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# **‘Such A Work As This’**

## **A Case Study of The All Saints’ Children’s Home, Palmerston North**

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

History

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New Zealand

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The oral history component of this thesis had clearance from the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 14/14.



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# Abbreviations

**AJHR** *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives.*



# Introduction

At 4pm on Wednesday 26th of September 1906, about twenty members of All Saints' Church, Palmerston North, gathered in the schoolroom at the back of the church. They met in response to an announcement by the Vicar, Rev. C. C. Harper, the previous Sunday, that the church intended to open a home for orphan and destitute children, with a creche for working parents.<sup>1</sup> The home, which became known as the All Saints' Children's Home, was opened on 18 October 1906. Over the fifty-eight years the Home was open it operated from three locations and cared for over 700 children. The Home closed in August 1964, although the Trust which ran it continued to care for children in foster families and by running smaller family homes.

For over half of the twentieth century children's homes, like All Saints', were part of the provision of child welfare. Children's homes played an important role in caring for children whose parents, for many reasons, could not. Most New Zealand cities and provincial centres had one or more children's homes, they were a familiar part of society. However, this system of care is becoming lost to us as the children who were in the homes age and the buildings are demolished or altered beyond recognition.<sup>2</sup> Despite the important role children's homes played in the child welfare system there has been very little specific research done within a New Zealand context. This thesis will go some way towards addressing this by using the All Saints' Children's Home in Palmerston North as a case study.

The thesis focuses on how ideologies about children and their welfare actually affected the provision of welfare in a provincial area of New Zealand, many thousands of kilometres away from what could be considered the epicentres of child theory. It considers how church-based welfare for children functioned, as this was the most common type of institutional care for children in New Zealand, particularly before World War Two. The All Saints' Home

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<sup>1</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 24 September, 1906, p.4.

<sup>2</sup> The second building that housed the All Saints' Children's Home was demolished in 2014.

was not only part of the fabric of welfare in Palmerston North and the surrounding districts, but it was also part of a network of Homes run by the Wellington Diocese of the Anglican Church. It also looks at what kinds of families accessed the service and how the families and committees that ran the institution interacted and negotiated over the care of children. The Home itself was part of the Palmerston North community, a relationship that was about more than the provision of a welfare service, as the Home relied on the generosity of the community for most of its funding, by the donation of goods and money. Although this thesis examines one institution and one community the patterns and interactions revealed by this study have relevance to our understanding of the provision of private welfare in provincial communities generally.

Academic perceptions of the provision of child welfare and the relationship between the providers of welfare and the families who accessed it have varied over the last forty years. Prior to the 1970s welfare, both private and state, was seen as a positive part of society, the sign of a civilised community.<sup>3</sup> In the 1970s, ideas emerged that contended welfare, particularly that provided by the state and the middle-class establishment groups, like churches, was not benevolent. Instead it was an attempt to control and shape working-class families. This was called the social-control thesis and portrayed welfare provision as a mechanism to reinforce state control over working-class lives.<sup>4</sup> These arguments have been strongly critiqued as being functionalist, not allowing for the concept that those receiving welfare also had agency to accept and reject services.<sup>5</sup> Examples of working-class families using such institutions for their own benefit were used to rebut the idea that the agency was entirely in the hands of those running child welfare schemes. More recent works have focused on the process of dispute and negotiation that took place between families and welfare providers. These have showed that the families that interacted with child welfare providers were not without agency and often used the provider for their own gain.<sup>6</sup> They also examine welfare

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<sup>3</sup> In a New Zealand context examples include: Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1969, pp. 270-271.

W.B. Sutch, *The Quest For Security In New Zealand 1840-1966*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1966, pp.176-200, pp.236-257.

<sup>4</sup> The classic studies that advance these ideas are: Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families: Welfare Versus the State*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1979.

Christopher Lasch *Haven in a Heartless World*, New York: Basic Books, 1977.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Van Krieken, *Children and the State, Social Control and the Formation of Australian Child Welfare*, Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991.

<sup>6</sup> For example: Bronwyn Labrum, 'Needs and family desires: discretionary state welfare in New Zealand, 1920-1970', PhD Thesis in History, Victoria University Wellington, 2000.

Nell Musgrove 'The Scars Remain' Children, Their Families And Institutional 'Care' In Victoria 1864-1954', PhD Thesis in History, The University of Melbourne 2009.

Jessie Ramey, *Childcare in Black and White: Working parents and the History of Orphanages*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2012.

from all angles, looking at the relationships between the State, private providers, volunteers and recipients.<sup>7</sup> These histories reached the conclusion that the provision of welfare was a mixed economy, subject to the competing agendas of State, private providers and recipients.

Another area that histories of child welfare have focused on in recent decades is that of child rescue. There has been considerable exploration of the late nineteenth-century child rescue movement and its effect on child welfare and the development of children's homes. Child rescuers believed that by taking children out of their unsuitable environment and placing them in an environment where their physical needs were cared for, children could be transformed into 'useful citizens'. These children were not necessarily without family, often having one or both parents still living, but they were considered neglected and in moral danger. Child rescuers tended to focus on the urban poor and promoted either cottage homes or child migration as a solution to urban child neglect.

There is a considerable body of literature about child rescue, particularly in Britain, Canada and Australia.<sup>8</sup> These countries had big urban centres at the end of the nineteenth century and, in the case of Canada and Australia, received a large number of child migrants. By contrast, in New Zealand there seems to have been some who thought that child rescue was not needed here. Dalziel notes that when The Children's Protection Act was introduced in 1890 it was seen as a preventive measure rather than a curative,<sup>9</sup> and when the formation of the Society for the Protection of Women and Children was proposed, people questioned the need for such a movement in the new world, where poverty, suffering and hardship should be banished.<sup>10</sup> However, these sentiments do not mean that the core ideas of child rescue were not present in New Zealand, or that organisations were not influenced by, or did not use the rhetoric of child rescue. There is certainly evidence that those who promoted children's homes used child rescue language.<sup>11</sup> There has been little research into whether

<sup>7</sup> For example: David Thomson, 'Society and Social Welfare' in *The Future of the Past: Themes in New Zealand History*, Colin Davis and Peter Lineham, (eds.), Palmerston North: Massey University, 1991.

Margaret Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007.

<sup>8</sup> For example, Shurlee Swain and Dorothy Scott, *Confronting Cruelty: Historical Perspectives on Child Protection in Australia*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002.

Shurlee Swain and Margot Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.

Patricia T. Rooke and R.L.Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English-Canada (1800-1950)*, Lanham: University Press of America, 1983.

<sup>9</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, *Focus on the Family: The Auckland Home and Family Society 1893-1993*, Auckland: David Ling Publishing, 1993, p.11.

<sup>10</sup> Dalziel p.10.

<sup>11</sup> Some examples specific to All Saints' are given in Chapter 1 p.21.

child rescue discourse affected child welfare work in New Zealand.<sup>12</sup>

Possibly this explains why ideas about child rescue are rarely mentioned in the New Zealand literature about child welfare. Dalley's is the most thorough exploration of New Zealand child welfare and is told from the perspective of state provision.<sup>13</sup> Other works that deal with state-sponsored child welfare have looked at specific topics, including the Industrial School system,<sup>14</sup> the period when the Child Welfare Office was established,<sup>15</sup> the discretionary benefit system,<sup>16</sup> and child welfare services to Māori.<sup>17</sup> There has been some work on private organisations that provided child welfare in the period studied,<sup>18</sup> but, in general, the story of state-provided welfare dominates the history of child welfare in New Zealand.

Another area in which New Zealand child welfare literature differs is that there are very few specific histories of children's homes.<sup>19</sup> This is possibly a result of the perceived lack of child rescue work in New Zealand and therefore the lack of political attention that children's homes have received compared to other nations, particularly Australia.<sup>20</sup> When

<sup>12</sup> Arguably the Society for the Protection of Women and Children or the Anglican Order of the Good Shepherd were child rescue movements.

<sup>13</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters, Child Welfare in Twentieth Century New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998.

<sup>14</sup> Jan M. Beagle, 'Children of the State: A Study of the New Zealand Industrial School System 1880-1925' MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1974.

<sup>15</sup> Alan Somerville, 'Moominpappa Got Away: The State and Child Welfare in New Zealand 1925-1930' BA (Hons) thesis, University of Otago, 1982.

<sup>16</sup> Bronwyn Labrum, 'Needs and family desires : discretionary state welfare in New Zealand, 1920-1970', PhD Thesis in History, Victoria University Wellington, 2000.

<sup>17</sup> Bronwyn Dalley 'Moving Out of the Realm of Myth: Government Child Welfare Services To Māori 1925-1972' *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol.32 no.2 1998, pp.189-207.

<sup>18</sup> Linda Bryder, *A Voice For Mothers: The Plunket Society and Infant Welfare 1907-2000*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003.

Raewyn Dalziel, *Focus on the Family: The Auckland Home and Family Society 1893-1993*, Auckland: David Ling Publishing, 1993.

M.L Reid 'The Society For The Protection Of Women and Children:Dunedin Branch 1899-1914' Post Graduate Diploma in Arts long essay, Otago University, 1981.

Margaret Tennant *Children's Heath, Nation's Wealth: A History of Children's Health Camps*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1994.

<sup>19</sup> Some international examples include: Charlotte Neff, 'The Role of the Toronto Girls' Home, 1863-1910', *Journal of Family History*, vol. 36, no.3, July 2011, pp.286-315.

Kenneth Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind: One Chicago Orphanage and the Tangle of Child Welfare*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Catherine Chmidling, *History of the Kansas Orphans' Home 1887-1962: The Professionalization of Charity*, Lewiston: The Edwin Meller Press, 2010.

Renate Howe and Shurlee Swain, *All God's Children: A Centenary History of Methodist Homes for Children and The Orana Peace Memorial Homes*, Canberra, Acorn Press, 1989.

Peter Kabaila, *Home Girls: Cootamundra Aboriginal Home girls tell their stories*, Canberra: Canprint Publishing, 2012.

Jessie Ramey, *Childcare in Black and White: Working parents and the History of Orphanages*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2012.

Geoffrey Stephens, *Clarendon, A Century of Care*, Hobart: The Print Centre, 1990.

<sup>20</sup> Musgrove, p.1 details the three national enquiries held in Australia.

histories have been published they have tended to be a celebration of an anniversary or commissioned for some specific reason.<sup>21</sup> Children's homes are occasionally mentioned in histories about the work of the churches they were associated with,<sup>22</sup> and two histories of church social work have sections devoted to children's homes.<sup>23</sup> More recently Morris Matthews published a commissioned work focused on children's homes in Hawke's Bay.<sup>24</sup> There has been a BA (hons) thesis on Dunedin Presbyterian children's home, which focused more on the experience of the children rather than the social context of children's homes.<sup>25</sup> McLeod's work on the St Vincent de Paul orphanage for girls in South Dunedin looked at the formation of the Home, life in the Home and issues between the Catholic Church and the Education Department.<sup>26</sup> Crawford collected the memories of those who had experienced life in children's homes, using oral history initially, then turning the interviews into a book.<sup>27</sup> Occasionally the memories of those who lived in children's homes are published either as books<sup>28</sup> or as part of collections.<sup>29</sup>

There are many primary resources that can be used for this topic. The Ian Matheson City Archives at the Palmerston North City Library hold the minute books and financial ledgers of the Trust that ran the Home, as well as scrapbooks, photos, oral history interviews and records of reunions. This archival material has provided the bulk of the primary material for this topic. Using the material left by those who controlled the home is not without issues. The committees did not keep very detailed records and what was recorded is what was

<sup>21</sup> Dennis Wederell, (ed.), *One Hundred Years of Care: St Mary's Homes and Sprott House*, Wellington: Sprott House Trust, 2000

<sup>22</sup> For example: H.F. Ault, *The Nelson Narrative*, Nelson: The Standing Committee of the Diocese of Nelson, 1958.

John Rawson Elder *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand 1840-1940*, Christchurch: Presbyterian Book Room, 1940. H W Monaghan *From Age to Age*, Wellington: The Standing Committee of The Diocese of Wellington New Zealand, 1957.

Stephen Parr, *Canterbury Pilgrimage*, Christchurch: The Centennial Committee of the Diocese of Christchurch, 1951.

Watson Rosevear *Waiapu: The Story of a Diocese*, Hamilton: Paul's Book Arcade, 1960.

<sup>23</sup> Simon Rae, *From Relief to Social Service: A History of the Presbyterian Social Service Association Otago 1906-1981*, Dunedin: Presbyterian Social Service Association (Otago), 1981.

G.M. Morgan, *A Century of Social Work: The History of the Social Service Council of the Diocese of Christchurch*, Christchurch: The Social Service Council of the Diocese of Christchurch, 1966.

<sup>24</sup> Kay Morris Matthews, *Who cared? Childhoods within Hawke's Bay Children's Homes and Orphanages 1892-1988*, Napier: Eastern Institute of Technology, 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Michelle Broadhurst, 'Dunedin Presbyterian Children's Homes, 1907-1939' BA (hons) thesis, Otago University, 2002.

<sup>26</sup> Billie McLeod, 'A Silent Testimony: St Vincent de Paul Catholic Orphanage for Girls, South Dunedin', Post Graduate Diploma in Arts long essay, Otago University, 1992.

<sup>27</sup> Peggy Crawford, *Only an Orphan*, Lower Hutt: MJC Publishing, 1995.

<sup>28</sup> Ann Thompson, *Say Sorry: A harrowing childhood in Catholic orphanages*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2009.

<sup>29</sup> For example Christine Hunt Daniell, *Just an orange for Christmas*, Auckland: Harper Collins Publishing, 2013.

W.A. Chambers, *Our Yesteryears 1840-1950*, Christchurch: Williams and Aiken Ltd. nd.

considered important by the secretary at the time. The Trust material only tells one side of the story of the Home, that of those who ran it.

Very little material from the 1920s survived, making this period difficult to write about. As a way of filling gaps but also providing a different perspective, local newspapers were also consulted. Most commonly the *Manawatu Evening Standard* was used, as this newspaper has been indexed, but occasionally material was sought from the other newspaper in Palmerston North, the *Manawatu Daily Times*. Often what was published was a verbatim copy of material supplied by the Trust, but occasionally reporters injected their own perspective, particularly of annual meetings and the birthday parties that were held for the Home. Newspapers were also used to try and gauge community feeling about the Home.

There is also an oral history component to this thesis. Considering the sensitive nature of children's homes the ethics and risk involved in this part of the project were carefully considered. This included consulting with and gaining clearance from the Massey University Human Ethics committee.<sup>30</sup> The researcher undertook extra training to help her consider the ethics and the potential risks involved with the interviews and sort advice and guidance from the oral history unit at the National Library. The Ministry of Social Development Historic Abuse team was also consulted for advice. They agreed to make their counselling service available to any subjects that became distressed during the interview process.

After some advertising in local media, the use of social media and word of mouth, fourteen people who had been associated with the Home were interviewed. Most of the subjects had been children in the Home, except for two ex-staff members and one ex-board member of the Trust. The oldest participant from the children's group entered the Home in 1938, aged three. The other participants were all in the Home over the period spanning the late 1930s to early 1960s, with the former group being the best represented.

Once subjects were recruited an initial interview took place. During this process, which was conducted either over email, phone or in person, the volunteers were made aware of the potential harm and asked to carefully consider if they wished to be interviewed. They were provided with an information sheet and a list of potential questions.<sup>31</sup> The researcher felt that it was important to leave some space between the initial approach and the actual interview as this allowed volunteers to consider their participation carefully.

<sup>30</sup> Clearance for this part of the project was given by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 14/14

<sup>31</sup> A copy of these is included in appendix one

All the interview subjects were given the option of being recorded. However, most opted for an interview only. With two participants this was the only option due to distance making it impractical to meet in person. Five participants were recorded and they were given the option of agreeing to their interviews being placed in the Ian Matheson Archives as part of the All Saints' Children's Home collection.<sup>32</sup> All agreed to have their recordings archived. Each participant was provided with a transcript and copy of their recording. They were also able to choose the level of access for their recordings. This particular part of the process was conducted in conjunction with Lesley Courtney, head of Archives and Research at the Palmerston North City Library.

The memories of those involved filled out the official documents and also put real-life stories to the names and happenings recorded in the archival material. Like the archive material, recollections come with their own sets of issues and all the interviews needed to be placed within the context of the official documents and the personal circumstances of each participant.

The oral histories provided a supplement and added perspective to the details available in the primary source material. This material contains information about many of the families who used the Home and was also used to gain insight into the children and families in the Home. When using the primary source material it was decided to give each family a letter to protect their identity. The only time real names are used is when express written permission has been given. This permission was usually obtained from an ex-child contacting the researcher. Those that did come forward saw the process as part of validating what happened to them in their childhood and seeing their names in print is part of this process.

Other primary source documents that were used to complete this thesis include official government publications and the archives of the Anglican Church. The *Appendices to Journals of the House of Representatives* were helpful for gaining some insight into the official attitudes of the Child Welfare Office. Another government publication that was of assistance was the official statistics, *The Blue Books*, from 1906-1921 and the subsequent *Vital Statistics*. The Wellington Diocese monthly newsletter *Church Chronicle* and its successor *Church and People* have been digitised and were readily available for research purposes, as were copies of the newspaper *Active Service*, which focused on the social work in the Diocese during the interwar period.

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<sup>32</sup> Copies of the oral history release forms are included in appendix one

One of the areas it was hoped this thesis would be able to explore was the relationship between the Child Welfare Office and private children's homes. Deposited in National Archives are the Child Welfare files relating to the All Saints' Children's Home as well as case files for the Palmerston North Office. A copy of the official file for the All Saints' Home was supplied but it did not contain any individual case information. This made it very difficult to fully assess the relationship between the government and All Saints' Children's Home. The extreme restrictions placed on Child Welfare files, with privacy being extended to individuals indefinitely, greatly limited any efforts to ascertain to what extent Child Welfare may have relied on the privately run children's homes in its work with children. As the relationship between the state and private welfare is an under-researched area, this was disappointing.

The story of the All Saints' Children's Home begins in 1906. In Chapter 1 its foundation and social context are covered, exploring how the Home was part of a wider movement to open private institutions for children and how ideas about the role of children in society influenced this movement. In the period prior to World War One, the State and other public bodies had a growing interest in the welfare of children and the Home had a place within these movements. Applications for places in the Home quickly exceeded the number of places available, indicating a need in Palmerston North and the wider area. The social reasons for the demand for places in the Home are examined to explain why there was such a growth in private children's homes.

Private children's homes relied on volunteer committees to keep them running and Chapter 2 will examine those which ran All Saints' Children's Home. The Home was administered by a Trust Board, which was intended to separate it from the All Saints' Church and the day-to-day running was overseen by a committee of women, known as the Ladies' Committee. Questions about what kinds of people were likely to volunteer, what their motivations were and how connected the members were are explored. As there were significant changes in the role of women over the time the Home was open, attention will be given to how this affected both the role and membership of the Ladies' Committee.

