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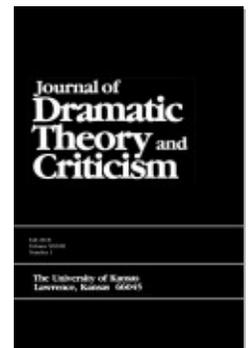
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Comparative Modernist Performance Studies in the Context of the Postcolonial: A Not So Modest Reappraisal

Nicole Winsor

*This article takes up Julia A. Walker and Glenn Odom's proposal for comparative modernist performance studies (CMPS), arguing that the very performativity of this provisional and historicized theoretical process opens up radical potential in the field of postcolonial theatre and performance. First, it offers an account of how settler colonialism in Australia and New Zealand leads to the advent of problematic compensatory strategies in postcolonial modernity, which in turn produce radical modernist theatre performances. Second, it analyzes how space and time are organized self-reflexively in two plays from Australasia—Josephine Wilson and Erin Hefferon's *The Geography of Haunted Places* and Apirana Taylor's *Whaea Kairau: Mother Hundred Eater*—arguing that this self-reflexivity is characteristic of postcolonial performance. Ultimately, I demonstrate that it is at the intersection of CMPS and postcolonial studies that critics of postcolonial theatre and performance might find a way to relationally map our own historicized experiences of modernity and the modernisms they produce within a planetary context.*

Keywords: *comparative modernist performance studies, postcolonial modernism, settler colonialism, modernity*

Introduction

In the Fall 2016 issue of this journal, Julia A. Walker and Glenn Odom made a radical proposal for the reconfiguration of the field of performance studies. Pointing out that the field is currently dominated by postmodernist discourse emphasizing the “situated and the local” in contemporary performance rather than the comparative and global, the authors argue in their article, “Comparative Modernist Performance Studies: A Not So Modest Proposal,” that there is an urgent need for scholars of theatre and performance to integrate the field more systematically with comparative and new modernist studies.¹ For Walker and Odom, the emphasis on the “situated and local” in current scholarship, in fact, goes against the temporally and spatially self-reflexive impulses of performance. Both new comparative and new modernist studies, they argue, can help rectify blind spots generated by the spatial and periodological politics of performance studies as a primarily postmodernist disciplinary field.²

Walker and Odom begin their article by pointing out that the presentism of the field makes it seem as if scholars of performance studies in the Euro-American

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academy “can only experience time and space in the performance of the here and now, when we used to cognitively map them through the self-reflexive movement of a proscenium frame (whether literal or metaphorical) that doubled one’s experience of both.”³ But as scholarship across the fields of modernist studies and comparative studies has shown, bracketing the concept of “modernity” in order to admit “a multiplicity of experiences of historicity” challenges such a view, and examples of temporal self-reflexivity are prevalent in a multifarious range of experiences of historical modernity.⁴ In the postcolonial contexts that are the focus of this article, colonization’s violent ruptures of space and time have irreversibly destabilized temporal perspectives, leading to forms of performance that are temporally self-reflexive in nature.

Through an analysis of how space and time is organized in the Australasian postcolonial modernist performances of Josephine Wilson and Erin Hefferon’s *The Geography of Haunted Places* and Apirana Taylor’s *Whaea Kairau: Mother Hundred Eater*, this essay takes up Walker and Odom’s proposal within a postcolonial modernist framework. I argue that productions of *Whaea Kairau* and *The Geography of Haunted Places* use metatheatrical framing devices that allow the past to surge radically forth into the present as a resisting excess to cultural orders. In doing so, I challenge the oppositional stance between the global and the local, the comparative and the situated that, as Walker and Odom point out, has become a mainstay of the field of performance studies.⁵

Comparative Modernist Performance Studies and Postcolonial Modernity

Walker and Odom’s proposal holds radical potential for theatre and performance studies precisely because it begins to break down the barriers of periodization that hinder cross-cultural comparison within a developmentally uneven world. As they write, the expanding temporal vector of new modernist studies developments “will complicate our picture of how the temporality of modernity has been experienced.”⁶ Mapping “experiences of historical modernity” across the temporal vector, locating “modernization’s sites of impact” across the spatial vector, and plumbing “the representational crises of modernism” across the vertical vector allows for the elucidation of multifarious manifestations of a singular logic of modernity around the globe.⁷ Given that it is “impossible to *think* of [the phenomenon of political modernity] anywhere in the world without invoking certain categories and concepts, the genealogies of which go deep into the intellectual and theological traditions of Europe,” as Dipesh Chakrabarty argues, the ability to complicate historical narratives about what it means to dwell in a condition of post/coloniality—that “darker side of Western modernity,” as Walter Mignolo puts it—are timely.⁸

But as Joe Cleary has argued in his analysis of Irish modernity, the challenge then becomes how to deal with the varying historical developments of colonial

and postcolonial modernity. In Western countries like Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand, “capitalist modernizing processes” materialized in ways quite different from “those in the major metropolitan European and American countries.”⁹ At the same time, the distinct developments of these countries have “always been shaped and conditioned by capitalist developments in these core areas.”¹⁰ Countries like Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand may not fit “Marxist models of history” that assume “as normative the transition from feudalism via absolutism to mercantile and, later, industrial capitalism,”¹¹ yet they can still “have modernism without modernity; or more precisely, they can have a modernist culture without a virile industrializing capitalist base,” as Peter Beilharz has argued in relation to Australia and New Zealand.¹²

Capitalist modernity in Australia and New Zealand, Beilharz and Lloyd Cox claim, is “best understood through the lens of ‘settler’ or ‘dominion’ capitalism.”¹³ In settler capitalist modernities such as these, “the state machineries established were disproportionately controlled by dominant social classes and class factions which benefited from the existing dependent relationship with Britain.”¹⁴ As a result, “dependent development” with Britain was maintained and “settler colonies in their early decades failed to economically diversify” in a manner that matched the modernizing developments of European metropolises.¹⁵ Settler capitalism might have led to a high degree of political autonomy, but it did so at the expense of economic, social, and political diversification that “continued to shape realities in the settler colonies long after the conditions that gave rise to them had vanished.”¹⁶ As Beilharz and Cox argue, “to understand contemporary Australia it was and is necessary to understand [the] settler capitalism origins” of this nation-state. The same is true of New Zealand.¹⁷

Similarly, Aparna Dharwadker reminds us in her own response to Walker and Odom’s proposal that “modernity and modernization are inseparable from the political, social, economic, and epistemic violence of colonial conquest.”¹⁸ Any modernization narrative, she points out, must include a nuanced consideration of how “political violence and coercion” qualify and influence the “complex interpenetration of cultures in which histories, traditions, languages, forms, and subjectivities jostle against each other.”¹⁹ Any truly global project must therefore take into account both the violence of imperialism and the inherent “ambivalence, hybridity, syncretism, and subalternity” of postcolonial modernity—“whether the model is Frederic Jameson’s singular modernity or the alternative and polycentric modernities of Dilip Gaonkar and Susan Friedman.”²⁰

For Dharwadker, comparative modernist performance studies (CMPS) is ultimately not a useful framework for interrogating postcolonial modernism precisely because it has not yet made these kinds of postcolonial qualifications between modernizing narratives.²¹ But (as Walker and Odom make clear in their final summary schematic) CMPS is itself a performative process of meaning-

making. In that sense it is akin to Friedman's notion of modernist studies as a "collaboratory"—"a site where different ways of reading collaborate to produce a new map of modernisms and their intersections as an instance of world literature."²² In the following section—and with an eye to the settler colonialisms of Australia and New Zealand—I will offer an account of where the field of postcolonial studies might fruitfully intersect with comparative modernist performance studies, similarly (and not so modestly) seeking to rectify blind spots in each within this collaboratory of meaning-making.

