

Bullock Wagons and Settlement Patterns in a New Zealand Pastoral Landscape

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The European settlement of the Canterbury region of New Zealand in the second half of the nineteenth century was founded on pastoral agriculture. Roads and ferries were needed to get the wool produced out to the nearest port by bullock wagon, and accommodation houses were needed for overnight stops. This paper reports on the surface archaeological remains of a river-bank accommodation house in inland Canterbury and discusses the influence of accommodation houses, and bullock wagons, on the later 19th and 20th century settlement pattern of the region.

INTRODUCTION

Canterbury is a region of some 30,000 square kilometres on the east coast of New Zealand's South Island, separated from the West Coast by a mountain range with 17 peaks exceeding 3000 m. Five large rivers flow eastward, draining the alpine district, and the resulting outwash gravels have formed the Canterbury Plains. Several smaller rivers drain a band of foothills, and also flow eastward. Extending 200 km from north to south, the Plains, the largest in New Zealand, comprise the dominant landscape feature of the region. Extensive downlands intervene in the northern and southern parts. A large inland basin known as the McKenzie Basin is located in the southwest.

The Canterbury Plains have a low annual rainfall (500-750 mm) with warm summers and cool winters. Rainfall is slightly higher near the foothills, where snow may lie for days or weeks in winter.¹ The predominant soils are yellow-grey and yellow-brown earths based on the loess mantle overlying the Plains gravels.²

Canterbury was first settled in the thirteenth century AD as part of the colonisation of New Zealand by East Polynesians.³ Canterbury's first European residents were whalers and small-scale farmers in the late 1830s and 1840s, but it was not until 1850 that organised settlement led to significant immigration into the province. In 1849 the Canterbury Association had been set up by the New Zealand Company to establish in New Zealand a settlement based on agriculture and founded in the Anglican faith.⁴ Like others planned by Gibbon Wakefield, it was intended to be a "closely knit farming community complete with squirearchy, yeoman farmers and agricultural labourers".⁵ It had to be self-sufficient; and its only source of revenue, with which to fund its administrative and public works, was to be the sale of land. The land value was set at a sufficiently low price to make it possible, at least in theory, for an agricultural labourer to be able to earn enough in four or five years to buy his own small block, but at a sufficiently high price to provide the administration with revenue.⁶

Rapid occupation and development of these agricultural blocks was essential to the new colony's survival. Unfortunately, it soon became apparent that the agricultural model was not going to work. One reason was that much of the soil close to the main centre, Christchurch, was not suited to agriculture, and even if good land could be had it was difficult to get workers. Shortage of labour made its costs too high for agriculture to be profitable. By the middle of the first year, only one of the new settlers had gone into the business of agriculture. Apart from subsistence farming on smallholdings, the only other farmers were a handful of ex-whalers and shagroons (Australian squatters). The situation

was not helped by the discovery of gold in Victoria within a year of the arrival of the first settlers. The lure of gold quickly drained the fledgling community of a fifth of its male population.

On the other hand, the province of Canterbury was eminently suited to pastoralism, which required almost no labour except at shearing time. The executive of the Canterbury Association quickly reached the decision that the land sale policy should change from one favouring "intensive" agriculture to one of "extensive" pastoralism. This decision resulted in the rapid sale or lease of large areas of the province; by 1853 100,000 sheep grazed these runs, and within six years wool had made Canterbury the richest province in New Zealand.⁷

The Canterbury Association, having come close to failure in its first couple of years, rapidly became self-sufficient and by 1853 was able to hand over the task of managing the region's infrastructure to a Canterbury Provincial Government. The most important part of that infrastructure was a network of transport and communication if the pastoral expansion was to succeed. In particular, the pastoralists' produce – wool – required a means of getting from the sheep-station to the nearest port.

This paper discusses some aspects of that network and describes a relationship between its early development and the later settlement pattern of Canterbury.

THE PROBLEM OF TRANSPORTATION

Little work was required to form most of the roads. Access to most of the region's farming land can be gained over flat ground, and almost all of the forest in the province had been cleared by Polynesian burning. The only barrier to progress was the presence of many swift-flowing rivers that could be forded or swum with difficulty but which required ferries or bridges for crossing with large loads. Many lives were lost in attempting to cross them; there was a common saying in New Zealand at the time: "People only die from drowning and drunkenness".⁸

A team of bullocks pulling a dray-load of wool could average 15-20 km per day. Many of the sheep runs were several days' travel from the nearest port or landing place and the only accommodation for anyone travelling through Canterbury was at the small homesteads of the early runholders. It was generally considered a point of honour to make the visitor welcome; and of course, visitors brought news from the outside world, but it wasn't always easy for the hosts. According to J. Acland in a letter to his parents in 1855, "The entertaining of travellers is a very severe tax on the sheep-farmers who live on the high roads".⁹ Similar

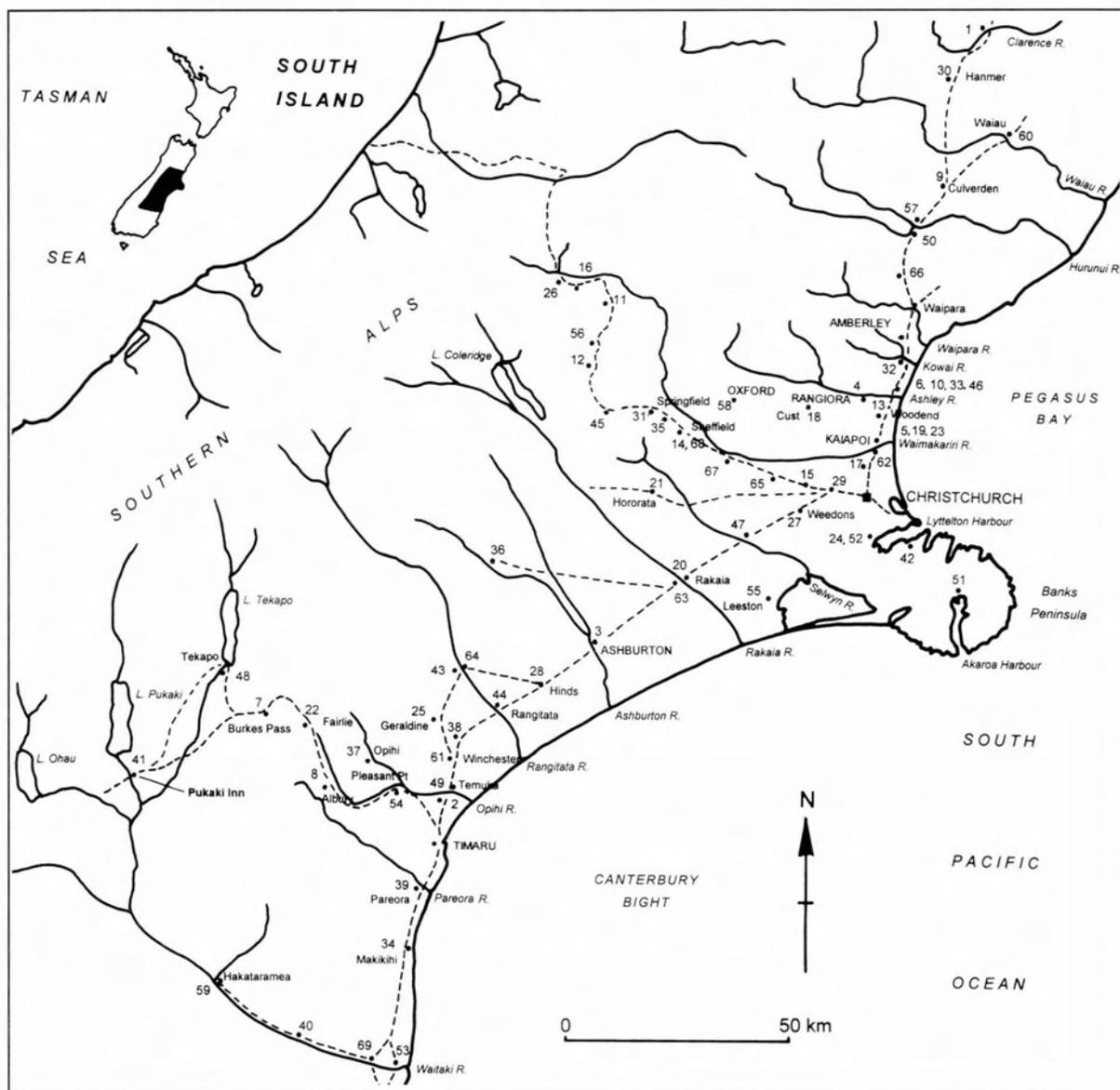


Fig. 1: Map showing locations of towns (named), accommodation houses (numbered) and major dray tracks in Canterbury (inset: New Zealand, showing location of Canterbury region).

complaints from runholders were to force the provincial government to make provision for the traveller. Accommodation had to be provided at the end of each day, located wherever possible at river crossings, where the proprietor could point out the best crossing route or provide ferries where needed if fording was not generally feasible (see Fig. 1; Appendix 1).

