002b). Some locals say this estimate is far too high (Ted Taylor, Manager, Currango Homestead, pers. comm., October 2002). (Sullivan and Lennon 2003:141-142).

and

The pastoral theme as expressed in Australia's highest mountains has strong social value, to descendants, to modern bush men and to many other Australians. This is demonstrated in the very active continuation and celebration of its traditions and the respect for its physical remains, including its pastoral landscapes, wild horses and stock routes. The high country's traditions are known, celebrated and passed on locally and regionally, and have an important place in the historical consciousness of Australians, especially in regional Australia, albeit in a somewhat romantic way. The Man from Snowy River is known in many households around Australia, both urban and rural. In this sense the social value of pastoralism is of national importance.

A recently completed detailed study of the cultural significance of horses in Guy Fawkes National Park provides useful comparative information (Heritage Working Party 2002). No such study of the significance of wild horses in Kosciuszko has been carried out. However we can make the following tentative general statements about their cultural heritage value, although the extent to which this significance resides in the present herds of wild horses is not clear.

- *The horses played an important role in the cultural history of the region;*

- *They have a strong association with some sections of the local communities in the Kosciuszko area and the direct descendants of pastoralists and pastoral workers;*

- *The stories and traditions associated with them have a strong association with a group of people of importance in the cultural history of Australia - poets, artists and writers in the pastoral tradition;*

- *The most celebrated wild horses in the Australian pastoral tradition are those associated with Kosciuszko, which have to some extent become a national icon, along with their riders and musterers, as demonstrated in literature, art, film and the 'Man from Snowy River' sequence that opened the 2000 Olympic Games in Sydney.*

On the other hand, the damage done and the management problems created by horses in the high country are very considerable and are thought by many people to be in direct conflict with other more significant park values. This is an area in which there is a clear potential for a conflict of cultural and natural values that will require careful management. The darker side of the pastoral theme has also been played out in the Kosciuszko region. The pastoral history and landscape of the park contributed to the disappearance of the viable and uniquely adapted Aboriginal hunter-gatherer lifestyle of the Alps, the remarkable decline in the Aboriginal population, and the abandonment of many traditional places and items within the park. These happenings and remaining evidence of them constitute important values of historic and social significance at a regional level. The whole Kosciuszko landscape has been affected by this pastoral phase in our national development, and it presents continuing evidence of this era. Significant evidence of the pastoral era on the landscape includes impressive and appealing cultural landscapes, vegetation change, a changed fire regime, the presence of wild horses and other introduced species, and distinctive erosion patterns. Much of this evidence constitutes damage to the pre-European environment left by the Aborigines, but it also has significant historical and scientific value. It should also be noted that current horse riding, especially in the north of Kosciuszko is impacting on Aboriginal sites, both known and unknown.

(Sullivan and Lennon 2003:143).

- Lennon (1999) developed a **report to the Australian Alps Liaison Committee exploring the International Significance of the Cultural Values of the Australian Alps**.

Although the international level assessment is of not much relevance to the National cultural heritage significance of the KNP wild horse population, a few aspects of content prove useful to this study:

Significant themes - Traditional human settlement and land use (Continuity of a seasonal land use pattern) and European expansion of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Transhumance) (37-45).

Relevant comparisons- Tasmania is the only other environment in Australia that can be compared as a cultural landscape with features that represent alpine themes, or demonstrate adaptation of human activity to the alpine environment (32).

Multifaceted landscape – The landscapes and features of the Alps demonstrate several categories of significance at once – its significance is therefore complex. For instance, a hut as only one of many features of the larger landscape may hold social, technological and architectural significance (32).

Tangible and intangible values – both cultural associations and the intrinsic physical qualities of a place are relevant for consideration.

The Alps, for instance, feature predominantly in Australia's 'heritage of inspiration' – as evidenced in Chevalier and von Guerard's paintings, or Banjo Patterson and Campbell's poetry. The Australian alpine landscape was interpreted and appropriated through European eyes and this process built up a national romantic attachment to the culture of the high country through icons such as the Man from Snowy River (33).

- The NSW National Parks and Wildlife Service commissioned Godden Mackay Logan (2006) to develop a **Conservation Strategy on the huts in the Kosciusko National Park**. The huts, like the wild horses, are a key element of the Park's 'high country' cultural landscape. The cultural heritage assessment using the state of NSW heritage criteria and thresholds found the following that may be useful in understanding the wild horse as an attribute of the same landscape (106).

