

Archie Moore: Memory Descriptions ANGELA GODDARD

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Installation View
Archie Moore
Family Tree 2018
Conté crayon on black board paint
Site-specific installation
following

Installation View
Archie Moore 1970-2018 Griffith University Art Museum
Brisbane, 8 March - 21 April 2018

Memory has been in all of my work somewhere. I'm still intrigued by who I am, what I think I am, and the reasons why.

-Archie Moore 1

Archie Moore's practice is hard to categorise—which is paradoxical, given that he is an artist sensitive to the nuances of classification. Working across painting, photography, sculpture, installation and performance, and using materials ranging from scent to magazine pages, he refers to a multitude of idioms and traditions, and even has a couple of alter-egos. ² More than style or genre, Moore is is most interested in fascinated by systems, classifications and taxonomies, and the ways we trust these to make sense of the world. He is deeply interested in what structures leave out, and what they don't make sense of, posing questions and pointing out failures: of translation, knowledge and memory.

Moore's identification of fissures or weaknesses in systems of knowledge is supported by his own uneasy fit into established criteria. He is Aboriginal, but doesn't characterise his indigeneity by identification with a specific nation. He is "maybe Kamilaroi". His family's history is one of dislocation from tradition. Many of his works pose questions regarding the ways that Aboriginal people have been—and still are—categorised and classified.

This is a personal matter. Many of Moore's works explore domestic spaces which evoke his own experiences and memories. *Archie Moore 1970-2018*, the new project for Griffith University Art Museum, draws upon some aspects of his many works that have used homes and interiors as subjects, by dividing the gallery space into seven *cameras*, or rooms. Some are reminiscent of specific experiences and spaces from Moore's early life, and some allude to emotional states. In the initial meetings regarding this project, Moore described a wish to show the audience the inside of his brain.

Born in 1970, Moore grew up poor, in a now-demolished fibro house in Tara,³ a small town of less than a thousand people on the western slopes of the Great Dividing Range leading to the Darling Downs. Tara is dry and hot in summer and frostbitten in winter; the surrounding areas are farmed for wheat, beef, wool and gas. Several layers of intergenerational trauma are embedded in this landscape. Huge numbers of Aboriginal people in the region were exterminated by the squatters in frontier warfare from the mid-1850s.⁴ In the early twentieth century, under the Queensland Government Group Settlement Scheme, war-traumatised soldier settlers with little or no agricultural knowledge or capital were settled onto brigalow and prickly-pear riddled plots that were too small to sustain a living, and failed soon after.⁵ Moore belonged to one of two Aboriginal families in town, with a white father and an Aboriginal mother. He says: "Where and how I lived was determined by factors of economy, family and identity. We lived on the outskirts of town, in a house of peeling paint and holes." His maternal grandparents came from Glenmorgan, around 80 kilometres further west, where they lived in corrugated-iron sheds with dirt floors. ⁷

After a materially and emotionally impoverished childhood, Moore moved to Brisbane as a young adult, becoming associated with The Campfire Group in the mid-1990s. This loose collective of artists, whose members included Richard Bell, Bianca Beetson, Michael Eather and Laurie Nilsen, took a politicised stand against uncomplicated conceptions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait identity as "pure" or "authentic", in performances and sculptural installations. Moore participated in the Campfire Group's 1996 project *All Stock Must Go!* for the Second Asia Pacific Triennial (APT) at the Queensland Art Gallery. The artists parked a cattle truck in front of the gallery, loaded with Aboriginal art, mass-produced tourist kitsch and other objects labelled with price tags and available

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for sale, with "the artists staffing the truck and the hand-lettered signs displayed around it [urging] consumers to *buy*, *buy*," Everything on the truck (including its wheels) was sold before the conclusion of the APT. Although Moore soon moved on to formal art training, the Campfire Group's provocative and genre-busting projects were formative for his art.