On busy routes and at strategic locations only a day's travel from main centres, private hotels were established as economic ventures. The problem of inducing suitably qualified people to operate places of accommodation, and ferries, in remote places where a good living could not be guaranteed was overcome by enacting legislation. In Canterbury, the first Public House Ordinance was passed in 1856. It specified a range of licence types including conditional licences "to sell spirituous and fermented liquors, subject to certain conditions to be fulfilled by the Licensee for the benefit and convenience of the public on consideration of obtaining a licence".¹⁰ In addition, some unofficial accommodation houses were established by enterprising pastoralists to supplement their income from sheep, including Nos 9 and 40 in Appendix 1.

As a result of constant lobbying by runholders and others, all of the main rivers had ferries by the mid-1860s and the province was well stocked with accommodation houses. The provincial government would vote a sum of money, call for tenders and then grant a licence. Any improvements would be paid for by the provincial government at the end of the lease, and a loan could be granted for any establishment costs. The licences changed over time with evolving legislation, but they generally included the following conditions:

- 1 Three-year lease of a specified area of land on each side of the river.
- 2 Accommodation house to be erected within six months with at least one sitting room and two bedrooms with at least four beds, exclusive of such portion as was required for family use. [Numbers of beds and bedrooms varied with the expected usage of the facility.]
- 3 A shed sufficiently weather tight and fit for the accommodation of [a given number] of horses.
- 4 A proper supply of water for the house, horses and cattle.
- 5 A proper supply of oats and oaten or grass hay.
- 6 To provide and keep in repair a good and sufficient stockyard for cattle, capable of holding not less than 50 head.

- 7 To provide and keep in repair a good and sufficient moveable sheep-proof enclosure, capable of holding not less than 2000 sheep: or, at the option of the licensee, to keep one acre of land enclosed by a permanent sheep-proof fence.
- 8 To keep a lamp burning with two burners from sunset to sunrise, giving a sufficiently bright light, and being so lighted as to be conspicuous from a distance all around the house.
- 9 Not to keep a lamp burning at night outside the house. [Note: The background to this condition is not given, but it was stipulated for accommodation houses adjacent to some river crossings. The licence for the accommodation house on the north side of the Rakaia River was not to have a light. The one on the north bank of the Ashburton River said that there should be a light, but that it should not be visible from the south bank.]
- 10 To be sworn in and to act as a constable, especially when required by the Magistrates or the police.
- 11 On all occasions to render every possible assistance, and to supply information to the Magistrates and to the police in the execution of their duty.
- 12 To keep a clean and orderly house, and to render it as comfortable for the accommodation of travellers as the circumstances of position and distance from town will fairly allow.
- 13 To keep at all times a safe ferry boat (punt) in good

working order and ready for conveyance of passengers [across river] between the hours of [specified]. The fare to be [specified]. Officers of Supreme Court, Magistrates, and police constables on duty and prisoners to be ferried free of charge.

- 14 The licence to be cancelled if any of the conditions of the licence be not fulfilled regularly, or if any drunkenness be proved to have been allowed on the premises, or if any spirits shall be supplied to any aboriginal native of New Zealand.
- 15 A printed or fairly written copy of the conditions to be kept at all times posted up in some conspicuous place, in the tap room, in the public and in the private sitting room, for the information of the travellers.
- 16 A tariff of charges to be kept posted up in like manner.¹¹

Timber could be cut for houses, posts and fuel, and reserves could be set aside for this purpose. In some of the more remote areas, much larger areas of land were granted as an incentive to keep the licensee on site. A flagpole 40 feet high, visible from a specified distance, was required for some licences.

There are few accommodation houses still standing, although some of the sites remain, many with later hotels built on them. One, the site of the Pukaki Inn, was recently investigated with the aim of recording and assessing what remained after damage from riverbank erosion.



Fig. 2: 1867 map of the McKenzie Basin showing dray tracks (Canterbury Museum CMU 15).

THE PUKAKI INN

The Pukaki Inn is located on the true left bank of the Pukaki River, approximately five kilometres from the outlet to Lake Pukaki (Fig. 1), on the original dray track that traversed the MacKenzie Basin from north to south (Fig. 2). The site is recorded as H38/9 in the New Zealand Archaeological Association Site Recording Scheme.

History

The Mackenzie Basin was visited by moa-hunting Maori early in the prehistoric period and by parties hunting native rails - weka (*Gallirallus australis*) later on and into early European times. However, archaeological evidence of such use is limited to sites of the moa-hunting period in the upper Ahuriri River valley,¹² the area west of Lake Tekapo¹³ and the Grays Hills silcrete quarry.¹⁴ Ovens and moa bones have been reported from the Wolds station,¹⁵ which is located roughly midway between the Pukaki River and Lake Tekapo. A Canterbury Museum party recorded a number of pre-European Maori sites in the Tekapo / Pukaki area in the 1970s.¹⁶

The earliest documented European habitation in the MacKenzie Basin dates to 1855 when James McKenzie was arrested there with sheep he had stolen from the Levels run. The first recorded land taken up in the MacKenzie basin was three years later on Lake Pukaki, by John and Mary McHutcheson, Francis Sinclair and Henry Gladstone.¹⁷ Travel through the basin was relatively straightforward except for the fact that two large rivers had to be crossed; the Tekapo and the Pukaki, and for the ever-present tussock, matagouri (*Discaria toumatou*) and speargrass (*Aciphylla* spp). As the population grew, the need for improved communications resulted in the Provincial Council's recommendation in 1858 that a dray track be constructed into the MacKenzie Country; construction of the road began in that year. On 19 December 1861 the Provincial Government set aside 200 pounds for the provision of ferries over the Tekapo and Pukaki Rivers.¹⁸ In

August 1862 the Provincial Secretary called for tenders for the establishment of ferries at the points where the dray track crossed each of the three rivers. A condition of the tender was that a house be built by 1 May 1863 containing at least one sitting room and two bedrooms with at least four beds in addition to what was required by the proprietor; oats were to be kept and sold at 8d/quart; a safe ferry boat was to be kept and shelter for stock was to be provided.¹⁹ The Provincial Council estimates for 1863-64 set aside 800 pounds for the establishment of ferries, and this was to include an accommodation house at the Pukaki, but it was not until November 1875 that a Gazette notice stated that a contract had been signed.

Information provided on a Department of Conservation signboard at Lake Pukaki states that a licence was granted by the Canterbury Provincial Government in 1864 for the construction of an accommodation house at the original site. I believe this to be incorrect (see discussion below). The signboard goes on to say that the original building burned down in 1876 (but see below). A letter from W. A. Ostler of Ben Ohau Station to the Secretary for Public Works in 1874 contains an appeal for the provision of a punt or bridge over the Pukaki, the tone of the letter suggesting that there was no such crossing at that time.²⁰ A repeat appeal was made in the following March.²¹ In 1875 a contract was let for the construction of a boat and ferryman's house at Pukaki, to be finished the following January²², and two large boats for the Pukaki ferry left Timaru on 11 February 1876.²³

The conclusion to be drawn is that the tender issued in 1862 for a ferry at Pukaki was not filled and that the first official ferry was established in 1876. In a letter to the Secretary for Public Works, Christchurch, from John Rochfort, Engineer with the Timaru and Gladstone Board of Works, dated 4 September 1876, it is certified that the Pukaki Ferry had been properly conducted from 1 January of that year.²⁴ On 24 April 1876 George Tait was appointed Ferryman.²⁵ Less than twenty years were to pass before the ferry and hotel were replaced with one closer to the outlet of

Fig. 3: Photograph of existing chimney from Pukaki Inn.



