Chilly Relationships:
The use of history and memory in the Snowy Mountains of New South Wales

Oscar Selden

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of B.A. (Hons) in History.

University of Sydney.

5th October 2011.
Abstract

Jindabyne is a town that has undergone dramatic structural change over the past 60 years. From a small pastoral community, Jindabyne has grown to become a premier tourist destination due to its close proximity to New South Wales’ ski resorts. This growth has been a product of the introduction of the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme, the Kosciusko National Park and the tourism industry, along with the career opportunities provided by these industries. This growth has resulted in a shift of power from the traditional grazing community to other sections of the community. History is used by these sections of the community to legitimise their position in society. This thesis explores how and why this history has been used.
# Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS................................................................. p.4  
INTRODUCTION............................................................................... p.5  
LITERATURE DISCUSSION................................................................. p.12  
CHAPTER I: The Rural Community................................................... p.18  
CHAPTER II: The Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme........... p.34  
CHAPTER III: The Environmental community................................. p.49  
CHAPTER IV: The business and tourism community......................... p.63  
CONCLUSION................................................................................... p.73  
BIBLIOGRAPHY................................................................................ p.77
Acknowledgements

My sincerest thanks go to Richard White for encouraging me, for offering his expertise and for getting my work off the ground;

To Richard Waterhouse for his advice and energy and for getting me through the last few months;

To Bruce, Dave, Neen and Tom for their time and insight;

To my Mum for being vigilant with her ideas and suggestions, for being an amazing proof reader and for talking me out of quitting at least three times;

To my Dad for his local knowledge, patience and persistent interest in my work;

To my Grandfather for his interest, excitement and recommendations;

To Ron And Vicki for welcoming me into their home with my mountains of books and piles of washing;

To all my friends for being there and for always wanting a beer, especially to Sarah Bates for her last minute input;

To Pascall for Clinkers. They are the real heroes in this story;

And finally to Sara Jane for putting up with me, for being a positive and loving influence and most of all for her seemingly limitless tolerance.
Introduction

Jindabyne is located in the Snowy Mountains of New South Wales at the base of the major ski resorts, the pass to Victoria, and Mt Kosciuszko. According to Hancock, up to five aboriginal tribes resided in the area prior to European settlement. These included the Ngarigo tribe who would feast on the bogong moths at Kosciuszko’s summit. Jindabyne was founded in the 1830s by John Pendergast who had been transported to the penal colony on the ‘Minerva’ in 1800. Pendergast and his brothers were instrumental in setting up the Monaro to Gippsland cattle route which aided in the economic growth of the area. The region was an isolated haven vastly dominated by grazing and the occasional fisherman or bushwalker passing through. In was in this period in which ‘The Man from Snowy River’ emerged. Banjo Paterson’s character embodied the pioneering pastural hero that is emblematic of this period in Jindabyne’s history.

The Snowy Mountains Scheme completely changed the region. Conceived out of a desire to harness the power of the mountain river system and protect the agricultural industry from drought, as well as out of a desire for nation building in a post war climate of optimism, the Snowy Mountains Scheme became a symbol of growth and a symbol of Australia’s increasing power as an

---

industrialised nation. In 1967 old Jindabyne was flooded by the Snowy Mountains Authority. The introduction of the National Parks and Wildlife Service added another layer to the growing town as well as mounting another attack against the grazier community. The Kosciusko State Park Trust was established in 1944 and the Kosciuszko National Park was established in 1967. This added the dimension of conservation and environmental awareness as well as government management to the area. Throughout the century, tourism had also played a minor role in the area. However, by the 1980s, skiing had become a major attraction for tourists and transformed the town into a recreational destination. Skiing had been a recreational activity prior to the Snowy Scheme. However, the Scheme opened the mountains with roads and clearing allowing the sport to develop into a popular pastime. This thesis does not have the scope to detail every aspect of the local history and therefore many interesting stories and events need to be omitted. The scope it takes however, allows for a balanced cross-section of modern Jindabyne to be represented and included.

This thesis will look at the ways these different layers of society integrate themselves into the local space and the role that history plays in legitimising the authority and the presence of these communities. According to Tom Griffiths, the relative closeness of European Australia to its historical roots create a certain contemporary nature of Australian local history which is driven by

6 Collis. ‘Snowy’, p.8
7 Salmon. ‘Jindabyne’, no page numbers.
8 Note: The Snowy Mountains Authority (SMA) was renamed in 1998 as Snowy Hydro during the corporatisation process. Throughout this thesis. See: Brad Collis. ‘The Turning Wheel of History: How the Snowy entered the 21st Century’.
9 Note: The Spelling of Kosciuszko changed from Kosciusko to Kosciuszko in 1997. This was to recognise the Polish spelling of the word. The name of the mountain and the National Park therefore changed. See: Graeme Worboys. Catherine Pickering. Worboys, G. Pickering, C. ‘Managing the Kosciuszko alpine area: Conservation milestones and future challenges’, Mountain tourism research report series, No. 3, (2002), p. 48. This paper will use the contemporary spelling throughout except when speaking about the Kosciusko State Trust or when referencing publications that use the previous spelling as to avoid confusion.
memory.\textsuperscript{10} Local history is about identity, significance, power and control.\textsuperscript{11} The practice of looking at a national identity can be useful but it ignores local identities and the unique nature of community. Local history challenges the generalisations created within national histories and also allows for international comparisons.\textsuperscript{12} Local history is diverse, rich and can speak to the smaller cultures which created the wider concept of the national. However, the quaintness and the fragmentation of local history creates difficulty as differing interests promote different views on the past.\textsuperscript{13} Groups within communities are increasingly diverse and formal structures are becoming less obvious.\textsuperscript{14} This thesis aims to engage with and overcome the difficulties presented in this methodology.

Oral history is an important asset as it provides a dialogue with the past by those who lived it. According to Jeremy Black, history is a living, breathing thing.\textsuperscript{15} History shapes group identities, political legitimacy and informs the way groups and individuals interact.\textsuperscript{16} History is therefore extremely important to the way one views their position in society and exists in micro and macro forms.\textsuperscript{17} The way history is viewed, communicated and presented is a product of the way it is

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\item Tom Griffiths. ‘\textit{Beechworth: An Australian country town and its past’}, (Greenhouse Publications: Richmond, 1987), p.1
\item Beverly Kingston. ‘The use and function of local history’ in The Local History Coordination Project. ‘\textit{Locating Australia’s past: A practical guide to writing local history’}, (New South Wales University Press: Kensington, 1988), p.4
\item Malcolm Campbell. ‘What is a region?’ in The Local History Coordination Project. ‘\textit{Locating Australia’s past: A practical guide to writing local history’}, (New South Wales University Press: Kensington, 1988), pp. 44-45
\item Kingston. ‘The use and function of local history’, p.5
\item Jeremy Black. ‘\textit{Using history’}, (Hodder Education: London, 2005), p.48
\item Black. ‘\textit{Using history’}, p.3
\item Black. ‘\textit{Using history’}, p.48
\end{thebibliography}
understood. For this reason, history is an overtly political practice.\(^{18}\) Oral history is important as it is a product of the way an individual perceives their own existence and is therefore a valuable window into the values and ideals of individuals and groups. Common strands and wider use of evidence can overcome bias and paint a reliable and interesting picture of the past. However, bias is also useful and the way history is used speaks volumes about the motivations of different groups.

Griffiths defends the virtues of oral history in the context of local history, arguing that the recollections of the town elders are of great importance when much of the town’s history would be lost with their passing.\(^{19}\) Thomson delves beyond this idea arguing that memory, public and private, is an important process in the creation of myth. Oral history can therefore inform the historian why myth works.\(^{20}\) Oral history is also important as it provides evidence for issues and events which have no written record published.\(^{21}\)

‘Chilly relationships’ uses oral history to define how people in different sections of the community view the use of history by themselves and others but does not dwell on this method overtly. Rather, it uses the oral history to give greater meaning to the way history is used within the community. Griffiths argues that “history-making is always political”.\(^{22}\) This paper will show that this claim is relevant to Jindabyne and the Snowy Mountains. This paper will explore the ever changing relationships in a town which has transformed and complicated itself significantly over the past sixty years, and the different strands of local history which have helped to make sense of a dynamic

---


\(^{19}\) Griffiths. ‘Beechworth’, p.3


\(^{21}\) Drago Saravania. ‘The Snowy and the Croatians’, (Elfaro: Newtown, 1999), p.21

\(^{22}\) Griffiths. ‘Beechworth’, p.3
and evolving community. This thesis also relies on monuments, published histories, tourist displays and attractions and government documents to present the way history is used by different sections of the community. This thesis will address two main themes throughout four chapters. The first theme will focus upon the way history is used by different groups in the Snowy Mountains. The way these groups are perceived are not in all cases formal. Rather, they are conceptualised by their defining features and differing interests. The second theme will speak to the relationships between the groups outlined in each chapter and whether interests and the histories that each group embraces causes a degree of tension or unease. This thesis will draw upon four original interviews and also make use of pre-existing examples of oral history. The four original interviews contain the views of people from different sections of Jindabyne’s local community. Dave Woods represents the environmental community. Dave Woods has maintained a life-long interest in the Snowy Mountains. Woods has lived in Jindabyne for over twenty years and has a background in conservation and botany. Woods works for the National Parks and Wildlife Service as the Environmental Liaison Officer and as the author of the Resort Roundup publication. Woods also serves as a contributor to the Perisher Historical Society. Tom Barry and Neen Pendergast represent the rural community. Barry is a descendent of Thomas Pendergast and of John Barry, two of the earliest white settlers in the region. He has earnt a living in the area via farming and also through real estate and owning a newsagency. Neen Pendergast has lived in the area for over 80 years. In that time she has worked as a farm hand, a cook for Snowy Scheme workers and shearsers and has been involved in volunteer work. Pendergast has also been an elected councilor of the Snowy River Shire Council since 1989. Bruce Marshall represents the tourism and business community. Marshall moved to Jindabyne on a part time basis in 1979 when his interest in a ski

23 Dave Woods, Interview, 29 August, 2011.
24 Tom Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
lodge gained a financial attachment. Marshall also invested in a building and timber supply business and has since moved to Jindabyne full time with various business interests in the area.26

Research concerning the Snowy Scheme provided a vast amount of pre-existing social and political historical primary source material aiding in the analysis of how this section uses history. For this reason, no interview was undertaken directly concerning this section of the community. ‘Chilly relationships’ will examine four key sectors of the political and social structure of the Jindabyne community. These sections have been conceptualised as to assess the different layers of a rural community. They are therefore not formal groupings, rather, they are frameworks of analysis and help divide the differing interests and histories within the community. The sections or groupings that this thesis will discuss include the local farming community; the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme, and its current incarnation Snowy Hydro; the National Parks and Wildlife Service and related environmentally conscious groups and finally; the local tourism industry. ‘Chilly relationships’ will discuss the ways history is used by these groups, why it is used by these groups and the issues that have been shaped both history and by local political dynamics.

Chapter one will concern the local rural farming community. It is important to analyse this group because many of the current local families have roots in the region dating back to the earliest European settlements. This factor gives members of the rural farming community a high stake in the local history as well as strong historical legitimacy. This paper shall analyse these links with the past as well as the sense of place these members of the community feel in the modern context. It will examine heritage and a sense of place as important constructs which inform the way that they use and interpret local history. Myths and legends will also feature in this chapter. ‘The man from Snowy River’ continues to resonate with the local community as a tie to their past and their identity.

Monuments and memorials add to the sense of ownership that this section of the community commands in the region. The grazing debate in the political and environmental history of the region will also be approached as a tense relationship between different sections of the community.

Chapter two will examine the role of the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme in the area and the way that the project changed the region. The history of the Scheme is rich and of great importance to the national character and the development of the local area. The Scheme changed the demographics, the opportunities, the character and the accessibility of the area. It is also an important aspect of local history and therefore an important research subject. This chapter will approach the way that Snowy Hydro have used history to ingrain the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme into the national character and link it to a wide sense of nation building. This chapter will also show how history has been used to defend the region against the proposed privatisation of the Snowy Scheme and how different political interests have viewed this period of Snowy Hydro.

Chapter three will discuss the role of the National Parks and Wildlife Service in the area as well as the way they use history. This chapter will examine the activities that conservationists within and outside the national parks deem important and the way that they use history to protect these interests. The preservation of huts in the Snowy Mountains, the importance of Aboriginal history and the growing interest in the Snowy River as an important environmental and cultural legacy will be addressed. Chapter three will discuss how history and emotion drive these efforts.

Finally, chapter four will discuss the business and tourism community. This section of the community plays a pivotal role in the local economy and provide main attraction for visitors to the region and people moving to the area. History is therefore utilised by this section of the community
in an economic sense as well as to create a sense of community inclusion. This chapter will argue that this technique is used to incorporate business into the community and create a sense of natural belonging within the area. The way that history and memory is used in the ski resorts and the use of history for economic gain and reactions to this by other sections of the community will be discussed. This chapter will also discuss how history has been used to attract tourism and to promote the past by entrepreneurs in Jindabyne.

Each of these groupings and therefore chapters cross reference each other. In a small community, membership of these groups can be fluid and relationships in small communities are interpersonal and interconnected. These reasons tie each chapter together and paint a picture of a diverse yet closely tied community.

Literature discussion.

Susanne Klanicka, Matthias Buchecker, Marcel Hunziker and Ulrike Müller-Böker argue that differing aims by different groups in society can be better understood by interpreting place relations. A sense of place and different experiences and memories change the way people relate to their physical environments.\textsuperscript{27} Klanicka et.al. discuss the Swiss Alps as a case study, comparing the competing interests of locals and tourists. Jindabyne as it has developed and gained new layers finds this battle occurring on home turf with competing interests pushing for competing outcomes. This is not a new fight and the local history is mired in these battles as change, intervention and economics have transformed the town. This thesis will therefore be discussing the reaction to change by looking at the way history is used as a reaction to change and as a counteraction to this

response. History is one way in which competing interests assert their point of view and create important dynamics in the political structure of the town. Tom Griffiths argues that local history “is indiscriminate about everything except place and loyalty”.\(^{28}\) This thesis places this argument into a new context and presents four separate groups with different loyalties and interests.

Timothy Oaks argues that place-based identity is informed by the interactions between the competing forces of political economy and the differing historical layers of local relations.\(^{29}\) However, while modernity and rationality created national, rather than community identities, community continues to be an important construction. Community helps to form identities and is tied to memory, place and values as well as interpersonal relations.\(^{30}\) Change often causes groups to create boundaries to defend their past and their space and this has been seen in Jindabyne in certain sections of the rural community.\(^{31}\) Increasing communications and a greater infiltration of outside influences is changing the way identities in Jindabyne develop. Politics of inclusion challenge past exclusions and the insider verses outsider debate is one that continues to be fought in Jindabyne.