In 2000, at the conclusion of studies at Queensland University of Technology, Moore was awarded a Samstag Scholarship, enabling a year's placement at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague the following year. While in Europe, he saw Gregor Schneider's *Totes Haus u r* 2001 in the German pavilion at the 49th Venice Biennale, a construction of twenty-four rooms transported to Venice from an apartment building in Schneider's hometown of Rheydt, Germany. Many of Schneider's installations explore psychological residue and unease within architectural spaces. For Moore, the sense of "being inside his [Schneider's] memory, in the act of remembering" was deeply affecting.¹⁰

Notions of "home" and signifiers of childhood have emerged in Moore's work throughout the past decade. In *Archie Moore 1970–2018*, we move through a series of rooms, each given a Latin title. Moore has arranged objects to create vignettes within each space. While incidents in the past and their reverberations in the present have been recurring subjects for many Indigenous Australian artists, in Moore's installation events are not revealed in narrative form. The usual entrance to the gallery is blocked, and the viewer, a little like Alice in Wonderland falling down the rabbit hole, is presented with a choice of three doors:

Camera Verbum (Word Room) 2018

This door leads to a darkened room with two video projections of words and phrases flashing into the corners; one listing words heard inside Moore's home; the other words heard outside the home. Both lists of phrases are in capital letters, seeming to shout but with no sound; almost all are disturbing insults. Embedded into one of the facing walls are three objects: an 'American' cockroach specimen fixed in resin, a pair of knitted booties and a clay pipe.

Camera Obscura (Darkroom) 2018

The middle door leads to a camera obscura, a small room into which is cast an inverted view of the outside world.

Camera Familiaris (Living Room) 2018

This third door leads down a corridor, reeking of the disinfectant Dettol, along which is hung a paint-by-numbers image of Mary and Jesus and some early paintings by Moore. This corridor leads to a space littered with domestic objects suggesting a loungeroom—an old TV, a vinyl-covered couch, a bike frame on the floor, a deteriorating window blind, a bookshelf stacked with comics and books and a tape player with a self-hypnosis tape. In the corner on the floor is an element from a larger installation entitled *Depaint* (2014), a paint skin replicating patterned linoleum. Against the wall, an old kerosene fridge emits breathing noises

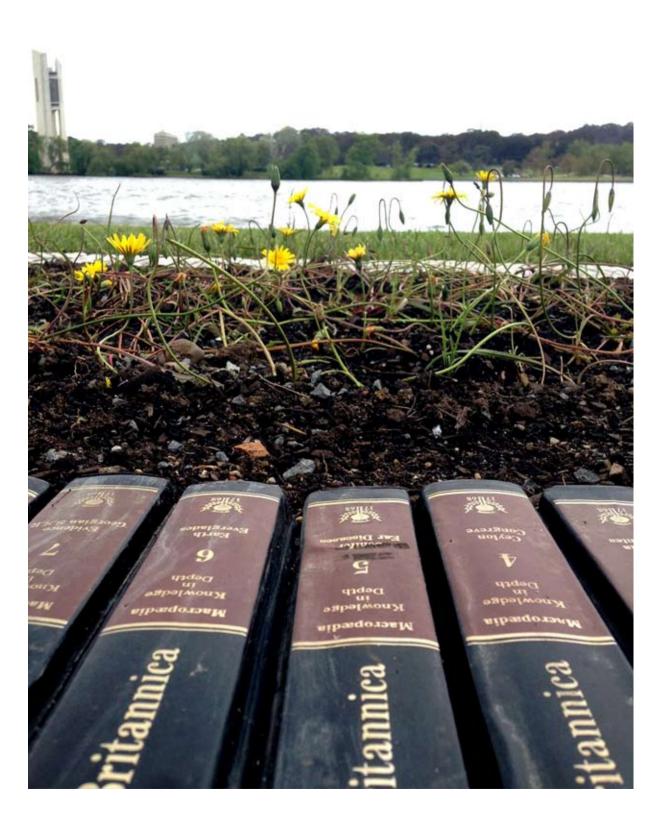
After entering the gallery through one of these doors, the viewer can walk into a sequence of further rooms:

Camera Schola (Schoolroom) 2018

This space suggests a classroom, with school chairs, a desk with textbooks, Kent geometry sets, books of poetry and an old binder decorated with stickers. Projections of 16mm films produced by the Department of Education in the 1960s and '70s, including *Aborigines of Australia* 1964, appear on a screen at the front of the room. On the walls are a large hanging of a grid, and a blackboard with a chalk drawing of the formula for the 'inclusion-exclusion principle'.

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Camera Affecta (Mood Room) 2018

In a back corner of the gallery is an indeterminate space; this room is dark and filled with fog and a low-level, reverberating audio track fills the space.

Camera Aviae (Grandmother's Room) 2018

This room is lined with corrugated iron and a dirt floor, with a twig broom, a 44-gallon drum, a kerosene lamp and a rusted folding shearer's bed.