  Criterion (a) course or pattern of history – the huts are a representation and tangible evidence of human interaction with the landscape and a previous way of life; the bush-lore tradition, including activities such activities as brumby running (106-8).

  Criterion (b) strong or special association with the life or works of a person or a group of persons – not relevant to the wild horse population (108).

  Criterion (c) - aesthetic characteristics – the huts are an important component of the cultural landscape that makes up KNP; they evoke a sense of history and human presence in the landscape; they have strong visual appeal (109).

  Criterion (d) social value – KNP is valued by Australians as an alpine landscape of natural beauty and its associations with "…widely known and highly-valued aspects of Australia's history—in particular, the 'Man from Snowy River' mythology". The huts are Australian icons, "…they are a symbol of Australian longings for the 'bush". They "…tell the story of the Kosciuszko region. They provide the primary evidence of the sequence of land uses and activities that have occurred in the mountains and, in combination with the wider landscape, are values a a way to connect with and experience the region's history" (110). The huts also provide "…a positive connection to past lives and times, allowing people to experience nature in the high country in a way remarkably similar to past generations" (110).

  Criterion (e) research potential – not relevant in anyway to the wild horse assessment.

  Criterion (f) rarity – the KNP huts are rare "…because of the unusually accurate record that they bring to he history of this important cultural landscape", and its uses, such as summer grazing leases, stockmen and women taking sheet to the mountains, etc (112)

  Criterion (g) representativeness – the huts represent a particular historical way of life and historic uses (in the pastoral theme for example) (113).

- Truscott et al (2006) produced **a National Heritage historic values assessment of the Australian Alps National Parks**. The following is relevant to the assessment of wild horses in the KNP.

  Criterion (a) events and processes – The Alps are of national significance for the national theme 'the Alps experience'. They have shaped a sense of national identity and are the location of well known events. The Central Highlands of Tasmania are the only comparable alpine environment in Australia (122). The Alps are significant for economic, political and social processes (of relevance - pastoral experiences); for their richness of assemblages or cultural landscapes (of which there are many, densely layered aspects, such as those related to high country grazing activity) (127).

  Criterion (b) rarity – The Alps as an environment is rare in itself. There are intangible attributes, such as associations and stories, that are rare and central to the community's sense of identity. Events and processes that have taken place in the Alps is also rare (122), such as high country grazing (129).

  Criterion (c) research – The Alps does not meet the national threshold for historic values under this criterion (122).

  Criterion (d) principal characteristics – There are attributes across the Alps that have the potential to reach this criterion at a national level. Together there are "… an array of elements forming cultural landscapes and concentrations of story that typify the Alps experience".

CONTEXT

Extensive documentation substantiates that these features demonstrate the characteristics of the Alps experience. Since Paterson's The Man From Snowy River was first published, cultural places, elements, features and landscapes, even names themselves (such as 'Snowy'), associated with the pastoral and grazing story-line in the Australian Alps have been part of the myths associated by the community with the Alps, and a notion of a characteristic way of life (123).

The Alps representation of a pastoral way of life reaches the national threshold, and the huts for example, are one physical expression of this (130).

The Alps representation of a pastoral land use also reached the national threshold, *huts, fences, yards, and tracks* are examples of this use (131).

Criterion (e) aesthetic – many replicated images of the Alps are 'location free', they are instead 'symbols' of the whole area know as 'the Alps'. They meet the national threshold because they are well-known and valued by the wider community and they inspire stories of national identity and achievement (124). Mount Kosciuszko is a cultural icon (132).

The Snowy River is a place central to the Australian Alps experience, a symbol evoking potent defining images of Australian national identity and achievement. Whilst not seen by most Australians, its name reinforces Australians' sense of larrikinism and connection with the Bush identity, resulting from Paterson's widely known ballad, 'The Man from Snowy River'. The portrayal of the river and the steep-sided country 'up by Kosciusko's side', binds that identity to the Alps (133).

The visual and emotional symbol that is the Australian Alps is evidenced in growing community protest over time to insist on the protection and conservation of the area, supporting their declaration as national parks (133).

Criterion (f) creative or technical achievement – no values associated with the KNP wild horse population or the wider relevant themes (133).

Criterion (g) social –there are many individual places and elements across the Alps with the potential of meeting the national threshold. Many groups have attachments to the Alps, some are to individual places, others to the entire area (124). The national threshold is reached in this assessment because of the iconic status of the Alps and the Australian community's sense of national identity based on cultural myths such as the 'Man from Snowy River' (134).

