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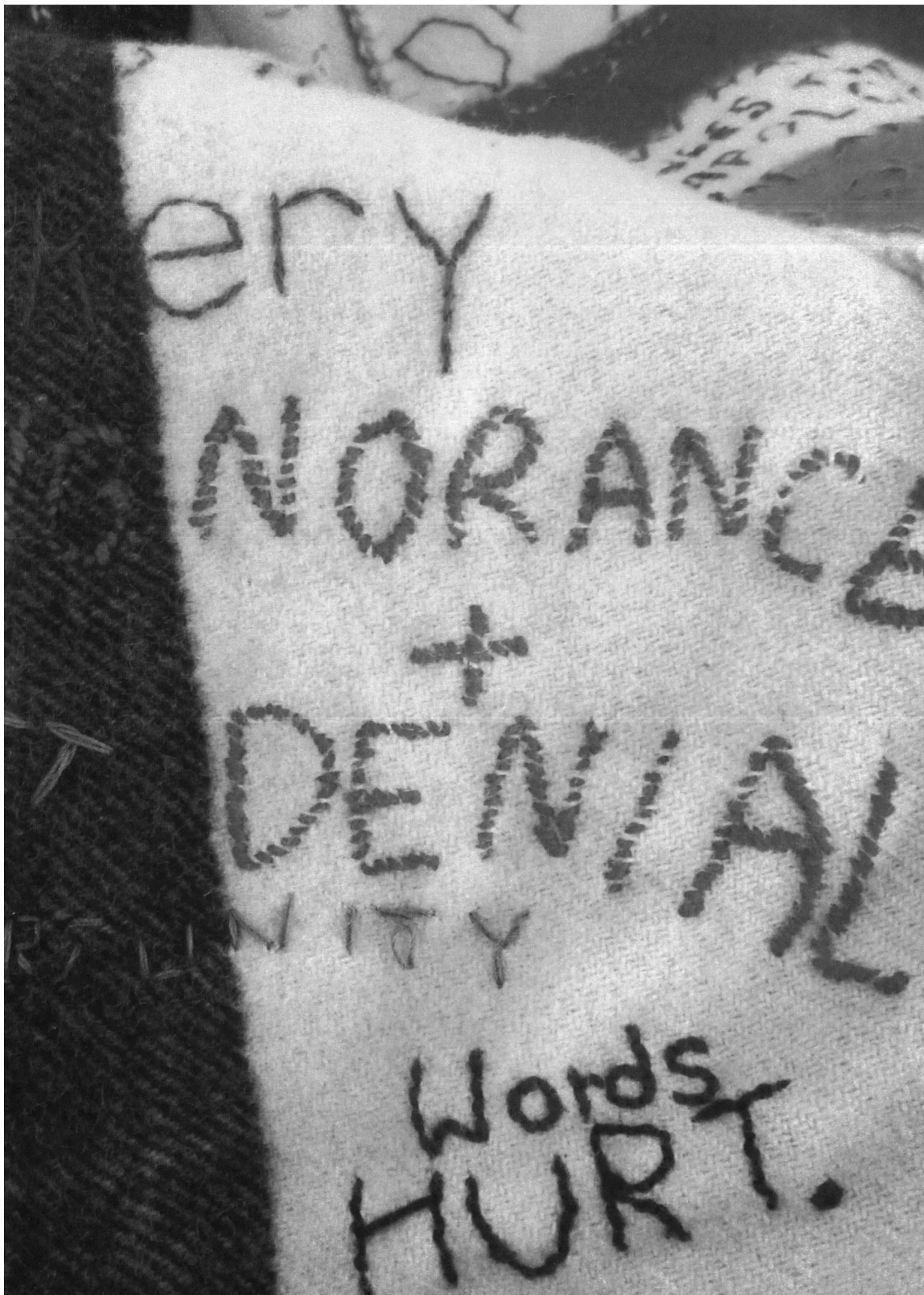
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# Settler-colonial Art History: A Proposition in Two Parts

DAMIAN SKINNER

*This is an edited version of a discussion paper that formed the basis of a workshop exploring settler-colonial art history in the Canadian context, held on 4–5 October 2013, at the Gail and Stephen A. Jarislowsky Institute for Studies in Canadian Art, Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec.<sup>1</sup> Special thanks to Kristina Huneault who helped to prepare this text for publication.*

## By way of introduction

Two years ago I became interested in the sizable migration of artists from Aotearoa New Zealand to London in the post-war period. I found myself asking why the experiences of these artists were not written into the narratives about New Zealand art. Why do they disappear from these narratives when they leave the borders of Aotearoa New Zealand, and then become visible again when they return?<sup>2</sup> Why, in short, isn't London, in the 1950s, considered to be a major site of New Zealand art production, like Auckland or Christchurch?

As I did more reading, I discovered that these artists from Aotearoa New Zealand were part of a much larger migration. After WWII, London became a destination for ex-colonial artists from around the world who wanted to practice as modernists. Indian, African, and Caribbean artists challenged the hierarchies of colonialism and the colour-barred subjectivities of modernism by travelling to the metropolis and claiming a place for themselves within it.<sup>3</sup> This moment has been named New Commonwealth Internationalism.<sup>4</sup> It is part of a growing body of art history dealing with “alternative modernisms” and their relationship to the dominant narrative of modern art in Europe and North America.<sup>5</sup> It has been presented as a process of decolonization, not least because the British art scene welcomed these artists as a way to secure London as a metropolitan art centre, and as a way to manage the end of empire.

I also realized that, like their colleagues from Australia and Canada, the New Zealand artists taking part in New Commonwealth Internationalism differed from the artists from other former colonies in one crucial way: they were settlers, whose ancestors had come from the Old World to colonize

the New.<sup>6</sup> The dynamics of settler exclusion from a modern subjectivity are entirely different to those experienced by native or indigenous artists from Africa, India and Guyana who went to London to be modernists. Colonized in relation to the metropole, settler artists are colonizers back home. Although settlers from the ‘white dominions’ formed one of the major populations involved, the settler is virtually invisible in current art historical accounts. They are, therefore, not easily located in the narratives of decolonization that structure the dominant readings of New Commonwealth Internationalism

These discoveries led me to consider an analysis of settler colonialism. It occurred to me that settler colonialism was an unexplored factor in the art history and art production of Aotearoa New Zealand: both as an explanation and primary dynamic shaping art, but also as a possible method for breaking down the unholy alliance of art history and the nation state. Settler colonialism is a transnational phenomenon, and it encourages flows and networks between colonies as well as between colonies and the metropole. Ultimately, I have become increasingly aware of the strange dynamics of settler colonialism as a particular mode of colonial activity, and its awkward relationship to postcolonial theory and to narratives of decolonization. To consider settler artists from Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia and Canada in London in the 1950s as somehow sharing in a moment with native artists from Asia and the Caribbean creates a number of conceptual and political problems. It is quite obvious that settler colonialism will have significant implications for indigenous and settler art practices. It seems like it might also have implications for art history.

In this text I explore the framework of settler colonialism, and the insights of settler-colonial studies, in order to consider how art history can be done differently – not only in Aotearoa New Zealand but in other settler societies as well. One of my key intentions is to propose a model for writing a new kind of art history that will actively grapple with the impact of settler colonialism on both artistic practice and art historical narratives. This text, then, is my initial attempt at understanding what decolonization might mean from my position as a settler art historian.<sup>7</sup>

What I refer to as ‘settler-colonial art history’ sets out to understand how cultural practices in settler-colonial societies are shaped by the strange dynamics of settler colonialism, such as this one articulated by Terry Goldie: “The white Canadian looks at the Indian. The Indian is other and therefore alien. But the Indian is indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien within Canada?”<sup>8</sup> Wrestling with this central problem has shaped both settler and indigenous cultural practices. As a kind of settler-colonial studies, settler-colonial art history will engage with the implications of settler colonialism in settler and

indigenous cultural practices, from the beginning of the colonial encounter to the present. As a proposition in two parts, the essay begins by summarizing key insights from the developing field of settler-colonial studies, and proceeds to articulate ten ways in which they might alter art historical practice.

### Settler-colonial Studies and the Specificities of Settler Colonies

Settler-colonial studies is allied to postcolonial studies in the sense that both are practices that seek to reveal – and thus disrupt – the ongoing legacies of European colonialism.<sup>9</sup> What distinguishes the settler-colonial approach is the observation that the particular realities of settler societies – where colonialism continues unabated – require specific articulation and analysis. It might thus be described as the subset of postcolonial studies that addresses those cultures and contexts in which decolonization is impossible – or at least cannot take place in the same ways as it has unfolded elsewhere. Settler-colonial studies works to identify the legacies of settlers, and the implications of the dynamics that structure settler colonialism.