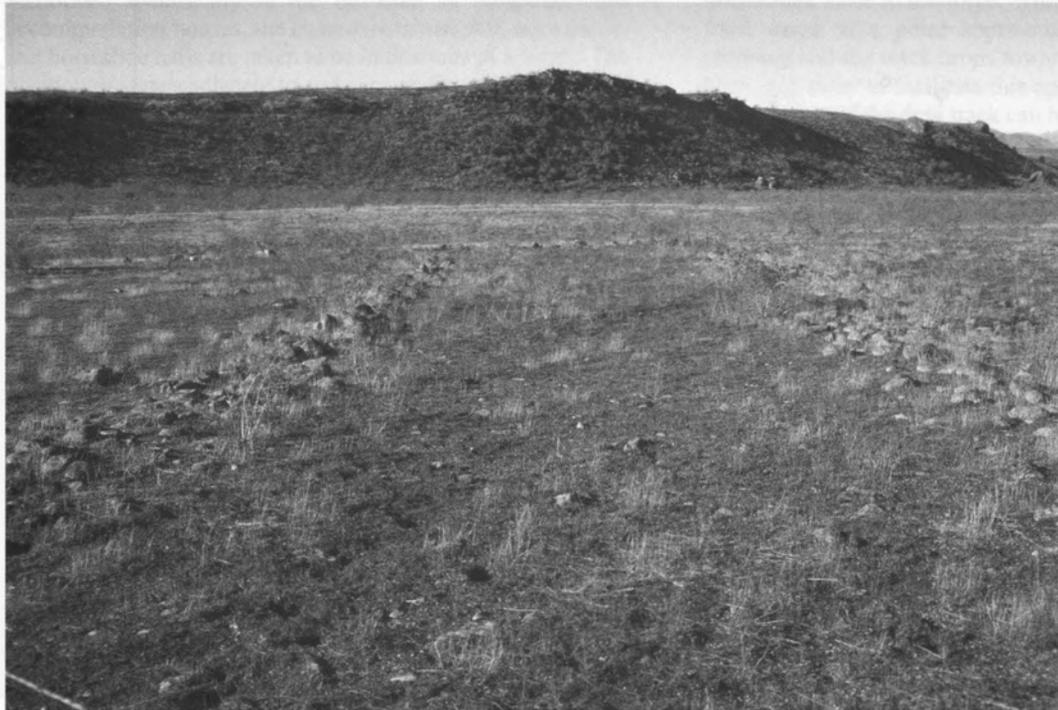


Fig. 4: Photograph of bullock track at Pukaki Inn.

Lake Pukaki, some 5 km upstream, where the ferry was finally replaced by a bridge in 1895.²⁶

The flow into the Pukaki River was diverted as part of the large-scale hydroelectric development of the 1960s to 1980s, and the riverbed is now dry except during controlled spilling during oversupply of runoff from the scheme's catchment. Unfortunately for the accommodation house site, this controlled spilling can result in sudden flood-like river flows that cause severe erosion. Although it is only a decade since the hydroelectric scheme was completed, most of the river terrace between the inn site and the river has now been washed away. Furthermore, between the time I was first notified of this early in 1998 and my visit a few months later, a significant part of the site had been destroyed by bulldozing, apparently to facilitate a back-country car rally.

Site description

The main features of the Pukaki Inn site are a concrete chimney (Fig. 3), and associated stone alignments, next to a stone-lined track (Fig. 4). Evidence for the existence of up to two further buildings includes a concentration of charcoal, burnt coke, horseshoe nails and other debris indicative of a forge, and possible rectangular stone outlines around this and another area a few metres north. The stone-lined track passes a few metres south-east of the chimney and heads off towards the river. It leads out of the riverbed directly opposite and up onto the main terrace before heading off towards Ben Ohau to the south-west. In the other direction, it leads north-east towards a gully up which it follows to gain access to the upper terrace. From there, it heads off towards Burkes Pass. The route is clearly visible on Figure 2 and on "Black Map" G60.²⁷

A curved, stone-lined path leads from the dray track to the hotel site. Artefacts lying on the ground surface included fragments of bottle glass, ceramic, pieces of flashing metal, nails etc. It is apparent that soil build-up is very slow here. Between the chimney and the eroding bank of the Pukaki River are two slight hollows.

Method

A careful search was made of the ground surface and, because of the imminent threat of further damage from riverbank erosion, a systematic collection was made of all artefacts encountered. All artefacts were collected and bagged according to their location in the site (Appendix 2). A plan of the site was made using a plane table and optical alidade (Fig. 5) and the chimney was measured (see Fig. 6). The locality from which each bag-lot was collected is marked on the plan.

Results

1. Inn site

Apart from the chimney, there was little structural evidence to say that there had ever been a building on the site. No trace was seen of any foundation posts or postholes such as might be expected in such a dry environment with slow soil accumulation. There were, however, several boulders that may have functioned as piles supporting bearers underneath the building's floor joists, although it was not easy to identify a convincing pattern. The location of the north-west end wall was inferred from an alignment of boulders approximately 5 m from the chimney; and the south-east end wall location was estimated from the possible pile boulders along the inferred position of the long walls. It should be noted that there were other boulders in the chimney area, but these had been moved recently, so were not useful in any interpretation and were not marked on the plan. It is possible that some of them were originally in position as piles. Near the north-west end of the southern wall, a concentration of boulders approximately two metres square may have been a paved entrance. It lines up with the stone-lined pathway which runs due south to the dray track.

2. Forge site

Approximately 15 m north of the chimney is an area of charcoal-stained soil containing fragments of coke (more concentrated at the northern end) and numerous horseshoe



Fig. 5: Pukaki Inn site (plane table plan).

nails (in the southern part of the area). Although forges are not mentioned specifically in the literature as components of accommodation houses, the charcoal-stained soil, coke pieces and horseshoe nails are taken to be indications of a forge. The position of stones adjacent to and surrounding this stained soil is suggestive of the shape of a possible building, with a small area of paving indicated at the eastern corner. It is difficult to be certain about the alignment or size of any building, but if these stones were in fact associated with the building's foundations then the building would have been approximately 8.5 x 5.5 m, and aligned roughly north-east/south-west.

3. Third building

Approximately 5 m further north from the "forge" is another possible building location. This comprises a square alignment of stones delineating an area some 5.5 m along each side. A number of artefacts were found along the southern margin of the alignment, including several fragments of bottle glass.

4. Other features

Apart from the chimney, the most visually striking aspect of the site is the boulder-lined dray track. Varying between 5 and 8 m in width, the dray track leads up from the eroding riverbank past the chimney and on towards the north-east. Just before it gets to the bluffs that mark the edge of the main upper terrace, the track turns to the north and makes its way up a gully. The track is well benched into the side of the gully and can be followed up to the point where it emerges onto the main terrace.

Surrounding the "forge" and the third building site is a circular area that is clear of stones. This may have been a form of turning circle or yard where bullock drays could be

left out of the way or possibly so that any repairs could be undertaken close to the forge. The boulders that line the dray track cease at a point approximately 20 m south of the chimney and the track drops towards the river. It has clearly been dug away to facilitate this approach. An exit ramp and continuation of the dray track can be seen leading off from the opposite side of the river.