According to Klanicka et.al. different socio-cultural groups conceive their relationship to physical locations differently due to differing values and attachments.\(^{32}\) This helps to explain the differing social and cultural attachments to Jindabyne as a place. The different communities have differing interests and different memories attached to the same physical space. Vanclay argues that place is


\(^{30}\) Oakes. ‘Place and the Paradox of Modernity’, p.510

\(^{31}\) Oakes. ‘Place and the Paradox of Modernity’, p.526

\(^{32}\) Klanicka, et.al. ‘Locals’ and Tourists’ Sense of Place’, p.55
generally conceived as space imbedded with meaning. Physical space and historical attachment are a common thread throughout this thesis as human relationships to their locality define their attachment and the area's historical significance. Landscape, imagery and sense of belonging paint a unique picture in a diverse physical setting. Seddon argues that emotional ties to the landscape and to place are a product of the way the land is used. This idea goes to the emotional core of what this thesis is largely about. Different sections of the community use history to convey overwhelmingly an attachment to and an ownership of local spaces. Change and growth has changed the focus of the attachment and has also added layers to this. However, largely, an attachment to physical space and the way it is used dominates the use of history in the Snowy Mountains.

This thesis places itself within the literature concerning local history, oral history, place and memory. Much work has been undertaken on the use of history and why history is important in understanding place and identity within a community. This thesis takes this previous work and places it within a new case study which has not been analysed to a great deal. The use of history in a local community is a complicated and interconnected activity and in depth case studies allow greater understanding of social and cultural meanings. Using a rural case study also allows for a greater understanding of the use of history and memory in rural and regional spaces experiencing growth and change. The forces that push these changes, the way that these changes are reacted to and the way that new layers of society integrate themselves into the space are important aspects of this thesis. An example of the framework this thesis is placed within is Alistair Thomson’s ‘Anzac memories’. Thomson examines the way history is transformed into a palatable national identity. Thomson argues that selection, simplification and generalisation help to mould contradictory

---


34 George Seddon. ‘Sense of place’, (University of Western Australia Press: Nedlands, 1972), p.263
experiences into myth and legend.\textsuperscript{35} According to Thomson, memories are risky and painful and therefore are composed to fit in with what is publicly acceptable. This process leads to a heightened acceptability of public myths.\textsuperscript{36} This thesis examines the way that institutions use history to create a public perception about specific events. Griffiths argues that preservation is an important mode of appreciating the past.\textsuperscript{37} This concept is also relevant to this thesis and the way preservation of the past is used by different sections of the community.

Literature concerning local history will also be used throughout this thesis. The published literature gives a strong overview of events and ideas that shaped the character and the nature of the town, however, it does not provide a sense of why. This thesis will aim to dissect the literature as to determine why it is presented in the way that it is. The motivation behind the literature has not been widely discussed. Local history is a fragile balancing act. Incorrect or overtly biased uses of the history can impact personally upon the historian and the historian’s subjects.\textsuperscript{38} Local history is also deeply tied to the identity of a community and can help to analyse trends of economic and social changes.\textsuperscript{39} This thesis uses local history to discover the way local history can be used by competing interests. This thesis explores how dynamic the history of a small town can be and how differing interests view situations in different ways.

\textsuperscript{35} Alistair Thomson. ‘Anzac memories: Living with the legend’, (Oxford University Press Australia: Melbourne, 1994), p.12

\textsuperscript{36} Thomson. ‘Anzac memories’, p.11

\textsuperscript{37} Griffiths. ‘Hunters and collectors’, p.195


Local histories in the area have in most cases been tied to nostalgia and anecdote. Published oral histories therefore inform parts of this thesis. However, not a great deal of analytical history has been conducted in the area. Many of the published sources stand as primary accounts and emotional linkages to issues and events in the area. This allows this thesis to approach these texts at face value and discuss how they use history. Grahame Griffin argues that literature dealing with the Snowy Mountains Scheme presents overwhelmingly a positive, personal and colourful history of the Scheme.\textsuperscript{40} Criticism and analysis is rare and the myth is maintained through the stories and the unique experiences. This pattern is displayed through many of the texts dealing with the Snowy Mountains. However, criticism of other sections of the community is found readily throughout many texts. The affects of change and growth are discussed widely throughout the literature and provide insight into the area. This helps to explain how history is used to legitimise a section of the community’s place in society. By differentiating one section from another, battle lines can be drawn. Mike Hayes presents the stories of the real ‘men from Snowy River’.\textsuperscript{41} Hayes self consciously presents a personal political agenda in his oral history project. Hayes aims to keep an ideology and a way of life relevant and alive in a changing world. John Ingleson argues that the use of anecdote and personal history is to create interest and present a commentary on the human condition.\textsuperscript{42} Biographical and autobiographical history is used to show how emotion and attachment help to inform the legitimacy of a community in the Snowy Mountains.

Secondary source materials dealing with the region are also valuable. Hancock presents an early example of an environmental history of the Monaro. ‘Discovering Monaro is useful as it helps

\textsuperscript{40} Grahame Griffin. ‘Selling the Snowy: The Snowy Mountains Scheme and National Mythmaking’, \textit{Journal of Australian Studies} 27, no. 79, (2003), p.40

\textsuperscript{41} Hayes. ‘\textit{Before we’re forgotten’}.’

locate the early history of the area. John Merritt provides a valuable history of the impact of the conservation movement and the Snowy Mountains Scheme on the grazing community. Merritt provides detail from each side of the debate and the changing aspect of the town, facilitated by growth and evolution.\textsuperscript{43} George Seddon presents an environmental history on the Snowy River and the impacts of man upon the river. Seddon’s account, while emotional and personal, is told by someone outside the Snowy Mountains and therefore not tied to the area by childhood. Griffiths argues that Seddon’s approach to the river is one of discovery, following in the tradition of Hancock by outlining the physical history and approaching the river with “boyish enthusiasm”.\textsuperscript{44} Clare Miller also deals with the Snowy River, presenting a history of the Snowy River Alliance and their efforts to save the river from extinction.\textsuperscript{45} Roger Good presents a natural and cultural history of the Kosciuszko National Park and the significance of settlement in the area.\textsuperscript{46} An examination of these histories provides insight into how and why history is used in the Snowy Mountains. This use is strongly tied to identity, place and memory. This literature deals with the nature and the character of Jindabyne and the Snowy Mountains. The way the history is presented by the authors and their sources provides insight into the use of history in the region.

This thesis will ask how history is presented and examine the ways it is used by the different sections of the community. The use of history is vitally important to the rural community’s sense of identity and place. This will be discussed in chapter one.

\textsuperscript{43} Merritt. ‘Losing ground’.

\textsuperscript{44} Tom Griffiths. ‘The Man from Snowy River’, Thesis Eleven 74, no. 7, (2003), p.11, p.16

\textsuperscript{45} Claire Miller. ‘Snowy River story: The grassroots campaign to save a national icon’, (ABC Books: Sydney, 2005).

Chapter I: The rural community.

For the rural community of Jindabyne, heritage is a key part of their identity. Consisting of families who have lived in the community since the pioneering days of the area's history, the rural community still forms a strong power base in the region. This is due to these historical ties to the region as well as the emotional connection many of these inhabitants have with the land.

Furthermore, many of these farming families still hold a considerable amount of land within the Snowy River Shire. While these families have history and recognition in the area, the changing aspects of the demographics in the area as well as the changing economic structures over the past sixty years have considerably changed community relationships and attitudes in the region. Cultural heritage and memories of the past therefore are some of the few remaining ties to the town that this community have to retain their legitimacy as subdivisions split the traditional farm land up into housing estates and as the community becomes increasingly a year-round tourist destination rather than a farming community. The way that these changes have been responded to relies on history and memory as a vehicle to retain a sense of identity in the rural community. This has involved a push for historical recognition as well as political action over the years in order for the local rural community to retain political power and legitimacy in the Jindabyne region. For these reasons there are many ways that the rural community uses history to legitimise its position in the area. This chapter will discuss the way that the rural community has reacted to and dealt with the changes in Jindabyne and the Snowy Mountains. It will approach this discussion by keeping to the wider themes in the thesis including the use of history and the tensions this history has created. It will approach the idea of heritage and why it is important. It will also discuss the use of myths and memory as a tool to retain ownership over a sense of place and status in the Snowy Mountains. It will then discuss the use of monuments and memorials. This chapter will also address the issue of
displacement, focusing on the examples of the flooding of old Jindabyne and the debate concerning grazing in the National Park. This chapter will address the way that this has been a tense issue between different sections of the community. Chapter one will therefore deal with change, displacement and reactions to these changes.

On the back of fertile grazing land on the banks of the Snowy River, Jindabyne grew as a small rural community. However, many other opportunities were seen in the local area. According to Judy Young, the first incentive which saw growth in the town was the discovery of gold.\(^{47}\) Tourism was also an attraction as early as 1909 with the rich opportunities for trout fishing.\(^{48}\) It was the vision of the Australian government however which would change this region and its way of life. The Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme transformed the region. Essentially, it was the Scheme which sparked evolution and growth in the farming community and therefore the Scheme which made it vital for the rural community to bind together and transmit their sense of history and memory as to maintain and legitimate their place as the original white inhabitants. Jindabyne, as a white farming settlement, was founded in the 1820s by John and James Pendergast. Other early inhabitants included James Spencer, Stewart Ryrie and Ellen Woodhouse, names which continue to bare a resonance in the community due to the careful use and maintenance of history as well as through descendants who continue to live in the area.\(^{49}\)

Among these emerging patterns of displacement sit very real examples of modernity pushing the rural community aside for economic, cultural or political benefit. The greatest example of this relationship with other sections of the community has been the flooding of old Jindabyne and the

\(^{47}\) Judy Young. ‘Memories of old Jindabyne: A collection of newspaper articles’, (Snowy River Historical Society, 1993), p.3

\(^{48}\) Young. ‘Memories of old Jindabyne’, p.4

\(^{49}\) Young. ‘Memories of old Jindabyne’, p.2
reactions of the members of the rural community. Change and displacement of identity can occur rapidly in rural societies as old orders are replaced by new ones. The reactions to this great change speak volumes about the move and the way history is used to push a certain point of view. Oral history collected by Judy Young allows historians to gauge the opinions of those most deeply affected by the flooding of old Jindabyne. It has also allowed people’s biases to shine through, speaking to the way this section of the community use history to retain a sense of place. Much of this commentary places the original inhabitants against the Snowy Scheme in the sense that they believe it damaged their way of life. The glory of the Scheme therefore is eclipsed by the cost to residents. Siobahn McHugh argues that Jindabyne was a community that revolved around stock and only the occasional skier, fisher or bushwalker interrupted this balance. The gravity of this change was therefore staggering for both the European immigrants and the locals. New foods, languages and ideas were injected into a relatively untouched environment.

Thora Thompson felt out of place due to the changes the Snowy Scheme created. “I don’t feel like belong anymore”. Thompson also regreted the loss of a feeling of community. “It even makes me cry now”. Thora remembered always hoping that the Scheme would not go ahead. “We used to think that if they did Eucumbene and some of the smaller dams, perhaps they wouldn’t do Jindabyne, or that they might run out of money to finish the Scheme. We were optimistic”. Families were even pushed out of the region due to the inability to find suitable substitutions for the land they lost. Elyne Mitchell laments “I did not envision the vast increase in population and its

51 Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
52 Young, ‘Memories of old Jindabyne’, p.46
53 Young, ‘Memories of old Jindabyne’, p.44
54 Young, ‘Memories of old Jindabyne’, p.44
55 Young, ‘Memories of old Jindabyne’, p.6
amount of leisure”. There has also been a history of tension between the rural community and the tourism industry. Dom Rankin was young when the town was flooded and does not have the same emotional attachment to the old town. His family also moved into a nicer house which he described as heaven for his mother. Rankin rather feels a sense of anger and displacement due to the increase in population over the winter months. Resentment has grown due to the increase in noise and vandalism in recent years. The Snowy Scheme changed the cultural landscape of the town. Local girls were taken by the exotic and cultured Europeans and this changed the genetic makeup of the area. The new Australians also boosted business in local stores and spurred economic growth due to the rise in population.

It has therefore not been the decline of Jindabyne during modernisation that has caused dislocation and what Griffiths calls “a hankering for modernisation”. Rather, it has been exponential growth and evolution that has caused the tradition rural community to feel displaced. While Griffiths is speaking about Beechfield and the decline of its traditional industries, similar attitudes can be seen in Jindabyne and are a direct consequence of modernisation and change. Younger inhabitants of the old town who were not so attached to place and memory have a different point of view. Change was exciting to them and their use of memory reflects a different attitude to the older generation who had a greater sense of attachment to the old town. The history of the rural community is therefore not used to resist change. Rather it is grounded more solidly in the need to recognise the contribution of those who first settled the area and the way of life that was rapidly stripped away and changed. Neen Pendergast argues that the way people lived and the hardships they went

56 Merritt. ‘Losing ground’, p.10
57 Young. ‘Memories of old Jindabyne’, p.41
58 Young. ‘Memories of old Jindabyne’, p.43
59 McHugh. ‘The Snowy’, pp.57-58
60 Griffiths. ‘Beechworth’, p.95
through are important aspects of the past and that modern luxuries are taken advantage of.\textsuperscript{61} This is an example in which recognition of the past is used to reconcile ideas of identity in a changing world.

The grazing debate which raged between the National Park, the conservationists and the rural graziers has also been a divisive exercise throughout the region’s recent history and has played a role in shaping relationships with different and newer sections of the community. The government role in the area has increased, particularly since the establishment of the National Park which created an environmental dynamic in the Snowy Mountains. History has been used throughout this debate on both sides of the argument to legitimise opposing points of view. The use of this history has also divided opinions.

