

‘WE HOPE TO BE HAPPY’: TEENAGE BRITISH IMMIGRANTS TRAINING FOR THE RURAL LIFE AT FLOCK HOUSE, 1924-1931



RUSSELL POOLE

On 22 September 1914 three British cruisers, the Aboukir, Cressy and Hogue, were torpedoed and sunk in the North Sea. Some 1459 officers and men were killed, among them Harry Frank Hall, who went down with the Hogue. George Robertson, a member of the Royal Marine Band, died at age 35 when the HMS Bulwark blew up on 28 November 1914 on the river Medway. Joseph Bays was on board the HMS Viknor, a lightly-armed merchant cruiser, when it disappeared off the coast of Ireland on 13 January 1915 with the loss of its entire 291-man crew. On 17 October 1915 the Grimsby fishing trawler Rosedale exploded, presumably having hit a German mine. James Foulds Thornton and the other nine crew members were never seen again. Leading Stoker John Thomas Penellum, born 1882, died on 31 May 1916 aboard HMS Defence at the Battle of Jutland. In 1918 David Falconer was serving as chief engineer on the SS War Knight, a merchant ship, when it collided with a tanker in the Irish Sea and sank. Thanks to his gallantry the entire engine-room crew was rescued. He was posthumously awarded

the Albert Medal. Such stories could be multiplied into the tens of thousands. Many of these seamen left widows and children behind them, and it is the story of some of these children who found their way to our shores that will be told here.



Above: The Hogue.

Photo: Wikimedia Commons



Harry (at right) and Leslie Hall, sons of Harry Frank Hall, and dog Gip in Brighton, England.

Photo: Collection of the descendants of Harry and Leslie Hall



David Falconer.

Photo: Jamie Falconer



Harry Frank Hall, who died on board the Hogue.

Photo: Collection of the descendants of Harry and Leslie Hall

STORY OF THEIR LOSS

CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF MEN SAVED

The Prime Minister has received the following official messages:—

LONDON, 22nd September, 5.5 p.m.
 The armoured cruisers Aboukir, Hogue, and Cressy have been sunk by submarines in the North Sea. The Aboukir was torpedoed, and, whilst the Hogue and the Cressy were standing by to save the crew, they, also, were torpedoed. A considerable number of men were saved by a division of destroyers, trawlers, and boats.
 A list of the casualties will be issued as soon as the particulars are known.

SUBMARINES DESTROYED

LONDON, 22nd September.
 Reuter reports that the two German submarines which attacked the cruisers Aboukir, Cressy, and Hogue have been destroyed.

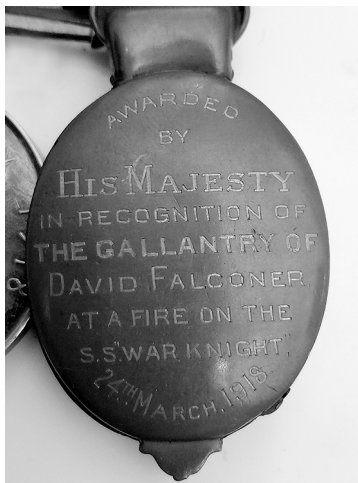
STORIES BY SURVIVORS

(Received September 24, 9.30 a.m.)

LONDON, 23rd September.
 The Dutch steamer Flores, 3610 tons, landed 287 survivors from the sunk warships, including a few wounded, and one dead.
 The survivors state that the Aboukir was hit in several places about 6 o'clock, and disappeared in five minutes. The other warships, apparently thinking the Aboukir had struck a mine, rushed to her assistance. The Hogue, after lowering her boats, was hit, and soon sank.
 The Cressy reported the presence of the two submarines, but was also torpedoed, and afterwards sank, at 8 o'clock.
 Thirty uninjured officers were landed at Harwich. It is believed seven hundred men were saved.
 Captain Nicholson, of the Hogue, served as a midshipman on the Calliope during the Apia hurricane of 1889.
 [The famous storm at Apia occurred on 16th March, 1889. America, Germany, and Britain had their navies represented in the port, because hostilities between the Germans and the native rule had just ceased. A fierce hurricane prevailed, and tidal waves swept into the harbour. The American warships Nipsic, Trenton and Vandalia, and the German warships Olga and Eber were wrecked, only the Nipsic being afterwards saved. The Calliope alone succeeded in getting up steam and making her way to sea. The latest Navy List gives Commander Henry C. Carr, late of H.M.S. Psyche, as being in command of the Aboukir.]

Evening Post report (issue of 24 September 1914) on the sinking of the Hogue and its sister ships.

Photo: Papers Past



Albert Medal awarded to David Falconer.

Photo: Jamie Falconer

'A great experiment in practical philanthropy'

Reports of the immense war-time losses of shipping and men were carried in the New Zealand newspapers, to the horror of their readers. Turning that horror into compassionate action was primarily the achievement of Rangitikei MP Edward Newman. The son of a British Navy surgeon, Newman (1858-1946) had come to New Zealand about 1875, working as a cadet on sheep stations. In 1882 he took up a 3000-acre (1214.1ha) property near Marton in the Turakina Valley. As a sheep farmer Newman had reason to appreciate the policies of the British government in regard to New Zealand's wool exports. By purchasing the entire clip in New Zealand and taking responsibility for its shipment, the British government was not merely securing itself supplies of wool for war purposes but also ensuring New Zealand farmers a market that would otherwise have been cut off by enemy action. It was also ensuring the farmers huge windfall profits. In the later stages of the war less wool was required for military purposes than had previously been the case. This 'surplus wool' was sold on the civilian market in Britain and fetched higher prices than the British government had originally paid the farmers. In July 1918 the British government offered the farmers half the profits from these sales.

This offer was very honourable but Newman, in all conscience, could not accept it. It would be like gaining a double profit when countless seamen were losing their lives getting the wool to Britain. That same month he urged his sheepfarmer colleagues in the Marton Farmers' Union to donate their additional profits to a fund dedicated to the bereft families of British seamen, to be named the New Zealand Sheepowners' Acknowledgment of Debt to British Seamen. (From now on I am going to refer to this fund as 'Seafund', its telegraphic address. I will avoid the term 'Flock House' except when referring to the actual building because its role as a New Zealand government farm cadet scheme following the cessation of the Seafund training scheme in 1931 bears no relation to this story.) The Marton union in turn recommended Newman's proposal to their national body. Additional support came from David Henry Guthrie, a local MP currently serving as Minister in charge of the Imperial Supplies Department, and from Thomas Rowley Lees, owner of a sheepfarm of 1000 acres (404.7ha) near Gisborne and officer overseeing the British government's purchases of wool. David Buick, another prominent MP, demurred, saying that any fund should benefit New Zealand's own soldiers and their families. Many sheepfarmers shared Buick's views, while others simply wanted to pocket the double profit, but Newman and Lees campaigned extensively, sending circulars to farmers throughout the country and going on speaking tours. Ultimately the fund received donations from more than 2600 farmers, out of some 24,000, amounting to £237,000 (in excess of \$25m in today's money). Buy-in by only slightly more than 10% of the farmers is not impressive but we should remember that no such debt was recognised by the exporters of beef and dairy products or of New Zealand flax (harakeke), who likewise had enjoyed huge windfall profits during the war, nor, it seems, was any indebtedness acknowledged by exporters in Australia or Canada.

