

‘Reading’ Photographs: Burton Brothers and the Photographic Narrative

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The Burton Brothers studio of Dunedin was the most famous photographic firm of New Zealand’s colonial era. The longstanding recognition of the firm, which operated from 1866 until 1898, is partly attributable to the entrepreneurial savvy of its director, Alfred Henry Burton (1834-1914). A highly prolific and commercially focused photographic practice, Burton Brothers distributed photographs widely and large holdings of these photographs have accumulated in museum, library and art gallery collections throughout New Zealand and overseas. The studio’s success and the continued recognition of the Burton Brothers name are also due to the consistent use of the written word to identify and promote its photographic products. As such, the experience of viewing original Burton Brothers photographs held in these collections is one of reading. The use of text and associated narrative mediated the interpretation of photographic products for the nineteenth-century consumer as photographs were encountered through sales literature and images were accompanied by multiple layers of text. For researchers of historical photography, analysis of these textual devices exposes the cultural practices that informed a photograph’s making.

Historical photographs are typically used as documentary artefacts to support external narratives or as visual representations of the past. Given this established research practice, nineteenth-century New Zealand photographs are rarely examined in their original form or as physical objects. Studying photographs as primary sources can tell us much about the history of photographic practice, the character of the society for which they were produced and the role of photography within that society. An analysis of Burton Brothers photographs as physical objects, and particularly the studio’s consistent use of text overlaying and accompanying photographs, exposes its methods in producing and promoting its photographic projects.

Each print released by Burton Brothers was inscribed with the studio’s signature, the negative number and a descriptive caption. The studio released photographs in series which were promoted with a non-illustrated mail-order catalogue, containing a caption and unique negative number for each photograph in the series. In addition to being a basic means of identifying the

maker and the content of the photographs, the written word was employed to activate the latent narrative within a singular photographic image. Locating photographs within a broader narrative provided a layer of interpretation, but was also an important means of marketing and selling photographs and with it the subject of the photographs: New Zealand.

Burton Brothers entered an established and highly competitive market for photography in 1860s Dunedin. As the closest urban centre to the Central Otago gold rush, Dunedin was New Zealand's largest and most prosperous city until the decline of gold in the 1870s. No less than 30 photographic studios operated in the city during the 1860s, serving a settler community who presented a demand for portraiture of themselves and their families.¹ Colonial photography was itself underpinned by a commercial and highly competitive culture that was imported to New Zealand with the technology and apparatus of photography. From its introduction in Dunedin, photography was understood as a profession and a commercial enterprise, with portrait studios converging on Princes Street, then the business hub of the city.² Initially formed as a portrait studio, Burton Brothers soon diversified into topographical photography, generally referred to as 'views'.

From its experience in commercial portrait photography, Burton Brothers inherited the practice of clearly and consistently inscribing the studio's name on its photographic products. Within a competitive market of ostensibly similar products, clearly defining authorship was vital for photographic studios to differentiate their products. Contemporary photographic studios adopted similar identification practices, although without the consistency and clarity of Burton Brothers. Although a number of operators were employed by the Burton Brothers studio, the individual photographer is never identified on the photographic product. Burton Brothers photographs were always assigned the studio's corporate identity, even in cases where the individual practitioners were known and publicised. Furthermore, the corporate name was often assigned to photographs definitely not taken by the firm's employees, or known to be taken by independent contract photographers. The assigning of a collective identity to the studio's products rather than acknowledgement of the individual photographer emphasises the value of a recognisable name. The Burton Brothers name rapidly developed from a descriptive business identifier to a well-known mark of quality. The efforts of the studio to have its work promoted and sold throughout New Zealand fuelled the fame of its name and through this the work of the studio became widely endorsed and understood. In short, the Burton Brothers name became fully functional as a modern brand. The continued recognition of the Burton Brothers name and the legacy of its reputation is due to the strength of this brand identity.