Criterion (h) significant people – no individuals relevant to the KNP wild horse population or the wider relevant themes were identified in this assessment (135).

Criterion (i) Indigenous tradition – this was outside of the scope for this report (136).

APPENDIX 2:

| | Values associated with | |
	Natural environment	Cultural environment
(a) Events and processes: The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history	**Geomorphology, Landscape, Landform (a.1)** KNP contains geomorphology of outstanding interest, in particular the karst areas KNP contains the only examples of natural lakes formed by glacial action of the mainland **Evolutionary processes (a.3)** The extent of species endemism **Ecological processes (a.4)** Natural dynamics of ecological processes able to continue because of the scale of KNP as a large, contiguous protected area Natural fire regimes combined with climatic factors that have created a sequence of eucalypt dominated landscapes from sub-alpine to lowland and that demonstrate the adaptability of the Eucalyptus species; in KNP the range is from the coast to the subalpine tree line, the only occurrence in the world Alps as a centre of cold climate adapted and endemic flora, fauna and vertebrate species Bog and fen communities play an integral role in ecosystem functioning associated with their water retention properties KNP has the most outstanding development of subalpine treeless flats and valleys in the world KNP contains the largest contiguous area of snow country in Australia making it of national significance for ecosystem processes at landscape scale KNP contains the headwaters of three river systems constituting one of the most important catchments in Australia **Centres for richness and diversity (a.5)** Alps as a major world centre of plant diversity; KNP for its	**Economic, political or social processes (a.8)** The Alps pastoral occupation and land-use processes are key activities of important to the nation, and in particular related to transhumance grazing. KNP contains significant evidence of these processes, and North-East Kosciuszko is recognised in the AANP listing. The wild horses are an attribute of the national historic theme of pastoralism. **Richness of assemblages or cultural landscapes (a.9)** The High Country cultural landscape demonstrates a particular way of life and set of traditions associated with pastoralism specific to the alpine environment of the AANP. The wild horses are an attribute of the High Country cultural landscape. They demonstrate an aspect of this characteristic way of life.

	Values associated with	
	Natural environment	**Cultural environment**
	comparisons with other Australian alpine area	
	Alps as a landscape with a high level of species richness and endemism	
	Diversity of biological environments and richness of flora assemblages including all the alpine endemic species	
	Diversity of fauna, high number of bird species and reptiles, fish, inspects (etc) including a number of rare, vulnerable or endangered species	
	Refugia (a.6)	
	Alps as a vital refuge for alpine and sub-alpine flora and fauna species; KNP as a large, contiguous protected area serving as a refugia	
	Defining events (a.7)	
	History of scientific research since the 1830s as evident at a range of research sites	
	Creation of KNP as of historical importance in the development of the conservation movement at a national level, and its development as a major national park has had a national influence of the development of park management policies nationally	
(b) Rarity: The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history	**Foci for rarity (b.1)**	No values identified associated with the cultural environment at the national significance threshold.
	KNP provides habitat for around twenty rare and endangered species, including thirteen vertebrate taxa listed as threatened or near threatened (IUCN)	
	High level of endemism	
	Glacial and peri-glacial features (unique in mainland Australia) as evidence of landscape response to ice ages of the late Quaternary	
	Alpine and sub-alpine ecosystems are uncommon in Australia, with most of these ecosystems in the AANP	
	Large rivers above 900m in altitude are an endangered habitat in the Snowy Mountains region, and sections remain in KNP	

| | Values associated with | |
	Natural environment	Cultural environment
	High altitude Alps landscape type is uncommon in Australia and includes most of continental Australia's peaks over 1700 m and all those over 1900m.	
(c) Research: The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of Australia's natural or cultural history.	**The natural history of Australia (c.1)** Karst area (Yarrangobilly) reveals information on the long-term dynamics of landscape formation as well as evidence of climatic and vegetation changes Glacial and peri-glacial features as evidence of landscape response to ice ages of the late Quaternary Soils and fossil soils of outstanding scientific value (including alpine humus soils) Research value of the alpine flora, including interest in endemism, in floristic relationships and alpine specialists In KNP, Holocene sediments and peats offer valuable information on vegetation changes associated with post-glacial warming Some streams within KNP have undisturbed catchments and are valued as hydrological reference areas Numerous places and associations with the theme of science and conservation and international ecological research, including the extent of monitoring of change over 5 or more decades	No values identified associated with the cultural environment at the national significance threshold.
d) Principal characteristics of a class of places: The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of: i) a class of Australia's natural or cultural places; or ii) a class of Australia's natural or cultural environments	No values identified associated with the natural environment to a national threshold.	**A particular way of life (d.7)** The AANP, KNP and High Country more broadly demonstrates key elements characteristic of a pastoral way of life specific to the alpine environment. The KNP wild horses are an attribute of a High Country pastoral way of life. **A particular use or land use (d.8)** The North-East Kosciuszko landscape demonstrates key elements characteristic of alpine pastoral land use and landscape.