Camera Lucida (Light Room) 2018

Lit starkly by overhead lights, a central floorpiece of dry and cracked terracotta clay sits underneath a row of bland indoor plants, the kind you might see in an office or a hospital waiting room.

There is no prescribed route through the gallery, and most rooms present alternative doors. The cumulative effect of the rooms is disjunctive. Very deliberately, the *Camera Obscura (Darkroom)* turns us on our heads. Or is what we are seeing the right way up? The human eye works like a pinhole camera: light moves into the eye through the pupil, a hole that is made smaller or larger by the iris. Light passes through the lens to project an upside-down image onto the back of the retina—this is the image we see, but our brains flip it. In Moore's "dark chamber" we are encouraged to consider possible fissures between perception and reality

Many of the rooms relate to Moore's previous works. *Camera Familiaris (Living Room)* 2018 has resonances with Moore's 2010 work *Dwelling*, which was presented at Accidentally Annie Street Space, in a timber-and-tin house in the leafy inner-city Brisbane suburb of Auchenflower. This work comprised props and texts scattered throughout the rooms of the house, from a couch defaced with graffiti in the loungeroom to toys and drawings in the kitchen drawers. The audience was invited to rifle through the chattels and explore the rooms of the absent occupiers. Derogatory phrases Moore remembered hearing from relatives, such as "wild black", were inscribed on the shower curtain and the bathroom window. A camera obscura was presented in the entrance room, reflecting the bright blue sky and the almost identical roofline of the house next door.

The educational experience cited in *Camera Schola (Schoolroom)* 2018 echoes the sentiment of several earlier works. In 2002 Moore exhibited a series of blackboards titled *Words I Learnt from the English Class*, in which racial and homophobic slurs written in delicate cursive script reflected on his "education"; and his series of children's calculator games were shown in 2009 at the Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney. Moore's public art work *Crop (Noun/Verb)* 2016, on the foreshore of Lake Burley Griffin, Canberra, comprised 700 kilograms of half-buried encyclopaedias with their spines facing skyward, encircling a plot of yam daisies (*Microseris lanceolata*), the roots of which were an important food source for Aboriginal peoples in southern and south-eastern Australia. As Moore describes:

Without any visible forms of what was known then as agriculture, (to the Europeans) the yam daisy was just a field of flowers and not a crop. Aboriginal people had education, science, astronomy, trade routes, a legal system, villages, etc. But this wasn't visible due to the sense of racial superiority the occupiers brought with them. Some have said they didn't even see any humans, just a vast land of flora and fauna. With only an oral language the wealth of Indigenous knowledge was buried or ignored completely in school textbooks and academic writings, as history "written by the victors". ¹²

Moore's playful manipulation of taxonomies of knowledge—in this case bringing into dialogue the western educative function of the encyclopaedia with the Aboriginal knowledge of farming practices

sustained by oral traditions—is characteristic of many works. The demarcation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander nations was the subject of Moore's projects 14 *Nations* 2014 and *United Neytions* 2017, which drew upon data collected by surveyor and self-taught anthropologist R.H. Mathews (1841–1918) in his development of a map of twenty-eight Aboriginal nations published in 1900. We now know there were many more nations on the continent and its islands, and that Mathews's information was biased and ill-informed. Moore designed flags for these incorrectly identified nations, using loose symbology based on geographical features, customs, and shield and body-paint designs associated with each group, as well as designs he simply found attractive. In doing this he adopted Mathews's methodology, which was, as Moore describes,

giving limited time to thoroughly research some of the national boundaries; thinking when I have a creative block that something close enough will suffice, and when overwhelmed with conflicting information, choosing just any name for the area, delving into a field I have little experience and knowledge in. 13

Mathews's misguided confidence and presumed authority is echoed in Moore's titling of the rooms in Latin, the "dead" language of scientific classification, which still resounds in educational, legal and religious contexts; the formality of Latin jars with Moore's emotionally resonant spaces.

No element of *Archie Moore 1970–2018* is an exact replica of a work shown previously. Moore understands that retelling and redescribing memories is selective and inaccurate, especially when those memories relate to trauma. He has used the corrugated-iron walls, dirt floor and fog that appear in *Camera Affecta (Mood Room)* and *Camera Aviae (Grandmother's Room)* in earlier works — *Whipsaw 2017* and the 2016 Biennale of Sydney work *A Home Away from Home (Bennelong/Vera's Hut)*—but here these material elements are configured differently, in response to the gallery space and the location.