The Monaro was discovered in 1823 and by 1830 was widely settled by graziers.\textsuperscript{62} The land surrounding Sydney was distributed as official pastoral leases and the graziers who traveled to the Monaro were squatters who had traveled beyond the limits of location of the nineteen counties surrounding Sydney. Crown land was deemed wasteland so early graziers had free reign to run their livestock in the Snowy Mountains taking advantage of the fertile soil and the plentiful water supply.\textsuperscript{63} Hancock argues that the Monaro is not a scattered aggregate of humanity. Rather it is a deeply rooted society. “People in Monaro do not merely own their land, they belong to it”.\textsuperscript{64} It is this attitude that makes it easier to understand the emotional turmoil that the graziers felt when their snow leases came under threat. When the Kosciusko State Park was established in 1944, poorly

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{61} Pendergast. Interview. 30 August, 2011
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{62} Good. ‘Kosciusko heritage’, p.142
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{63} Good. ‘Kosciusko heritage’, p.142
\end{flushleft}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{64} Hancock. ‘Discovering Monaro’, p.163
\end{flushleft}
regulated grazing was capped due to the environmental degradation that had become evident.\textsuperscript{65} According to Merritt, the State Park Trust was supposed to represent the concerns of all with vested interests in the confines of the Park.\textsuperscript{66} However, by 1957 grazing had been abolished within the State Park above 45000 ft. Money delegated to the State Park by the SMA made up for the losses from abolishing the snow leases.\textsuperscript{67} Bushwalkers, most famously Miles J Dunphy had also called for the regulation of grazing as to keep the National Park in its primitive state.\textsuperscript{68} The rural community has in the past used the ban on grazing in the National Park as an important political debate. The rural community used their own history to make a stand against the government in protest to their removal from the National Park. According to Bryan Jameson, “alpine grazing belongs to a traditional Australian bush lifestyle”.\textsuperscript{69} Jameson argues that “our mountain cattlemen are the only people left who largely live their lives in the saddle as our pioneer forebears did. They represent a tradition that is truly Australian”.\textsuperscript{70} This ideal ties history and heritage to a deep sense of place, steeped in the memory of the traditional way of life. The threat of losing this ideal amounted to an identity crisis. According to local historian Elyne Mitchell, working on a snow lease was a rite of passage for farmers in the Snowy Mountains. Isolation, wild weather and being snowed in was a part of the package and it helped the stockmen develop their identity and their heritage as mythic horsemen. A sense of difference and a sense of belonging shaped their values.\textsuperscript{71} According to Merritt, the prestige of the Snowy Scheme in the national memory ensured nothing would stand in

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[{65}] Good. ‘Kosciusko heritage’, p.144
\item[{67}] Hancock. ‘\textit{Discovering Monaro},’ p.172
\item[{68}] Merritt. ‘\textit{Losing ground},’ p.41-42
\item[{69}] Bryan Jameson. ‘\textit{Movement at the station: The revolt of the mountain cattlemen},’ (William Collins Pty. Ltd.: Sydney, 1887), p.44
\item[{70}] Jameson. ‘\textit{Movement at the station},’ p. vii
\item[{71}] Merritt. ‘\textit{Losing ground},’ p.95
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
its way.\textsuperscript{72} Furthermore, Sir William Hudson, the first Commissioner of Scheme saw summer grazing and snow leases as threat to the water channels and storages.\textsuperscript{73} The appointment of Neville Gare as the first Park superintendent also changed the priorities in the region. Development of the Park as a tourist destination increased visitors to the Snowy Mountains and created a new challenge to grazing.\textsuperscript{74} The importance of the National Park, supported by conservationists also pushed the graziers out of the park. The Cooma Monaro Express argued in 1965 that “the Kosciusko State Trust is a gift from God to the people of Australia”.\textsuperscript{75} The rural community used their own history to make a stand against the government in protest to their removal from the National Park. However, changing power structures and a changing constituency in the region changed the priorities in the area. Natural heritage and economic growth was placed above the heritage and history of the grazing community. Economic and social progress essentially weakened the grazing community and their significance was swept over by change. The political savvy of their opponents and the vision for the region doomed the snow leases and stamped out the argument of heritage and precedent.\textsuperscript{76} History was used to save their snow leases and it failed. History is now used to remember.

It is examples such as these that have created tension in the rural community as they have deemed this as an attack on their heritage. Heritage originally referred to the ancestral lot of a family which was passed down from generation to generation as to retain a personal form of legacy. Later, as states formed and fought for wider political legitimacy, national heritage became an important model to bind populations and create defining features. In Australia these included the ‘bush legend

\textsuperscript{72} Merritt. ‘Losing ground’, p.59

\textsuperscript{73} Maura O’Connor. ‘Mapping Australia’s transhumance: Snow lease and stock route maps of NSW’, \textit{The Globe}, No. 56, (2004), p.16

\textsuperscript{74} Merritt. ‘Losing ground’, p.100

\textsuperscript{75} Merritt. ‘Losing ground’, p.102

\textsuperscript{76} Merritt. ‘Losing ground’, p.114
and the ‘pioneer legend’ as well as the idea of ANZAC. According to David Lowenthal, heritage is a reaction to how rapidly things change in modern society and the aspect of human nature which clings to the past, the defining features of a bygone time and place. It provides an important sense of place and purpose to those who have been pushed aside by evolution and change. Pierre Nora argues that memory is important because it is no longer tangible. Compared to history, Nora argues that memory is personal while history is sterile and incomplete. Memory substitutes for a lost past. History and heritage allow people to relate to their past and hark back to a better time, whether it was better or not. Graeme Davidson argues that heritage is a political concept and asserts public interest in private constructions.

History has been used as a tool to transmit the importance of heritage throughout the Snowy Mountains as to assert the ideals of the pioneer legend and the trailblazing ways of early settlers. Trisha Dixon’s ‘Monaro Country’ illustrates the early Monaro through pencil drawings and a visitation of early architectural design in the Monaro. The book ties early farming families to architectural landmarks and early buildings, highlighting the importance and relevance of the ancestral backgrounds of people in the area. The treatment of Cottage Creek Cemetery is particularly reminiscent of this point. Cottage Creek Cemetery is a memorial and the resting place of what Dixon calls “perhaps the earliest grazing family”, the Pendergasts. Myth and legend are used to proclaim that Strzelecki, the first European explorer to climb Mt Kosciuszko, encountered the Pendergast’s hut and that they pointed out the highest peak to him. The accuracy of this

---


78 Davidson. ‘The meanings of ‘heritage”, p.4


80 Davidson. ‘The meanings of ‘heritage”, p.7


82 Dixon. ‘Monaro Country’, p.18
anecdote is not the question this thesis aims to approach, more it is why this anecdote is told.

Dixon’s approach towards the local heritage aims to provide a history which reaches back further than the Snowy Scheme and speaks to the Monaro region and its pioneer settlement. Keeping the history of the early settlement alive gives legitimacy to the early settlers and their descendants. This shows that landmarks are important historical tools in the area which tie families back to the pioneering days and place a family firmly within the structure of the region’s history and development. It also retains a physical reminder of traditional values and ideals that were largely lost when the Snowy River was dammed and old Jindabyne was flooded by the Snowy Mountains Authority. Myths and legends are also important in order to keep living links to the past relevant and contemporary.

The way in which we understand the past relies on the way we conceive and interpret memory. Myths and legends are therefore a link to a shared heritage and help to develop what Elizabeth Tonkin refers to as a ‘social model’. Tonkin argues that social models are the maps directing society and the process that society is based upon, incorporating ‘groups’, ‘institutions’ and the structures that modify these. Tonkin calls upon memory and the oral representations of the past as important constructions which inform the direction of society. Jean Peneff argues that myths help to frame and to immortalise personal life stories and link personal experience with the past. It is within this framing of the past in which ‘The Man From Snowy River’ has become a unifying link to the past for the rural community in the Snowy Mountains. The poem pays homage to the men of Snowy River and their way of life in steep, rough terrain:

---


84 Tonkin. ‘History and the myth of realism’, p.25

“He hails from Snowy River, up by Kosciuszko’s side,
Where the hills are twice as steep and twice as rough;
Where a horse’s hoof strikes firelight from the flint stones every stride,
The man that holds his own is good enough.”

‘The Man From Snowy River’ is a poem by Banjo Paterson which describes the heroism of a hearty, skilled mountain horseman in the rugged terrain of Australia’s high country, battling with the elements to muster a wily herd of brumbies in which a prized, expensive horse belonging to a wealthy stockman had escaped with. Paterson paints a picture of wild, rough terrain and even tougher stockmen:

“The wild hop scrub grew thickly and the hidden ground was full
Of wombat holes, and any trip was death.
But the man from Snowy River let the pony have his head,
And he swung his stockwhip round and gave a cheer,
And he raced him down the mountain like a torrent down its bed,
While the others stood and watched in very fear”.87

‘The man from Snowy River’ first appeared in The Bulletin in 1890 and exemplified aspects of the bush legend and the pioneer legend.88 The myth serves a purpose as a local take on the bush legend. The ‘bush legend’, as exemplified by Russell Ward, promotes a set of core Australian values which

---

86 A.B Paterson. ‘The man from Snowy River’, The Bulletin, 26 April, 1890
87 Paterson. ‘The man from Snowy River’, The Bulletin, 26 April, 1890
88 Hayes. ‘Before we’re forgotten’, p.5
praised mateship, egalitarianism, adaptability and collectivist morality.\textsuperscript{89} Ward had sought these values within the character of early bush workers but also saw a revival of these in the 1890s within the union movement and in the \textit{The Bulletin}. Furthermore, these attitudes exemplify even further what Hirst calls the pioneer legend. According to Hirst, the pioneer legend is conservative in its implications, exemplifying the individual, providing a classless analysis of the past and tying modern society to a greater, nationalist history.\textsuperscript{90} It is this focus on the individual which sets Hirst’s ‘pioneer legend’ at odds with Ward’s ‘bush legend’. Individual achievement is placed above the idea of collectivist action which is venerated by the union movement. Pioneers are determined by their ability to perceiver, to command their environment and the way this experience instilled courage and enterprise in the early Australian settlers.\textsuperscript{91} Mike Hayes marries these two ideologies when approaching the Snowy Mountains. Hayes argues that while ‘The Man from Snowy River’ is a celebration of individual achievement and expression which resonates through the grazing community, the mountain people have always been a part of a close knit and unique community.\textsuperscript{92} Poetry has helped resonate with the anecdotes passed down through generations of mountain graziers. This has helped strengthen the rural communities ties to the mountains and to the idea of being Australian.\textsuperscript{93} History is used by the rural community to help retain legitimacy and identity as well as to retain a voice and a presence in the region. While the accuracy of the poem and the use of the myth remains questionable, the emotional attachment is strikingly important.\textsuperscript{94}

\textsuperscript{89} Richard Waterhouse. ‘\textit{The vision splendid: A social and cultural history of rural Australia’}, (Curtin University Books: Fremantle, 2005), p.163

\textsuperscript{90} John Hirst. ‘The pioneer legend’ \textit{Historical studies} 18, No. 71, (1978), p.316

\textsuperscript{91} Hirst. ‘The pioneer legend’ p.316

\textsuperscript{92} Hayes. ‘Before we’re forgotten’, p.x

\textsuperscript{93} Merritt. ‘Losing ground’, p.123

\textsuperscript{94} Seddon. ‘\textit{Searching for the Snowy}, p.xxi
The myth of the ‘The man from Snowy River’ has been deeply rooted into the history of the local rural community and is an overt way in which history is used as a tool to bind the history of the rural community to the region and to social and cultural legitimacy. Jindabyne resident James Spencer, according to Salmon, was one of Paterson’s men from Snowy River, having become friends in the 1850s when Paterson would visit Jindabyne. The man from Snowy River remains a very important idea and story across the Snowy Mountains and in Jindabyne. Links to Paterson through early settlers such as Spencer help to solidify this myth, whether or not the story was true. This history and this myth are used to tie people to the area and to the values of the pioneer. While the poem was born out of reality, it was Banjo Paterson's imagery which would give birth to the legend of the high country. The poem also evokes a sense of deep nostalgia to those in the rural community. It speaks to the way they related to the land by tying natural terrain to the skills of the stockmen.

Tom Barry argues that poetry and anecdote are far more valuable than academic history as they speak to who we are and how we feel. It ties people to their own culture, history and place. Neen Pendergast takes this idea further. Neen, when asked about the myth replied “it’s not a myth, it is based on living people.” The emotional value of the myth speaks to the identity of a community and it becomes clear why this myth is used and viewed as a sacred text. Paterson published an article in the Sydney Mail in 1938 arguing that the Man from Snowy River was in fact a character, based on those who lived a similar lifestyle. The poem recognizes and immortalises the stockmen of the Snowy Mountains. The Man From Snowy River as a myth is spread through Jindabyne’s veins.

95 Salmon. ‘Jindabyne’. p.29
96 Hayes. ‘Before we’re forgotten’, p.1
97 Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
99 Dixon. ‘The man from Snowy River’, p.23
This can be seen through street names, names of hotels and through the memories of the rural community. It is an important myth linking the rural community to the past and is therefore used greatly to legitimise their position in society. The pioneer legend is something that there is a deep rooted belief in throughout Jindabyne and the use of this myth serves a purpose larger than keeping the spirit of the high country relevant. The stories of tough times, hard work and a strong relationship with the land has been retained through the use of history.

‘The Man From Snowy River’ is used as a tool to retain cultural legitimacy. Awards, names of establishments, advertising and festivals in the area celebrate the poem and its legacy as well as celebrating Banjo Paterson. Included in these rituals is the ‘The man from Snowy River’ award. This award was first conceived at a Pendergast family reunion and was aided by teacher Robyn Salmon who pushed for the Banjo Paterson festival to be established as to promote cultural awareness to her students.\(^{100}\) The award recognises leadership, hard work and the abilities of true stockmen holding the values and attributes that were shown in the poem based on local values. The Stripling award was also awarded to young locals who “were most likely to uphold the traditions and traits in the future”.\(^{101}\) Mike Hayes’ ‘Before we’re forgotten’ justifies these awards by telling the stories of the award winners, keeping the local heritage alive at a time where change challenged the traditional order and at a time where many of the award winners did not have a great deal of time left in this life. Hayes’ treatment of the award winners highlights their links to High Country values and their unique way of life. Biography and oral history tells the story of men and women of the area. Themes including driving cattle through rough terrain, battling the elements and camaraderie tied to rugged individualism turn stories of ordinary men and everyday life into legends.\(^{102}\) Anecdotes bring the stories closer to the reader and highlight the skill of grazing in

\(^{100}\) Hayes. ‘Before we’re forgotten’, p.18

\(^{101}\) Hayes. ‘Before we’re forgotten’, p.21

\(^{102}\) Hayes. ‘Before we’re forgotten’, p.85
rough country: “The mountain stockmen were masters of the art of perfect timing”, they knew when
to leave with heavy weather and snow closing in.” 103 Familiar names and faces are also used:
“Dickie Power exemplified the Aussie battler”. 104 The Man from Snowy River Festival is another
important way that history is used to retain a sense of identity and a sense of authenticity, linking
the rural community to their local heritage. The festival presents a rural lifestyle and includes poetry
workshops, riding competitions and rural demonstrations, connecting visitors and graziers to local
heritage. 105 This history is used to commemorate, remember and retain mountain values and
heritage and to legitimate the rural community’s contributions and position in society. The families
remain present in the area. This history retains their sense of place and belonging. It keeps them
grounded in the area in the face of change.

