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Stripping feathers and fur: a decolonizing lens on illustration and visual narrative.

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MDes / 2020



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Abstract

In this practice-led thesis I explore my own practice as an Aotearoa New Zealand-based illustrator. I explore how visual narrative and drawing can reframe early Māori / Pākehā encounters from a decolonizing perspective.

The project focuses on a case study of Māori / Pākehā encounter that occurred in the Foveaux Strait region, in extraordinary circumstances, in 1810. It concerns Tokitoki, a high-born Māori girl, and James Caddell, a sealer and English teen, and led to Caddell's assimilation into Tokitoki's Ngāi Tahu iwi (tribe). Their encounter is a story of identity, belonging and assimilation – themes that continue to be highly relevant today.

My project orients audiences, via storytelling and visual narrative, to the perspectives of the two central protagonists, Tokitoki and Caddell, using a practice-led methodology informed by decolonization theory and focalization. It is also informed by archival research relating to this story, which imposes a variety of limitations that the thesis also explores – notably relating to the absence of Māori voice in the records of settlers. My thesis argues that visual narrative is a powerful medium to convey early Māori / Pākehā encounter from a decolonizing perspective.

The design output is a visual narrative of Tokitoki and Caddell's story rendered in an achromatic palette. I argue that this medium is free from the constraints of textual language, and so invites the audience to construct their own interpretation of the narrated events. The design output is proposed for the Bluff Maritime Museum. This regionally-significant institution is particularly relevant to Southland settler history: it is a rich repository of records connected to early European trade, industry, settlement, and the resulting mixed-descent families in the area, and is highly valued by the community.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my supervisors, Dr Caroline Campbell and Rachael Rakena, for their ongoing contributions and guidance to determine the shape and focus of this research project. Thank you for your wisdom and patience, without which this project would not have been possible.

I would also like to thank Ngāi Tahu historian, Dr Michael Stevens, for generously giving time to this project. Your suggestions and depth of knowledge on the Foveaux Strait region significantly influenced the development of this exegesis, and the illustrated panels within the accompanying visual narrative.

I am also grateful to historian, Dr Geoffrey Troughton, for thoroughly reviewing this exegesis in its final stages of completion.

Finally, I wish to express my utmost appreciation to Carina. Thank you for your immeasurable love and support throughout this period of study. Your enthusiasm and encouragement from the outset of this research project helped me maintain focus and motivation. Thank you for being by my side. You, and our daughter Sienna, are both an unfaltering source of inspiration.

Section 1

Introduction

‘They are cannibals to the full extent of the word, and far from making any mystery of it they describe with complaisance their odious practices.’

Captain William Edwardson (1823)

As a teacher of design and illustration in a multi-cultural high school in the capital of Aotearoa New Zealand, I recognize that visual narrative can be a powerful form of communication within contemporary educational spaces. Visual narratives have the ability to inform audiences of stories past and present. They provide a space for people to explore and reflect on their own sense of identity and place. Crucially, this medium also provides alternative entry points into communication, engaging reluctant readers and drawing young people into vivid visual worlds.

I am particularly interested in the potential of visual narrative as a tool of communication, and as a means for broadening horizons and imaginations, within multi-cultural contexts. I am concerned to understand how audiences within the diverse cultural communities of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand engage with illustrated stories and interpret narrative. The non-verbal form of the visual narrative permits a connection with these diverse cultural communities, allowing communication that cuts across cultural and language boundaries. Further, as a graphic designer, I have a longstanding enthusiasm for typography and illustration. In recent years, my design practice has focused on the illustrated book jacket, a format characterized by the need for a strong concept and the endless possibilities afforded by typography, illustration and production techniques. The present project extends these skills and experience, and my ongoing enthusiasm for visual communication, into the realm of visual narrative.

In ‘*Stripping feathers and fur: a decolonizing lens on illustration and visual narrative*’, I employ visual narrative to relate a little-



Figure 1.
Antique map indicating Foveaux Strait which separates Stewart Island from the southern mainland.

known tale of Māori / Pākehā encounter. I argue that visual narrative is a powerful medium to convey early Māori / Pākehā encounter from a decolonizing perspective. Informed by theories and methods of decolonization, visual narrative can reframe historical accounts. It can open the possibility for fresh ways of seeing others in ways that counter attitudes and imaginations informed by European discriminatory hierarchies. In this project, I examine my personal practice as an illustrator in Aotearoa New Zealand, focusing specifically on how visual narrative and focalization can reframe significant stories of early Māori / Pākehā encounter for Aotearoa New Zealand audiences.

The period of early Māori / Pākehā ‘encounter’, from Cook’s voyages up to the 1820s and 30s (before the advent of mass European settlement and colonization), provides an abundance of stories that are rich in drama and conflict. Yet very few graphic publications have addressed the theme of early encounter, and among those that have, the rich stories from the far South remain untold within this medium. The focus of my project concerns the somewhat abstruse story of Tokitoki, a high-born Māori girl, and James Caddell, a 16-year-old English sealer. It is set on the periphery of Stewart Island (Rakiura) and Foveaux Strait (Te Ara a Kiwa), a location of significant historical importance for its connection to early European trade, extractive industries, and settlement (World History of Bluff). Caddell was assimilated with Tokitoki’s southern Māori iwi (tribe) in extraordinary circumstances in 1810. Their story is one of conflict, cultural difference, and inclusion – themes that remain outstandingly relevant in our current era of global mass migrations. Moreover, Caddell and Tokitoki’s relationship, an early example of a Māori / Pākehā marriage, has ongoing relevance for the many descendants of the early settlers in this southern region.

In exploring this case study, I am conscious of the challenges entailed in understanding and rendering Tokitoki and Caddell's story. Precise details of the story are sketchy, but questions of perspective and positionality are also particularly relevant. Throughout much of New Zealand's colonial history, accounts of Māori / Pākehā encounter have largely been framed through a western lens. Historical accounts of early European arrival to Aotearoa New Zealand, as well as early Māori / Pākehā interactions, have been heavily informed by colonial archival documentation and research. Māori, in common with other indigenous peoples, possess a strong oral tradition. Their oral histories and traditions have often been ignored, or committed to the archives in forms that are refracted through a colonial lens. This process has resulted in many inaccurate accounts of Māori history, practice and belief (Bishop 2). In addition, I come to this story from the vantage point of a Pākehā with limited access to the knowledge of the southern iwi with whom this story is concerned; Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Māmoe.

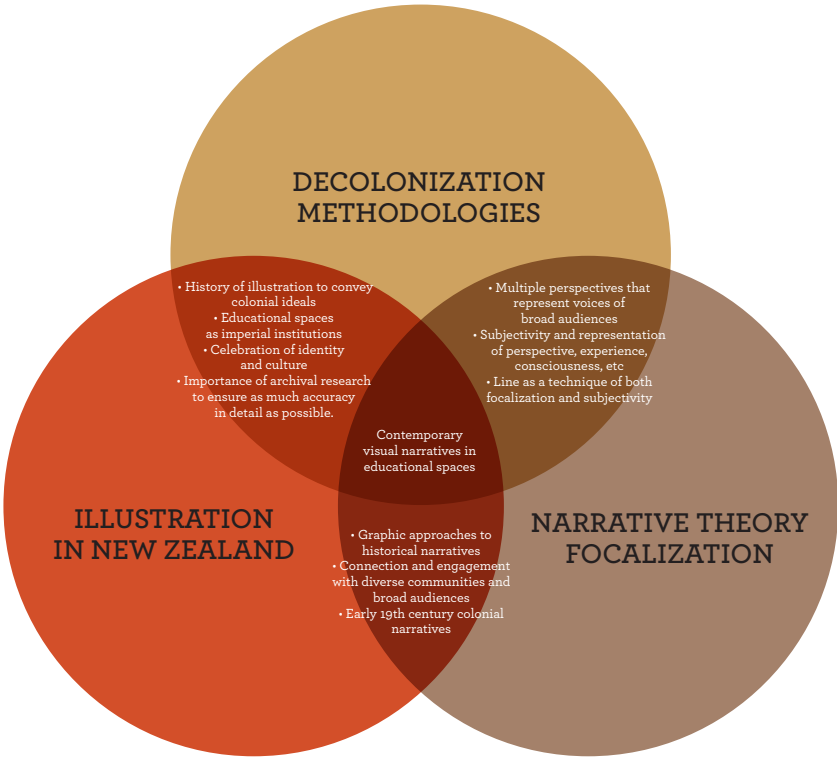


Figure 2.
Venn diagram illustrating the theories and scholarship which underpin this research project.

Notwithstanding these challenges, this story of a Māori / Pākehā relationship challenges me as an illustrator to work in a culturally sensitive manner to present and communicate stories of bi-cultural significance. So, with the intention of representing the story as factually and culturally appropriately as possible, I set out to design a visual narrative as an educational resource for the Bluff Maritime Museum. This museum was selected as a location because it is geographically, historically and culturally relevant to the story. It provides the educational space in which I position this contemporary take on early settler history and early Māori / Pākehā relations.

In the following sections, I reflect on the challenges of framing a scantily documented story of encounter using visual narrative as a medium. I outline the development of my thinking, and theories and literatures that have informed my approach, beginning with an account of my introduction to the story of Tokitoki and Caddell. The next main section discusses key aspects of decolonization that have critically underpinned my creative output and the trajectory of this research project, particularly as they relate to history and the use of historical sources. I then explore issues related to visual narrative, focusing on the relevance of focalization, a sub-theory of narrativity, in which I suggest that focalization techniques can be a powerful method for decolonizing historical narratives. From there, I undertake a comparative analysis of three contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand-produced graphic narratives that also address historical accounts of early Māori / Pākehā encounter, deploying my understanding of focalization in order to interpret critical aspects of those works relevant to my own study. Finally, I outline the creative process that was undertaken to develop the accompanying visual narrative. In doing so, I review feedback from a semi-structured interview with a notable Ngāi Tahu historian, Dr Michael Stevens, and clarify how the aforementioned research and methods have helped determine the initial and interim stages of design development, as well as the visual narrative's resolution.

Section 2

Encountering Tokitoki and Caddell

My first encounter with the story of James Caddell and Tokitoki came through reading Michael King's landmark *Penguin History of New Zealand* (2003). In an early section of this work, addressing the period of 'encounter', King writes that:

From the early 1800s sealers began to deflect to Ngāi Tahu communities in the south of the country, some remaining there to raise pigs and grow vegetables to sell or barter to ocean whalers and other ships that were beginning to visit the ports of Foveaux Strait and Fiordland more often. One of the first was Thomas Fink, who settled near Bluff with a Māori wife in about 1805. Another was James Caddell, who in 1810 married Tokitoki, niece of the Ngāi Tahu chief Honekai, and lived in Oue near the present town of Invercargill (King 120).

Although I have long been fascinated by sealers' tales, this excerpt from King's history particularly captured my attention, stimulating an interest in finding out more about this story. Who was Caddell? Who was Tokitoki? Unlike Thomas Fink's wife, whose name has been lost to time, Tokitoki was identified in person, as an active agent and identity. Her name provided me with a point of entry into her Ngāi Tahu whakapapa (genealogy), and an opportunity to unearth further details – about her, as well as the context of this significant early encounter.

I began by exploring historic stories of the sealers on the southern coasts of Aotearoa New Zealand in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. I was fascinated initially by tales of adventure, which unfolded in what for Pākehā at that time were intimidatingly isolated and uncharted territories. The drama of their activities captured my imagination. As I read further, however, it was the encounters between Māori / Pākehā that occurred on these southern coasts, and the developing cross-cultural relationships that ensued, that stood out as the most prominent themes within the sealer narratives. The Caddell and Tokitoki story appealed particularly, not simply because it is relatively little known, but also because the critical events occurred at a point of remarkable change and transformation for Aotearoa New Zealand. Though short, the story appeared to

have many qualities that caused it to feel complete. The visuals that immediately came to mind, such as the sealers' harsh coastal existence, the wildlife, the weather-battered ocean-going vessels, conflict, and romance, were illustrations that I was keen to pursue. In doing so, it was important to avoid rendering these images in ways that replicated partial Eurocentric tropes, but rather to explore this visualization from the perspective of decolonization.

Figure 3.

A newspaper article provides a brief eurocentric account of the narrative.