The studio's earliest view photographs were limited to the city of Dunedin, primarily in the proximity of its Princes Street premises. Greater range

was restricted by the limitations of the collodion wet plate process which required the immediate development of negatives upon exposure. In 1869 the studio commissioned a horse-drawn mobile darkroom that enabled wet plate negatives to be developed in the field and extended the photographic project beyond the boundaries of Dunedin.³ Travel became integral to Burton Brothers' ongoing project to accumulate a comprehensive catalogue of the country's natural scenery and material progress. Burton Brothers compiled a stock of photographic images featuring scenic landscapes from throughout New Zealand, scenes of civic and industrial development, and ethnographic records of the indigenous Māori population.

The international introduction of photography to travel occurred contemporaneously with the formal settlement of New Zealand from 1840. The commercial opportunities presented by the colony for travel photography can be seen in the work of resident and itinerant photographers who repeatedly visited sites identified as being of significant scenic or industrial importance. A common itinerary was established through the Otago interior, made accessible through gold mining operations in the region. Among the photographers working in the Otago region, a conscious project was undertaken to 'complete' the task of photographing every accessible site in order to compile a representative portfolio of the region. Selection was determined by the development of surrounding infrastructure, but it was also shaped by the photographer's expectation of what scenes would appeal to both local and distant audiences.

Alfred Burton, the studio's main practitioner on topographical projects, was not an itinerant photographer, but an active agent in the settler community that his photographs promoted. With investments in mining ventures and gold prospecting, he had an incentive to promote the commercial opportunities and successes of the new colony beyond the commodity value of his photographic products. As a permanent resident of New Zealand with a personal investment in its economic and industrial progress, Burton possessed a depth of engagement with the colony which contrasts with the disinterest of the typical itinerant travel photographer. Further commercial imperative is evident in the production of these photographs on speculation: in order to attract sales, views had to be relevant and appealing to a buying public. Photographic projects therefore reflected political and public interests of the day, and promoted both the beauty and resources possessed by the colony.

Numerous examples of Burton Brothers topographical prints and albums are held in institutional and private collections within New Zealand. While some of these items have been repatriated from international sources, many trace their provenance to local estates and collections, indicating the existence of a strong domestic market for these photographs. The studio's

catalogues and advertisements promote the suitability of photographic prints for international postage and as 'a little present to friends in the old country, or as a *souvenir* of New Zealand to those who are leaving its shore'.⁴ Yet local patronage was also encouraged; the frequent newspaper accounts of the studio's activities invariably contain an inducement to local readers to visit the studio or its agents to view and acquire prints for their own purposes.⁵ This extends the established model of travel photography, as Burton photographs not only appeal to international viewers, they also consolidate and affirm the colonial experience among New Zealand's settler society. A favourable impression of the colony's progress and advantages was directed by the written material that promoted and accompanied these photographs, within a framework that was strongly commercially orientated.

Burton Brothers' total output is definable as a sequence of series, each verbally packaged with a memorable title assigned by the studio, such as *Otago through the Camera* or *Scenes in the Southern Alps*. The production of work in series reflected the projects in which the studio's operators were engaged, but was also an economic measure. Promoting photographs in series enabled the studio to sell multiple prints, while the circulation of single prints effectively publicised the remainder of the series. Establishing a collective body of work and enacting a narrative also provided an attractive and cohesive product for discussion in newspaper editorials. Editors often reinforced the series' title, concept and scope, thus actively promoting its sale.⁶

Promoting photographs in series was also an important method of controlling the reception of prints, as isolated images could be understood as part of an associated narrative. Associated written material in the studio's sales literature, advertisements and newspaper reports accentuate the context of the journey rather than the destination documented in the visual content of the individual photograph. The narrative structure imposed by the production of photographs in series was particularly well suited to travel photography, as it conveyed the physical journey conducted by the photographer in acquiring the images. Photographs were arranged consecutively by negative number, generally in chronological sequence, reflecting the progress of the journey made to take these photographs.