Memorials and monuments have also been important ways in which history has been used as a tool
to legitimise the rural farming community and their ancestors. The Snowy River Shire’s local
governmental road naming policy states that local history is an important aspect to consider in the
naming of roads. Eminent persons, and names important to the historical and cultural character of
the area are set out in the guidelines of the policy document as important items to consider when
naming roads in the area. 106 This has led to street names including Banjo Paterson Drive which
recognise the heritage of the rural grazing community and help to legitimise their position in
society. While important historical events for other sections of the community can also be used, the
contribution of the rural community can be seen through the names of roads including The Barry
Way which was named after Leo Barry, Tom Barry’s father. According to Seddon, Barry was
recognised for his long advocacy of the Snowy Scheme, his awarding of the Order of the British

103 Hayes. ‘Before we’re forgotten’, p.72
104 Hayes. ‘Before we’re forgotten’, p.25
105 Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
106 Snowy River Shire Council. ‘Policy Title: Road Naming’, 18 April, 2006.
Empire and his 20 year presidency of the Snowy River Shire Council. This recognition keeps the names, stories and contributions of the rural community alive in the modern town.

History has been used by the rural community to retain a sense of legitimacy and identity. Hayes argues that in a changing world dominated by American popular culture, local dialects and ideas were being lost. This anxiety is reflected by Tom Barry. Barry argues that due to increasing amounts of cross cultural interaction, globalisation and communication technology has changed the way communities develop and interact. Joshua Meyrowitz argues that we live in ‘glocalities’ and that electronic communication has led to dislocation between physical and social space. This phenomenon has led to a change in the way social identities develop and how people relate to local and global events and interactions. Therefore a sense of individualism and uniqueness is under threat. Barry believes that “we’ve lost the characters”, the people that were products of their isolation and their area. The rural community believe history is a way to maintain the individual cultures that are every changing. Hayes reflects that the most common sentiment from taking oral history was that the rural community wanted their stories told before they were forgotten. Physical space continues to be the important in the way memories are created and the way attachment to place is formed. Everything we experience is through our bodies and we continue to depend on specific locality. For this reason, local history continues to be an important marker of the formation of identity in the modern world and history is used to maintain these bonds with where we came from. These sentiments reflect those of historian K.N. Panikkar who argues that

107 Seddon. ‘Searching for the Snowy’, p.156-157
108 Hayes. ‘Before we’re forgotten’, p.xi
110 Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
111 Hayes. ‘Before we’re forgotten’, p.xi
112 Meyrowitz, ‘The rise of glocality’, p.25
local histories must be used to resist globalisation which has a tendency to “fossilise cultures”.\textsuperscript{113} Sources for writing local history and widespread interest are few and far between. However, the recording and the maintenance of local cultures using among other methodologies, oral history, helps to maintain identity as well as community ideals in a changing world.\textsuperscript{114}

This chapter has argued that the ancestors of the original graziers of the Snowy Mountains, the pioneers, have dealt with a sense of displacement as Jindabyne has changed and evolved. These changes have seen a community change and evolve and this will become clear throughout the next three chapters. This chapter has dealt with the way that the farming community and those sympathetic to their cause have responded to change. This change has been largely responded to through the promotion, understanding and the recognition of the importance of local heritage. The rural community in Jindabyne continue to play an important role in the different levels of community interaction including in local government, wider regional politics, in lobbying and as active members of the community. History is used to define their relationship to the local history and environment and this contribution is recognised throughout the society. This recognition has been in the form of memorials, awards, festivals and initiatives aimed at keeping their history alive. History has been used as a reactionary response to change and evolution as much as it has been used to recognise the past. The rural community were the key to early growth and development of Jindabyne but the arrival of the Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme would change the way the town functioned and would result in exponential growth and an overhaul of a way of life.

\textsuperscript{113} Anonymous. ‘Writing local histories must be promoted: Panikkar’, \textit{The Hindu}, 16 February, 2007, p.3  
\textsuperscript{114} Anonymous. ‘Writing local histories must be promoted: Panikkar’, \textit{The Hindu}, 16 February, 2007, p.3
Chapter II: The Snowy Mountains Hydro Electric Scheme.

The national myth surrounding the construction of the Snowy Mountains Scheme is impressive. The Snowy Scheme is lauded in the history books as a critically important feat of engineering.\textsuperscript{115} The Commonwealth, New South Wales and Victorian governments built the Scheme to secure water and electricity supplies for the growing cities and Murray River irrigators. The Scheme was also used to present Australia as a nation of vision and innovation. A global workforce, largely European, was recruited to complete the task, developing the national character of multiculturalism and humanitarianism: the workforce was built of refugees who had fled Europe after World War II.\textsuperscript{116} The Snowy Scheme represented a way of life for those who were employed by it and represented great change for those who were in its path. Chapter two will discuss the way that Snowy Hydro use history to continue a legacy of importance in the region. This legitimacy is tied to innovation, nation building, national pride and a strong sense of inclusion and multiculturalism. The reality of the project and different historical interpretations will be considered to challenge these assertions. The legacy of the workers on the scheme as well as approaching the importance of the contributions by ‘new Australians’ and how this history is used to make them a part of Australian history will also be discussed. Finally, the sale of Snowy Hydro and environmental concerns will be considered. Harsh judgements by the public and government and a challenge to the use of history, as well as the need to continue economic sustainability have recently seen a move by Snowy Hydro to move beyond the use of history. This development will be discussed and will help to characterise the way Snowy Hydro interact with other sections of the community.


\textsuperscript{116} Lewis. Balderstone. Bowan. ‘Events that shaped Australia’, p.194
The beginning of the Snowy Scheme is an issue in which members of the different communities in Jindabyne agree changed the area most significantly.117 ‘The Jindabyne saga’ is an important primary document published at the time of the flooding of old Jindabyne and is a testament to the way Snowy Hydro continue to use history to legitimise their actions and justify the changes they created in the area. ‘The Jindabyne saga’ is a tribute to old Jindabyne, published by the Cooma Monaro Express. The publication, widely supportive of and sponsored by the Snowy Mountains Authority grounds history in a shared past. It remembers this past while at the same time, promotes the benefits of the future. It uses history to legitimise the flooding of Jindabyne. It essentially offers a tribute to the past and to the old town while encouraging readers not to feel guilty about the future. Memories of the past are juxtaposed against the opportunities that the scheme will provide. Articles such as ‘Village becomes a town’ and ‘Cosmopolitan crossroads’ recognise the past but are firmly steeped in the future.118 ‘The Jindabyne saga’ is therefore a goodbye. It is a recognition of the history to help persuade the public to embrace the future.

The Snowy Hydro visitor’s centre or the ‘Discovery Centre’ is a continuance of this legacy. It ties together local history with the Scheme’s own history to place itself as a natural part of the community. The Discovery Centre contains displays which tie the rural, engineering, environmental and tourism communities together while highlighting Snowy Hydro’s contribution to them: “The development of the lakes, roads, bridges and other infrastructure for the Snowy Mountains Scheme had a major impact on local communities, an impact that continues to bring positive benefits to residents and visitors.” Another display features one of Thredbo’s founders, Tony Sponar. The


118 Cooma Monaro Express. The Jindabyne Saga: 1837-1967, Supplement to the Cooma Monaro Express, April 21, 1967, pp.16-17
display presents Sponar as a European employee of the Snowy Mountains Authority and discusses Sponar’s contribution to Australian skiing. Sponar, who will be discussed in more depth in chapter four, worked on the Snowy Mountains Scheme as a hydrographer, beginning in 1953.119 Personal biography is used for interest and to tie the early Snowy Mountains Authority to the development of tourism in the region and to put a familiar face to the vast network of dams, generators, turbines and pipelines. The contribution to Australian culture is also used in the display very selectively as to ensure familiarity and simple recognition without dispute. This is achieved by displaying food culture being a cultural contribution by the ‘new Australians’. Similarly, the idea of a cultural melting pot is exhibited with old enemies working alongside each other. This centre is not expected to present a balanced view of the Scheme, however, it provides a strong insight into the way Snowy Hydro use history to legitimise their position in the Snowy Mountains. Displays of the Scheme’s history are dotted around the region and museums and exhibitions highlight the importance of the Snowy Scheme. There is a row of flags in Cooma which represent each nationality that contributed to the Scheme. There is also a memorial forest in Jindabyne with a tree for each nationality that contributed to the scheme.120 These monuments, while quaint, remind locals as well as tourists about the presence of the Snowy Scheme and Snowy Hydro in the area and the contribution the Scheme made to growth and development in the area.

Beyond monuments and displays however, Snowy Hydro’s legitimacy is achieved through larger branches of public relations including published accounts of the history of the Scheme directly linked to the company. Sponsored histories of the Scheme are a way that Snowy Hydro use history to keep the myth of the Snowy Mountains Scheme alive. These sponsored histories also emphasise the importance of the Snowy Scheme in developing the region, building roads, towns and

expanding the population and opportunities in the region. These published accounts also paint the Snowy Mountains Scheme in a very positive light. Robert Raymond’s, ‘A vision for Australia’ presents the Snowy Mountains Scheme in a way that is very close to a 176 page advertisement for Snowy Hydro. The book, which was commissioned by Snowy Hydro and sponsored by Thiess, Toyota, Ricegrowers Co-operative Limited, The Commonwealth Bank, Murray Irrigation Limited, Great Southern Energy and the White Pages commemorates the first fifty years of the Scheme. Raymond’s account is overwhelmingly positive, highlighting the benefits to all who worked on the Scheme. Pay much better than anywhere else in Australia was offered. Alongside this, it is alluded to that an amount of European immigrants working on the Scheme had come from living in conditions “not far removed from feudal times”. National development is also touted. The Scheme changed the cultural skyline, added to the economy, spent their money in local areas, helping build up local economy. The men were extremely hard working, tough, and employed in dangerous conditions, these being compared to the battlefields of Europe. Raymond utilises lines from ‘The man from Snowy River’ to tie the scheme to the grazing community and the local landscape, tying the local legend to a wider sense of national pride: “The 100,000 men and women who worked on the scheme have moved on, like the melting snows of the 50 winters that have passed since the vanguard of that army pushed into the wilderness. But in the high valleys their spirit still lingers, and across the misty ridges come faintly the echoes of their historic labors”. The photos in ‘A vision for Australia’ are as biased as the prose. Pristine photographs of

122 Raymond. ‘A vision for Australia’ p.60
123 Raymond. ‘A vision for Australia’ p.60
124 Raymond. ‘A vision for Australia’ p.61
125 Raymond. ‘A vision for Australia’ p.51
126 Raymond. ‘A vision for Australia’, p.160
127 Raymond. ‘A vision for Australia’, p.169
rivers and dams, unspoiled, snow capped mountains, tranquil mountain meadows and mountain views alongside photos of manmade-marvels; of the mighty tunnels and the battle-hardened men of the Snowy working hard and enjoying their new home. These are presented alongside images of Australians picking fresh fruit, skiing, learning about clean energy and maintaining the infrastructure all thanks to the corporate managers who are shown in their high tech offices running the project.\textsuperscript{128} The photographs are largely utilitarian and present a vision of innovation. This use of history presents the way that Snowy Hydro use their history to maintain the legacy and legitimacy of the Snowy Mountains Scheme. The Snowy Scheme is presented as environmentally sound and a triumph of man over nature. Rivers are flowing, trees are green and meadows are plentiful. This account ignores criticism and debate by presenting an extremely positive and historical achievement and a clean energy outcome. It is a celebration of the Scheme that uses history to mythicise the role of Snowy Hydro and the Snowy Mountains Scheme. Tim Flannery argues that as these accounts were being published and documentaries were being aired celebrating fifty years since the Scheme began, the environmental catastrophe was becoming clearer. Flannery recognises why the Scheme was built but maintains that it was unsustainable and has resulted in the problem of salination.\textsuperscript{129} Raymond’s sponsored history and much of Snowy Hydro’s use of history is an example of public myth making. Uncomfortable memories are hidden and the history is composed, generalised and simplified in a similar way to the way the Anzac legend operates.\textsuperscript{130} Seddon reflects this argument by comment on the death rate and the ecological affects. Seddon compares the Snowy Scheme to Gallipoli, “the other great human sacrifice”.\textsuperscript{131} According to Seddon “we live by myth.”\textsuperscript{132} Snowy Hydro use the history of the Scheme to maintain the myth presented to the public throughout the

\textsuperscript{128} Raymond. ‘\textit{A vision for Australia}', for example, see p.143


\textsuperscript{130} Thomson. ‘\textit{Anzac memories}', p.301

\textsuperscript{131} Seddon. ‘\textit{Searching for the Snowy}', p.xxiii

\textsuperscript{132} Seddon. ‘\textit{Searching for the Snowy}', p.xxiii
1950s and 1960s. Tony Sponar remembers busloads of tourists viewing the Scheme to improve public opinion. Hudson’s public relations tactics are seen widely throughout this account. The copy being used for this thesis was donated to the University of Sydney by Snowy Hydro, showing that the company use history to maintain a positive image and to maintain the legacy of its contribution to modern Australia. The Snowy Mountains Scheme caused irreparable damage to the environment and significantly changed the way of life of the people involved in its construction and those who were in the way of its construction. Positive histories of the Scheme help it to retain its mythical status and to legitimate its existence despite the negative affects it has created.