Evening Star,
Issue 12292,
6 September 1904

—Ship's Boy to Raogatira.—
On April 1, 1823, Captain Edwardson of the Snapper, reached Sydney from New Zealand. The local Press gives his narrative thus:—
Captain Edwardson, of the Snapper, brings from New Zealand two chiefs, one of whom is accompanied by his wife. One of them is a youth of about sixteen, and the other is thirty years old. The name of the latter is James Caddell, an Englishman by birth, and whose history is briefly as follows: In 1807 or thereabouts the ship Sydney Cove, a sealer out of the port, was cruising off the Bay of Islands, and had either stationed or despatched a boat's crew, consisting of five hands and a boy (James Caddell, the present chief), to one of the islands in quest of seals. The boat was taken by the savages in the vicinity of the Southern Cape, and the hapless men, with the exception of Caddell, were killed and eaten. Fortunately, in his fright the boy flew to an old chief for mercy, and happened to touch his kaka-how (the outward mat of the chief), and thus his life became preserved, as his person was then held sacred. Being in too distant a part of New Zealand to indulge the hope of hastily escaping from a wretched captivity, Caddell became resigned to his apparent destiny, and insensibly adopted the manners and customs of the natives. About nine years since he was allied to a chief's daughter, who also is sister to a chief, and by this twofold tie he became a prince of no small influence among such subjects as those barbarous despots are destined, in the present constitution of things, to have

Section 3

Decolonization, sources and questions of history

Decolonization is the process of addressing and reversing the effects of colonization – in its political and cultural dimensions – that have contributed to the disempowerment, marginalization, and loss of identity for Māori, as it has among Indigenous people globally (Smith 21). Decolonization methodologies seek to address misconceptions, and misunderstandings that have significantly impacted on Māori, and their histories (Victoria University of Wellington). These approaches seek further to alter social perspectives, which in the case of Aotearoa New Zealand, have been built on limited European interpretations of Māori culture, traditions and worldview. Linda Tuhiwai Smith consequently argues that decolonization methodologies aim to represent Māori and their practices sensitively, as misrepresentation has also played a significant role in marginalizing Māori people, and their belief systems (Smith 2). Appropriate representation hence counters the ‘dominant society’s image of indigenous peoples’. (Smith 151). As regards visual representation, from a decolonized perspective it is essential that Māori practices are portrayed with accuracy, since representation is a resemblance of ‘the truth’ (Smith 35). Moreover, accurate representation makes possible a range of other benefits, for example: dispelling myths that Māori have had placed on them; helping to form a connection with a Māori audience; and making genuine contributions to Māori knowledge and community.

Revisiting histories is a fundamental aspect of decolonization. Contested histories are part of the ‘fabric of communities’ that place high value on oral traditions (Smith 33). An enduring consequence of colonization is that Māori knowledge, narratives, histories, and cultural practices have frequently been misunderstood and misrepresented within state institutions such as education systems and repositories of knowledge, such as museums, libraries, and archives. Such institutions have principally constructed accounts of the past by means of European tools, values and epistemologies. Consequently, they have typically represented European perspectives, presenting a ‘colonial history as fact’ while denying the perspectives of the subaltern (Archival Decolonist). My argument is that visual narrative informed by decolonization can reframe our historical accounts, thus countering attitudes and presumptions that have been built on discriminatory hierarchies.

Smith argues that European voyage, discovery, and research has significantly determined how world history is perceived, framed, and preserved (Smith 20). Although historians attempt to present the most convincing and accurate account of historical events, these accounts are always ingrained with subjective qualities influenced by historians' own cultural backgrounds, agendas, available source material, and their intended readership (Fludernik 3). These dynamics are evident in historical accounts of Aotearoa New Zealand in the nineteenth century. Such accounts rely heavily on archival research, drawing from static repositories of sources that were predominantly recorded, retained, and ordered by the colonizer, reflecting colonial values, perceptions, and priorities. Archives cannot therefore be regarded as neutral storehouses of information and 'facts'. Historians who use them are drawing from bodies of evidence that have already been skewed towards colonial perspectives.

My experience researching the events related to Tokitoki and Caddell conforms to these general observations: the majority of the accessible information on their story has been essentially narrated through a Eurocentric lens. Archival material focuses on Caddell, with scant information regarding Tokitoki, as was typical of the narratives of Māori / Pākehā intimate relationships of the time (Ballantyne 178). And, although numerous short newspaper articles make mention of Caddell, I found them to be largely unhelpful as they are riddled with discrepancies regarding the story's events (see Figures 4, 5, 6). Encountering these limitations and the partiality of the archival record influenced my thinking, stimulating my desire to build an informed decolonized narrative.

In 1836, a sealing vessel called the Sydney Cove landed a gang of men on the southern part of Stewart Island, which was then believed to be part of the mainland, and all the party except one boy were killed and eaten. The lad, James Caddell, who escaped, owed his preservation to running forward and catching hold of a chief named Tako, who happened to be tapu. Caddell subsequently married Tako's daughter, and was tattooed. He visited Sydney in 1823, when he had nearly forgotten the English language. Captain General of the brig Commune.

Figure 4.
Auckland Star,
Volume XIX, Issue 29,
4 February 1888

"The sealing vessel called Sydney Cove put some men ashore, and for some reason they were killed. It was at Port William, I think, but I am not quite sure. It may have been below The Neck instead of north of it, but it was somewhere on the east side of Stewart Island. It was not at Long Island, off South-West Cape, as the murder there was done by Te Koan and his people from Otago Heads, whereas the killing of the crew of the Sydney Cove was done by the followers of the chief Te Pai, who lived on Ruapuke Island. One of the sealers, a boy (named James Caddell), ran to the chief Te Pai and was saved. He was brought up by the Maoris and was called 'Jimmy the Boy' by us."

Figure 5.
Otago Daily Times,
Issue 21313,
18 April 1931

It was at Dusky Sound, too, that the first white chief of the Maoris also existed. That was James Caddell, who was chief of the local tribe for about eight years. It appears that the sealers, who had earlier established themselves at Codfish Island (off Stewart Island), used to visit Dusky Sound. The Natives did not touch the crews of ships that called in those remote days, but the sealers they regarded as rogues and thieves, and on one occasion they attacked and murdered a boat's crew. One escaped, a boy named James Caddell, who ran toward the Maori chief and touched his robe, pleading for mercy. That act made the boy "tapu." He was adopted by the chief, and in due course became chief himself, and married a chief's daughter. So in later years people were surprised to see a white man chief of the Maoris. Captain Chase was so taken with the white chief that he induced him and his wife to go to Sydney, where Caddell became the hero of the hour. What happened to James Caddell after that visit to Sydney has been lost to history.

THE FIRST SEALERS

Figure 6.
Otago Daily Times,
Issue 23162,
12 April 1937

Building such a narrative required locating and examining sources with as much rich information as possible concerning Caddell, Tokitoki, and their worlds. Robert McNab's *Murihiku and the Southern Islands* (1907) contains a number of entries relating to Caddell and was my primary introduction to the narratives of sealing, and early trans-Tasman voyages of discovery and trade. This key text is informed by newspaper articles, shipping log-book entries, and manuscripts drawn from Australian, American, and British libraries and archives. McNab's accounts are, however, 'presentist' in that they were constructed to address the concerns of his day, and framed as such by a contemporary Eurocentric lens. Pre-colonial ideologies, resources, and rules are overlooked, and a Western cultural bias takes priority. This in turn distorts an understanding of the narrative. The narratives in McNab's work, moreover, exclude Māori perspectives and voices within these histories, even though they are clearly implicated in the events described. The preface to *Murihiku and the Southern Islands* baldly states that 'native history is not touched upon' and that the scope of the work chronicles the 'progress of discovery and civilized trade' (McNab, VII).

The sealers working the Murihiku¹ coasts were largely non-literate. Consequently, the textual archive produced by the sealers is meagre (Ballantyne 113). One of the most valuable archival documents informing this research project was John Boulton's collection of journal entries; these are now included in June Starks' edited volume, *Journal of a Rambler: The Journal of John Boulton* (1986). English by birth, Boulton's articulate journal entries provide an extraordinary and rare glimpse of the life of a sealer in southern Aotearoa New Zealand in the early nineteenth century. The work offers extensive observations on this treacherous coastal environment, the isolation of the sealing crews, and the practices associated with the pursuit of the highly valued seal furs. In addition, these journal entries were an important source in aiding my understanding and hence visualization of early Māori / Pākehā and sealer relationships.

Although, Boulton makes no mention of either Caddell or Tokitoki, he spent considerable time living on Ruapuke Island where Caddell had lived just a few years earlier. Boulton's extensive written observations of Foveaux Strait importantly document the often-awkward misunderstandings and tensions that existed within mid-1820s Māori / Pākehā relationships. Moreover, Boulton's textual observations are accompanied by detailed sketches of Tokitoki's cousin, Te Whakataupuka, his kāinga (settlement) on Ruapuke Island, as well as Te Pahi's kāinga on the southern mainland coast. These journal entries proved to be invaluable in that they provided me with visual

¹ Murihiku is the Māori term for the region south of the Waitaki River on the southern mainland, including the Foveaux Strait region.

Figure 7.
Sketch of Te Pahi's
kāinga (settlement).
John Boulton, 1826.

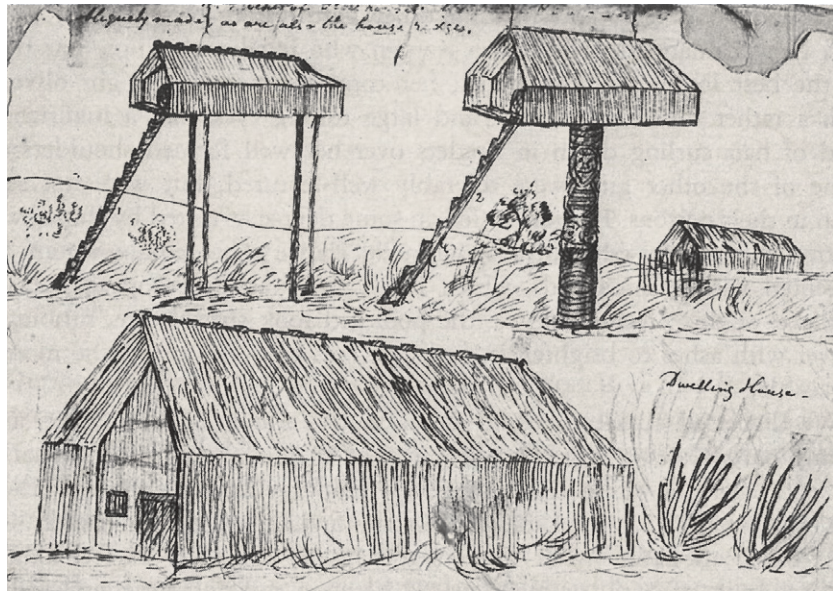


Figure 8.
Sketch of Tokitoki's cousin,
Te Whakataupuka.
John Boulton, 1826.



references with regard to Māori architecture and other details of Māori social life, as well as a graphic textual account of experiencing an ambush by 'Māori pirates' on the isolated southern West Coast (King 121). Because of its detailed observations of Māori individuals from Ruapuke Island and Foveaux Strait, Boulton's journal has been widely recognized for its significant contribution to knowledge concerning Foveaux Strait Māori of the early nineteenth century. (Te Ara).

Some scholars have argued that travellers' tales contributed to representation of Māori as the 'Other'² to a wide audience within Europe, and across social classes (Smith 9). On the other hand, the diaries and journals of rogue Pākehā travellers, such as Boulton, also, at times, made significant contributions to the

² The term the 'Other' describes the reductive action of labelling and defining a person as a subaltern native.

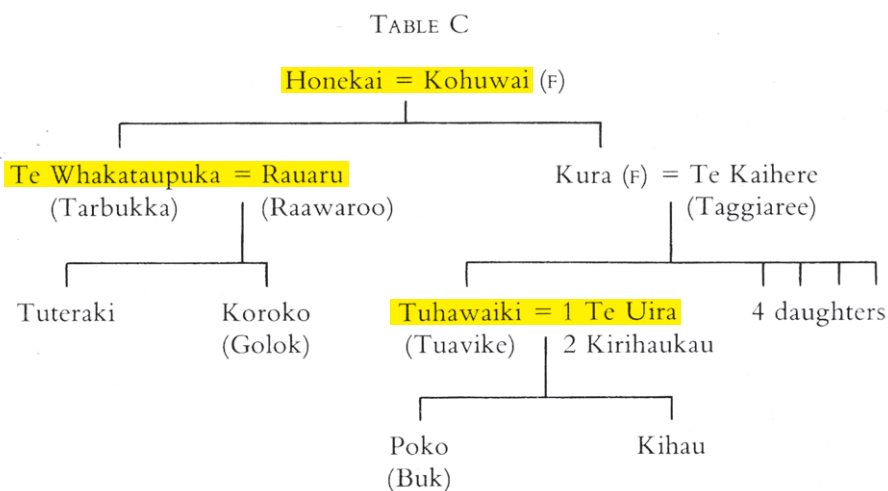
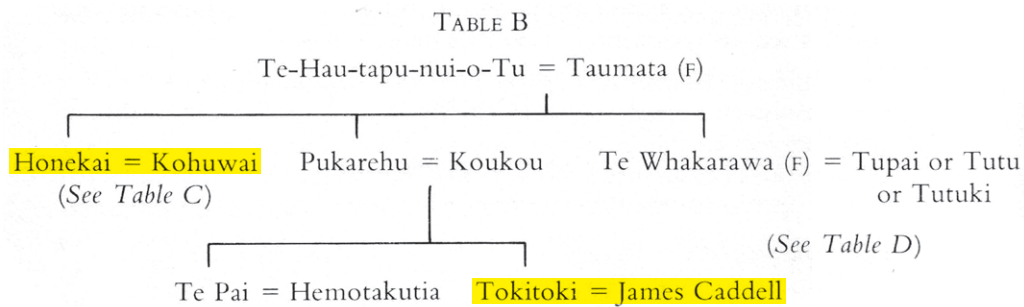
documentation of Māori tradition and knowledge. As Ngāi Tahu leader and historian Tipene O'Regan argues:

The wandering stranger with his notebook and sketchpad, 'roughing it' in your pā and kāinga, was close by you, recording you, paying enormous respect to what you had to share. Modern scholars seldom find the Māori person a source of the sort of knowledge that is being sought. It's in the archive, or in the ground, or in the museum (O'Regan 143).