Each viewer apprehends these spaces differently, underscoring the contingency of memory. As Moore points out: "I'm interested in . . . this idea of shared experience or being in [someone else's] shoes, or, more accurately, the unverifiability of knowing if another person's experience is the same as your own."

14 This he sees as emblematic of the struggle to reconcile Indigenous and non-Indigenous relations: "I see all this as a bit of a metaphor for the failure of reconciliation. Can Indigenous and non-Indigenous ever really, fully understand or have empathy for each other?"

15 The Australian anthropologist Ghassan Hage believes not, arguing that reconciliation or "a national memory or a non-contradictory plurality of memory is impossible", because Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians are placed in opposition, divided by difference in race, experience and agency in the colonial past.

Interactions with the western art historical canon are often visible in Moore's works, from his painting "skins" such as *Depaint* 2014, which recall conceptual and process-driven approaches to painting from the 1960s and '70s,¹⁷ to later installations involving dirt floors that evoke Walter De Maria's *The New York Earth Room* 1977.¹⁸ Moore's works often have a critical relationship with institutional gallery spaces and art objects. But rather than a mode of institutional critique that calls into question the validity of the museum space, seen for example in the American artist Renee Green's archive-like installations that examine forms of knowledge and exchange, or the meticulously immersive yet impersonal installations of the British artist Mike Nelson, Moore is often interested in creating emotional responses.

The autobiographical examination of domestic spaces in *Archie Moore 1970-2018* could be compared to Gregor Schneider's replicas of his family home in Germany, which it has often been suggested respond to trauma in the artist's early life. Schneider's unnerving works lead viewers down

corridors, through dark bathrooms, into cellars and coal holes; they reveal how perversely interested we are in the trauma of others, how with very little information we can make powerful projections into empty rooms. He said once: "I do not know whether the house is a refuge or dungeon." ¹⁹

While Moore expresses his admiration for the emotional effects of the meticulous replication that characterises Schneider's installations, his interest does not lie in creating mimetic reenactments: we are always aware of the constructed nature of the encounter he orchestrates within the institutional gallery space. For Moore, the Duchampian readymade is important, and many unassuming household objects he includes in *Archie Moore:* 1970–2018 acquire a charged status within the gallery context.

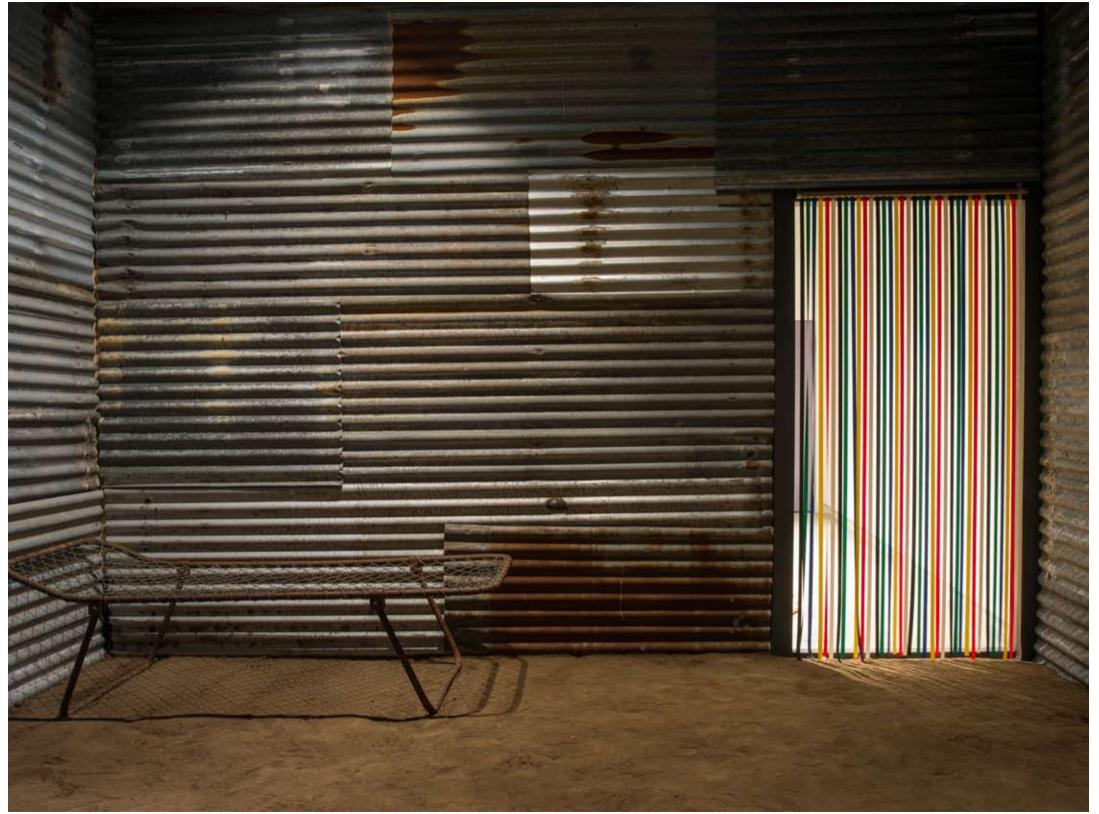
The playful and poetic juxtapositions of everyday objects, puns and symbols in the *Décor* works of Belgian artist Marcel Broodthaers (1924–1976) also resonate with Moore's installation, as does Broodthaers's inclusion of past works with borrowed objects such as furniture and indoor plants. But unlike Broodthaers's broad range of cultural moments and references, *Archie Moore 1970–2018* focuses the audience on what we imagine are the subjective, personal meanings of the objects for the artist himself. Moore deliberately embeds personal memories within works that examine interior spaces, at the same time allowing for the viewer's own associations. Memories, of course, are not only visual; they can be evoked by all the senses, and Moore has used scent in many works. He says this about the clay floor of *Camera Lucida (Light Room)*:

My memory of times with my father is activated by the smell of woodfire smoke and clay, the clay deep under the earth. He would take me on trips to the scrublands to his earthmoving jobs, using a bulldozer to make dams and roads on a farmer's property. When I am passing an excavation site for a new building and they've dug down far enough into the earth to release that smell of clay I am reminded of those moments. 20

Within the rooms of *Archie Moore 1970–2018* equivalence is drawn between the viewer and the artist. We are encouraged to touch, to sit on the chairs, perhaps even to "walk a mile" in his shoes. Is he evoking his own experiences to attempt connection with the viewer, or to examine how wide the chasm might be between the artist's and the viewer's experiences? We could borrow historian Alison Landsberg's concept of "prosthetic memory" to think about this relationship, where cultural forms (most often cinema and television) make it possible for anyone, regardless of race, ethnicity, or gender to share memories—to assimilate as personal experience historical events they did not live through.²¹ Perhaps we could add works of art to this set of cultural forms. Cultural memory studies now increasingly see memory as a place of interlocking layers—comprising the intimate, the personal and the national; the deep and distant past, the past of living memory and the present.²²

Moore's approach to memory also asserts its openness and fallibility, in the face of sustained scrutiny of Aboriginal people's memories, such as during the 1990s "history wars", when the accuracy of Aboriginal memories of past violence and racism was countered by claims to historical "truth". 23 When discussing his 2014 series of scents *Les Eaux d'Amoore*, Moore explained: "I wanted it to be an audience sniffing my memories," says Moore, "but how can they remember what I remember? Do I even have an accurate recollection of my own experience?" Some of Moore's memories are patchy, obscured by traumatic events; some he's not sure even happened. The old kerosene fridge in the corner of *Camera Familiaris (Living Room)* 2018 refers to Moore's memory of being locked inside a similar fridge as a small child. The soundtrack inside conveys his heavy breathing. Decades later, Moore isn't sure if this event really happened, or if it's simply a family story. 25

Archie Moore is one of many Indigenous artists over the last three decades who have explored the continuing effects of historical trauma. Dale Harding's freestanding room installation *their little*



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Archie Moore

Crop (Noun/Verb) 2016

Yam Daisies (Microseris lanceolata), encyclopedias

700 x 100cm approx

Commissioned for the inaugural Contour 556, curated by Neil Hobbs Harris and Hobbs Public Projects foreshore of Lake Burley Griffin

Photograph: Archie Moore

this page Installation View

Archie Moore 1970-2018 | Camera Aviae, Griffith University Art Museum Brisbane, 8 March - 21 April 2018