Chapter 3 will look at the employment of staff. During the life of the Home the numbers of staff varied, as did their availability, and the difficulties this caused at some periods of the Home's life will be looked at. The Home mostly employed women: who they were and whether there were patterns in the type of people employed will be explored. This chapter

will also look at the agency of staff and how they interacted with the Board and Ladies' Committee.

Financially supporting the Home was a constant challenge and Chapter 4 will look at the ways and means of funding the Home and how they changed. What the Home's main sources of income were, how these amounts changed and which the Home relied on the most are analysed. Gifts-in-kind were also important to the Home and the nature and amount of these is also looked at. As the Home aged it became more difficult for the Board to match income to expenditure and the strategies the Board used are discussed. Lastly, Chapter 4 will also look at fundraising and the role it played in the life of the Home.

The purpose of the Home was to care for orphans and destitute children and, under the terms of its constitution, only deserving cases were to be admitted. Chapter 5 will assess whether the children who lived in the Home during the period fitted the criteria. There are admission lists covering the period 1906-1919 and an effort has been made to reconstruct admissions beyond 1919 by using other primary material. The gender and ethnicity of children is also looked at, along with the reasons why children might be placed in the Home. These are compared, where possible, to other Homes and national figures to try and ascertain whether All Saints' patterns were typical. This chapter also looks at average lengths of stay and the ages of the children in the Home.

Almost all the children who lived in the Home during its life had at least one parent living. Chapter 6 looks at how the parents and home interacted, with a focus on the agency of parents. This includes how much contact parents had with children while they were domiciled in the Home and what other kinds of support parents offered. Parents were expected to pay something towards the maintenance of their children, the tensions around this and the gendered nature of the Board's expectations are also scrutinised in this chapter.

A lot of previous work on children's homes has focused on what life was like in a home. In Chapter 7 daily life in the All Saints' Children's Home is explored. By using Child Welfare Officer reports, Ladies' Committee and Trust Board minutes, a general picture can be assembled. Oral histories with adults who were children in the Home have added to this chapter, which also covers what education the children received and what happened to them when they left the home.

In Chapter 8 the relationship between the State and the All Saints' Children's Home is examined by using the Child Welfare files. In particular, it concentrates on how the Trust and the local Child Welfare Office worked together and what use Child Welfare made of the Home. The disagreements, praise and criticisms of the Home by Child Welfare are also explored.

Chapter 9 will cover the closure of the Home. It will examine the shifts in thinking about child welfare and the impact that changes in society, like the introduction of social security, had on the Home. It will also look at the problems the Board faced, not only as society changed, but also as the building aged. Just as in 1906, when its establishment was part of a burgeoning number of children's homes, its closure in 1964 was part of a wider movement away from the institutional-style care of children.



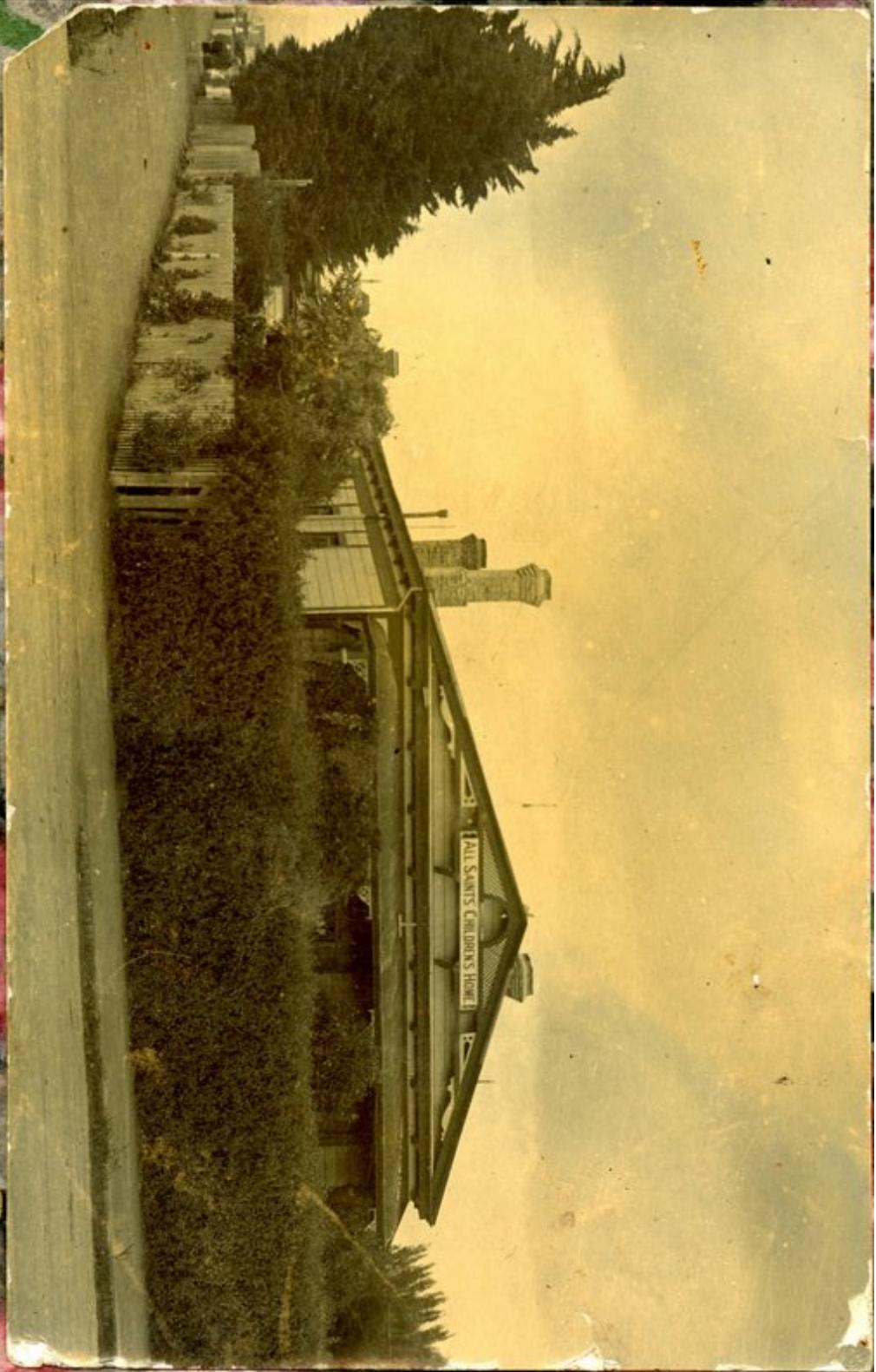


FIGURE 1 : The first All Saints' Children's Home situated on the corner of Ada and Ferguson Streets', Palmerston North.  
Source: Pataka Ipurangi: Manawatu Memory Online

## Chapter 1

# The Opening of the Home

*'With unlimited faith and enthusiasm'*<sup>1</sup>

Many institutions have founding stories and All Saints' Children's Home is no exception. Reflecting in 1927 on the impulse that led him to open a children's home, Canon Harper<sup>2</sup> said, 'In 1906, I had undertaken to find a home for an orphan boy who had been in hospital for a long while. As our Homes in other parts of New Zealand were full, the idea occurred to me to ask the Parish to provide one.'<sup>3</sup> The fact that Canon Harper saw a children's home as a solution to the problem before him shows that he was in tune with what was considered best for children who were orphaned or destitute at the beginning of the twentieth century. Across the western world there was a movement towards viewing children as particularly valuable, needing separate and specialised care. Within this there was also a shift to see children as being not only owned by their families but also as an asset to the country, a public interest rather than just a private one. In New Zealand the contemporary debate focused on the environment in which parentless children were raised, particularly the need to separate those children who were indigent from those considered criminal. By 1906 the industrial school system and private boarding had come under sustained criticism, the former because it placed criminal and indigent children together, the latter because it was believed children were exploited by the families that boarded them. This space was increasingly filled by voluntary organisations opening children's homes. Churches were particularly

<sup>1</sup> *Doing likewise: The social work of the Church of England in New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland Newspapers Ltd, 1929, p.16.

<sup>2</sup> C C Harper is referred to as variously as Rev. Harper, Archdeacon Harper and Canon Harper.

<sup>3</sup> *Doing likewise: The social work of the Church of England in New Zealand*, p.15.

active in this area, shifting the focus of their social work away from unmarried mothers to children.<sup>4</sup> The demand for this new service was illustrated when applications quickly outstripped the number of beds in the Home. It has been argued that churches' expanding work with children had denominational overtones<sup>5</sup> and there was certainly some concern from churches about the need to raise parentless children in the faith of their forebears. However, in New Zealand the primary rationale for children's homes was similar to that in other western nations in that they were seen as a way of turning potential problem children into good citizens. The fact that the All Saints' congregation approved and supported the opening of a children's home, with a creche attached, shows the extent to which provincial New Zealand was abreast of contemporary child welfare issues in the West.

The transformation of the way children were viewed during the nineteenth century is well documented. McDonald labels the change as a move from seeing the child as a chattel to the child becoming social capital.<sup>6</sup> The idea that children were no longer a private good, but instead something that the community and nation needed to care for as potential citizens is often linked to the declining birth rate in western countries.<sup>7</sup> There were fears of 'race suicide', as the number of white children being born decreased, and there was a desire to be socially efficient, making sure all children born became useful citizens.<sup>8</sup> In New Zealand improving the environmental factors in which children were raised was seen as the way to turn children into good citizens.<sup>9</sup> This can be observed in contemporary discussion, which emphasised the conditions in which children were raised,<sup>10</sup> and these ideas influenced government social policy as well as ordinary citizens. The fact that Harper was concerned about the future of a crippled child in hospital shows the influence of such ideas. A hospital was not considered a wholesome environment in which to raise a future citizen, particularly as at the time hospitals were mostly places for residential care of the elderly.<sup>11</sup> The perception that environment had a large influence on whether a child became

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Tennant, 'Indigence and Charitable Aid in New Zealand 1885-1920' PhD thesis in History, Massey University, 1981, p.312.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid p.326

<sup>6</sup> Dugald J McDonald, 'Children and Young Persons in New Zealand Society' in Peggy G. Koopman-Boyden (ed.), *Families in New Zealand Society*, Wellington: Methuen Publications, 1978, pp.45-49.

<sup>7</sup> Ian Pool, Arunachalam Dharmalingam and Janet Sceats, *The New Zealand Family from 1840: A Demographic History*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007, pp.98-105.

<sup>8</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, p.14.

<sup>9</sup> Margaret Tennant, *Children's Health, Nation's Wealth: A History of Children's Health Camps*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1994, pp.18-21.

<sup>10</sup> For example, *Manawatu Evening Standard* 3.10.1905 p.4, contained an editorial entitled 'Are we Degenerating?'

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Tennant, *Paupers and Providers Charitable Aid in New Zealand*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1989, p.151.

a good citizen meant that increased attention was directed to those children whose parents were unable to care for them.

The problem posed by deserted, destitute, or neglected children was as old as European settlement in New Zealand. The terms used to describe these children were sometimes used interchangeably, but generally they referred to children whose parents or guardians were not caring for them in what was considered an appropriate manner. These children often came to the attention of the State and the industrial school system was formulated as a cure for this problem. However, there were parents that did not always come to the attention of the State, yet were unable to care for their children. Rather than being neglectful parents they had suffered some trauma, for example illegitimacy, family breakdown, divorce, separation, desertion, or the death of one parent. In a world without welfare payments, solo parents found themselves needing to work to support their children, yet it was difficult to find childcare for them, unless immediate family was prepared to help. One important factor marked the kind of care sought by these parents: it needed to be flexible enough that they could reclaim their children if their circumstances changed. The industrial school was not intended for children from these families, it was meant for those children who were in moral or physical danger,<sup>12</sup> plus it was not flexible. Once children entered an industrial school they were wards of the state. Hence a network of different kinds of care developed for these families and children.

If a parent or family found the care of a child had become difficult, they had several options. Charitable Aid Boards could grant a family outdoor relief. Most often this was only available to widows and deserted wives.<sup>13</sup> Deserted and widowed husbands appear to have had very few options, and little is known about how they managed if they had no family support, although it is possible that they paid for childcare through private arrangements. Divorced or separated parents and unmarried mothers also had very few options due to societal disapproval. There was a small number of church-run and charitable-aid orphanages, but these had mixed reputation, and often dealt with large numbers.<sup>14</sup> In 1895 New Zealand was gripped by the events in Winton when Minnie Dean, a 'baby farmer', was arrested for the murder of three of her charges.<sup>15</sup> Generally, children sent to baby farmers

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<sup>12</sup> Jan M. Beagle, 'Children of the State: A Study of the New Zealand Industrial School System 1880-1925' MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1974, p.188.

<sup>13</sup> Tennant, *Paupers and Providers*, p.106

<sup>14</sup> Dalley, p.35.

<sup>15</sup> Lynley Hood, *Minnie Dean: Her Life and Crime*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1994, has a detailed account of Dean's life, trial and execution.

were illegitimate, but baby farmers were part of network of care options for parents unable to care for their children.<sup>16</sup> The effect of the Dean case and similar exposés<sup>17</sup> was to discredit the care of children by unrelated women in their own homes. Increasingly such activities were regulated by Infant Life Protection Acts,<sup>18</sup> making it much more difficult for people to provide casual care.

It was not only the private arrangements made for children that came under strong criticism at the beginning of the twentieth century. The government system of industrial schools was also under increasing attack. In 1900 a scandal broke after members of the Nelson Charitable Aid Board paid a surprise visit to the the Marist-run St Mary's Orphanage in Stoke. Although this was a privately-run home, it was licensed as an industrial school and received state funds.<sup>19</sup> The subsequent government inquiry led to a change in the law which forced private industrial schools to provide the same conditions as state industrial schools. The *Manawatu Evening Standard* was particularly exercised by the inquiry. It ran three editorials on industrial schools in October and November 1900.<sup>20</sup> They were all against the present system, the general tone being encapsulated a the 24 October editorial which stated 'we unhesitatingly pronounce in favour of what is known as the "Scattered Cottage Home System."<sup>21</sup>

There were subsequent government enquires into the Burnham Industrial School in 1906 and Te Oranga in 1908.<sup>22</sup> Both of these institutions acted as reformatories, for boys and girls respectively. The *Manawatu Evening Standard* had previously been critical of both institutions.<sup>23</sup> Another enquiry in 1906, which was well reported locally examined the Waltham Orphanage, which was controlled by the North Canterbury Charitable Aid Board.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Debra Powell, 'The Ogress, The Innocent, And The Madman: Narrative and Gender in Child Homicide Trails in New Zealand 1870-1925' PhD thesis, University of Waikato, 2013, p.286.

Harry Hendricks, *Child Welfare, England 1872-1989*, London: Routledge, 1994, pp.43-46.

<sup>17</sup> Powell, pp. 290-301 details the coverage of baby farming in the media.

<sup>18</sup> These were passed in 1893, 1896, 1907. Dalley, pp.51-53 has a detailed discussion.

<sup>19</sup> Beagle pp.98-101.

<sup>20</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 1 December 1900, p.2, 24 October 1900, p.2, 22 November 1900 p.2.

<sup>21</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard* 24 October, 1900, p.2, these were a number of houses on a site rather than one institutional style building. They were meant to replicate an ideal family home, although they were designed to be run by Matrons, rather than a husband and wife. The model used for the first All Saints' Home was influenced by this style.

<sup>22</sup> Dalley p.2, Beagle pp.111-119.

<sup>23</sup> For example, Burnham, *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 2 March 1901, p.2, 23 March 1903, p.2, 18 April 1903, p.4, 1 May 1903, p.4.

Te Oranga, *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 20 March 1901, p.2, 14 February 1908, p.3.

<sup>24</sup> Tennant, 'Indigence and Charitable Aid', pp.320-324.

This enquiry provoked an editorial entitled 'Dependent Children' in which the editor condemned institutions and praised cottage homes.<sup>25</sup> From the coverage in the press it appears that the welfare of dependant children and the problems with industrial schools were well canvased in Palmerston North.

A criticism that was often levelled at industrial schools was that they did not distinguish between children who were committed because they were neglected and children who had 'criminal tendencies'. In May 1904 the *Manawatu Evening Standard* ran an editorial about a recently released report on industrial schools. It highlighted what it believed to be a serious problem: 'youthful lawbreakers were either thrown into contact with children untainted with crime and free from criminal instincts or sent to prison to associate with hardened criminals'.<sup>26</sup> In 1899 George Hogben had been appointed Director-General of Schools. He was aware that industrial schools placed all types of children together and began to reform the system.<sup>27</sup> He believed that boarding out was the best system for children who were committed for non-criminal reasons, going as far as to declare in 1900 that 'for the orphanage we have substituted the boarding out system. These are for those who are orphans or simply destitute without any other abnormal characteristics.'<sup>28</sup> Hogben believed that boarding out would prevent destitute children from becoming institutionalised. By being in a 'natural' setting, these children could learn the habits of decent family life.

Although this scheme sounded like a robust solution to the problem of orphans or destitution, by 1905 it was also coming under attack. The anti-boarding out movement had its nucleus in Christchurch, but its ideas were well publicised and debated.<sup>29</sup> The main argument was that the foster families were of a low standard and this placed already vulnerable children at further risk.<sup>30</sup> The solution offered was cottage homes. The idea of cottage homes was well canvased in the Palmerston North press,<sup>31</sup> and the local MP made the State provision of cottage homes part of his election campaign in 1905.<sup>32</sup>

These threads provide the background to the decision that the All Saints' Vestry made in 1906. When faced with the problem of an orphan child, they chose to open a cottage-style children's home rather than place him with the State. There was obviously a belief among

<sup>25</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 3 March, 1906, p.4.

<sup>26</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 13 May, 1904, p.4.

<sup>27</sup> Beagle pp.41-42.

<sup>28</sup> Department of Education Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1900, E-3 pp.1-2.

<sup>29</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 4 June 1907, p.4

<sup>30</sup> Beagle, pp.151-158, provides a good summary of the anti-boarding out movement.

<sup>31</sup> For example *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 22 November 1900, p.2, 8 May 1902, p.2, 26 August 1905, p.7.

<sup>32</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 4 December 1905 p.4.

those associated with the church that the existing options available to them were less than satisfactory. They may have been prompted by an active Vicar and an immediate case before them, but the fact that they went to the effort to set up a Home suggests that they saw a need within the community. The choice of the word 'Home' rather than 'Orphanage' also suggests that they wished to distance themselves from the idea of an institution.