From 1920 Seafund's board of trustees, chaired by Newman, launched their scheme by disbursing grants to sailors' families at

home in the United Kingdom or in New Zealand. Then in 1923, in a bold new initiative, the trustees extended the scheme by bringing British sailors' sons to New Zealand as farm cadets, starting in 1924. From 1926 the scheme was widened to include the sailors' daughters. Aside from the cost of passage, which was borne by the British and New Zealand governments, all expenses were met by Seafund. The politics of the scheme were tricky, since immigration was not at that time unequivocally seen as a good thing by the New Zealand government or public opinion. The government only wanted immigrants who were likely to contribute to the economy in what were at that time regarded as productive sectors, thus agriculture rather than manufacturing. Seafund's proposal to train migrants for work in the agricultural sector was politically astute, coinciding neatly with the heightened interest in agricultural training seen in the foundation of Feilding Agricultural High School in 1921 and Massey Agricultural College in 1928. Newman saw the current shortage of skilled farm labour as hampering the country's agricultural and pastoral development. He argued that New Zealand should 'develop a race of men of the yeoman type'. Lees fully concurred: 'This country,' he said, 'has only been scratched' and could give prosperity to 'many hundreds of thousands of young people of the right sort'. Under their scheme the young migrants would not merely gain a livelihood but also become a supply of labour for the sheepfarmers. This 'two birds with one stone' strategy ran into trouble with the government, which ruled – to Newman's vexation – that Seafund was not purely a charity, since it was serving to benefit its members, and should pay tax. The concept of using the scheme to provide labour on members' farms was also the source of much trouble and misery later.

To facilitate the selection of migrants an advisory committee was formed in London, chaired by Sir James Allen, the New Zealand High Commissioner, with Francis William Ivey as secretary and visiting speaker. The selection of the girls was entrusted to a combination of the advisory committee and

the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). Allen and Ivey's task was to publicise the scheme throughout the United Kingdom, painting an alluring picture of New Zealand. The success of this 'propaganda', as Ivey described it, can be seen in the comments of one unnamed girl, newly arrived in May 1926, when interviewed by the *Manawatu Times*. 'There are thousands of girls like us,' she said, 'eager to see and live the life of a colonial girl. We have heard so much of your wonderful country, and the hospitality of your people, that we are as enthusiastic about colonial life as a baby with a new toy.' She added, 'Of course, it is a strain to leave one's associations at Home, but still we have sort of "chanced it" – we are the first crowd – and here we are. We hope to be happy and from the reception we have received I think we will.'



Francis William Ivey (at left) with Flock House trainee William Thornton.

Photo: Collection of the Thornton and Cotter families

Orphanages, welfare organisations and municipal councils throughout Great Britain were invited to nominate eligible boys and girls. Important criteria were a fair standard of education, 'moral character', good health (tested by a medical examination) and enthusiasm for rural life. At the initial interview candidates were asked if they wished to take up farming as a livelihood and were made aware 'they were not coming out to New Zealand on a picnic'. How much of this sank in, when many of these young people regarded immigration as an adventure, is hard to say: some seem not to have realised that their ticket to New Zealand was one-way. An article in the *Hull Daily Mail* of 26 September 1929 illustrates how the scheme was regarded in Britain: 'Two Hull boys, Fred Redfearn, of the Sailors' Orphan Homes, Newland, and George W Osberg, of 56 Dalton Street, Wilmington, will sail to New Zealand on 21 November. They will receive training in farm work with the intention of eventually becoming farmers on their own account. The first Flock House boy has now started out on a farm of his own.' In the event Osberg became a storeman and Redfearn a farm labourer.

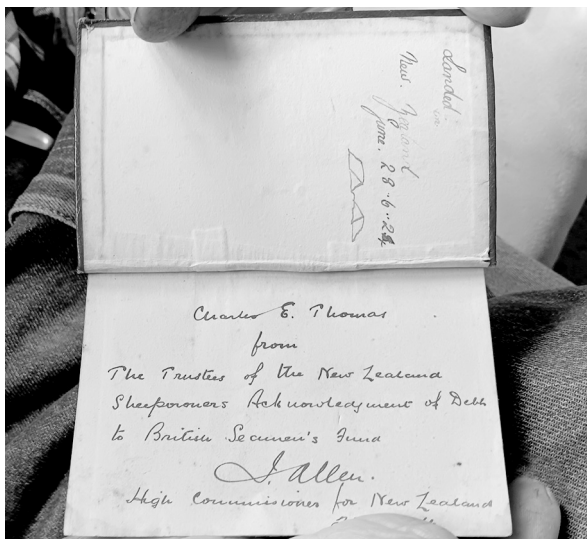
Many of the successful applicants came from orphanages. Besides Redfearn (Boys' draft 17, 1929), the Newland Orphanage contributed Harry David Saunders (Boys' draft 2, 1924) and brothers James Foulds (Jim) Thornton (Boys' draft 5, 1925), William Thomas Thornton (Boys' draft 12, 1928) and Albert Edward (Ted) Thornton (Boys' draft 15, 1929), sons of James Foulds Thornton who went down with the fishing trawler *Rosedale*. His widow Jane Elizabeth herself died in 1924. It was only when the sons' older brother Percy (Pete) Thornton arrived back at the former family home after his first stint as a merchant seaman that he learnt of his mother's death and the removal of his three younger brothers to Newland. E B Bardell (Boys' draft 7, 1926) and Vivian Mabey (Boys' draft 9, 1926) attended the Home for Little Boys, at Hextable near Swanley, Kent. Newland had a name as a well-endowed, kind and caring institution, Swanley less so, but Mabey did better than most at Swanley

and even brought some agricultural training with him to New Zealand. Brixham Boys' Home and Bearwood were other orphanages where Ivey and Allen recruited but only a small minority of the orphans signed up. Altogether, by October 1931 a total of 759 trainees had been brought out, 635 boys and 124 girls. Far fewer girls were recruited than boys and this was due not simply to the trustees' selection policy but also to the fact that many widowed mothers did not want to part with their daughters. Each recruit, like Roland John Downing (Boys' draft 1, 1924), from the Royal Merchant Seamen's Orphanage in Bristol, was issued with a Bible and a prayer book before embarking.



Boys' draft 20 (1931) at Waterloo Station, London, about to board the boat train.

Photo: Collection of Alasdair Bettles-Hall



Prayer book presented to Clarence E Thomas on behalf of the trustees before embarkation.

Photo: Collection of the Thomas family



Jack Clifton Hayward on board the Rotorua, 1928.