What is Postcolonial Modernism?

As Douglas Mao and Rebecca Walkowitz identified in their influential *PMLA* article "The New Modernist Studies," the field has expanded exponentially and at times controversially across temporal, spatial, and vertical vectors since the 1990s.²³ Still, Friedman has argued that "as a field in general, modernist studies is insufficiently planetary to fulfill the promise of what [Mao and Walkowitz] have termed 'the transnational turn' in the field."²⁴ As she elaborates, there is a need to begin defining modernism and modernity in relational terms that will help modernist scholars "open up the possibility for new knowledge that matters" on a global and transhistorical scale, "not only for our understanding of the past but also for how we shape our futures."²⁵

The keystone of Friedman's argument is a deceptively simple one: modernism, she states, is "the domain of creative expressivity *within* modernity's dynamic of rapid change."²⁶ Modernity, under this schematic, can occur at any moment in time and in any locale across the globe; it occurs wherever and whenever we find radical ruptures and accelerated changes happening across all sectors of life—from politics to economics, science to art, literature to technology, and so on.²⁷ Friedman's notion of the mutually constitutive dynamic between modernism and modernity is more radical than her simple formulation suggests: modernism, as she uses the term in *Planetary Modernisms* and as I use it here, "is not a single aesthetic period, a movement, or a style."²⁸ Rather, "the creative expressivities in all media constitute the modernisms of given modernities—on a planetary scale, across time, in the *longue durée*."²⁹ Reconfiguring the field in such a way that would accept this relational definition would mean accepting that modernisms and the modernities to which they belong are "multiple, polycentric, relational, and recurrent."³⁰

By thinking about modernism not only as a Euro-American movement that then circulates globally (an occurrence that depends so heavily on class-, gender-, and race-based privileges and runs the risk of erasing subaltern experiences of modernity) but also as a nodal phenomenon erupting out of the varying and various contexts of individual local modernities, postcolonial modernist performance studies offers new insights into the experiences of minority subjects across

modernities. I am not claiming that local instances of modernity are not affected by transnational networks of exchange and migration. Rather, formal travels are one part of a larger story of modernism and modernity as they occur within the context of locally specific social, political, cultural, economic, scientific, and industrial changes. Modernity and modernism also erupt out of the clash between local and global in the postcolonial nations of Australia and New Zealand; they do not simply arrive in British suitcases.

By rejecting West-to-Rest narratives, the arguments about postcolonial modernism put forward in this article resonate with critical trajectories taken in postcolonial studies over the last two decades. In their 2010 critical retrospective, “Postcolonial Studies at the Twenty-Five Year Mark,” Alfred J. López and Robert R. Marzec trace a critical move from Commonwealth studies in the 1960s and 1970s (which “emphasize[d] England’s continued conceptual centrality implicit in the term—and rubric—itsself”) to a body of anticolonial critical and literary work in the 1980s.³¹ This second anticolonial phase, they point out, critiqued Eurocentric scholarship yet “never abandoned the oppositional model inherent to the Commonwealth relation—it merely inverted the structure rather than dismantling it.”³² With the advent of the global turn from the middle of the 1990s, they argue, postcolonial studies proper began: “a body of work” started to be produced “that, while informed by postcolonial critiques of Western culture, depart[ed] radically from its predecessors in both narrative structures and political, economic, and cultural concerns.”³³

These narratives, they demonstrate, “focus[ed] on the lives and struggles of those most vulnerable to the vicissitudes of neoliberal globalization and its impact on the world’s subalterns,” and they produced literature and criticism that transcended the earlier and less globally expansive focus on “colonial/national histories and diasporas.”³⁴ Currently, scholars resist definitions of the postcolonial as “one of those periodisations based on epochal ‘stages’; when everything is reversed at the same moment,” as Stuart Hall states.³⁵ Postcolonialism, as Robert Young succinctly phrases it, is a politics and “philosophy of activism that contests [contemporary conditions of cultural and economic] disparity, and so continues in a new way the anticolonial struggles of the past.”³⁶ To be in a state of postcoloniality is to be informed by and grounded in an experience whereby individuals and institutions critically scrutinize colonizer/colonized relationships, as well as relationships that form between national subjects and the nation-states that are those individuals’ constitutive counterparts. This is even more the case when individuals and state institutions are continuing to struggle with how to negotiate their forced inheritances of the colonizer’s epistemologies and political forms and, as Young writes, with how to “intervene” in those forms and epistemologies; how “to force [their] alternative knowledges into the power structures of the west as well as the non-west.”³⁷

“Postcolonial modernity,” as I use the term in this article, denotes a specific historical experience. It circumscribes an experience wherein postcolonial nation-states offer up a series of ideological and material compensations for the deprivations of both a colonial past and an inadequate postcolonial present, while simultaneously promising an always-deferred decolonized future. Garry Leonard has argued in the context of Euro-American modernity that the machine of modernity can run smoothly only if there is “fundamental lack of permanent resolution” that can “provide the basic rhythm” of that modernity’s drive forward.³⁸ Modernity in this sense, in fact, thrives on the “attempt to foreclose lack, or resolve contradiction, but only if the attempt to resolve fails, and fails in a particular way: by hinting at the possibility of success at some future date.”³⁹ As a “production and distribution system,” modernities “generate as much deprivation as they generate compensation.”⁴⁰ While the compensations they offer are “organized, ubiquitous, clamoring for us to avail ourselves of them,” their deprivations “are scattered, private, and vaguely embarrassing as they appear somehow to be our fault.”⁴¹ Ideologies are thereby generated that might “rationalize the stark contrasts in the distribution of wealth and resources that modernity allows.”⁴² It is, therefore, “the credit and debit of negative and positive emotions struggling for equilibrium in an ever changing climate of compensation and deprivation” that drives “the modern subject forward.”⁴³ Modernism, as a reaction to this “unresolved contradiction” of modernity, thereby becomes “not a strategy for representing modernity, but a symptom enigmatically embodying the displaced feelings it evokes in us.”⁴⁴

Postcolonial modernity operates similarly, albeit with a difference in ideological content. What changes are the “myths that permit the tolerance for, and furtherance of, [postcolonial] modernity.”⁴⁵ Within postcolonial modernity, ideologies of deferral are no longer generated and structured by a colonial or neocolonial machine, but by one built and maintained by the new nation-state that comes into power in the vacuum of political control left by the colonial or neocolonial government. In the postcolonial modernity of Australia and New Zealand, the “onslaught of aggressively promoted compensations” that Leonard describes takes the form of neoliberal economic reform and multicultural/bicultural state policies that are implemented by the now “postcolonial” colonizer who did not leave.⁴⁶ This article identifies the symptomatology of postcolonial modernity and modernism in Australia and New Zealand not in order to offer up a definitive pathology for all postcolonial modernities—rather, it explores how the displaced feelings that derive from postcolonial deprivations and compensations in Australia and New Zealand were turned into radically powerful strategies for reacting to both colonial histories and postcolonial presents.

In Australia the nation-state’s late liberal multiculturalism, founded in concepts of recognition and reconciliation with indigenous peoples, structures the experiential qualities of postcolonial modernity. In New Zealand this experience

is structured by a nation-state driven by biculturalist policies that rely upon simplified claims about historical partnerships between Māori and *pākehā* (white settlers). In each case, the attempt to provide an answer for the nation's rapidly accumulating crises of identity through the establishment of official state policies and the proliferation of hegemonic ideologies ultimately fails and leads to social and political stasis.