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black slaves, perished in isolation 2015 recreated a narrow hallway leading to a burnt-out bedroom. The accompanying text panel quoted Harding's Ghungalu grandfather Uncle Tim Kemp recalling a young woman "isolated and alone, away from home", locked in her bedroom at night by her "employers" who perished in a fire when she knocked over a kerosene lamp. 26 Judy Watson's in our skin 2012 recounts the massacre of Waanyi people in the early 1880s and the accounts of contemporary journals that described Aboriginal people's ears nailed to the walls of Lawn Hill Station. Watson rendered forty pairs of ears in wax and nailed them to a wall in her installation for the exhibition Contemporary Australia: Women. In 2016 Tess Allas and David Garneau curated With Secrecy Despatch for Campbelltown Arts Centre to mark the bicentenary of the Appin Massacre southwest of Sydney, where many more than the fourteen Aboriginal people officially recorded were killed at the order of Governor Lachlan Macquarie. For her 2016 work Hunting Ground (Haunted) Van Diemen's Land 2016, Julie Gough filmed locations that matched written accounts of violent attacks on Aboriginal people in Tasmania in the first thirty-five years of invasion, placing these texts in the very landscapes that they described. 28

Eyewitness accounts or documentation of specific events are not available to Moore, due to the turmoil of his own family history.²⁹ However, the impact of trauma on Aboriginal people across generations is now increasingly coming into scientific focus. In recent years, epigenetics has revealed that the legacy of the colonisation of Australia and the Stolen Generations lives on in the genes of Aboriginal people. This biological mechanism explains the intergenerational effects of trauma on disease risk, stretching back to the first impacts of colonisation, supporting what Aboriginal people and historical accounts have known and detailed.³⁰ Archie Moore's works demonstrate that periods of our past keep forming and haunting us.

Ultimately, we cannot know if we are successful in our attempts to step into Moore's shoes and experience his memories. Although Moore is pessimistic about the likelihood of empathy with his own experiences, his continual exploration of the possibility suggests there is value in the struggle.

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- ⁷ Archie Moore in Tess Maunder, "A Conversation with Archie Moore," Ocula, 1 March 2016, https://ocula.com/magazine/conversations/archie-moore.
- ⁸ Jen Webb, "Negotiating Alterity: Indigenous and 'Outsider' Art," *Third Text* 16, no. 2, (2002): 137-152, doi:10.1080/09528820210138281.
- ⁹ George Petelin, "The History of the Campfire Group," in Shoosh!: The History of the Campfire Group, ex. cat., ed. Michael Eather (Brisbane, Qld: Institute of Modern Art, 2005), 13.
- ¹⁰ Conversation with the artist, 16 January 2018.
- 11 Exhibited as part of Contour 556 / 016, Harris Hobbs public art event (31 October 2016 13 November 2016).
- ¹² Archie Moore, "Crop (Noun/Verb), 2016." Artist statement, https://thecommercialgallery.com/artist/archie-moore/exhibition/786/archie-moore-crop-noun-verb.
- ¹³ From edited email interview between Steve Dow and Archie Moore, January 2017, https://thecommercialgallery.com/artist/archie-moore/exhibition/812/archie-moore-united-neytions
- ¹⁴ Archie Moore in Hill, "Archie Moore in Conversation," 82.
- 15 Ibid
- ¹⁶ Ghassan Hage, Against Paranoid Nationalism. Searching for Hope in a Shrinking Society (Annandale, NSW: Pluto Press, 2003), 91.
- ¹⁷ Other examples include Moore's *Aboriginal Rainbow* 2015, in the Griffith University Art Collection, part of a series of ten works made of dried synthetic polymer paint that reimagine the Aboriginal flag, in which the sun is replaced with appropriated symbols representing a range of religious, political and sexual ideologies. An earlier work, *Dermis* 2012, also deconstructs the Aboriginal flag, with each colour hung separately as if it was a skin on a rack.
- ¹⁸ These include Whipsaw 2017, and his 2016 Sydney Biennale work A Home Away from Home (Bennelong/Vera's Hut).
- 19 http://www.sgt.gr/eng/SPG1906/.
- ²⁰ Archie Moore and Matt Calder, "Relocating Land, Memory and Place: A Cross-Cultural Exchange," *Good Culture and Precariousness*, http://wp.lancs.ac.uk/good-culture/events/relocating-land-memory-and-place-a-cross-cultural-exchange/.
- ²¹ Alison Landsberg, *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2004), 2.
- ²² See Rosanne Kennedy and Maria Nugent, "Scales of Memory: Reflections on an Emerging Concept," *Australian Humanities Review*, April/May 2016, esp. 74.
- $^{23}\,Kate\,Darian-Smith\,and\,Paula\,Hamilton, "Memory\,and\,History\,in\,Twenty-First\,Century\,Australia:\,A\,Survey\,of\,the\,Field,"\,\textit{Memory}\,Studies\,6, no.\,3,\,2013,\,372,\,374-75,\,http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1750698013482868.$
- ²⁴ Archie Moore in Hill, "Archie Moore in Conversation," 82.
- ²⁵ Conversation with the artist, 16 January 2018.
- ²⁶ Collection of the artist. This work has been shown in QAGOMA and in the 3rd National Indigenous Triennial at the National Gallery of Australia, Canberra.
- ²⁷ Bruce McLean, "Judy Watson," in *Contemporary Australia: Women*, ex. cat. (Brisbane, Qld: Queensland Art Gallery | Gallery of Modern Art, 2012), 153.
- ²⁸ With Secrecy & Despatch, 2016, curated by Tess Allas and David Garneau, Campbelltown Arts Centre, Sydney.
- ²⁹ "My history and knowledge has been lost in the upheaval of my family history" Archie Moore, "14 Nations," *Courting Blakness: Recalibrating Knowledge in the Sandstone University*, ed. Fiona Foley, Louise Martin-Chew and Fiona Nicoll (St Lucia, Queensland: University of Queensland Press, 2015), 120.
- ³⁰ Emma Kowal, "The Promise of Indigenous Epigenetics," *Discover Society*, https://discoversociety.org/2016/10/04/ the-promise-of-Indigenous-epigenetics/. See also Thea Cowie, "NACCHO Aboriginal Health News: Media coverage and download AMA Aboriginal Health Report 2012-2013," *NACCHO Aboriginal Health News Alerts*, https://nacchocommunique.com/2013/12/11/naccho-aboriginal-health-news-media-coverage-and-download-ama-aboriginal-health-report-2012-2013/.