O'Regan argues further that Pākehā travellers' documentation of Māori knowledge was pivotal within a crucial period of colonization (O'Regan 143), and provide critical insights into traditional Māori lifeways before these were substantially reconfigured. Moreover, as Ballantyne contends, early sealers were in many respects outsiders 'whose work was either unconnected to or at odds with the project of colonization' (Ballantyne 125). Michael Stevens, the Ngāi Tahu historian with whom I interacted over this project, supports this contention, adding that early Pākehā travellers' tales typically portrayed Māori more sensitively than those of the colonists.

Figures 9, 10.

Indicating the key relationships within the Tokitoki / Caddell narrative, these pedigree charts have been developed in response to Boulton's journal. *The World of John Boulton*. (1979).



In recognising that there are significant gaps within the early nineteenth century archival material in Aotearoa New Zealand, we can look to other sources to inform our understanding of these historical accounts of Māori / Pākehā encounter. The writings of contemporary Māori historians offer one important alternative lens through which we can access and interpret these narratives; direct engagement with Māori communities that are connected to these stories provides another.

Section 4

Visual narrative

The idea of visual narrative has its origins in the narrative artworks of William Hogarth, which are recognized for their rich, detailed narrative content that addressed themes of prostitution, depravity, and disease within the context of eighteenth-century London. The most significant advances in visual narrative, in the sense that is relevant for my project, came in the early twentieth century, with the development of sequenced illustrations within graphic, book-length projects. The European fine artists Franz Masereel (1889-1972) and Otto Nückel (1888-1955) made significant contributions to the development of modern visual narrative of this type, providing social commentary on life in Europe after the First World War. Further contributions to the medium were forged by the American pioneer Lynd Ward whose monumental graphic work *Vertigo* (1937) demonstrated that visual narrative was capable of conveying complex, compelling stories (Eisner 141). Ward's visual narratives, recognized for their significant influence on sequential art, provided the premise for the subsequent rise of the graphic novel (Beronä 10).

The visual narrative is a timeless medium that necessitates a high level of engagement from the reader (Serafini 26). Offering an alternative approach to storytelling, and engaging reluctant readers, this form of narrative has the capacity to engage with audiences from diverse age groups and elicit thought and discussion on sophisticated themes (Serafini 26). Moreover, the wordless nature of the visual narrative permits each reader to construct their own sense of meaning from the sequenced illustrations and thereby give their own voice to the narrative (Weisner 12). Nicholas Mirzeoff contends, further, that today's highly mediated society is occularcentric 'as our experiences are better understood as totally constructed visual experiences' (qtd. in Serafini 86). Consequently, with human experience becoming increasingly visual, visual narrative continues to be a highly relevant graphic medium that is intimate and unique.



Figure 11.
Wood engraving from
'Vertigo' (1937). Lynd Ward.



Figure 12.
Wood engraving from
'Vertigo' (1937). Lynd Ward.



Figure 13.
Woodblock print from
'25 Images of a Man's Passion' (1918).
Franz Masereel.

Section 5

Visual portrayal of early Māori / Pākehā encounter

Early artistic representations of Māori / Pākehā encounter often adopted a narrative style, of the kind associated with Hogarth's narrative art. As noted above, such visual representation was invariably constructed from a Eurocentric point of view.

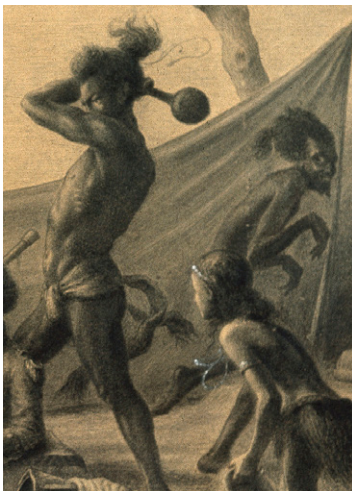
The exploratory voyages of Aotearoa New Zealand by Tasman (1642), Cook (1769) and du Fresne (1772) provided the earliest drawings and visual depictions of both land and indigenous people. Gil Docking asserts that the artworks made during Cook's first voyage served two purposes: they were to document the journey and discovery from a scientific perspective, and they were to also appeal to a 'popular romantic taste' (Docking 16). Within Aotearoa New Zealand, and within the British empire, this depiction of Aotearoa New Zealand through illustration was used to manage political interests, romanticize migration, classify indigenous peoples, and convey cultural difference. The 'significance of travellers' tales and adventurers' adventures is that they represented the Other to a general audience back in Europe which became fixed in the milieu of cultural ideas' (Smith 8). Consequently, imagery associated with cannibalism, savagery, and primitivism garnered much interest, and provided further opportunities to represent the Other once more (Smith 8).

Housed within Aotearoa New Zealand's National Archives, the artwork *The Death of Marion du Fresne at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 12 June 1772* (1846-1848), by French artist Charles Méryon may be regarded as a classic of the early artistic representation of 'encounter'. Its strong narrative quality is representative of much of the visual and textual archival material from early colonial New Zealand. It is also notable for its Eurocentric portrayal of conflict, and the misrepresentation of early Māori / Pākehā encounter.

Historical accounts record that in the Bay of Islands in June 1772, the French crews of the *Mascarin* and *Marquis de Castries* led by Captain Marion du Fresne unwittingly caused much offence to Māori by violating tapu (prohibition, restriction) by fishing in a restricted zone, thereby degrading the status of one of the local Māori communities (New Zealand History). The encounter resulted in a tragic sequence of events. Marion du Fresne was killed by Māori, along with a further 24 members of the two



Figure 14.
*The Death of Marion du Fresne
 at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand,
 12 June 1772'. (1846-1848).*
 Charles Méryon.



Detail. **Figure 14.**

French crews. In response, the French killed up to 250 Māori, and destroyed their villages, waka (canoes), and resources. This artwork produced in the late 1840s serves to recount the narrative.

Méryon's depiction offers polarised visual representations of imperialism and the Other. On one hand, the French are poised as innocent, dignified noblemen, as well as victims of the encounter as they are shown unarmed. Māori, on the other hand, are portrayed as brutal and violent, with postures and facial expressions within the artwork used to further depict them as conniving, untrustworthy, and savage. Being 'savage' marked the 'natives' as other than the colonizers who presumed themselves to be the 'civilised' (Peterson 2005).

Artistic representations have changed since the nineteenth century, and methods of visual narration have developed. Yet theorists of decolonization highlight the enduring implications of narrative artworks such as Méryon's, which remain within important national institutions, shaping cultural imaginations (Smith 2). The undertow of mental conditioning that takes place as we interpret the visual images around us often unconsciously reinforces forms of discrimination and perpetuates the oppressive social order as a consequence of colonization and settlement.

In developing my own visual narrative, I hence regarded it as crucial to avoid perpetuating the dominance of a Eurocentric point of view, which has characterized the long history of visual narratives of Māori / Pākehā encounter. In keeping with a decolonizing methodology, I determined that depicting both Māori and Pākehā perspectives offered a key way for me to do this. Focalization provided a theoretical framework for engaging with these different perspectives in my attempt to wrest free from the impasse of a tradition of Eurocentric visual narration.

Section 6

Focalization

Focalization, a sub-theory of narrativity, plays a key role in framing this decolonized account of Tokitoki and Caddell. The term, first coined by Gérard Genette, refers to the orientation of narrative perspective from which the events, the characters, and their storyworld are perceived (Mikkonen 171). The concept of focalization was initiated to permit a far greater and more comprehensive analysis of narrative perspective than terms such as ‘first person’ or ‘third person’ provide. Broadly speaking, focalization describes a complex arrangement of who experiences the events, what they say, and the limitations of their knowledge and consciousness within the narrative (Mikkonen 158).

Narrative perspective is typically focalized from within or outside of the storyworld. Genette refers to the storyworld as ‘diegesis’, and makes comparison between homodiegetic narrators, which are personalised from within the storyworld, and heterodiegetic narrators, which are positioned from outside. Put simply, Genette describes focalization as the notion of ‘who speaks’ and ‘who sees’, thus drawing a distinction between voice (‘who speaks’) and mode (‘who sees’). Genette’s influential writings from *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (1979) form essential scholarship on focalization which subsequent theorists have continued to revise and extend.

In building a narrative that relies solely on the visual, it is necessary to draw upon optical techniques of conveying perspective (Horstkotte, Pedri 331). Within the visual narrative, focalization draws on point-of-view editing techniques associated with film from which it has been influenced. Point-of-view editing techniques such as the point-of-view image, the over-the-shoulder image, the gaze image, and so on, provide pivotal techniques for orientating a character’s perspective through an optical means (Mikkonen 165). Additionally, images that suggest an observer’s physical presence, such as a shadow, or part of the focalizing character’s body within the foreground, can also serve to orientate the narrative perspective (Badman 6). At times, focalization may also be implied by stylistic devices used to re-emphasise the orientation of narrative perspective (Mikkonen 154).



Figure 15, 16.

Frédéric Boilet demonstrates an extended use of occularcentric techniques within the graphic narrative, *Yukiko's Spinach*. (2001).



I argue that focalization techniques can play a significant role in decolonizing narratives of early Māori / Pākehā encounter by helping to reflect indigenous voices, present indigenous knowledge, and engage with indigenous perspectives. I argue further that they provide the illustrator with powerful techniques for presenting multiple voices with differing points of view within a single historical account.

Section 7

Case studies of graphic narrative and early encounter

I have noted previously that a number of graphic narratives³ have already been published on stories of early Māori / Pākehā encounter, albeit that my own project is the first to address the southern regions of Aotearoa New Zealand. In addition to gathering information and material to support the visual narrative, I also conducted a case study analysis of some of these publications. This case study approach enabled me to compare how previous publications have dealt with questions of historical context, as well as themes such as identity, place, and belonging that are central to the story of Tokitoki and Caddell. Crucially, it also enabled me to test and develop my understanding of focalization theory, and its implications for constructing visual narratives of encounter.

In this section, I examine three graphic narratives that I chose for case study analysis, addressing them below in the following order: *Kimble Bent: Malcontent* (2011), *The Adventures of Tupaia* (2019), and *The Treaty of Waitangi / Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (2019). In analysing these graphic narratives, I employed my understanding of focalization to determine the orientation of the narrative perspective. Additional areas of interest were: the representation of Māori characters; the source material that contributed to the shaping of the narratives; and how the narratives allow for a connection with the Pākehā and Māori audiences that are reflected in their content.

³Typically combining panel and gutter, the graphic narrative is a general term used to refer to works such as comic books, graphic novels, manga, sequential art, etc.

Kimble Bent: Malcontent

Chris Grosz

The first case study, *Kimble Bent: Malcontent* (2011), a graphic novel by Chris Grosz, recounts the story of an American-born soldier who deserts his fellow British soldiers to serve Māori interests during the Taranaki wars of the 1860s. This graphic novel is based on *The Adventures of Kimble Bent* (1911) by historian James Cowan, which Cowan based on Bent's account to him. While the narrative addresses a slightly later period, Bent's experience living 'as Māori' within a Māori community offers an important point of comparison to Caddell's story.

The narrative begins, using both caption and map to set time and place. This single page is focalized through historian James Cowan, which establishes a Eurocentric framing of the events. The storyworld is introduced on page 3, immersing the reader in a time and place, within the British Military camp. Yet, the key focalizer within the storyworld is Bent, meaning that the narrative perspective is filtered predominantly through Bent's point of view. Framed in this way, a number of visual tropes appear that reproduce the Eurocentric perspectives that are so characteristic of the accounts of early twentieth-



Figure 17. References to the consumption of human flesh are made on a number of occasions.