Prior to the late 1950s in both Australia and New Zealand, postcolonial subjectivity was sustained for white descendants of settlers by a notion of the British "homeland" as the site of presymbolic *jouissance* qua fullness that had been lost and that could not ever be fully recaptured after the voyage out to the colonial peripheries.⁴⁷ By the 1960s, faith in the strength of ties between Britain and Australasia had waned drastically, and then in 1973—when Britain definitively joined the European Economic Community—white Australians and New Zealanders were forced to reevaluate their belief that their neocolonial economic and geopolitical dependency on Britain was a strength.⁴⁸ As Mark Williams has argued, the perceived betrayal of this belief forced these descendants of primarily Anglo-Celtic settlers "to come to terms with the cultural as well as the economic consequences of Britain's abandonment of its old settler colonies."⁴⁹ Both the Australian and New Zealand nation-states therefore began "looking with new anxiety for signs of validation, value, and distinctiveness in the world to hand."⁵⁰

By the 1990s the good life fantasy that had constructed and sustained these two antipodean nations as new Britannias was shattered by economic developments. The hegemonic success and longevity of white settler nationalist ideologies in Australia and New Zealand proved as a result to be a failed ideal. Both nations came to realize that the "homeland"—the romantic nationalist supposition of an original state to which Australians and New Zealanders must strive to return through replication in the South Pacific—could only ever be an imperfect copy. This notion of the homeland thus became something which could not only no longer be desired, but which no longer even existed except in settler-colonial social imaginaries. The postcolonial nation-state of both countries, in consequence, was forced to drastically reconfigure itself and to reimagine what it meant to be a nation independent of the colonial parent. A search for a new nationalism and a meaning to the suddenly imperative "English Question" thereby began in earnest.⁵¹

The manner in which the nation-state attempted to offer "answers" to this crisis—through free market economic reforms, the official political application of superficial multicultural/bicultural policies of reconciliation and restitution for indigenous peoples, and an exploitative turn to the wider Southeast Asian and Oceanic region—increased levels of anxiety and raised more questions than answers regarding the potentiality of a truly decolonized nation-state. During the period from 1990 to 2005 in Australia and New Zealand it became glaringly clear, particularly for minority subjects of the nation, that the state-offered answers to

these crises of postcolonial modernity had failed. In the 1990s Apirana Taylor, Josephine Wilson, Erin Hefferon, and the theatre practitioners involved with the productions of their plays responded to these crises and failures of postcolonial modernity in politically and aesthetically radical ways.

The Heterotopic Spaces of Postcolonial Modernity

Taylor's *Whaea Kairau: Mother Hundred Eater* tells the story of an Irish woman attempting to survive and raise one pākehā and two biracial children during the New Zealand Wars of 1845–1872.⁵² Whaea travels throughout the country selling her wares and turning a profit among the slaughter of war and the growing turbulence of racial tension. By the end of the play her materialism has cost her the lives of her three children: Rongo is caught and shot by British soldiers after defending his father's *iwi* (tribe); John is beheaded and his head carried on a stick by Pai Māirire zealots before being smoked and returned to his mother in revenge for her participation in the trading of preserved Māori heads⁵³; and Puawai dies as she struggles to protect herself from being raped after trying to sell a ring that she stole from the corpse of a Māori warrior.

Taylor has explicitly claimed that the 1990s were a decade that felt “surreal.”⁵⁴ As he explained in an interview, it seemed that while “the government [was] blowing their trumpet over how great they are being for Māori, those [were] the moments when they [were] also doing particularly nasty things.”⁵⁵ Colin McColl's direction and Dorita Hannah's design for the first production of *Whaea Kairau* in 1995 seized upon this surreal affect in order to critique the grotesque deprivations and compensations of postcolonial modernity in this moment. The action took place on a traverse stage covered in mud and wooden floorboards with colonial-era pamphlets and broadsheets pasted upon the walls in a “mad carnival atmosphere that was reminiscent of the Victorian fairground.”⁵⁶ A canvas circus tent curtain was strung across the entrance to the performance space, greeting the audience with the words “Coopers and Lybrand Present / Whaea Kairau / Mother Hundred Eater / The World's Greediest Woman.”⁵⁷ Coopers and Lybrand (the multinational firm now known as Price Waterhouse Coopers) sponsored the season, and in an interview Taylor described the obviously uncomfortable reactions of the company's executives who attended the opening night performance. In Taylor's estimation his play elicited this reaction because audiences were expecting a “Māori play” but found themselves confronted with a surreal world full of clowns and vaudeville performers.⁵⁸ The grotesquely carnivalesque quality of the play ensured that the primarily white liberal audience could not possibly be misled into complacent “good feelings” about the survival of “authentic” Māori difference.⁵⁹

In 1995, Māori theatre (in the Western sense of the word) had been a reality for only two decades. It began to flourish in the late 1970s on the heels of the Māori Renaissance movement that saw the revival of the Māori language, protests

over land rights, and new transnational connections with other indigenous peoples. Early plays were predominantly realist, but playwrights quickly began incorporating a framework of traditional protocols and rituals performed on the *marae* (the tribal land where the meeting house and other clusters of tribal buildings are located). The agit-attraction form of *Whaea Kairau*, with its circus imagery and vaudeville style, was shockingly distinct from the syncretic form of Marae-theatre in the 1980s and early 1990s. But as Taylor has stated, in the latter part of the 1990s Māori actors began to feel “sick of pākehā directors telling [them] how to be Māori.”⁶⁰ *Whaea Kairau* (although directed by a pākehā) is Taylor’s response to bicultural New Zealand’s demands for Māori to be “Māori,” but only as pākehā imagined them to be. *Whaea Kairau* thus utilizes sensual and psychological theatrical attractions—in a manner similar to Sergei Eisenstein’s use of the “trick” in his theatre⁶¹—as a deliberate affront against a predominantly middle-class pākehā audience who are confident in the efficacy of biculturalism as official state policy and complacent in their awareness of colonialism’s ongoing systemic oppression. Taylor’s description of the Coopers and Lybrand executives upon the conclusion of the first performance suggests that such an affront was successful.

Through the circus-like atmosphere of the production, Taylor and McColl made it aggressively clear that the circus or vaudeville show as well as colonial and postcolonial modernity are composed of a system of surreally agitating attractions that follow no logical plot probability. As a carnival of capitalist greed and settler-colonial politics, the play brought the colonial past into sharp comparison with the postcolonial present, demonstrating that the ideological violence of colonial New Zealand had been replicated in similarly insidious forms at the level of neoliberal new right economic policies and in public attitudes regarding recent decisions made by the Waitangi Tribunal.⁶²

The assessment of the simultaneously surreal and corrosive affects of postcolonial Australian modernity in *The Geography of Haunted Places* was “influenced,” Wilson writes in her artistic statement, by “the idea of museums—having worked in them for some years, and having pursued study in this area.”⁶³ The “theatrical possibilities of the panorama . . . and the diorama”—each being “19th century devices deployed in both theatre and museums as a ways of organizing the gaze”—were highly influential in terms of Wilson and Hefferon’s performative rumination on “narratives of Australian colonialism” and patriarchalism.⁶⁴ Hefferon’s body—like those of women depicted in famous Western paintings on the screen behind her—was exhibited in this performance as if it were an animated component of the diorama of taxidermized animals that surround her in a semicircle on the stage. The performance space becomes in this way a quasi-museum and “Erin” (as this performer is named in the script)

becomes an object that is both governed by and aggressively challenges the same organizing gaze that is applied to the dead museum objects around her.