The role of anecdote and memory within the workers on the scheme and those who write about them has been important as to keep the Snowy Mountains Scheme interesting and relevant to audiences who are not intrigued by the engineering and technical feats. Social history has played an important role in keeping the Scheme alive and history is used to remember those who served on the Scheme. Using the history of the Scheme also helps to reaffirm ideals of the Australian legend and acceptance of new migrants in an increasingly multicultural society. The contributions to multiculturalism are widely accepted throughout the literature. According to Siobahn McHugh, immigrants outnumbered Australians working on the Snowy Mountains Scheme. Celebration is a key tone throughout personal accounts and oral histories of the Snowy Scheme. Brad Collis celebrates the ideas, the efforts and the fact that a vanquished Polish soldier, a former Luftwaffe pilot and an Australian infantryman can work and live side by side in a testament to social resilience.

\[\text{References}\]

133 Sponar. ‘Snow in Australia? That’s news to me’, p.173

134 Flannery. ‘Beautiful lies’, p.221

135 McHugh. ‘The Snowy’, p.20

136 Collis. ‘Snowy’, p.9
The use of this multicultural history of opportunity and acceptance feeds the nationalist myth of the Scheme and pays tribute to the efforts of the workers and their histories. It also immortalises the workers and their efforts. Accounts which promote personal accounts of the Scheme and accounts that rely on biography and anecdote serve a great purpose within the use of history as they put a human face to the scheme and help to solidify the myths and the significance of the project. They also put a non-public relations slant on the Scheme and help to maintain the culture created during the construction. Siobahn McHugh justifies her account of the Scheme as an attempt to tell the stories of the men and women who worked on the massive engineering project. At first McHugh did not take to the idea of writing a history of the Snowy Scheme: “I do not thrill at the sight of a giant turbine”. However, the human side of the story including the hard work and the positivity felt after WWII drove her enthusiasm.\footnote{McHugh. ‘The Snowy’, p.6} While the Snowy Scheme presents a proud multicultural history and while this history justifiably contributed to an opening of Australian society, commentators continue to argue that the Scheme and the population growth was based on a fear of Asia. Flannery argues that the Snowy Scheme was based on the attitude that Australia needed to populate or perish.\footnote{Flannery. ‘Beautiful lies’, p.222} Negative connotations within history are used to place historians in opposition to the Scheme highlighting the selectivity of history and the difficulty of writing a non-biased history. The extent of the human cost is also glossed over throughout official histories. Commemorative plaques recognise the sacrifices made during the Scheme. However, commemorations often do not give a true picture of the gruesome nature of large scale engineering projects. Brad Collis argues that the real reason men stayed in the tunnels was money, despite seeing their workmates killed on many occasions.\footnote{Collis. ‘Snowy’, p.170}
Anecdotes and oral histories tell more in depth and personal stories and tie the link between the official line and the human cost. Oral history is used to keep the stories alive and legitimise and commemorate the sacrifices as opposed to simply maintaining a company line to continue to receive community support and therefore continue to operate and profit. However, Grahame Griffin argues that there have been few analytical approaches towards the Snowy Scheme and this has resulted in a lack of detached treatment of each aspect of the Scheme. In place of this there has been the largely celebratory accounts which tend to limit themselves to the questionable death toll of 121 and the trials of lonely single men.\textsuperscript{140} McHugh does present a more balanced version giving a wider picture of the negative aspects.

McHugh details the different ways men were killed including deaths by vehicle accidents, falls, and being crushed by concrete.\textsuperscript{141} Brawls, suicide and prostitution also plagued the Scheme.\textsuperscript{142} The literature deals with these events. However, these issues take the backseat to anecdote and a good story. The tough conditions and the difficult labour are presented as triumphs of humanity as well as celebration of the workers. This, according to Griffin, is an example of a unified myth that is celebrated for its human aspect rather than its utilitarian appeal promoted by Commissioner Sir William Hudson in the 1950s and 1960s. Trends towards multiculturalism and social and cultural history as well as a renewed interest in the Scheme have solidified this as Snowy Hydro continue to defend their legacy and legitimacy in the Snowy Mountains. Seddon argues that the success of Snowy Hydro in appealing to the public and its dominance of sources dealing with its activities.\textsuperscript{143} The celebratory accounts dealing with the workers and promoting the myths are testament to this claim. Seddon however, argues that these sources do not ask the hard questions about the Scheme.

\textsuperscript{140} Griffin. ‘Selling the Snowy: The Snowy Mountains Scheme and National Mythmaking’, p.40
\textsuperscript{141} McHugh. ‘The Snowy’, p.238-239
\textsuperscript{142} McHugh. ‘The Snowy’, p.179-180, p.182; Collis. ‘Snowy’, p.106
\textsuperscript{143} Seddon, ‘Searching for the Snowy’, p.25
They are the product of a tradition of myth making and national pride alongside real achievements that workers and admirers have recognised over time.\textsuperscript{144}

The proposed sale of Snowy Hydro has also been an important issue in recent years. The graziers who had lost their heritage in place of this feat, once again saw a piece of their heritage being stripped away. Tom Barry argues that that the emotional attachment to the Scheme was developed in the way it was sold to the public. Barry recalls a verse which exemplifies this view:

\begin{quote}
“Blow down the mountain
build you a dam.
Bigger and better
than old Uncle Sam.”\textsuperscript{145}
\end{quote}

The national pride and nation building ethos attached to the Snowy Scheme brought an emotional attachment to those affected by it most personally. To see the project that changed their way of life being sold away was seen as an attack on the community as well as an attack on the heritage value of the scheme. Merritt characterises the sale as the final desecration of the grazier’s heritage.\textsuperscript{146} The early stages of the Scheme are tied to the grazier community through the battle about grazing in the national park and also through Leo Barry’s efforts to initiate the Scheme. President of the Snowy River Shire, Barry released and promoted a pamphlet entitled ‘The Snowy River: Why it should be harnessed in the interest of Australia’.\textsuperscript{147} The overall outcome of the Scheme bears little

\begin{footnotes}
\item[144] Seddon, ‘Searching for the Snowy’, p.26
\item[145] Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
\item[146] Merritt. ‘Losing ground’, p. 119
\item[147] Leo Barry. E,F, Trist. J, Heel. ‘The Snowy River: Why it should be harnessed in the interest of Australia’,(The Snowy River Hydro Electric Development League, 12 October, 1941).
\end{footnotes}
resemblance to the final product. In fact, the graziers offered considerable opposition to the end of their snow leases arguing there was not enough rain in the mountains to supply the Scheme.\(^{148}\)

However, the close working relationship Barry had with Hudson, however fiery, was an important aspect of the graziers and the Scheme working together. Leo Barry worked closely with Commissioner Hudson in his role as Shire President and things got done, above or below the table.\(^{149}\) Tom Barry also bares great respect for Hudson as a leader and as someone who commanded loyalty.\(^{150}\) Leo Barry’s contribution was recognised when he turned on the first pump.\(^{151}\) Barry’s role in the completion of the link road between Suggan Buggan and Jacobs River in collaboration with the Scheme is also commemorated by a plaque.\(^{152}\) While the Scheme changed the area, the grazing community hold the Scheme which changed their lies as a part of their history. The sale of the Scheme would further remove their past from relevance.

Snowy Hydro however, responded to these claims by looking forward rather than backward. Roger Whitby, the Executive Officer of trading at Snowy Hydro warned the public to “not be misled by opinions of a few that reflect an era that is well past”.\(^{153}\) As opposed to using history, Snowy Hydro use their future direction and profitability as a defense against those evoking the historical ties to the region. The argument for privatisation by Snowy Hydro is available as a document under media releases on the Snowy Hydro web page.\(^{154}\) The availability of the company position allows Snowy Hydro to dispute the claims against it without presenting the other side of the story to those who

\(^{148}\) Collis. ‘Snowy’, p.82

\(^{149}\) Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011; Merritt, ‘Losing ground’, p.122

\(^{150}\) Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.

\(^{151}\) Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.

\(^{152}\) Seddon. ‘Searching for the Snowy’, p.157


\(^{154}\) Snowy Hydro Webpage.
seek the debate via the website. Snowy Hydro posted letters in support of the sale while defending themselves against the claims of those who wished to retain Snowy Hydro in government control. Increasing corporate activity and control had made economic growth a priority over all else.

The importance of retaining the scheme has been characterised by international media as the campaign of “fractious farmers and petulant politicians”. The London Financial Times also quip that the Scheme was largely built by migrant labour, a fact that will further annoy international investors that have been blocked by a populist push to keep it in Australian hands. Commentary by those wishing to sell the Scheme and those in support tend to push the history aside or make light of it. Janet Albrechtsen of The Australian argues that the failure to sell Snowy Hydro would result in it being condemned to the national history books. According to Alberchsen: “Snowy Hydro is now truly a national icon: it symbolises the folly of allowing emotion to bushwhack rational economic decisions”. The use of history by those who defended the ownership of Snowy Hydro and the decision by John Howard to pull federal support to the project showed that nostalgia and heritage could be used for political gain. Albrechtton however characterised the vocal minority who protested against the sale as “assorted luvvies” and argues that the victory had been won through “sentimental jottings”. Owen Magee is one of these so called “assorted luvvies” who holds highly a personal bond with the Snowy Scheme. As a worker it shaped his early adult life and created memories he believes are a part of the national story. Magee argues of the sale: “This will leave our grandchildren free to look through a barbed-wire fence at yet another sacred site that

159 Albrechtsen. ‘Reason sunk in a torrent of emotion’, The Australian, 7 June 2006, p.14
should have been their heritage”. Magee’s argument is driven by nostalgia, memory and pride. Magee remembers the friends he made on the Scheme and the characters that built it including Alex Loutkovsky who fought with the Tsarist Calvery in World War I. Magee also uses stories of construction including tipped machinery and rescue operations to personalise the experience. Heritage and memory are used to tie the Scheme to national pride, personal experience and Australia’s cultural and social heritage in an aim to protect the Scheme from falling into the hands of big business.

Opposition to the government ownership of the Scheme emerged as early as the 1980s. David Clark argues that the Scheme was a waste of money built around myths and the folly of nation building. Clark questions the idea of whether the Snowy as a monument is worth more than the Snowy as a viable project. Clark is highly biased against the project citing issues as disconnected as a failure to teach English to the “doggerel” of the selling of the Scheme to the un-sustainability of the project. Clark goes as far as to compare the scheme to a project of Soviet totalitarianism. Emotions about the Scheme’s place in history have therefore been high and the heritage value of the Scheme has been challenged widely by economic rationalists.

Other sections of the community have their disagreements with the role of Snowy Hydro in the area, especially since it has become a more corporate operation. Dave Woods argues that Snowy Hydro in the past would allow lecture tours of the sites and a more open dialogue with the public.

---

161 Magee, ‘Building and selling the Snowy’, p.24
162 Magee. ‘Building and selling the Snowy’, p.25
163 Magee. ‘Building and selling the Snowy’, p.26
However, the education program is becoming far more rigid and regulated and therefore reliant on their visitor’s centre which contains material which aims to strongly legitimise the Scheme. Tom Barry believes history is becoming less important to the group as they move forward and as attitudes change. The role of history has downsized compared the role of innovation and legitimacy. According to Terry Charlten, CEO and managing director of Snowy Hydro: “The history of the Snowy Scheme must be kept as a living story but this can only be done by giving new life, new purpose and meaning”. This change can be seen in the way Snowy Hydro market themselves throughout brochures, advertisements and newsletters. This shift has been characteristic of Snowy Hydro as environmental criticism has mounted. Rather than rely on solely the history of the Scheme, Snowy Hydro has widened their scope, promoting an excessively positive role in the community. This can be seen through the sponsorship of the Snowy Hydro Southcare helicopter, sponsorship of community festivals and events and the appearance of playing a positive, viable role within the community through education and training initiatives. Snowy Hydro also promote their record of soil rehabilitation and present an historic relationship with the National Park and ski resorts to show they are good local citizens. The distribution to the entire community of a dvd is an important aspect of public relations. The DVD presents a positive image of the company and encourages the community to better understand the “tremendous job” the employees do. The video is presented by familiar face Steve Liebmann of Channel Nine and aims to encourage community discussion. These aspects of Snowy Hydro show that the myth has been well established and is represented throughout sponsored efforts and other sections of the Scheme’s

166 Woods, Interview, 29 August, 2011.
167 Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
169 Snowy Hydro. ‘Keeping the information flowing’ pamphlet, Cooma, 2011.
170 Snowy Hydro. ‘Snowy Hydro news’, 15 June, 2011
171 Snowy Hydro. ‘Community DVD – the Scheme, the Company, the Future’, 17 March, 2008.
172 Snowy Hydro. ‘Community DVD – the Scheme, the Company, the Future’, 17 March, 2008.
history. Moves to divert attention from the negative aspects of the Scheme reflect a diversification of Public Relations management.

The Public Relations unit at Snowy Hydro show a pattern of reporting positive community input and the potential for growth. It seems the time for displaying the role of history as a legitimising factor may have passed for the corporate wing of the Scheme. However, the role of the history that has been promoted over and over in the past shows that history helped Snowy Hydro remain relevant and ensured the Snowy Mountains Scheme holds a place in the imaginations of new and old Australians. Those involved in the Snowy Mountains Scheme, those whose life it affected and those who are currently employed by Snowy Hydro have used history to help support their arguments and legitimise their contributions and place in the Snowy Mountains. The Snowy Scheme helped in developing the Snowy Mountains while also contributing to multiculturalism, electricity generation and irrigation. However, the environmental impacts of the Snowy Scheme and the increasing corporatisation of the company have impacted upon the use of history and this can be seen in the way Snowy Hydro and the community have called upon the past. Snowy Hydro use history to promote themselves positively and to justify the impacts to the area. Development, acceptance and change are key to the use of history and promoting the myth of the Scheme is a technique to divert attention from negative environmental and community complaints. This chapter has also dealt with the way that the memory of building the Scheme has been used to remember, commemorate and celebrate those who worker on the construction. History has been used to mythicise and immortalise the efforts of those who worked in a tough, multicultural and nation building exercise to build for the future. Many of the texts regarding the workers on the Scheme present anecdote and Oral history in an engaging and interesting way. This enables the public to be excited and inspired by the Scheme and remembers the people who contributed to it.
Environmental interests have also played a role in the development of the Snowy Mountains and these interests also call upon history to legitimise their authority and their position in society. Those affiliated with conservation and environmental activism use history to argue their position and to create a working relationship with the wider community. Chapter three will address these interests.
In 1944 the New South Wales state government established the Kosciuszko State Park Trust.\textsuperscript{173} The establishment of the State Park resulted in growth in Jindabyne as well as incorporating the ability of a government agency to build a dialogue with business and other interests within the region. As early as 1888, accommodation was available for walking, camping and fishing in the Snowy Mountains. Due to the popularity of the outdoor activities, as well as the breathtaking natural landscape, 25000 hectares of land was set aside around Mt Kosciuszko for recreation in 1906 as the Snowy Mountains National Chase.\textsuperscript{174} This interest in the area saw roads built leading up Mt Kosciuszko, through natural environments as well as the establishment of commercial accommodation. The use of history is an important aspect in how the Kosciuszko National Park (From here-on referred to as the KNP) legitimises its role in the community. The establishment of the State Park Trust in 1944 put this new governmental department at odds with the established powers in the Snowy Mountains. For this reason, the State Park saw the need to prove its value to the area and continues to use this history to transmit a sense of natural legitimacy. Chapter three will approach the way that environmental interests in the Snowy Mountains use history to legitimate their position in society. First, the use of history by the national park will be addressed. This section will include the way that the National Parks and Wildlife Service legitimise its authority over the natural environment. The heritage value of the mountain huts will also be discussed. This section will discuss the role of Aboriginal history in the area and why the KNP highlight the importance of this. This chapter will also examine the environmental efforts that have been utilised to protect and resurrect the Snowy River. History and memory have been an important asset in the conservationist campaign to save the Snowy River and are therefore a valuable subject

\textsuperscript{173} Young. ‘Memories of old Jindabyne’, p.4

\textsuperscript{174} Merritt. ‘Losing ground’, p.39
of analysis. Historical approaches to tensions between the KNP and the different sections of society, particularly the Snowy Scheme, will be analysed.