In contrast to their previous confinement to the studio, the mobile dark-room enabled Alfred Burton and his operators to conduct photographic expeditions, and the studio's project of actively photographing New Zealand began in earnest. In September 1869 an advertisement announcing Alfred Burton's 'first journey' through the Otago province was simultaneously printed in the *Otago Witness* and *North Otago Times*.⁷ Appealing to 'Runholders, Settlers, and country inhabitants generally', Burton invited commissions in portraiture and landscape along a route north from Dunedin to Palmerston,

inland through Central Otago to Queenstown and ‘thence westward: or otherwise as circumstances may govern’. While private patronage was solicited, the advertisement suggests a process of photographing speculatively was already under way, with the purpose of the trip identified as ‘extending our greatly admired series of Photographic Views of New Zealand’.

The photographic activities of Alfred Burton and his employees were frequent topics in Dunedin newspaper columns. Typically emphasis was placed on Burton’s personal celebrity and the exploits and adventures experienced by him on photographic expeditions. As such, for contemporary viewers the narrative component became an expected accompaniment to photographic series. A report on the release of Burton’s series *Scenes in the Southern Alps* was published in the *Illustrated New Zealand Herald*. The writer appreciated the directness of photographic representation of the dramatic scenery encountered but recommended that a textual account would enhance the portrayal of the photographer’s experience:

Mr. Burton’s photographs tell more at a glance than columns of letterpress, although it would be interesting if a brief journal of his route and proceedings were annexed to the full series of plates, for Mr. Burton’s tour was not without incident.⁸

The report concluded with an allusion to the function of these photographs in a domestic environment. With a portfolio of 50-60 views of the Southern Alps region, the comprehensiveness of the series also offered a substitute for the experience of travel. Burton was held to have captured the range and diversity of the region and to have ‘brought [it] within the range of our own fireside’. However, supplying a visual impression of the location was not sufficient; the photographer’s verbal or written account was required to complete the picture.

The demand for the travel narrative is perhaps attributable to the popularity of travel literature, which experienced a surge in publication from the 1870s, accompanying the local expansion of leisure travel and tourism spurred by the advent of steamship transportation. Guidebooks and written accounts of tourist excursions typically contained similar content and rhetoric. This reflected and reinforced the widespread acceptance of ‘must-see’ attractions, based on the Union Steam Ship Company’s coastal routes.⁹ Burton Brothers’ topographical photographs supplied a full inventory of places visited on standard tourist itineraries, including images of all the locations visited by the Union Steam Ship Company and promoted in guidebooks. Burton Brothers further catered to the popular audience for travel accounts by producing pre-compiled and formatted albums of photographs that adopted the rhetoric and values projected in travel publications. Utilizing the familiar book format, the studio’s albums bore titles such as *Burton Bros.’ Views of*

New Zealand, New Zealand Scenery and *Land of Loveliness* that used the same lexicon as the travel writers.

Burton Brothers further echoed the models of travel writing in the production of their mail-order catalogues, which also followed the format and tone of popular travel texts. By 1875 a collection of 500 topographical negatives had been amassed and was published in the studio's first catalogue, *Catalogue of Photographs of New Zealand Scenery by Burton Brothers*.¹⁰ The catalogue's introduction emphasized the studio's ability to post prints to 'any part of the Colonies or the mother country' and its willingness to select 'sets' of prints based on the customer's preferred region or 'class of scenery': 'Whether snowy mountains or fertile plains, wild gorges or busy towns, waterfalls or glaciers, rivers or lakes, "workings" or flumes, "bits" of bush, or "studies" of trees'. Classification of the natural environment into recognizable and commodifiable types was an essential function of the catalogue; with no illustrations, written description and endorsement was essential to marketing the product.