These dynamics are set out in Jürgen Osterhammel's book *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, which proposes a three-part typology of colonies. Exploitation colonies are usually the result of military conquest, and they are characterized by a relatively small colonial presence of civil bureaucrats, soldiers and businessmen (but not settlers) who eventually return home after doing their service in the colony. The purpose of exploitation colonies is to establish trade monopolies, exploit natural resources, levy tributes, and thus create economic wealth, strategic value and national prestige. Maritime enclaves permit indirect commercial penetration of a hinterland, as well as supporting the use of maritime forces to gain indirect control over formally autonomous states; they are the result of fleet actions known as 'gunboat diplomacy'. The third kind of colony is the settlement colony; it results from military-supported colonization processes and is characterized by a permanent resident colonial population of farmers and planters, who eventually achieve self-government. Osterhammel divides settler colonies into three variants: the "New England" type, which displaces and even annihilates the economically dispensable indigenous peoples, the "African" type, which relies on an indigenous labour force, and the "Caribbean" type, in which a suitable labour force is imported as slaves.<sup>10</sup>

Settler colonialism is not equivalent to migration or colonialism but these categories are related. Migrants and settlers both move across space and often reside somewhere new, but as Mahmood Mamdani suggests, settlers "are made by conquest, not just by immigration."<sup>11</sup> Settlers establish political orders and carry sovereignty with them, whereas migrants appeal to an already

constituted political order. As James Belich puts it, an “emigrant joined someone else’s society, a settler or colonist remade his own.”<sup>12</sup> Migrants move to another country and lead diasporic lives; settlers move to ‘their’ country. Settler colonialism has a sovereign charge and regenerative capacity, whereas other modes of colonialism are driven by an external metropole that remains distinct and promotes settlement as a means of securing control of a locale. Settlers stay, whereas the European colonial sojourners like missionaries, administrators, entrepreneurs, etc., typically return home.<sup>13</sup> While settlers establish new political orders, they also see their collective efforts as defined by “an inherent sovereign claim that travels with them and is ultimately, if not immediately, autonomous from the colonising metropole.”<sup>14</sup>

Settler colonialism was a rather late development, as the first waves of colonialism tended to focus on highly organized and densely populated regions. As Donald Denoon writes, “From the beginnings of European voyaging, merchant adventurers set their sights on regions which were already densely settled, and whose populations were already organized in centralized and coercive politics. Only much later did Europeans begin to occupy regions which were more sparsely settled, and more loosely governed.”<sup>15</sup> Initially, Europeans desired to extract trade goods from established producers; it would take time before they began to establish new kinds of production with little or no assistance from indigenous peoples.

Colonies that follow the “New England model” proposed by Osterhammel would include the United States, Canada, Australia, and Aotearoa New Zealand; in these countries, settlers “sought to construct communities bounded by ties of ethnicity and faith in what they persistently defined as virgin or empty land.”<sup>16</sup> This logic involves extermination, not exploitation, as the point was not to govern or enlist indigenous peoples in economic ventures, but to take their land, pushing them beyond an ever-expanding frontier. If colonialism is understood to be a relation of domination in which an invading minority seeks to control indigenous people according to the dictates of a distant metropole, then settler colonialism doesn’t neatly fit into this framework. Settlers often tried to weaken or rid themselves of metropolitan control, as well as get rid of indigenous peoples.<sup>17</sup>

The logic of extermination is thus a critical component of settler colonialism. While Amil Cabral has suggested that colonial genocide of native populations was counterproductive since it created “a void which empties foreign domination of its content and its object: the dominated people,” Patrick Wolfe observes that this is only true in situations in which colonialism is dependent on native labour, rather than being premised on the displacement of indigenous peoples so that the land is available for settlers to inhabit.<sup>18</sup> In the context of settler colonialism, it is the non-disappearing

native who causes a problem. As Wolfe puts it, paraphrasing Deborah Bird Rose, “to get in the way all the native has to do is stay at home.”<sup>19</sup> Wolfe develops this distinction by referring to the relationship between Native Americans and African Americans in North America. Native Americans were cleared from the land, rather than exploited for their labour, with displaced Africans supplying labour to make the expropriated land productive. Attitudes towards miscegenation show how settlers treated these two populations differently. “Briefly, whilst the one-drop rule has meant that the category ‘black’ can withstand unlimited admixture, the category ‘red’ has been highly vulnerable to dilution.”<sup>20</sup> Since black labour was commodified, and thus valuable, a white plantation owner would father black children, whereas a white father would only produce “half-breeds” with a Native American mother, compromising the troubling and troublesome indigenous status of the offspring.<sup>21</sup> As Wolfe writes:

The primary object of settler-colonization is the land itself rather than the surplus value to be derived from mixing native labour with it. Though, in practice, Indigenous labour was indispensable to Europeans, settler-colonization is at base a winner-take-all project whose dominant feature is not exploitation but replacement. The logic of this project, a sustained institutional tendency to eliminate the Indigenous population, informs a range of historical practices that might otherwise appear distinct – invasion is a structure not an event.<sup>22</sup>

This is a crucial interpretative distinction, the central dynamic that distinguishes settler colonialism from other forms of colonialism. Settler colonialism is not a master-servant relationship marked by ethnic difference, and it is not a relationship built on the indispensability of colonized peoples. Rather, what makes settler colonialism unique is the dispensability of indigenous peoples.

In an essay about Antarctica, Adrian Hawkins suggests that it is not people but space that sits at the heart of the settler-colonial project and proposes that, since the southern continent has no permanent populations of any kind, it is the “ideal settler colony.” “Not only does this idea challenge the notion of a settler-colonial mentality forged in the struggle against an Indigenous population, it also unsettles the assumed centrality of settlers themselves.”<sup>23</sup> In contrast to this point of view, Annie E. Coombes writes that “the distinctiveness which could be said to mark out the various white constituencies as ‘Australian,’ ‘South African,’ ‘Canadian’ or ‘New Zealander’ is fundamentally contingent on their relationship to and with the various

indigenous communities they necessarily encountered. In other words, the colonizers' dealings with indigenous peoples – through resistance, containment, appropriation, assimilation, miscegenation or attempted destruction – is the historical factor which has ultimately shaped the cultural and political character of the new nations, mediating in highly significant ways their shared colonial roots/routes.”<sup>24</sup>

If land is the central focus of settler colonialism, and relations with the territorially dispossessed are a determining factor in the histories of settler colonies, race is the discourse that binds them together. Interestingly, Tracey Banivanua-Mar and Penelope Edmonds suggest that race is a key ideological tool in the shaping of landscapes, since race naturalized the narratives of extinction that justified the removal of indigenous peoples. “Race has thus taken up residence, not just in the well-explored statutes, policies, language and other social infrastructures of settler-colonial societies. It has also found permanent residence in settler-colonial landscapes and cityscapes, where racially coded legacies continue to generate contests over the ownership and belonging of space.”<sup>25</sup> It was not enough to assert legal processes that transferred ownership from indigenous peoples to settler populations, or to create and manage social processes of dispossession. The land itself also had to be re-imagined and remade, and in this process the ideologies of race and the organization of space became intertwined, based on the remarkable commonality that both are conceived of as natural, given, and elemental.

According to Lorenzo Veracini, when settler societies are established, two negative alterities are created: migrants, who have not moved to establish a political order; and indigenous populations, who have not moved. These are the exogenous and indigenous others of settler colonialism. The most essential dichotomy of colonialism, which is colonizer and colonized, becomes a more complex relationship between three agencies in the settler polity: settler colonizer, indigenous colonized, and differently categorized exogenous alterities (migrants).<sup>26</sup> This relationship is still predicated on the elimination of everything other than the settler: indigenous others will disappear through extermination, expulsion, incarceration, containment, and assimilation; while exogenous others can be dealt with through restriction and selective assimilation.<sup>27</sup> The other major dynamic of colonialism, that of metropolitan control, can be challenged through an affirmation of settler sovereignty, either through revolution (the United States) or a co-ordinated devolution of responsibility (the ‘white dominions’ of Australia, Canada, and Aotearoa New Zealand).

Of course, despite the best efforts of settlers to physically and discursively eliminate indigenous peoples, they do not conveniently disappear. Indeed, settler colonialism ensures that they remain in sight, since it is common



for settler nationalism to incorporate references to indigenous peoples and cultures in order to assert indigeneity. This emphasises that settlers are indeed at home in the new land and differentiates them from the imperial centre that they have left behind. While the intention is to supplant the original inhabitants, constructing a native identity through appropriation of native cultures has unexpected consequences. Most significantly, it “marks a return whereby the native repressed continues to structure settler-colonial society.”<sup>28</sup> And in turn, this means that the native counter-claim to settler claims that the indigenous people have disappeared is registered at the core of settler cultural and political processes. Nicholas Thomas has explored the implications for settler societies:

While indigenous peoples’ claims to the land are being denied or forgotten, elements of their culture are being prominently displayed and affirmed. The “native” status of the new settler nation is proclaimed in a fashion that perforce draws attention to real natives who are excluded. The effort of certain settler artists and designers to localize settler culture thus animates a powerful but unstable set of terms, which I want to characterize as a “native and/or national” identity. Over time, or indirectly, local signs could be (and have been) reappropriated by natives, to draw attention to their precedence, and to reassert indigenous sovereignty – perforce at the expense of the legitimacy of the settler nation.<sup>29</sup>

This “native and/or national” identity is another way of describing the ambivalence that structures settler colonialism. What is expected to be a temporary relationship involving settlers, indigenous, and exogenous others and the metropole, becomes instead a permanent state of affairs. This perennial struggle between native and settler indigeneity is what Chadwick Allen calls the “Fourth World condition,” and at stake is not just rights to tangible resources such as land, minerals or fisheries, but symbolic resources like authenticity and legitimacy. It is a clash that, in Allen’s words, “continues to be regulated by tensions among the contradictory desires of dominant settlers to identify with indigenous peoples, to supersede them, and to eradicate them completely, either through absorption or genocide.”<sup>30</sup>

Settler societies are confounded by the fact that indigenous peoples have not disappeared, even as the settlers remain politically and culturally dominant. As indigenous peoples assert themselves culturally and politically, settler states have wrestled with indigenous rights to land and sought to redress discrimination. But, as Thomas writes, “the intimate connection between the foundations of settler societies and the dispossession of prior

occupants makes any larger resolution elusive and intractable.”<sup>31</sup> Because settler polities carry their own sovereignty, settler legal processes cannot question initial assertions of sovereignty and settler societies block the reality of colonialism from their historical memory. If decolonization is understood to be a process whereby a colonial state is transformed into a self-governing territorial successor polity, then the settler state is already this polity; the process has already happened. If decolonization is understood to involve sovereignty negotiated between polities, then this is quite different to the settler-colonial situation, where it has to be negotiated within a single polity.<sup>32</sup> In these circumstances, the indigenous peoples’ call for decolonization is thus a kind of secession, which threatens the nation state and is not supported by international law. As a result, decolonization cannot unfold as it does in Third World contexts.