The Trust first met on 3 October 1906<sup>33</sup> and purchased a house that was capable of accommodating nine children.<sup>34</sup> Within a month they had three children. By the end of 1906 they had seven and by March 1907, five months after opening, they had nine.<sup>35</sup> In May 1907 the board added another room, meaning that the Home could accommodate eight girls and seven boys.<sup>36</sup> A newspaper report celebrating the first anniversary of the Home stated that there were fourteen children in the Home and that over the year thirty-five applications had been refused due to lack of space.<sup>37</sup> Work had already begun to expand the numbers of children the Home could take. During 1907 the Board discussed whether to enlarge the current building, or to construct a new building. They looked at land, talked to land agents and placed an advertisement in the press offering to exchange the present property for a 'larger section, vacant or otherwise'.<sup>38</sup> By March 1908 the Board had acquired the house and section adjacent to the current Home and settled on a plan to enlarge the house they already owned.<sup>39</sup> The new wing was opened on 28 August 1908 by Lady Plunket and the extension allowed the Home to accommodate twenty-five children.<sup>40</sup> By August 1909 the number of children in the Home stood at twenty-one.<sup>41</sup> Within less than three years Palmerston North had gone from having no private provision for orphan and destitute children to having a Home that accommodated twenty-five or more. The rapid growth speaks of a need for the type of service it offered.

The opening and rapid expansion of the All Saints' Children's Home was not an isolated event, as throughout New Zealand churches were becoming more involved in this kind of social work. Churches had engaged in work with orphans in an ad hoc manner in the

<sup>33</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, All Saints' Children's Home, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>34</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 1 December, 1906, p.170.

<sup>35</sup> Admissions Register, 1906-1919, Series 3, Box 1, All Saints' Children's Home, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>36</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 9 May, 1907, p.7.

<sup>37</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 18 October, 1907, p.5.

<sup>38</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 16 January, 1908, p.1.

<sup>39</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 28 February, 1908, All Saints' Children's Home, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>40</sup> *Manawatu Daily Times* 29 August 1908, p.5.

<sup>41</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1909, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

nineteenth century. The Christchurch Anglican Diocese had run an orphanage in conjunction with the provincial government from 1862 to 1879, when the children were removed to an orphanage in Lyttelton, run solely by the Provincial Government.<sup>42</sup> Nelson Anglicans had been active in providing for destitute children with an orphanage in Motueka and one in Nelson, which was a joint effort with the Presbyterian Church.<sup>43</sup> The Auckland Diocese had run various types of homes for children from 1858, opening a large orphanage in Parnell in 1862.<sup>44</sup> Along with two Catholic institutions, this was run as a private industrial school and therefore received government funding.<sup>45</sup> There were other organisations running children's home and orphanages in the 1900s, but the presence of church denominations was becoming much more noticeable. In 1913 seventeen children's homes and orphanages were listed in the *Statistics of New Zealand*, thirteen of them run by churches.<sup>46</sup> This list is not complete, as there were at least another two not listed.<sup>47</sup> The number of churches becoming involved in operating children's homes is quite marked in the years leading up to World War One, placing the opening of the All Saints' Children's Home squarely within a wider church movement.

The focus by churches on child welfare and particularly the shift to opening children's homes has been noted by other historians. Tennant identified that churches which worked with unmarried mothers began to undergo a change of focus between the 1880s and the early 1900s. As they received more cases of second or multiple 'falls', the churches began to shift away from trying to reform the mother to caring for the children.<sup>48</sup> The Anglican Church in Tasmania began working with children when they opened a home for the babies born in their maternity home for unmarried mothers. They quickly found that it was much easier to raise funds for innocent babies than for women whose morals were questionable and whose activities were not talked about in polite society.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> G.M Morgan., *A Century of Social Work: The History of the Social Service Council of the Diocese of Christchurch*, Christchurch: The Social Service Council of the Diocese of Christchurch, 1966, pp.2-10.

<sup>43</sup> H.F. Ault, *The Nelson Narrative*, Nelson: The Standing Committee of the Diocese of Nelson, 1958, pp.210-213.

<sup>44</sup> Dianne Kenderdine, 'Anglican Trust for Women and Children – History' retrieved from: <http://atwc.org.nz/themes/atwc/images/HistoryofATWC.pdf> on 9 September 2014.

<sup>45</sup> Department of Education Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1883, E-3, pp.1-2.

<sup>46</sup> *Blue Book, Volume one, Population and Vital Statistics*, 1913, p.129.

<sup>47</sup> Michelle Broadhurst, 'Dunedin Presbyterian Children's Homes, 1907-1939' BA (Hons) thesis, Otago University, 2002, p.12.

<sup>48</sup> Margaret Tennant, 'Indigence and Charitable Aid' pp.312-313.

<sup>49</sup> Geoffrey Stephens, *Clarendon, A Century of Care*, Hobart: The Print Centre, 1990, p.14.

One explanation offered as to why churches began children's home is increased denominationalism. Tennant argues that part of churches' motivation was to ensure that children born into their denomination were raised in it.<sup>50</sup> This was certainly true of the Catholic Orphanages and is shown by the reluctance of Catholic Homes to board out children as they could not find enough Catholic foster parents.<sup>51</sup> The motives of Protestants were possibly less denominational. The All Saints' Home was, from the beginning, entirely non-denominational and the fact that it was open to all children regardless of denomination was often emphasised.<sup>52</sup> In Napier, Wanganui and Nelson the main children's homes were non-denominational and the second children's home opened in Palmerston North was also non-denominational.<sup>53</sup> Presumably it was easier for the Anglicans, in particular, to be less concerned about which church children were being brought up in as they were the dominant denomination in New Zealand and one of the main operator of children's home, caring for 896 children in 1925.<sup>54</sup> There was a thread of denominationalism in the motivation of churches' work with children, but the fact that so many homes, including All Saints', went out of their way to affirm that they would take all children suggests that it was not the prime catalyst.

Another explanation as to why churches became involved in running children's homes was the belief that rescuing the child from its surroundings could correct moral deficiency. This so-called child rescue was also based on the idea that environment was the main corrupter of children, a concept that was popular in New Zealand. The movement focused on the removal of the child from poor, inadequate living conditions and vicious influences. The child, once rescued, would be placed in a home with Christian or otherwise wholesome moral influences, often in a rural setting, or even removed to another country via child immigration.<sup>55</sup> The most famous child rescuer was Dr Barnardo, and his ideas were spread widely throughout the western world via his clever publicity.<sup>56</sup> The neglect of children was used as a reason for starting children's homes, even though New Zealand lacked large cities

<sup>50</sup> Margaret Tennant, 'Indigence and Charitable Aid' pp.326-327.

<sup>51</sup> Billie McLeod, 'A Silent Testimony: St Vincent de Paul Catholic Orphanage for Girls, South Dunedin', Post Graduate Diploma in Arts long essay, Otago University, 1992, pp.60-67.

<sup>52</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 11 December 1906, p.4, 18 December 1906, p.5.

<sup>53</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics, 1925*, pp.255-257.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid*, p.256.

<sup>55</sup> Renate Howe and Shurlee Swain, *All God's Children: A Centenary History of Methodist Homes for Children and The Orana Peace Memorial Homes*, Canberra, Acorn Press, 1989, p.8.

<sup>56</sup> Shurlee Swain, 'Child Rescue: The Emigration of an Idea' in Jon Lawrence and Pat Starkey, (eds.), *Child Welfare and Social Action in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: International Perspectives*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001. p.103.

The local Palmerston North Press ran pieces on Barnardo's Homes for example, *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 12 August 1903, p.4, 28 April 1908, p.7, 26 May 1911, p.6, 13 April 1912, p.5.

like London, Toronto or Melbourne, where neglected and destitute children were actively removed from the streets. The Hawke's Bay Children's Home was begun by women who had become increasingly concerned about girls roaming the streets of Napier.<sup>57</sup> In Auckland the Anglican nuns, the Order of the Good Shepherd, set up a home in 1902, with the expressed desire to care for the neglected and battered children of the city.<sup>58</sup>

There is also some reference to rescue as a motivation for the establishment of the All Saints' Children's Home. In the All Saints' Parish Magazine of December 1906, the update on the Home stated that 'One of these (inmates) was rescued from undesirable surroundings by the police'.<sup>59</sup> Much was made of the moral opportunities the Home offered to those 'little ones who through no fault of their own, were unable to obtain these good things elsewhere'.<sup>60</sup> In 1911 a article in the *Church Chronicle* about social work in the Wellington Anglican Diocese told readers 'Those who know the slum life of Wellington can bring numbers of cases forward where boys and girls are being bought up in surroundings so bad that there is little hope of true physical or moral or spiritual development'.<sup>61</sup> There is little evidence that children were actively sought and removed from families as they were in other countries,<sup>62</sup> but New Zealanders were familiar with the basic ideas of child rescue. Churches are affected by streams of thought in society and although the child-rescue discourse may not have been very strong in New Zealand, there is evidence that the core ideas about the importance of removing a child from a corrupting environment had an influence on the course of church social work.

When All Saints' Children's Home opened in 1906, it was an innovative response to the problem at hand, being the first children's home in the Wellington Anglican Diocese.<sup>63</sup> The fact that there was a creche attached to the Home also shows that Palmerston North was abreast of modern ideas in child welfare and was not afraid to try a solution that is best described as controversial. Creches had been opened in other New Zealand towns and the first successful, long-term creche was in Wellington, opened by Mother Aubert in 1903.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Kay Morris Matthews, *Who cared? Childhoods within Hawke's Bay Children's Homes and Orphanages 1892-1988*, Napier: Eastern Institute of Technology, 2012, p.11.

<sup>58</sup> Jacqueline White, "Hannah and Her Sisters" A Critical Appraisal of the Anglican Order of the Good Shepherd 1895-1958' Masters of Arts thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1989, pp.64-65.

<sup>59</sup> Matron's scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, volume 1, All Saints' Children's Home, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>60</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 20 October 1910, p.6.

<sup>61</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 2 October 1911, p.159.

<sup>62</sup> Shurlee Swain, and Margot Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.

<sup>63</sup> *Church Chronicle* 1 December 1906.

<sup>64</sup> Helen May, *The Discovery of Early Childhood*, (2nd Ed.), Wellington: NZCER Press, 1997, p. 214.

Within the community there was still ambivalence towards day care. There was recognition that some parents were forced into work through their circumstances and it was better for a child to be cared for in a safe, wholesome environment, like a church-run creche, rather than left at home alone or taken to the parent's place of work. However, at a time when the cult of motherhood was growing, there was also concern that parents, particularly mothers, would use a creche to shirk their duties as parents.<sup>65</sup> When the creche was set up, the Board was very clear that children would only be admitted when the available parent genuinely had to work.<sup>66</sup> The 1907 annual report stated that the creche was in constant use.<sup>67</sup> At the Annual General Meeting it was noted that the care of the young children in the creche placed a great strain on the Matron and employing an assistant was discussed as well as asking for voluntary help.<sup>68</sup> Although there is no formal record of the creche closing, it is noted in the Matron's scrapbook that it closed in July 1907.<sup>69</sup> Why this occurred is not known but it did coincide with a change in Matron.<sup>70</sup> The creche may have been a short-lived innovation but the fact that All Saints' were prepared to provide a service about which there was some suspicion in the community shows that they were very interested in child welfare and not afraid to provide controversial services.

In 1910 Rev. Harper left All Saints' to become Vicar of St Peters, Wellington. In October he attended the celebrations of the fourth anniversary of the Home and was presented with a framed photo of himself with the children. Harper reflected that the Home had begun in a small way and had been enlarged twice and places were still in demand.<sup>71</sup> The Home had filled a gap in the provision of child welfare in Palmerston North and surrounding areas. It provided a flexible alternative for parents who, for whatever reason, were unable to care for their children. The discrediting of the State system of care and progressive regulation of the casual, private arrangements for childcare meant that families were increasingly turning towards children's homes as an alternative. This can be seen in the number that were opening in the period prior to World War One. The fact that churches became very involved in this

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<sup>65</sup> May, p.221.

<sup>66</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, Inside cover, All Saints' Children's Home, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>67</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 9 May 1907, p.7.

<sup>68</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1907, All Saints' Children's Home, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>69</sup> Matron's scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, volume 1, All Saints' Children's Home, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>70</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 17 July, 1907, All Saints' Children's Home, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>71</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 20 October, 1910, p.6.

form of welfare partly reflected a concern for raising destitute children in their parents' denomination but there was also an element of child rescue involved. The All Saints' Children's Home was the first children's home in the Anglican Diocese of Wellington and reflected an awareness among the parishioners of the contemporary trends in child welfare.



## Chapter 2

# The Management of the Home

*'It is indeed a privilege to be engaged in such a work as this'*<sup>1</sup>

When Oscar Monrad died in April 1959 he finally relinquished his place on the Trust Board of the All Saints' Children's Home, a body to which he had first been appointed in 1916. Apart from two years in the late 1920s, when he was on an extended trip to Europe, he had faithfully served the Trust for over forty years. The story of Monrad's service is not unusual in the life of the All Saints' Children's Home. There are other examples of long stretches of volunteer service to the Home. Remarkably children's homes were, in general, administered entirely by volunteers, despite the fact that they were sometimes difficult and complex to run. This chapter explores the management of the All Saints' Children's Home, how the Boards were structured, who volunteered to be part of them and how they worked to manage the Home. There were two Boards, the Board of Control, which also served as the Trustees, commonly called the Men's committee, and the Board of Management, usually called the Ladies' Committee. There will be analysis of what kinds of people volunteered to be on both the Men's and Ladies' committees, focusing on demographics and looking at possible explanations as to their motivations. This will also cover whether the types of people who were on the Boards had anything in common with other contemporary church-based welfare groups, both within New Zealand and internationally. The relationships within each committee will be examined, as well as those between the two committees. As the Home was open over a time when the roles of women shifted within society, this chapter

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<sup>1</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1930, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives

also considers how the changing roles and responsibilities of each board reflected these changes. The management of the Home reflected not only the shifting social conventions over the fifty-eight years it was open, but it also provides a window into what kinds of men and women volunteered their time for a child welfare organisation.

A proposal for how the All Saints' Home should be managed was put forward at the first public meeting to discuss the opening of the Home on 26 September 1906. Rev. Harper suggested that it should be managed by a board or committee elected by subscribers and that it should contain the Vicar and two Churchwardens of All Saints' ex-officio. At this meeting a provisional committee was set up to oversee the initial steps necessary for setting up the Home. This committee consisted of the Vicar, Churchwardens, W H Maclean, a local solicitor, and two women: Mrs Ethel Harper, the Vicar's wife and Mrs Rosalie Young.<sup>2</sup> Mrs Young was the daughter of William Hearn, a noted scholar at the University of Melbourne and very active Anglican so it is possible that she had been exposed to child rescue type work in Melbourne.<sup>3</sup> By 3 October 1906 the committee had drawn up rules and a constitution and brought them back to the subscribers. Under the constitution, the Home was a Trust, with the Trustees making up the Board of Control. The Board, as per Harper's suggestion, was made up of the Vicar and Churchwardens and three men, to be elected by subscribers who gave more than ten shillings a year. The internal affairs of the Home were to be managed by a committee made up of the Vicar, the treasurer of the Board of Control, the president of the All Saints' Ladies' Guild and three women elected on the same basis as the men.<sup>4</sup> The latter committee was officially called the Board of Management, but was most often referred to as the Ladies' Committee, despite having two male members. The Board of Control was most often referred to as the Trustees.

This pattern of the men handling the external matters of the Home, like legal, financial and governmental requirements, and the women handling the internal arrangements, like household supplies and children's clothing, was a typical apportionment of duties. In her work on the Auckland Ladies' Benevolent Society, Tennant noted a comparable structure,

<sup>2</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard* 27 October 1906, p.3.

<sup>3</sup> J. A. La Nauze, 'Hearn, William Edward (1826–1888)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hearn-william-edward-3743/text5893>, published first in hardcopy 1972, accessed online 18 February 2015.

Nell Musgrove, "'The Scars Remain' Children, Their Families And Institutional 'Care' In Victoria 1864-1954", PhD Thesis in History, The University of Melbourne 2009, p. 68-70 details the introduction of child rescue to Melbourne in the 1880s.

<sup>4</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, inside cover, All Saints' Children's Home, Ian Matheson City Archives.

calling the role of the women hidden and noting that it was a model common in England.<sup>5</sup> Another charitable society with a similar arrangement was the Auckland branch of the Society for The Protection of Women and Children. However, within two years they found the complicated organisation of council, committees and executive unwieldy and combined into one controlling committee of both men and women, which was dominated by men.<sup>6</sup> The non-denominational Hawkes' Bay Children's Home had been set up in 1893 and run by a female committee. In 1907 this changed and the structure became similar to All Saints', with an all-male Trusteeship. Morris Matthews notes that it was the impact of the Infant Life Protection Act and the incorporation of the Home under the Hospital and Charitable Institutions Act that caused this change. The two Acts meant that the Home needed more funding and faced more administration demands, jobs for which men were thought to be better suited.<sup>7</sup> The pattern of management that the All Saints' Home followed was comparable to other Homes and charitable organisations set up at a similar time. There was a definite division between what was expected of men and of women who volunteered to run the Home.

During the life of the Home there was only one major change to the way the Boards were set up. In 1921 it was decided to elect more Trustees. This was most likely in response to the increased number of children in the Home and the plans to open a new Home in Foxton. At the 1921 Annual General Meeting the constitution was altered so that the Board would consist of thirteen members. The three ex-officio members remained, but the idea of vice-presidents was introduced. The Vicar of All Saints', by virtue of his office, was to be the president and there would be four vice-presidents serving under him, two of whom were the churchwardens. Lastly there were a further eight spaces for members.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, it appears that rules and regulations were not updated until 1925. At that point eligibility for membership became more closely prescribed: a member had to be a subscriber and a member of the Church of England. There were also two places set aside for members of a local committee of management for any home set up in another Parish or Parochial

<sup>5</sup> Margaret Tennant, 'Women's Peculiar Mission': Ladies' Benevolence in the New Zealand Setting' in Barbara Brookes and Dorothy Page (eds.), *Communities Of Women*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2002, p.76. Frank Prochaska, *Christianity & Social Service In Modern Britain: The Disinherited Spirit*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, p.18

<sup>6</sup> Raewyn Dalziel, *Focus on the Family: The Auckland Home and Family Society 1893-1993*, Auckland: David Ling Publishing, 1993, p.15.

<sup>7</sup> Morris Matthews, Kay, *Who cared? Childhoods within Hawke's Bay Children's Homes and Orphanages 1892-1988*, Napier: Eastern Institute of Technology, 2012, p.18.

<sup>8</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual General Meeting, 12 May, 1921, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

District.<sup>9</sup> This referred to the Foxton Home which had been rebuilt as a permanent Home in 1924. Previously it had been a holiday home. The Vicar of Foxton, Rev. Walton, who had been elected to the Board in 1922, believed that the Foxton Home needed its own, local management. He was the main agitator for formalising the updated constitution.<sup>10</sup> The Foxton Home appears to have never had its own board or committee. There was discussion about forming one, including replicating the Ladies' Committee, but at the 1927 Annual General Meeting Walton was still agitating for the appointment of a board for the Foxton Home.<sup>11</sup> Another change in 1925 was that the Ladies' Committee was no longer recognised in the constitution. This meant that the members stopped being elected by subscribers, being appointed instead on an as-needed basis. Despite the closure of the Foxton Home in 1933 and the increasing demands on both committees, the management structure remained in place until the closure of the Home in 1964.