A published example of way this history has been used can be found in R.B Good’s ‘Kosciuszko heritage’. Good, when this volume was published was Senior Scientific Officer at the New South Wales National Parks and Wildlife Service.\textsuperscript{175} This places his analysis and therefore his use of history within the National Park’s influence. This however does not draw away from his reliability, more so it affirms the selective use of history in the aim to legitimise its authority. Good aims to present the national and international heritage significance of the KNP which is accompanied by a detailed survey of the scientific and cultural value of the KNP. This is an example of the KNP using history to assert that the National Park’s significance reaches back before European settlement and that the protection of this environment is of great importance. The inclusion of the different sections of the community throughout the National Park’s use of history also provides a sense of a common past and creates a community wide responsibility for the protection of natural and cultural heritage. Good believes that the diversity of the landscape, the biodiversity and the unique environment warrant the National Park “the highest management and conservation status”.\textsuperscript{176} Good argues that the KNP was able to help rejuvenate damaged land, eroded soil and contaminated water through revegetation and conservation efforts “and the park can be justly proud”.\textsuperscript{177}

The major ski resorts in close proximity to Jindabyne run their villages as businesses within land leased by the KNP.\textsuperscript{178} For this reason strong links are forged and the KNP have considerable

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{175} Good. ‘\textit{Kosciuszko heritage}’, back cover
\item \textsuperscript{176} Good. ‘\textit{Kosciuszko heritage}’, p.8
\item \textsuperscript{177} Good. ‘\textit{Kosciuszko heritage}’, p.146-147
\item \textsuperscript{178} Department of Environment and Conservation NSW. ‘\textit{Plan of management: Kosciuszko National Park: Part of the Australian Alps Cooperative Management Program}’, (Department of Environment and Conservation NSW: Sydney South, 2006).
\end{itemize}
influence over development and environmental impacts within the resorts. Dave Woods’ role as Environmental Liaison Officer has found him using history to create a working relationship with the bases of power within the ski resorts. This largely revolves around the quarterly publication of the ‘Resort Roundup’ and the publication of the Perisher Historical Society newsletter. Wood’s job largely revolves around communication with different groups who hold interests in the KNP. Woods uses history to promote increased dialogue with the KNP and improve community relations and understanding. This in turn creates improved recognition by the community of the authority of the KNP. This is demonstrated through the KNP Resort Round-up newsletter. The Resort Round-up features prominently the work that the KNP are undertaking in the area while also including updates on events in the area, cooperative work with the other sections of the community and updating the public on local heritage initiatives. The publication serves to incorporate community interaction while also presenting KNP interests. History is used in the recent issue to recognise 150 years of skiing in the Snowy Mountains. Skiing is a major attraction in the area and the KNP uses this history to solidify the significance of this and to incorporate its role with the wider community.

Woods has also found himself in a dialogue with the Kosciuszko Huts Association which recognise the value of the rural community and the early skiers as an important part of the Snowy Mountains’ heritage. However, it was tourism that led to the preservation of early man-made huts and an early interest by all sections of the community to the heritage value of the huts. According to Woods and Barry, the KNP was disinterested in the idea of mountain huts as they were manmade, contributed to litter and pollution and were expensive to upkeep. Good argues that the huts “bear eloquent

---

179 Woods. Interview, 29 August, 2011; Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
180 Woods. Interview, 29 August, 2011; Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
testimony to European pastoral history”.\textsuperscript{183} Originally used as pastoral homes during mountain grazing, the move towards conservation placed less importance upon the huts. When a hut would burn down this became seen as a positive as it would no longer need to be maintained on a tight budget.\textsuperscript{184} The Kosciuszko Huts Association however, believes these huts serve an important role within the region’s heritage and history and have used these links to influence the role of the KNP in the maintenance and recognition of the huts. ‘Old Currango’ tells the story of the Old Currango hut in the Snowy Mountains, using the history of the hut to link it to generations of stockmen, travelers and tourists. Huts in the mountains invoke a sense of nostalgia and therefore purpose to those involved in alpine activities. The KNP as early as 1986 recognised the cultural and architectural significance of Old Currango, however, were not enthusiastic about its upkeep and were likely to manage it as a ruin.\textsuperscript{185} The efforts of caretaker groups and the Kosciuszko Huts Association were able to gain support from KNP planning managers to aid in the restoration of this hut.\textsuperscript{186} Harry Hill aimed to show the significance of this hut through his publication about the hut’s history and the story of its restoration. History was used by the Kosciuszko Huts Association to lobby the KNP to recognise the importance of the huts to the local heritage.\textsuperscript{187} This can be seen through the scope of its historical interests in the huts which spans skiing, grazing, mining and biography.\textsuperscript{188} Rodney Harrison’s study of the heritage of the New South Wales pastoral industry reflects the sentiments of why the Kosciuszko huts strike an emotional chord in the mountains. Harrison argues that a large extent of the pastoral industry’s heritage is tied up in homesteads, dwellings and stock routes. Harrison argues that much of these physical remains are tied up in

\begin{footnotes}
\item[183] Good. ‘Kosciuszko heritage’, p.147
\item[184] Woods. Interview, 29 August, 2011.
\item[185] Harry Hill. ‘Old Currango’, (Tumut and Adelong Times: Tumut, 1997), p.14
\item[186] Hill. ‘Old Currango’, p.5
\item[187] Woods. Interview, 29 August, 2011.
\end{footnotes}
national parks and reserves.\textsuperscript{189} For this reason, natural heritage and man-made heritage clash in exactly the way that is witnessed in the KNP. According to Harrison, his studies have shown that much of these remains have been utilised as tourist and visitor facilities.\textsuperscript{190} History has been used by those who see a value in the huts to raise awareness, show the importance and ultimately save the Kosciuszko huts which are deemed an important part of the local history and as an important part of the heritage of the area. The lobbying efforts made by the Kosciuszko Huts Association resulted in a revision of the Burra Charter (Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance) as to include huts.\textsuperscript{191} KNP recognises the value of place and cultural heritage and pledges to “Ensure the relative levels of significance are the overriding consideration in the management of particular cultural landscapes, places or objects and in resolving conflicts between the protection of cultural, natural, recreational and other values.”\textsuperscript{192} The revision ensured a working relationship between the Kosciuszko Huts Association and the KNP in undertaking maintenance and conservation of places of heritage value.\textsuperscript{193} History is used to show the significance of these huts to the local heritage and the mountain culture of pioneering spirit and adventure. This ensures continued investment and participation in the maintenance of these structures. History has been used by this organisation to influence the establishment of government involvement in a recreational and sentimental activity while also adding to the heritage value of the KNP. The KNP recognise this value to its operations. Dave Woods has used the history of the huts, and the KNP’s role in restoration and maintenance to show rural graziers that the KNP holds value in their heritage and is not intent on wrecking it despite Tom Barry’s sentiment that the KNP acts as if white man


\textsuperscript{190} Harrison. ‘Multicultural and minority heritage’, p.179

\textsuperscript{191} Woods. Interview, 29 August, 2011.

\textsuperscript{192} Department of Environment and Conservation NSW. ‘Plan of management’, p.89; See also pp.89-102

\textsuperscript{193} Department of Environment and Conservation NSW. ‘Plan of management’, p.92
never stepped into the park. This consensus approach has been vital in improving community relations in the period after the grazing debates. Tom Barry believes that increased communication and recognition of this history has resulted in greater community respect and recognition of the role of the KNP.

Aboriginal history in the Snowy Mountains has also been used to legitimise the role of the national park and its relationship to the area. Aboriginal history and increased recognition of Indigenous presence in the Monaro has provided a sense of agency to Indigenous inhabitants of the Monaro as well as fulfilling policy directed in the National Park’s Plan of management. Young comprehensively documents Aboriginal history in the Monaro using a wide range of primary sources, piecing together a dispersive historical framework. According to Young, there has been no formal Aboriginal group living in the Monaro since the 1920s. However, the Aboriginal heritage within the KNP and the Monaro is important in the study of prehistoric human adaptation to harsh environments and their cultural resilience in the Monaro. Aboriginal names also remain significant in the area. The use of this history recognises human presence in the region before white settlement. This places the scope of the KNP beyond local grazing history and European heritage. While recognising the many stages of development in the area, creating a place for natural and Indigenous cultural history adds a new dimension to the area and places a greater importance on the conservation of the KNP. This helps to legitimise the position of the KNP in the Snowy Mountains and justify the conservation efforts in the area. It also allows for a more democratic

194 Woods. Interview, 29 August, 2011; Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
195 Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
196 Department of Environment and Conservation NSW. ‘Plan of management’.
198 Young. ‘The Aboriginal people of the Monaro’. p.4
199 Good. ‘Kosciuszko heritage’, p.135
government department and recognises the legitimacy of local land councils descended from the Monaro Aboriginal community. Communication and recognition of the Aboriginal communities descended from original Indigenous land owners allows the KNP to greater manage the park, incorporating many points of view. The importance of indigenous history to the national character of Australia is an important factor recognised within the plan of management. Indigenous legitimacy presence is recognised through a painting placed prominently in the Plan of management, directly after the ‘forward’. A statement of cooperation by members of the Kosciuszko Aboriginal working group which incorporates members of the Monaro Ngarigo, Wiradjuri & Wolgalu, Gungnawal and, Ngiympa groups is also included early in the document. This statement includes a pledge to work with the KNP to maintain its spiritual, cultural and natural values. Working with the Aboriginal groups and recognising their history adds to the cultural value of the KNP, adds to the understanding of the local history and allows the KNP to better manage the park in the interests of a wide range of people. The preservation of Aboriginal culture and history is noted as a priority in the Plan of management as to ensure the survival of this part of Australia’s cultural heritage. The use of Aboriginal history also pushes a political agenda. Recognition of the first settlers removes white ownership of the land. The history of the Aboriginals of the Monaro features throughout environmental histories of the area. Seddon argues that the reliance on limited sources present a fragmented account of Aboriginal cultures in the Monaro. Early sources also present selective and biased information which do not paint a reliable picture of

\begin{footnotes}

\footnote{KNP Plan of management. 2006 p.221}


\footnote{Department of Environment and Conservation NSW. ‘Plan of management’, p.x}

\footnote{KNP Plan of management, p.xi}

\footnote{See for example: Department of Environment and Conservation NSW. ‘Plan of management’, p.102}

\footnote{For example see: Seddon. ‘Searching for the Snowy’; Hancock. ‘Discovering Monaro’; Good. ‘Kosciuszko heritage’}

\end{footnotes}
the past. Looking to Aboriginal history provides an opportunity to criticize the failings of the past while reconciling human and natural history. History is used to build dialogue with other sections of the community and form community relationships. It is also used to engage different sections of the community with issues that are often tense and help to bridge those gaps.

There have been arguments from conservationists that the KNP do not use history effectively enough. Michael Pearson argues that the KNP has struggled to deal with the tension between natural and cultural heritage and the display of cultural history to the general public. Pearson saw no readily available information about the post grazing soil conservation efforts, however information about the impact of grazing and the early snow leases was available. Pearson’s sentiments about the KNP’s attitude towards the human impact in the Park reflect those of Tom Barry who argues that there is a perception that the KNP wish to portray that white settlers had never touched the land. Pearson believes the conservation efforts by Snowy Hydro have been unrecognised within the historical significance of the KNP and argues that soil and natural heritage conservation is an important legacy of the Snowy Scheme. The selective use of history can therefore sway public opinion about an issue, burying other efforts. While Good does recognise this past, Pearson believes brochures and plaques should inform the public of these efforts. Pearson also found in discussion with Good that in 2005 erosion was becoming an issue as early efforts had

---

206 Seddon. ‘Searching for the Snowy’. p.120
207 Woods. Interview, 29 August, 2011.
208 Woods. Interview, 29 August, 2011.
209 Michael Pearson. Thatching the roof of Australia: landscape manipulation and history, Historic Environment 18, No. 2, (2005), p.31
210 Pearson. Thatching the roof of Australia, p.31
211 Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
212 Pearson. Thatching the roof of Australia, p.30
213 Pearson. Thatching the roof of Australia, p.31
The use of this history would provide greater publicity and would help lead to greater importance being placed on soil conservation and the efforts of those who made it a priority as well as helping to reconcile natural and cultural heritage in the KNP. Pearson wishes there was a greater representation of the SMA’s (See footnote 7) role in maintaining environmental initiatives which is not surprising when the larger part of the Snowy Mountains Scheme has come under fire for its impact on the environment.\textsuperscript{215}

The environmental interest in the area spreads beyond the National Park’s interests. The degradation of the Snowy River has been a point of interest for many residents who view the river as a strong part of their local and national heritage. History has been used in many ways to promote this cause. The Snowy River Alliance is an environmental conservation group which is highly critical of Snowy Hydro and its control of the water releases. Conservationists have largely positioned themselves against the Snowy Scheme due to its lack of foresight when considering environmental impacts. The loss of water flows to the Snowy River, the raising issue of salinity and the consequential fall in biodiversity were not deemed as important concerns due to the fact that these issues would not affect the Scheme. Only issues that would result in flow through affects on the infrastructure were seriously addressed.\textsuperscript{216}

George Seddon uses the environmental history of the Snowy River to launch an attack on man’s use of the river. Seddon uses history in conflicted ways. He criticises and embraces versions of history at the same time. Seddon is critical of the graziers who used the National park for pastoral reasons. Seddon attacks them as overweight, middle aged and trading their horses for Landrovers.\textsuperscript{217}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{seddon} Seddon. ‘\textit{Searching for the Snowy}’. p.xx
\bibitem{bergmann} Michael Bergmann. ‘\textit{The Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme: How did it manage without an EIA?}’, (Australian National University graduate program in public policy: Discussion paper 90, February 1999), p.16
\bibitem{pearson} Pearson. Thatching the roof of Australia, p.30
\bibitem{pearson2} Pearson. Thatching the roof of Australia, p.30
\end{thebibliography}
ancestors are described as illiterate, exploitative and destructive. However, Seddon includes cultural histories of ‘men from Snowy River’ and writes about their family history to add to his cannon of Snowy River heritage.