Instead, decolonization in settler-colonial contexts is about indigenous peoples “living under political arrangements to which they have consented.”<sup>33</sup> It requires mutual agreement between settlers and indigenous people as to how they can be part of the same state. Frequently, the discursive strategies appropriate to this renegotiation are not those that have been used in Third World contexts and favoured by postcolonial scholars. As Chadwick Allen observes, indigenous peoples in Aotearoa New Zealand and the United States or Canada do not seek to deconstruct the authority of particular colonial discourses – such as treaties, for example – so much as they seek to re-recognize them.<sup>34</sup> The point of indigenous discursive strategies around treaties is to force dominant powers to recognize and remember agreements and honour them; this would reinstate and reinvigorate the colonial discourse’s original powers. The dominant colonial narrative is not to be disrupted or displaced, as postcolonial analysis would insist, so much as it is to be realigned with contemporary needs.

In this context, strategic essentialism becomes a productive and powerful tool for indigenous people to use to counter the rhetorics of settler colonialism. Chadwick Allen proposes the “blood/land/memory complex” to explore the discursive strategies of indigenous writers in Aotearoa New Zealand and the United States. This trope “makes explicit the central role that land plays both in the specific project of defining indigenous minority personal, familial, and communal identities (blood) and in the larger project of reclaiming and reimagining indigenous minority histories (memory).”<sup>35</sup> Such language disrupts the classic model of postcolonial liberation, however, where the assertion of essentialist marks of ethno-political identity is only a first step, to be followed by the construction of an identity that is anti-essentialist. In settler-colonial societies, this supposed first stage of identity politics remains central to indigenous struggle. As Allen puts it, “Without

clear lines drawn, literally, in the sand, indigenous minorities risk their total engulfment by powerful settler nations.”<sup>36</sup> The logic of elimination, which is at the heart of settler colonialism, makes it easier to understand why indigenous peoples in settler contexts identify essentialism as a major ongoing strategy in their processes of decolonization. It precisely attacks the attempt to eradicate indigenous populations, whether literally or discursively.

If the tools and strategies most necessary to indigenous peoples in settler-colonial societies differ from those that have been effective in classic exploitation colonies, the settlers have also adopted distinctive techniques and positions. In settler colonies, for example, it is the settler – just as much as the indigenous person – who mimics and negotiates unstable, hybrid identities. At issue here is the double role of settlers as colonized by the imperial centre, as well as being colonizers of the indigenous peoples they seek to displace. Though what colonization means for settlers and indigenous people is crucially different – in one case land was given, in the other it was taken away – settlers nevertheless find themselves occupying both ends of the colonial stick.

Settlers arrived in the colonies under diverse circumstances: some, such as convicts in Australia, were sent forcibly, while others were “refugees” from social and religious persecution, while still others were opportunists seeking economic advancement, or agents of government or religious institutions who decided to stay on.<sup>37</sup> They tended to retain less allegiance to the home country than those who went to exploitation colonies, and in many cases they had less freedom and ability to participate in governance than those in the home country. They were, as Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson write, “frequently characterized in domestic cultural and political discourses as ungovernable, uncultured: as ‘colonials’ they were second-class – belated or feral – Englishmen, and often came to be seen as political or economic rivals to the domestic citizens of the ‘home’ country.”<sup>38</sup> The result was sometimes a feeling of being colonized – of being European subjects but not European citizens – which results in the settler’s double identity as both colonizer and colonized.

In this dual position, the settler subject has to engage with both the authentic imperial culture and indigenous authenticity. The settler is caught between Europe and First Nations, two First Worlds that are both origins of authority and authenticity. “The settler subject enunciates the authority that is in colonial discourse on behalf of the imperial enterprise, which he (and sometimes she) represents,” write Johnston and Lawson, but this is both a representation and a mimicry, as the settler is separated from the authentic imperial culture and speaks on behalf of, but not quite as, the metropole.<sup>39</sup> Mimicry is also at work in the settler’s desire for native authenticity as a way

of properly belonging in the new land. As Johnston and Lawson put it, “In becoming more like the indigene whom he mimics, the settler becomes less like the atavistic inhabitant of the cultural homeland whom he is also reduced to mimicking. The text is thus marked by counterfeittings of both emergence and origination.”<sup>40</sup>

This double identity also means that the initial decolonization of settler populations, which takes the form of nationalist cultural movements, obscures the other processes of decolonization that need to take place between settler and indigenous peoples. Historically, the double identity of the settler as colonizer and colonized becomes a way for settler narratives to disavow any responsibility for the dispossession of indigenous people. Such dispossession was achieved, so the argument goes, by the British imperial centre, or by the first European arrivals who are responsible for ethnic cleansing, such as the ‘vicious convicts’ who settled Australia – that is, by anyone other than the settler state and the descendents of the original settlers, who merely occupy a land made vacant by the real agents of colonialism.

Such disavowals have made settler colonialism difficult to detect; in metropolitan histories no effort is made to distinguish between emigrant and settler, while in national histories the settlers are inhabitants of a polity yet to arrive: they are proto-Australians, proto-New Zealanders, or proto-Canadians. The settler gets to hide behind the emigrant and the future citizen, and as a result, a specific type of political sovereignty becomes invisible.<sup>41</sup> Making settler colonialism visible necessitates an awareness of the conflicting tendencies that fracture the settler collective: the desire for indigenization and national autonomy sits uneasily with the desire to replicate a European, civilized lifestyle.

Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson have argued that the term “settler” obscures the political processes of this mode of colonialism, focussing attention on the majority white populations “without taking account of the physical violence and representational erasure done to indigenous communities in order to achieve that ‘whiteness.’”<sup>42</sup> They suggest that the first step in a postcolonial analysis of settler colonies is to use the more accurate term “settler invader.” According to Johnston and Lawson, “Postcolonial analyses – as opposed to nativist celebration – of settler subjectivity has been impelled by the inevitable recognition that the term ‘settler’ itself was, and always had been, tendentious and polemical. That is, the word ‘settler’ was itself part of the process of invasion, it was literally a textual imposition on history.”<sup>43</sup>

The discursive implications of that imposition for the triad of settler colonialism – settler, indigenous, and exogenous other – need to be actively interrogated. How, for example, should we think of the African-Caribbean

slaves brought to Canada in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? What does it mean to describe them as settlers? Or what of the Russian Dukhobors who homesteaded in the Canadian west? Their role in the settlement of Saskatchewan is undeniable and yet to call them settlers risks obscuring their situation as exogenous and repressed others within Canada.<sup>44</sup> For this reason, the term ‘settler’ must always remain in question within settler-colonial studies, even as it joins with other terms, such as ‘art history’.

### Ten Propositions for Settler-colonial Art History

*Settler-colonial art history will work to destabilize existing art historical narratives.*

In delineating this destabilization, it is helpful to distinguish between settler art histories and settler-colonial art histories. Settler art history is the art history of places like Australia, Canada, South Africa, and Aotearoa New Zealand. Written by the descendants of the European settlers, who over generations have displaced the descendants of the indigenous peoples, settler art history will be concerned with the cultural production of the dominant group. While settler art history had, by the end of the twentieth century, acknowledged indigenous art practice in its customary and contemporary forms, the majority of its attention and resources have remained focused on settler art production. It is, in other words, the narrative that underpins the displays in national galleries, and which is presented in survey texts and university courses; it is New Zealand art history, or Canadian art history.

A specific variant of Western art history, settler art history will be characterized by, on the one hand, a desire to eliminate or assimilate the indigenous presence, especially through the mythology of an empty land which the settlers have transformed into home; and on the other hand, an ambivalent relationship with the metropole and the cultural production of Europe, expressed through a deep investment in ideas of nationalism. We can see this tension clearly, for example, in Dennis Reid’s account of Canadian painting. For Reid, “The remarkable dialectic perpetuated by successive generations – each championing a position opposite to that of its predecessor on the question of whether Canadian painters should seek their measure against an international (i.e. mid-Atlantic) standard or in purely indigenous values – gives the history of our painting its unique shape.”<sup>45</sup> After noting that settler culture flicks between the double poles of authority and authenticity, Reid works to resolve the tension: “As a historian I have attempted to present the two views objectively in the firm belief that all our best painters have managed to find common ground in their genuine desire to confront the

Canadian sensibility through the medium of their art.”<sup>46</sup> The challenge of settler-colonial art history, as opposed to Canadian art history, is to articulate how claims to these kinds of authority and authenticity are being wielded, by and for whom, and to disrupt their naturalization by demonstrating the ways in which they fail.

*Settler-colonial art history will be engaged with, but not the same as, western art history and indigenous art history.*

Settler-colonial art history is different from Western art history and its settler art history variant, because settler-colonial societies are characterized by a profound engagement with indigenous cultural practices. This has meant a transformation in the way art history goes about its business. As Ruth B. Phillips suggests, “many of new art history’s key issues had already been problematized by scholars of non-western art because cross-cultural study had sensitized them to the ways that western paradigms of art deform emic, or culture-based, understandings of objects.”<sup>47</sup>

The idea of what constitutes art is less certain in settler societies because there is more than one kind of object and history in play; and art history’s limitations might be recognized earlier, and for different reasons, than in metropolitan centres. Settler-colonial art history will, for example, have a much stronger relationship with anthropology than in other parts of the world, since anthropology can offer useful tools for addressing artworks that fall outside the kinds of objects and practices that art history has evolved to deal with. Settler-colonial art history will find itself accounting for objects and situations that are sometimes profoundly different from the subjects of canonical art history. As an example, a history of modern art in Canada or Aotearoa New Zealand would have to consider kinds of artworks and art practices not dealt with in the survey text, *Art Since 1900: Modernism, Anti-modernism and Postmodernism*. In addition, concepts like modernism and postmodernism don’t cohere in settler societies, and therefore different intellectual strategies are required to avoid a narrative of provincial dependence on the metropolitan centre.