From the very beginning the management of All Saints' Home relied on men being prepared to volunteer their time and skills. The initial structure of the Board of Trustees had three places for men who were prepared to volunteer, with the other three men serving because of the positions they held within the All Saints' Church. From 1921 the total places were extended to thirteen, ten elected and three ex-officio. The men who served on the board were not always volunteers - eighteen vicars of the various churches in and around Palmerston North spent time on the board - but for the purposes of the discussion that follows they have been excluded. This is because their service on the board can be seen as part of their job rather than a free gift of their time. There were periods when the only member of the clergy serving on the board was the Vicar of All Saints' and others where the board contained up to four other clergymen. The latter was particularly noticeable in two periods, 1930-1947 and 1958-1964.<sup>12</sup> It is possible that clergy were asked to fill the spaces on the Board when there were not enough volunteers to fill them. Clergy seemed to play a more important role on the Board during the Depression and Second World War period. In the Second World War the shortage of men in general meant that those still in New Zealand found themselves having to work more, and therefore had more constraints on their time as

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<sup>9</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 1, Rules regulating the management of the Trust, 1925, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>10</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual General Meeting, 28 May, 1924, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>11</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual General Meeting, 5 May, 1927, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>12</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual General Meetings Minutes, , All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

well as there being fewer men available to fill volunteer positions because of their departure overseas. Clergy paid a necessary role in the running of the Home, but as part of their job rather than strictly as volunteers.

The majority of men who served on the Board of Trustees gave of their time freely, some of them for a considerable period. Using newspaper reports and minutes of Annual General Meetings, it was possible to construct a list of the men who were Trustees and therefore on the Board of Control. Over the fifty-eight years the Board operated, seventy-four men spent time on it. The shortest period was one year, the longest forty-three. The most common length of time spent on the board was two years, but once a member had past the two-year mark, he was likely to stay, with the second most common length of time being seven years (Figure 2). It is impossible to tell why men left or stayed on the board, but the mode of two years suggests that it took a while for the volunteers to ascertain how much commitment being on the Board required. It is probable that the first year was spent getting to understand the workings of the Board and Home, and the second realising that it required more time and energy than they could realistically give. The fact that most men who made it past the two-year mark went on to serve for a considerable time suggests that they were highly committed to the Home and this was the generally the model, with thirty-eight men - just over half - serving five years or more. The pattern appears to be that once someone had been on the Board for two years they were likely to commit to a long term of service.

The men on the Board came from many different occupational groups. However, when looked at as a whole there are some discernible patterns in the type of man that was likely to come on to the Board and stay. Using electoral rolls it was possible to find the occupation of sixty-eight men who served on the Board. The most common type of occupation was professional, in particular men who were accountants or bankers (Figure 3). They probably dominated because their professional skills would have aided greatly with the running of the Home, which had considerable sums of money coming in and out. The other large occupational group was farmers, which can be partly explained by the rural nature of Palmerston North, particularly in the earlier years of the Home. Another factor that farmers and professionals shared is that they have more flexibility in their employment hours, both typically running their own businesses. This would have enabled them to arrange attendance at meetings and fulfil the duties given to them more easily than a wage worker. This also applied in the case of school teachers. Six teachers served on the Board. Apart from one, they were over sixty in the first year they served, suggesting that they were retired or nearing the

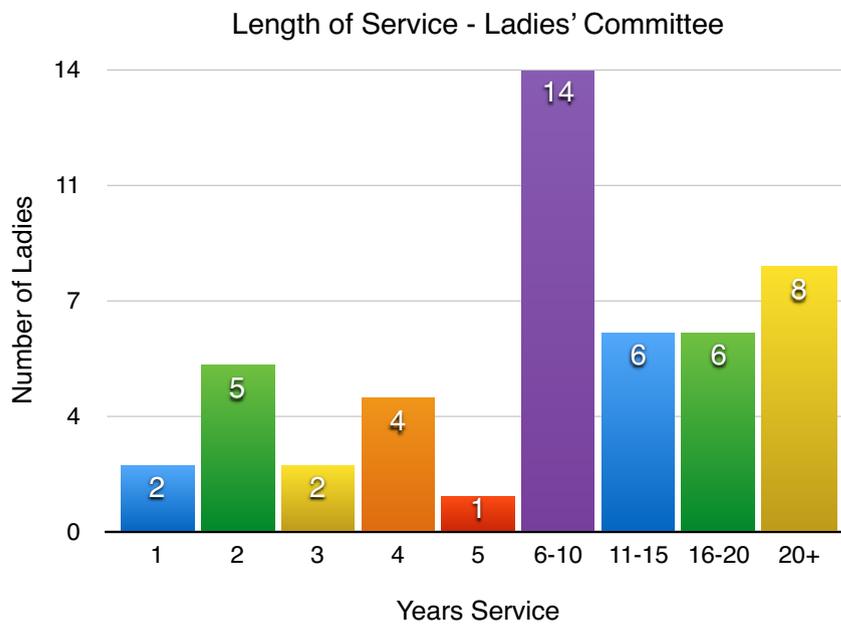
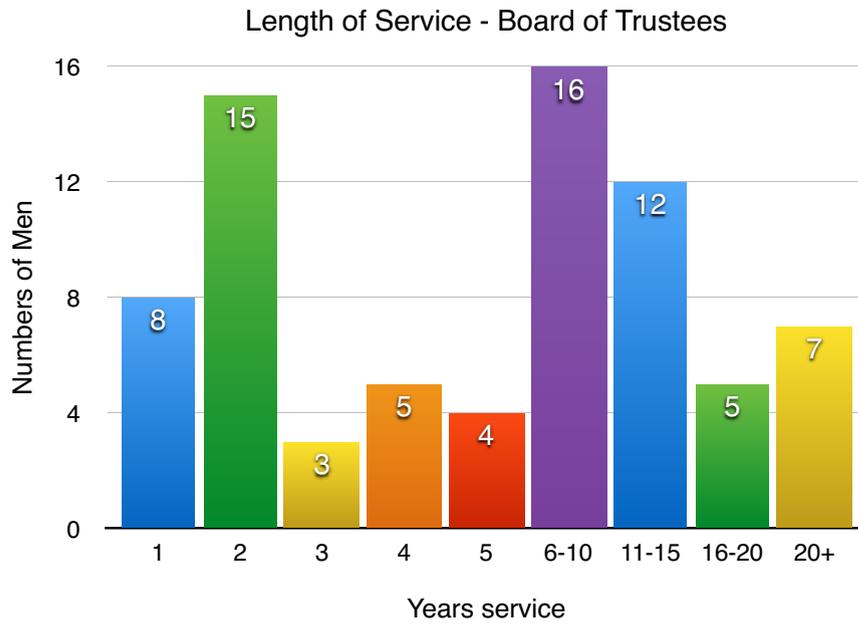


FIGURE 2: Length of Service for the Board and Ladies' Committee'

end of their careers before they felt they had the time to volunteer. It is also possible that this type of public charity appealed to professional men as it was attached to an established church. Although the men on the Board came from a variety of different occupations, they were predominately professionals, particularly those which owned their own businesses.

There is another aspect to how and why men might come on to the Board. There were two qualifications: they had to be a member of the Church of England and they had to be subscribers of ten shillings or more. These two terms would have automatically meant that only a certain type of person would be eligible. It is widely accepted that although the Anglican Church was the default church for many New Zealanders, those who were regular attenders were more likely to be respectable middle class.<sup>13</sup> Since it is probable that Board members came from the regular church attenders, it is more likely that they would have middle-class professional jobs. The subscriber qualification meant they had to be prepared to give a minimum amount of money each year. How strictly this was held to is impossible to gauge because after the depression the accounts stopped distinguishing between subscriptions and donations. However, we can assume that by agreeing to go on the Board, a member was expected to give, if not in a monetary sense, certainly in kind. There are many examples of members' businesses donating goods or services. One of the best examples of Board members giving in kind was H G Bagnall, an accountant, was the treasurer from 1925 to 1954, who used a clerk from his business to keep the Home's accounts. One of the staff from the 1940s remembers that it was a man from Mr Bagnall's office that brought the staff's wages each week.<sup>14</sup> The fact that this kind of contribution was expected from Board members, coupled with the type of people who might be members of the Church of England, meant that it was far more likely that Board members would be professionals.

The age of the board members also provides insight into what kinds of men were likely to volunteer their time. It was possible to find the ages of sixty-six members, using online birth, death and marriage information and cemetery records. The average age of all Board members during the first year they served on the board was forty-eight, although the range went from twenty-two to seventy. The most common age for a man to begin service on the Board was between fifty to fifty-four (Figure 4). This is probably because it is an age when men were established in their careers and had more resources and skills to offer charitable

<sup>13</sup> Eric Olssen, 'Towards a New Society' in Geoffrey W. Rice (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (2nd ed), Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1992, p.270.

<sup>14</sup> Lois Cutler, Interview by Author, 30 June, 2014.

Professionals					Businessmen		Farmers	Clergy	Other	Total
Lawyers	Accountants/ Bankers	Education	Doctors/ Dentists	Other	Large Businessmen	Small Businessmen	14	18	8	84
5	15	6	5	8	2	3	16.5%	21%	10%	
6%	18%	7%	6%	10%	2%	3.5%	16.5%	21%	10%	
47%					5.5%					

FIGURE 3: Occupations of Board Members.

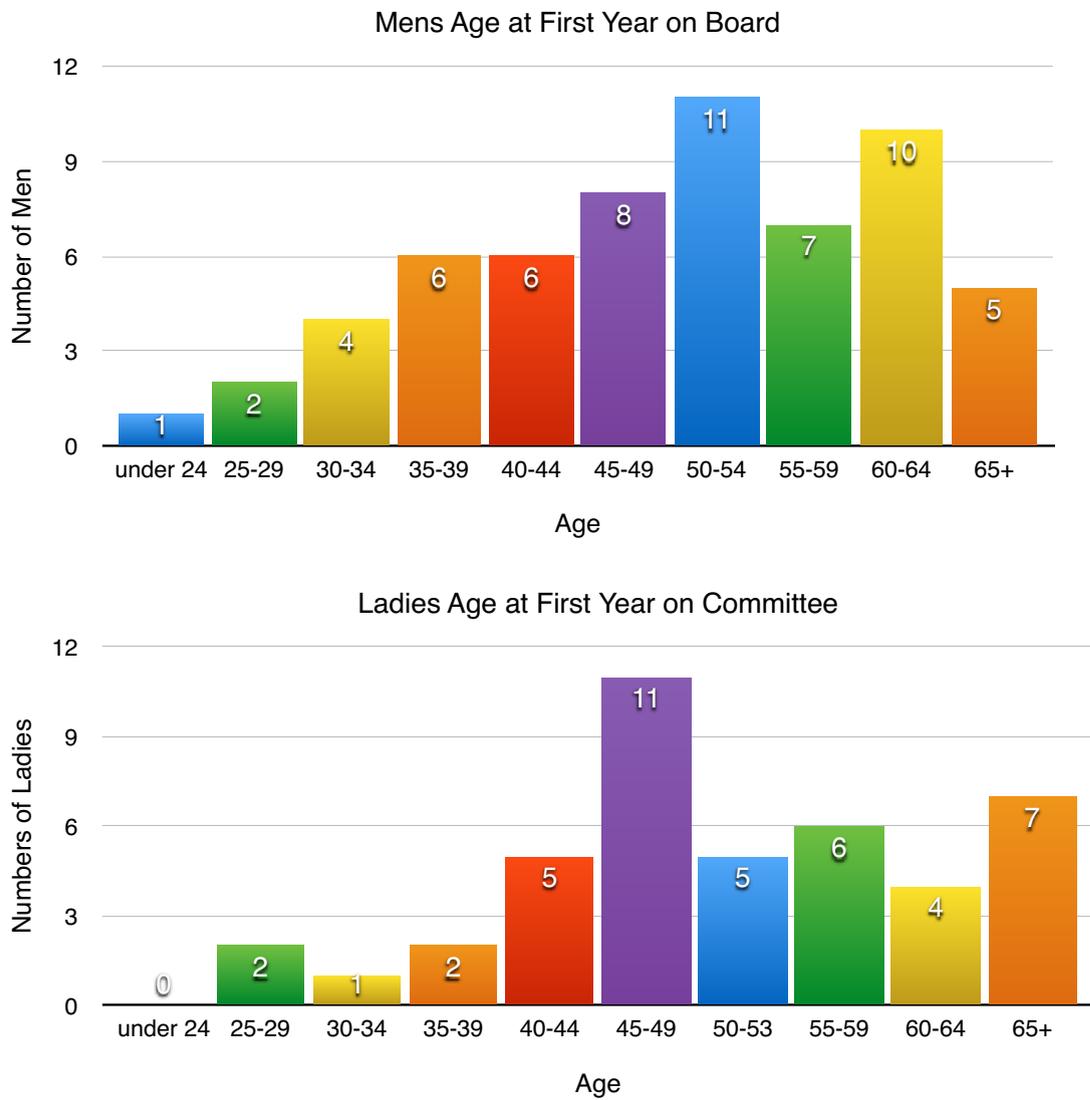


FIGURE 4: Ages of Board and Ladies' Committee members in the first year they served.

organisations. Their family commitments were also likely to be lighter. By examining the age at first year of service, it can also be seen that after World War Two the volunteers were getting older. The average age of men coming on to the Board after 1939 was sixty-three; in the 1940s and early 1950s most of the appointees were born between 1870-1889.

There are several reasons why the Board was ageing. There is a notable dip in the number of members born between 1890 and 1900.<sup>15</sup> This is the generation that was most affected by the First World War, so there may have been fewer men in this birth cohort available. However, it also appears that the Board struggled with generational renewal. In the mid 1950s there was an increase in new members born in the first decade of the twentieth century, but there was not a high turnover of members, meaning that as the established members aged the average age of the board increased: for the 1955 board it was sixty-six. It is difficult to know if this was caused by no new members coming forward or established members not relinquishing their place, as there was no record made of those who turned down places, only those who accepted. In general the men who volunteered to be on the All Saints' Trust Board were over fifty and since they often remained for some time, this led to an ageing Board and little renewal.

Originally, the Ladies' Committee was meant to contain two ex-officio positions. One was the Vicar's wife, the other the president of the All Saints' Ladies' Guild. Very little information has survived about the All Saints' Ladies' Guild,<sup>16</sup> so it is difficult to tell if this was adhered to. From 1925 there were no rules about who or how many women might be on the Ladies' Committee. Since membership of the committee was by invitation, it can be assumed that the women who served were Anglicans and had shown some interest in the work of the Home. It was possible to reconstruct who served on the Committee using Annual Reports and the surviving minutes of their meetings, which are from 1938 to 1962. The Ladies' Committee was a similar size to the mens, but over the fifty-eight years the Home was open, fifty-five women served on the committee, including six Vicar's wives, almost half the number of men who served on the Trust Board. The average length of service was twelve years and, unlike the men, there was not a typical length of service (Figure 2). The lengths had a similar range to the men, one year to forty-two, but the women tended to stay much longer, although there were small blips at two and nine years,<sup>17</sup> which is comparable

<sup>15</sup> Those born between 1870-1879 - 16, 1880-1889 - 13, 1890-1899 - 8, 1900-1910 - 12.

<sup>16</sup> R.P. Wigglesworth, *Never Ending, Still Beginning, The Centennial History of All Saints' Church, Palmerston North, New Zealand 1975-1975*, Palmerston North: Simon Printing Company, 1975, p.18.

<sup>17</sup> Five women served two year, and five served nine years.

to the men, but they are not as noticeable. Possibly the pattern of service was different for the Ladies' Committee because the kinds of women who were on the committee, mostly the wives of professionals, had fewer demands on their time. The women who served on the Ladies' Committee tended to make a long-term commitment to being part of the running of the Home, much more so than the men who went on to the Board of Trustees.

The age of the women on the Ladies' Committee showed a similar pattern to that of the Trustees. It was possible, using the same tools as for the Trustees, to find the birthdates of forty-six committee members. The average age of a woman when she first came on to the committee was fifty-two, four years older than the men's average. The most common age was lower than the men, at between forty-five and forty-nine, but this is balanced out by the fact that very few women joined the committee before forty (Figure 4). This is probably explained by most of the women having children of their own. They were busy raising young families in their twenties and thirties, and found themselves with the time to volunteer when in their forties. Perhaps significantly, the youngest member to join, and the longest serving, Margaret Mansford, had no children.<sup>18</sup>

Like the Trustees, the Ladies' Committee aged after World War Two, with the average age rising to fifty-eight. Because membership of the Committee was by invitation, approaches to new members were recorded in the minutes. From the mid-1950s there was difficulty in filling the spaces made vacant by retiring members. Several approaches were made to women by the Committee secretary, which were sometimes turned down. In 1958 five women were approached, only one of whom accepted.<sup>19</sup> Of the thirteen women who joined the Committee in the last ten years the Home was open, six were born in the nineteenth century, suggesting that membership was more attractive to older women. Like the Trustees Committee, the Ladies' Committee aged after the Second World War, the work seems to have become unattractive to the younger generation.

The composition of the Boards and committee were typical of those that ran children's homes and similar organisations. In her study of the Dunedin branch of the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, Reid described the typical person attracted to involvement as middle aged and middle class.<sup>20</sup> Howe and Swain found that the women who ran

<sup>18</sup> Merv Hancock, *Three Mayors in Office 1923-1947*, Palmerston North: Palmerston North City Library, 2008.

<sup>19</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, Series 2, Box 1, 10 April, 1958, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>20</sup> M.L. Reid, 'The Society For The Protection Of Women and Children: Dunedin Branch 1899-1914' Post Graduate Diploma in Arts long essay, Otago University, 1981, p.13.

the Methodist Homes they studied were representative of a stratum in society that considered charity work to be a social duty as well as a reflection of their own place in society.<sup>21</sup> The types of people who were prepared to serve the All Saints' Children's Home fall into both these groups. The Board and Committee were overwhelmingly middle aged and middle class, and, as Reid discovered with Dunedin Society for the Protection of Women and Children,<sup>22</sup> likely to be involved in other charities,<sup>23</sup> suggesting that they felt charity work was part of what they were expected to do. This argument is more often applied to women, and is sometimes given the term 'lady benevolent' or 'do-good' ladies. Certainly the women who had long and influential involvement with the Home were from the higher stratum of Palmerston North society<sup>24</sup> and may have felt that being on the Committee came with their social place.