The neocolonial gaze and logic of the “cultural tourist” who attends these kinds of performances is aggressively attacked by Erin early in the performance. “I spit on you pocket book nostalgics and would-be cultural tourists,” she tells her audience, who she claims want simply to fill their “weekends with the push button automata of Living Museums, pawing over maps of the Ruins of Ruenzori, Mountains of the Moon—weeping over the death of Boo Boo the chimpanzee.”⁶⁵ She charges these spectators with being “lost in the simplicity of identification with the blameless victims in this awful dreadful awful dreadful world in which we live.”⁶⁶ Like the taxidermized animals she mirrors, Hefferon morphs throughout the performance into an empty material “thing” left over after the symbolic meanings placed in her by the audience have evaporated. At the same time, she becomes a living, breathing, museum object and can therefore speak the memory of imperial violence that has turned women and indigenous subjects into lifeless objects.⁶⁷

Wilson has stated,

[W]e wanted to make a show that put the white body firmly in the picture as being under scrutiny. We decided that to attempt to represent the experience of Aboriginal people at that point was totally tokenistic and we tried (instead) to move toward a more oblique reference that extended (the audience’s) sense of the past.⁶⁸

By situating Erin’s ambiguously raced body within this quasi-museum space, the performance gives form to the terror and desire that is at the heart of post/colonial modernist subjectivity.⁶⁹ It attacks the logic of the spectator’s colonizing desire for the “simplicity of identification with the blameless victims” of history, and spectators find their own subjecthood being shattered by the act of spectatorship itself. The audience is thereby driven to recognize how they might continue to be more closely aligned with the agents of imperial violence than the “blameless victims” whom they now turn to for self-serving absolution.

In the heterotopic spaces of *Whaea Kairau* and *The Geography of Haunted Places*, spectators are reminded that the ways in which their postcolonial modernities are organized have become eerily close to those modernities’ colonial counterparts. In “Of Other Spaces,” Michel Foucault has argued that heterotopias have “a function in relation to all the space that remains,” and this function “unfolds between two extreme poles.”⁷⁰ Heterotopias either “create a space of illusion that exposes every real space . . . as still more illusory,” or they “create a space that is other, another real space as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged

as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled.”⁷¹ The space of the nineteenth-century brothel, for example, is a heterotopia of illusion while the “heterotopia of compensation” is evidenced in “certain colonies” that have “functioned somewhat in this manner.”⁷² In *The Geography of Haunted Places* and *Whaea Kairau* these two functions of heterotopias—illusion and compensation—are complexly overlaid.

First, the colonial world and the postcolonial nation-state are shown together as a doubly exposed image through the content of the two plays. As I will explore in the following sections, *Whaea Kairau* achieves this doubling through the use of theatrical anachronism while *Geography* makes use of the form of direct address. The doubly exposed images of the colonial world and the postcolonial nation-state are then surreally represented within the framework of the circus or museum space, which are types of illusory heterotopias. As demonstrated, these illusory heterotopias are created through the circus tent/vaudeville atmosphere, the presence of taxidermized animals, and the projections of famous Western paintings of women. Lastly, the imagistic frameworks of the circus and museum are inserted into other versions of the illusory heterotopia: the theatre venues themselves (the Depot theatre in the case of *Whaea Kairau* and the Metro Arts theatre in the case of *Geography*). As heterotopias of illusion, these theatres are juxtaposed with the multicultural and bicultural postcolonial nation-states of Australia and New Zealand within which they are located and to which they refer.

In the context of a surreally felt postcolonial modernity, *Whaea Kairau* and *The Geography of Haunted Places* invite spectators to withdraw from otherwise unrecognized heterotopic spaces of compensation—the modernity of the postcolonial state with all its unwitting replications of colonial orders—by entering the theatre itself. Once inside, spectators are confronted with the emotional shock of doubly exposed temporalities within the heterotopic circus or museum. Spectators thereby come forcefully into contact with materialized images of cultural and political hegemony that would otherwise exist only obliquely outside the theatre. This type of theatre and performance makes aggressively evident the ways in which postcolonial modernities, with all their compensatory logic, are artificially constructed and generated by the delusional fantasy of creating a world “as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged” as the colonial state is now seen to be “messy, ill constructed, and jumbled.”⁷³ One of the traits of postcolonial modernist theatre is thus the creation of illusory heterotopia through the doubling of both time and space, functioning to make spectators conscious of the compensatory mechanisms that govern postcolonial modernity.

Violence Outside of Time in *Whaea Kairau*

Key to the affront against bicultural New Zealand in the 1990s in *Whaea Kairau* is the clash depicted between Māori and pākehā time. In the first scene

the title character, Whaea, laughs scornfully at a group of Māori warriors who are escaping from a failed attack on the British army.⁷⁴ Whaea's youngest son, Rongo, tells her that these warriors are running "down the hill" and looking "back over their shoulders, like they're lookin' back at their past" as if "some demon, some aitua" is "following along in their footsteps."⁷⁵ Despite the fact that Whaea speaks the Māori language, she does not have a grasp of Māori concepts and neither does her son. These Māori fighters who have suffered defeat do not look behind them out of fear of being chased by a demon but because they are looking to *nga wā o mua*—meaning something akin to "the past" but translating literally as "from the times in front." In te reo Māori there is in fact no word for the concept of "the past." According to Māori epistemology, we all move (like Walter Benjamin's image of the angel of history) backward into the future while facing the past. For Māori, the past guides movement in the present so that while the future will always be behind and thus unknown, actions that are taken in the present are informed by the past and thus offer the most optimistic outcomes for the future.⁷⁶

Whaea's response to these warriors—"Idiots. They'd do well to look ahead to the future. (*She shouts*) Death is in front of you! Past, ha!"—highlights the way in which this Irish woman's worldview has been so thoroughly colonized that she is only able to orient herself within a pragmatic, future-oriented English framework.⁷⁷ "All I want to do is make a living and keep us alive," she says.⁷⁸ And "with money you live well, without it you die."⁷⁹ But for the Māori fighters, nihilistically anticipating death in front of them or prognosticating it in the future based only on the events in the present is a pointless exercise. For them, death cannot be known, but if anything is going to help them avoid death then looking to the past for informed wisdom on how to act in the present is the only option. Every action that Whaea takes, in contrast—from selling her "body on London's streets" to profiteering her way through these wars in "the last place on earth"⁸⁰—is geared toward a future that she believes can be secured through capitalist pursuits. As the settler Jack Winfield says when Whaea talks about buying cheap land taken from Māori during the wars, "We've got to expand. Look forward to [a] visionary future."⁸¹

Through the epistemology of *nga wā o mua* as it was worked into this performance, Taylor and McColl were able to highlight bicultural New Zealand's superficial recognition of difference and implementations of inadequate reparative policies. The nation-state's selective amnesia regarding the violence of the past is highlighted through the figure of the mad (but prophetic) character Black Jack. In scene 9, "in which Whaea confronts the madness of the land," Whaea and her daughter Puawai arrive at a crossroads to find the Reverend Walmsey dead and "chained to the central broken roadsign," his eyes "gouged out."⁸² Sitting at the reverend's feet is Black Jack, a madman who has been psychologically destroyed by the violence of settler-colonial New Zealand. The image of Reverend Walmsey

strung up upon the post is grotesque, and this affect is compounded by Black Jack's mad prophetic speech. Dressed in a "*piupiu* [flax kilt], tailcoat, and battered top hat, his chest bare," Black Jack, as Diana Looser has argued, is an emblem of "the fracturing of Māori culture on the material, linguistic, and psychological levels."⁸³ At first Black Jack seems only to be expressing a jumble of cry-like sounds and random words: there are snatches of biblical references, English and Māori names, objects of settler-colonial life (from livestock to buildings and institutions like the postal service), and concepts of Māori spirituality. But then in a moment of poetic lucidity he says:

Mad winds blow across my mind. This way and that. Whispering ragin' God and Gods. Pākehā God. Māori God. I've rubbed shoulders with the prophets. The voices speak and yell. . . . *Hau hau hau*. . . . Oh the colour of money is universal. I know that dear lady. This black fellow knows the value of money very well. Do you know, I've sold things for it, sold a lot really. My Soul. . . . So, now at night a giant lizard . . . A *taniwha* sits on my chest, sticks its tongue down my throat and sucks up my soul. . . . I've rubbed shoulders with the Māori prophets. Missionaries the lot. All the Gods. The big God. Their voices run about inside my head. Howling and screaming across the land. *Hau hau hau hau*. . . .⁸⁴

Two scenes later, when the corpse of Whaea's last child, Puawai, lies on the ground, Black Jack's voice is heard from offstage as he says, "I can see the lizard; it crawls in my mouth; it's drinking my blood, sucking up my *wairua taku mauri rere rere hau*"⁸⁵—that is, this lizard, or *taniwha* (a figure that guards something *tapu*/sacred and/or is a maligning figure who carries out punishment after an offense), sucks up Black Jack's spirit (*wairua*) and vitality (*mauri*), and despite his panic-stricken state (*mauri rere*) he orders his breath to flee his body (*rere rere hau*).

The repetition of the word "hau" (meaning vital essence, breath, or wind) echoes the sound of the war that has played a role in driving Black Jack mad. The use of the cliché "money is universal" is spoken by this man (whose real name is "Mangaroa") in the cadences of proper British English, further highlighting his psychologically fragmented state of mind. His anguish, he says, is further compounded by the competing chants of new and old gods "running about inside" his head, "howling and screaming across the land." In this scene, Black Jack's repetitive use of the word *hau* and his anguished cries all assault the spectator, reproducing in the theatre space the psychological agitation that he experiences in the world of the play on a daily basis. The image of the *taniwha*, a river monster or "lizard," is Black Jack's way of describing the madness that he now lives through.

He implies that it is better to die than to live with his ability to see the destruction, fragmentation, and corruption of the Māori world in both his present—the period of colonization—and future—the postcolonial modernity to come, which is of course the actor's and audience's present.

In the final scene of the play, the image of the taniwha sitting on Black Jack's chest morphs into a new parasitic image: "Fastfood parlours on our backs. God is money. The land seven million pounds sterling. One billion dollars. Sold! Sign the paper, Māori."⁸⁶ Condensed into this fragmented vision that assaults the audience is a series of references to historic and contemporary events and realities spanning the century and a half following the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. First, the treaty itself is directly referenced when Black Jack cries, "Sign the paper, Māori," but his cry also refers to the controversial "fiscal envelope" proposal that came out of the 1995 Crown Proposals for the Settlement of Treaty of Waitangi Claims. This proposal outlined a plan to introduce a fiscal envelope of one billion dollars—the amount cited by Black Jack in his prophetic/profit-ic vision—to be paid out to various tribes within ten years and settling all historical land claims. Second, Black Jack references an 1867 act that consolidated the loans taken out by provincial governments into one not exceeding "seven million pounds" sterling. Resulting from the previous two decades of debt crisis and aggravated by the turmoil of the land wars, the passing of this act gave the London market "structural power over settler colonies as they attempted to raise increasing amounts of capital from the mid-nineteenth century."⁸⁷ Consequently, London came to have power over "the imperial government's own authority" to control "colonial economic arrangements," and "the market's preferences" would go on to influence the "colony's institutional development."⁸⁸

In his final speech of the play, Black Jack brings together these multiple temporalities, thereby pushing the spectator to recognize how political and economic policies of colonial New Zealand continue to affect the lives of indigenous peoples in the postcolonial state. The curse of the taniwha is the same curse that is now sucking the wairua (soul), mauri (vital essence), and *mana* (prestige) from contemporary Māori. By condensing these historical events into one time and space, Black Jack's vision drives spectators toward the ideological conclusion that the neoliberal free market ideology of this bicultural nation-state is equally as damaging for Māori as were the politics of colonization, even if military oppression has been long over. The production thus aggressively materialized the hypocrisy of bicultural Aotearoa/New Zealand in the mid-1990s. While the nation was being bombarded on the one hand with narratives of reconciliation and historical cultural partnership between Māori and pākehā, on the other hand the state was contradictorily implementing neoliberal new-right economic policies. As this play demonstrates, these policies, which were *meant* to

offer compensation for the deprivations of colonial modernity, ultimately ended up reinforcing (neo)colonial systems of oppression and economic exploitation.

Always Desiring to Know in *The Geography of Haunted Places*

Throughout *The Geography of Haunted Places*, Erin performs a variety of female personas, but the most prominent is the pageant queen, “Miss Discovery,” who is key to this performance: “She’s kind of like an amalgam of memories about discovery. . . . she carries the burden of history.”⁸⁹ As John McCallum writes in his review, Miss Discovery is “a beauty pageant embodiment of centuries of invasion and first encounters, bitter and jaded by what she has had to witness.”⁹⁰ Spectators are mocked for their “complicity with conquest in our arts and sciences,” their “appropriation of invaded cultures for Western delight and instruction,” and their “hypocrisy in then turning around and lamenting that they are gone or have become inauthentic.”⁹¹ Miss Discovery “theorises about imperialism and mockingly assumes a series of roles defined by the metaphors of exploration and conquest,” gradually “transforming herself from a brassy, blonde-wigged pageant queen into a simple, naked subject.”⁹²

But as Glen McGillivray has argued, her performance is an “epistemological striptease” with “no naked truth at the end.”⁹³ Erin’s role is to discover, for the audience, the mis-discovery of Australia that was fueled by ideologies of desire and possession. She achieves this by enabling the audience’s mis-discovery of her own subjectivity. This mis-discovery begins, as Erin states in the opening lines of the performance, “at the muddy mouth of the great river desire” into which “metaphors of trade and possession swim.”⁹⁴ When a prince “loosens the bodice” and a captain approaches “the scalloped petticoats of a foreign coast,” what is there “in his mind” she asks “but the disinterested creed of—possession?”⁹⁵ Female bodies, Erin makes clear, are unwittingly implicated in metaphors of trade and possession. Throughout the performance she uses her own body and images of famous women throughout art history to critique the relationships between passive spectatorship, colonizing desire, and the ways in which the colonized subject is constructed as empty and without desire themselves.