Settler-colonial art history must be attentive to ideas put forward by the indigenous people who are now such active participants in the artistic and art historical discourses of settler societies. Like settler-colonial art history, indigenous art history challenges the precepts of western art discourse. For example, the linear and progressive and evolutionary model of history that underpins much Western art history writing, is at odds with the form of indigenous art history I know most about Māori art history. Māori art history subscribes to a notion of “whakapapa toi hou,” which describes the genealogy

of new forms of Māori art in light of their continuity with customary art practices, and which is concerned with recuperating and integrating the past into the present and future. Māori art history appeals to, and wields, a conceptual model drawn from Māori knowledge systems that prioritize Māori ways of thinking. Thus, the Māori art historian requires both genealogical and cultural knowledge to operate. Māori art history is also politically charged, concerned with challenging hegemonic practices of settler culture that discriminate against both Māori art, and perhaps most importantly, Māori ways of thinking about Māori art. Its goal is not just to recuperate Māori artists and add them to the canon, but also to rethink the values and hierarchies that will construct and sustain the canon of Māori – and then New Zealand – art.

Māori art history suggests that customary Māori knowledge templates can be legitimate frameworks for shaping Māori artistic practice and its evaluation, and this stance challenges the idea of Western frameworks that are usually considered to be the sole criterion for artistic evaluation. Cultural representation is a site of inevitable conflict as opposing cultural systems and ideologies collide. Without alternative indigenous art historical frameworks, the Māori cannot assert themselves in this site of cultural representation in a way that challenges the desires of settler cultural systems. In the past, Māori art was erased from art history, banished to museums as a form of craft or ethnographic artefact. Settler art histories are now trying another tack: Māori art as an independent notion is undermined, so that Māori art can be captured and renamed New Zealand art and thus placed in service of the nation. Māori art history and settler-colonial art history are concerned with resisting these processes.

Yet, although settler-colonial art history must be attentive to indigenous art history, it will nevertheless be distinct from it. Indeed, as a settler, I find it difficult to know how I would practice Māori art history. Partly this is ethical. For example, there is an urgency in a lot of Māori art history, a cultural politics that creates a kind of anger bubbling under the surface, which I can't share since, as a member of the dominant majority, I've done quite well out of art history's relationship with settler colonialism. Māori art historians are able to authoritatively advocate for conceptual frameworks and definitions that would make me, as a settler, feel deeply uncomfortable; for lots of reasons, settlers don't get to tell indigenous people what they are, or how they should behave. But another part of my difficulty with 'doing' indigenous art history as a settler is conceptual. There are certain knowledge systems that apply to Māori art that, as a settler art historian, I cannot actually use.

*Taonga* is a good example of this. This term refers to objects that have been shaped by the conventions of customary practice, and to which words

and stories have been attached over time. As Hirini Moko Mead writes, a *taonga tuku iho* (taonga handed down) “is a highly prized object that has been handed down from the ancestors. Implied is the notion of *he kupu kei runga* (there are words attached to it).”<sup>48</sup> Mead suggests that the task of the art historian, when it comes to taonga, is to identify the discourse that surrounds the object and, by connecting this discourse to the artwork, make it operative. While this perspective might make it seem as if the art historian can naturally find a place within the framework of taonga, I think this situation is, from the point of view of Māori and settler-colonial art history, far more complex.

If taonga are all about words and stories (*kōrero*), and the art historian’s task is to reveal these through research, then it is also important to note that these words and stories can most easily be discovered when taonga return home to the owning group, where the stories and words will be known. The art historian’s task is to find the *kōrero*, something that they can’t just create themselves, but something that belongs to a specific group of people, and is controlled by that group. A settler art historian would have to be an expert in Māori language, genealogy and tribal sayings to have much hope of identifying *kōrero*, and then it is unlikely that they would be able to gain access to the knowledge, precisely because it wouldn’t have anything to do with them as a settler.

Ultimately, taonga are inaccessible to art historians, but they can be a tool to wrest control of Māori art from settler art history, art historians and art institutions. Taonga support a form of decolonization precisely because they disrupt typical art historical manoeuvres and claims, both on the level of cultural politics and on the level of practice. Arguably, the question of who is embodied in an artwork, and their relation to other ancestors and their descendants, isn’t a valid art historical question at all, although it will feed into an analysis of reception and how people use and relate to artworks.

I would also address the differences between settler-colonial and indigenous art history from the point of view that it is valid to recognize that settlers have their own agendas. How, for example, does the settler-colonial art historian maintain a critical distance in the face of native claims? Is the settler-colonial art historian obligated to take their cues from indigenous peoples and practices, and therefore to represent indigenous perspectives? What if settler-colonial art history needs to emphasize rupture and discontinuity in order to guarantee its integrity as an intellectual investigation, and cannot, for whatever reason, approach Māori art in a way that supports the political aspirations of Māori art history? Or what if its art historical criteria and interests are simply not appropriate to the indigenous context?



Again, taonga can serve as an example. Some of the questions that a settler-colonial art history may want to address – art historical questions around quality, style, or the techniques of making, for example – sit awkwardly with the Māori idea of taonga. If taonga are so treasured, and if they are your or someone else’s ancestors, then it is just bad manners or simply beside the point to concern yourself with which one is best, or processes of technical fabrication and stylistic influence. What matters is who these taonga are, the words that come with them, and what they can contribute to the creation of group identity in times of crisis. This can mean that art history’s tools and purposes are not always desirable or interesting to Māori art history; and conversely that Māori art history’s tools might not be easily bent to art historical practice.

Nevertheless, there are obvious reasons why settler-colonial art history will be interested in indigenous frameworks like taonga. Since indigenous art is a kind of time traveller, with the potential to establish continuities across time, it has the ability to challenge the chronological dynamics of art history. The sense of history in indigenous art is not the same as the articulation of history in art history; indigenous art can therefore answer certain key problems that art history is also grappling with. One of the things that taonga do is suture the past and present together. As Paul Tapsell puts it, taonga are “performed” by knowledgeable elders in times of crisis or significance, to construct and reinforce group identity, “which effectively collapses time and reanimates the kin group’s ancestral landscape, allowing descendants to re-live the events of past generations.”<sup>49</sup> Taonga effectively close the gap between the past and the present, because they are animated; in some cases they actually are ancestors. Taonga can perform an alchemy that has huge implications for art history, especially if we agree with Michael Ann Holly that art history’s disciplinary companion is melancholy, since “the works of art with which art historians traffic come from worlds long gone, and our duty is to bring these material orphans into our care and breathe new life into them.”<sup>50</sup> Art history’s task is to enliven ‘dead’ objects. Taonga are not orphans or relics in this sense, and their performance in appropriate times and places by experts collapses any distance between the object and the audience. In other words, taonga remove the need that art history exists to address, the distance that it seeks to bridge.

All of this raises some further questions. Who is settler-colonial art history for? Is it just for settlers, and not for indigenous peoples? And precisely which settlers is it for? What about the non-exogenous others who are also caught up in the dynamics of settler colonialism? Do new migrants from Africa or Asia participate in settler-colonial art history? Clearly, it would

be a mistake to reinscribe the dominance and centrality of Anglo-settler subjectivity. How will settler-colonial art history deal with the variety of ethnic, political, gender, and class distinctions that inform, but are also often invisible, in the term 'settler'?

*Settler-colonial art history will pay attention to both settler and indigenous art practices, believing that these cannot, and should not, be separated.*

It is not enough to simply deconstruct the discourses of settler privilege in settler-colonial cultural production. Rather, settler-colonial art history achieves its most powerful effects when settler and indigenous art production are brought into the same analytical frame. This is productive because it acknowledges the ways in which indigenous art has been refashioned by settler colonialism and enables us to identify the fissures, contradictions, and complexities in settler-colonial discourse in terms of the failure to eliminate the native and in terms of those moments when settlers forego violence in favour of more positive interactions.

Nicholas Thomas suggests that postcolonial analysis has exaggerated and reinscribed the western hegemonies that it sets out to challenge, as well as reinforced "a notion of the inscrutability of the other, as an unknowable alterity beyond discourse."<sup>51</sup> If indigenous art is gestured to, but not engaged with, the danger is that generalized and stereotypical images of indigenous cultural practices will be sustained. We could summarize his conclusions as: trashing your own history as a form of violent racism does not empower those who have been trashed by history; and refusing to explore the subtleties and contradictions of unequal exchange leads to seeing the other as beyond analysis, and thus sustains stereotypes.

Bringing settler and indigenous art together provides a way to escape these outcomes, in part because a cross-cultural art history traces not only moments of dialogue and exchange but also misconstrued dialogue and forced silence. "Indigenous people may inhabit a cultural domain that is largely unrecognized by colonizers; indigenous representations and self-representations are shaped by particular understandings of history, cosmology and land that often lie beyond settler vision," while "Colonial imaginings of place, past and future also have their own mythic proportions, and their own cosmological coherence; settler and indigenous visions alike affirm attachments to land, but in terms that are all but incommensurable."<sup>52</sup> Settler society brings these incommensurate cultural practices into close proximity, in museums, collections, exhibitions, in the space of public culture, and so on. To refuse to address both settler and indigenous art is to render important aspects of the nature of settler society interaction invisible. There

is no singular, coherent indigenous perspective that can be juxtaposed with a settler perspective and, in addition, settler and indigenous artworks sometimes operate in entirely different ways; however, the difficulties inherent in the task are not an excuse for not developing art historical frameworks that can grapple with this complexity.

If you sever indigenous art from art history, you lose the ability to analyse the ways in which colonialism has affected indigenous art. This, after all, is part of the story of indigenous art. You also ignore the fact that settler and indigenous art practices have, for a very long time, been entangled with each other; and that art is a sophisticated vehicle for articulating an interrelated history in which the multiple effects of colonialism can be engaged.<sup>53</sup> And finally, this disconnect overlooks the point made by Terry Smith that “Aboriginal people have, since the 1870s, but in the past few decades in particular, been making art which, although based on traditional imagery and purposes, is aimed specifically at non-Aborigines.”<sup>54</sup>

By recognizing that indigenization is the great desire of settler societies, settler-colonial art history will be alert to the cultural practices that pursue this goal and to its aspiration to create a discourse to complete the process. Consequently, since they are in competition for the right to call themselves indigenous and thus to claim the resources that emerge from this identity, settler-colonial art history pays attention to both indigenous and settler cultural practices. Placing settler and indigenous art within the same analytical frame means that not only do we see how they affect each other, but also how settler indigenization processes are disrupted by their appropriation of the indigenous cultural practices.