The catalogue reinforced the photographic series and accompanying narratives. Two series, *Otago through the Camera* and *Scenes in the Southern Alps*, were published in this catalogue and are listed as distinct bodies of work. The larger series, *Otago through the Camera*, is broken into a number of sub-series through the arrangement of photographs by their geographical subjects. Starting with 'Dunedin and Suburbs', the views extended to 'Port Chalmers', 'Tokomairiro [Milton] and the South Road', followed by 'Palmerston and the North Road'. This arrangement enhances the aspect of journeying, with Dunedin emphasised as the geographical centre of the photographic activity, projecting outwards by means of road access. The narrative of the journey is further amplified with written endorsements and accounts extracted from newspapers that described the logistics of photographing remote locations.

Catalogue of Photographs of New Zealand Scenery established a format that was to become standard for Burton Brothers. Five other catalogues remain extant in library collections: *Catalogue of One Thousand Photographs of New Zealand Scenery* (1879); *New Zealand through the Camera: A Catalogue of Three Thousand Photographs of New Zealand Scenery* (1884); *The Camera in the Coral Islands* (1884); *The Maori at Home* (1885), and *Wintering on Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri* (1889). All unillustrated, the catalogues feature a list of photographs identified by their negative number and accompanied by a descriptive caption. These written listings functioned as the description from which customers could order photographs, using the negative number as the reference. Catalogues also typically contain an excerpt from the photographer's diary or other written narrative which aimed 'to serve in some measure as descriptive text for

the photographs'.¹¹ The photographer's diary was also frequently published in Dunedin newspapers and occasionally syndicated to other centres. In some instances this text elucidates the content of specific photographs, but it also provides an indication of the values the studio held and sought to promote. The catalogues provide clear insight into the means of promoting and circulating photographic products and the ways in which contemporary audiences accessed these photographs.

Burton Brothers employed additional devices to hold individual prints in context and to point to the associated series and narrative. Negative numbering was particularly effective as a form of identification and means of both locating and associating individual photographs within the broader context of the series. The negative number functioned as the key identifier to individuate photographic prints. Numbers were generally assigned consecutively as projects were conducted, so this numerical order also implies a chronology and places photographs within a narrative sequence. Viewing photographs in association with the preceding and following images engages the viewer in the photographer's activity prior and subsequent to the taking of a photograph – a 'before and after' effect. Even without the accompanying photographs in the sequence, the inscribed number on the photographic image remains suggestive of a narrative as it indicates the photograph is not merely an individual item but part of a broader inventory of images.

When encountering original Burton Brothers photographs in museum collections, the most apparent narrative device is the photographic caption. Initially captions were discreet, inscribed on labels applied to the reverse of photograph mounts. These labels often also carried the series name, clearly associating the individual photograph with its broader project. Beyond the control of the studio, these labels were vulnerable to removal or could be obscured when the photograph was bound into an album by the consumer. From the late 1870s the studio counteracted this by inscribing the caption directly on the image. Using black ink, the text was handwritten in reverse on the negative emulsion, appearing as white positive text when printed. The negative number was similarly applied and the studio's brand was applied to the negative in gold leaf through a stencil. Embedding these marks in the negative enabled total consistency in appearance among the multiple prints that would be produced from a single negative. This method ensured that the brand, negative number and caption were indelibly inscribed within the visible image area, so could not be cropped or obscured and would be transferred to a secondary copy if reproduced photographically.

Captions inscribed on negatives operate independently of the catalogue listing to facilitate the interpretation of photographs by identifying the subject or context of the image. This function is not always neutral, as the caption

can mediate and direct the viewer's response. The caption may extend the information offered by the visual content of the image, but it also imposes an external narrative upon the photograph or anchors an ideological meaning through language. Burton Brothers consistently employed embedded captions to contextualise or direct photographic meaning, often in accordance with popular understandings of places shared among colonial society. Through the studio's choice of language and description, captions resist the multitude of meanings available to a viewer and direct the interpretation of visual content towards that intended by the photographer. Attention may be channelled towards particular elements within an image, or a broader understanding may be elicited through the overlay of certain information. Viewed in conjunction with the catalogue and in association with other photographs in the series, the photograph becomes a component of a broader narrative.