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¹ Wes Hill, "Archie Moore in Conversation," Eyeline, no. 82 (2015): 30.

² The artist's alter egos include Grubbanax Swinnasen and Magnus O'Pus. Also, he was named after Archie Moore, an African-American professional boxer and the longest reigning World Light Heavyweight Champion of all time (December 1952 - May 1962).

³ Until the mid-1980s, almost all fibro (fibrous cement sheeting) contained highly toxic asbestos. Moore recollects: "My brother and I would pick at the acrylic paint and peel it off the fibro in sheets. Other broken pieces of fibro—from the holes we, or others, made in the walls—would be played with and thrown like the frisbees we never had." Archie Moore, "Depaint (2014)," in SOUTH: Australia / Mexico / South Africa, artist statement (Gymea, NSW: Hazelhurst Regional Gallery and Arts Centre, 2014), 58.

^{*} For several thousand years, the Darling Downs was home to various clans. They numbered perhaps fifteen hundred to two thousand. Between 1840 and 1850 some two thousand white men (but few women) established fifty pastoral stations on the grassy plains; native fauna abandoned the polluted watercourses to 1400 horses, 43,000 cattle, and 600,000 sheep. The Aboriginal people were defeated and demoralised, and their numbers drastically reduced in the late 1840s by smallpox, influenza and syphilis. The survivors became casual station-hands, domestic servants or fringe dwellers—targets for ridicule, charity and, rarely, sympathy. By 1911 only fifty Aboriginal people remained on the Downs. See Maurice French, ""What Fate Awaits? The Indigenous Peoples of the Darling Downs in 1851-52," *Queensland Review* 9, no.1, 2002: 23-33. See also Mark Copland, Jonathan Richards and Andrew Walker, *One Hour More daylight: A Historical Overview of Aboriginal Dispossession in Southern and Southwest Queensland*, Toowoomba, Qld: Social Justice Commission, Catholic Diocese of Toowoomba, 2006; and Maurice French, *Conflict on the Condamine: Aborigines and the European Invasion*, Toowoomba, Qld: Darling Downs Institute Press, 1989.

⁵ See Murray Johnson, "Honour Denied: A Study of Soldier Settlement in Queensland, 1916–1929," PhD thesis (Brisbane: The University of Queensland, School of History, Philosophy, Religion & Classics, 2002), and Clive McAlpine and Leonie Seabrook, "The Brigalow," *Queensland Historical Atlas*, http://www.qhatlas.com.au/content/brigalow

⁶ Archie Moore, "Depaint (2014)," 58.