There are of course dangers in the process of incorporating indigenous art into settler-colonial art history, which run the risk of serving neo-liberal agendas to assimilate indigenous peoples into the state. Ultimately, addressing both settler and indigenous art is a form of colonization because it absorbs previously excluded indigenous art in the service of the nation-state and the various institutions that support it; but it is also decolonization because the installation of nationalist settler art movements as the dominant/sole history of settler societies ruptures settler desires to disappear the native so they can become native.

*Settler-colonial art history will resist art history’s investment in the visual.*

Art history has a habit of looking at art as images, rather than as objects with complex histories. In national surveys, and in much art history, paintings of historical subjects are included for what they show, their subject matter, but no attention is paid to the role of the object – how it operates in a variety

of ways, the lives it has had and thus the roles it has played in social and cultural processes. This blind spot of art history limits our analysis of both settler and indigenous art. Indigenous art makes us think differently, because many of these works cannot be treated as images. In seeking to accommodate this, art history will also be able to say something interesting and important about settler art, opening up the possibility that these artworks do not do all their work through their subject matter. This will also provide a much more effective way of tracking the multiple relationships between art practice and settler colonialism, since where, how, and for whom, an object is displayed might be much more important in terms of its effects than what it is made of.

The visual bias of art history has the potential to destroy the integrity of indigenous objects and consequently, settler-colonial art history will be attentive to the role of senses other than vision in the encounter with indigenous art. Where the visual remains the defining category, thus diminishing the importance of other expressive forms of ritual, storytelling, music, and dance, the result can rightly be seen as a continuation of a colonial legacy.<sup>55</sup> Art history favours a situation of encounter that is very specific: for example, when I visit a Māori meetinghouse to write about it, I am on my own, or sometimes with a photographer, without distractions so I can take notes and spend time looking at details, certainly while the meetinghouse is not being used by anyone else. And I am conscious of how other viewers encounter the same meetinghouses: during a meeting, say, which will include speeches and performing arts that will mention the ancestors embodied in the art; or during an extended stay when participants sleep in the meetinghouse and thus experience the art from different angles, at different times of day, or in different emotional states. For an anthropologist, or Māori art historian, a meetinghouse might be least expressive or interesting when empty of people.

Indigenous activism and academic critique have worked in tandem to question the way in which art history, informed by the values of colonialism and modernism, has elevated looking (visual inspection and experience) as the primary way of understanding and gaining pleasure from indigenous art. Many different senses are involved in perceiving and responding to the material world, but looking remains the privileged sense. In *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*, Elizabeth Edwards, Chris Gosden and Ruth B. Phillips begin with an anecdote about Gloria Cranmer and Wilson Duff, indigenous and settler anthropologists meeting in the storeroom of a museum in Canada. According to Cranmer, Duff “picked up a raven rattle, brought it over to me and asked, ‘Isn’t it beautiful?’ ‘Yes,’ I replied, and went back to my typewriter. He then asked, ‘But how do you read it?’ Impatiently I said, ‘Shit, Wilson, I don’t read those things, I shake them.’”<sup>56</sup>

Despite all the excellent ways in which critical developments in art history have challenged race, gender and class assumptions, “there is nonetheless a tendency to subsume the multisensory facets of complex art works, compressing aspects of performance and ritual that are auditory, kinetic, or olfactory.”<sup>57</sup> How might a Renaissance altarpiece be understood differently if we bring into play gesture, movement, and prayer? How might a meetinghouse be transformed if it is a venue for meetings, or a place to sleep? How might a rattle be transformed if it is shaken and used to make noise, or music?

This critique of the visual as the dominant mode in considering indigenous art illustrates one of the reasons why settler-colonial art history will have a special relationship with anthropology. Not only do art historians rely on anthropological literature to study the history of indigenous arts, but as Ruth B. Phillips notes, art history and anthropology both emerged in the nineteenth century “on a foundation of shared assumptions about the progressive movement of human history, the hierarchies of world cultures, and the criteria of aesthetic value.”<sup>58</sup> While art history’s concern with historical change resulted in an insistence on the historicity of indigenous art that counteracted the frozen time of salvage anthropology, “much contemporary anthropological work on indigenous arts is indistinguishable from that of art historians.”<sup>59</sup>

Art is not an instrument, but an arena, in which a variety of factors and agents are in play, often with contradictory intent. Art history brings the tools that have developed in this discipline to engage deeply with artworks, including the ability to escape simplistic ideas of art as illustrations or expressions of social structures. Anthropology brings the tools that have developed in this discipline to study non-western cultural practices, a long history of thinking about indigenous art, and an analytical framework that considers the relationship between objects, practices, and social relations and meanings.

Art history has undergone significant transformations since the 1970s, proposing three interrelated ideas: art historians should pay close attention to artworks as objects connected to, and constructed from, specific genres and practices and ideas of art; artworks operate historically, within specific societies and their economic, political and cultural systems; and the viewer, either as an individual, or as a social group, is critical in the production of meaning. As Jonathan Harris suggests, many contemporary art historians “share a broad ‘historical materialism’ of outlook: a belief that artworks, artists, and art history should be understood as artefacts, agents, structures, and practices rooted materially in social life and meaningful only within those circumstances of production and interpretation.”<sup>60</sup> Settler-colonial art

history recognises that the agendas and transformation of the so-called ‘new art history’ find parallels in the way art historians in settler societies have had to adapt their practices to account for indigenous art as well as the key role that anthropology has played in this process.

*Settler-colonial art history will pay attention to craft (and other forms of visual culture), thus upending the hierarchy of genres that continues to hold for art history in general.*

Settler-colonial art history cannot ignore craft because of the ways in which art history in settler societies is challenged by indigenous art and the genres of objects that require attention. As Ruth B. Phillips suggests, “The hierarchy of fine and applied arts is being levelled to accommodate media such as textiles and basketry and genres such as souvenir art which constitute important art forms for indigenous people but which do not fit the conventions of Western art.”<sup>61</sup> Art historians need to competently discuss beaded textiles, weaving, woodcarving, ceramics, and so on, as well as paintings, photography, sculpture and the other categories of fine art. The discourse around studio craft, as it has developed since the late nineteenth century, is therefore important for settler-colonial art history, as sophisticated thinking about craft and associated issues can be employed to engage with some of the important dimensions of indigenous art that are excluded by fine art discourse. By taking craft seriously, settler-colonial art history can further the understandable but also limited desire to elevate indigenous art from craft to art.

This is not just a question of appropriate methodologies, but it also concerns the visibility of indigenous art. Phillips makes the point that “For more than a century and a half (the length varies in different parts of North America) a considerable amount of the visual creativity of Native Americans has been expended in the realm of popular and commoditized art and touristic performance.” Because indigenous artists were unable to enter the realm of fine art, their work took place in the field of commercial art, or was classified as folk or naïve art. “It is, therefore, impossible to recover a sense of the continuous Native presence in art history if we limit ourselves to the fine arts.”<sup>62</sup>

The importance of visual production beyond fine art is also confirmed by the particular dynamics of settler colonialism. Much of the work of settler self-fashioning takes place in design, fashion, architecture, popular culture, tourism, commercial art, currency, and stamps, as well as the space of art, and this means that primitivism in settler societies is not the same phenomenon as that embodied by the European avant-garde in the early

years of the twentieth century. Keen to expose the insufficiencies of their own social structures, modernist primitivists adopted indigenous art as a subversive or critical gesture; in settler colonialism it is likely to be in service of a reactionary affirmation of a relationship to place at the expense of the indigenous inhabitants of the land.<sup>63</sup> The relationship that these instances of settler identity construction might have to topics such as the reactionary and anti-modernist characteristics of craft needs to be explored.

There is also a troubling relationship between craft and colonialism that settler-colonial art history is keen to unpack. As Olu Oguibe argues in relation to colonial Africa, art education played a role in maintaining the essential difference between colonizer and colonized. Natives, it was argued, lacked the ability to achieve certain creative outcomes that were the province of European peoples. “For Europe, the possession of an aesthetic sensibility was a crucial signifier of the civilized station, and the absence of this sensibility or of creative abilities on a par with that of Europeans constituted an unbridgeable gulf between savagery and culture.”<sup>64</sup> It was proposed that, while introducing fine art into the colonial curriculum was a waste of time since natives couldn’t handle art, aspects of European crafts might be useful to them. “This substitution of crafts for art on the curriculum was projected as an act of philanthropy when in truth it was part of a complex colonial strategy of iterative exercise of power over the colonized.”<sup>65</sup> This suggests that craft has a problematic status in colonial situations – as part of a system of oppression that uses craft’s inferior status vis-à-vis fine art to ensure that colonized and colonizer are distinguishable. This is reinforced by the long history of indigenous art being defined as craft, not art, which has shaped the conditions of display, reception, and meaning.

*Settler-colonial art history will be committed to escaping the limits of the nation-state.*

Art history’s own historical origin is a key discipline in the construction of discourses of nationalism but could the national focus of settler art history be equally related to settler colonialism? There are specific reasons why settlers focus obsessively on the nation. Crucially, the national/metropole dynamic transforms the settler from colonizer to colonized, and this enables a transfer of responsibility for the elimination of indigenous people in discourses of nationalism.