Figure 18. Indication of the representation of Māori within the graphic narrative.

century historians such as Cowan. In terms of historical context, there is little insight offered into elements such as Crown aggression during the wars, or of the impact on Māori in terms of dispossession and marginalization. Māori appear in the visual narrative in ways that conform to Eurocentric stereotypes. For example, the presence of a Pākehā foot, ready for consumption in a 'kete' (flax bag), in one graphic reflects a simultaneous revulsion and fascination with Māori cannibalism among European commentators. Additionally, at times, Bent's Māori comrades are depicted grimacing and thrusting weapons above their heads, implying both primitivism and lawlessness. These representations render Māori as the Other, consequently undermining the publication's capacity to engage with a broad Māori readership. Although, Māori characters are prominent in the narrative, there is an evident lack of Māori voice, which is apparent in the use of focalization techniques.

The visual representation in Grosz's narrative is achromatic, and highly graphic due to being rendered in illustrations that are suggestive of scraperboard. The illustrations convey the story's location, place and flora in a simple manner. Yet, the portrayal of landscape could have been enhanced so as to immerse the reader more thoroughly within the storyworld. The layout is awkward, and visually overloading. This may be intended to complement the themes of conflict and chaos within the narrative. However, the awkward arrangement of panel and gutter are not used to full effect, and consequently interfere with the quality of 'closure'⁴ within the graphic narrative.

The Adventures of Tupaia

Courtney Sina Meredith
and Mat Tait

The second case study, *The Adventures of Tupaia* (2019), was released to coincide with the 250-year commemoration of Captain James Cook's circumnavigation of Aotearoa New Zealand in 1769. This picture book/graphic narrative explores Cook's voyage through the figure of Tupaia, a Tahitian priest-navigator who was selected to board Cook's ship HMS Endeavour in Tahiti and to assist with navigation. Upon arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand, Tupaia discovered that he could converse with the local Māori and thus played a pivotal role in communication and negotiation.

The Adventures of Tupaia contains intricate and detailed illustrations in flat colour throughout, and is arranged and rendered in a variety of manners. At times, conventions associated with the picture book are drawn upon, such as

⁴ Closure refers to a reader's role in closing narrative gaps between comics panels.

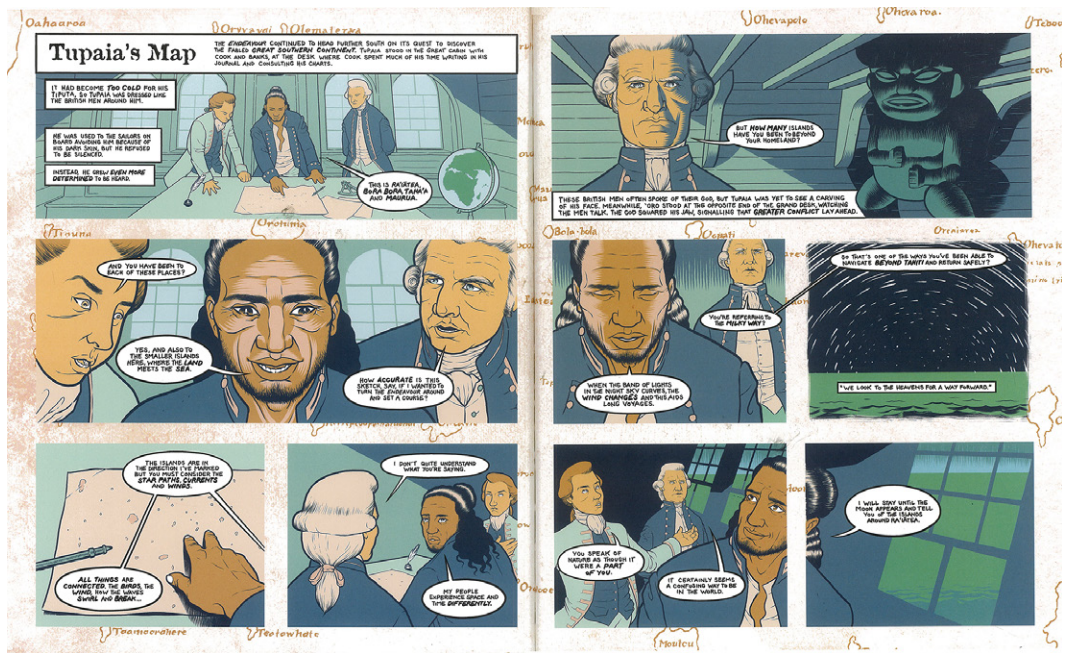


Figure 19.
A spread featuring the conventions of the graphic narrative.

the vignette, and full spread illustration. In other instances, conventions typical of sequential art are utilized, such as the panel and gutter (see Fig. 19). The arrangement and distribution of both text and illustration position this title with an audience of young readers in mind.

The introduction establishes the account as Tupaia's; the story is thus focalized through a homodiegetic form of narration. This, in turn, sets out to manage the narrative as a contemporary decolonized approach, focalized through this unusual protagonist, a Polynesian navigator. This method of focalization differentiates the narrative from typical, expected approaches to these historical accounts. It signals a decolonizing intention, and an attempt to broaden the narrative's accessibility and appeal to a wider, and culturally diverse audience. Following this brief introduction, however, the majority of the narrative is orientated through a heterodiegetic form of narration; the story is narrated impersonally from outside of the storyworld. This shift in narrative perspective, to an external omniscient narrator, alludes to the fact that it is informed by historical and archival source material such as the journals of Cook and his botanist companion Joseph Banks. Moreover, this shift helps position the narrative as an 'objective' account with all the authority and educational value that supposed objectivity implies.

Narrated and focalized through a variety of forms, *The Adventures of Tupaia* introduces Western, Tahitian, and Māori knowledge and worldview. Māori and Tahitian language is frequently employed throughout the narrative, and the Tahitian terms are given glossary definition in the concluding pages. Notwithstanding its strong reliance on European sources, and the shifts in narrative viewpoint that at times privilege Eurocentric perspectives, this visual narrative provides an example of how a narrative of early European discovery can be rendered and

interpreted through an alternative lens. It demonstrates how the filtering of narrative information through non-Western protagonists can effectively offer different perspectives by which to represent highly contested stories.

The Treaty of Waitangi / Te Tiriti o Waitangi.

Toby Morris, Ross Calman,
Mark Derby, and Piripi Walker.

The third and final case study is illustrated by the celebrated comic artist and writer, Toby Morris, with the support of historians Ross Calman and Mark Derby. *The Treaty of Waitangi / Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (2019) is a short, dual-language graphic narrative that presents a brief account of the signing of Aotearoa New Zealand’s founding agreement of 1840. The narrative is presented in English on one side of the page, and when flipped, in te reo Māori on the reverse side. It explicitly emphasizes the bi-lingual character of the original Treaty, and seeks to provide an account that is faithful to perspectives of Māori and Pākehā. The publication was produced by the New Zealand Ministry of Education in collaboration with leading Māori linguists and reviewed by prominent Te Tiriti o Waitangi scholars.

Figure 20.
A spread featuring the conventions of the graphic narrative.



Drawing on conventions typical of the graphic narrative, such as the panel and gutter, caption and speech balloon, this publication demonstrates the strength of the graphic narrative in presenting historical information in a contemporary and engaging manner. Presented in full colour with a restrained colour palette, the simple comic aesthetic of Toby Morris

conveys a narrative that has the capacity to engage with a diverse audience beyond the classroom. The cover illustration alludes to the cultural diversity of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand, and the link inside the book to translations of the Treaty in thirty languages is indicative of a deliberate attempt to convey the relevance of the contents to an increasingly multicultural nation.

The introduction to the narrative is focalized by Morris himself. He introduces the reader to the Treaty of Waitangi in the opening spreads and speaks of the relevance of this ‘agreement’ to himself, as a Pākehā, and to all New Zealanders, Māori and non-Māori alike. Yet, the remainder of narrative is focalized from outside of the storyworld. Consequently, it foregoes an opportunity to present a clear Māori voice within the narrative. This results in a publication that feels as though the narrative and storyworld is conveyed through a Western lens; it presents as an apology for the Treaty and its ongoing significance, by Pākehā, to tangata tiriti (New Zealanders of non-Māori origin) as a whole. I contend that clear representation of both Māori and Pākehā perspectives would have resulted in a more thoroughly decolonized perspective, and arguably a more balanced narrative capable of connecting more significantly with a broader audience.



Figure 21.
The introduction is focalized by the illustrator, Toby Morris.

These three case studies represent three quite different approaches to the representation of historical encounters between Māori and Pākehā in the nineteenth century. The varied approaches reflect the different narratives involved, differing social contexts and political agendas, as well as the effects of diverse approaches to framing. My analysis has concentrated on issues of focalization and the effects of narrative perspective. It argues that application of focalization techniques provides a powerful tool of analysis that can facilitate decolonized visual narratives. In each of the three case studies addressed, there is evidence of attempts to offer more sensitive representation of Māori people, values and perspectives through use of a variety of techniques and methods. These approaches seek to make stories of early Māori / Pākehā encounter more relevant and accessible to diverse, contemporary audiences. Despite these advances, my analysis of recent visual narratives of early encounter also reveals limitations in how successfully these works realize such goals, as well as opportunities for more sensitive decolonized accounts based on the application of focalization theory.

Section 8

Creative response

‘Your landscape looked too windswept/naked to me. You must remember **a)** our people sought out sheltered spots (i.e. from the mainly westerly wind) and **b)** there was a lot more podocarp forest on the coast than there is now.’

Dr Michael Stevens

In the following section I outline the initial stages in visualising the key characters and constructing the plot synopsis. I explain the design decisions that informed the visual narrative’s format and the selected sequence of the illustrations. I conclude the section by outlining the design iterations and the subsequent refinement of details undertaken in response to the feedback and suggestions of Dr Michael Stevens (Ngāi Tahu).

Dr Stevens, a Ngāi Tahu historian and former senior lecturer in Māori history at the University of Otago, played a crucial role in assisting me to understand the historical context and lifeways of southern Māori. This provided important insights that enabled a richer appreciation of this story of encounter, and a fuller engagement with Māori voices, knowledge and perspectives. Dr Stevens has a personal connection to the story as a descendant of Piki⁵ and her husband Te Pahi. Further, he possesses in-depth knowledge of muttonbirding practices, and extensive historical knowledge of the Bluff / Foveaux Strait region in which this particular story and its characters are situated. My contact with Dr Stevens began through correspondence, and was followed by a semi-structured interview, during which he offered a critical review of detail within the developing illustrations.

⁵ Piki’s mother, Pipiriki, was Tokitoki’s cousin.

Figure 22.
A preliminary
illustration depicting
Honekai's kāinga
(settlement) in Oue.



Figure 23.
The resolved illustration
conveys a less windswept
landscape.

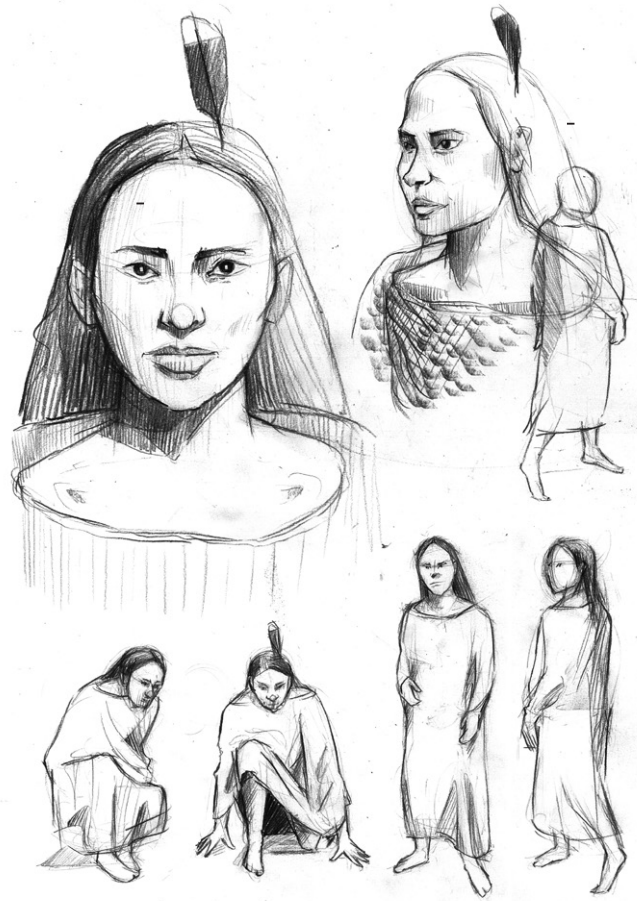


Figure 24.
A selection of preliminary character development sketches of Tokitoki indicate that her facial features needed more refinement.



Figure 25.
A selection of preliminary character development sketches of Caddell show a sense of movement and expression.