Photo: Collection of the Hayward family

For these young people the transition from the bustling, neighbourly and densely populated port cities of Great Britain to a country town like Palmerston North or Bulls must have seemed extraordinary. Few of the boys and girls would have had any prior connection with New Zealand. Exceptional is the case of David Falconer (Boys' draft 15, 1929) and Allen Falconer (Boys' draft 21, 1931). Their father, David Falconer senior, an engineer with the merchant marine, had taken a break from sea duties around 1909, moving with his wife and daughters to Eketahuna, where he built the boiler for the Eketahuna Dairy Company. The whole family returned to Blairgowrie, Scotland in 1912 and the two sons were born there. J S and Harry Ramsbottom (Boys' drafts 5, 1925 and 7, 1926) were preceded by their sister, who emigrated under the New Zealand government's domestic servant scheme. Most trainees lacked any such prior contact and so, to make them feel more at home, the trustees tried to encourage their siblings to follow them. The Thornton brothers are one example out

A letter to Florence Ward (Girls' draft 4, 1927), written on 15 December 1926 by her mother May Moiser Ward of South Shields, some days after Florence had sailed for New Zealand on the Corinthic. Florence arrived at Girls' Flock House on 11 January 1927 and this was the first letter she received from her mother. Stephanie Woodward, Florence's daughter, has transcribed the letter as follows:

203 Marshall Wallis Road, South Shields.

Dec 15, 26

My Dear little Flo

I hope these few lines find you in the best of Health. Well Florrie we are all dying to know what kind of a Sailor you are and have you been seasick. I hope not as Sadie [Florence's sister, Girls' draft 1, 1926] was. I just expect you have all had the time of your lives and some sport too during the holidays. I was very glad to see you all leave Newcastle so happy and I got your postcards and a letter from Mrs Ivey saying how you had enjoyed yourselves in London.

Tell Florrie [Florrie Chapman, in the same draft] I came down from Newcastle with her sister and we were in High Shields by 5 to 9. Nora and I called at her mother's on the Saturday morning and tell her she wasn't worrying a bit as she had had a letter too from Mrs Ivey.

Well Flo how do you like your new home in N.Z.? I hope you will get on well and like it as well as Sadie. I had two very nice letters this morning from her and she tells me she has got a grand job. She seems quite in love with it and she says she's looking forward to seeing you as she is expecting to get a weekend off, so I just want you to write back and tell me just what you think of N.Z. and how Sadie looks, she says she's getting quite fat and don't

forget to tell her all the news. She says there are two little kiddies where she is so that will suit her.

Bina Scott came up to see you that Thursday you left and was so disappointed when she was told you had gone, she said she has only seen it in the paper. Well Flo I've had three papers with some Photos in, the North Mail, Sketch, and the Mirror where Sir J Parr was presenting the girls with prayer books. Give my love to Florrie & Phyllis [Phyllis King, in

203 Marshall Wallis Rd.
South Shields
Dec 15, 26.

My Dear little Flo,
I hope these few lines find you in the best of Health. Well Florrie we are all dying to know what kind of a Sailor you are & have you been sea sick. I hope not as Sadie was. I just expect you have all had the time of your lives & some sport too during the holidays. I was very glad to see you all leave Newcastle so happy & I got your post cards & a letter from Mrs Ivey saying how you had enjoyed yourselves in London. Tell Florrie I came down from Newcastle with her sister & we were in High Shields by 5 to 9. Nora & I called at her mother's on the Saturday morning & tell her she wasn't worrying a bit as she had had a

Page 1 of the letter to Florence.

Photo: Courtesy of Stephanie Woodward

the same draft] and tell her I say she should have been standing in the front with you and Florrie.

Well Florrie the Pits have started but here's George [Florence's brother-in-law] drawn a blank, so that means the Dole for him until he can get started again at the Colliery so he says the best thing for him to do is to try and get out to NZ.

Harry is still here, he's helping Nell to paper upstairs. Nora [Florence's eldest sister] has just gone down with Annie to Eldon Street, after a house. I hope she gets it, I haven't been down to Gannie's [Florence's grandmother] yet, I've had such a bad cold. I got two letters from Jim [Florence's eldest brother, aged 23] that morning you left, Mary's [Florence's 10-year-old sister] delighted because he

wrote and said he had her London doll. I'm going to take her to Woolworths tomorrow night and to see the shops and she's quite pleased with herself. Don't forget to remember me to Maudie and Maggie [M L Shotton and M L White, Girls' draft 3, 1926].

Now my dear Florrie don't forget what I told you, just you stick in and do your best whatever you have to do and you will get on just like Sadie and I hope some day soon we will be all out in NZ, near you.

So I think I must now close with best love from All and a Mother's Love, M. Ward

Xxxxxx X This big one is from Georgie [Florence's three-year-old nephew] because he says Florrie & Auntie Sallie's in Eeland.

I'm going to take her to Woolworths tomorrow night & to see the shops & she's quite pleased with herself. Don't forget to remember me to Maudie & Maggie.
Now my dear Florrie don't forget what I told you just you stick in & do your best whatever you have to do & you will get on just like Sadie & I hope some day soon we will be all out in NZ, near you. So I think I must now close with best love from All & a Mother's Love,

M. Ward.

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This big one is from Georgie because he says Florrie & Auntie Sallie's in Eeland.

Page 4 of the letter to Florence.

Photo: Courtesy of Stephanie Woodward

of many. Many of the trainees wrote to their siblings with favourable comments about the scheme. A few did not: Millie Johnson (Girls' draft 2, 1926) told her brothers not to follow her to Flock House because it was 'too awful'. The next step for the trustees was to sponsor the immigration of the trainees' widowed mothers and remaining family, although with a built-in delay until the trainees themselves were firmly established on farms, lest the mothers led a drift to the cities. Among the numerous examples of this policy at work, John James William Fletcher (Boys' draft 8, 1926) came to New Zealand with his younger sister, I Fletcher (Girls' draft 2, 1926), and they were both placed on a farm at Waikohu, north of Gisborne, where John married a local woman and became a dairy and cropping farmer on his own account. He arranged for two more of his younger sisters to immigrate: C Fletcher (Girls' draft 9, 1928), and D V Fletcher (Girls' draft 13, 1929). Devonport girl Beryl Dean (Girls' draft 13, 1929), her sisters, Sadie Dean (Girls' draft 14, 1929) and Lola Dean (Girls' draft 16, 1930), and their cousins Emma Knight (Girls' draft 13, 1929) and Hilda Knight (Girls' draft 14, 1929) all participated in the scheme. Molly Hayward (Girls' draft 14, 1929) and her brother Jack Clifton Hayward (Boys' draft 14, 1928) earned enough money from their placement and subsequent employment at Matapiro station in Hawke's Bay, where 18-year-old Molly was the cook, to bring their mother out. A single Seafund immigrant could precipitate a cascade of subsequent immigrations. George Robertson's daughter Phyllis, married to Reginald Haynes, looked after her two nephews, Robert and Michael Sealey, when they were evacuated to New Zealand during the Second World War, probably under the auspices of the Children's Overseas Reception Board. They returned to Britain after the war but Robert made his way back to New Zealand in 1947 at age 17 and ultimately the entire Sealey family followed him in the 1950s. Meanwhile in 1937 their half-siblings in the Schumacher family had also come to New Zealand. In 1930 the trustees reported that a total of seven incapacitated fathers, 27 widowed mothers, 32 sisters and 12 younger brothers of the original

immigrants had settled in New Zealand, altogether a remarkable programme of family reunification. Some extended families, such as that of Roy Penellum, became closer than they had been in England, given the disruption and fragmentation of family life



Second from right, Phyllis Haynes (née Robertson) with, at left, two nephews, Robert and Michael Sealey, whom she and her husband Reginald looked after when they were evacuated to New Zealand during the Second World War, and at right her mother-in-law Rose Ellen Haynes.

Photo: Collection of the Sealey family



The Thornton brothers, from left William, James and Edward.

Photo: Collection of the Thornton and Cotter families

during the war. Exceptional in this general pattern of family reunifications were brother and sister Ivor Walter Stickley (Boys' draft 13, 1928) and Wynn Stickley (Girls' draft 10, 1928), who tried to talk their mother out of joining them (but she came anyway).