A small concrete box was found near some prominent rock outcrops on the top of the bluff about 200 m east of the hotel site. Although no obvious interpretation of its function could be made, it may have been associated with some type of signal lamp. One of the requirements of many accommodation houses was that a lamp be kept burning outside at night. A lamp would not have helped any travellers from Burkes Pass unless it was located on the top terrace.

A puzzling feature at the site is a small area (about 5 x 15 m) immediately south-east of the chimney, which is cleared of rocks but lined on three sides with them. The fourth side is the one facing the river and it may also have been lined at some stage (the riverbank has suffered considerably from erosion in recent years). It may have been a garden, or possibly a hen run, although no evidence of any supplementary form of fencing was seen. A concentration of artefacts a few metres north-west of this (see Bag 15, Appendix 2) was investigated by means of two small test pits (Fig. 5). The stratigraphy exposed in the test pits comprised a thin (2-3 cm) layer of dark soil overlying yellow-grey loess silt in a dense concentration of river cobbles. One test pit yielded three squashed food tins (Bag 24), while the other contained a high concentration of material including several fragments of ceramic and glass, one of which appeared to be

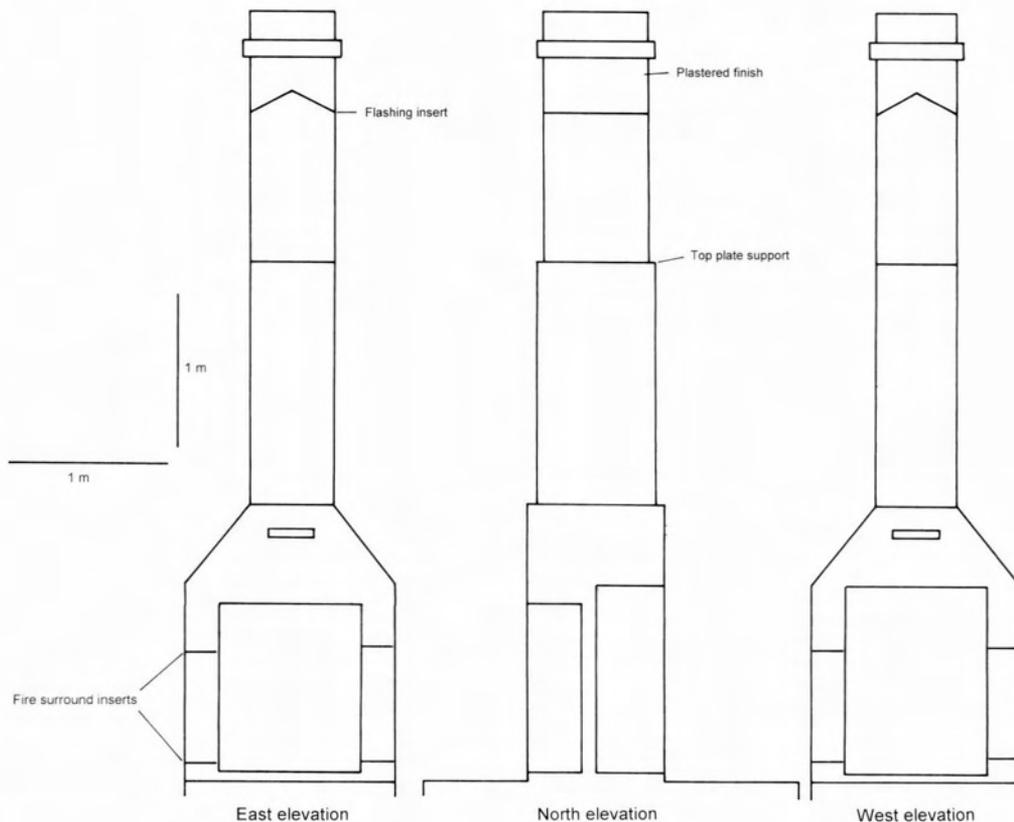


Fig. 6: Pukaki Inn chimney (elevation).

a rim fragment from a wine glass, two fragments of clay pipe, a lump of molten lead and 14 fragments of bone. Although the flat land nearby was examined, no evidence for any form of stockyard or sheep enclosure, as specified in the Ordnances, was found. Also, and not surprisingly, given the river erosion problem, no sign was seen of any evidence for the fixtures associated with ferryboat operation.

5. Artefacts

More than 400 artefacts were recovered during the surface collection phase of the investigation (see Appendix 2). Notable among them were 124 fragments of ceramic including 53 earthenware, 66 stoneware and 5 clay pipe fragments; 83 pieces of bottle glass (mostly green); 45 pieces of flashing iron and 19 fragments of window glass (all 2 mm or slightly less in thickness). A single wax vesta matchbox lid was found. Embossed on the lid with "Bell & Black - Trade Mark - London", it is of the type classified by Anson as a Bell & Black Type 3, and dated by him to between 1880 and the early 1890s.²⁸ The box is a type 1H in Bedford's later typology and is dated to 1876-1880 by Johns.²⁹

6. Fauna

The majority of the 76 bone fragments collected were incomplete or fragmentary. Identifiable bone from this small sample was dominated by mammal (34 fragments), particularly sheep (*Ovis aries*) with 20 fragments representing at least one individual. Five bones of a chicken-sized bird represent at least one individual. The bones of at least one small rabbit-sized animal were recovered, as well as a single unidentifiable fish vertebra.

DISCUSSION

The Pukaki Inn

The chimney and associated boulders and cleared area suggest a building approximately 8-10 m in length and 3.5-4 m wide. It is almost certain that the chimney relates to the first accommodation house at the Pukaki River, which was probably built in 1876. Although interpretation of the site is rendered difficult by the absence of any clear evidence of foundations for any buildings, there are some clues. The chimney has a fireplace on both sides, indicating that it was located in the interior of a building that had at least two rooms. The position of the chimney in the area of cleared ground suggests that it may have been located nearer to one end than the other. It has an inverted "V" groove where the roof flashing would have fitted, and a ledge, 3.3 m above the hearth, which must have supported the ceiling joists. If the lines formed by these features are extended outwards from the chimney, they intersect at a point approximately 1.8 m from the centre. This suggests that the chimney was part of a building that had a 3.3 m stud height and a width of approximately 3.7 m (see Fig. 7). The outline marked on the plan (Fig. 5) is located at the point where these extrapolated lines converged, on the long sides, and where other rock alignments suggest that the end walls may have been.

Anecdotal evidence suggests that the original building(s) was destroyed by fire,³⁰ however, there is little evidence in support of this. In fact there could have been some confusion with the second Pukaki Hotel which is also said to have burned down.³¹ None of the artefacts found appeared fire-damaged, and there was no melted window glass or charred

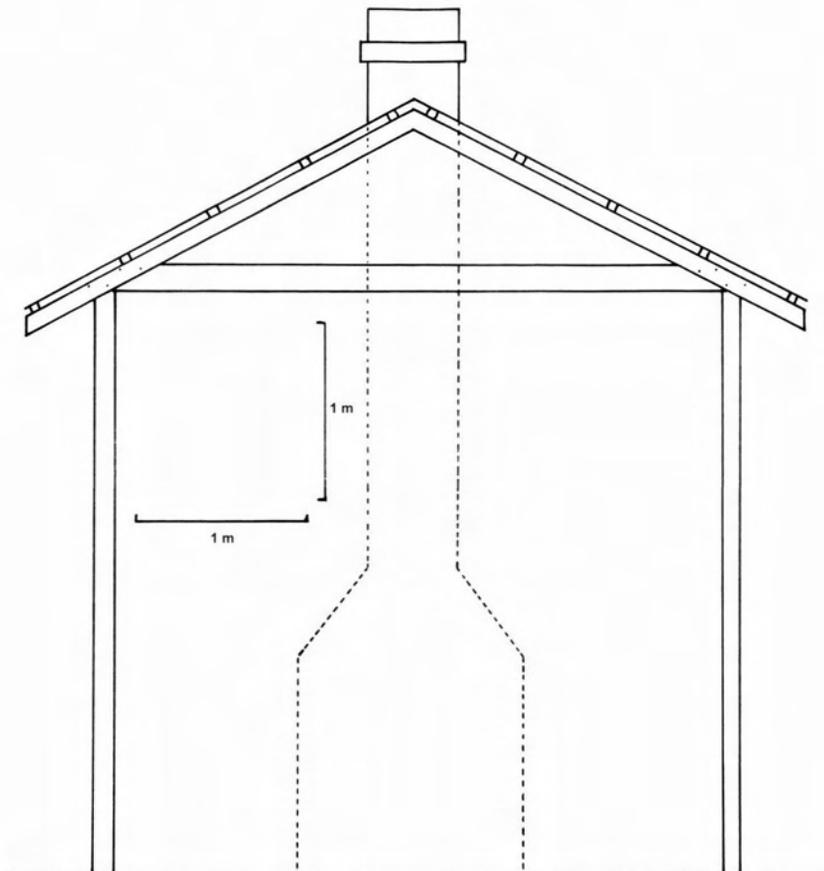


Fig. 7: Pukaki Inn cross section, estimated from chimney features (see text).