After this short prologue, Erin begins the performance proper by stating, “Let us shed light on this matter!”⁹⁶ Ironically, a blackout then occurs. When the lights come back on Erin dons gold high heels and a sash that says “Miss Discovery.”⁹⁷ Breathing heavily, “building as if to climax,” she then asks her audience why they “prostrate” themselves in front of her, “poised and breathy” as if “waiting for the pornography of difference to flicker about [them].”⁹⁸ As Herbert Blau has argued, an audience is less “a mere congregation of people” than “a body of thought and desire.”⁹⁹ The audience is “what happens when, performing the signs and passwords of a play, something postulates itself and unfolds in response.”¹⁰⁰ In Erin’s performance, the thought and desire of the spectator is equated through

aggressive rhetorical attacks with the possessive desire of imperialist discovery, rather than with the good feelings and intentions of a multicultural Australia that might bring this primarily white liberal audience to such a performance. She thereby undermines the audience's comfortable but unstable belief that attending a theatrical performance is anything but precisely this kind of "pornography of difference."¹⁰¹ Realist theatre may allow spectators to "prostrate" themselves in the darkness of a proscenium arch theatre for their own pleasure, but Erin's performance refuses to let the spectator believe that their gaze is ever that passive.

By manipulating her audience's desire to "know" *this* performer and her desires, Erin drives the audience toward a reconsideration of the degree to which they are truly able to recognize a raced or gendered other's experiences. Erin's performance and the ways in which she constructs her audience further link the spectators' desires with those of male painters throughout art history, as elaborated on the slides behind her in the images of Ingres's *Odalisque*, Velázquez's *Roqueby Venus*, and Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, among others. These spectating desires are furthermore shown to follow the same operations as those of imperialists who desired "virgin, inarticulate land" and the "discoverable"—the exploited colonized who Erin states inhabit "a space of perpetual darkness" as they are left "silent, inert, [and] suspended in the amniotic fluid of blind possibility."¹⁰² The history of desirous spectatorship from the early modern period through colonial Australia and on to the present moment in the theatre is layered self-reflexively in the time-space of this performance. By constructing her audience and the time-space of her performance in this way, Erin demonstrates how the desiring subject always violently obliterates the desires of the other. Her performance shows how the logic and ramifications of this kind of violently oppressive desire continue to haunt contemporary Australian life.

By the end of her hour-long performance that both assaults and delights the spectator with sensually aggressive attractions and demetaphorized language, Erin puts one more question to her audience: "Look! The ground around me is thick with bodies, blood, shit and shattered glass—alliteration . . . the Poetic Function. Do you like it?"¹⁰³ Erin's final question sadistically employs the metaphorical language that is supposed to "heal" white Australian subjects and "heel" Aboriginal ones, and she hammers this point home with a series of examples: "First Contact . . . Maiden Speeches . . . The launching of the Endeavour Replica in sunny Freemantle. Oh many a 'bottled up' feeling has been broke against my steely hull."¹⁰⁴ In highlighting the emptiness of such metaphors that describe the past and its effects on the present, *The Geography of Haunted Places* establishes self-reflexive experiences of time and space, shocking audiences out of complacency and driving them toward acknowledging how the compensations of postcolonial modernity have produced a comfortable and privileged reality for white male Australians in particular, but also for white women. This is a reality where it is

possible to superficially recognize difference while simultaneously and repeatedly failing to address the artificiality of a form of late liberal multiculturalism built upon the continued oppression of indigenous Australians.

Conclusion

As Robert Young points out in his *PMLA* article on “the postcolonial comparative,” postcolonial literature is in fact a form of art that is “intrinsically more comparative than other literatures”—it is “determined by its comparatism: *peau noire, masques blancs*.”¹⁰⁵ Thinking about modernism and modernity from the point at which postcolonial studies and CMPS intersect allows for the consideration of both global and local forces within hybridized, syncretic, and ambivalent postcolonial modernities. In exploring *Whaea Kairau* and *The Geography of Haunted Places* within this intersection between two fields, I have argued that the self-reflexive movement between layers of time and space by means of metatheatrical framing devices is one strategy of postcolonial modernist theatre and performance. Ultimately, I have shown how this performative strategy makes use of an economy of affect—the “credit and debit of negative and positive emotions struggling for equilibrium in an ever changing climate of compensation and deprivation”—to demonstrate temporally self-reflexive experiences of postcolonial modernity.¹⁰⁶

I have focused in this article on mapping a postcolonial reiteration of Walker and Odom’s CMPS model through two Australian and New Zealand case studies. In doing so, I embrace the radical potentialities of variation and multiplicity that Walker and Odom’s theoretical model offers. But as Walker and Odom make clear, any comparative model must be treated as taking part in a performative process of meaning-making. The account of postcolonial modernism that I have offered cannot and should not be taken for an explanation of postcoloniality in all regions of the globe, especially where colonialism takes forms different from the settler colonialism I examine. Nevertheless, this account does provisionally historicize some of the ways that postcolonial theatre practitioners have negotiated the compensations and deprivations of postcolonial modernity more broadly.

Walker and Odom’s CMPS model, I hope, will continue to be reconstituted in such a manner as it travels the globe and is brought into contact with the performance practices and theories of individual geohistorical locales. It is therefore precisely *because* Walker and Odom’s model of CMPS participates in a performative process of meaning-making (a process that is syncretic, hybridized, and at times ambivalent as it comes into contact with various disciplinary fields) that it can offer postcolonial critics a way to relationally map our own modernisms and modernities within a planetary context.

Notes

I would like to thank Glenn Odom, my colleagues at Notre Dame, and the anonymous readers of this article for their invaluable comments and suggestions for revision.

1. Julia A. Walker and Glenn Odom, "Comparative Modernist Performance Studies: A Not So Modest Proposal," *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2016, p. 130. Walker and Odom's proposal for comparative modernist performance studies (CMPS) emerged out of their sense that integrating the three fields of new modernist studies, comparative studies, and performance studies can offer critical interventions into "our understanding of cultural responses to modernity and its globalizing thrust" (132). They aim to redefine "all three master terms in light of the multiple experiences and conceptualizations of a changing world, inclusive of all but privileging none" (132). Surveying aligning concerns and theoretical models from both inside and outside the Anglo-European academy, the authors offer an account of how blind spots in each of the three fields might be rectified and how performance studies' "historical frame around the postmodern and post-postmodern periods" might be enlarged "to include modernity writ large" (131). In this way, they claim, performance studies might admit "a multiplicity of experiences of historicity in order to distill a workable heuristic that accounts for modernity's uneven development" (136).

2. 130.

3. 130.

4. 136.

5. *The Geography of Haunted Places* was developed and first produced by Wilson, Hefferon, and the artist Aadge Bruce for the Perth Institute of Contemporary Arts (PICA) in 1994. Under the direction of Nigel Kellaway, it was then substantially revised and produced again by PICA, to be performed nationally in 1996 and 1997. I discuss this 1996/1997 version directed by Kellaway and first performed at Metro Arts in Brisbane, Queensland, in December of 1996. Unless otherwise stated, all references are to the published version of the script. See Josephine Wilson and Erin Hefferon, *The Geography of Haunted Places*, in *Performing the Unnameable: An Anthology of Australian Performance Texts*, edited by Richard James Allen and Karen Pearlman, Currency Press, 1999, pp. 129–35.

Whaea Kairau, directed by Colin McColl with set designs by Dorita Hannah, was commissioned and first produced by Taki Rua to be performed at The Depot theatre in Wellington, New Zealand, in June/July 1995. A second production was mounted by Kilimogo Productions and directed by Richard Huber at Otago Museum in June/July 1999. I will be discussing the first production of *Whaea Kairau*, directed by McColl. All references are to the published version of the text, which (unless otherwise stated) are replicated from the June/July 1995 performance script. For the published play see Apirana Taylor, *Whaea Kairau: Mother Hundred Eater*, in *Kohanga and Whaea Kairau*, Pohutukawa Press, 1999, pp. 82–188. For the performance script see Apirana Taylor, *Whaea Kairau: Mother Hundred Eater*, June/July 1995, Alexander Turnbull Library, play scripts, series 1 play scripts, Playmarket Inc. Records, MS-Group-0965, p. 58.