Seddon has been a strong advocate for the survival and the environmental restoration of the Snowy River. Seddon calls upon history fervently in his application to the Snowy Water Inquiry which was established by the Victorian, New South Wales and Commonwealth governments during the corporatisation of Snowy Hydro. Seddon repeatedly calls upon the sentimental value of the Snowy River. To Seddon, the river “is extraordinarily rich in the kind of stories that have played a key role in defining the Australian identity”. Griffiths describes Seddon’s appeal to the Inquiry as a “seamless blend of evidence and advocacy, of history and science and common sense”. Seddon’s use of history is a part of a strategy to revive the Snowy River and to right past wrongs. Seddon attacks the Snowy Scheme throughout his writing. He pays voice to its contribution to Australian engineering and to multiculturalism in Australia. Seddon also understands the Scheme as a symbol and understands its mythic significance. However, he focuses on to the environmental and economic costs of the Scheme, the questionable enabling process and the loss of life throughout the Schemes history. Seddon uses the detrimental aspects of man’s use of the river alongside a vibrant environmental history of the region and its people as to promote his wish to see water flows to the Snowy River restored.

218 Seddon. ‘Searching for the Snowy’. p.xxiii
219 Seddon. ‘Searching for the Snowy’, pp.79-93
220 Griffiths. ‘The man from Snowy River’, p.15
221 Griffiths. ‘The man from Snowy River’, p.16
222 Griffiths. ‘The man from Snowy River’, p.16
223 Seddon, ‘Searching for the Snowy’, p.24
224 Seddon. ‘Searching for the Snowy’. p.xxiii
225 Griffin. ‘Selling the Snowy: The Snowy Mountains Scheme and National Mythmaking’, p.40
The Snowy River Alliance is another entity which has advocated strongly for the restoration of the Snowy River. Memory of the Snowy River and regret for lost opportunity feed the core of Miller’s history of the Snowy River Alliance. Sheila Robertson of Dalgety laments “It was taken for granted”.226 The Snowy River Alliance is self conscious of its campaign in a historical context: “Our battle will form a part of the written history of the Snowy River Country”.227 Political rallies evoke heritage and history. The Man from Snowy River was a prominent feature in a demonstration on Macquarie Street. Horses were transported from the Blue Mountains and Gus Mercurio, a star from the ‘Man from Snowy River’ feature film, rode in the protest.228 David Glasson of the alliance argued that “the river is a part of Australian heritage”.229 The grassroots branch of the campaign to save the Snowy River were engaging in an historical argument steeped in memory, nostalgia and environmental awareness. Miller argues that the campaign to save the Snowy River was based on “keeping the Snowy River and all it represents alive” and it is truly this memory that inspired action.230 “I typed ‘Snowy River’ into my newspaper’s data base, and found references in Australian newspapers at least once a week, usually as shorthand for all things Australian”.231

Margaret Unger argues that the environmental impact of the Snowy Mountains Scheme was not an issue that would likely halt its progress.232 However, the Kosciuszko State Park Act of 1944 allowed the Kosciuszko State Trust to nominate ten percent of the area as primitive landscape. This power

226 Miller. ‘Snowy River story’, p.xiii
227 Miller. ‘Snowy River story’, p.xiii
228 Miller. ‘Snowy River story’, p.70
229 Miller. ‘Snowy River story’, p.90
230 Miller. ‘Snowy River story’, p.255
231 Miller. ‘Snowy River story’, p.220
was not implemented until 1963 and put the SMA (Snowy Mountains Authority) and the State Trust at odds with each other. Unger uses this point to argue that the SMA’s plans predated the shift towards conservation. This history is by no means hostile but bias is evident and history is being used to defend the SMA. Unger’s book is one told from the point of view of insiders in the Scheme from the workers through to the commissioners. Unger is also Sir William Hudson’s daughter and has a vested interest in retaining the value of her father’s achievements. Unger also served as a publicity officer for the Scheme. Therefore this book self consciously presents the view of those deeply involved in the Scheme and the SMA. The debate between environmentalists and defenders of the Snowy Scheme will continue as economics and ecology continue to clash. History is used as a political weapon when these clashes occur. The Alliance also suffered criticism from those who defended the legacy of the Snowy Scheme. Roger Hallam, a former National Party Finance Minister argues that the campaign aimed to reverse the “most important engineering feat in our national history”. History is used for political gain and to argue a point and this campaign proved no different. Residents who felt as though their natural heritage had been stripped from them decided to take a stand and history and memory drove their motivation.

The environmental and conservationist community in the Snowy Mountains use history widely to aid in their goals and activities in the region. History is used by the KNP to create a sense of a shared existence and a shared ownership of the region. This approach helps to legitimise the position of the KNP while also making it easier for the KNP to operate within a tense social fabric. By creating a sense of inclusion of the different strains of local history, the KNP is able to develop

---

233 Unger. ‘Voices from the Snowy’, p.187
234 Unger. ‘Voices from the Snowy’, p.6
235 Griffin. ‘Selling the Snowy: The Snowy Mountains Scheme and National Mythmaking’, p.41
236 Griffin. ‘Selling the Snowy: The Snowy Mountains Scheme and National Mythmaking’, p.41
237 Miller. ‘Snowy River story’, p.146
an open dialogue and a greater sense of trust between it and the other sections of the community. This allows KNP interests to be undertaken with less suspicion or fear from other sections of the community who have differing opinions. A consensus approach is therefore a part of the way the KNP relates to other sections of the community and this is reflected throughout its use of history. The way this technique is adopted can be seen through the examples presented in this chapter.

Dialogue has been developed between the resorts, the rural community, those involved in local heritage through the Kosciuszko Huts Association and through the KNP’s relationship with Snowy Hydro. The KNP also have a strong record of communicating with and educating groups about local Indigenous groups. The KNP operates as a government department and therefore has a role to serve the community in a democratic nature. Using history which incorporates the different sections of the community while increasing education and understanding legitimises the National Park.

Community support or at the very least, recognition of legitimacy makes its job far simpler. History has played a strong role in creating this understanding. The Snowy River Alliance also use history to gain a political advantage in the Snowy Mountains. This approach places them at odds with Snowy Hydro and has resulted in them being called a sectional interest. However, its goal to revive the Snowy River is deeper than an environmental interest. History has been used to show that the river has an emotional value to different sections of the community and is a part of the national heritage. History is used to place these interests within a local and also trans-local context. The environmental community has a strong link to the land and the natural heritage and have used history to legitimise their role and the role of nature in an increasingly built society.

The tourism industry which largely operates within the KNP use history to attract people to the area for economic gain. In turn, much of the revenue gained from tourism flows back into the National Park. The tourism industry and the KNP therefore rely on each other to continue operating. Chapter
four will discuss how and why the tourism industry uses history and how it forms another complex layer of society in the Snowy Mountains of New South Wales.
Chapter IV: The business and tourism community

The tourism industry has played an important role in the development of the region as well as the evolution of Jindabyne from a small pioneer farming community into a thriving business hub. The tourism industry in the Snowy Mountains is based around sport and outdoor recreation. While tourism finds its origins in the region dating back to 1909, the industry has played a far stronger role since the relocation of Jindabyne and with the establishment of the major ski resorts in the area. The relationship of the business community to the region’s local history is therefore less grounded in heritage than it is in economics. However, belonging and ownership are also important reasons that the business and tourism community use history. The tourism industry uses history to legitimise its position in the economic, cultural and social structures of the community. Chapter four will discuss the changes in the area created by the growth spurred by leisure and tourism. The history of skiing and the history of the ski resorts have been an important way that the tourism industry has legitimised its position in society and this too will be addressed throughout the chapter. While the tourism industry serves as an important economic structure, it has also been important for residents attracted to the area for its leisure activities when searching for a sense of place. Businesses aiming to gain a sense of social and cultural legitimacy also find the need to tie themselves to the local history and justify their position in society. Chapter four will discuss the ways in which the Perisher Historical Society uses history to create a sense of place in the area as well as to highlight the contribution of the tourism industry to the region. This chapter will also discuss the way that the ski resorts reconcile their history with the area and discuss the way that this is achieved. Finally, the ways select business interests have used history to create an experience and therefore the way history is used to generate profit will be discussed.
Richard Waterhouse argues that as Australia’s population became increasingly urbanised and populations fell in rural areas, rural areas witnessed a growth in new industries, one of these being tourism. 238 The infrastructure including the roads, lakes and accommodation facilities associated with the Snowy Scheme helped to create a year round tourism industry dominated by fishing and by snow sports. Waterhouse argues that these Australian ski resorts were touted to be equal to the great resorts of Europe and America. 239 A strong business community is a reasonably new dynamic in Jindabyne. According to Bruce Marshall, the town had reasonably poor services available until the rise of the ski resorts in the early 1980s. The increase in visitors to the town and the establishment of a serious supermarket both attracted growth through employment opportunities and attracted newer businesses to the area. 240 The new community of more affluent, leisure based residents also alienated the rural community to an extent. Marshall argues that the rise of ‘hobby farms’ issued a threat to the grazing community. Richer people with better cars and bigger houses were buying land surrounded in established farming dynasties. This saw a rise in the domestic use of farm land and despite the increase in land values, the grazier community felt threatened by growth. 241 Some graziers including Tom Barry adapted to these changes by taking advantage of their increased land values and local knowledge, as seen through Barry’s move into real estate. 242 Others however have taken far less kindly. Alice Kidman laments that the development of the town has ruined the aesthetics of the town: “It was a beautiful view. I get so disgusted now when I look out here and can’t see anything”. 243 These changes are a wider example of displacement. The new layer brought new interests and new visions for the community. The ski resorts and the way they view and use

238 Waterhouse. ‘The vision splendid’, p.214
239 Waterhouse. ‘The vision splendid’, p.214
242 Barry. Interview, 30 August, 2011.
243 Young. ‘Memories of old Jindabyne’, p.26
history is an example of how local history is complicated and how a small community can have many different roots in the same area.

Thredbo and Perisher recognise the contribution of their own brand of pioneers and are able to present their own histories as crucial to the development of the region. The beauty of the Snowy Mountains evoke an emotional connection in those who have envisioned the potential in the area for growth. Tony Sponar is arguably the most important figure in the development of skiing in Australia. Sponar began his life in the area working as a hydrographer on the Snowy Scheme. Sponar also founded Thredbo, played a strong role in the surveying involved in the development of Blue Cow and has a strong personal attachment and history in the Snowy Mountains. Sponar presents his version of history to chronicle his life and also to present his views on the development of the region. Sponar outlines his contribution to the area and bases it on his love for skiing. Sponar argues that it was he who envisioned skiing as a democratically accessible activity in Australia. Sponar’s history presents self conscious bias. Sponar mentions that Australian defamation laws required omissions from several chapters. However, Sponar does not hide this and presents the view of an authority in Australian skiing. Sponar’s use of autobiography not only cements his place in the region but also provides a comprehensive history of the development of the tourism industry in the Snowy Mountains. This account also ties skiing and tourism to the Snowy Scheme and to the National Park. Sir William Hudson opened the first ski lift and the government department of Tourist Activities established the first ski school in Australia. Furthermore, the National Park operated the Kosciuszko Chalet. Both Sponar and Anton are recognised by Thredbo for their

---

244 Sponar. ‘Snow in Australia? That’s news to me’, p.xvi
245 Sponar. ‘Snow in Australia? That’s news to me’, p.xxii, 221
246 Sponar. ‘Snow in Australia? That’s news to me’, p.24, 222
247 Sponar. ‘Snow in Australia? That’s news to me’, p.179
contributions. Antons and Sponars t-bars sit next to each other in a prime spot on Thredbo’s mountain. Resort heritage is recognised through these names. This history also ties the rural grazing community to the resorts highlighting the aim to tie skiing to the area in a natural inclusive way. The first sod at Thredbo was turned by Dudly and Neville Pendergast who had settled at Penderlea and build Crackenback Lodge, which would later be used by skiers and bushwalkers. Ken Murray who ran the Sundeck in Perisher also opened The Man From Snowy River Hotel. These ideas promote recognition and tourism and ground the new industry firmly within the area and the local history. Founding stories give the resorts a sense of legitimacy in the area and allow these new structures a sense of place.

The Perisher Historical Society newsletter is an important publication in the way that it uses history to encourage interest and recognition of Perisher’s history and legacy in the area. The Perisher Historical Society use history to retain the memory of lodge history and remember the creation of Perisher. It aims to ground the resort in history and recognise those who contributed to its rise and those who visited the area in the early days of skiing. Personalities are remembered including Billy Ditmar who lived, skied and instructed skiing in Perisher Valley for forty years. Remembering and promoting history allows the members of the Perisher Historical Society to retain a sense of place and ownership in the busy ski resort. It also creates interest in skiing and its cultural legacy. Dave Woods argues that early skiers deserve recognition due to the importance and enjoyment skiing holds to many people. The publication encourages people to be involved in the recording

249 Kaaten. ‘52 years of skiing in Australia’, p.135
250 Sponar. ‘Snow in Australia? That’s news to me’, p.153
251 Sponar. ‘Snow in Australia? That’s news to me’, p.174
of cultural heritage, records the history of the area and uses history to encourage participation in and recognition of local heritage and history.