In order to rhetorically address – and erase – the prior claims of indigenous peoples, national art history performs a kind of re-enactment. As Stephen Turner writes, “The role of reenactment is to convert the idea of a new country that exists in the collective minds of . . . settlers into a country

that has always existed as such. While Pakeha [European New Zealanders/ settlers] in the first instance stepped ashore in someone else's country, the reenactment of this moment has them stepping ashore in their own country – the new country of New Zealand.”<sup>66</sup> As a case study in nation building, national art history participates in this process through its narrative of the settler's aesthetic 'discovery' of the essence of a New Zealand or Canadian identity that is indigenous – the settler made native. National art history, like national literature, reads “symptomatically for signs of the national character, often figuring it as an evolving – maturing – organic entity reflected in the themes and metaphors of canonical nation-building texts” and images.<sup>67</sup>

Linking nationalism in Aotearoa New Zealand or Canada to settler colonialism is a way to reconceive this phase in settler culture, not as primarily a distinct moment in national history, but as part of a larger international political force with cultural consequences that is a key factor in the modern era. This kind of contextualization enables us to compare and contrast different nationalisms, but also to understand the relationships between nationalisms in different countries. For example, Canadian nationalism via the example of the Group of Seven was held up as an example for other colonies of how to achieve a nationalist art when, in 1936, this development in Canadian art went on a triumphant tour to South Africa, Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. What effect did this event have on the development of national art and art history in these countries? Such questions provide the tools to critique nationalism, in part because they challenge nationalist rhetorics of uniqueness and regional distinctiveness. The same tropes appear in Australian, Canadian and New Zealand nationalism. Settler-colonial art history identifies this kind of repetition as a sign that nationalism serves a larger discursive purpose within settler colonialism.

*Settler-colonial art history, like settler colonialism, will be transnational in its focus.*

Art histories of settler-colonial societies suffer a paradox: the endeavour is always to articulate the distinctiveness of each place (Aotearoa New Zealand or Canada), and yet much of the distinctiveness is invisible precisely because of this tight focus on the nation and the lack of a comparative framework that would articulate other distinctive aspects of social and cultural dynamics in these societies. By remaining oblivious to analogous trajectories of other settler societies, we lack the rationale for a genuinely comparative settler-colonial art history and miss something important about each place. A risk is that the process ends up replicating the same dynamics in each case, a discovery of parallel structures that is a kind of dead-end.



What kinds of societies were involved in the meetings, invasive processes and processes of dispossession and resistance that characterize settler societies? As distinct social formations, each indigenous society has a different capacity for engagement. For example, pastoral settlement in Australia was devastating to indigenous peoples, whereas it did not have the same effect on indigenous people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Their single language, along with distinctive social structures and kinds of art production, has resulted in a discourse of biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand, something that simply couldn't have happened in Australia or Canada. In these places there is, for example, no single indigenous language that the settler state might identify as a counterpart in a bilingual discourse of parity (or pseudo-parity, as the case may be).

The key question is: how do you avoid reifying the idea of settler colonialism, and thus miss the subtleties and messy actualities of history? In Aotearoa New Zealand, for example, there are many historical moments when indigenous people were not eliminated but incorporated into capitalism in a way that looks much more like exploitation colonialism. It is important to ensure that the theoretical framework doesn't overpower attention to the complexity of these histories and transactions – both at the time, but also subsequently.

Because settler colonialism opens up links between settler societies as well as between colonies and the metropole, settler-colonial art history will track the way art moves between colonies, as well as through the mediating centre of the metropole. The point that the empire was shaped by the horizontal links and connections that fashioned interdependence between colonies as well as the vertical networks and exchanges between colony and metropole.. Colonial developments were “shaped by a complex mesh of flows, exchanges and engagements that linked New Zealand to other colonies as well as Britain, the heart of the empire.”<sup>68</sup> The empire is conceptualized as a web, rather than a spoked wheel. This leads to a connective history, rather than a comparative one, as it traces the networks and relationships established by people in the past, often in ways that do not make sense from contemporary perspectives, or through dominant frameworks such as the nation-state.

*Settler-colonial art history, like settler colonialism, will be transhistorical in its focus.*

One of the fundamental characteristics of settler-colonial art history is that its scholar-practitioners recognize themselves as settlers and claim this as a position from which to speak. But the notion of ‘settler’, like that of ‘indigenous’, is a discursive category shaped by history. For this reason, it is important to consider the phases of settler colonialism, and to understand

that this is not a monolithic or stable phenomenon that remains consistent or equivalent at every moment in time. While settler-colonial art history will work transhistorically, following settler colonialism as a mode that is remarkably persistent, it will also recognize that the specific nature of settler colonialism shifts and goes through different historical phases. The analytical effectiveness of settler-colonial art history will, to a large extent, depend on how these phases are articulated and understood in relation to the project of settler colonialism.

Because settler subjectivity is not the same at each historical moment, working transhistorically cannot simply involve a reductive and anachronistic projection of settler consciousness back in time. As well, we should remember that settler colonialism is a modality of colonialism almost more than it is a type of colony. The experience of different regions and different indigenous peoples needs to be accounted for: for example, the history and experience of colonialism in Canada is vastly different depending on the specific region you are talking about.

*Because settler colonialism is predicated on the disavowal of foundational violence and invests heavily in the psychic mechanisms that sustain this process, settler-colonial art history will make use of psychoanalysis as a methodology.*

The act of settlement that is at the core of settler colonialism is imagined before it actually happens. It is prone to conflicts between fantasy (imagined) and reality, resulting in defensive formations and thus an investment in disavowal, and repression. According to Lorenzo Veracini, “As the repressive character of sources makes a focus on what is concealed more interesting than analysis of what is explicitly articulated (and as archival and documentary sources remain inherently unsatisfactory), an historical analysis of settler-colonial forms and identity requires a specific attention to practice as a clue to consciousness.”<sup>69</sup>

In his analysis of settler colonialism, Veracini identifies a wide range of psychoanalytical tropes that are at work in settler societies. One of these is fetishism. The settler’s encounter with the other threatens to undermine the sovereignty of the self, and so it is often disavowed through a split consciousness that allows the other to be denied. At the same time recognized and negated, the other becomes a fetish. The indigenous person’s prior and meaningful relationship with the land upsets the settler libidinal economy, which requires the land to be unspoiled or untouched. Veracini portrays the moment of settler recognition of indigenous presence as a kind of primal scene, wherein the realization of a hitherto unsuspected or unprocessed reality – in this case indigenous occupancy and land use – is experienced as traumatic.<sup>70</sup> The primal scene also explains the particular inversion

whereby indigenous peoples are represented as entering the settler space, and disturbing peaceful settlement, *after* the beginning of settler colonialism. As Veracini puts it, “Since the trauma induced by the settler discovery of their presence follows the moment of inception of the settler memory, indigenous others are inexorably destined to be confirmed as the ‘peoples without history’ of Western intellectual traditions.”<sup>71</sup>

Colonialism has been articulated as an environment in which both colonizer and colonized are deformed by the experience, with statements by colonizers being a form of both ideology and social pathology. But settler colonialism is especially traumatized because the violent displacement of indigenous peoples occurs in conjunction with other kinds of trauma, including the dislocations of migration, or, in the case of Australia, the settler polity’s origins in the penal colony system. Ironically, the new society, which is formed on an act of violence towards the indigenous people, is also about escaping from violence, since people move to escape the uncertainties and violence of their previous home. As a result, settler societies embrace and reject violence at the same time. The original violence against indigenous peoples, the foundational trauma, has to be disavowed because settler societies must be represented as an ideal political body. When it is acknowledged or celebrated rather than disavowed, anti-indigenous violence is always represented as a means of ensuring the survival of the settler collective, rather than as founding violence.<sup>72</sup>

Settler colonialism is all about territory, and yet this territorialization of the settler is achieved by a parallel deterritorialization of indigenous peoples. Settlers fear revenge: representations of quiet, peaceful settlement are joined by representations in which settlers are threatened by the indigenous peoples, degeneration in the settler collective, effects of climate, distance, racial contamination, demographic balance, or by the land itself, which rejects the settler’s desire to consummate the relationship. Settler subjects are, as Renée Bergland puts it, obsessed with an original sin against indigenous people that makes the self possible but also stains it. “Native American ghosts haunt American literature because the American nation is compelled to return again and again to an encounter that makes it both sorry and happy, a defiled grave upon which it must continually rebuild the American subject.”<sup>73</sup>

*Settler-colonial art history recognises that all art practices, even those that seem to have nothing to do with settler-colonial dynamics, are part of the system that maintains the interests of the settler subject.*

Settler-colonial art history will be particularly interested in art and artistic practices that articulate the conditions of settler societies. The subject

matter of an artwork need not grapple explicitly with issues related to settler colonialism in order for it to be implicated in the operations of settler colonialism. All art objects and practices of that society are embedded in networks of finance, government, labour, and indigenous politics that situate them within settler culture, which is why settler-colonial art history will not only deal with art that thematises the dynamics of settler colonialism, but also art that seems entirely divorced from settler experience. The study of European art in settler societies is viewed as benign, because it is pre-colonial, or outside of the relations of colonialism. But this is not true. Doing this kind of art historical work has implications and it serves settler-colonial agendas.

### **By way of conclusion**

Since a settler-colonial framework suggests that accounts of local art production should include art made beyond the nation's borders, thinking about the relationship between settler colonialism and art provides a way to escape the idea of 'New Zealand art' and 'New Zealand art history' and even the idea of art in Aotearoa New Zealand. (A colleague in Aotearoa New Zealand, Leonard Bell, suggested that the correct phrase should be "art and Aotearoa," which I like very much.) Objects and discourses that shape 'New Zealand art' will originate in London, Sydney, Johannesburg, Vancouver, and Ottawa. As Canadian art historian Leslie Dawn has pointed out to me, we (art historians in Aotearoa New Zealand and Canada) don't spend enough time thinking about where people come from, or where they go. And so, to take just two examples from the twentieth century, we miss realizing that Harry Hawthorne, a key figure in Northwest Coast art, came from Aotearoa New Zealand; and that Erik Schwimmer, a key figure in Māori art, went to Canada. What takes place beyond the borders of our nations matters to our understanding of what happens within those same borders. It is my hope that settler-colonial art history will encourage a transnational, comparative and connective practice of art history.