What is known of Caddell and Tokitoki stems from the few instances in which Caddell had encounters with persons who were literate. Early on, while scouring all references relating to Caddell, I queried whether there was enough information relating to the story that would permit me to build a sufficiently complete and accurate narrative. Many discrepancies in the story within the archived newspaper articles were instantly apparent: details relating to location and point in time were typically variable and often demonstrably incorrect. Making sense of the Māori interfamilial relationships within the story was challenging, and made more complex by the archival material which featured much variation in the spelling of indigenous names. I nevertheless set about generating characters and locations that formed the basis for the plot synopsis.

There were numerous challenges in developing the characters of Tokitoki and Caddell. I had particular difficulty in capturing the age of both these protagonists. In the early sketches, both Tokitoki and Caddell looked much older than the youthful teens they then were and which I was attempting to portray. Furthermore, relative inexperience with drawing characters over the course of a story led to challenges in maintaining consistency in characterization, as well as challenges in conveying appropriately gestures and expressions consistent with the protagonists' and secondary characters' ethnicity. I thus created a set of analytical pencil sketches as a way of exploring Māori and Pākehā facial features, in particular Tokitoki's jawline and eyes, which I found particularly difficult to visualize.



Figure 26.
Portrait of a Māori girl.
(possibly Te Kaia Kingi).

To assist with the visualization, I turned to period photography. However, it was difficult to find portraits of Māori women from Murihiku from the early nineteenth century. The photographic references that provided me with inspiration for Tokitoki's character development were not specific to this southern region. And, although *The Sydney Gazette* (3 April 1823) reported Caddell's extensive moko (tattoos) during Tokitoki and Caddell's visit to Sydney, there was no mention of Tokitoki's face being tattooed. Stephen Donaldson (Ngāi Tahu) argues that this may be attributed to the fact that facial tattoos had become less popular for women in Murihiku by the early 1800s (Shore Whaler's Wahine). In order to gain accuracy in representing Tokitoki's costume, I drew on (James) Herries Beattie's extensive observations of Māori costume in *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori* (1994) as inspiration for the cultural specifics for her character.

This led me to spending considerable time researching Māori clothing from this southern part of Aotearoa New Zealand. Beattie's documentation of the clothing of Murihiku Māori, along with archival examples from the Museum of Otago, provided valuable indications and examples of what the southern Māori would have worn. Within the context of decolonization, this archival research countered the period newspaper illustrations

Figure 27.

A range of early drawings made in response to Māori costume within the collection of the Otago Museum.



Figure 28.

Mug shots provided inspiration for the character development of Caddell.

that frequently depicted Māori wearing generic garments that would be suitable for the Pacific Islands, and at best, the northern parts of Aotearoa New Zealand. In contrast to the North Island, the far South experiences harsh, cold conditions much of the year and hence the clothing worn would be distinct to that region's climate. I recognised that accurately portraying clothing details would further inform my intention to apply an appropriate decolonised approach to the visual narrative construction.

During critique, it was commented that peoples' physique from the early 1800s was distinct to peoples' physique in contemporary society due to changes in diet, nutrition, and hygiene. As many of the sealers on the southern Aotearoa New Zealand coasts were ex-convicts from Sydney's penal colony, I referenced early-nineteenth-century mug shots as inspiration for Caddell's physique and outfit. I noted that the youths' shoulders in the mug shots were positioned quite low, and I sought to capture this characteristic in Caddell's character development. The worn shirts, jackets and braces evidenced in the mugshots also provided me with a much clearer indication of what the sealers of the early nineteenth century would have worn.



Figure 29.
A selection of resolved
character development
sketches of Tokitoki.



Figure 30.
A selection of resolved
character development
sketches of Caddell.

Producing sketched visual synopses of the story also proved challenging, however, with no single definitive narrative to work from but rather a varied selection of short Eurocentric narratives. And, so, motivated by my initial intention to create a graphic narrative, I sketched multiple variations on the narrative sequence featuring panels and gutters and accompanied by captions. In this early stage, the design development consisted of a series of visual synopses in a 9-panel format. Despite the absence of extensive content and the challenge of bringing piecemeal information together, the story contained many significant points of interest, such as the two return trips between Foveaux Strait and Sydney that Tokitoki and Caddell made in 1823 to demonstrate Māori techniques for dressing flax. The arrival of Caddell in Foveaux Strait, and the arrival of Tokitoki and Caddell in Port Jackson, Sydney, 13 years later, felt like two key events that should be included within the narrative. But, as I increasingly discovered, the challenge lay in deciding which events to include, and which to leave out.



Figure 31.
Muttonbirds in flight.
Bruce Connew (2002).



Figure 32.
Removing juvenile
muttonbirds from their
nesting burrows.
Bruce Connew (2002).

In addition to visual development of the synopsis, early drawings were produced in response to the aforementioned journal entries of sealer, John Boulton. Boulton's accounts of the harsh conditions in which the sealers worked on the southern coasts - their mobility and their vulnerability - provided me with a starting point for the exploration of character and environment. The early sketches that I created, which permitted an initial experimentation with line and drawing media, also offered opportunity to explore relevant fauna such as muttonbirds and fur seals alongside events key to the narrative. In addition, Boulton's sketches provided me with a reference and model for the Māori dwellings of Foveaux Strait.

In order to establish a narrative that didn't conform to a colonized version of accounts, I recognized that I would need to orientate a Māori perspective within the narrative by deploying focalization techniques. So, in addition to building the narrative around Caddell, I sought to build the narrative around what I knew of southern Māori activity and practices of the early 1800s, such as the seasonal harvest of juvenile muttonbirds. To assist this, I drew inspiration from Bruce Connew's photography from Big South Cape Island (Taukihepa) (2002) as I wished to capture the graphic quality of the muttonbird silhouettes throughout the narrative. My initial source material actually made little mention of muttonbirds, but constructing a Māori perspective around the muttonbird season⁶ proved a significant development in the narrative. Muttonbirding provided scope for decolonizing the narrative, for it offered a way into Māori perspectives and lifeways. Although the practice was not discussed in the archival literature concerning Caddell and Tokitoki, southern Māori

⁶ The seasonal harvest of juvenile muttonbirds (tītī) from their nesting burrows on multiple small islands around Stewart Island (Rakiura) in the far South of Aotearoa New Zealand. The pre-cooked birds are then preserved in 'pōhā' (bull kelp bags) as an important winter food source.

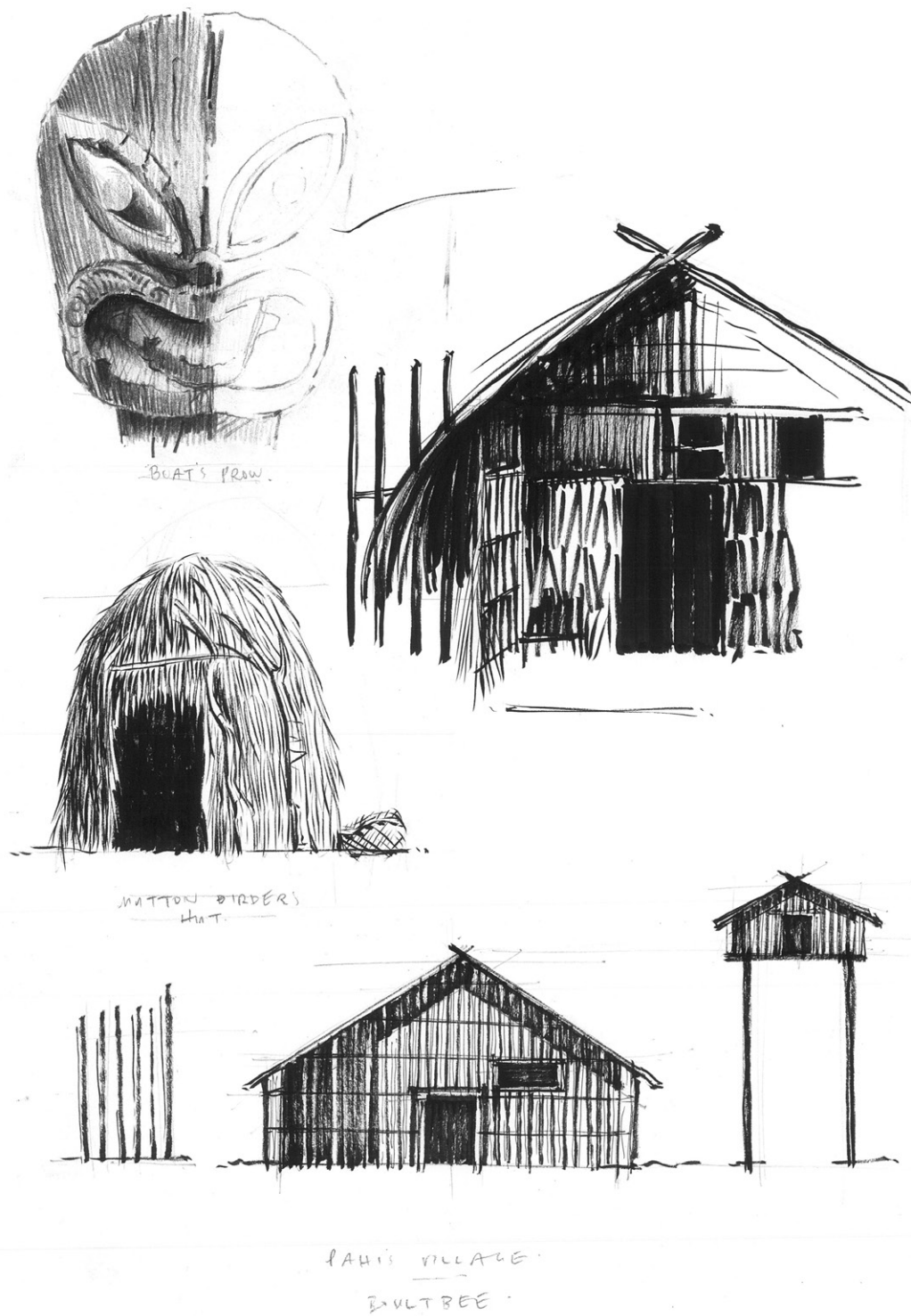


Figure 33.
Drawings depicting the dwellings and carvings of Murihiku Māori, including a muttonbirder's hut.

muttonbirding activity dates back hundreds of years. Continuing today, the practice has considerable cultural significance, with the associated practices, rights, and methods remaining largely unchanged (Stevens 276).



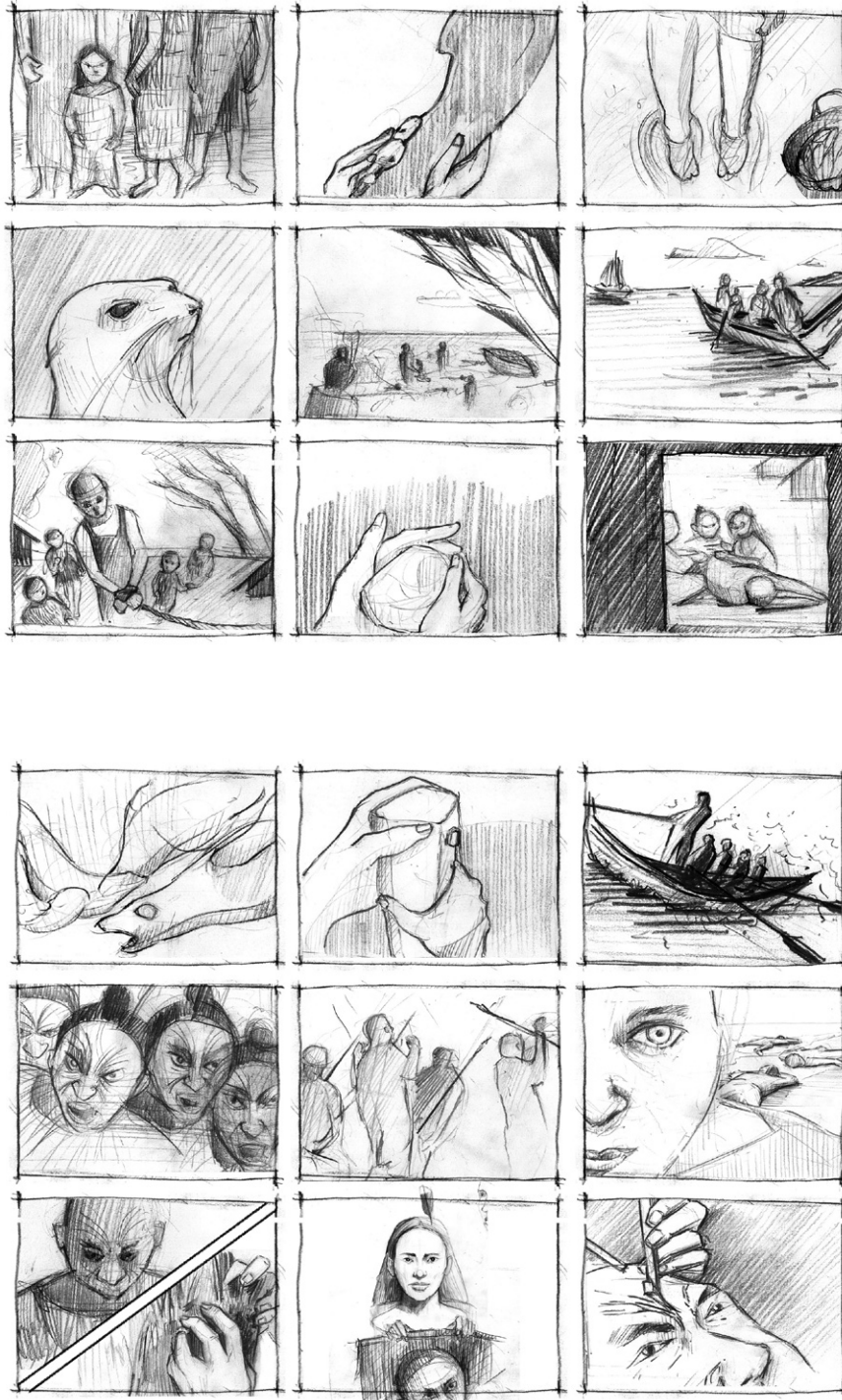
Figure 34.
Preserving muttonbirds
in 'pōhā' (tōtara bark covers
the bull kelp bags).