Fig. 8: Pukaki Hotel, at outlet to Lake Pukaki. Possible original building relocated from Pukaki Accommodation House site on right (Canterbury Museum photograph 13037).

wood, not to mention charcoal fragments. Pieces of wood in the chimney (for attaching flashing and fire-surround) show no signs of charring. The absence of significant amounts of window glass fragments in the surface debris suggests that the windows were carefully removed, and only one nail was found in the vicinity of the inn site. It seems likely that the building was not burned down but rather dismantled and either erected elsewhere or the building material recycled. Vance says that the hotel was *shifted* to the northern bank of the Pukaki near the lake outlet.³² This may mean simply that the site was changed or, more likely, that the building itself was shifted and used as the basis of later buildings.

A photograph of this second hotel, taken c.1894 (Fig. 8) shows that it is a composite of two buildings connected by an enclosed passage. The buildings are clearly of different designs, suggesting that at least one of them had been moved to the site. The building on the right has several features which make it a contender for the original Pukaki Inn. Its roofline is very similar to that suggested by the evidence described above. The chimney is located on the mid-line, in the interior rather than on one end, and it is near the centre of the building but appears to be slightly closer to one end than the other. The dimensions of the building, as far as can be ascertained from a photograph, are consistent with those indicated at the chimney site.

Forges are not mentioned in the literature as being a component of accommodation house establishments. However, in some other respects, accommodation houses were the nineteenth-century equivalent of a modern-day service station, and a forge would be useful for essential

repairs to bullock wagons and ferry apparatus. The presence of horseshoe nails suggests that shoeing of horses – and activity that requires just such a heat source – was an important activity at the site.

There was no surface evidence visible to suggest a function for the 5.5 m square building outline described above. The Ordnance stipulated the provision of a shed for horses, and a supply of oats and hay. Both of these would require some sort of structure, and the outline is within the size range of what might be expected for a horse/feed shed.

The bullock track, boulder-lined rather than being fenced or marked with posts, is testimony to the scarcity of timber in the MacKenzie Country – even at the arrival of the first European settlers. A considerable effort is represented in placing the boulders along several hundred metres of track, given that the labour available would have been very limited. The reason for going to so much trouble to mark the track is not clear. Once the lined part of the bullock track had been reached by the traveller, the building would have been quite visible in clear conditions. If providing direction was not the reason, then the only other functional reasons would have been to keep the drays on dry ground, or to keep them to the same path to avoid churning up the paddock. However, the MacKenzie Country is extremely dry, and the land in question is a very well drained river terrace. This suggests that the reason for lining the track was not functional, but cultural or psychological. The MacKenzie Country was a relatively large, mostly uninhabited area, remote from the nearest port or town. Even the nearest pastoral homestead was many kilometres distant. The pastoralists, grazing thousands of

acres, and surrounding their homesteads with all the trappings of sheep-station life – woolsheds, sheep-yards, dips, fences and so on – were stamping their presence on the landscape. The accommodation house proprietor and his family, on the other hand, may have felt very small and insignificant. There are various ways of imposing one's presence on a landscape – many of which involve planting trees, shrubs or flowering plants. Keeping plants alive in the harsh environment of the MacKenzie Country was probably very difficult, however. Perhaps lining the bullock-wagon track with boulders was a way of marking the landscape by increasing the "footprint" of the accommodation house site, in a treeless, dry, boulder-strewn environment.

The material collected from the surface, dominated by ceramic, glass and metal fragments, was largely what would be expected from a rural New Zealand site occupied in the 1870s and 80s. Some items, however, are worthy of further discussion. The rim fragment from what appears to have been a wine glass evokes an image of people trying to maintain a semblance of civilised society in the face of adversity. The single fragment of slate, although too small for certain identification, may have been from a school-child's writing slate. The many pieces of flashing metal, used to weather-proof joints in corrugated roofing iron, indicate that the roof was iron, rather than slate. They also support the account of the building being shifted to the site of the second hotel, suggesting that only the most unusable fragments of the original building were left behind.

The matchbox lid is especially interesting. Although a sample size of one does not allow a meaningful conclusion to be drawn, the late 1870s date of manufacture of the matchbox ties in perfectly with the period that the Pukaki Inn accommodation house was in use.

The faunal remains collected do not comprise a large enough sample to provide more than a glimpse at what might have been eaten at the site. Furthermore, some of the bones may have resulted from natural deaths of animals or birds at the site. However, taken at face value, they suggest that sheep, perhaps chicken and rabbit, and some fish were consumed there. The fish vertebra is notable at this site, because the only sizeable fish that would have been locally available this far from the sea were freshwater eels (*Anguillidae*), the bones of which are very rare in New Zealand archaeological sites³³, although their economic importance to Maori, at least in the historic period, was considerable.³⁴ This archaeological rarity is usually ascribed to poor bone preservation – especially of the head parts normally used to identify fish³⁵ although Leach and Boocock have suggested that it is more likely to relate to a food avoidance tapu that was lost early in the historic period.³⁶

The test pits did not reveal the presence of extensive below-ground deposits, and yielded similar material to that found on the surface, although with a slightly higher proportion of bone. Below-ground preservation of the test-pit material was generally good.

There is relatively little information that a simple site inspection and surface collection can provide beyond that which can be obtained from a literature review. In this case, the main contribution perhaps is that the anecdotal evidence for the building's having burned is not supported by the archaeological evidence, and it seems most likely that the building was shifted to form part of the new Pukaki Hotel at the outlet to lake Pukaki. As a whole, the visible archaeological remains are consistent with the site's recorded use for an accommodation house of the late nineteenth century.

On the other hand, this site has considerable potential for contributing to an understanding of the role of accommodation

houses in the early development of a remote pastoral community. Its occupation timespan is constrained to less than two decades, allowing for good chronological control. Below-ground preservation of artefacts and faunal material is very good, and much of the site is intact, in spite of river and bulldozer damage.

ACCOMMODATION HOUSES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANTERBURY PASTORAL LANDSCAPE

The Pukaki Inn site has considerable regional significance as a tangible reminder of the role of accommodation houses in the settlement of remote pastoral landscapes. Without these places and the ferries that often went with them, transport into and out of developing pastoral districts would not have been practicable. Travellers otherwise had to rely on the hospitality of station homesteads for accommodation. But their role in transportation was not their only reason for being. The licensees were generally required to be sworn in as constables, and the hotels were used as post offices, social centres and places to hold meetings.

As well as being a place for travellers and bullock drivers to stay the night, the accommodation houses often had forges to allow repairs to be made, both to travellers' vehicles and, if there was a ferry associated, to the punt workings. Church services for local runholders and their families would be held there when clergymen passed through, and they served as the venue for weddings, dances, and musical and dramatic entertainments and other social gatherings. Before schools were built, lessons were held at the local accommodation house, and, often, being the only "public" building in the vicinity, they served as the local morgue. Race meetings were held in the open areas outside the building, and the stockyards were used as saleyards when necessary. They were the precursors of the community halls which were so important a part of social life in rural New Zealand in the early to mid twentieth century.