Another aspect as to why a certain type of woman served the Home is that these were women with available time. Some could afford servants and, as we have seen with the age analysis, most had families that were older when they first came on to the Committee. In pre-World War Two society, and to some extent after World War Two, it was socially unacceptable for married women to take paid employment and becoming involved in a charity, like a children's home, was seen as a proper outlet for their time and abilities.<sup>25</sup> The fact that the Ladies' Committee aged after World War Two could be a reflection of the change occurring in society around the role of married women. Possibly the kinds of women who would have formerly gone on to the Committee were now joining the work force when their children were older, rather than doing voluntary work. This change could explain why the Committee experienced difficulty in attracting younger women during the last fifteen years of its life.

When looking at possible reasons for involvement in a charity, it is most often women's motivations which are considered and this is reflected in the discussion above. A reasonable amount has been written about why women chose to volunteer their time but men's volunteer groups are understudied.<sup>26</sup> The types of men who became involved with the

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<sup>21</sup> Renate Howe, and Shurlee Swain, *All God's Children: A Centenary History of Methodist Homes for Children and The Orana Peace Memorial Homes*, Canberra, Acorn Press, 1989, p.98.

<sup>22</sup> Reid, p.14.

<sup>23</sup> Constance Abraham YWCA, Mrs Mansford Plunket, Mrs Akers YWCA.

<sup>24</sup> Some examples include Margaret Mansford, wife of a long serving Mayor, Constance Abraham wife of a prominent businessman, Audrey Collinson, wife of a prominent department store owner.

<sup>25</sup> Jessie Ramey, *Childcare in Black and White: Working parents and the History of Orphanages*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2012, p.195.

<sup>26</sup> Kate Bradley, 'Gendering the History of Voluntary Action', Voluntary Action History Society Blog (16 April 2012), retrieved from: <http://www.vaahs.org.uk/2012/04/gender-bradley/> on 2 October 2014.

Home had much in common with the women in terms of age and social status. Therefore we can assume that some of the ideas of public service and social status affected the men as well. One difference is that men generally had less time available than the women, although the occupation analysis showed that the men who were on the Board tended to be in occupations that offered them more flexibility, therefore they may have had more time to give. Another aspect that may have motivated men was a desire to be involved in public life. Some of the men who served on the Board were also in elected positions, For example, A.E. Mansford was Mayor of Palmerston North from 1931-1947 while P.S. Larcomb and L.I. Plimmer were both city councillors.<sup>27</sup> Being involved in a children's home would not have hurt their image with the voters. However, it is impossible to tell if they saw volunteering as a way to public office or whether they were simply the kind of men who would become involved in public service and being a councillor or mayor was an extension of this. Although some of the incentives for men to volunteer were maybe different to those of women, there was considerable commonality between the age and social status of the men and women involved with the Home. This suggests that they may have shared some motivations.

However, there was another aspect to involvement with the All Saints' Children's Home. As already mentioned, one of the qualifications of Board and Committee members was that they be members of the Church of England. This suggests that the Christian virtues of service may have had bearing on why people became involved with the Home. In his examination of Christianity and charity, Prochaska notes that nineteenth-century Christianity saw charity work as inseparable from the Christian life. Personal service and sacrifice for public institutions were seen as an integral part of spiritual expression.<sup>28</sup> Prochaska argued that as the state became more involved in providing social welfare the relationship between Christian spiritual life and public service weakened.<sup>29</sup> This was a gradual and complex process that happened over the first half of the twentieth century. Brewis also proposed that the interwar period saw a shift in the reason people did voluntary service, from that of benevolence to that of personal growth.<sup>30</sup> These two ideas suggest that those born and raised after the First World War may have had different motivations for volunteering. The focus had shifted from that of giving resources to those who had less, to that of personal

<sup>27</sup> Ian Matheson, *Council and Community: 125 years of local government in Palmerston North 1877-2002*, Palmerston North: Palmerston North City Library, 2003, pp.94-98.

<sup>28</sup> Prochaska, p.4-12.

<sup>29</sup> Prochaska, pp.148-152.

<sup>30</sup> Georgina Brewis, 'Toward a new understanding of volunteering in England before 1960?' Institution for Volunteering Research, 2013, p.4 Retrieved from [http://www.academia.edu/3806766/Towards\\_a\\_new\\_understanding\\_of\\_volunteering\\_in\\_England\\_before\\_1960](http://www.academia.edu/3806766/Towards_a_new_understanding_of_volunteering_in_England_before_1960) on 23 September 2014.

fulfilment. Analysis of the age of volunteers shows that as the Home aged so did those involved in its running. Most of the people who gave their time were born in the nineteenth century and would have been steeped in the ideas that giving to those less fortunate was an integral part of a Christian life.

There were also personal connections between those on the Trust Board and the Ladies' Committee which may have provided motivation. The fact that the people who served were drawn from a similar sector of society suggests that there may have been a social aspect to participating in the work of the Home. This may have been stronger for the Ladies' Committee, where membership was by invitation, but it was probably a component of the Trust Board as well.

Service to the Home was also a family affair, with family connections both within the two groups and between them. Of the forty married women who served on the Ladies' Committee, ten had husbands who served on the Trust Board, the best example being the Mansfords, whose combined service was eighty-one years. There were also two examples of mothers and daughters on the Ladies' Committee and fathers and sons on the Trust Board. Caroline Akers served on the Ladies' Committee for forty years, and her husband, sister, brother-in-law and son-in-law were also heavily committed to the Home.<sup>31</sup> These personal connections have been observed in studies of other homes and similar organisations, Tennant found women in the Auckland Ladies' Benevolent Society who were mother, sisters and daughters.<sup>32</sup> Both Ramey, and Howe and Swain found family connections on the committees of the Homes they studied.<sup>33</sup> Personal connections, both social and familial, presumably played a role in why people became involved in the work of the All Saints' Children's Home.

The interconnectedness within, and between, the Trust Board and Ladies' Committee was important as the members needed to work together in the complex business of running the Children's Home. The role of the two groups is suggested by the names they were initially given. The Trust Board was also known as the Board of Control. The men were in charge of ensuring the financial security of the Home, dealing with insurance, mortgages and any maintenance, repairs or alterations that needed to be done. Calling the Ladies'

<sup>31</sup> Her husband, Hugh Akers, sister Maude Monrad, brother-in-law Oscar Monrad, son-in-law Bruce Davidson.

<sup>32</sup> Tennant, 'Women's Peculiar Mission', p.75.

<sup>33</sup> Jessie Ramey, *Childcare in Black and White: Working parents and the History of Orphanages*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2012, p.15-16.  
Howe and Swain p.99.

Committee the Board of Management indicated that they were responsible for the day-to-day business of the Home, like the purchases the Matron made and what material needs there were, such as clothing, furniture and appliances. The secretary of the Ladies' Committee also assisted the Vicar with applications for admittance to the Home and dealt with employment issues. The existing minutes of the Ladies' Committee meetings commence in 1938, and reveal they met monthly and had done for some time.<sup>34</sup> Within the Committee, they had a sub-committee from which they appointed two members to visit the Home each month. From this it appears that the Ladies' Committee were more frequent visitors to the Home, suggesting that they were more in touch with the day-to-day running and all the issues involved.

By contrast, the Board seems to have had a very hands-off approach, trusting the Ladies' Committee to bring to their attention any matters with which they needed to deal. The Board minutes exist from 1906 to 1962 and show that the Trust Board often only met once or twice a year. In the very early years of the Home, they met much more frequently, sometimes every month, but on average every two months, from about 1910 until 1930. During the 1930s the minutes become very sparse, with none recorded between October 1938 and June 1944, after which the Board only seemed to meet to discuss specific issues that had arisen, and often in a combined meeting with the Ladies' Committee. From 1944 until 1962 the minutes record that the Board met forty-one times, only six of those meetings being without the Ladies' Committee present.<sup>35</sup> From this it appears that the separate roles of the committees were becoming more blurred and the Ladies' Committee was being consulted more.

One area that the Men controlled was grounds and maintenance, for which they had a separate committee. In 1956 the Ladies' Committee asked that they take over responsibly for this area. They felt that it took too long to get problems with the building and grounds resolved, and wanted to be able to approve expenditure on these areas without having to go through the Trust Board. Instead they asked for a representative of the Board to attend their meetings when necessary.<sup>36</sup> The matter was brought to the 1956 Annual General Meeting, at which point the Board became concerned about the financial implications of letting the

<sup>34</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1931, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives, states that the Ladies' Committee meets in second week of every month.

<sup>35</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>36</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 8 March, 1956, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee approve work. The matter was resolved by setting up a combined sub-committee.<sup>37</sup> This is an example of the how the Ladies' Committee was taking more control over running the Home. With the Trustees meeting infrequently and Ladies' being much more in touch with the daily business of the Home, it appears that they were in control and the men acted on their recommendations. This shift of power could also be a reflection of changing role of women in the post-World War Two world. It seems that the Ladies' Committee was given a much freer hand after 1945 than they had in the 1920s and 1930s. The roles of the two groups which ran the Home was defined but these seemed to have become less so, with the Ladies' Committee taking a much larger role in the management of the Home.

The ways Board members and Ladies' Committee members were appointed may have ensured that in general relationships within and between the groups were cordial. It can be assumed that those who served the Home were known to each other and as we have seen in some cases were married or related in other ways. There were, however, two people who were expected to serve on each group, but over whom other members had little control: the Vicar and his wife. Generally this relationship appears to have been excellent, but as Howe and Swain noted in their study of Melbourne Methodist children's homes, these ex-officio members could cause issues, particularly if they became too 'interested'.<sup>38</sup> This problem arose within the Trust Board in the late 1920s. In 1927, Hugh Akers, a member of the Trust Board, gave one and half acres of land to the Trust for the purpose of building a new Home.<sup>39</sup> This began a disagreement between the Vicar at the time, Canon Fancourt, and other Board members as to what to build on the section. Fancourt wanted up to six cottage homes built; other members were in favour of erecting a building along the same lines as the one they already owned. This was put to the vote in June 1929 and the Board was evenly split.<sup>40</sup> The matter was only resolved when Fancourt left All Saints' Parish at the end of 1929. By May 1930 plans for a single building had been drawn up<sup>41</sup> and the building was

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<sup>37</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual General Meeting 21 May, 1956, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>38</sup> Howe and Swain p.100.

<sup>39</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 18 November, 1927, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>40</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 14 June, 1929, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>41</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 2 May, 1930, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

completed by March 1931.<sup>42</sup> As far as it is possible to conclude from the minutes of their meetings, the groups that managed the Homes had few other disagreements.

When the Home closed in 1964, the structure of the groups that managed the Home was also changed. The new constitution kept the same number of Board members, but now allowed for women as well as men members, and the requirement to be a member of the Church of England was removed.<sup>43</sup> All of the members on the new Board had previously served on either the Trust Board or the Ladies' Committee. The profile of the Board remained as it had been in the first fifty-eight years, made up of middle-aged and middle-class people. This was the common experience of similar children's homes and other welfare groups that were centred on children or families. We can not know the individual motivations of each of person who became involved in the All Saints' Children's Home, but their similarity in age and social status suggests that some common motivations may have been a belief that their position in society required them to give of their time and resources to those less fortunate. The fact that all members of the Trust Board and Ladies' Committee were also members of the Church of England also suggests that nineteenth-century ideas of the Christian virtue of service may also have played a factor. This was particularly noticeable as both the Board and the Ladies' Committee aged after the Second World War and had trouble attracting younger members. The people who served the Home also had family connections and this, combined with an homogeneity of age and social status, helped the Board and Ladies' Committee to function smoothly, both within each group and between them. Each group within the structure had clearly defined roles, which fitted gender expectations of the time. These gradually changed, with the Board being much less involved and the Ladies' Committee taking on more responsibility. It appears that there was a commonality of purpose when making decisions about the management of the Home. However, the balance was occasionally upset, with the Vicar not necessarily fitting in as easily as the volunteer members. This is illustrated by the dispute over what to build on the section donated for the new Home. There was a small group of committed people who gave a considerable amount of time and energy to the running of the All Saints' Children's Home. Without them it could not have functioned. They would probably have agreed with Canon Woodward when he wrote 'It is indeed a privilege to be engaged in such a work as this'<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 28 March 1931, p.8.

<sup>43</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>44</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, 'All Saints' Children's Home Annual Report, 1930' All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.



FIGURE 5: Some of the staff of the Home standing on the front steps, mid-1950s.  
Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

## Chapter 3

# Employment of Staff for the Home

**A**SSISTANT Matron for All Saints' Children's Home, Palmerston North.—Apply Secretary, 32 Victoria Av., Palmerston Nth.

Over the fifty-eight years the Home was open, the staffing demands, and types of people who were employed as staff varied and altered. It is difficult to gauge accurately how many staff were employed at any one time due to a lack of definitive records. However, by using the Trust Board and Ladies' Committee Minutes as well as Annual Reports, Child Welfare Reports and newspapers, it was possible to gain some understanding of the issues around the employment of staff. One of the features that changed was the number of workers employed, which varied from two or three in the earlier years, to seven towards the end of the Home's life. Another aspect that altered was the number of staff who lived in the Home as it became increasingly harder to find residential staff from the 1950s. The Home was almost exclusively staffed by women, although men were sporadically employed as gardeners. There was no typical type of woman employed. There was, however, one aspect that many of the residential female staff had in common: they were without male support. Another trait that some employees shared was that they were recent immigrants to New Zealand. Although the staff the Home employed could be considered vulnerable, they were not without agency, using the threat of resignation to protect their interests. Having quality staff was vital to the smooth running of the Home and finding employees was not always easy. As the labour market tightened and opportunities opened up for women, during and after the Second World War, it became more difficult to find and keep staff.

There were three types of staff employed at the Home. Residential staff, house-girls, who were children too old for school, but too young for domestic service, and workers employed to come in during the day. The house-girls' role within the Home is examined in Chapter 7 as they were technically still under the control of the Home.<sup>1</sup> In general, those staff that came in during the day did domestic tasks, like the laundry and the cleaning or helped with meal preparation. This also included the periodic employment of a male gardener. Although the daily staff were important because they helped the residential employees, they usually did not have any contact with the children. Therefore, when discussing how many employees looked after the children, the house-girls and daily staff have not been included.

The Home appears to have opened with one staff member, the Matron.<sup>2</sup> By the time of the first Annual General Meeting, the staff consisted of the Matron and one assistant and there was discussion about employing another assistant.<sup>3</sup> At the time the Home had nine children, there was one staff member for every four and half children. The All Saints' Parish Magazine reported on the Home's first inspection by a Child Welfare Officer in 1908, noting that the Officer had praised the high ratio of staff to children. The Home had nineteen children with three residential staff and one daily assistant.<sup>4</sup> Thus the ratio of children to live-in staff had already increased, becoming one staff member for just over six children. As the number of children in the Home grew, reaching its peak in 1923,<sup>5</sup> the number of residential staff did not. The original Home in Ferguson Street had only enough room for three residential staff and there were extra spaces added for children, but not for staff. This reached crisis point in 1924 when the Child Welfare Officer reported that the Home was understaffed, with thirty-six children and three staff.<sup>6</sup> This may have resulted in the next Matron being a married woman. With her husband also living at the Home, there was an extra residential adult.

When the new building was opened in 1931, it had enough rooms to allow up to four

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<sup>1</sup> Children remained under the control of the Home until eighteen.

<sup>2</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 22 October, 1906, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives, says Matron and one girl but it is unclear if the girl is residential.

<sup>3</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, Annual General Meeting, 10 May, 1907, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, August 28 1908, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>5</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics*, 1923, p.173.

<sup>6</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 13 November, 1924, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

residential staff.<sup>7</sup> Although it was difficult at times to maintain this level, the number of children remained fairly consistent at around thirty-five. This meant that if the Home was fully staffed, the ratio of employees to children was around one to nine. This seems to have been a reasonably common staffing level. A publicity booklet for the South Island Methodist Orphanage and Children's Home states that they appointed staff on a one to ten ratio.<sup>8</sup> Ramey found in her study of two children's homes in Pittsburgh that they had a ratio of one to six or seven, which was lower than the United States average of one to ten.<sup>9</sup> Towards the end of the 1950s pressure was placed on the Home by Child Welfare to increase the number of staff they employed.<sup>10</sup> By 1961 the Home had four live-in staff and three daily staff, one of whom came in the evenings.<sup>11</sup> The number of children in the Home was seventeen, so there was almost one staff member for every four children, a similar ratio to when the Home opened.

During various periods in the life of the Home it proved difficult to employ and retain staff, meaning the ideal ratio of staff to children was not always maintained. The first mention of a staff shortage was in 1921.<sup>12</sup> At this time the number of children in the Home was growing, and the Matron, Mrs Spensley, had been ill.<sup>13</sup> It is difficult to gauge whether there were difficulties with finding staff before 1938, as this is when the existing Ladies' Committee minutes start. It is noticeable that from 1942 it became harder to find and keep staff. Initially the issues were with the younger staff being called up for essential war work. In 1942 the Home had two staff 'manpowered', one in June<sup>14</sup> and her replacement in November.<sup>15</sup> By early 1945 the staff shortage was described as serious. Advertisements were placed and the Ladies' Committee discussed the need to find a woman to help with the washing

<sup>7</sup> Contract no. 381, R Thorrold Jaggard, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>8</sup> M.A. Pratt, *The Story of the South Island Methodist Orphanage and Children's Home Christchurch*, Christchurch: Bascands Limited, 1934, p.11.

<sup>9</sup> Jessie Ramey, *Childcare in Black and White: Working parents and the History of Orphanages*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2012, p.146.

<sup>10</sup> K Walker, Supplementary Report, 6 September 1957, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>11</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection, 31 October, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>12</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 17 October, 1921, p.6.

<sup>13</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 13 May, 1921 p.7.