The motif of muttonbirding enabled me to address central questions of history that relate to decolonization. The history of muttonbirding and its enduring cultural significance tied past and present together, and this link also highlighted the relevance of genealogy within the Māori world and within Māori story-telling tradition. Smith argues that 'while non-indigenous research has been intent on documenting the demise and cultural assimilation of indigenous peoples, celebrating survival accentuates not so much our demise but the degree to which indigenous communities have successfully retained cultural and spiritual values and authenticity' (Smith 145). Given the indicated season that Caddell and crew were on Big South Cape Island (Taukihepa), I had assumed that Māori were there for the muttonbird harvest. Dr Stevens confirmed later, however, that the timing of the ambush of Caddell's crew was directly related to the rāhui (ban) imposed on the islands due to the nesting of the adult muttonbirds. By deciding to focus the narrative on the muttonbird rather than the fur seal, I underscore the importance of the muttonbird harvest to 'tribal identity' (Stevens 289).

To convey more of the protagonists' perspectives, I experimented with separating the narrative into two narratives in parallel in order to give voice to both Tokitoki and Caddell. I produced two 9-panel visual synopses, one orientating the perspective of Tokitoki, and the other orientating the perspective of Caddell. The intent at this stage was to produce two vertically hanging graphic narratives that each gave a voice to the story. However, it was suggested during critique that the proposed presentation of the two perspectives - which attempted to pair-up themes of arrival, displacement, and relationships - felt forced and disjointed. I was consequently encouraged to bring the two perspectives into a single narrative that successfully braided both perspectives.

Taking on board this feedback, I altered the design output from large, wall-mounted graphic narratives to a bound visual narrative. My reason for selecting this narrative format, and not the format common to graphic novels, was that the sense of landscape, which was crucial to the developing illustrations, was being constrained by panel and gutter. I sought to emphasize the landscape more significantly, opting for fully illustrated spreads. The shift to the visual narrative felt like an appropriate diversion in medium and format that could continue to be housed within a museum or educational space. Furthermore, the selected landscape format of the collection of sequenced drawings permitted me to capture the essence of this southern landscape more effectively - the field of vision afforded by the open, horizontal spreads imparts the illustrations an unconventional appeal.

Figure 35.
Unsuccessful iterations of
two 9-panel visual synopses
separating the perspectives
of Tokitoki and Caddell.



The design output from this research project, and the vehicle through which this story is conveyed, is a printed and bound non-verbal visual narrative comprising of 15 fully illustrated panels. Set in black and white, the achromatic palette deliberately references the graphic aesthetic of the early-nineteenth-century illustrated press. The landscape format of the visual narrative allows for the illustrations to capture the unique geographic qualities of the location and environment. The non-verbal nature of the visual narrative was selected as the medium to convey Tokitoki and Caddell's story through a chiefly visual expression representative of figurative realism. The visual narrative, free from the constraints of textual language, invites the audience to construct their own interpretation of the narrated events.

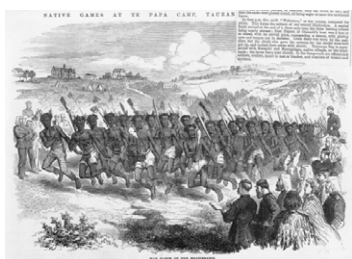


Figure 36.
 'War dance of the Ngaiterangi'. London Illustrated News. (1866). Horatio Robley.

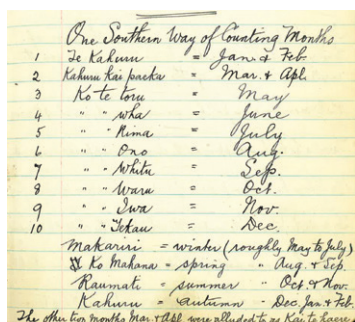


Figure 37.
 'One southern way of counting months'. Extract from a notebook. (1935). Eruera Poko Cameron.

The resulting 15 fully illustrated panels were designed to communicate the essence of the story in the most economical manner. 14 of these illustrations are arranged within four chapters, which are preceded by a single illustrated panel that acts as a prologue to the narrative. The selected scenes and sequence of narrated events within the chapters serve to introduce the key characters, establish a sense of location and environment, and essentially retain the themes that I had set out to convey, namely, identity, belonging and assimilation. Further, each illustration in the series serves to portray a moment selected for its consequential quality. In devoting each illustration to a spread, the reader is obliged to dwell on the illustration prior to turning to the next page, which ultimately contributes to a complete reader engagement (Eisner, 143). In addition to this narrative sequencing, I explored playful shifts in scale, as well as the changeable interplay of light and dark to help maintain visual interest across the pages and to elicit an emotional response in the reader. Considered shifts in camera angles further contribute to the telling and emotional content of the story by influencing the pace and unfolding of the narrative (Sergio Paez, Anson Jew 70).

Although the narrative is essentially visual, the chapters which are also indicative of the protagonists' focalization, are introduced using typography. Serafini notes that sparse use of textual language is, at times, used as a framing device within the wordless visual narrative that can help to orientate a sense of time, and 'anchor the narrative sequence' (Serafini 25). In this case, the textual language within the chapter titling serves as a mechanism for dividing the narrative into chapters, and assists in conveying shifts in time and location. In seeking to use typography that was period specific, I selected the typeface Austin which is a revival of the 'transitional' typefaces cut by the English punchcutter Richard Austin in the late eighteenth century. The resulting quality of this high contrast typeface alludes to the antiquity of the narrative, yet, retains a simplicity suggestive of a contemporary graphic publication.

In early iterations of the typographic chapter titles, I arranged a sense of time by denoting Gregorian⁷ calendar months in both English and te reo Māori⁸. However, Dr Stevens noted that Māori of Foveaux Strait had specific terms for managing the calendar year, which was essentially orientated around seasonal activities such as the gathering of food and resources. The shift to denoting the southern Māori seasonal terms further connects the narrative to a southern Māori knowledge and worldview (see Fig. 37).

Figure 38.
Resolved typography of the visual narrative's titlepage featuring, Austin, a period-specific typeface.

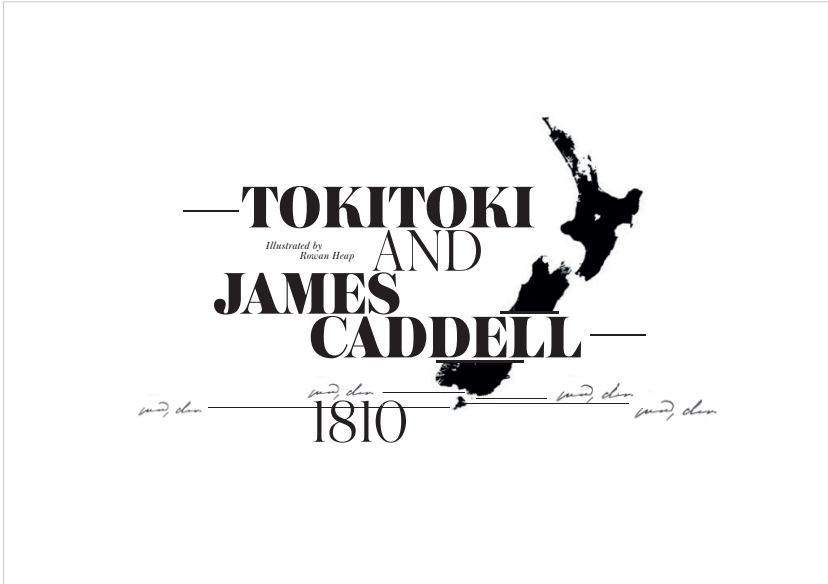


Figure 39.
Resolved 'lock-up' of typography and illustration introducing each chapter.



⁷ Consisting of 12 months, the Gregorian calendar is used throughout most of the world.
⁸ Te reo Māori is the indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand.

Focalizing this narrative through both Māori and Pākehā protagonists was key to decolonizing this contested narrative of early bi-cultural encounter. The development of two perspectives was in response to Māori educator Russell Bishop's contention that, 'Stories allow the diversities of truth and meaning to be heard, rather than just one dominant version.' (Bishop, 5). Drawing on occularcentric techniques to orientate the perspectives of the two protagonists was key to establishing the focalization of the short visual narrative. Illustrations conveying a 'field of vision' were sketched when developing the storyboard to focalize the narrative and orientate each of these characters' perspective at the outset of the initial chapters. Within these illustrations, compositions were developed to convey a field of vision that explicitly demonstrated the 'focalizer' in the most economic manner. Mikkonen asserts that focalization is, at times, further demonstrated through colour schemes, or stylistic features such as 'line' and its expressive quality (Mikkonen, 154). In response to this assertion, I attempted to signal more clearly a change in the focalizing character's viewpoint by alternating between light and dark backgrounds within the chapters.

Experimenting with such fields of vision challenged me to convey scenes from unusual angles and viewpoints. For example, the illustration overleaf orientates an optical perspective from within the whaleboat by combining a point-of-view shot, with a wide shot, thereby thrusting the reader into the dynamic and engaging visual (see Fig. 42). This led me to consider how further experimentation with technique might impart the focalization and, thereby, provide the visual narrative with more emphasis.

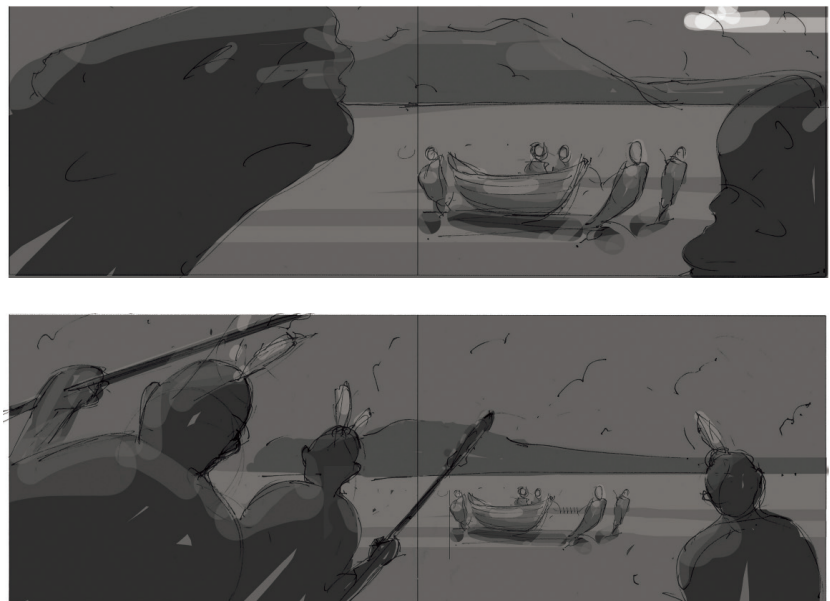


Figure 40. Panels from a storyboard demonstrate that the orientation of narrative perspective at the outset of Chapter 2 needed revision.

Figure 41.

An illustration conveying an optical perspective introduces the reader to Tokitoki in Chapter 1.



Figure 42.

An illustration conveying an optical perspective introduces the reader to Caddell in Chapter 2.

Dr Stevens pointed out further that the illustration of the Māori muttonbirder showed a Tasmanian method of carrying the juvenile muttonbirds across the shoulders, on a 'kawe'. He advised me that the illustration should, instead, depict the southern Māori technique of carrying the muttonbirds on a 'hui'. I accordingly redrew the muttonbirder with the more appropriate method of dangling the muttonbird chicks around the neck. This adjustment caused me some frustration as the success of the illustration was initially dependant on the stark, black forms of the muttonbirds' heads set against the white sky.