The Hayward siblings, Molly (left), Norah (centre) and Jack (right). Norah remained in England.

Photo: Collection of the Hayward family



The Paloona.

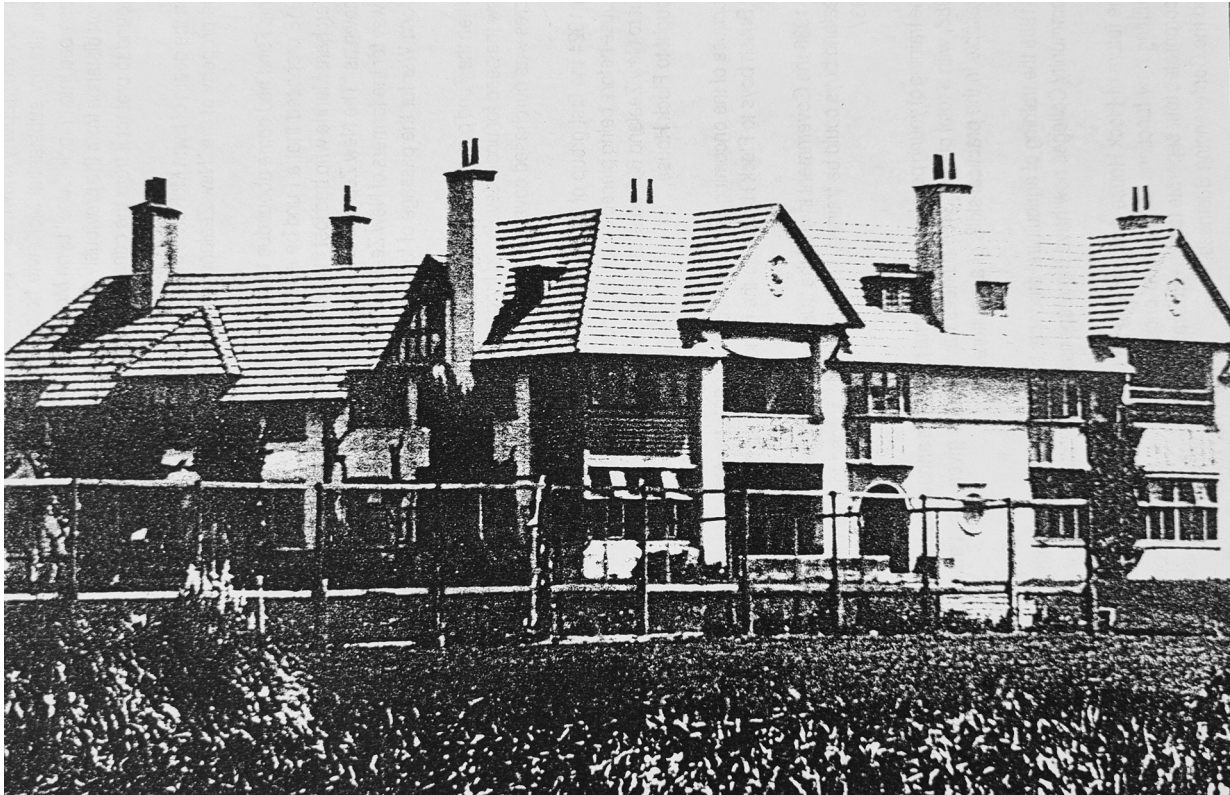
Photo: Russell Poole, courtesy of AgResearch

‘Picturesque house, palatial stables’

To provide a training centre for the boys, the trustees purchased 1000 acres (404.7ha) at Parewanui, near Bulls. This land comprised the bulk of the Flock House estate, formerly owned by Lynn McKelvie, of the well-known McKelvie family, and took in the massive two-storeyed 28-room homestead. (The house still stands but is in private ownership and not open to the public.) The trustees converted it into a hostel by turning the upstairs bedrooms into dormitories with two tiers of bunks, linked by back stairs to the dining room below. The stables were converted into a bath-house. Attempts were made to create associations with the boys' previous experience of life, particularly on

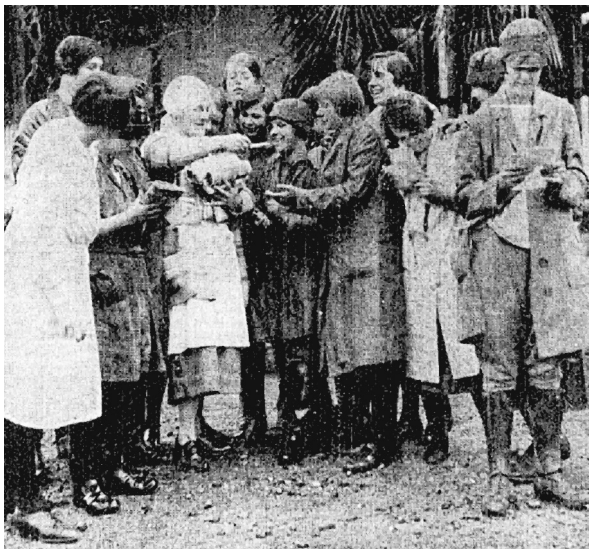
the nautical front. A notable trophy placed in the front porch of Flock House was the telegraph machine used to communicate between bridge and engine room on the HMS New Zealand, a battlecruiser that this country had gifted to the Royal Navy. Also on display were the ship's wheel from the New Zealand, pictures of the New Zealand and a large model of the passenger ship Paloona presented by the Union Steam Ship Company. A display of sporting souvenirs was also intended to make the boys feel more at home. To serve Flock House more conveniently, Seafund's headquarters were moved from Wellington to Palmerston North, with E B Watson as secretary. The hostel was put under the care of a matron, Mrs Kitcat, assisted by an under-matron and cook. Kitcat's husband, a clergyman, also helped with the welfare of the boys.

The 1000 acres purchased by Seafund comprised extensive river flats, chiefly under gorse but capable of supporting mixed farming without much improvement. The Māori occupants in previous centuries had successfully grown kūmara there. By 1924 the property had been fully stocked with sheep and cattle, with plans to add pigs, poultry and an orchard. The trustees complemented this relatively easy farming land by acquiring 4800 acres (1942ha) of the adjoining Waitatapia estate, some of which was swampy and required much more intensive improvement. Approximately another 2000 acres (809.4ha) of nearby sandy coastal country was leased, to be purchased later, for development as a forestry block. The concept was that with ongoing improvement the property would appreciate as an investment while also providing teaching examples of almost all types of farming practised in New Zealand. Lees was designated as managing trustee, supervising the staff. Over the duration of Seafund's management of the property the stock carrying capacity on the Flock House estate increased from 4000 to 13,000 sheep and from 650 to 1100 head of cattle. Over 700,000 trees, mainly *Pinus radiata*, were planted on the sand dunes. A great deal, if not most, of this was accomplished courtesy of teenage labour.



Boys' Flock House.

Photo: Courtesy of AgResearch



Mail day at Girls' Flock House.