<sup>14</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1938-February 1944, 11 June, 1942, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>15</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1938-February 1944, 12 November, 1942, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

and ironing.<sup>16</sup> It was noted in March<sup>17</sup> and April<sup>18</sup> that there had been no replies to the advertisements. In June one appointment had been made<sup>19</sup> but by November 1945 the Home was short staffed again.<sup>20</sup> This theme continued, with the staff situation being 'acute' in April 1946<sup>21</sup> and in 1948 none of the women offered the vacant positions took them up when the Sub-Matron and Matron left.<sup>22</sup> The turnover in staff continued and when the cook left in July 1949 an application was made for a displaced person.<sup>23</sup> The entire staff resigned in August 1949<sup>24</sup> and in November 1949 the Home was reported to be in disarray due to lack of staff and the changes in staff.<sup>25</sup>

The arrival of Lucy Elliot as Matron in April 1950 settled the situation and despite the fact that it was difficult to find four residential staff the decision was made to stick with this model.<sup>26</sup> By 1952 the Home was able to maintain staffing levels.<sup>27</sup> However, a new trend had emerged as the temporary outside help that the Home had used while unable to get residential staff were retained.<sup>28</sup> During the mid-1950s the staff remained reasonably stable but by 1956 problems were again emerging.<sup>29</sup> In 1957 a Child Welfare Officer addressed a combined meeting of the Trust Board and Ladies' Committee on the issue of staff numbers.<sup>30</sup> The matter had already been raised by the Matron. Rather than increase the number

<sup>16</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 8 February, 1945, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>17</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 8 March, 1945, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>18</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 12 April, 1945, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>19</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 June, 1945, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>20</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 8 November, 1945, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>21</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 11 April, 1946, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>22</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 13 May, 1948, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>23</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 July 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>24</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 11 August, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>25</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 10 November, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>26</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 9 March, 1950, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>27</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection, 13 August, 1952, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>28</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 12 February, 1953, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>29</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 8 March, 1956, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>30</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 7 October, 1957, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

of staff, those at the meeting decided to limit the number of children to twenty-five.<sup>31</sup> This reflects the realisation that the only way to sustain the required level of staff to children was to reduce the numbers of the latter. For the remainder of the time the Home was open, the number of outside staff increased so that by 1961 there were almost as many outside staff as residential.<sup>32</sup>

These issues were not unique to All Saints' Children's Home. St Mary's Homes in Wellington were in danger of closing due to lack of staff during the Second World War, only the availability of Church Army workers enabling them to keep functioning.<sup>33</sup> Morris Mathews's study of Abbotsford, an Anglican Home near Waipawa, found that by 1957 it was relying more on the labour of older girls as there were few staff remaining.<sup>34</sup> Howe and Swain noted that the Melbourne Methodist Homes they studied also had staffing issues during the Second World War.<sup>35</sup>

There were several social dynamics that were leading to the shortage of staff. During World War Two the need for female labour due to men being overseas would have contributed to the staff shortages. The ability of the Government to 'manpower' women for essential services was also a problem, St Mary's attempted unsuccessfully to get children's homes made an essential industry in an effort to keep staff.<sup>36</sup> The period from 1940 to 1970 saw remarkably low rates of unemployment in New Zealand, around one percent of the labour force in 1961.<sup>37</sup> This meant that workers could take their pick of jobs and domestic work in a children's homes may not have held the same attraction as it did in the interwar period when unemployment was much higher.<sup>38</sup> There were also more career options opening for women. Although these were limited compared to later periods, more secondary education for girls and the increasing professionalisation of jobs like nursing and teaching gave women more attractive options. Also young people wanted more freedom than the live-in positions allowed. Residential staff had to work evenings and weekends, which could affect

<sup>31</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 30 April, 1957, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>32</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection 31 October, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>33</sup> Dennis Wederell, (ed.), *One Hundred Years of Care: St Mary's Homes and Sprott House*, Wellington: Sprott House Trust, 2000, p.42.

<sup>34</sup> Kay Morris Matthews, *Who cared? Childhoods within Hawke's Bay Children's Homes and Orphanages 1892-1988*, Napier: Eastern Institute of Technology, 2012, p.80.

<sup>35</sup> Renate Howe, and Shurlee Swain, *All God's Children: A Centenary History of Methodist Homes for Children and The Orana Peace Memorial Homes*, Canberra, Acorn Press, 1989, p.50.

<sup>36</sup> Wederell, p.45.

<sup>37</sup> Geoff Bertram, 'The New Zealand Economy, 1900-2000' in Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History Of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009. pp.549-551.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid*, p.549.

the social lives of young, single staff members.<sup>39</sup> Another social dynamic operating in post-war New Zealand was near-universal marriage at an early age.<sup>40</sup> This meant that the pool of unmarried women that had existed in previous generations to staff places like children's homes had shrunk.

It proved impossible to trace all the staff that were employed at the All Saints' Children's Home. It is, however, feasible to get an idea of what types of women were employed from remaining records. A reasonable amount is known about some Matrons and staff, and it was possible to interview two surviving staff members, one from the late 1940s and another from the late 1950s. Typically the employees seem to have shared a lack of male financial support. Most of the women who worked in the Home were single, the only married Matron beginning work in 1925. Anne Wagstaff not only had a husband but at least two children.<sup>41</sup> It is unclear whether Mr Wagstaff had a job, but he was asked to perform handyman jobs around the Home.<sup>42</sup> Long-serving single women include Annie Foley, the second Matron and the longest serving, working in the Home for eleven years, from 1907 until 1918. Other examples include: Dorothy Bellingham, sub-matron from 1936 to 1938 and Matron from 1938 to 1946; Lucy Elliot, Matron from 1950-1957; and Miss Wallace, assistant 1940 to 1946 and Matron from 1946-1948.

There are probably several reasons why the staff were predominantly single women. These women presumably needed to support themselves, their parents being unable to support them in the family home. They may have started their working life with children or as domestics as this was seen as ideal way for them to practise for their eventual role as wife and mother.<sup>43</sup> Single women who did not get married then made a career out of caring for children. Another aspect that would have made work in children's home attractive to single women was that it gave them somewhere safe to live. Particularly before World War Two, it was difficult for single women to find safe and respectable accommodation outside of a family home. By taking live-in positions they had a wage and a bed.

<sup>39</sup> Edith Bartosh, Interview by Author, 16 October, 2014.

<sup>40</sup> Ian Pool, Arunachalam Dharmalingam and Janet Sceats, *The New Zealand Family from 1840: A Demographic History*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007, p.179.

<sup>41</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 9 December, 1924, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives, states Mrs Wagstaff's husband and children were to be accommodated at the Home.

<sup>42</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 16 March, 1931, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>43</sup> Katherine Holden, 'Other people's children: Single women and residential childcare in mid-20th century England', *Management and Organisational History*, vol.5, issues3/4, p.315.

Another group of women that needed to earn their own money were widows and separated women with children. Work in children's homes would have been attractive to them because the homes were often able to accommodate their children. This meant that the women could support themselves without having to worry about finding care for their children. Alice Farrell was a widow with a child and was employed sometime between 1922 and 1924.<sup>44</sup> There are two examples of Matrons who were widows and whose older daughters acted as assistants, Mrs Spensley<sup>45</sup> and Mrs Bain.<sup>46</sup> The first record of the Home employing a separated woman is in 1943, when Mrs Stokes was appointed as cook. She brought her two daughters with her and Mr Stokes paid for their maintenance.<sup>47</sup> We cannot know what the Committee's attitude towards separated women was, but it is probable that they could not be fussy as the labour market tightened.<sup>48</sup> This would have been exacerbated by the fact that live-in positions were more attractive to separated women with children than to single women who wanted their evenings and weekends to socialise. Employment within the Home provided a way of women supporting themselves. It was particularly important for women with children who found themselves without male support, as it enabled them to keep their families together.

Another circumstance that a number of employees in the Home shared was that they were recent immigrants to New Zealand. Alice Farrell was an English immigrant arriving in New Zealand in 1922; and she left her employment to return there.<sup>49</sup> Both Anne Wagstaff and Mrs Bain arrived in New Zealand in the year before they took up their jobs.<sup>50</sup> Mrs Bain chose New Zealand because her son had a place at Flock House.<sup>51</sup> Miss Bellingham arrived in New Zealand in 1927 and left her position as Matron to return there in 1946.<sup>52</sup> After the Second World War, the Home began employing recent migrants from Europe. In 1949 the first application was made to the Labour Department for a displaced person with

<sup>44</sup> Reference File, Series 11 Box 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>45</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 17 October, 1921, p.7.

<sup>46</sup> *Doing Likewise: The Social Work of the Church of England in New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland Newspapers Ltd, 1929, p.15.

<sup>47</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1938-February 1944, 11 February, 1943, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>48</sup> Holden, p.322.

Edith Bartosh, 16 October 2014, reflecting on why her sister-in-law, Stella Hands, worked as a residential staff member after her separation.

<sup>49</sup> Reference File, Series 11 Box 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>50</sup> <http://search.findmypast.com.au>

<sup>51</sup> Pauline Wheeler, Interview by Author, 25 May, 2014.

<sup>52</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Miss Bellingham to Trustees, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

a child. She arrived at the Home within the fortnight.<sup>53</sup> In September 1951 Mrs Kerylas, a Latvian, was employed,<sup>54</sup> and in 1952 the Home sponsored the immigration of a Dutch woman, also with a child, who began employment in September 1952.<sup>55</sup> In 1958 Edith von Moerkerken arrived from Holland to work at the Home. Her job had been arranged by her sister while Edith was still in Holland, as she could not enter New Zealand without the offer of a job. She spoke very little English but recalls that the children were very patient with her.<sup>56</sup> It seems that the Home provided an initial step on the employment ladder for recent immigrants. The fact that the Home provided accommodation and would allow employees' children to live with them meant that it was an appealing option as a first job for those newly arrived in New Zealand. The migrants' need for a job and a place to live was matched by the Home's need for staff, particularly after World War Two when residential staff were getting very difficult to find.

The single women, separated or widowed mothers and the new immigrants who were employed in the Home could be vulnerable to exploitation. Yet the staff were able to exercise agency within their situations to advance their own conditions, get attention for their grievances, or improve the life of the children. The most common way of staff exerting agency was by threatening to resign. The first recorded incident of this was in 1915 when the sub-matron, Miss Knight tendered her resignation. It is not apparent what her grievance was but it probably had something to do with the duties she was expected to perform. The Ladies' Committee convinced her to withdraw her resignation by setting up an enquiry into the workings of the Home.<sup>57</sup>

In 1949 a disagreement arose between the Ladies' Committee and the Matron. The nature of this is unclear, but in July a meeting of the Vicar, the Treasurer, the Secretary and three members of the Ladies' committee resolved to remove the Matron as soon as a replacement could be found.<sup>58</sup> The result of this was the resignation of the entire staff,<sup>59</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 July, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>54</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection, 7 August, 1951, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>55</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 11 September 1952, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>56</sup> Edith Bartosh, Interview by Author, 19 October, 2014.

<sup>57</sup> Trust Board Minute Book 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 15 February, 1915, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>58</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 14 July, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>59</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 8 September, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

presumably siding with the Matron. Both these examples of staff using withdrawal of their labour came at a time when there were plenty of jobs available. Not only would it have been easy for the staff leaving to find new jobs, but it was also harder for the Home to find replacement staff, meaning that the Ladies' Committee would have been more disposed to negotiate.

Another way that the staff could exercise agency was through purchases made for the Home. The Matron was meant to seek approval for every purchase she made, other than groceries. From the late 1940s onwards Matrons did not always do so, risking the disapproval of the Ladies' Committee. Lucy Elliot, Matron from 1950 to 1957, was told several times to stop purchasing goods without permission,<sup>60</sup> but continued to do so. It seems that Matron was more interested in attending to the needs of the children in a timely fashion, than following the rules. The Ladies' Committee were forced to accept this as the employment climate of the 1950s meant that staff were hard to replace.

During the life of the Home the numbers of employees changed with availability and it was not always possible to maintain ideal numbers of staff. This was particularly true in the late 1950s and early 1960s, when the Child Welfare Department pressed the Home to increase its staff-to-child ratio. Because it was difficult to find residential staff, the number of daily staff increased, and the number of children accepted into the home decreased. The reduction of children can be seen as a sign that staff were difficult to find. Most of the women who worked in the Home were without male support, either single, widowed or separated. Before World War Two, the Home was a valuable form of employment for unmarried women due to the work being socially acceptable as well as providing a respectable live-in position. Changes in post-war society meant that residential work became less appealing to unmarried women and the higher marriage rates led to less single women being available. Widowed and separated women sought employment in the Home because it enabled a woman in this situation to support herself without having to find childcare. Immigrants, particularly those with children, were also drawn to employment in the Home as it enabled them to earn a living without having to find other accommodation. Even though the typical staff member may have had little power, they were still able to exercise agency, particularly when there was a buoyant job market. The type of employment the All Saints' Children's

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<sup>60</sup> For example: Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 14 May, 1953, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.  
Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956- February 1962, 13 June, 1957, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Home offered filled an important role in the social fabric by providing a means for women without male support to earn a living.





FIGURE 6: The second building the Trust owned, purpose built in Pascal Street, Palmerston North, in 1931. The Trust was able to construct this building because it was gifted the land by Hugh Akers and given £2000 by William Reed.  
Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

## Chapter 4

# How the Home was supported

*'The Trustees extend grateful thanks to all who have supported the Home during the past year'<sup>1</sup>*

The All Saints' Children's Home was a charity, relying on the generosity of Palmerston North and surrounding districts for money and material goods. This chapter explores the financial situation of the Home and how this changed between its opening in 1906 and its closing in 1964. Annual accounts have survived from 1908 to 1914, 1916 and 1917, 1921 and 1926 to 1964. The financial year of the Home ran from April 1 to March 31, so the accounts are a largely reflection of the previous year. There is also valuable information about donations, legacies and expenditure in the Trust Board and Ladies' Committee Minutes. Over the period the Home was open it had three main sources of monetary income, donations, parental contributions and government benefits (Figure 7). The sources of income, amounts, and the proportions are analysed in this chapter to see how income streams changed. The Home also relied on gifts in kind from the community. These were many and varied, but the nature of them and the amounts altered over the life of the Home. The amount it cost to run the Home could be problematic and income did not always meet expenditure. How the expenses shifted over the years is investigated here and placed in relation to what goods were being donated. Fundraising, which occasionally took the form of one-off campaigns and sometimes annual events, was important for the Home. Even the annual events had fads, some running for many years and then being replaced with new

<sup>1</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 20 June, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

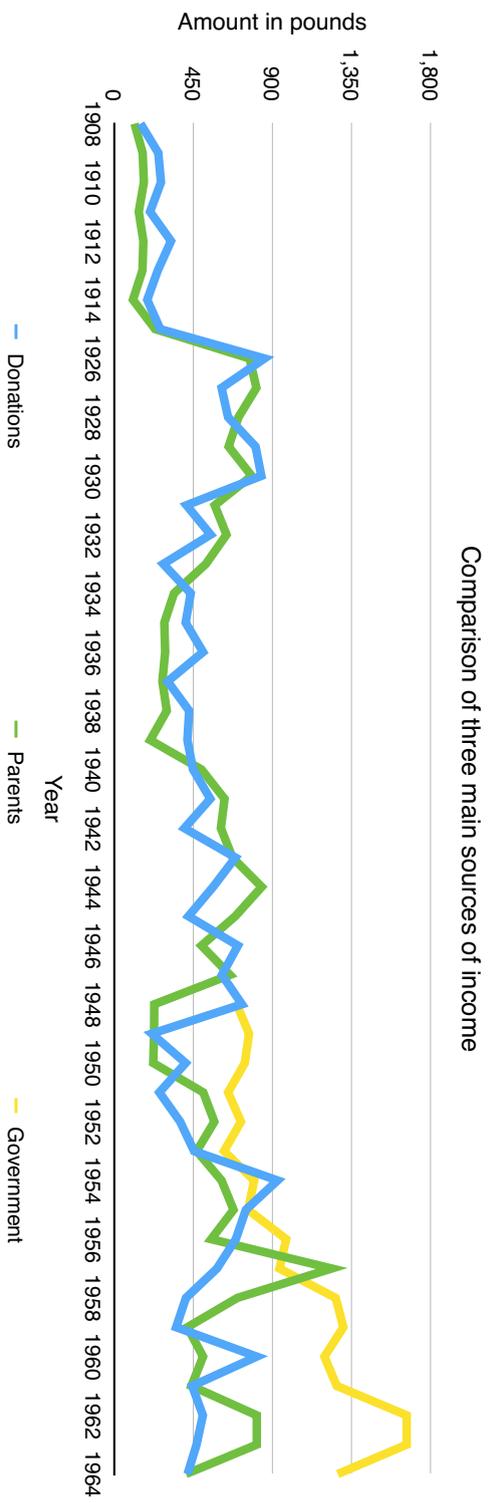


FIGURE 7 : Main sources of income.

ideas. The general pattern was the amount of money people were prepared to give dropped as the Home aged, as did the quantity of goods that were donated, leading the Home to become dependant on government payments and legacies for its funding.

Initially the plans for the All Saints' Children's Home envisaged monetary funding from two sources, parental contributions and donations. In keeping with the early twentieth-century discourse around families, the Board believed it was important for parents to pay something toward the upkeep of their children to prevent parents using the Home to shirk their responsibilities.<sup>2</sup> When the Home opened, the level was set at seven shillings a week, with discretion for the Board to decrease or waive fees on an as-needed basis. The 1909 Annual Report noted that it cost about fourteen pounds a year to keep a child in the Home, which equated to seven shillings a week. The report also said that there were four children in the Home for whom no payment was received and four for whom only a small amount was paid by parents.<sup>3</sup> This problem was compounded by parents who were able to pay but did not. The 1910 Annual Report stated that seven parents were in arrears. Considering the Home had twenty-one children, this is a large number not paying the full amount.<sup>4</sup> From 1908 to 1914 the amount parents contributed dropped from an average of nine pounds per year per child to four pounds per year per child.

In 1916 the parental contributions suddenly increased, from £109 to £235. This could be explained by a number of factors: there could have been stricter enforcement by the Board.<sup>5</sup> The War had created a buoyant job market, so there could be more parents able to pay. Also, an increase in the amount parents were expected to pay possibly occurred about this time. In 1914 a girl was admitted, with her father to pay ten shillings a week,<sup>6</sup> and in 1916, two families were admitted, each paying eight shillings a week, with one father to pay more when able. This suggests that eight shillings was below the normal rate.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, All Saints' Parish Magazine, November 1906, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1909, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1910, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>5</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 23 November, 1915, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>6</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 19 November, 1914, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>7</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 17 August, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

There is no clear record of any change in the amount parents were expected to pay each week, but ten shillings may have been the standard by 1916. Morris Mathews found that the France Trust was paying ten shillings per week for each child they sponsored in the Hawke's Bay Children's Home, suggesting this may have been the amount considered enough to support a child.<sup>8</sup> The amount parents were to pay was set at 12 shillings and 6 pence in 1921<sup>9</sup>, but, apart from 1921, no financial records have survived from between 1917 and 1926, so it is difficult to tell if the trend of increased parental contributions continued.

The other stream of income was monetary donations. There were three types of money given to the Home: one-off donations, which included collections by various churches; people who pledged to give a fixed amount annually, called subscribers; and those that gave legacies or grants to the Home. The amount given to the Home in free-will monetary donations was variable in the period between 1908 and 1917. For the year ending March 1908, £99 in free-will donations were recorded, but the extensions to the building and the accompanying mortgage stretched the Home's finances.<sup>10</sup> The Board decided to appeal for funds outside of the Palmerston North area. A letter from Rev. Harper appeared in the *Church Chronicle*, the Wellington Diocese newspaper, pointing out that All Saints' Children's Home served the whole of the Wellington Diocese and asking for people to subscribe to the Home.<sup>11</sup> It seems that this campaign could have been successful as the amount donated in 1909 was £201<sup>12</sup> and 1910 £222.<sup>13</sup>

However, the variable nature of donations is illustrated by a decrease in 1911 to £155<sup>14</sup> and then a leap to £280 in 1912.<sup>15</sup> It is difficult to tell if the money was coming from within Palmerston North or from throughout the Wellington Diocese. One trend that did occur in this period was for churches in the Diocese to take up special offerings for the Children's

<sup>8</sup> Kay Morris Mathews, *Who cared? Childhoods within Hawke's Bay Children's Homes and Orphanages 1892-1988*, Napier: Eastern Institute of Technology, 2012, p.110.