In their studies of frontier photography in the Pacific North-West, Martha A. Sandweiss and Carol Williams have both observed the importance of textual accompaniment to printed photographs for the communication of the photographer's or publisher's intended message.¹² Such texts have particular potency in relation to frontier and colonial imagery. Photographs made by operators accompanying survey and expeditionary parties were intended to record and reflect the narrative of that event, so they depended upon text to qualify and explain visual content. Commercial operators, even those independent of official government activity, photographed and reinforced the ideological and political agendas that drove frontier exploration, alluding to these activities and agendas in text assigned to photographs.

Giselle Byrnes recognised a similar linguistic emphasis in her analysis of survey operations in colonial New Zealand. In her interrogation of the systems, conventions and language applied by colonial surveyors to conceptualise the land she arrived at a description of survey activity as 'colonising through language'.¹³ Survey systems of naming and mapping were intrinsically linguistic, as the land was captured and consolidated within universal schema and conceptualised for colonial purposes. The assigning of place names was a particularly potent statement of colonialism, imposing statements of power and possession, as well as 'assertions of presence and signifiers of occupation'.¹⁴ Visual articulation was required to reinforce naming practices and circulate new names and references. The visual application of names to places was activated through the production of maps, but sketches and paintings were also commonly employed to visualise the land.¹⁵ Byrnes' discussion did not extend to the work of photographers, but Alan Trachtenberg considered that the use of photographs reinforced the results of the surveys of the American West: 'The name lays claim to the view. By the same token, a photographic view attaches a possessable

image to a place name. A named view is one that has been seen, known, and thereby already possessed.¹⁶

Burton Brothers, among other early photographers in the Otago region, accompanied surveyors or followed survey activity in their photographic expeditions. The outcomes of survey projects were documented in photographs that recorded the formation of towns and cities, material signs of infrastructure development or the discovery of spectacular locations. For instance, the photographs released under *Catalogue of Photographs of New Zealand Scenery* effectively document the survey effort, showing roads to the north and south of Dunedin and inland to the Central Otago gold diggings, as well as traversing the South Island high country. Through the captions and the catalogue listing, colonial names for places and landscape features are associated with a visual representation, familiarising their audience with the mapped and named interior of the island.

The function of Burton Brothers' textual devices to activate the associated narrative and agenda is best demonstrated by analysis of a single photograph: for example, '375 – Telegraph Station, Bealey' (Figure 1). Originating as a wet plate negative, it was presumably developed on the spot, necessitating the transportation of cumbersome equipment to this remote location. The photograph shows a small settlement in an alpine location, the only signs of habitation being a small number of livestock grazing freely and smoke billowing from the chimneys of the two small huts. The caption, 'Telegraph Station, Bealey', defines this location as the Bealey township and in doing so directs interpretation of the meanings of this place. Knowledge of this as a telegraph station directs attention to the telegraph poles and lines that traverse the middle distance. As no further geographical description is offered in the caption, the viewer is presumed to possess some understanding of the subject: for instance, that the location is situated on the West Coast Road of the South Island of New Zealand. However, Burton Brothers relied on other written sources to expand the meaning of their photographs.