Many accommodation houses became the kernel around which larger settlements grew. According to Gardner "The development from river crossing to accommodation house site to township was a common pattern in New Zealand..."³⁷ The only reason that the Pukaki Inn site did not progress beyond the first two of these stages was probably that the population in the MacKenzie Basin never got high enough for a township to develop – at least not until the hydroelectric projects of the 1960s.

The Pukaki Inn site is the only remaining accommodation house site known in the McKenzie Basin. An accommodation house was also built at Lake Tekapo, but earth-moving associated with a hydroelectric scheme in the 1960s destroyed any trace that may have remained at that time. The site of the second "Pukaki Hotel" was destroyed in 1949 during a hydroelectric development, and a third hotel was built.³⁸ An accommodation house was operated at Omarama, near the southern end of the MacKenzie Basin, but it is not known whether or not any traces remain of the site.³⁹

The Pukaki Inn was one of the last accommodation houses to be built in Canterbury. By that time many of the earlier ones had been superseded by larger hotels as townships developed. As rivers were bridged and rail introduced, many of the remainder became redundant. It was only in remote places like the MacKenzie Basin and the inland route to Nelson that their use persisted beyond the early 1880s.

The Pukaki Inn is notable for its concrete chimney and high ceilings for a building of its size. The overall impression is of a more substantial and solid building than many of the earlier accommodation houses. Complaints about the quality

of some of these are relatively common and perhaps the more solid construction was partly in response to this, indicating that something had been learned over the 20-odd years since the first one was built. One result was that the building was apparently of such a quality that it was considered worth recycling to its new location, although this may also have been due to the scarcity of building materials in area. The relatively high proportion of glazed stoneware in the ceramic sample, and the wine-glass rim fragment, are indications that more emphasis was being placed on maintaining standards of civilised society than is evident at some of the earlier accommodation houses.

BULLOCK WAGONS AND SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN CANTERBURY

Accommodation houses, along with their associated ferries and roads of the early colonial period, have both historical and archaeological significance that may not have been widely appreciated previously.

More than just places of accommodation or a means of crossing rivers, they were the social centres of Canterbury's early pastoral farming communities. At the frontier of settlement, they provided many of the functions that other buildings and institutions would have in a fully developed town or urban centre.

Last, but not least, they were the key to the later settlement pattern of the region. The dominating feature of the settlement pattern of Canterbury is its towns and urban centres, although the reasons for their location are not always obvious. Christchurch, Lyttelton, Kaiapoi (Mandeville), Lincoln and Oxford are all more or less where they were planned to be by the Canterbury Association before the arrival of the Association's "first four ships"; Amberley only came into being after the railway was constructed; and Hanmer, although very close to the Jollies Pass accommodation house – which was "the social centre of the district" for the 65 years of its existence⁴⁰ – owed its development as a health resort to the presence of thermal hot pools. Almost without exception the remaining fifty or so towns and townships are where accommodation houses were located at either ferry crossings or convenient bullock wagon stops.

Accommodation houses were not unique to Canterbury, but their importance in this region of rapidly expanding pastoral development over a more-or-less uniform landscape was apparently much greater than elsewhere. Unlike many other places, the settlement pattern of Canterbury was not based on the availability of localised resources such as timber, water or minerals; the province is almost uniform in those terms, since the principle resource was pasturage. Topography was not a major limiting factor either, since most of the region could be relatively easily developed for pastoralism. The pastoral runs were, therefore, more or less randomly spread over the landscape, and linked to the ports – Lyttelton and Timaru – by roads and dray tracks. These transport routes were punctuated by accommodation houses that often developed into larger centres as new businesses and services gravitated to these central places. With few exceptions, every town in Canterbury can be traced to a single original building – an accommodation house (see Fig. 1). The siting of most accommodation houses was determined by the distance a bullock wagon could travel in one day, along with the locations of suitable ferry crossings along the route to the nearest port. Hence the settlement pattern of the Canterbury was, to a large degree, set by the distance a team of bullocks could haul a wagon loaded with wool.

Accommodation houses did not appear uniformly across the landscape. As the new province grew, centred on Christchurch and Kaiapoi, the frontier of settlement moved

further and further from the centre. Accommodation houses near the outer limits – e.g. the McKenzie Basin – were not yet built while the need had been largely superseded nearer the centres of population.

By 1861 regular coach services were running between Christchurch and both Timaru and Kaiapoi.⁴¹ Accommodation houses were established later that also functioned as horse-changing points on coach roads. A flurry of new hotel licences in 1864-66 reflected the discovery of gold on the West Coast and the beginning of regular coach services there after the road was completed in 1865. After that, the locations of most new accommodation houses had more to do with coach travel than bullock wagons, but by then the pattern had been set.

The phenomenon of the accommodation house was far more significant than its short life might suggest. Not only were they the stopping places and ferry sites for which they were intended, they were the focal points of pioneer communities at the frontier of settlement – providing a gathering place for a range of social, political and religious activities. Their location, as nodes along the region's transport network, in combination with their community focus, led them to be natural locations for towns and villages to develop. The story of the pastoral development of Canterbury is a vital part of the story of New Zealand, and accommodation houses played a key role in that development.

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NOTES

- 1 Tomlinson 1976.
- 2 Leamy and Fieldes 1976.
- 3 Higham et al. 1999.
- 4 Straubel 1957:113.
- 5 Hensley 1971:7.
- 6 Wakefield 1849.
- 7 Hensley 1971:10.
- 8 Barker 1870.
- 9 Gillespie 1958:277.
- 10 Canterbury Provincial Government Ordinances and Proceedings 1856.
- 11 Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 12 June 1861.
- 12 McGovern-Wilson and Bristow 1991.
- 13 Maurice McSaveney, Institute of Geological and Nuclear Sciences, personal communication..
- 14 Irvine 1943.
- 15 Hosken 1964:105.
- 16 New Zealand Archaeological Association Site Record Files; Trotter 1969, 1970.
- 17 Vance 1965:26.
- 18 Gillespie 1958:236.
- 19 Anderson, 1916; Gillespie, 1958.
- 20 Ostler 1874.
- 21 Ostler 1875.
- 22 Gillespie 1958:237.
- 23 Anderson 1916:263.
- 24 Rochfort 1876.
- 25 Flutee 1877.
- 26 Greenwood 1983:50.
- 27 Canterbury Museum collections.
- 28 Anson 1983.

- 29 Bedford 1985; Johns 1998.
 30 Riddle 1993.
 31 Anderson 1916.
 32 Vance 1965:90.
 33 Leach and Boocock 1993.
 34 Marshall 1987.
 35 Sutton 1986:310.
 36 Leach and Boocock 1993:25.
 37 Gardner 1956:212.
 38 Vance 1965.
 39 Pinney 1981:35.
 40 Gardner 1956:224.
 41 Hensley 1971:244.