Photo: New Zealand Herald, 22 September 1926

For Girls' Flock House the property chosen had formerly been a hobby farm, owned by prominent businessman and equestrian Walter Strang and situated at the western end of what is now Long Melford Road in Awapuni, Palmerston North. It featured a

16-room Tudor-style residence, designed by Lewis Tilleard (Charles) Natusch. This became the hostel. In the entrance hall was placed a large map of New Zealand where the girls could mark the location of the farms where their brothers were working. The outbuildings included a garage and stables, two cottages, two glasshouses, milking sheds and fowl-houses. The property as a whole comprised some 30 acres (12.1ha). Six acres were in orchards, flower and vegetable gardens and lawns, with the remaining area subdivided into seven paddocks. To oversee life at Girls' Flock House the YWCA established an energetic committee of well-known local women to work in cooperation with the matron, Jenny S Wallace, a graduate of Atholl Crescent School of Cookery, Edinburgh. Joan Gorley (Girls draft 7, 1927) reported back to the British YWCA: 'I am as happy as I possibly could be, and simply love New Zealand and Flock House. It is absolutely impossible to be miserable here for long, because the house and grounds are not the kind in which anyone can mope, and



Girls' Flock House, previously known as Shalimar. The building was destroyed by fire in 1958.

Photo: G R Kay, Palmerston North, Manawatū Heritage 2010P_Bur334_3384

matron, well, words can't describe her – she is perfectly heavenly and a mother to us all.' Residents recalled Wallace, an accomplished musician, rising at 4.30am on Christmas Day to greet the girls with carols.

'All found'

From the time of selection the young migrants were fully provided for. Each was issued with clothes to wear on the ship and at Flock House. For the boys this outfit comprised a working suit, half a dozen pairs of socks, three khaki shirts, one dozen collars, an overcoat, an oilskin raincoat, riding breeches and two pairs of boots, along with a travelling rug. The girls' land uniform, styled after the Women's Land Army in Britain, comprised a brown jersey, khaki knickerbockers, leggings, light coat, long-skirted oilskin coat and stout boots. Their indoors clothes, made by the girls themselves as far as practicable, included an indoors uniform, navy blue coat frock and heavy woollen overcoat. To supervise the drafts of boys and girls on their voyage to New Zealand people attached to the YMCA,

the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, the Salvation Army and other Christian denominations were chosen. Ivey himself accompanied one draft in 1925 so that he could stay on and gain familiarity with the local conditions. Experience of troopships in the First World War had demonstrated the loss of fitness that resulted from enforced idleness on board and so games and sports of various kinds were organised, including boxing matches for the boys. The boys were also tasked with physical work, such as swabbing the decks, polishing brass and even, according to one report, shovelling coal. On the 1928 sailing of the Rotorua the supervisor taught the boys a haka and, as reported by a fellow-passenger, 'they simply took the roof off with it'.

Once arrived at Flock House the trainees were supplied with copious amounts of the standard New Zealand diet. Meat was served at both lunch and dinner but, perhaps surprisingly, was not much to the trainees' taste. This was probably because the meat on offer was almost invariably mutton. Other



Boys' uniforms as worn by Boys' draft 12 (1928).

Photo: Collection of Alasdair Bettles-Hall



Girls' indoors uniforms.

Photo: Collection of Alasdair Bettles-Hall



Girls' outdoors uniforms.

Photo: Collection of Alasdair Bettles-Hall

less than favourite foods were porridge (served daily at breakfast), marrow and pumpkin. Milk, also readily available, met with a more appreciative reception, along with cake. When working far from the hostel, the boys were issued a packed lunch to be consumed in picnic fashion on the job. Louis South (Boys' draft 9, 1926) was perhaps not

atypical in continuing to regard some Old Country foods as personal favourites; used to the Bearwood staple of bread and dripping, sprinkled with salt, in later life he would often treat himself to a slice. Regardless of their dietary preferences, most of the trainees thrived thanks to the copious nutrition, some growing out of the clothing with which they had been outfitted back home. Outfits for subsequent drafts were deliberately made a size too big to meet this growth spurt.

Remuneration for the trainees was planned as a gradual transition between pocket money and actual wages, with a compulsory savings scheme built in. For the first year the boys were paid 15s per week, the most part of it to be deposited in Post Office Savings Bank accounts that were set up for each trainee. In the second year the payment was £1, rising to £1 5s in the third year. Additional to this, on their placements the boys received the full current rates of wages for farm labourers, with a yearly increment. Two-thirds of these wages went into the Post Office account. The notion was that after a few years each boy would have £300 or more in their account, which, with other aid, would (in theory) enable them to purchase a farm. The scheme for the girls was similar, except that they received only 2s 6d per week pocket money during their six months of training and their subsequent wages were correspondingly lower than those of the boys. At the same time, the trustees undertook to supplement the girls' savings so as to 'assist them to engage in land pursuits on their own account wherever they showed themselves sufficiently capable and deserving'.

'Turning out efficient farmers'

The duration of training is variously stated as six to eight months but normally short of a full year because room needed to be made available for new intakes. For the boys the training, divided into outdoors and indoors skills, was under the direction of Captain F H Billington, principal of Boys' Flock House. The trustees thought him well fitted for this role, as a scientific farmer and a former instructor with the Irish Department

of Agriculture. Outdoors, farm manager J B Johnstone served as chief instructor, assisted by a dairyman, ploughman, shepherd, fencer (identified as James Bertram from the Heaton Park estate, near Marton), carpenter, gardener and forester, who imparted their individual skills. On a roster system each boy had a week (or sometimes a fortnight) with each of these instructors, either 'learning by doing' or witnessing lecture-demonstrations in the field. Also taught were elementary veterinary science, farm implements and machinery, forage crops, seeds, manures, orcharding, forestry, horse-riding, herd-testing, shearing and killing. Leonard Wild, the foundation principal at Feilding Agricultural High School, and some of his colleagues gave two evening classes a week on the theory and practice of agriculture. The Flock House estate was designed to contribute towards putting farming in New Zealand on to a more scientific basis. For sheer hard labour, trainees particularly remembered grubbing out gorse and thistles on the main estate and planting trees in the sand dunes.



Boys in a working party on the sand dunes.

Photo: Collection of the descendants of Harry and Leslie Hall



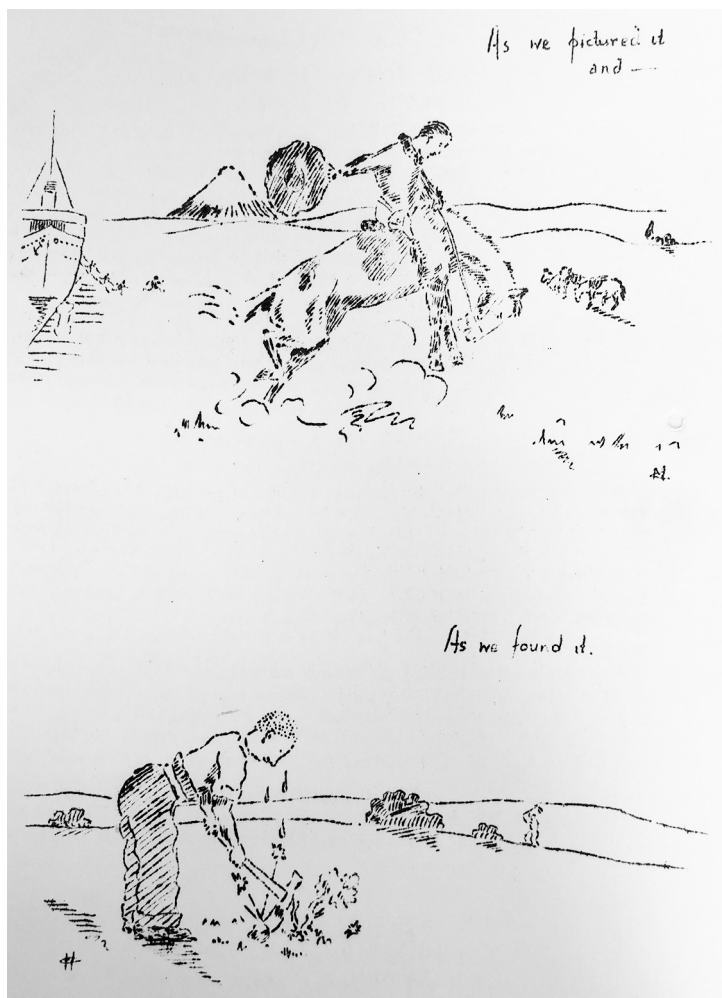
Boys having a wash after work on the sand dunes.