CONTEXT

| | Values associated with | |
	Natural environment	Cultural environment
		The KNP wild horses are an attribute of High Country pastoral land use.
e) Aesthetic characteristics: The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group.	The scale of KNP as a large, contiguous protected area with policies to protect naturalness KNP contains the largest contiguous area of snow country in Australia, and the extreme seasonal variations (including snow fall and snow melt) are critical in maintaining many of the … aesthetic values of the park KNP's natural landscapes underpin values related to wilderness … aesthetic values and cultural heritage Australian Alps as a powerful, spectacular and distinctive landscape … (for its) mountain vistas, alpine streams and rivers, natural and artificial lakes, the snow-clad eucalypts and the high plain grasslands, summer alpine wildflowers, forests and natural sounds evoke strong aesthetic responses. Australian Alps is highly valued for its remoteness, and naturalness, including views to and from the region that capture snow clad ranges and mountain silhouettes against clear skies as well as expansive views of natural landscapes from the high points of the Alps. These mountain landscapes have inspired poets, painters, writers, musicians and film makers. KNP is a place where all people can find solitude and the opportunity for spiritual experience, and a sense of remoteness in the natural setting. Spectacular scenery notably the mile-high drop from the summits of the Main Range to the Geehi Valley. KNP - scenic grandeur of vast alpine mountains and high plain, for the most part above the tree line, containing Australia's highest peaks The alpine environment of KNP is of high aesthetic significance … snow covered ranges, glacial lakes, rugged gorges, forested mountain ranges and broad expanses of	**Features of beauty, or features that inspire, emotionally move or have other characteristics that evoke a strong human response (e.1)** The Australian Alps are an 'uncommon landscape' of uniquely wild and remote alpine qualities, a 'powerful landscape' of high mountain peaks and plateaus, and a cultural icon, with Mount Kosciuszko as a 'defining image' in the mind of Australians. Most of the aesthetic qualities associated with AANP and KNP are recognised as arising through aspects of naturalness. Within the Australian community, there is evidence that the aesthetic qualities of the 'Australian brumby' – a wild horse in a wild place – are valued. For most Australians, this is not an experiential aesthetic appreciation, but rather is associated with the iconography of the brumby and linked to the 'Snowy Mountains' mythologies. The combination of a place of great beauty and inspiration and emotions associated with a perceived sense of freedom, strength, courage and independence that are expressed through a range of landscape attributes including the wild horses, evoke a strong human response. The KNP wild horse population is an aesthetic attribute of the High Country cultural landscape, general Australian 'wildness', and the Man from Snowy River Legend. For the High Country community, again probably in part but expected to be a held across this community, the aesthetic experience of seeing wild horses in the High Country is valued due to a greater and more intimate aesthetic connection to the specific horses or horse mobs and to the landscape. It is likely that it is linked to specific locations such as to the Snowy River area in south KNP based on the Man from Snowy River legend, but also in a more general folkloric sense to the AANP landscape more widely.

CONTEXT

	Values associated with	
	Natural environment	**Cultural environment**
	wooden hills and open valleys. The nine wilderness areas in KNP are significant at national and international levels as part of the Australian Alps wilderness. KNP - natural scenery of both its wildflower displays and its snow-garnished slopes and forests, exhibit aesthetic characteristics highly valued by a large proportion of the population … steep country, sometimes juxtaposed to water … but the natural aesthetic qualities that make it an exceptionally beautiful place … lie in the pastel pastiche of eucalypts, cypress pines, scleromorphic shrubs and tussock grasses that clothe gently undulating hills and flat-floored valleys, and the mosaic brightness of flowering daisies on the rounded slopes within the alpine plateau.	The KNP wild horses are an attribute of these aesthetic values. In some locations (remote, wilderness, natural areas), wild horses may adversely impact other aesthetic values.
(f) Creative or technical achievement: The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period.	No values identified associated with the natural environment to a national threshold.	No values identified associated with the cultural environment at the national significance threshold.
(g) Social value: The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons.	The Australian Alps (AANP) have a special association with the Australian community because of their unique landscapes, the possibility of experiencing remoteness and as the only opportunity for broad-scale snow recreation in Australia. The AANP is widely recognised by Australians as the 'high country' and many community groups have a special association with the AANP for social and cultural reasons. KNP is important for recreation because of the natural scenic qualities of the park. These include its mountainous landscapes, its size and the presence of snow, and the exceptional variation in diversity of natural settings for recreational opportunities, including education opportunities.	**Social, cultural or spiritual reasons that could include:** **traditional, religious, ceremonial or other social purpose, including a celebratory or commemorative use, or association with community action (g.1)** The KNP holds social value for the broader Australian community due its cultural landscape, 'The Man from Snowy River' myth, legends of horsemanship in the rugged High Country landscape, and the iconic Mount Kosciuszko. This value relates to an element of Australian national identity. The High Country community have enduring strong and special associations with this landscape based on their direct experiences over generations, and through association with