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APPENDIX 1

Accommodation houses in Canterbury

Name (proprietor; licence date)	Location (current town/locality)	Reference
Acheron Accommodation House (Built 1863)	Junction of Clarence and Acheron Rivers	Gardner 1956
Arowhenua Hotel (J. Dean; 1859; G. Rhodes)	Arowhenua	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 15 June 1859
Ashburton Accommodation House (a.k.a. Turton's A.H. W. Turton; 1860)	Ashburton (Turton's A.H. was located on the north bank of the Ashburton River at what is now the town of Ashburton)	Anderson 1916; Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 1 June 1860; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Ashley Arms (G. Hanmer; 1854)	Rangiora	Hawkins 1957
Baxter's Accommodation House (and punt) (Baxter; figured in 1859 sketch in Hawkins 1957)	Kaiapoi	Hawkins 1957
Brown's Bridge Accommodation House (J. Brinley; 1863)	Saltwater Creek	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 27 June 1863; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Burkes Pass Hotel (J. Burgess; licence granted to J. Noonan for Cabbage Tree Creek, Burkes Pass, 1861)	Burkes Pass	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 12 June 1861 (Noonan); 28 June 1863 (Burgess); Gillespie 1958; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Butterworth's Accommodation House (a.k.a. "Pareora A.H." W. Butterworth; 1860)	Opawa River at Albury	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 1 June 1860; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum; Gillespie 1958
Cameron's Accommodation House (K. Cameron; 1860)	Culverden (not licensed)	Gardner 1956
Cameron's Accommodation House (License orig. granted to H. Miller 8 June 1857; Cameron 15 June 1859)	Saltwater Creek	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 8 June 1857; 15 June 1859; 26 June 1863
Cass Hotel (D. Baker; 1866)	Cass	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 10 February 1866; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum; McLennon 1972
Castle Hill Hotel (M. D'Arcy; 1866)	Castle Hill	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 10 February 1866; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum; McLennon 1972
City Of Canterbury (Pankhurst; 1859)	Woodend	Hawkins 1957 (Note. This only had a <i>general licence</i> , issued in 1859 Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette June 1859)
Clare Inch Hotel, Sheffield (G. Grainge & G. Gighardt; 1866)	Sheffield	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 10 February 1866; McLennon 1972
Cook's Accommodation House (a.k.a. The Malvern Hotel; R. Cook; 1863; later renamed The Miners Arms)	Coal Track (Old West Coast Road 11 miles from Christchurch)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 28 June 1863; McLennon 1972
Cora Lynn Accommodation House (F. and G. Goldney; 1865)	Cora Lynn Station (No record of ever having been built)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 21 July 1865; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Courtenay Arms (a.k.a. Felton's Ferry; general licence, but had ferry; Felton;)	S. bank Waimakariri at 7-mile peg, near Styx	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette June 1857; Hawkins 1957
Cust Accommodation House (Messent; c.1856)	Cust	Hawkins 1983; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Day's Hotel (G. Day; 1861 general license)	Kaiapoi	Hawkins 1957 (General license Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 12 June 1861)
Dunford's Accommodation House (W. Dunford; 1859)	Rakaia River north bank	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 15 June 1859
Edwin Derrett's Accommodation House (E. Derrett; 1865)	Hororata	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 21 July 1865; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Fairlie Creek (D. Hamilton; 1870)	Fairlie	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 31 May 1870
Ferryman's Arms (Jackson; 1857 – general licence, but had ferry)	Kaiapoi	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette June 1857; Hawkins 1957
Forster's Accommodation House (Forster; 1863)	Governor's Bay (Governor's Bay)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 26 June 1863

Geraldine Accommodation House (R. Taylor; 1866)	Geraldine	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 16 July 1866; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Glacier Hotel (a.k.a. Bealey Accommodation House; E. Jones; 1865)	Bealey River	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 21 July 1865; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum; McLennon 1972
Half-way House (J. Main; 1859; William Weedon)	Weedons	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 15 June 1859
Hardcastle & Gill's Accommodation House (T. Hardcastle and J. Gill; 1862)	Hinds	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 9 August 1862
Harewood Hotel (a.k.a. Taylor's A.H. J. Taylor; 1866)	Yaldhurst (site of present Yaldhurst Hotel)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 26 June 1866; McLennon 1972
Jollies Pass (de la Pasture; 1862)	Hanmer	Gardner 1956
Kowai Pass Hotel (G. Willis; 1865)	Springfield (Kowai Pass)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 21 July 1865; McLennon 1972
Leith's Accommodation House (J. Leith; 1857)	Leithfield; Kowai R. S. bank	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 25 June 1857; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Lough's Accommodation House (H. Lough; 1863)	Saltwater Creek	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 27 June 1863
Makikihi Accommodation House (W.B. Jones; 1861)	Makikihi	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 12 June 1861; Gillespie 1958
Malvern Arms Hotel (G. Willis; 1869)	Halfway between Sheffield and Annat	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 1 July 1869; McLennon 1972
Mt Somers Accommodation House (J. Hood; 1873)	Mt Somers	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 1873; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Opihi Accommodation House (W. Warne; 1870)	Opihi [still standing, recently restored]	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 31 May 1870
Orari Accommodation House (J. Giles; 1860)	Orari River	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 1 June 1860; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum; Gillespie 1958
Pareora Accommodation House (and ferry) (D. Pollard; 1859)	Pareora River	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 15 June 1859; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Paterson's	Penticotico Stm, Waitaki R. (not licensed, but still standing)	Gillespie 1958
Pukaki Inn (Tait; 1876)	Pukaki River	Gillespie 1958; Flutee 1877; Greenwood 1983
Purau Accommodation House (T. Wood; 1861)	Purau	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 12 June 1861; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Rangitata Accommodation House (and ferry) (a.k.a. "Marshall's A.H." R. Marshall; 1861)	Rangitata R. near Arundel	Gillespie 1958; Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 12 June 1861; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Rangitata Ferry Lower (R. Bowen)	Rangitata (n. bank?)	Anderson 1916; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Riddle's Inn (C. Riddle; 1865)	Foot of Porters Pass (east side)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 30 November 1865; McLennon 1972
Saltwater Creek Accommodation House (H. Lough; 1862)	Saltwater Creek	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 9 August 1862; Gillespie 1958; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Selwyn ("Giggs") Accommodation House (G. Parly; 1857)	Selwyn River	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 26 June 1857; Gillespie 1958; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Tekapo Accommodation House (Ferry: J. Hay; 1862. Accommodation house: E. Rogers 1867))	Tekapo	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 10 July 1867; Anderson 1916; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Temuka Accommodation House (J. Deans; 1863)	Temuka (n. bank of river)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 28 June 1863; Gillespie 1958; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
The Hurunui Accommodation House, South Bank (J. Hastie; 1860)	Hurunui River (near Hurunui Hotel)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 1 June 1860; Gardner 1956

Travellers' Rest (a license was granted to J. Pawson in 1857)	Duvauchelle (head of Akaroa Harbour)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 8 June 1857; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Travellers' Rest (W. Forster; 1862)	Dyers Pass Road (junction with Governors Bay Rd)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 9 August 1862; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Tyler and Brown's Accommodation House (Tyler and Brown; 1862)	Waitaki River	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 9 August 1862
Unknown (G. Gibbs)	Pleasant Point	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 12 June 1861; Gillespie 1958
Unknown (J. Loe; 1865)	Leeston	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 21 July 1865
Unknown (J. Ashton; 1866)	Craigieburn Saddle	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 10 February 1866; McLennon 1972
Unknown (W. Barnett; 1864)	Hurunui	Gardner 1956
Unknown (W. Satchell; 1859)	Oxford	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette June 1859
Upper Ferry Accommodation House (W. Ross; 1866)	Hakataramea	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 16 July 1866; Gillespie (1958: 234) says Merry started an Accommodation House here in 1860
Waiau River Accommodation House (a.k.a. Waiau Ferry Hotel; Morris; 1863)	Where Mason R. joins Waiau, now Waiau township	Gardner 1956; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Waihi Crossing Accommodation House (J. Young; 1870)	S. Canterbury. Exact location unknown (Winchester?)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 31 May 1870; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Waimakariri Accommodation House (Smith) (Note. Lic. granted to J. Robertson June 1859)	S. bank Waimakariri River at Stewarts Gully. Only lasted about a year.	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 15 June 1859; Hawkins 1957; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
Walters' Accommodation House (N. Walters; 1862)	Rakaia River S. bank	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 9 August 1862
Ward's Rangitata Accommodation House (J. Ward; 1860)	Rangitata River N. bank (opposite Arundel)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 1 June 1860
Watson's Half Way House (C. Watson; 1866)	Old West Coast Road, approx. halfway between Taylor's and White's A.H.s	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 26 June 1866; McLennon 1972
Weka Pass Hotel and Accommodation House (J. Ward; 1860)	Weka Pass (still standing, 2000)	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 1 June 1860; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum
White's Accommodation House (C. White; 1860)	Approx. 10 miles west of Courtenay (Included ferry over Waimakariri).	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 17 July 1860; McLennon 1972
Willis's Hotel (G. Willis; 1873)	Sheffield ("still standing" [McLennon 1972])	McLennon 1972
Wilson's Waitangi Accommodation House (H. Wilson; 1860)	Redcliff, Waitaki River, a few miles west of Glenavy	Canterbury Provincial Government Gazette 1 June 1860; Gillespie 1958; Macdonald Biographical Dictionary, Canterbury Museum

APPENDIX 2

Artefacts found during surface collection at Pukaki Inn. Bag numbers correspond to locations indicated on Fig. 4).