Although the adjustment was frustrating, it was a crucial change that needed to be addressed. From a decolonizing standpoint, it is essential that traditional Māori practices are represented accurately. From the outset of the research project, I recognised that accuracy in the illustrated details could help dispel myth, help to form a connection with a Māori audience, and thereby contribute to Māori knowledge and community. As posed in the introduction, the proposed visual narrative was intended to inform audiences and to be housed within an educational institute. Throughout Aotearoa New Zealand's colonial history, Māori practices have frequently been misrepresented. Clearly, inaccuracies and misrepresentation of cultural practices are detrimental to indigenous people and their collective knowledge. Russell Bishop argues that, 'many misconstrued Māori cultural practices and meanings are now part of our everyday myths of Aotearoa New Zealand, believed by Māori and non-Māori alike.' (Bishop 2). As indicated, the consequences of misinformed representation can be enduring and not easily undone.

I had initially been keen to illustrate this spread as though the Māori muttonbirder was lit from behind. As I was working with an achromatic palette, the intention was to capture a strong sense of shape and enhance the contrast with a dramatic chiaroscuro quality to the drawing. However, during critique it was suggested that the resulting Māori figure was taking on a ghoulish aesthetic. It was commented that the resulting darkness and lack of detail within the facial features presented the muttonbirder as a death figure, which in consequence, was 'Othering' him in a way typical of the early representation of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand. I responded to this criticism by redrawing the face, gaining more detail around the eyes, and adding hair to soften his appearance and personify him more appropriately. In changing these details, I sought to obtain a 'deictic gaze' from the foreground figure to highlight additional narrative features within the panel.

Tā moko (tattoo) practices throughout early nineteenth-century Aotearoa New Zealand varied from region to region. I sought to depict the appropriate lines and forms of moko from Murihiku during this period. Although, Boulton's sketch of Te Whakataupuka provides an example specific to period and location, it is limited detail. An example of Hone Tuhawaiki's elaborate moko, which accompanied his signature on legal

Figure 43.
An early iteration of the
illustration depicts a 'kawe'.



Figure 44.
The resolved illustration
depicts a 'hui'.



Figure 45. (left)
Detail of a muttonbird on
Big South Cape Island.

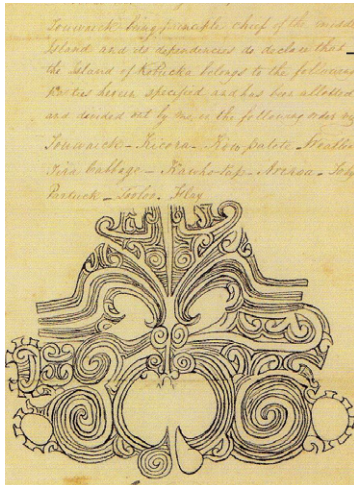


Figure 46.
Tuhawaiki's drawing of his
moko, which served as his
signature.

documents, provides more clarity in detail. Tuhawaiki, a close associate of Caddell, was the paramount chief of the Murihiku Māori following the death of Te Whakataupuka in 1835. Of note, the sixteen-year-old chief who accompanied Caddell and Tokitoki to Sydney on Tokitoki's first trans-tasman voyage, is likely to have been Tuhawaiki (Shore Whaler's Wahine). The spiralling forms of Tuhawaiki's moko influenced all depictions of moko within the developed visual narrative.



Figure 47.
An artist's impression of
Tuhawaiki. T. H. Jenkins.

My early illustrations depicting this Māori / Pākehā encounter assumed a strong colonial aesthetic and, in hindsight, were heavily influenced by reoccurring words from the range of historic accounts that I had gathered (see Figures 48, 49, 51). Words such as 'ambush' defined my initial representation of Māori characters, events, and scene. I mulled over the term 'ambush' for some weeks and came to the conclusion that I had been easily swayed by Pākehā interpretations of the account. In the initial stages of the synopsis development, as I sought to gain suspense and climax within the story, this scene of ambush had felt like a key moment in climax and energy that was essential for the story to be successful. Later, I queried the need for a scene that depicted a violent struggle within the developing visual narrative. However, Dr Stevens, in explaining the rāhui (ban) on the muttonbird islands during the months of December and January importantly pointed out to me that Caddell and crew 'were certainly set upon'.

'If kaieke (adult muttonbirds) are disturbed during the nesting period, they will abandon their chicks. A rāhui against being on the islands at that time (i.e. Dec-Jan) applies to us, so it certainly applied to outsiders.' *Dr Stevens*

Although, these early graphic illustrations depicting an ambush were experiments in moment, scene, and suspense,

the illustrations also served as analytical explorations of Māori facial features, physique, and costume. Yet, in undertaking these early illustrations, I had unwittingly begun to make contributions to the colonial narratives of Caddell that had long existed. Moreover, there were significant similarities in Méryon's *The Death of Marion du Fresne at the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, 12 June 1772* (1846–1848) and these preliminary drawings that portrayed the Māori ambush and the ensuing violent struggle. I hence decided to omit this graphic scene of Māori attack, and retain the overhead scene of Māori walking amongst the five dead sealers on the shoreline. The overhead scene was selected as it conveyed most clearly the number of casualties.



Figures 48, 49.
Two preliminary drawings
portraying an ‘ambush’ on
the shoreline.

In further response to the term ‘ambush’ within the archival material, early sketches from my storyboard show the sealers as unarmed and taken by surprise. Boulton states that their crew was carrying three muskets, should they ‘fall in with natives’ ([qtd] Starke 36). This journal entry also influenced my interpretation of the relationships between Foveaux Strait Māori and the sealers. However, I recognise that Boulton’s observations were made in 1826 after relationships between the sealers and Māori had deteriorated. There are relatively few recorded incidents of sealing gangs succumbing to Māori ambush. Historian Tony Ballantyne asserts that there are at least five recorded incidents in which Māori attacks on sealing crews resulted in deaths (Ballantyne 129). Yet, I could find no record of Māori attacks on sealers prior to the incident involving Caddell and crew. Although, ‘The Sealers’ War’ of 1810–1821 in southern Aotearoa New Zealand was a series of indiscriminating attacks and retaliations between Māori and Pākehā, it should be noted that Māori of Foveaux Strait had maintained amicable relationships with Pākehā prior to the attack on Caddell and crew (Anderson 65). The English flintlock firearm was added to the illustration that presented ‘Caddell and sealer’ in an attempt to shift the scene away from a representation of an unprovoked Māori attack (see Fig. 50).

Figure 50.

Although this illustration was resolved and included within the visual narrative, early iterations showed the sealers as unarmed. (Caddell is to the right).



Figure 51.

A developing illustration portraying the conflict. This illustration was not developed further.

Māori narratives are commonly bound by whakapapa (genealogy), lineage and ancestry (McRae 3). As pointed out to me by, Dr Stevens, a Māori narrative of the Tokitoki / Caddell story would focus on the whakapapa of Tokitoki, be informed by whakapapa, with Caddell taking a lesser role in the narrative. Ballantyne asserts that, 'whakapapa traditionally ordered the Kai [Ngāi] Tahu world and it is a powerful force that continues to shape social memory and pattern historical narratives' (Ballantyne 114). Consequently, the scarcity of information relating to Tokitoki specifically, is further compounded by the fact that there were no direct descendants of Tokitoki and Caddell. Although, I sought to lift Tokitoki's presence within the narrative and introduce her more effectively in the opening panels, there remains further potential to strengthen a sense of relationship, lineage, connection.

Figure 52.

There remains further scope for developing a sense of lineage and connection within Tokitoki's community.



Figure 52.

Pōhā is a motif that could be presented more effectively throughout the narrative.

Section 9

Conclusion

In this practice-led research project I set out to explore and develop a strategy to sensitively illustrate what have often been highly contested stories of early Māori / Pākehā encounter. I have argued that visual narrative provides a particularly effective means to do this. The approach I adopted drew upon decolonization methodologies and focalization techniques. My contention is that this strategy and framework can be drawn upon by contemporary illustrators and storytellers to frame varied narratives of bi-cultural significance. In my project, the particular narrative in question related to an encounter that took place in the southernmost reaches of Aotearoa New Zealand. I produced a visual narrative that challenges Eurocentric historical accounts of these events by drawing on local Māori practices and traditions and presenting them as integral elements within the narrative.

My research project has demonstrated the challenges involved in researching and illustrating a little-known story from nineteenth century Aotearoa New Zealand. I soon learned that the amount of source material from which to construct the narrative was limited, but I also became increasingly aware of the limitations of the archival sources. There were internal contradictions in some of the newspaper records, but more problematically, there was a striking absence of Māori voice. Recognition of these limitations led me on the one hand to challenge the usefulness of the archival research that I had uncovered, and on the other hand to extend my search for additional sources. I soon realised that feedback from experts within the Māori community would be essential in forming a decolonized narrative. The correspondence and ensuing interview with Dr Stevens proved to be critical to the development of my research project and design output. It provided me with many suggestions to gain a more accurate portrayal of the account, and enabled a more thoroughly decolonized narrative than would otherwise have been possible. Although the timing of my correspondence with Dr Stevens permitted integration of substantial feedback into the details within the illustrations, earlier contact with Dr Stevens would have enabled a more developed design in respect of Tokitoki's character and relationships.

Through the design output, I have demonstrated that visual narrative has the capacity to convey narratives that deal with complex themes of identity, place, and cultural assimilation. A key contention in my project has been that the non-verbal nature of visual narrative lends itself to varied individual interpretation, and hence opens space for engagement of diverse audiences. Moreover, confronted with multiple perspectives, such viewers are forced to wrestle with different points of view. This task demands some degree of cultural imagination and empathy - both of which are essential for genuine cross-cultural understanding, and ultimately decolonization, to occur. In these ways, the non-verbal visual narrative presents as a powerful medium for decolonizing narratives of Māori / Pākehā encounter.

Revision of the visual narrative so as to focalize Māori and Pākehā perspective was perhaps the most challenging dimension of this project. And, although the focalization techniques of orientating narrative perspective are subtle within the refined design, I argue that the filtering of narrative information through Māori protagonists is a compelling tool for offering alternative perspectives to contested stories. For one thing, such filtering of narration requires paying close attention to context and detail, in order to achieve an accurate and sensitive historical portrayal. Furthermore, conveying perspectives of both Māori and Pākehā within a narrative highlights the importance of subjectivity and the power of point-of-view. Dual perspectives and contrasting points-of-view within a single narrative may also help to elicit a strong emotional response in the viewer. Additionally, in orientating perspectives through non-verbal techniques, using an optical vantage point or 'field of vision', I have been encouraged to consider further how to immerse an audience within an illustration and storyworld.

In undertaking this research project, I was keen to extend my knowledge of Māori culture. The research project was always conceived as having a strong focus on historical 'encounter'. The process resulted in a significant kind of encounter for me, namely, I developed an enthusiasm for Māori histories, practices, and design. By focusing intently on these small southern Māori communities, and the rogue sealers who at times chose to settle among them, I have developed a deeper fascination with these specific histories - as well as a broader concern to understand the histories and traditions of Aotearoa New Zealand that have often been silenced, marginalized, or misunderstood owing to the dominance of Eurocentric perspectives. This research project has enabled me to reflect on questions of identity and place within Aotearoa New Zealand, and to contemplate my personal identity as Pākehā.

Stripping feathers and fur has revolutionized my understanding of 'history' and 'fact'. As a consequence, it has also transformed my awareness of the nature of colonization and its ongoing impact upon Māori and other indigenous people today. This newfound awareness will significantly influence my practice as

an educator within the classroom as I seek to engage students within the culturally diverse classrooms of contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand. The project has challenged my approach to illustrating narratives of Māori / Pākehā encounter, encouraging me to view narratives from alternative standpoints, and to pay attention to Māori relationships and practices as integral elements in these narratives. The project has also equipped me with new methods, techniques, and frameworks that will enable me to respond to these challenges. In these respects, it has grown my practitioner skill as an illustrator and producer of visual narratives that can speak to contemporary audiences.

Panels

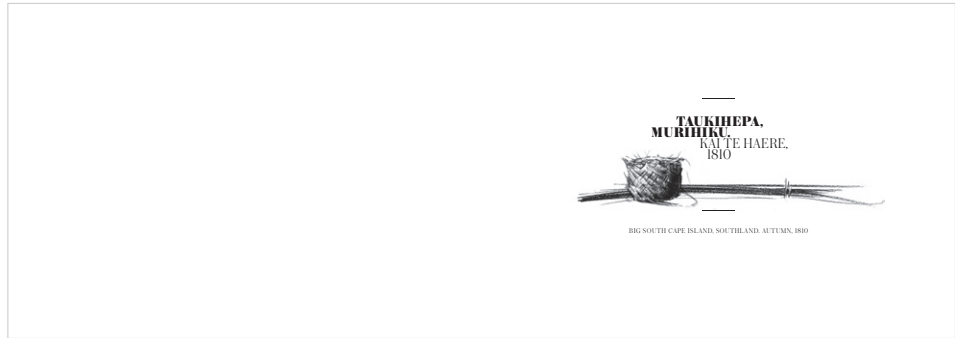
Title page.