I am also interested in what happens when settlers are encouraged to take responsibility for their position and privilege within settler societies, and to locate themselves in a way that disrupts the amnesia and invisibility that are central to settler colonialism. If invasion is a structure and not an event, then settler-colonial art history is a way to start decolonising art historical methodologies so that new ways of engaging with indigenous and settler art production become possible; in addition, art historical narratives can be aligned with the anti-colonial struggles of indigenous peoples and settler struggles to address their roles in colonialism. In many ways, settler-colonial art history becomes possible – and, I think, necessary – because a number of

indigenous and settler art historians are starting to articulate the notion of indigenous art history; this raises many conceptual and ethical questions for art history and for non-indigenous art historians working in settler societies. By articulating something called settler-colonial art history, I seek to enable art historians in all settler societies to recognize best practice wherever it is happening, and to sharpen and focus our ongoing investigation of the shared concerns that remain urgent in contemporary responses to settler colonialism.

## NOTES

- 1 The participants in attendance were myself (Auckland Museum, NZ), Kristina Huneault, Heather Igloliorte, Martha Langford, and Anne Whitelaw (Concordia University, Montreal, QC), Leslie Dawn (University of Lethbridge, AB), Dominic Hardy (Université du Québec à Montréal, QC), Anna Hudson (York University, ON), Carol Payne and Ruth Phillips (Carleton University, ON), Sherry Farrell Racette (University of Manitoba) and Carla Taunton (Nova Scotia College of Art and Design).
- 2 Exceptions are the few artists who went to Europe or the United States in the early twentieth century between the heights of colonial art and the nationalist movement of the 1930s; they are included as “The expatriates.” The inclusion, as this title makes clear, reinforces rather than disrupts the dynamic of exclusion.
- 3 See Olu OGUIBE, “Footprints of a mountaineer?: Uzo Egonu and Black Redefinition of Modernism,” in *The Culture Game* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 60–72; and Leon WAINWRIGHT, “Francis Newton Souza and Aubrey Williams: Entwined Art histories at the End of Empire,” *Visual Culture and Decolonisation in Britain*, ed. Simon Faulkner and Anandi Ramamurthy (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006), 101–26.
- 4 Kobena MERCER, “Introduction,” in *Discrepant Abstraction* (London & Cambridge: Institute of International Visual Arts & MIT Press, 2006), 15.
- 5 See the introduction in Rebecca M. BROWN, *Art for a Modern India, 1947–1980* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009).
- 6 As far as I have been able to ascertain, no indigenous artists from Australia or Canada, and only three indigenous artists from Aotearoa New Zealand went to London during this period.
- 7 I am conscious that ‘decolonization’ is not necessarily an accurate term in the case of settler colonialism, since settler colonialism is based on a superseding drive, rather than a reproductive drive. Decolonization is a means of breaking dominant relations, the absence of control; settler colonialism will, by contrast, mean an ongoing relationship. In settler societies, decolonization will involve staying around and not disappearing, on both the part of the native and the settler. If settler colonialism is a compound term, it will require an equivalent compound term for decolonization. What is this? Also, in some ways it is safe to talk about decolonization in settler societies, because it cannot be achieved: discussing it appears radical but there is ultimately nothing at stake.

- 8 Terry GOLDIE, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 12.
- 9 Henry SCHWARZ, "Mission Impossible: Introducing Postcolonial Studies in the US Academy," in *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, ed. Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray (Oxford, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 4.
- 10 Jürgen OSTERHAMMEL, *Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Princeton and Kingston: Markus Wiener Publishers & Ian Randle Publishers, 1997), 11–12.
- 11 Quoted in Lorenzo VERACINI, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 3.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Ibid., 6.
- 14 Ibid., 53.
- 15 Donald DENOON, *Settler Capitalism: The Dynamics of Dependent Development in the Southern Hemisphere* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 18.
- 16 Caroline ELKINS and Susan PEDERSEN, "Introduction – Settler colonialism: A Concept and Its Uses," in *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 2.
- 17 While the settler-colonial societies that I will be exploring in this project, namely Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand and Canada, were established in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, it is important to remember that settler colonialism is not just a phenomenon of this period in history. As Elkins and Pedersen note in their book *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, settler-colonial projects have been launched in the 20th century as well as earlier. However, with the exception of Israel, none of the 20th-century settler communities grew to be larger than the indigenous population and, whereas 19th-century settler societies escaped the political if not the economic control of the metropole, it remained politically important and maintained military control in these later settler colonies. (ELKINS and PEDERSEN, *Settler Colonialism in the Twentieth Century*, 3.)
- 18 Carbral is quoted in Patrick WOLFE, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (London: Cassell, 1999), 1. I am referring here to Wolfe's observations, as well as his quotation from Cabral.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 Ibid., 2.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid., 163.
- 23 Adrian HAWKINS, "Appropriating space: Antarctic Imperialism and the mentality of settler colonialism," in *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity*, ed. Tracey Banivanua-Mar and Penelope Edmonds (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 32.
- 24 Annie E. COOMBES, "Memory and history in settler colonialism," in *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2006), 1–2.
- 25 BANIVANUA-MAR and EDMONDS, *Making Settler Colonial Space*, 3.
- 26 VERACINI, *Settler Colonialism*, 16.
- 27 DENOON, *Settler Capitalism*, 210.

- 28 Patrick WOLFE, "Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8:4 (December 2006): 390.
- 29 Nicholas THOMAS, *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1999), 12.
- 30 Chadwick ALLEN, *Blood Narrative: Indigenous Identity in American Indian and Maori Literary and Activist Texts* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2002), 9.
- 31 THOMAS, *Possessions*, 11.
- 32 VERACINI, *Settler Colonialism*, 105.
- 33 Peter H. RUSSELL, *Recognizing Aboriginal Title: The Mabo Case and Indigenous Resistance to English-Settler Colonialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 142.
- 34 ALLEN, *Blood Narrative*, 19.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 16.
- 36 *Ibid.*, 199.
- 37 Anna JOHNSTON and Alan LAWSON, "Settler Colonies," in *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, 362–63.
- 38 *Ibid.*, 363.
- 39 *Ibid.*, 369.
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 VERACINI, *Settler Colonialism*, 14.
- 42 JOHNSTON and LAWSON, "Settler colonies," 362.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 365–66.
- 44 Doukhobors are a sect of Russian peasant dissenters known for their radical pacifism. In 1899, assisted by various Quaker and anarchist sects, and by the writer Leo Tolstoy, 7500 Doukhobors sailed to Canada. They lived as a community in what was to become Saskatchewan, but they were not permitted to live communally, and eventually they were denied homesteads altogether. From their initial migration to the present day, Doukhobors in Canada have experienced various restraints and prohibitions on their traditional way of life.
- 45 Dennis REID, *Concise History of Canadian Painting* (London and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), 7–8.
- 46 *Ibid.*, 8.
- 47 Ruth B. PHILLIPS, "Art History and the Native-Made Object: New Discourses, Old Differences?" in *Native American Art in the Twentieth Century: Makers, Meanings, Histories*, ed. W. Jackson Rushing III (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), 99.
- 48 Sidney Moko MEAD, "Nga Timunga Me Nga Paringa o te Mana Maori: The Ebb and Elow of Mana Maori and the Changing Context of Maori Art," *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections* (New York: Abrams/AFA, 1984), 21.
- 49 Paul TAPSELL, "The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of *Taonga* from a Tribal Perspective," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 106:4 (December 1997): 330.
- 50 Michael Ann HOLLY, "The melancholy art," *The Art Bulletin* 89:1 (March 2007): 7.
- 51 THOMAS, *Possessions*, 2–3.
- 52 *Ibid.*, 14.
- 53 See Gerald MCMASTER, "Our (inter) related history," in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, ed. Lynda Jessup and Shannon Bagg (Ottawa: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2003), 3–8.

- 54 Terry SMITH, "How to write about aboriginal art – 1993," in *How Aborigines Invented the Idea of Contemporary Art*, ed. Ian McLean (Brisbane and Sydney: Institute of Modern Art & Power Publications, 2011), 209.
- 55 PHILLIPS, "Art History and the Native-Made Object," 100.
- 56 Cramer is quoted in *Sensible Objects: Colonialism, Museums and Material Culture*, ed. Elizabeth EDWARDS, Chris GOSDEN and Ruth B. PHILLIPS (Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006), 1.
- 57 Ibid., 10.
- 58 Ruth B. PHILLIPS, "L'Ancien et le Nouveau Monde : aboriginalité et historicité de l'art au Canada," *Perspective* 3 (2008): 535–50.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Jonathan HARRIS, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), 265.
- 61 PHILLIPS, "L'Ancien et le Nouveau Monde."
- 62 PHILLIPS, "Art History and the Native-Made Object," 103.
- 63 THOMAS, *Possessions*, 13.
- 64 OGUIBE, *The Culture Game*, 48.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 Stephen TURNER, "Reenacting Aotearoa, New Zealand," in *Settler and Creole Reenactment*, ed. Vanessa Agnew and Jonathan Lamb (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 245.
- 67 JOHNSTON and LAWSON, "Settler colonies," 365.
- 68 Tony BALLANTYNE, *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2012), 14.
- 69 VERACINI, *Settler Colonialism*, 76.
- 70 Ibid., 88.
- 71 Ibid., 89.
- 72 Ibid., 78.
- 73 Bergland is quoted in *Phantom Past, Indigenous Presence: Native Ghosts in North American Culture & History*, ed. Colleen E. BOYD and Coll THRUSH (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2011), ix–x.