Bag No.	Contents
1	2 worn horseshoe nails, tapered piece of iron, fragment of clear bottle glass, piece of flashing metal, piece of charcoal/coke.
2	Fragment of ceramic, 5 lumps forge slag, 3 horseshoe nails (1 unused, two worn), 3 fragments iron, 2 fragments flashing metal.
3	Fragment of worn horseshoe, 4 fragment forged metal, 6 worn horseshoe nails, 2 pieces flashing metal, samples of slag.
4	Piece of forged metal, 3 worn horseshoe nail, 23 tiny fragments ceramic.
5	2 fragments wood, 3 fragments green bottle glass, neck of small pale blue-green bottle.
6	Three fragments stoneware jar, 2 pieces flashing metal, 7 pieces dark green bottle glass, 1 fragment light green bottle glass, fragment slate.
7	Matchbox lid, 2 fragments of lamp chimney glass, small piece wood.
8	Four fragments of flashing metal, 2 fragments of wood, 2 pieces of food tin, 4 fragments of china, 4 fragments bottle glass (3 green, 1 clear), 2 fragments ?lamp chimney glass, 2 pieces window glass (<2 mm).
9	Two fragments of wood, fragment of food tin.
10	Stoneware bottle neck, metal disc, rose-headed wire nail (100 mm), 2 fragments flashing metal.
11	7 fragments dark green bottle glass, fragment very dark green square ?gin bottle, 10 fragments ceramic (two patterned), one sheep humerus.
12	Fragment of patterned bowl of clay pipe, 2 fragments bottle glass (1 x clear, 1 x green), 2 fragments window glass (1 x 2 mm, 1 < 2 mm), 2 fragments ceramic, fragment of bone.
13	Bent length of No. 10 wire (280 mm), 3 fragments wood, 2 fragments flashing metal, formed strip of metal, 2 fragments of ceramic (teapot, judging by strainer hole), 4 pieces pale green bottle glass, 2 pieces of window glass (<2 mm).
14	2 pieces wood, 4 fragments window glass, 4 fragments bottle glass (2 clear, one purple, one green ?square gin), fragment patterned bowl of clay pipe, fragment china jar, square of tin, fragment of tin container, fragment of mammal bone.
15	(2 bags) 8 fragments modern beer bottle, 4 fragments light and dark green bottle glass, 3 fragments bone china (one with blue pattern), one neck fragment of stoneware bottle (white), one fragment white stoneware, one fragment small bird bone, 3 fragments ?zinc flashing material, one soldered food tin (approx. 8 cm diameter), 2 fragments of a ?earthenware or fire-brick container (?) with fine corrugations on one side and some letters stamped on the other side "something 9" (possibly "E9"), 9 fragments of white china, 2 pieces modern beer bottle, 3 fragments pale green bottle glass, 1 piece dark green bottle glass, 1 fragment window glass, 3 pieces of flashing material, flake of sandstone (greYWacke), lid of food tin (9 cm dia.).
16	3 pieces of flashing, 1 fragment concrete, 1 fragment of bone, 3 pieces bottle glass (dark green, light green, and lilac), 2 fragments china, one fragment of tin can lid.
17	2 fragments flashing material, piece metal band (22 mm x 55 mm), 8 rose-headed wire nails (5 x 75 mm, 2 x 50, one broken piece), 2 x 25 mm lengths No. 8 wire, 300 mm loop No. 9 wire, fragment of stoneware jar, piece concrete, 8 fragments glass (2 dark green, 2 light green, 3 modern beer, one very thin, possibly lamp chimney), 5 fragments china (one with purple pattern), one bone fragment, squashed food tin.
18	4 fragments china, 2 fragments window glass, 5 pieces bottle glass (2 dark green, 2 light green, one blue), 2 fragments flashing metal, length of metal band with three nail holes (24 mm x 120 mm), 2 food tins (100 mm dia. x 125 mm, 95 mm dia. x 95 mm).
19	3 nails (65 mm and 55 mm rose-headed wire, 20 mm cut rectangular-sectioned), 4 bone fragments (3 unidentifiable, 2 probably sheep (<i>Ovis aries</i>), one sheep tarsal-navicular/calcaneum), 8 fragments ceramic (2 with gold pattern), 5 fragments window glass (approx. 2 mm thick), 10 frags bottle glass (three shades of green, and clear), two fragments wood, 2 wire loops approx. 70 mm diameter (No 8 and No 10), food tin (70 mm x 105 mm).
20	Fragment of base of green square ?gin bottle (with round indentation in base), fragment of base of stoneware jar, piece flashing, 6 fragments of wood.
21	2 fragments of base of stoneware jar (one fits onto above fragment from bag 20), 2 pieces of flashing, 3 pieces wood, 1 length of metal strapping (28 mm x 150 mm), food tin (flat rectangular with rounded corners (120 x 95 x 30), squashed food tin.
21	9 fragments bottle glass (7 x modern beer, dark green, light green), piece of tin, fragment of ?copper container (fire-clay).
22	Food tin (70 mm dia. x 86 mm), 2 fragments of tin, 2 fragments of flashing material, fragment shattered stoneware, fragment of ?fire-clay container with small corrugations on one side, and tapered edge (possibly for a water-boiling copper).
23	(two bags) (Bag A) 7 rose-headed wire nails (2 x 100 mm, 1 x 75 mm, 2 x 55 mm, 2 x 50 mm), 2 cut flooring nails (65 mm and 45 mm), 6 forged nails (1 x 80 mm, 2 x 60 mm, 2 x 50 mm, 1 broken copper nail), 2 fragments of food tins, 4 pieces of flashing, 25 fragments china (6 patterned with 3 patterns), 3 pieces of charcoal, fragment of clay pipe stem (stamped "Davidson"), fragment window glass, 13 fragments bottle glass (7 shades of green), length of copper band (14 x 65 mm), 49 bone fragments (one proximal sheep humerus, one proximal sheep radius, one distal sheep radius fragment, one sheep 2nd phalanx, one sheep thoracic vertebra, one sheep lumbar vertebra butchered through m1, two sheep vertebrae, eight sheep rib fragments, one small mammal rib, proximal ulna and proximal radius, one chicken (<i>Gallus gallus</i>) tarsometatarsus, one bird radius/ulna, eleven burnt unidentified fragments, one unidentified bird fragment, eight unidentified mammal fragments, one large fish vertebra in 3 pces). (Bag B) 10 fragments flashing metal, length of metal band (28 mm x 250 mm), fragment of stoneware jar, 3 squashed food tins.
24	3 squashed food tins.
25	Short length No. 12 wire, piece of flashing metal, 6 fragments ceramic (two with patterns), 2 fragments green bottle glass, rim fragment of ?wine glass, 2 fragments clay pipe, rose-headed wire nails (1 x 60 mm, 1 broken), 16 bone fragments (one sheep carpal, one sheep vertebra, one chicken femur, one chicken proximal tibia, one unidentifiable mammal bone, one unidentifiable bird bone, seven unidentifiable burnt bone, three unidentifiable bone), one lump molten lead.
26	1 fragment of window glass (<2 mm thick), 2 fragments of small, lilac-coloured bottle (approx. 25 mm dia.), 2 fragments of china with pattern, one fragment of stoneware jar, 3 nails (105 mm, 70 mm, one broken) all rose-headed wire nails, one metal cap (lid?, 50 m dia.), 2 fragments bone (sheep rib, bird tarsometatarsus), piece flashing, heel-plate from shoe or boot, loop of iron rod (5 mm x 50 mm), squashed food tin.