The history of the rural community has also been utilised by the business community to create an experience for tourists, incorporating local history into packages to give tourists an idea of the High Country. Aspects including ‘The man from Snowy River’ are a view into a fading past that tourists find interesting and exciting. It is also a hark to Australiana and offers a sense of Australian identity packaged into a consumable experience. Use of local myths and heritage also enable businesses to create a unique experience within a local space. Commercial horse riding is an important aspect which keeps this myth alive. The horse riding tours and their operators transmit local history and the myth to visitors to provide a cultural experience, for economic gain, and to secure their position as members of the local community. As farming has been pushed away from the centre of the economy, diversification of traditional properties towards tourism has been a way history has been used in the area.\textsuperscript{254} Logan argues that effective landscape management will aid the business community in attracting tourism and heritage development is key to this.\textsuperscript{255} ‘Reynella Kosciusko Rides’ provide horse riding safaris through the “country that inspired Banjo Paterson’s ‘The Man From Snowy River’”.\textsuperscript{256} ‘Reynella also shows that commercial horse-riding has operated in the Snowy Mountains since the 1940s, grounding the activity in the area while offering the consumer an authentic “High Country” experience.\textsuperscript{257} ‘Thredbo Valley Horse Riding’ at Penderlea chalets also use The man from Snowy River as to inspire romanticised history and attract consumers.\textsuperscript{258} This use of history is clearly for marketing purposes and promotes an experience. Penderlea offer

\textsuperscript{254} Eva Logan. ‘Listening to the voices of the cultural landscape’, \textit{Historic Environment} 17 no. 2, (2003). p.42
\textsuperscript{255} Logan. ‘Listening to the voices of the cultural landscape’, p.43
\textsuperscript{256} Reynella Kosciusko Rides tourist brochure, Jindabyne, 2011.
\textsuperscript{257} Reynella Kosciusko Rides tourist brochure, Jindabyne, 2011.
\textsuperscript{258} Thredbo Valley Horse Riding tourist brochure, Jindabyne, 2011.
accommodation in a restored mid 1800s era post office which was a “hub for gold miners, sawmill workers and graziers’. The use of “hand cut stones from stable floors, woolshed boards, convict bricks and slabs hand-hewn from mountain ash and silver grey weather boards” offer a “rustic” experience which uses the past to create an historic atmosphere.

History has been used by the business community to tie historical legitimacy to economic factors. A case study whereby this link has become a divisive and debated issue is with the ‘Lake Jindabyne Village’ development. In July of 2011 Toni Sarri proposed a new development of tourism accommodation and amenities. In his address to the Snowy River Shire councilors and management he stakes his personal history and the assumed historical significance of the site of development to push forward his case for approval. Sarri claims that he has been a rate payer since 1975 but does not give any further indication of his ties to the area. While this does not suggest he is not from this area, it also fails to suggest that he is. It ties him to the region since 1975 but this is all. Sarri uses historical claims to suggest that the site of his proposal has important heritage value. He claims that this site was to be the original site of the new township after the flooding of the old town. He also calls the site ‘Rabbits Corner’. It is these claims which have caused historical debate and tension between the developer and the rural community. It is also the severity of which Sarri ties the proposed development to the future of the town which has caused tension and shows how history can be used to push for an unpopular development and tie it to the past to give it legitimacy and support. Sarri argues that Jindabyne without this multi-million dollar investment will fail to grow as

259 Pender Lea Chalets tourist brochure, Jindabyne, 2011.
260 Pender Lea Chalets tourist brochure, Jindabyne, 2011.
261 Toni Sarri. ‘Developer speaks openly to shire councillors’, Summit Sun, 7 July, 2011, p.6
262 Sarri. ‘Developer speaks openly to shire councillors’, Summit Sun, 7 July, 2011, p.6
263 Sarri. ‘Developer speaks openly to shire councillors’, Summit Sun, 7 July, 2011, p.6
a tourist destination and will have a less prosperous future which will in turn affect the growth of surrounding communities.\textsuperscript{264} He uses the names of local families and personalities, including the late wife of Tom Barry to tie himself to the community and to validate his claims.\textsuperscript{265} However, local residents have challenged Sarri and reprimanded him for using their names to validate false claims. Tom Barry states that he is disgusted by the use of his late wife’s name in the hopes to validate a development.\textsuperscript{266} The Crocker family also resent their names being used as a claim to validity. The Crocker family’s letter to the editor the following week after the original presentation was published argues that Sarri’s submission is rife with historical inaccuracy.\textsuperscript{267} Tom Barry argues that while the site was a contender for the site of the new town, it was by no means the first or the most important and that the claim is opportunistic.\textsuperscript{268} The issue of the Rabbits Corner development highlights history being used irresponsibly for self gain according to Barry.\textsuperscript{269} Rural heritage and personal histories were used by a developer to improve his changes for acceptance which shows that history is exploited for economic gain.

Bruce Marshall’s Nugget’s Crossing shopping centre is also an example of the business community using history for economic reasons. Marshall moved to Jindabyne after a long term interest in alpine activities including bush walking and skiing when a business opportunity opened up. Since he has contributed a wide range of opportunities for the town including the first franchised supermarket, and space to develop a more competitive and aspirational business community. Marshall’s endeavors also led to expanding the role of Jindabyne as a service town to the ski resorts

\textsuperscript{264} Sarri. ‘Developer speaks openly to shire councillors’, \textit{Summit Sun}, 7 July, 2011, p.8
\textsuperscript{265} Sarri. ‘Developer speaks openly to shire councillors’, \textit{Summit Sun}, 7 July, 2011, p.6
\textsuperscript{266} Tom Barry. ‘Barrys do not support Rabbits Corner’, \textit{Summit Sun}, 14 July, 2011, p.6
\textsuperscript{268} Barry. Interview, 29 August, 2011.
\textsuperscript{269} Barry. Interview, 29 August, 2011.
over that of Cooma. Nugget’s Crossing is a shopping centre that is built around the theme of the local rural history. The centre is named after Nugget Pendergast, “the wildest and most brilliant of the Jindabyne horsemen”. Historical displays around the centre include photo montages, antique wagons, farming implements, wooden skis and an atmosphere of an old rural community. Marshall argues that the use of rural history was not an attempt to encourage inclusion of the rural community. Rather, it was an attempt to attract tourism and paint a picture of the past using local history. History was seen as fashionable in the general community and having seen examples of the themed shopping centre elsewhere, Marshall decided this could work in Jindabyne. A relative of Pendergast, Edna Crocker however does not gain a sense of inclusion from the use of history. Crocker argues that Nugget would not have been pleased with the centre as “Its only just a money venture”. Furthermore, Nugget never rode over the location of the centre as “it wasn’t on his way”. When history and heritage are used by business interests it can cause hostility, especially when it is related to change. Marshall, while recognising and using history can see a move away from the past in business due to the rise of e-commerce. Heritage is becoming a tourist attraction and it is becoming more difficult for people to hold onto their past as identity and locality becomes more fluid due to technology.

Snowy River Country is a publication which presents a version of the Snowy Mountains in print form. The twice yearly magazine which is no longer published, presented a romanticised local history, photography, and stories aimed at sharing the attractions of the area to tourists. History was used to attract tourism and to highlight the beauty of the area. Contributors include a range of

270 McHugh. ‘The Snowy’, p.259
272 McHugh. ‘The Snowy’, p.259
273 McHugh. ‘The Snowy’, p.259
274 Snowy River country 2, (Summer/Autumn 1985) p.3
historians, locals, journalists and others which aim to attract and inform people about local history alongside guides for tourists, creating a deeper interest in the area for readers. History is used to attract visitors and to present a unique and dynamic local atmosphere. Engaging stories of old alpine huts and the personal stories of the families who inhabited them frequent the publication. These stories and histories maintain the relevance of Snowy River Country as not a large amount of published history deals with the local area as comprehensively as this. The history is personal and anecdotal, nostalgic and serves to conserve the heritage value of the area and spread this to a wider audience. At the same time it is used to attract people to the area to experience the stories, the ideas and the activities. This is achieved through advertising experiences and relevant stores. One such store is Paddy Pallin. ‘The adventure legend’ argues that Paddy Pallin has encouraged Australians to explore outdoors for over fifty years and sells the best equipment to do so. Placing this ad in a magazine about the outdoors is a perfect use of history and memory to inspire and to attract business. Snowy River Country, similar to other oral and local history publications keeps the stories of a town alive. It recognises a cross section of the community and aims to attract tourism and growth in the area. Advertising and interest stories allow for this publication to present a positive and desirable view of the area.

The business and tourism community in Jindabyne entered the area with different aspirations and interests than those in other sections of the community. However, these interests provided opportunity and employment and therefore rapid growth in the area and the establishment of Jindabyne as the major service town to the ski resorts. Business and tourism provide profit and opportunity for a wider range of people and also allow for the widespread use of the natural beauty


of the region. The business and tourism community use history to place themselves in the community as well as to derive profit. This can be seen through their focus on its own roots in the area alongside the utilisation of the established heritage of the rural and grazing community. By painting the Snowy Mountains as a tourist attraction and using history from a wide cross-section of the community the business and tourism community promote inclusion, attraction and growth in Jindabyne and its surrounds.
Richard Waterhouse argues that contemporary rural Australia lacks a sense of a united cause. Interests and ideals have become increasingly diverse and have resulted in an environment of competing interests and values. Jindabyne and the Snowy Mountains as argued in this thesis, are made up of a collections of distinct yet interconnecting communities which are defined as much by their contributions as they are with their differences to other sections of the community. Jindabyne as a town evolved and grew with new layers increasingly changing and building upon each other to form a complex township with a flexible and mobile citizenship. Reasons for living in the area include birth, business, leisure and lifestyle opportunities. However, this diversification has proven to have led to tensions and a complex social, cultural, economic and political structure. Growing from a tiny grazier community of early European settlers to a busy, fast paced tourist destination has resulted in different communities and competing interests aiming to prove their place and legitimise their position in society. This is for both self image and also to gain a sense of place. History and memory has therefore been an important tool for competing interests to inject themselves into the veins of the community.

The rural community use history as an important part of their self identity and their heritage. As descendants of the original inhabitants in the region, and having largely witnessed the evolution of the town within their lifetime, the rural community have seen a change in their way of life and in their position in the community. They have seen their original town flooded for economic gain and have seen the creation of new industries bringing thousands of tourists into their once isolated quiet community. History is used to assert belonging and authenticity. History is also used to present

\[277\] Waterhouse. ‘The vision splendid’, p.274
ownership and identity. It is used to transmit a connection to the area, focusing on heritage and cultural experience in order keep their past and way of life relevant in today’s society.

The Snowy Mountains Scheme had a larger challenge in its aims to legitimise their position in society. It’s commissioners and the government had to justify its existence of the program to a national audience while dealing with issues of local displacement and a continuing need to assert their legitimacy within a climate of criticism over various issues. Snowy Hydro and its public relations unit have dealt with this using history as a tool to indoctrinate wide audiences. While history has not been as important in Snowy Hydro’s justification as it was previously, it is still employed readily to assert its role in the building of modern Australia. Those who worked on the Snowy Scheme also use history to allow their achievements to remain relevant. Frank Rodwell, a security worker with the Scheme and a Cooma resident argues that the Snowy Scheme was the happiest time of the worker’s lives.²⁷⁸ Chris Davidson recollects “I will always remember the SMA for its great leadership and approach to getting things done”.²⁷⁹ It is memories such as these which are testament to why the workers use history and how they do so. The sale of Snowy Hydro also stirred the use of history as a defense from those affected by and involved in the myth rather than by those who control it.

The National Parks and Wildlife Service use history very effectively to create a sense of inclusion in the area as well as to produce a dialogue between the competing sections of society. This strategy incorporates National Parks aims and goals with the differing interests within the other sections of society as well as creating cohesive community relationships and promoting increased communication. This involves dialogue with the different sections of the community including the

²⁷⁸ Frank Rodwell. ‘Homes on the range: A history of the townships and campsites built during the construction of the Snowy Mountains Scheme’, (SMEC print: Cooma, 1999), p. 4

²⁷⁹ Rodwell. ‘Homes on the range’, p.20
Aboriginals of the Monaro, the Kosciuszko Huts Association, the tourism industry and the rural community. The environmental lobby, concerned with reviving the Snowy River use history and heritage to highlight the importance of the Snowy River to Australia’s national character. Their use of history is aimed at protecting natural and cultural heritage in the area and feeds from the national myth and pride evoked by the Snowy River.

Finally, the business and tourism industry use history to attract and increase tourism in the Snowy Mountains. This also, inadvertently in some cases, helps to create stronger ties in the region and give continued life to the local heritage and the stories of the past. The use of history by the ski resorts and skiers show that multiculturalism and the sport of skiing have a long history in the Snowy Mountains and help to create a sense of place similar to that sought after by the rural community. The use of history also maintains the stories and the experiences close to those tied to the area by leisure and natural belonging.

There are many examples in this thesis of common goals and mutually beneficial outcomes. However, differing interests and opinions in rural communities often lead to tensions and chilly relationships. History and memory help to legitimise authority in the area. Furthermore, they have proven in some cases, to have improved community relations and reconcile the past. History is a living thing, and is a powerful political device. While history is not as important as it once was, as communication and technology change the way people relate to each other and the way they live their lives, there is still a use for it and there is still a great deal of respect for the past in Jindabyne and the Snowy Mountains. People may not believe they are engaged in history but this thesis shows that the use of history does not only affect those who have a strong interest in the subject matter. Transmission of a local identity and a sense of place are very important factors which help to legitimise one’s position in society. History promotes and helps to maintain the relevance of the past.
as society continues to evolve. History also allows residents from different walks of life to have a sense of place in the area.
Bibliography

Primary Sources

Interviews:

Barry, T. Interview, 30 August, Jindabyne, 2011.

Marshall, B. Interview, 29 August, Jindabyne, 2011.

Pendergast, N. Interview, Jindabyne, 30 August, 2011.

Woods, D. Interview, Jindabyne, 29 August, 2011.

Periodicals:


Paddy Pallin. ‘Paddy Pallin advertisement’, Snowy River country 2, (Summer/Autumn 1985), p.3.


Books:


Rodwell, F. ‘Homes on the range: A history of the townships and campsites built during the construction of the Snowy Mountains Scheme’, (SMEC print: Cooma, 1999).


Young, J. ‘*Memories of old Jindabyne: A collection of newspaper articles*’, (Snowy River Historical Society, 1993).


**Documents:**

Barry, L. Trist, E. Heel, J. ‘*The Snowy River: Why it should be harnessed in the interest of Australia*’, (The Snowy River Hydro Electric Development League: 1941).

Michael Bergmann, M. ‘*The Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme: How did it manage without an EIA?*’, Australian National University graduate program in public policy: Discussion paper 90, February 1999).


Pender Lea Chalets tourist brochure, Jindabyne, 2011.

Reynella Kosciusko Rides pamphlet, Jindabyne, 2011.

Snowy Hydro. ‘Keeping the information flowing’ pamphlet, Cooma, 2011.

Snowy River Shire Council. ‘Policy Title: Road Naming’, 18 April, 2006.

Thredbo Valley Horse Riding tourist brochure, Jindabyne, 2011.


*Electronic sources:*


**Newspaper articles:**


**Secondary Sources**

*Published:*