<sup>9</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 21 January 1920, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>10</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1908, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>11</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 1 August, 1908, p.11.

<sup>12</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1909, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>13</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1910, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>14</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1911, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>15</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1912, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Home during their Christmas Service.<sup>16</sup> This practice seems to have fallen off toward the end of World War One.<sup>17</sup> The donation amount recorded in 1912 was the largest up to 1917, with the amount given trending downward.

The difficulty in relying on donations is reflected in the Annual Reports and Board Minutes, which repeatedly call for more subscribers. Subscriptions were seen as a more secure form of donations. A person would pledge to give a certain amount each year, set at a minimum of ten shillings, and, although the Board had no way of holding people to their pledge, most seem to have paid. In 1911 the financial position of the Home was described as 'expenses stationary, income falling'<sup>18</sup> and there was a call for more subscribers, which was repeated in 1912.<sup>19</sup>

Even though subscriptions might be thought to be a more stable form of income, they proved as variable as donations. Between 1908 and 1917, 1914 was the lowest year for subscriptions with £33<sup>20</sup> and 1916 the highest at £63.<sup>21</sup> The years during the First World War were subject to inflation, but the difference between the two amounts is very substantial. It is possible that a regular advertisement about the work of the Home that ran in the *Church Chronicle* from September 1913 to November 1915 raised awareness of it and encouraged subscriptions. The war economy may also have had an effect, with more job security and higher wages leading people to feel they could pledge money.

Although no accounts exist for 1918, the Annual Report mentioned the Home had gained many new subscribers.<sup>22</sup> Yet in 1921 the subscriptions were £64,<sup>23</sup> suggesting that either subscribers were paying less per head or the numbers paying had not altered much. The Board may have seen subscribers as a way of insuring against the vagaries of donations, but they seemed to be just as prone to fluctuations.

<sup>16</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 3 March, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives, for example.

<sup>17</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 21 November, 1917, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>18</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1911, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>19</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1912, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>20</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1914, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>21</sup> Matrons Scrapbook, 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>22</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 26 April, 1918, p.7.

<sup>23</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 13 May, 1921, p.7.

Because of the income of the Home was inconsistent, large, one-off donations were important. These could take three forms. Occasionally someone would give a large amount of money, an established Trust might give a large amount annually, or someone would leave the Home a legacy. In the early years of the Home, legacies were not part of the income. This is probably because people tend to leave money to established organisations. The first recorded legacy was in 1916, when the Home was made the residual legatee of a will, but there is no record of how much money this brought in.<sup>24</sup>

The large, one-off amounts were more common and one features in the founding story of the Home. When the Board set up the Home, they took out a mortgage of £700. In November 1906 they wrote to Archdeacon Williams, a man with considerable private means, asking him for a low-interest loan. In reply, the Archdeacon promised to pay £200 off the mortgage if Palmerston North could raise £500. Within four weeks the money had been raised and the debt paid off.<sup>25</sup> The Home was mortgage free until 1908, when the Board bought the section next to the Home and extended the building. Once again this mortgage was largely paid off by one-off donations, a series of £100 grants from the T G Macarthy Trust, between 1914 and 1924 being used to make lump-sum payments.<sup>26</sup>

Large, one-off donations were also invested to provide a more solid income for the Home. In 1916 the Home was gifted two amounts of £500 on the condition that they be invested in war bonds.<sup>27</sup> These kinds of donations helped stabilise the finances of the Home by reducing, and eventually extinguishing, the mortgage, and by providing a more secure guaranteed income of investment interest.

During the early to mid 1920s the financial situation of the Home was very healthy. The first indication that the income was exceeding expenditure was in the 1918 Annual Report, which declared a surplus of £1 293.<sup>28</sup> There are no financial records for 1918, so it is not possible to know why income had increased over expenses, but the amount was invested,

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<sup>24</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 16 June, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>25</sup> *Doing Likewise: The social work of the Church of England in New Zealand* Auckland: Auckland Newspapers Ltd, 1929, p.16.

<sup>26</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 27 May, 1924, p.5.

<sup>27</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 9 September, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>28</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 26 April, 1918, p.7.

providing further secure funds. Both 1921<sup>29</sup> and 1922 were reported as being very good years, 1922 being the most profitable to date.<sup>30</sup>

Despite increased expenditure, with the opening of the Foxton Home, surpluses continued. In 1927 the excess was £78,<sup>31</sup> somewhat smaller than 1918. Consistent financial records exist from 1926 and these show that donations began to drop during 1926, as reflected in the 1927 figures.<sup>32</sup> In early 1928 the Treasurer reported to the Board that there was a deficit of £164<sup>33</sup> and in 1929 there was a deficit of £350.<sup>34</sup>

The accounts record an increase in donations for both 1929<sup>35</sup> and 1930,<sup>36</sup> but a general decrease in subscribers. The amount of subscriptions was static and decreased as a percentage of donations. 1930 reversed this trend, but this was most likely a result of a vigorous fundraising and subscriptions drive undertaken in 1929.<sup>37</sup> The public could not sustain the levels of donations during the depression and they dropped in 1931 to £413,<sup>38</sup> two thirds of the 1930 figure of £613.<sup>39</sup> The lowest year for donations was 1933 when £281 was received.<sup>40</sup>

The accounts of St Mary's Homes in Karori showed that 1932 was also a low point for those homes with no subscriptions or donations in September and October.<sup>41</sup> The 1931 Annual Report stopped distinguishing between subscriptions and free-will donations, only donations being shown. This could suggest that the subscription base was so low that it was not worth making a separate category for them. In the difficult financial times of the early

<sup>29</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 13 May, 1921, p.7.

<sup>30</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 19 May, 1922, p.7.

<sup>31</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 5 May, 1927, p.11.

<sup>32</sup> Financial Records, Series 6, Volume 2, Ledger 1926-1951, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>33</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 6 February, 1928, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>34</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 4 February, 1928, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>35</sup> Financial Records, Series 6, Volume 2, Ledger 1926-1951, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>36</sup> Financial Records, Series 6, Volume 2, Ledger 1926-1951, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>37</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 14 June, 1929, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives, for example.

<sup>38</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1930, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>39</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1931, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>40</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1933, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>41</sup> Dennis Wederell, (ed.), *One Hundred Years of Care: St Mary's Homes and Sprott House*, Wellington: Sprott House Trust, 2000. p.32.

1930s it is probable that few people were willing to pledge money. The donations took some time to recover and it was not until 1948 that the record level set in 1926 was exceeded.

Parental contributions followed a similar pattern to donations during the 1920s. By 1921 the average amount paid by each parent was around twelve pounds<sup>42</sup> and in 1926 fourteen pounds.<sup>43</sup> From this point the amount began dropping. At the 1928 Annual General Meeting a £100 loss of parent funding was reported.<sup>44</sup> The average amount was hovering at around eleven pounds until 1931 when it decreased to eight pounds.<sup>45</sup> It rose again in 1932 to eleven pounds and then settled to be an average of nine pounds per child for the rest of the 1930s.

Given the economic decline that New Zealand was experiencing in the late 1920s, it is not surprising that parents were having difficulty meeting their obligations to the Home. What is interesting is that the contributions seem to have gone down so quickly and then risen again. The parents entered into a contract when they placed their children at the Home, so the Board could use legal means to make them pay. The payment, or non-payment, of parental contributions is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 6, but defaulting parents had implications for the finances of the Home. Enforcing the legal obligations that parents were under was an easy way of increasing the amount of money the Home received.

Another factor could have been the decision to close the Foxton Home, which was made by the Trustees in 1931.<sup>46</sup> To facilitate the merger into the Palmerston North Home, the number of children under the Board's care had to decrease by around thirty. The Trustees had to decide which children to remove and it is probable that those parents who were in arrears were asked to take their children away. Added to this was the Board's decision to curtail expenses by restricting the number of new children.<sup>47</sup> A more careful admission policy may have resulted in the Home not taking in any children whose parents could not pay. These policies would have led to the amount of parental contributions being sustained rather than dropping.

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<sup>42</sup> *Manawatu Standard*, 13 May, 1921, p.7.

<sup>43</sup> Financial Records, Series 6, Volume 2, Ledger 1926-1951, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>44</sup> *Manawatu Standard*, 10 May, 1928, p.8.

<sup>45</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1931, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>46</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 16 February 1931, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>47</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 8 May 1931, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

In the straightened financial times of the late 1920s and 1930s, the large one-off donations became even more important. In particular, the continued grants from the T.G. Macarthy Trust sustained the Home: in 1932 and 1933 the amounts received from the Trust were almost as much as donations.<sup>48</sup> In 1935, the Annual Report stated that the finances of the Home were improving, but only due to the £150 grant from the Macarthy Trust and a legacy of £200.<sup>49</sup>

That financial year the Home also received its largest ever one-off donation, £2 000 from W. Reed. This was given to the Home for the purpose of reducing the mortgage the Board had taken out to build the new Home in Pascal Street. This gift, along with the sale of some investments, enabled the Board to pay off the mortgage, which helped the financial situation.<sup>50</sup>

Another type of legacy also helped the Home during this period. Sometime in the early 1930s the Home was left income by at least two estates. These first appear in the 1933 accounts and, although the amounts are small and variable, they came to around £60 per year. In 1935 T.R. Moore left the Home a £1 a week.<sup>51</sup> This guaranteed income became increasingly important to the Home and by 1939 the grant from the Macarthy Trust, combined with the income from the estates, was almost twice the amount donated.<sup>52</sup> This shows that the Home was becoming reliant on legacies, a pattern that continued into the 1950s and 1960s.

During the Second World War the Home's finances were on a sound footing, with income exceeding expenses in some years.<sup>53</sup> This enabled the Board to invest money for the Home which would become important in the 1950s. The first signs that the Home might be heading into a prolonged period of financial difficulty was in 1945, when a deficit of £301 was reported. This generated considerable discussion at the Annual General Meeting. It

<sup>48</sup> Financial Records, Series 6, Volume 2, Ledger 1926-1951, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives. Donations in 1932 were £325, Macarthy Trust, £225, 1933 donations £281, Macarthy Trust, £200.

<sup>49</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1935, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>50</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 1934, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>51</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 17 June, 1936, p.12.

<sup>52</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1939, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>53</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1941, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1942, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

was believed that war conditions were somewhat to blame, as gifts were not so plentiful due to rationing.<sup>54</sup>

When the war ended, the Home still found its expenses exceeding its income, and the deficits increased, with the loss in 1950 being £1 163.<sup>55</sup> This trend began to reverse in 1951 and 1952, but again in 1953 the deficit was over £1 000. Between 1945 and 1964 in only one year, 1960, did the Home receive more than it spent. This is probably a reflection of the rise of the cost of living during the 1950s, but it is also of generally decreasing donations. They reached a post-depression low in 1949, with £216 recorded.

Donations rose during the early 1950s, peaking in 1954 due to two one-off fundraising efforts. The Massey Students' Association donated the funds from their capping day collection and C.M. Ross and Co charged those who wished to see the scene of the Royal Dinner from the Queen's visit in 1953, and gave the proceeds to the Home.<sup>56</sup> 1955 and 1956 were also reasonable years for donations, but this can be explained by the extra efforts to publicise the Home at the time of its 50th jubilee year in 1956. Even with these increases, the level of donations did not reach much above those of the mid-to-late-1930s.

This decrease in donations became a serious problem as the Home struggled to balance its books. It is difficult to know why it became harder for the Home to solicit donations. However, it is possible that the introduction of a comprehensive social security system meant that charities which provided welfare services found it more difficult to present their cause as a pressing need.<sup>57</sup> In Chapter 9 there is further discussion about how public views of institutions were changing and this too could have effected donation levels<sup>58</sup>.

As donations decreased, legacies became a much more influential form of income. The importance of these large one-off donations is mentioned in eight Annual Reports from 1951 to 1962. It was these amounts, coupled with those invested, that prevented the Home from become indebted due to its deficits. At the 1952 Annual General Meeting the Treasurer reported that in the last twelve years the Home had received £7716 in bequests and

<sup>54</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual General Meeting, 8 May, 1945., All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>55</sup> Trust Board Minute Book 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1950., All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>56</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1954., All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>57</sup> Margaret Tennant, 'Mixed Economy or Moving Frontier' in Bronwyn Dalley and Margaret Tennant, (eds.), *Past Judgement: Social Policy in New Zealand History*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2004, p.50.

<sup>58</sup> See Chapter 9, p.133

its losses were £4 480, which meant that accumulated funds had grown in spite of the continued working deficits.<sup>59</sup>

In 1951 the Home was left a farm in trust, and an income of about £100-£150 was expected.<sup>60</sup> By 1961 this legacy was giving the Home £250 per year.<sup>61</sup> Bequests that paid regular amounts were important because the Home could use them as a reliable source of income, but the amount the Home received in one-off bequests increased as well. In 1955 bequests amounted to £649, almost equal to the donations,<sup>62</sup> and in 1959 bequests were £3 654, almost ten times donations.<sup>63</sup> Between 1959 and 1964 the Home was left a total of £11 588 and had become reliant on these legacies to make ends meet.<sup>64</sup>

The growing number of legacies is probably a reflection of the age of the Home, with some of the money being from long-time supporters and ex-committee members. However, it is also a reflection of the place that children's homes held in the minds of the older members of the Palmerston North community. The amount received from donations was dropping, yet those who would have been young when the Home opened were bequeathing sometimes significant sums of money to it.

During 1952 and 1953 there was considerable discussion with the Ladies' Committee and Board about the compliance of parents. One theme that began to emerge was that some parents were having difficulty meeting the amount required, which was stated as being one pound per week per child.<sup>65</sup> Figures from the 1950s show that most parents were not paying the full amount. In 1948 the shortfall between the full amount parents should have paid and what they did pay was nineteen pounds per child, in 1961 the shortfall was £30.<sup>66</sup> From this we can see that during the 1950s there was an increasing trend for parents not to pay maintenance. We can not know the individual circumstances of each family but

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<sup>59</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual General Meeting, 19 May, 1952, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>60</sup> Trust Board Minute Book 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 19 September, 1951, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>61</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>62</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1955, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>63</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1959, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>64</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 5, Annual Report, 1964, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>65</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 10 December, 1953, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>66</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

it is possible that the introduction of government funded social services had led to a feeling among parents that they did not need to pay for their children.

This could feeling may have been compounded by the fact that the Government paid family benefit directly to the Home. From 1946 the Home was entitled to receive ten shillings per week for each child in their care This money quickly became the largest, constant income source for the Home (Figure 7). The income from the family benefit did fluctuate depending on how many children were in the Home, but its general trend was upwards, and in most years it was more, and sometimes significantly more, than free-will donations. For example in the 1957 Annual Report donations were £586 and government payments £941.<sup>67</sup>

In 1957 the Government introduced a new type of payment for children's homes, called capitation. It was designed to assist toward capital expenditure and reduce the reliance on public and private donations.<sup>68</sup> It is possible that the Government was recognising that children's homes could no longer run on the vagaries of donations and maintain the standard required by the Child Welfare Department.

The Home received around £1000 per year in government payments in 1947 rising to almost £1 800 in the early 1960s. However, despite this boost in income, it remained in prolonged deficit. This suggests that Home was not receiving anywhere near enough donations and parental contributions to keep running. The relationship between the Home and government is examined in more detail in Chapter 8, but it seems that government payments were part of the reason the the Home was able to remain open when other income streams were dropping.

The monetary income the Home received only tells part of the story of donations. Over the years the Home was open it relied very heavily on donations in kind. Right from the opening of the first Home, the Palmerston North community gave many goods to it. When the Home opened on 18 October 1906, a 'furnishing tea' was held. The *Manawatu Standard* reported: 'Yesterday morning, before the function, the house was practically empty, but by the time the gathering was over it was supplied, and more than supplied, with every conceivable thing'.<sup>69</sup> The Home also received free bread and meat<sup>70</sup> and its needs were

<sup>67</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1957, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>68</sup> Child Welfare, State Care of Children, Specials Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1957, E.4, p.4.

<sup>69</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 18 October, 1906, p.3.

<sup>70</sup> *Manawatu Daily Times*, 18 October, 1907, p.4.

made public by letters to the newspaper asking for goods like winter clothes.<sup>71</sup> When the first Home was extended in 1908, the public was asked to provide beds and bedding.<sup>72</sup>

It became common practice to publish the donation of goods the Home received each month in the newspaper. In February 1918 clothing was a common donation, as was food, including that left over from events, like picnics.<sup>73</sup> In April 1924 a similar pattern is seen, but the variety is greater, including a bed, crockery, sweets and comics.<sup>74</sup> A list from 1938 shows the gifts were mainly food, although hair cutting and firewood were listed.<sup>75</sup> By the 1950s the monthly list of gifts had shrunk: in May 1958 fifteen donors were listed<sup>76</sup> compared with fifty-two in 1924<sup>77</sup>. The items donated in 1958 included clothing and toys, but mostly they were made up of left-over cakes and sandwiches from various events. It seems that the public were donating less goods to the Home and what was being donated was more likely to be left-over cakes and sandwich than household items and groceries.

Gifts were very important to the Home as they reduced the amount of goods it needed to buy. The drop in the donations of goods experienced during the 1950s may be part of the reason that expenses rose. As has already been discussed, the Home spent more than it earned from 1945 until its closure. During the early 1950s one of the Board members, P.B. Davidson, began canvassing for goods for the Home. At the 1952 Annual General Meeting, he offered to approach city firms for gifts in kind such as blankets, linen and footwear.<sup>78</sup> He continued this scheme for some years and it was credited with improving the Home's finances in 1954, when the deficit was only £60.<sup>79</sup> In December 1954 Davidson warned that he might have difficulty in keeping up his scheme.<sup>80</sup> Although it is mentioned in the 1956 and 1957 Annual Reports,<sup>81</sup> it seems to have slowly decreased.

<sup>71</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 18 March, 1907, p.5.

<sup>72</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 25 June, 1908, p.5.

<sup>73</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 3 July, 1918, p.4.

<sup>74</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 1 May, 1924, p.3.

<sup>75</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 12 November, 1948, p.12.

<sup>76</sup> *Manawatu Daily Times*, 14 May, 1958.

<sup>77</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 1 May, 1924, p.3.

<sup>78</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 19 May, 1952, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>79</sup> *Church and People*, 1 June, 1954, p.15.