## Histoire de l'art colonialo-allochtone : proposition en deux volets

DAMIAN SKINNER

*Les 4 et 5 octobre 2013, l'Institut de recherche en art canadien Gail et Stephen A. Jarislowsky de l'Université Concordia, à Montréal, au Québec, accueillait un atelier sur l'histoire de l'art colonialo-allochtone<sup>1</sup>. Abordant la question dans un contexte canadien, le séminaire s'appuyait sur un document de discussion dont le présent article constitue la version révisée. L'auteur tient à remercier M<sup>me</sup> Kristina Huneault pour son aide dans la préparation du texte à publier.*

Il y a deux ans, j'ai commencé à m'intéresser aux artistes – somme toute nombreux – d'Aotearoa–Nouvelle-Zélande partis s'établir à Londres après la Seconde Guerre mondiale. J'en suis arrivé à me demander pourquoi leurs expériences n'étaient pas racontées dans les récits sur l'art de la Nouvelle-Zélande. Pourquoi ces créateurs avaient-ils disparu de telles relations écrites dès qu'ils avaient passé la frontière de l'Aotearoa–Nouvelle-Zélande, puis s'y étaient derechef retrouvés à leur retour au pays<sup>2</sup> ? Bref, pourquoi le Londres des années 1950 n'était-il pas considéré comme un site majeur de production artistique néo-zélandaise au même titre qu'Auckland ou Christchurch ?

En poursuivant mes lectures, j'ai découvert que les artistes d'Aotearoa–Nouvelle-Zélande s'étaient joints à une migration bien plus importante. En effet, le Londres d'après-guerre a servi de point de chute à quantité de créateurs des anciennes colonies britanniques. Venus des quatre coins du monde, ils entendaient y exercer leur art en tant que modernistes. En réclamant leur place sur le sol de la mère patrie<sup>3</sup>, ces artistes indiens, africains et caribéens remettaient en cause les hiérarchies du colonialisme et les subjectivités du modernisme en matière de barrière raciale. Nommée *New Commonwealth Internationalism* (nouvel internationalisme du Commonwealth)<sup>4</sup>, cette période s'inscrit du reste dans une perspective évolutive de l'histoire de l'art, qui traite des « modernismes parallèles » et de leur rapport au récit prévalant dans le domaine de l'art moderne en Europe et en Amérique du Nord<sup>5</sup>. D'aucuns y ont vu un phénomène lié à la décolonisation – notamment parce que le milieu artistique britannique a accueilli ces créateurs sous un double motif : assurer le rôle de Londres comme centre d'art métropolitain, d'une part, et composer avec la fin de l'Empire britannique, d'autre part.

Par ailleurs, j'ai constaté qu'à l'instar de leurs homologues australiens ou canadiens, les créateurs néo-zélandais associés au *New Commonwealth Internationalism* se distinguaient des artistes originaires d'autres ex-colonies sur un aspect crucial. De fait, c'étaient des allochtones dont les ancêtres avaient migré des vieux pays pour coloniser le Nouveau Monde<sup>6</sup>. Les dynamiques sous-tendant l'exclusion de ces allochtones d'une subjectivité moderne diffèrent radicalement de celles expérimentées par les créateurs indigènes ou autochtones d'Afrique, d'Inde et de Guyane, émigrés à Londres pour prendre part au mouvement moderniste. Colonisés dans leur rapport avec la métropole, les artistes allochtones devenaient colonisateurs lorsqu'ils rentraient au pays. Issus des « dominions blancs », ils formaient l'un des plus importants groupes impliqués ; pourtant, ils sont pour ainsi dire absents des comptes rendus actuels en histoire de l'art. Dès lors, ils sont difficilement repérables dans les récits de décolonisation qui structurent les lectures prédominantes en matière de *New Commonwealth Internationalism*.

Ces constats m'ont amené à considérer une analyse du colonialisme de peuplement. En effet, il m'est apparu que ce système reflétait des aspects inexplorés de l'histoire de l'art et de la production artistique en Aotearoa–Nouvelle-Zélande. J'y ai vu non seulement un concept, une dynamique primaire, façonnant l'art, mais aussi la potentialité de rompre l'alliance impie de l'histoire de l'art et de l'État-nation. Phénomène transnational, le colonialisme de peuplement favorisait les allées et venues, le réseautage, entre colonies de même qu'entre celles-ci et la métropole. En définitive, j'ai pris de plus en plus conscience des étonnantes dynamiques du colonialisme de peuplement en tant que mode particulier de l'activité coloniale et de sa relation épineuse avec la théorie postcoloniale et les récits de décolonisation. Imaginer les artistes allochtones d'Aotearoa–Nouvelle-Zélande, d'Australie et du Canada partageant pour ainsi dire un « moment » dans le Londres des années 1950 avec les créateurs autochtones d'Asie et des Caraïbes soulève un certain nombre de questions d'ordre conceptuel et politique. De toute évidence, le colonialisme de peuplement aura eu des répercussions considérables sur les pratiques artistiques des autochtones et des allochtones. Il se serait en outre répercuté sur l'histoire de l'art.

Dans le présent article, j'explore le cadre du colonialisme de peuplement ainsi que les perspectives des études colonialo-allochtones. J'entends ainsi examiner différentes pratiques de l'histoire de l'art – que ce soit en Aotearoa–Nouvelle-Zélande ou dans une autre société de peuplement. Je me suis fixé pour principal objectif de proposer un modèle de rédaction pour une nouvelle forme d'histoire de l'art. La discipline se colletterait alors activement avec l'impact du colonialisme de peuplement tant sur la pratique artistique que les récits d'histoire de l'art. Somme toute, ce texte reflète une tentative initiale

de l'historien de l'art colonialo-allochtone qui cherche à comprendre, de son point de vue, la signification du concept de décolonisation<sup>7</sup>.

Pour moi, le champ d'études qu'entoure l'expression *histoire de l'art colonialo-allochtone* a pour objet d'appréhender la manière dont les curieuses dynamiques du colonialisme de peuplement ont façonné les pratiques culturelles dans les sociétés colonialo-allochtones. Témoin ces propos de Terry Goldie : « Un Canadien de race blanche observe un Amérindien. L'Amérindien est l'Autre; par conséquent, c'est un étranger. Cependant, l'Amérindien est un autochtone : il ne peut donc pas être un étranger. Dès lors, c'est le Canadien, l'étranger. Mais comment un Canadien peut-il être étranger au Canada<sup>8</sup> ? » La recherche d'une réponse à cette question cruciale a teinté aussi bien les pratiques culturelles des allochtones que celles des autochtones. En tant que branche des études colonialo-allochtones, l'histoire de l'art colonialo-allochtone s'intéressera aux implications du colonialisme de peuplement dans les pratiques culturelles des allochtones et des autochtones, et ce, des débuts de l'implantation coloniale jusqu'à aujourd'hui. Prenant la forme d'une proposition en deux volets, mon essai débute par un résumé des idées-forces que véhiculent les études colonialo-allochtones, domaine en plein essor s'il en est. Il se poursuit par l'analyse de dix réformes que cette discipline serait susceptible d'apporter à la pratique de l'histoire de l'art.

#### NOTES

- 1 Ont participé à l'atelier : l'auteur (Musée du mémorial de guerre d'Auckland, en Nouvelle-Zélande) ; Kristina Huneault, Heather Igloliorte, Martha Langford et Anne Whitelaw (Université Concordia, à Montréal, au Québec) ; Leslie Dawn (Université de Lethbridge, en Alberta) ; Dominic Hardy (Université du Québec à Montréal) ; Anna Hudson (Université York, en Ontario) ; Carol Payne et Ruth Phillips (Université Carleton, en Ontario) ; Sherry Farrell Racette (Université du Manitoba) ; ainsi que Carla Taunton (Collège d'art et de design de la Nouvelle-Écosse).
- 2 De rares artistes font ici exception, soit ceux qui ont séjourné en Europe ou aux États-Unis au début du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle – entre l'apogée de l'art colonial et l'apothéose du mouvement nationaliste des années 1930. Dans les récits, ils figurent sous l'appellation d'*expatriés* (« the expatriates »). Cette présence renforce la dynamique d'exclusion plutôt qu'elle ne la casse, comme l'indique manifestement la désignation employée.
- 3 Voir Olu OGUIBE, « Footprints of a mountaineer: Uzo Egonu and Black Redefinition of Modernism », dans *The Culture Game*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2004, p. 60–72 ; et Leon WAINWRIGHT, « Francis Newton Souza and Aubrey Williams: Entwined Art histories at the End of Empire », dans *Visual Culture and Decolonisation in Britain*, éd. Simon Faulkner et Anandi Ramamurthy, Burlington, Vermont, Ashgate, 2006, p. 101–26.

- 4 Kobena MERCER, « Introduction », dans *Discrepant Abstraction*, Londres et Cambridge, Institute of International Visual Arts & MIT Press, 2006, p. 15.
- 5 Voir l'introduction dans Rebecca M. BROWN, *Art for a Modern India, 1947–1980*, Durham et Londres, Duke University Press, 2009.
- 6 Dans la mesure où j'ai pu l'établir, aucun créateur autochtone d'Australie ou du Canada ne s'est rendu à Londres au cours de cette période; seulement trois artistes autochtones d'Aotearoa–Nouvelle-Zélande l'ont fait.
- 7 Je conçois bien que le terme *décolonisation* n'est pas nécessairement exact dans le contexte du colonialisme de peuplement. De fait, ce système repose sur une dynamique de supplantation plutôt que de reproduction. La décolonisation constitue un moyen de rompre une relation de domination ; elle s'apparente à une absence de contrôle. Par opposition, le colonialisme de peuplement soutient une relation continue. Dans les sociétés de peuplement, la décolonisation implique la notion de rester sur les lieux. Elle n'est pas associée à l'idée de disparition, et ce, tant au point de vue de l'autochtone que de l'allochtone. Puisque le terme *colonialisme de peuplement* est composé, cela exige de trouver une expression multimot pour rendre *décolonisation*. Quelle est-elle ? À bien des égards, nous pouvons sans crainte débattre de décolonisation dans les sociétés de peuplement, car le phénomène ne peut aboutir. Si la discussion semble radicale à première vue, elle ne présente en fin de compte aucun enjeu.
- 8 Terry GOLDIE, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New-Zeland Literatures*, Montréal et Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989, p. 12 [traduction libre].