The negative number inscribed within the image defines this as number '735', an early number within the stock of 6000 negatives released by Burton Brothers. Reference to the studio's *Catalogue of One Thousand Photographs of New Zealand Scenery* locates this negative within the series 'The Christchurch-Hokitika Road', a sub-series of *Scenes in the Southern Alps*.¹⁷ The photograph's inclusion in this catalogue, published in 1879, indicates that it was made prior to 1879, but after the publication of the studio's first catalogue in 1875. The caption for this photograph as listed in the catalogue corresponds exactly with the inscribed caption on the negative: 'Telegraph Station, Bealey'. No further description of the photograph is offered in the catalogue. The other photographs in the series are listed in numerical sequence and their captions describe the photographer's journey



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from Cora Lynn Station on the Waimakariri River, over Arthur's Pass and through the Otira Gorge. Natural scenery and alpine views are suggested as the subjects of these photographs, as are accommodation houses, settlements, bridges and roads, particularly the notorious 'zig-zag' through Otira Gorge. Read in the context of the series, the subject of 'Telegraph Station, Bealey' is not the scene itself, but a point in the journey along the West Coast Road. Indeed, the road is the dominant feature of the visual content of this photograph, occupying the entire image foreground and leading the viewer's eye into the distance.

The 'Christchurch to Hokitika Road' or West Coast Road across the Southern Alps was a major infrastructure project for colonial New Zealand. It connected the South Island's East Coast with the West Coast goldfields, so that Christchurch could benefit from 'gold fever' as Dunedin had done. In March 1866 construction of all stages of the road was complete, including two alpine passes, two gorges and numerous fords. Burton Brothers was not the first to photograph the road (Daniel Louis Mundy had photographed along the West Coast Road in 1868), but the studio's skill in promoting its activities brought this project to the attention of newspaper editors and further promoted the series. These responses provide some indication of how photographs were received by contemporary viewers.

The full *Scenes in the Southern Alps* series was the subject of a news report in the *Otago Daily Times* in January 1878, with special attention drawn to the West Coast Road series.¹⁸ Burton Brothers' photographs of the 'weird and magnificent' scenery along the road accorded to expectations of the sublime and picturesque, with photographs characterised as showing either 'striking grandeur' or 'the subdued beauty of the scenery of a gentleman's park on a grand scale'. Like the catalogue, released subsequently, the report draws equal attention to natural features and road infrastructure. The commercial availability of the photographs is emphasised in a description of available formats (album views or stereoscope slides) and a statement of the merit of the photographs as 'either a single photograph or as one of a series'.

Photographic captions appear to guide the report writer's understanding of these images. The photograph 'Telegraph Station, Bealey' is described as a 'heartless' representation of the township, consisting of 'one telegraph office, two or three small out-houses, a sheep pen, two sheep, and a number of telegraph posts'. Possibly guided by the caption's foregrounding of the significance of this outpost in providing communication between the east and west coasts of the South Island, the writer interpreted this photograph

Opposite: Figure 1. Burton Brothers, '735 – Telegraph Station, Bealey', 1878. Wet collodion whole plate negative. C.015619, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

as a vision of the future: 'there is plenty of room for it to grow considerably larger, and to become a flourishing municipality, with a mayor, a council, and the inevitable application for a grant of 2000 acres of the waste lands of the Colony'. The photograph is in this way understood to represent a symbol of progress in the region and the potential of the colony.

Contemporary news reports can also expose the studio's practice in conducting photographic projects. A report printed in the *Otago Daily Times* in August 1878 continues the discussion of Burton Brothers' progress in photographing the 'Scenery of the Southern Alps'.¹⁹ Having arrived in Hokitika, the photographers proceeded south to photograph the West Coast glaciers. The context of the journey is emphasised with a description of the risk and expense incurred by the studio to achieve this 'pilgrimage for the picturesque'. Messrs Burton Brothers were commended for departing from 'the beaten track of ordinary enterprise' in order to deliver unrivalled representations of New Zealand's remote alpine scenery for 'the cosy drawing room'. Quoting information supplied directly by the studio, the report provides an extended account of the hardship and adventure endured by the photographers contracted by the studio for this project, Charles and George Spencer. These contractors also produced the studio's photographs of the West Coast Road, which 'were taken with comparative ease'. This demonstrates the Burton Brothers' branding and marketing methods at work. The identity of the individual operators is subsumed by the Burton Brothers name; however, the story of their personal experiences is circulated to generate interest in the series. By aligning the project with popular interests, Burton Brothers exploited news media to generate a written narrative by which the photographs could be understood and, ultimately, promoted for sale.