6. Walker and Odom 138.

7. 133.

8. Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton UP, 2000, p. 4. Walter Dignolo, *The Darker Side of Western Modernity: Global Futures, Decolonial Options*, Duke UP, 2011. As Dignolo has shown, "coloniality" is the "underlying logic of the foundation and unfolding of Western civilization from the Renaissance to today of which historical colonialisms have been a constitutive, although downplayed, dimension" (2). I use the term "post/coloniality" here to indicate that I focus in this article on the modernities of two former British colonies that have as yet failed to "decolonize the logic of coloniality" (xxvii). As I go on to argue, failing to decolonize the logic of coloniality does not necessarily mean that these countries remain colonial or neocolonial. Settler-colonies like Australia and New Zealand continue to critically scrutinize colonizer/colonized relationships as well as relationships that form between national subjects and the nation-states that are those individuals' constitutive counterparts, despite the reality that political, social, and cultural logic remains for the most part colonized.

9. Joe Cleary, "Toward a Materialist-Formalist History of Twentieth-Century Irish Literature," *Boundary 2*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2004, p. 210.

10. 210. Walker and Odom also point out that S. N. Eisenstadt was the first of many to note that "Weber's influential theory of modernization does not apply uniformly, even among highly industrialized societies in the West, and especially not to the developing world" (136).

11. Cleary 210.

12. Peter Beilharz, "Two New Britannias: Modernism and Modernity across the Antipodes," *ACH: The Journal of the History of Culture in Australia*, no. 25, 2006, p. 145.

13. Peter Beilharz and Lloyd Cox, "Settler Capitalism Revisited," *Thesis Eleven*, vol. 88, no. 1, 2007, p. 112.

14. 116.

15. 116.

16. 112–13.

17. 113.

18. Aparna Dharwadker, "The Really Poor Theatre: Postcolonial Economies of Performance," *Journal of Dramatic Theory and Criticism*, vol. 31, no. 2, 2017, p. 107.

19. 108.

20. 108. This is a particularly salient point when thinking about the settler colonialism of countries like Australia and New Zealand. As sites of mass European migration where indigenous populations were quickly decimated and outnumbered by settlers, there was no sustained moment of organized political or military resistance—as was the case for many countries across Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean. In colonies where exploitation colonialism and sustained political disenfranchisement of indigenous majorities was the rule, anticolonial revolution tended to be carried out through political and military action, as in the case of Ireland, for example. In Australia and New Zealand, however, the high degree of political autonomy and relative economic stability of a majority settler-colonial middle class meant that for white settlers the stakes were never high enough to justify a more forceful anticolonial political movement. And for indigenous peoples who did not have the numbers, resources, or unified social structures needed to fight back in the face of imperial might, militant action was for the most part not a possibility, or was suppressed by colonial powers very quickly. The development of a decolonizing and postcolonial modernity in these two countries therefore differs substantially from those of Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and Ireland.

21. For Dharwadker, because "the authors' remapping of modernity does not make any specific reference to the historic processes of colonization and decolonization," Walker and Odom's "discussion of the expanding spatiotemporal vectors of new modernist studies does not acknowledge the time-space either of settler or imperial colonialism"; and because "the elements of tension, friction, and conflict are absent when they describe modernization as the 'motive force' of spatial expansion in modernity," their remapping does not allow for a nuanced reading of postcolonial modernism (107).

22. Susan Stanford Friedman, "World Modernisms, World Literature, and Comparativity," *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, edited by Mark Wollaeger and Matt Eatough, Oxford UP, 2012, p. 518.

23. Douglas Mao and Rebecca Walkowitz, "The New Modernist Studies," *PMLA*, vol. 123, no. 3, 2008, pp. 737–48.

24. Susan Stanford Friedman, *Planetary Modernisms: Provocations on Modernity across Time*, Columbia UP, 2015, p. 3.

25. 3.

26. 52.

27. 52.

28. 4.

29. 4.

30. 4.

31. Alfred J. López and Robert P. Marzec, "Postcolonial Studies at the Twenty-Five Year Mark," *Modern Fiction Studies*, vol. 56, no. 4, 2010, pp. 679–80.

32. 680.

33. 679.

34. 679.
35. Stuart Hall, "When Was 'the Post-colonial'? Thinking at the Limit," *The Postcolonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*, edited by Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti, Routledge, 1996, p. 247.
36. Robert Young, *Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford UP, 2003, p. 7.
37. 6–7.
38. Garry Leonard, "The Famished Roar of Automobiles: Modernity, the Internal Combustion Engine, and Modernism," *Disciplining Modernism*, edited by Pamela L. Caughie, Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 223.
39. 224.
40. 225.
41. 229.
42. 225.
43. 228.
44. 229.
45. 223.
46. 229.
47. In *The Lacanian Left* Yannis Stavrakakis utilizes the concept of *jouissance* to explore the reasons why nationalism "has benefited enormously from a focus on the affective dimension of identity formation: on *jouissance* in its most obscene forms" (21). The sacrifice of a Lacanian "presymbolic *jouissance qua* fullness" is the prerequisite for any development of desire on the part of the social subject including "the desire to identify with particular political projects, ideologies, and discourses" (196). It is therefore "the imaginary promise of recapturing our lost/impossible enjoyment that provides, above all, the fantasy support for many of our political projects and choices," including that of nationalism (196). See Yannis Stavrakakis, *The Lacanian Left: Psychoanalysis, Theory, Politics*, State U of New York P, 2007.
48. Australian and New Zealand Army Corps participation in World War I may have provided grist for the mill of neocolonial nationalism, but after World War II the Australian and New Zealand governments and white citizenry expressed disillusionment regarding the homeland's ties to their prior colonies—Australia in particular felt that the WWII British government had failed to provide adequate security during the Asia-Pacific War and this provided the spark for anticolonial cultural revolution in the region.
49. Mark Williams, "The Long Maori Renaissance," *Other Renaissances: A New Approach to World Literature*, edited by Brenda Schildgen, Gang Zhou, and Sander Gilman, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 210.
50. 210.
51. See Patrick O'Farrell, *Ireland's English Question: Anglo-Irish Relations 1534–1970*, Schocken Books, 1971. O'Farrell, an Australian historian of Ireland, offers an argument that resonates with the situation in Australia and New Zealand from the 1970s. He argues that "the English imposed their form and terms" of politics and nationalism "on Irish-English relationships" and "structured the Irish political mind—but they did not, and could not, provide its content" (3). When searching for a solution to the "Irish Question" throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the British could only offer ineffectual political, economic, and social answers. What was really at stake, O'Farrell argues, was the issue of culture and religion that culminates in what he calls "Ireland's English Question": the crucial question—as the Irish renaissance proved—was in fact, "Who were the Irish, and what did they want?" (13).
52. Translations are mine unless otherwise noted. *Whaea Kairau* was adapted from Grimmelshausen's *Courage the Adventuress*, which Taylor read and discussed with the director Colin McColl. In an interview, Taylor acknowledged that the play was influenced by Brecht's *Mother Courage*, but emphatically stated that he has read no more than a few scenes of Brecht's play. Apirana Taylor, personal interview, 16 Aug. 2017.
53. The Pai Mārire movement was a syncretic Māori religion, based in Christianity, and founded in Taranaki by the prophet Te Ua Haumēne. It was derogatively known as "Hauhauism."