CONTEXT

	Values associated with	
	Natural environment	**Cultural environment**
	KNP is especially valuable for its large areas of natural lands, which offer opportunities for solitude and self-reliant recreation. KNP is one of the few areas of Australia where people are able to experience the unique climate, scenery, history and danger of an alpine destination. Yarrangobilly Caves complex have aesthetic significance as a component of the complex of cave sites developed for tourism as part of an important national social movement.	alpine pastoralism over generations. The KNP wild horse population is an attribute of the social values of KNP and the High Country more generally for the Australian community and the High Country community.
(h) Significant people: The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the place's special association with the life or works of a person, or group of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history.		**The place had an important formative effect on a nationally recognised person or group (h.1)** The High Country environment and landscape – the Snowy River, Snowy Mountains, Main Range/Cascade Hut in particular – are known to have had an important formative effect on A.B. 'Banjo' Paterson and Elyne Mitchell, two nationally important literary figures that are enduring and inextricably associated in the public mind with the High Country. The KNP wild horse population is an attribute of the place to which these people are connected and have depicted in their works of national importance). **The major national achievements of a nationally recognised person or group occurred at this place (h.2)** Banjo Paterson's and Elyne Mitchell's literary works are nationally important and intrinsically related to the High Country, including KNP and its wild horse populations. Both are nationally recognised individuals in their creative endeavours. The KNP wild horse population is an attribute relating to the achievements of Paterson and Mitchell.
(i) Indigenous tradition: The place has outstanding heritage value to the nation because of the		No values identified associated with the cultural environment to a national threshold. Historical and contemporary heritage values may be held by

	Values associated with	
	Natural environment	**Cultural environment**
place's importance as part of Indigenous tradition.		different Indigenous community members in association with the wild horse population, yet according to the National heritage assessment framework, these values should be assessed under other criteria.

CONTEXT

APPENDIX 3: NATIONAL NATURAL HERITAGE VALUES SUMMARY

	Extracts from the NHL listing	KISC (2003)	Other heritage listings
Significance of the park in its regional setting		<u>National:</u> Kosciuszko National Park forms the central segment of the Australian Alps bioregion that supports all the alpine endemic species found on the Australian mainland … and is less fragmented than the dissected landforms of the alpine regions of Victoria. Because Kosciuszko National Park is large and contiguous with other natural areas, full life cycles and gene flow can continue in a regional context.	The geomorphology, geology and ecology of this alpine environment is scientifically important. (Kosciuszko Alpine Area RNE listing).
Significance of the KNP as a protected area		<u>National:</u> KNP is one of few large natural protected areas in temperate Australia where the natural dynamics of ecological processes can still occur without significant human intervention, and where there are active policies to protect naturalness.	Kosciusko National Park is the largest National Park in New South Wales. The wide range of altitudes and topographical features in the park leads to a very high diversity of biological environments including dry scrub, semiarid woodlands, rainforest, snow gum woodlands, wet and dry sclerophyll forests, grasslands, heaths and bogs, with over 1,000 plant species recorded in the area, including approximately twenty rare and endangered species. (Kosciuszko National Park [1981 boundary] RNE listing).
Glacial and Periglacial Features	These features are the material expression of the cold-climate, high-altitude history of the AANP, unique in the low-latitude, low-altitude Australian continent. The glacial and periglacial features contribute uniquely to our understanding of the nature of landscape response to climate	<u>International:</u> None identified. <u>National:</u> (Geologically) 'evidence of the great climatic changes in the Pleistocene that produced glacial features (e.g. cirques, terminal and lateral moraines, lakes, erratics and ice-	Glacial lakes and most extensive snow fields. Kosciuszko Alpine Are RNE listing) Mount Koscuisko glaciated area is unique in mainland Australia in exhibiting landforms shaped by Pleistocene glaciation, (Yeates 2001), and it is also the northern-most Pleistocene glaciated area in Australia