These methods were consistently employed by Burton Brothers in later projects, which included tours of the Pacific Islands (1884) and through the King Country (1885), documentation of the Tarawera eruption (1886) and the studio's quest to be the first to photograph the full height of the Sutherland Falls in Milford Sound (1888). The Burton Brothers studio was not alone in its use of text to interpret and promote its products and reputation. Burton Brothers employed this mechanism in a highly visible and consistent manner and this consistency is the key to the studio's celebrity. By engaging the viewer in a process of reading, attention is drawn away from the subject of the image and towards the experiences of the photographer. Accompanying text places the studio and its operator – generally Alfred Burton – in the role of not only narrator, but protagonist in the story of a photograph's making. The studio's recording of colonial New Zealand was motivated by commercial imperatives and as such required business strategies to promote

and sell its products. The effectiveness of Burton Brothers' branding and marketing and the widespread distribution of its products and promotional material earned the firm a profile that remains familiar to twenty-first-century audiences of photography.

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- 1 Hardwicke Knight, *Photography in New Zealand: A Social and Technical History*, Dunedin, 1971, pp.181-6.
 - 2 *Daily Telegraph* (Dunedin), 15 May 1863.
 - 3 *Otago Witness* (OW), 23 October 1869.
 - 4 'High-Class Photography', *North Otago Times*, 12 May 1871.
 - 5 'New Zealand through the Camera', *Otago Daily Times* (ODT), 19 December 1878. This news report on the release of Burton Brothers' *New Zealand through the Camera* catalogue encouraged readers to purchase photographic prints for the drawing room walls and to 'adorn their albums with New Zealand scenery'.
 - 6 ODT, 19 December 1878.
 - 7 'High-Class Photography', *North Otago Times*, 3 September 1869; 'High Class Photography', OW, 4 September 1869.
 - 8 'New Zealand Scenery', *Illustrated New Zealand Herald* (Dunedin), 9 April 1875.
 - 9 Lydia Wevers, *Country of Writing: Travel Writing and New Zealand, 1809-1900*, Auckland, 2002, pp.133-4.
 - 10 Burton Brothers, *Catalogue of Photographs of New Zealand Scenery*, Dunedin, 1875.
 - 11 Burton Brothers, *The Maori at Home: A Catalogue of a Series of Photographs, Illustrative of the Scenery and of Native Life in the Centre of the North Island of New Zealand. Also, Through the King Country with the Camera: A Photographer's Diary. This will Serve in some Measure as Descriptive Text for the Photographs*, Dunedin, 1885.
 - 12 Martha A. Sandweiss, *Print the Legend: Photography and the American West*, New Haven, 2002; Carol Williams, *Framing the West: Race, Gender, and the Photographic Frontier in the Pacific Northwest*, New York, 2003.
 - 13 Giselle Byrnes, *Boundary Markers: Land Surveying and the Colonisation of New Zealand*, Wellington, 2001, pp.5-6.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, p.80.
 - 15 *Ibid.*, pp.79, 90.
 - 16 Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photographs: Images as History, Mathew Brady to Walker Evans*, New York, 1989, p.125.
 - 17 Burton Brothers, *Catalogue of One Thousand Photographs of New Zealand Scenery*, Dunedin, 1879.
 - 18 ODT, 22 January 1878, p.2. This report was reprinted in the *Otago Witness* on 26 January 1878, p.6 and the *West Coast Times* (Hokitika) on 29 January 1878, p.2. It was further reprinted in the *Otago Daily Times* on 13 February 1878, p.6.
 - 19 OW, 17 August 1878, p.3. Reprinted in the *West Coast Times*, 26 August 1878, p.2.