Photo: Collection of the descendants of Harry and Leslie Hall



The rabbits' camp on the Boys' Flock House estate. Seated at centre right with the dog is Bill Thornton.

Photo: Collection of the Thornton and Cotter families



'As we pictured it and as we found it.'
Anonymous cartoon showing a new recruit's
aspirations, as opposed to the reality of farm
life.

Photo: Collection of Alasdair Bettles-Hall

In 1924, during the boys' first six weeks, something between 50,000 and 60,000 trees went into the ground. Newman, who late in life spoke candidly about his own struggles – mental and physical – with farming in the backblocks, probably thought that some toughening up would serve the boys well. Indoors instruction, delivered by the matron, centred upon cleaning, washing and cooking. Waxing oratorical, Lees told the Citizens' Luncheon Club of Palmerston North that the boys 'are not considered competent farm hands until they can cook their own clothes and wash their meals' (as vouched for by the *Pahiatua Herald* of 7 November 1925). All the boys were additionally required to undergo military training on Saturday mornings. As an incentive Sir James Allen donated a shooting cup, perhaps with the rabbit pest in mind as well as military preparedness.

The girls were also expected to learn by doing. In the virtual absence of outdoors staff, aside from a gardener, tasks such as chopping firewood and trimming hedges fell to them. Staff giving instruction comprised the matron, who taught domestic arts including cooking, laundry, sewing and nursing, and two instructors, one of whom taught agriculture, horticulture, poultry-farming and bee-keeping and the other dairying. Horse-riding and the handling of horse-drawn vehicles were taught but not the use of mechanised farm vehicles. The course lasted approximately six months, though with provision for extensions. The objective was to familiarise the girls with the role played by country women in supporting their farmer husbands. As testified to by Annie Borrie, a later matron, the girls' uptake of instruction was uneven but even so Girls' Flock House won some awards at the shows. It was well

understood that neither the boys nor the girls would emerge from the instruction as fully proficient farm workers, given their previous inexperience and the comparatively short duration of the course. Some especially able trainees did emerge, however; they were sometimes retained as tutors for subsequent intakes and, as we shall see later, some gained preferred status for settlement on farms. Others completed trade certificates. John George Bays (Boys' draft 7, 1926), son of Joseph Bays who went down with the HMS *Viknor*, gained boilermaker's and butter-maker's certificates while at Flock House. The ability to earn such qualifications may have contributed to a marked tendency on the part of Flock House trainees to move flexibly between occupations in later life.

We can fairly surmise that a trainee's day felt busy and at times arduous. Joe Shannon (Boys' draft 4, 1925) absconded, moving to Hawke's Bay before running into trouble with the law in Auckland. Albert Patrick Menown (Boys' draft 3, 1924) erased all memory of the Seafund scheme from his mind in later life, telling his children that he had got to this country by jumping a merchant ship. Accidents also occurred. Ted Thornton was kicked by a horse and then injured a second time playing football. The trustees sent him to England for treatment at their expense but after eight years he returned permanently disabled. On the other hand, many of the trainees did well and claimed to have enjoyed their time. The church services were appreciated because

the boys in particular loved singing and on Sunday evenings could choose their own hymns. On fine Sunday afternoons the boys would walk three miles to the beach and have a swim. Hospitality was also on offer. Harry Bowen, a local sheep breeder, and his wife regularly invited boys to Sunday dinner. With large numbers of trainees, the boys made their mark in rugby, cricket and particularly soccer. The sports reporter of the *Waikato Times* of 24 July 1926 singled out J L Stewart, 'a wee chap fra Glasca', and W T Sheehan (both in Boys' draft 7, 1926) for their promise as provincial players; as schoolboys they had played for representative sides in Scotland and England respectively. The girls mostly lacked the numbers for team sport but played friendly matches against Palmerston North hockey and basketball teams. Music and dance teachers would bring their pupils and treat the girls to a recital, which was reciprocated with supper. The policy was to keep the girls entertained at the hostel and discourage them from going into town, as preparation for the isolation of backblocks life, but exceptionally in July 1926 the Palace Theatre in Palmerston North treated them to a screening of 'Zeebrugge', a war movie celebrating the heroism of the Royal Navy.

'Carefully selected employers'

Following the basic training individual boys and girls worked an apprenticeship for three years. Prospective employers applied for selection by the trustees and



Girls' draft 15 (1930) at an assortment of tasks.

Photo: Collection of Alasdair Bettles-Hall



Girls' draft 2 (1926) ready for work outdoors, dairy workers in white coats.

Photo: Collection of Alasdair Bettles-Hall



Girls' Flock House hockey team, 1927.

Photo: New Zealand Herald, 3 November 1927

undertook to continue the instruction of their employees and provide them with good homes. The YWCA committee, in their role as guardians, took charge of placing the girls. The first draft of boys was placed on farms at Jerusalem (Whanganui river), Utiku (Rangitikei), Carterton, Kumeroa (Taranaki), Frasertown (Wairoa, Hawke's Bay), Gisborne and Seddon (Marlborough). Of the first draft of girls, eight went to Tairāwhiti, three to Hawke's Bay, and two each to Wellington-Manawatū and Wairarapa. The emphasis on North Island placements, with a thinner scattering in the South Island, continued for later cohorts. Trainees placed in Tairāwhiti, Hawke's Bay, Rangitikei and Manawatū had far more opportunity to stay in touch with other trainees than those scattered thinly elsewhere in the country. One boy had a gig lent to him so he could visit his compatriots. When Marion Turner Isaac (Girls' draft 7, 1927) married in Hastings she had the company and support of Chrissie Sutherland (Girls' draft 6, 1927), who decorated the church, Catherine (Kitty) Sutherland (Girls' draft 13, 1929), who was among the bridesmaids, and their sister Margaret (Peggy) Sutherland (Girls' draft 6, 1927). Some trainees met their future spouses while on placement. Placed at Kiwitihi (Waikato), Phyllis Robertson married Reginald Haynes, from a local farming family, and when his parents retired the couple took over the family farm. While at Matapiro, Molly Hayward met her future husband, Meeanee farmer John Smiley. When five boys took up placements on three East Coast sheep stations, Te Araroa, Lottin Point and Cape Runaway, Lees pointed out that there were now nearly enough Seafund

boys in the district to form a soccer team. An Old Boys' Association was formed, with an annual reunion at Flock House. Girls paying return visits to Girls' Flock House had the use of a guest bedroom.