CONTEXT

	Extracts from the NHL listing	KISC (2003)	Other heritage listings
	during the ice ages of the late Quaternary and into the present and therefore has outstanding heritage value to the nation for its importance in the pattern of Australia's natural history. These features are uncommon in Australia. The Kosciuszko Plateau is unique in mainland Australia as the only place irrefutably exhibiting landforms shaped by Late Pleistocene glaciers during a series of glacier advances known as the Late Kosciuszko Glaciation.	scratched surfaces) and extensive periglacial features and evidence'.	(Coyne 2000). Note the balance of the citation focuses on the Australian Alps National Parks. (Mount Kosciuszko Glaciated Area RNE Listing).
Karst	The Yarrangobilly karst area contains an outstanding collection of surface karst features … and several hundred caves (ISC 2004). Yarrangobilly has yielded valuable information on the long-term dynamics of landscape formation … (it) has outstanding value to the nation for its features and karst processes evident in the limestone karst landscape.	International: the suite of karst areas, particularly Cooleman and Yarrangobilly Karst. National: The park's significance for karst relates to hydrological and geomorphological values, habitat for endangered species, and the cultural heritage of the past use of these sites.	
Soils		International: soils that are of outstanding scientific value as examples of some of the great soil groups, both individually (the alpine humus soils) and in association with each other; fossil soils and remnants of fossil soils of high scientific value and practical importance. National: 'The park's significance for soils relates to the great soil groups represented, particularly alpine humus soils …'.	

CONTEXT

	Extracts from the NHL listing	KISC (2003)	Other heritage listings
Natural fire regimes		<u>International:</u> natural fire regimes, which are partly a function of climate, that have created subalpine, montane and lowland landscapes of international significance covered with a catena of eucalypts. <u>National:</u> None identified.	
Biological Heritage	The Alps are one of eleven sites recognised in Australia by the IUCN as a major world centre of plant diversity … the AANP supports a rich and unique assemblage of cold-climate specialist species that have evolved unique physiological characteristics, enabling them to survive in an environment subject to extreme climate variation. AANP has an 'outstandingly rich flora taxa … cold climate adapted and endemic fauna species and many endemic vertebrate taxa. The AANP is a vital refuge for alpine and sub-alpine flora and fauna species, with a high level of richness and endemism across a wide range of taxa, and therefore has outstanding value to the nation for encompassing a significant and unique component of Australia's biological heritage.	<u>International:</u> Populations of thirteen vertebrate taxa that are listed as threatened or near threatened by the World Conservation Union (IUCN), including the endangered mountain pygmy-possum, which has the longest life span of all known small terrestrial mammals. <u>National:</u> The significance of the KNP flora lies in the many commonalities of the floristic groups and the affinities and differences between genera and species, compared with other Australasian alpine areas. The alpine flora is of world interest as it is a mix of species of autothonous (local) species and species of peregrine origins (from other continents). Terrestrial habitats and fauna of the alpine and subalpine zone support populations of 100 native species including endemic or alpine specialists; the extent of its biodiversity is the key to its faunal significance.	The park supports a diversity of fauna, with approximately thirty-one native mammal species recorded. These include the nationally rare pygmy possum (Burramys parvus) and the yellow bellied glider (Petaurus australis). Species listed in Schedule Twelve of the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Act include the broad toothed rat (Mastacomys fuscus) which is listed as rare and vulnerable and the koala (Phascolarctos cenereus) which is listed of special concern. (Kosciuszko National Park [1981 boundary] RNE listing) Approximately 200 bird species have been recorded in the park including the nationally rare peregrine falcon (Falco peregrinus) and two species listed as rare and vulnerable in Schedule Twelve of the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Act, the gang gang (Callocephalon fimbriatum) and the turquoise parrot (Neophema pulchella). Thirty one species of reptile have been recorded in the park including the alpine water skink (Sphenomorphus kosciuskoi) which is restricted to areas of over 1,000m altitude on the Southern Tablelands seven species of snake are known to occur and