Prologue.



Chapter 1.



Chapter 2.

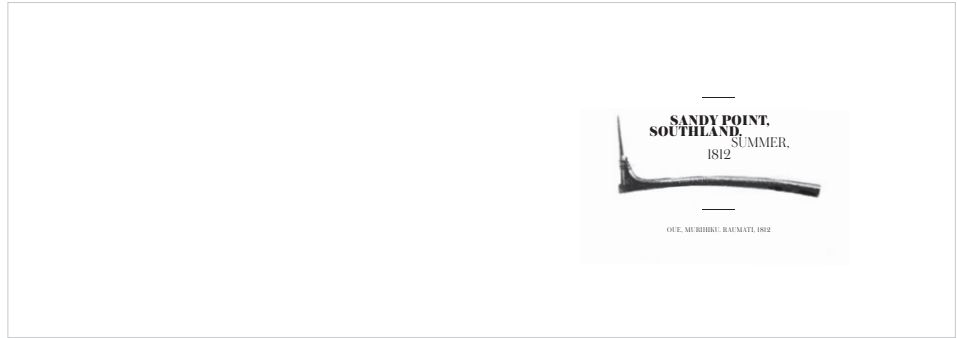


Chapter 3.

—
QUE.
MURIKU.
RO MAHANA, 1812
—
SANDY POINT, SOUTHLAND SPRING, 1812



Chapter 4.



Glossary of Māori terms

The website,
Māori Dictionary,
has been used to define
the following terms:
www.maoridictionary.co.nz

Iwi	Extended kinship group, tribe.
Kaieke	Adult muttonbirds, sooty shearwater.
Kāinga	Unfortified settlement, village.
Māori	Indigenous people of Aotearoa New Zealand.
Murihiku	The southern part of the South Island.
Ngāti Māmoe	Tribal group which was largely replaced by Ngāi Tahu through intermarriage and conquest. Also known as Kāti Māmoe.
Ngāi Tahu	Ngāi Tahu is the principal Māori iwi of the southern region of Aotearoa New Zealand. Also known as Kāi Tahu.
Pā	Fortified settlement.
Pākehā	Person of European descent, New Zealander of European descent, foreign.
Pōhā	Kelp bag to hold preserved birds.
Rāhui	Temporary prohibition, closed season, ban.
Rangatira	A Māori chief, noble.
Tā moko	Māori tattoo.
Tapu	Sacred, prohibited.
Te reo Māori	Indigenous language of Aotearoa New Zealand.
Titi	Juvenile muttonbirds, sooty shearwater.
Whakapapa	Genealogy, lineage, descent.
Waka	Māori seagoing craft.

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The following transcript outlines the correspondence leading up to the semi-structured interview with Ngāi Tahu historian, Dr Michael Stevens.

Tuesday, 24 September, 2019

MS Kia ora Rowan,

[In regard to the method for carrying the muttonbird chicks] Suffice to say for now that the ‘kawē’ in that picture fits with Tasmanian birding but not us in the South – we use ‘hui’ instead. June Starke’s version of John Boulton would go some way to answering some of your questions.

Your landscape looked too windswept/naked to me. You must remember **a)** our people sought out sheltered spots (i.e. from the mainly westerly wind) and **b)** there was a lot more podocarp forest on the coast than there is now. The trick is to recreate what was, rather than place something in what now is, yes? It will be quite easy to do vis-a-vis muttonbirding as there are so many wonderful late 19th/20th century images available that you can work off – for landscape and the practices on it. A good example – have a look at the Hocken Library’s online collection and/or the Auckland Weekly News (or whatever it’s called) images on the AKL library website (maybe in the Grey collection).

I think your title ‘Muttonbirders and sealers: picturing early Māori / Pākehā encounter via graphic narrative’, doesn’t quite work at present – muttonbirding was one of several key mahika kai. As the others were destroyed or alienated through the colonial encounter, and muttonbirding was one of the few left, we became muttonbirders. Do you see what I mean by that? Thus in the pre-colonial period, we were muttonbirding, but we weren’t “muttonbirders.” Again, too presentist.

The whole cloak throwing/tapu thing is really a “myth template” too – Te Maire Tau has a great explanation of these in his Moki text. See if you can find that.

While I remember, have you read Thomas Shephard's (of the Rosanna expedition) interview with Caddell at Port Pegasus in 1825? It's the last confirmed sighting of him. Very interesting. Worth looking at if you haven't already done so.

Wednesday, 2 October, 2019

RH Kia ora Michael. Thank you so much for your swift response last week. And thank you for your thoughts and suggestions on the developing visuals. Here are few questions that are of interest to me at the moment:

How might a Māori interpretation of the Tokitoki/Caddell story differ from a Pākehā narrative?

MS In short, a Māori interpretation focuses on Tokitoki rather than Caddell. And it's framed by whakapapa (i.e. descent) c.f. "race."

RH **How does a contemporary Māori (or Pākehā) historian challenge the writings of Robert McNab and John Hall-Jones.**

MS As above. Also, the work of McNab and Hall Jones - as with the K. W. Ritchie novel *From the South*, that you will no doubt be aware of - is somewhat "presentist." I think the story is really about Tokitoki - and this fits with a decolonising approach - i.e. trying to do justice to the "subaltern."

RH **Do you think, as has been suggested, the killing of these sealers was a result of these sealers not seeking permission to be on the islands? Or, was it related to the on-going retaliations between Māori and the Pākehā sealers around this time?**

How does the term 'ambush' sit with you, in regard to this narrative? (Having constructed a storyboard that has been predominantly influenced by a broad range of source material, I can see how easy it is to be manipulated by reoccurring terms such as; ambush, attacked, eaten [crewmates]).

MS They were clearly set upon. Whether that's the same thing as ambush or not, I don't know.

Wednesday, 23 October, 2019

RH Kia ora Michael. I've put some questions together, in anticipation of having a chat with you on Skype. Your feedback on the details within the illustrated panels would be really helpful as well. I know you will pick up on many inaccuracies around the details and practices.

Being highborn, what would have Tokitoki's involvement on a muttonbirding trip have looked like? Would she have been fully involved with all aspects of the harvest, such as pulling chicks from burrows, plucking feathers?

- MS** Almost certainly. Women have done and do ‘nanao’ (to grasp muttonbird chicks in their burrows), but they more commonly pluck.
- RH** **Are there any Murihiku Māori traditions that I could use in an illustration to build up a stronger sense of relationship across generations?**
- MS** Material traditions? Whare-rau (temporary shelter) would be a starting point. And pōhā (bull kelp containers), obviously.
- RH** **What sort of transition would Caddell have had to go through within the iwi (tribe)? ie. captive, slave, etc ... What were his early contributions to the iwi?**
- MS** NB: there was nothing approaching what we now regard as an iwi (tribe) until the mid-1830s, and really, the 1870s. He was essentially the property of a particular regional chief - who was genealogically connected to other regional chiefs. Very hard to know much about this aspect. He obviously hard to learn the language and life ways of the community and act according to them - it’s hard to say much beyond that.
- RH** **How have Eurocentric historical narratives impacted on Māori in the far South? How do they continue to impact on Māori in the far South?**
- MS** (Mis)applied (North Island-derived) normative models of culture etc, and coupled with early intermarriage, painted a declensionist picture.
- RH** **(A similar question) How have Pākehā traveller’s tales and adventurer’s tales impacted on the representation of the Māori of Foveaux Strait?**
- MS** Often better than those of colonists.
- RH** **What is the relevance in reviewing representation of Māori in visual storytelling (of early Māori / Pākehā encounter) in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand?**
- MS** Not everyone likes to read. (i.e. reach different audiences). Also, it can de-centre English text without having to use te reo Māori text.
- RH** **In recent years, what shifts in approach have you seen within decolonised narratives of early Māori / Pākehā encounter?**
- MS** A strong commitment to “biculturalism”, which often misunderstands and misrepresents those early encounters, and tell us more about contemporary concerns and anxieties than the past we’re purporting to unpack.

- RH** In your experience, how do contemporary narratives portraying Māori include Māori voice? How are they inclusive to a Māori audience?
- MS** By understanding whakapapa and regional landscapes/culture.
- RH** In regard to the Tokitoki / Caddell account, how might a decolonised approach to the narrative differ from Māori approach to the narrative? Or, are they they essentially the same?
- MS** “Can the subaltern speak?”
- RH** What do you feel a decolonised approach within illustrated narratives (of early Māori / Pākehā encounter) can do for communities of both Māori and Pākehā?
- MS** Provide another/novel way to think about old questions and stories.
- RH** How can illustrated narratives of early Māori / Pākehā encounter contribute to a storytelling tradition in contemporary Māori communities?
- MS** A new way of imagining these moments.
- RH** How can a Pākehā illustrator and storyteller best contribute to narratives of early Māori / Pākehā encounter? What are the key challenges? What is an appropriate approach?
- MS** As always, a solid foundation of research is key. Some level of involvement with the Māori community in question is also practical and arguably ethical. In so doing, important to think it terms of reciprocity and balance.

Thursday, 24 October, 2019

- MS** Those drawings are fantastic! You’re clearly a very talented artist. So, once you firm up the landscapes and seascapes a bit better, and get a firmer handle on the material culture, you’ll be off like a rocket. On that note, I’m sending you some images (from the 1920s) that could be quite helpful, as they would not be too different from what things looked like a century earlier.

Also, here is some further reading that will be helpful:

The essay on my great-great-grandmother I was talking about:

An Intimate Knowledge of ‘Māori and Mutton-Bird’: Big Nana’s Story. (2013) Stevens, M.

This Damon Salesa essay on Judith Binney is long but there could be some useful nuggets for you in it:

Korero: A Reflection on the Work of Judith Binney. (2004)
Salesa, D.

Here is another essay of mine that might be helpful:

A Defining Characteristic of the Southern People: Southern Māori Mobility and the Tasman World. (2018) Stevens, M.

This could be useful too (re: paucity of the archive etc):

Te Anu's Story: A Fragmentary History of Difference and Racialisation in Southern New Zealand. (2012) Ballantyne, T

I've also just co-written an essay that touches on Tokitoki and Caddell that might be worth a quick read:

New Histories but Old Patterns: Kāi Tahu in Australia. (2019)
Stevens, M., Standfield, Rachel.

It's available online here:

www.press-files.anu.edu.au/downloads/press/n5654/pdf/ch05.pdf



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UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Name: Michael John Stevens _____

email: tumukorero@gmail.com _____

Organisation: Independent Historian _____

City: Dunedin _____

Interview with Ngāi Tahu historian, Dr Michael Stevens

Stripping feathers and fur: a decolonizing lens on illustration and visual narrative.
by Rowan Heap

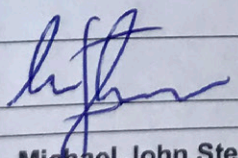
This consent form will be held for a period of five (5) years

I have had the details of this research project explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

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- I ~~agree/do not agree~~ that my participation in this research can be attributed to me.
- I ~~agree/do not agree~~ to the audio recording of my participation in this research. **(N/A)**
- I ~~agree/do not agree~~ to the photography of my participation in this research. **(N/A)**
- I ~~wish/do not wish~~ to have audio tapes or photographs sent to me. **(N/A)**
- I ~~would like/would not like~~ a copy of this document
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I agree to participate in the research project under the conditions I have outlined above.

Signature: 	Date:
Full Name – Michael John Stevens	

5/12/19

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UNIVERSITY OF NEW ZEALAND

Name: Joseph Tiso.

email: _____

Organisation: Wellington High School.

City: Wellington.

Model photography for reference

Stripping feathers and fur.
by Rowan Heap

I understand there is are...

Rowan Heap. 20 June 2019.
Signature of Producer Date

JK 28 June 2019
Signature of Talent Date

Sign as, or on behalf of, the person named at the top of this page. If you are signing on behalf of a dependent or someone under the age of 18 years old (at the time of the recording) please fill out the details below.

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Name: Zhane O'Dwyer.
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Organisation: Wellington High School.
City: Wellington.

Model photography for reference

Stripping feathers and fur.
by Rowan Heap

I understand there is are...

Rowan Heap 12/8/19.
Signature of Producer Date

Abbie
Signature of Talent Date

Sign as, or on behalf of, the person named at the top of this page. If you are signing on behalf of a dependent or someone under the age of 18 years old (at the time of the recording) please fill out the details below.

can sign here. →

Name: Kylie Thessman
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