None of the above would have been much consolation for the many trainees whose placements proved problematic or even unendurable. Some farmers grievously exploited this source of cheap labour, while also setting clear class boundaries – in particular, one suspects, to avoid over-familiarity between the boys and the farmer's wife or daughters. The outcome was that all too many boys led lonely lives on back-country farms, eating their meals on their own in the kitchen or even outdoors. On 29 January 1926 William James Little (Boys' draft 2, 1924) was found on Arthur Francis Dampney's cattle farm at Te Uri, 30 kilometres south-east of Dannevirke, with a rifle alongside him and a bullet in his head. Despite having to eat his meals alone in the kitchen and being left alone for a fortnight at Christmas, the 16-year-old had told Lees he liked his placement. The coroner's finding was suicide, although Lees publicly contested that, claiming the boy's death was accidental; the testimony of the descendants of trainees is that other such deaths occurred, though they are hard to document. Lees insisted that all apprentices were visited regularly by one or other trustee or, in the case of the girls, by a YWCA officer but in practice it is clear that serious lapses occurred. Eric Leary (Boys' draft 4, 1925), aged 19, ran away from an isolated farm near Harihari only to be apprehended and sent back after six months on the run. In 1926

Harry James Hall (Boys' draft 7, 1926), aged 17, was given a placement at John William Shirtcliff's Muller station in the Awatere Valley, while his brother Leslie (same draft), aged 14, was indentured elsewhere in Marlborough, and for some months neither brother knew where the other was placed. Eventually their mother arrived unexpectedly and removed Leslie as he was under age. When Sheila Preston (not her real name) was sexually harassed by her employer she sought help from her brother, a former Flock House boy who had returned to the United Kingdom. He got her released from her apprenticeship by threatening to expose the placement system in the British press. She then also returned to the United Kingdom. In later life William Lorraine Setters told his family about

employers who expected him to live in a shed with holes in the walls and sleep on a sack filled with straw. He was not allowed to have his meals in the house. William stated that had he been able to save enough money he would have returned to England, something he said a lot of other boys had done. He did have one bright episode during his placement with farmer Thomas Power of Takapau, Hawke's Bay, when at age 17 he won four first places and a gold medal in the Takapau ploughing matches. Seafund made sure this story was carried in the newspapers nation-wide.

Some trainees were able to get their placement changed. Allen Falconer, aged 15, finding life miserable with the Inglis family at Maharahara, Tararua, enlisted help from the Gibsons, a prominent Pahiatua family whom Allen's parents had met during their stay at Eketahuna. He was able to move to Ruawhata, near Pahiatua. Andrew Bell

A FLOCK HOUSE GRADUATE.

At the Takapan ploughing matches William Setters, employed by Mr. T. Power, of Takapan, was awarded first prize for best double-furrow ploughing in Class B, first prize for best ploughing under 20 years, first prize for best feering in Class B, first prize for straight ploughing in Class B, and the gold medal.

Report on William Setters' ploughing prowess, Manawatu Herald, 30 July 1932.

Photo: Papers Past



*Left: William Setters' ploughing medal, obverse.
Right: William Setters' ploughing medal, reverse.*

Photo: Collection of the descendants of William Setters



Harry Hall on placement at Muller Station, Awatere Valley, 1926.

Photo: Collection of the descendants of Harry and Leslie Hall

(Boys' draft 8, 1926) transferred on finding that his first placement was not giving him broad enough experience. Myles Harrison (Boys' draft 5, 1925), assigned to a dairy farm just outside Palmerston North, complained to the trustees that he was principally occupied cutting firewood. He was offered a substitute placement but instead chose to find one independently at Tauwhareparae Station, inland from Tolaga Bay. Accidents and fatalities occurred. Roy Penellum (Boys' draft 2, 1924) sustained a knee injury thanks to 'an argument with a ram'. It seems that his employer never sought medical treatment on his behalf and by the time, decades later, that he was seen by an orthopedic surgeon his knee had become untreatable. In 1927 George William Pickering (Boys' draft 1, 1924), aged 19 years, died when he lost control of a tractor while descending a slope on W J Wood's Homewood property in Hawke's Bay. George had hoped to buy a farm and bring his widowed mother out to New Zealand. In 1928 Robert Noah Reginald Arther (Boys' draft 7, 1926), aged 18, died by drowning. He had been sent to cut thistles on the bed of the Kahaku river near Geraldine despite the fact that heavy rain in the hills was causing the river to rise rapidly.

'A farm of their own'

The inducement to enlist for the Seafund scheme, apart from sheer adventure, had always been that some day one might own a farm of one's own. In 1924 Newman was saying optimistically, 'After three years or so the Trustees will assist the boys to start in whatever kind of farming they may fancy.' Newman estimated that by the end of the three years' apprenticeship most of the boys would have enough savings, augmented by subsidies from Seafund, to secure a leasehold farm with right of purchase. Assistance could also be given with livestock purchases. The girls, for their part, were promised assistance in starting in a farming partnership with their brothers. Sir James Allen still held to these predictions in 1930 but by then, thanks to the depression and the high price of land, a farm of one's own had clearly become a pipe dream for all but a lucky few.

Disappointed by this result, the trustees looked for opportunities to buy a block of land for subdivision into small farms, so as to settle a dozen or more boys in one go. In 1934 a block of 2316 acres (937.3ha) became available at Panetapu, 29 kilometres south-east of Te Awamutu. Here the trustees established the Waikato SeaFund Settlement. Lees, as managing trustee, supervised the property in the initial phase while the very significant labour of breaking in the land from scrub was done by the boys and tuition was supplied by lecturers from the Department of Agriculture. The boys lived together in a single dwelling until individual cottages were built. Among those selected for Panetapu was Jim Thornton, who also provided accommodation for his brother Ted; their brother William visited frequently to help on the farm. Myles Harrison was allotted the steepest block, an area of 106 acres (42.9ha), which he developed into a productive dairy farm. Tom Hockey (Boys' draft 7, 1926) was joined on his Panetapu farm by his parents, who managed it while he was serving in the Second World War. Perhaps to improve the statistics relating to settlement on farms, the trustees allotted a few pairs of brothers a single farm at Panetapu. Among them were David Falconer and Allen Falconer. Unsurprisingly, they found their farm too small (among other factors, their mother Jennie was living with them by then). To eke out their income Allen went into the trucking business full-time while David did contract driving for the local dairy factory. After the Second World War, through a ballot, David was able to acquire a 60-acre (24.3ha) farm of his own near Te Awamutu. Royland William Francis Setters and his brother William Lorraine Setters (both Boys' draft 15, 1929) were also allocated a single farm at Panetapu. William ran the farm while Royland served in the war. On his return Royland set up his own dairy farm next to William, on land that lay outside the Panetapu Settlement, assisted by a loan from the trustees. William also accommodated itinerant farm worker Ivor Stickley during Ivor's frequent stays at the Setters family home. Strong bonds were formed among the Panetapu settlers. Several of them played in a dance band or took part

in recitals and musicals and we hear of a convivial evening spent raising funds for a Panetapu community hall. Many of the settlers stayed at Panetapu for over thirty years.