	Extracts from the NHL listing	KISC (2003)	Other heritage listings
			eleven species of frog including the yellow and black corroboree frog (Pseudophrne corroboree), which is considered amongst the most spectacular frogs in the world. The park also supports a high diversity of fish species including galaxiids. (Kosciuszko National Park [1981 boundary] RNE listing) Insect species include the kosciusko grasshopper (Kosciuscola tristis) which changes colour from black to blue with changing environmental conditions. Ten species of endemic giant earthworms (Megascolidae spp.) are also known from the park. The park contains a number of sites of geological and geomorphological significance. The glacial and periglacial features of the park (including block streams, glacial lakes, cirques and moraines), limestone caves and related karst features, illustrate the geological history of the Australian continent and provide important evidence of climatic and vegetation changes, particularly in the Tertiary and Quaternary. Because of these features the park is used extensively as an educational resource in the teaching geology and geomorphology by universities and schools throughout Australia. (Kosciuszko National Park [1981 boundary] RNE listing)
Alpine and Sub-alpine Ecosystems	Alpine and sub-alpine ecosystems are uncommon in the generally arid and warm climate of Australia. The AANP contains most of the alpine and subalpine ecosystems on mainland Australia,	International: Alpine areas that are of international significance as a prime global example of mid-latitude alps with attributes that include vegetation that includes at least 21 endemic	

CONTEXT

	Extracts from the NHL listing	KISC (2003)	Other heritage listings
	supporting flora and fauna species that have evolved to the harsh conditions of the high altitudes. Many of these species are endemic to the Alps and are found nowhere else in Australia. The bog and fen groundwater communities are supported by organic soils and contain exceptional water retention properties. These communities play an integral role in ecosystem function by regulating the slow release of water from saturated peatbeds to the surrounding alpine humus soils, streams and other alpine communities.	species and 33 species that are rare in a total of some 204 species of flowering plants. Subalpine ecosystems that provide habitat for a number of rare animal species (e.g. mountain pygmy-possum in podocarpus heath and corroboree frog in sphagnum bogs). Probably the most outstanding development of subalpine treeless flats and valleys in the world (internationally significant ecophysiological work has been undertaken on the tree lines). <u>National:</u> (Geologically) Holocene features of the park (sediments and peats) that have given valuable information on vegetation changes associated with postglacial warming. KNP contains the largest contiguous area of snow country in Australia, making it of national significance for ecosystem processes at the landscape scale: these include the natural fire regime on which many plant communities and species depend; the hydrological regime that is related to macroclimate and microclimate variations; soil formation; and the extreme seasonal variations including processes of snow fall, accumulation and melt, which are particularly critical in maintaining many of the most significant biological and aesthetic values of the park.	
Aquatic ecosystems		<u>International:</u> None identified. <u>National:</u>	The park contains the headwaters of the Murray, Murrumbidgee and Snowy River systems, which together constitute one of the most important water catchment areas in

	Extracts from the NHL listing	KISC (2003)	Other heritage listings
		There are four small natural lakes (Albina, Blue, Club and Cootapatamba) that are the only lakes on the Australian mainland that were formed by glacial action; they are also the highest lakes in Australia. There are significant lakes and subterranean water bodies associated with karst. Large rivers above altitudes of 900 m are considered an endangered habitat in the Snowy Mountains region … and there are undiverted, 'wild' river sections upstream of dams in KNP.	Australia. Some of the streams within the area have undisturbed catchments which have been gauged over a long period to characterise their flow conditions. Consequently they have high value as hydrological reference areas for the examination of changes in catchment conditions and climatic changes. Four wilderness areas proclaimed under the New South Wales Wilderness Act are found within the park including: Jagungal Wilderness, Pilot Wilderness, Byadbo Wilderness and Bogong Wilderness. (Kosciuszko National Park [1981 boundary] RNE listing).
Eucalypt Flora Community	The AANP provides an outstanding example of the adaptability of a plant genus, the genus *Eucalyptus,* along a steep topographical transect … (and) eucalypts dominate the AANP vegetation from the lowlands to as high as the alpine region … the very large topographical variations (are) reflected in the high diversity of eucalypt species replacing each other along the altitudinal and climatic gradient.	International: None identified. National: … the adaptation and dominance of a single genus (Eucalyptus) over the entire elevational range from the coast to the subalpine tree line — the only occurrence of this in the world.	
Scientific research	AANP is important for scientific research that has taken place since the 1830s, demonstrated by the density and continuity of scientific endeavour and evident at a range of research sites …'.	International: - A cultural heritage theme of science and conservation, with numerous places and associations with outstanding international ecological research. National: 'Kosciuszko National Park conserves, in its landforms, a largely intact intrinsic record of past change of soils and vegetation, and has	