54. Taylor, personal interview.

55. Taylor, personal interview.

56. McColl quoted in Greg Stutchbury, “Taylor’s Muscular Poetry Takes Gallows Humour to the Stage,” *The Dominion*, 9 June 1995.

57. See figure 3.2—a photograph by Gavin Woodward, courtesy of production designer Dorita Hannah—in Diana Looser, *Remaking Pacific Pasts: History, Memory, and Identity in Contemporary Theater from Oceania*, U of Hawai’i P, 2014, p. 134. Shown in the photograph is “a shabby canvas drop” in the Taki Rua Foyer “announcing Apirana Taylor’s *Whāea Kairau*,” which “lifts to reveal the auditorium space where a road of timber planks set in a sea of mud crosses through the space, conjuring New Zealand’s rough colonial theater environments of public houses and circuses” (134).

58. Taylor, personal interview.

59. See Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *The Cunning of Recognition: Indigenous Alterities and the Making of Australian Multiculturalism*, Duke UP, 2002. Here I take my cue from Povinelli, who points out that “multicultural domination” inspires “subaltern and minority subjects to identify with the impossible object of an authentic self-identity.” When the nation-state “stretches out its hands” to ancient law, tradition, and protocol without acknowledging that the wounds of colonialism make much of the past impossible to recover, “indigenous subjects are called on to perform an authentic difference in exchange for the good feelings of the nation and the reparative legislation of the state.” This call, however, “does not simply produce good theatre, rather it inspires impossible desires: *to be* this impossible object and to transport its ancient prenational meanings and practices to the present in *whatever* language and moral framework prevails *at the time of enunciation*” (6). Apirana Taylor, his brother Rangimoana Taylor, and Briar Grace-Smith led the charge in rebelling against such “good feelings” by mounting productions in the second half of the 1990s and into the 2000s that were much more ambivalent about the revivalist sentiment of the so called “Māori Renaissance.”

60. Taylor, personal interview.

61. See Sergei Eisenstein, “Montage of Attractions: For ‘Enough Stupidity in Every Wiseman,’” translated by Daniel Gerould, *The Drama Review: TDR*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1974, pp. 77–85, and “From a Personal Statement,” *Twentieth Century Theatre: A Sourcebook*, edited by Richard Drain, Routledge, 1995. In 1922 Eisenstein became the director of the Proletkult Theatre (Moscow), where he sought to create “works that would correspond to the new social conditions of art” after the Russian Revolution (“Personal Statement” 87). During this time, he began to develop his theory of a “montage of attractions” and agit-attraction theatre, which he saw as being in opposition to the standard agitprop of the Proletkult. Agitprop, for Eisenstein, was “static, real-life—the right wing,” while agit-attraction was “dynamic and eccentric—the left wing” (“Montage of Attractions” 77). In his manifesto on the form, Eisenstein defines the attraction as “any aggressive aspect of the theatre; that is any element of the theatre that subjects the spectator to a sensual or psychological impact, experimentally regulated and mathematically calculated to produce in him certain emotional shocks which, when placed in their proper sequence within the totality of the production, become the only means that enable the spectator to perceive the ideological side of what is being demonstrated—the ultimate ideological *conclusion*” (78).

62. The Waitangi Tribunal is a permanent commission of inquiry established under the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 that “makes recommendations on claims brought by Māori relating to Crown actions which breach the promises made in the Treaty of Waitangi.” When the tribunal was first established in 1975 only claims of grievance made after 1975 could be considered. In 1985 this changed so that the tribunal’s jurisdiction extended all the way back to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, eliciting backlash from pākehā. In 1995 the fourth National government established a fiscal envelope of one billion dollars for the settlement of *all* historical claims, which resulted in vehement protest on the part of Māori. This limit was abandoned after the 1996 general election. See *Waitangi Tribunal*, Waitangi Tribunal, 2017, <www.waitangitribunal.govt.nz> (accessed 3 Aug. 2018).

63. Josephine Wilson, “Artistic Statement,” in Allen and Pearlman, p. 131.

64. 131, *sic*.

65. Wilson and Hefferon 132–33.

66. 133.

67. For a discussion of the psychoanalytic process by which objects are both emptied of meaning and able to transmit the violent histories of imperialism, see the chapter titled "In the Museum" in Anne Anlin Cheng's *Second Skin: Josephine Baker and the Modern Surface*, Oxford UP, 2011.

68. Wilson, quoted in Gretchen Miller, "Ambiguity Challenges Performers," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 Jan. 1997, p. 15.

69. Erin Hefferon is of Chinese and Hawaiian descent.

70. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics*, translated by Jay Miskowiec, vol. 16, no. 1, 1986, p. 27.

71. 27.

72. 27.

73. 27.

74. *Whaea* is a Māori term used to address a respected female figure. *Whaea Kairau* is translated in Taylor's title as "Mother (*whaea*) Hundred (*rau*) Eater (*kai*)" but a more accurate translation is "mother/aunt (*whaea*) prostitute (*kairau*)," with *whaea* in this sense being used ironically.

75. Taylor, *Whaea Kairau* 90.

76. As Donna Awatere explains, "the Māori view of time differs from that of British culture. To the White, the present and the future are all important. To the Māori, the past is the present, is the future. Who I am and my relationship to everyone else depends on my whakapapa, on my lineage, on those from whom I am descended. One needs one's ancestors therefore to define one's present. Relationships with one's tupuna [ancestors] are thus intimate and casual. It is easy to feel the humiliation, anger and sense of loss which your tupuna felt. And to take up the kaupapa they had." See Donna Awatere, *Maori Sovereignty*, Broadsheet, 1984, p. 54.

77. Taylor, *Whaea Kairau* 90.

78. 89.

79. 88.

80. 91, 88.

81. 126.

82. 168. In the performance script for the 1995 production at Taki Rua, this announcement about Whaea confronting "the madness of the land" (written in pen) has been crossed out and replaced with the announcement that "Whaea confronts sanity," further highlighting that Taylor and McColl attempted to reverse ideas about postcolonial modernist New Zealand being a time and space of political and economic "sanity" in contrast to the insanity of the colonial era. See Taylor, *Whaea Kairau: Mother Hundred Eater*, June/July 1995, p. 58.

83. Looser 137.

84. Taylor, *Whaea Kairau* 170–73.

85. 185.

86. 188, *sic*.

87. Bernard Attard, "From Free-Trade Imperialism to Structural Power: New Zealand and the Capital Market, 1856–68," *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 35, no. 4, 2007, p. 527.

88. 527.

89. Josephine Wilson, quoted in Miller, 15.

90. John McCallum, "Body Map of Conquest," *The Australian*, 20 Jan. 1997, p. 13.

91. McCallum.

92. McCallum.

93. Glen McGillivray, "Mis-Recognised Knowledges: National Identity and the Unreliable Narrator in Jack Hibberd's *A Stretch of the Imagination* and Josephine Wilson's *The Geography of Haunted Places*," *Australasian Drama Studies*, vol. 52, 2008, p. 74.

94. Wilson and Hefferon 132.

95. 132.

96. 132.

97. 132.

98. 132.

99. Herbert Blau, *The Audience*, Johns Hopkins UP, 1990, p. 25.

100. 25.
101. Wilson and Hefferon 132.
102. 132.
103. 135.
104. 135.
105. Robert Young, "The Postcolonial Comparative," *PMLA*, vol. 128, no. 3, 2013, p. 688.
106. Leonard 228.