*Edna and William Thornton on their farm at Panetapu.
Photo: Collection of the Thornton and Cotter families*

Harry Saunders (Boys' draft 2, 1924) was among other trainees to obtain a farm, also by ballot. The property lay near Pākaraka, Whanganui, and he ran it as a cattle farm for some years, though ultimately it proved too small to be economic. Reginald and Ronald Eccleshall (both Boys' draft 19, 1930) farmed at nearby Nukumarū in Taranaki. Vernon Stubbs (Boys' draft 20, 1931) enjoyed success as a farmer, owning properties in the Ramarama and Glenbrook area near Pukekohe. Others did not go farming immediately after their placement but returned to it later in life, an instance being Albert Menown, who bought a farm at Mata North with government assistance around 1940. By 1930 a total of 13 girls had married into a farm. Molly Smiley

née Hayward has already been mentioned, and Dorothy Maud Hobbs (Girls' draft 7, 1927) married Douglas John McGregor, who owned the Omere sheep and cattle station near Raetihi.



The Setters' homestead at Panetapu.

Photo: Collection of the Setters family

Some trainees, while not destined to become farmers in their own right, and in some cases not even wanting to, went into careers related to farming. Valentine Goodall (Boys' draft 8, 1926) became Senior Technical Officer for the Grasslands Division at the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research. Roy Penellum worked variously as a farm labourer or farm manager. William Crooks was Douglas Cook's right-hand man in the planting of the Eastwoodhill Arboretum. Clarence Winston (Max) Linder (Boys' draft 5, 1925) settled in Whanganui and worked as a farming contractor. After some years on farms, Alfred Silvester (Boys' draft 2, 1924) took up employment at Jeune's, a Gisborne tent and sail business, and subsequently as an insurance inspector, though late in life he moved back to the rural scene, helping out on a farm at Waimana, Bay of Plenty. Silvester's story is broadly similar to that of some other trainees who moved flexibly between occupations. Others moved out of the rural sector entirely. Johnson (Jack) Harvie (Boys' draft 1, 1924) became an accountant in Sydney while his brother Jim Harvie (Boys' draft 5, 1925) took a Diploma in Horticulture at Massey Agricultural College and became a teacher. Rowland John Brandon (Boys' draft 8, 1926) became an accountant in the Greymouth Public Works Department.

Victor Hall worked as a farm labourer until his fourth child came along, whereupon he moved to Feilding and gained employment fitting out stock trucks and trailers. Vivian Mabey took up employment with the Railways in Christchurch after a few years as a farm labourer, though he channelled some of his training into the raising and showing of poultry. He delivered eggs and other products courtesy of his employer. Fred Melhuish (Boys' draft 5, 1925), from Lowestoft, took up orcharding in Palmerston North; after his retirement he subdivided the land for housing, calling it Lowestoft Place. Harry Hall moved to employment in Blenheim after some years as a farm labourer; during the depression he did relief work with the railways. Elsie Ring (Girls' draft 16, 1930) married a truck driver and moved to Timaru. Clifford Ernest Iverson and Leonard Frank Iverson (Boys' draft 3, 1924, and 14, 1928 respectively) became joiners. Jacky May (Boys' draft 1, 1924) took to the road as a 'swaggy' during the depression, as did Louis

South. Among those who returned to the United Kingdom were George Hannah (Boys' draft 5, 1925) and Arthur Metcalf (Boys' draft 10, 1927), who had nearly starved as farm labourers during the depression and made their passage home as stowaways; Hannah became a well-known unionist in Glasgow. Other trainees would have liked to return but had no way of raising money for the passage and perhaps not the temerity to stow away.

Many trainees served in the Second World War. Twenty-two died and some others were incapacitated. Others who served were more fortunate. Charles Henry Lattimer (Boys' draft 18, 1930) was a Flight Lieutenant in the RNZAF and RAF, winning a Distinguished Flying Cross. Joan Gorley (aka Godey) served as a nurse in the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps. Allen Falconer volunteered for Army service as a driver, survived the war and in 1952 rejoined the Army as an instructor and clerk of works with the School of Military Engineers. Vivian Mabey served as a cook in



Harry Hall (at left) and others on depression work relief at Hapuka, near Kaikōura.

Photo: Collection of the descendants of Harry and Leslie Hall

the Pacific war. Some of these servicepeople caught up with their families in the United Kingdom after the war. In other cases contact with birth families was lost entirely and only recovered, if at all, by painstaking research on the part of descendants. Victor Hall (Boys' draft 16, 1929) is an instance. His father, Joseph William Bettles-Hall, a Royal Marine bandsman, put his three children into orphanages when his wife died in 1921. He remarried in 1925 and within his new family nothing was ever said about the offspring of the previous marriage until research by Alasdair Bettles-Hall, Victor's son, revealed the connection.



Joseph William Bettles-Hall.

Photo: Collection of Alasdair Bettles-Hall

A coming of age was reached for Seafund on 26 December 1930, as reported in the *Gisborne Times* of 8 January 1930: 'To Mrs and Mrs Bert Lamont, of Gisborne, there was born on Boxing Day, a son, Peter James Lamont. The baby is the first grandchild of the Flock House institution.' The mother was Ruby May Ancrum, of South Shields (Girls' draft 1, 1926). Bert belonged to a well-known Gisborne family and was employed at the Kaiti freezing works; Ruby's brother Charles (Boys' draft 5, 1925) was also living locally, working at the Gold Top Brewery. Hard on the heels of this coming of age came the end



Victor Hall (at right) and Alasdair Bettles-Hall, 1988.

Photo: Alasdair Bettles-Hall

of the Seafund migrations. The main factors here were a natural drying up of the supply of new recruits, especially the girls, and the New Zealand government's decision in 1931 to withhold permanent residency from people immigrating under Seafund and similar schemes. The government took over the Flock House estate in 1937, while the Girls' Flock House property had been sold in 1932. Seafund's 1936 annual report sums up the total assistance given to British seamen and their dependants over the years as follows: cash grants to beneficiaries in New Zealand and overseas, £61,847 8s 9d; immigration, training, aftercare and settlement of boy and girl dependants, £84,514 3s 6d (a combined total in excess of \$21,000,000 in today's money). This massive expenditure testifies to a degree of generosity and altruism on the part of the trustees and their consortium of sheepfarmers. Detracting from it, as we have seen, were over-optimism regarding

economic forces and excessive trust in individual employers.

The teenaged children who came to our shores under the auspices of the Sheepowners' Acknowledgement of Debt to British Seamen Fund hoped to be happy. Some did find happiness, success and prosperity. Others experienced trauma and tragedy. The great majority were somewhere in between.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the numerous descendants who have supplied information and photos, and in particular to Alasdair Bettles-Hall. There has not been space for more than a small fraction of their testimony in this article but the hope is to publish a book-length treatment of the Seafund scheme 1924-1931 in three to five years from now. Thanks also go to Trish Brett and Jared Davidson for bibliographical assistance and to Philip Poole for assistance with illustrations.

PRINCIPAL SOURCES

The following archive series are housed at Archives New Zealand: <https://archway.howison.co.nz/series/18130>

<https://archway.howison.co.nz/series/18129>

The following archive series are housed at the Alexander Turnbull Library:

<https://tiaki.natlib.govt.nz/#details=ethesaurus.194958>

<https://tiaki.natlib.govt.nz/#details=ethesaurus.128796>

Valentine Charles Goodall, *Flockhouse. A history of the New Zealand Sheepowners' Acknowledgement of Debt to British Seamen Fund*. Palmerston North, 1962. See also <https://flockhouse.nz/>

Papers Past

A fully referenced version of this article will be made available online in due course.