CONTEXT

	Extracts from the NHL listing	KISC (2003)	Other heritage listings
		a scientific record that has monitored change over five or more decades. Because of these features, the park can play a major international and national role in monitoring and measuring ecological changes…' The effort that created Kosciuszko National Park was of historic importance in the development of the conservation movement at a national level. Its subsequent development as a major national park has had an important national influence on the development of park management policies and procedures in Australia.	
Landscape and topography	The high-altitude landscape of the AANP has outstanding heritage value to the nation for its topographic heights, uncommon alpine and subalpine ecosystems and glacial lakes. AANP includes most of continental Australia's peaks over 1,700 metres and all of those over 1,900 metres.	<u>International:</u> None identified. <u>National:</u> The natural landscapes of the park underpin values related to wilderness, ecosystem processes at landscape scale, aesthetic values and cultural heritage. **Wilderness** There are nine wilderness areas recognised under the NSW wilderness legislation, which constitute 346,257 hectares (50.15%) of the park. These wilderness areas are significant at national and international levels as part of the Australian Alps wilderness.	
Landscape (aesthetics)	The AANP is a powerful, spectacular and distinctive landscape highly valued by the Australian community … (for its) mountain vistas, alpine streams and rivers, natural and artificial lakes, the snow-clad eucalypts and the high plain grasslands, summer alpine wildflowers, forests and natural sounds	<u>International:</u> None identified. <u>National:</u> Kosciuszko National Park is a place where all people can find solitude and the opportunity for spiritual experience, and a	It is outstanding scenic grandeur of vast alpine mountains and high plain, for the most part above the tree line, containing Australia's highest peaks (Kosciuszko Alpine Are RNE listing). The alpine environment of the park is of high aesthetic significance. Features include

	Extracts from the NHL listing	KISC (2003)	Other heritage listings
	evoke strong aesthetic responses. Much of the terrain of the AANP is highly valued for its remoteness, and naturalness, including views to and from the region that capture snow clad ranges and mountain silhouettes against clear skies as well as expansive views of natural landscapes from the high points of the Alps. These mountain landscapes have inspired poets, painters, writers, musicians and film makers.	sense of remoteness in the natural setting. Geologically, the dissection resulting from the Tertiary uplift … has produced spectacular scenery (notably the mile-high drop from the summits of the Main Range to the Geehi Valley). The natural landscapes of the park underpin values related to wilderness, ecosystem processes at landscape scale, aesthetic values and cultural heritage. The nine wilderness areas in KNP are significant at national and international levels as part of the Australian Alps wilderness. The natural scenery of Kosciusko National Park both its wildflower displays and its snow-garnished slopes and forests, exhibit aesthetic characteristics highly valued by a large proportion of the population. There is much steep country, sometimes juxtaposed to water, within the Kosciusko National Park, but the natural aesthetic qualities that make it an exceptionally beautiful place for many people lie in the pastel pastiche of eucalypts, cypress pines, scleromorphic shrubs and tussock grasses that clothe gently undulating hills and flat-floored valleys, and the mosaic brightness of flowering daisies on the rounded slopes within the alpine plateau.	snow covered ranges, glacial lakes, rugged gorges, forested mountain ranges and broad expanses of wooden hills and open valleys. (Kosciuszko National Park [1981 boundary] RNE listing).
Community associations	The Australian Alps have a special association with the Australian community because of their unique landscapes, the possibility of experiencing remoteness and as the only opportunity for broad-scale snow recreation in Australia. The AANP is widely recognised by	<u>International:</u> None identified. <u>National:</u> Kosciuszko National Park is important for recreation because of the natural scenic qualities of the park. These include its	

CONTEXT

	Extracts from the NHL listing	KISC (2003)	Other heritage listings
	Australians as the 'high country' and many community groups have a special association with the AANP for social and cultural reasons.	mountainous landscapes, its size and the presence of snow, and the exceptional variation in diversity of natural settings for recreational opportunities, including education opportunities. The park is especially valuable for its large areas of natural lands, which offer opportunities for solitude and self-reliant recreation. Kosciuszko National Park is one of the few areas of Australia where people are able to experience the unique climate, scenery, history and danger of an alpine destination. Yarrangobilly Caves complex have aesthetic significance as a component of the complex of cave sites developed for tourism as part of an important national social movement.	