<sup>80</sup> Trust Board Minute Book 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 9 December, 1954, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>81</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1956, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Trust Board Minute Book 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1957, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Despite these efforts to increase donations of goods, it is noticeable from the Ladies' Committee Minutes that the amount that Matron had to purchase increased. Clothes seemed to be a particular issue, with the Matron regularly requesting that she be allowed to buy items and being told by the Ladies' Committee that she was not allowed to purchase clothing or shoes without permission.<sup>82</sup> It also seems that there was some difficulty in matching the needs with the donations,<sup>83</sup> and at one stage donated clothing that was too big was given away.<sup>84</sup>

The grocery bill also came under a great deal of scrutiny in the mid-1950s, and the Ladies' Committee decided that they needed to deal with a wholesale grocer.<sup>85</sup> This suggests that the amount of food that the Home needed to buy was increasing because there were not as many donations of food being received. It appears that the gifts the Home received reduced in the 1950s and this partially explains why expenses increased.

As with many charities, the Home ran and was the beneficiary of fundraising events. Sometimes these could make a difference in the financial situation of the Home, as they did in 1954, but mostly they supplemented donations or facilitated gifts in kind. Some of the early fundraisers included sales of work,<sup>86</sup> bazaars<sup>87</sup> and concerts.<sup>88</sup> In 1920 £100 was raised by two members of the Ladies' Committee who organised an entertainment, accounting for almost one third of donations that year.<sup>89</sup> Records of jumble sales first appeared in 1935 earning £7.<sup>90</sup> Although jumble sales were a popular fundraiser in the late 1940s and early 1950s, they rarely raised significant sums: £19 in 1952<sup>91</sup> and £34 in 1956.<sup>92</sup> A more profitable fundraiser became available to the Home in the early 1950s when the Jaycees

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<sup>82</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 14 May, 1953, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 13 June, 1957, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>83</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual General Meeting, 9 May, 1955, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>84</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 8 April, 1954, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>85</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 9 September, 1954, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>86</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 13 September, 1911, p.6.

<sup>87</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 19 December, 1912, p.5.

<sup>88</sup> *Manawatu Daily Times*, 18 December, 1907, p.1.

<sup>89</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 5 August, 1920, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>90</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1935, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>91</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1952, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>92</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1956, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

began an annual market day. The first stall, which was held in 1951, raised £84, accounting for almost one quarter of donations received that year.<sup>93</sup> By the late 1950s the market day was making a substantial contribution to donations, raising £177 in 1958, approximately one third of donations.<sup>94</sup> As free-will donations dropped off, fundraisers became a much more important way of securing donations for the Home.

The most important annual fundraiser for the the Home was the birthday party. It was celebrated from 1907 and was not only the main fundraising event for the year but also served as a way of publicising the work of the Home. This way of raising funds seems to have been common among children's homes, with the other home in Palmerston North, Willard Home, also running a birthday party and Howe and Swain also found that Birthday Parties were a main fundraiser for the Melbourne Home they studied.<sup>95</sup> The general format of the Birthday Party was that the Vicar would write a letter to local newspapers inviting members of the public to the party and asking them to bring a gift, with suggestions for gifts listed in the letter. The parties themselves were important affairs, with invited dignitaries, like the local Member of Parliament and the Mayor. Not only did the parties provide an opportunity to receive gifts, but they also enabled the public to visit the Home as it was open on the day of the party. A long list of gifts received in 1923 highlights the importance of the annual event. Twenty-six people gave cash; sugar, eggs and jam were popular gifts; and the Home was also given grass clippers and gramophone records.<sup>96</sup> The list from the 1930 birthday party is also long, with fewer cash donations, seventeen, but still many gifts in kind, including fifty cases of oranges.<sup>97</sup>

By the early 1950s the strain of running the Birthday Party was showing with the Ladies' Committee postponing the 1953 party until early 1954, due to lack of help.<sup>98</sup> In 1954 and 1955 the party was held in March, a departure from the traditional late October or early November date. In 1956 the November date was reverted to as part of the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Home.<sup>99</sup> Subsequently, a birthday party was not held again

<sup>93</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1952, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>94</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1959, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>95</sup> Renate Howe, and Shurlee Swain, *All God's Children: A Centenary History of Methodist Homes for Children and The Orana Peace Memorial Homes*, Canberra, Acorn Press, 1989, pp. 106-107

<sup>96</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 19 November, 1923, p.2.

<sup>97</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 25 October, 1930, p.15.

<sup>98</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 8 October, 1953, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>99</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 3 July, 1956, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

until 1959 and at the Annual General Meeting in 1960 one of the topics discussed was whether to hold the birthday party again, as the one held March 1960 had received only average gifts.<sup>100</sup> It appears that what had once been a reliable way of raising funds, gifts and publicising the work of the Home was no longer effective and this fits with the general pattern of donations and public interest declining from the 1950s onwards.

Ensuring the financial viability of the All Saints' Children's Home was never easy. Like many charities the Home had years where its income well exceeded its expenses and some years where the reverse was true. In the initial years the Home struggled financially, being a new institution without an established public reputation. However, from the end of World War One to the depression the Home was fortunate to receive good public support, both from monetary donations and gifts in kind. The depression was difficult for the Home but it managed through large one-off donations. There was little drop in parental contributions and it appears gifts in kind continued. By the end of World War Two legacies and surpluses had enabled the Home to invest money, which helped it survive the decline in donations that occurred during the 1950s. The Home found it very difficult to fund the growing expenses after World War Two and was in deficit for all but one year between 1945 and 1964. There was a drop in donations, both of money and gifts, as well as a decrease in parental contributions. This was somewhat off set by the newly available government benefits, but despite this providing a significant increase in funds the Home still ran at a loss, suggesting that these funds played a role in keeping the Home open. It was only legacies and the past investment of surpluses that prevented the Home from becoming indebted due to constant shortfall in funds. During the 1950s there were efforts to increase the donation of gifts in kind and fundraising efforts, but these were unable to compensate for increased costs and dropping donations. As the Home aged, it became dependant on legacies, suggesting that those who had been young when the Home first open still thought of it as a worthy cause to give money to.

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<sup>100</sup> Trust Board Minute Book 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual General Meeting, 13 June, 1960, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.  
Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 14 April, 1960, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.





FIGURE 8: Miss Foley and the Children, 1917. Source: Pataka Ipurangi: Manawatu Memory Online

## Chapter 5

# The Children and Families of the Home

*'The Church is caring for children who have lost one or both parents and are thrown on the world'*<sup>1</sup>

According to the original constitution of the All Saints' Home it was intended for orphan and destitute children.<sup>2</sup> In reality the Home cared for very few orphans: most of the children who lived in the Home were there as a result of some kind of family breakdown, and had at least one parent living. Initially this chapter will look at the numbers of children that were in the Home and analyse the fluctuations over the period it was open. Statistics on the Home were collected by the Government from 1912 to 1947 and these are used to track admissions, discharges and the gender balance. The Child Welfare Reports from the 1950s also contain information about numbers and the gender split within the Home. No record of the ethnicity of the children was kept by the Home authorities, but anecdotal and photographic evidence suggests that from the 1930s until its closing the Home had a number of Māori children in its care. The admission records from 1906 to 1919 have survived, although in some cases they are not complete. These records provide information on the age and circumstances of the children, particularly who placed them in the Home and why. An effort has been made to reconstruct later admissions and to track the family circumstances of the children. This was most successful for the 1940s and 1950s, partly

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<sup>1</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 1 September, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> *Matrons Scrapbook 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1910, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.*

because oral histories were conducted with some ex-children from this period. These two time periods are contrasted to show how the role of the Home shifted. As it aged, the Home was much more likely to receive children from separated and divorced parents, rather than from parents whose spouses had died. It was also possible to gain some understanding of the average age at entry and average length of stay, which also altered as the Home aged. Although those that ran children's homes liked to portray them as places for children without families, in the vast majority of cases children had at least one parent still living.

The rapid growth in the numbers within the All Saints' Children's Home was touched on in Chapter 1. In the first two years, the numbers presented at the Annual General Meeting more than doubled: there were nine children in 1907<sup>3</sup> and twenty-one in 1909.<sup>4</sup> Figure (9) shows the trends in the total number of children cared for the by Home between 1907 and 1964. Once the initial period of growth and expansion ended in 1909, the numbers of children remained at around the mid-twenties until 1920, when they climbed to thirty-two. In 1923 an alteration was completed which allowed for twelve more children.<sup>5</sup> The numbers did not increase dramatically thereafter, suggesting that the Home had been overcrowded.

The numbers in the Palmerston North Home dropped slightly in 1925, when the Foxton Home was opened, but began to climb again, peaking in 1929, with sixty-six children across the two homes. This was the high point and the numbers fell slowly during the 1930s. The Foxton Home was closed in 1933 and its children transferred to Palmerston North. Admissions were restricted, with only twenty-eight children admitted between 1932 and 1937, and no new children were accepted in 1934.<sup>6</sup> This was a response to the Depression and the need to cut costs.<sup>7</sup> The numbers began climbing again in the late 1930s, but did not reach those of the late 1920s. Controlling costs by restricting the number of children was used again in the early 1950s when there were large financial deficits.<sup>8</sup>

From about 1956 onwards the numbers in the Home began to decline, reaching a low point in 1959 of eleven children. The numbers rose again in the early 1960s, possibly

<sup>3</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1908, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report, 1909, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>5</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 23 July, 1923, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>6</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics*, 1934, p.146.

<sup>7</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 8 May, 1931, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>8</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949 - March 1956, 19 September, 1950, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

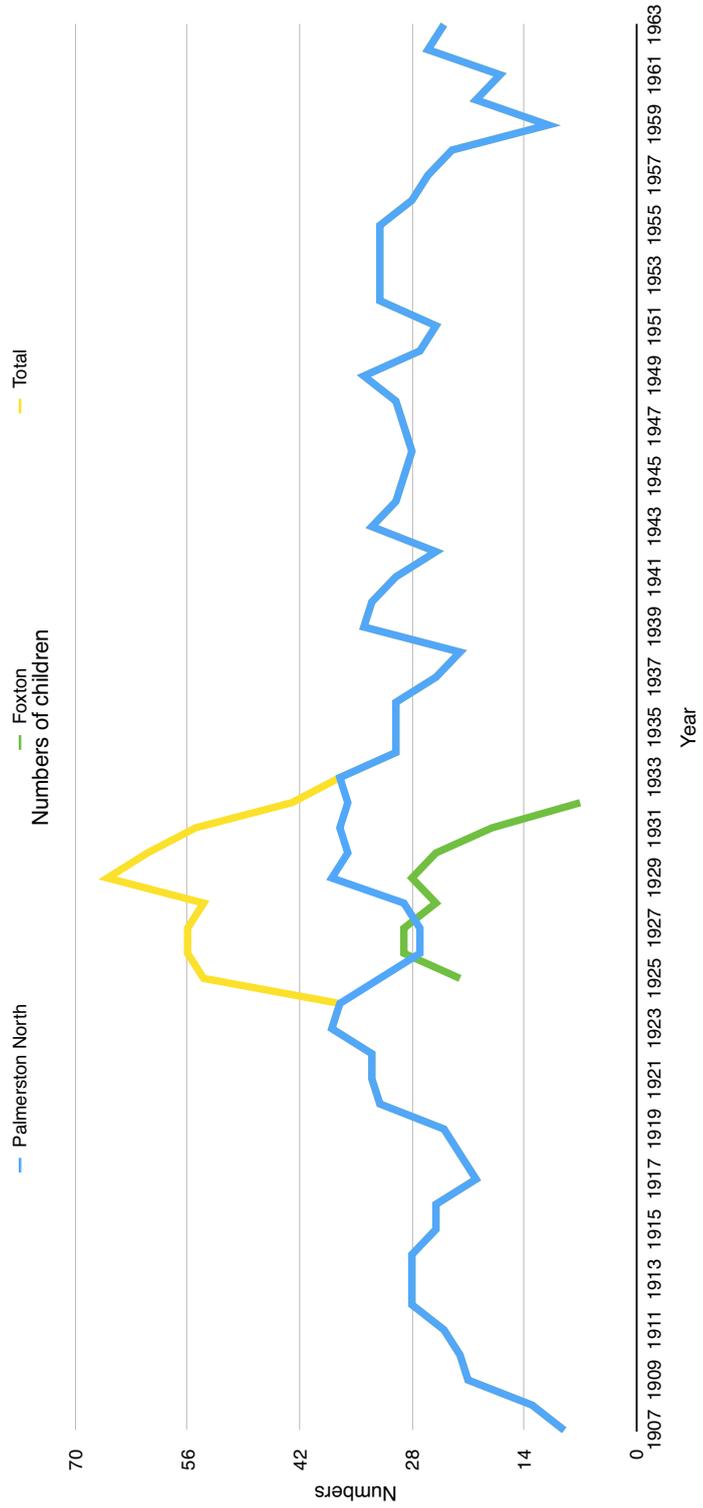


FIGURE 9: Numbers of children in the Home from 1907-1964.

because the closure of other children's homes meant that All Saints' was taking children from those homes.<sup>9</sup> However, a detailed record of the number of children by month, which exists from August 1961 until July 1964, shows that the numbers fluctuated. For example in November 1963 there were fifteen children and in December 1963, twenty-four.<sup>10</sup> Even though the numbers of children did rise in the early 1960s, this needs to be placed against the general rise in the number of children in the population due to the baby boom. Compared to the population as a whole, the percentage of children in homes was much less than it had been in the pre-World War Two era.

The 1920s was the decade when the number of children in homes peaked in New Zealand.<sup>11</sup> In the mid-1920s there were eighty-five private children's homes, in 1929 they housed over 4 000 children. This was also the period when the numbers in the All Saints' Home peaked. By the mid 1940s the numbers of children in homes in New Zealand had decreased to less than 3 000, and there were about eighty homes, suggesting that each home was caring for fewer children.<sup>12</sup> This was true of All Saints'. Its new building, opened in 1931, was designed for thirty-six children, but the Home rarely had that many children in residence. It is worth noting that when the Trust Board and Ladies' Committee began discussing plans for the new building, they were thinking about a home to accommodate up to sixty children.<sup>13</sup> It was cost that caused them to settle on a smaller plan, but in the early 1930s the Board believed that it would need to extend the building when more funds became available.<sup>14</sup> The only change made to the second building was in 1937 when a room, which slept four, was added for the older girls.<sup>15</sup>

By 1955 there were seventy homes in New Zealand and about 1 800 children being cared for.<sup>16</sup> This was a significant drop over ten years, probably caused by a combination of the introduction of social security and the problems children's homes had obtaining

<sup>9</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956 - February 1962, 14 April, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives, All Saints' took six children from Willard Home when it closed in 1961

<sup>10</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960- August 1964, November 1963 and December 1963, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>11</sup> Kay Morris Matthews, *Who cared? Childhoods within Hawke's Bay Children's Homes and Orphanages 1892-1988*, Napier: Eastern Institute of Technology, 2012, p.179.

<sup>12</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, p.134.

<sup>13</sup> Cannon Fancourt to John Beck, 8 August 1929, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>14</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 25 March, 1931, p.2

<sup>15</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1938, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>16</sup> Child Welfare, State Care of Children, Specials Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1955, E-4, p.15.

staff during and immediately after World War Two.<sup>17</sup> Interestingly, All Saints' Home did not experience a significant drop in numbers between the mid-1940s and mid-1950s. This is possibly because they had a stable staff situation between 1950 and 1957 and with other Homes within the Wellington Anglican Diocese closing they became the only option for girls within the network.<sup>18</sup>

The year the All Saints' Children's Home closed, 1964, there were sixty-eight registered homes caring for about 1 500 children.<sup>19</sup> Again this suggests that fewer children were being cared for in each Home and this was certainly the case at All Saints', with sometimes only eleven children in a building designed for around forty. Although the closure of the Home will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 9, the drop in the number of children needing care in homes was partly behind the Boards' decision to close the Home in 1964.

It is generally believed that boys were more likely to be admitted to children's homes than girls and government statistics show that the number of boys in homes was consistently higher than girls.<sup>20</sup> Data on the balance between boys and girls within the All Saints' Home are available for between 1912 and 1958 and boys dominated the Home until 1936, as shown in figure (10). In the first building the Trust owned there were more beds for boys than girls. It is difficult to know whether this was a conscious decision or one driven by demand. The addition completed in 1923 appears to have been a boys' dormitory,<sup>21</sup> suggesting that there was more demand for places for boys. Records for the gender split of the children in the Foxton Home exist for 1929 to 1932.<sup>22</sup> These show that the number of girls was higher than boys in that Home, so there could also have been a policy of placing girls in Foxton and boys in Palmerston North where possible.

From 1931 the number of boys in the Home started to decrease. There was a drop in the early 1930s, twenty-six boys being discharged in 1931. This was probably because the new building, which was occupied in March 1931, had an equal number of beds for boys

<sup>17</sup> Simon Rae, *From Relief to Social Service: A History of the Presbyterian Social Service Association Otago 1906-1981*, Dunedin: Presbyterian Social Service Association (Otago), 1981, p.66.

Dennis Wederell, (ed.), *One Hundred Years of Care: St Mary's Homes and Sprott House*, Wellington: Sprott House Trust, 2000, p.49.

<sup>18</sup> Margaret Alington, 'St Mary's Homes', *The Stockade*, no.27, 1994, p.12.

<sup>19</sup> Child Welfare, State Care of Children, Specials Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1965, E-4, p.19.

<sup>20</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics*, Benevolent and Orphan Asylums - Ages of Inmates, 1912-1947.

Michelle Broadhurst, 'Dunedin Presbyterian Children's Homes, 1907-1939' BA (Hons) thesis, Otago University, 2002, p.16.

<sup>21</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection, 1924, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>22</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics*, Benevolent and Orphan Asylums - Ages of Inmates, 1929-1932.

and girls. Unfortunately it is not known where these boys were discharged to, but another factor influencing the number of boys in All Saints' was the opening within the Wellington Anglican Diocese of a second home for boys in 1926. This home, based in Masterton and called Sedgley, was for older boys and All Saints' began a relationship with it sometime in the late 1920s through which older boys from All Saints' were sent to Sedgley. In 1928 a policy was put in place that no boys over the age of twelve were to remain in the Home,<sup>23</sup> and government statistics show that boys over the age of ten were declining in the Home from 1931. By 1938 there were only two.<sup>24</sup> This affected the balance of genders, with girls dominating from 1936 and there were only two years in which boys outnumbered girls after this.

During the early 1940s the Home admitted a larger than usual number of younger boys which led to a slightly higher number during the mid to late forties. This probably contributed to a change in policy in 1949, when boys were to be sent to Sedgley at age ten,<sup>25</sup> although the official statistics suggest that this policy may have been operating before late 1949 as there were no boys aged over ten present in the Home after 1948.<sup>26</sup>

There were two other factors leading to girls becoming dominant in the Home. In the early 1950s St Mary's Homes in Karori, which had acted as sister homes to Sedgley and the Lower Hutt Boys' Home, closed.<sup>27</sup> Added to this was the rise in the school leaving age and the trend for girls to go on to high school which emerged in the late 1940s. Girls stayed in the Home longer, which is reflected in a rise the proportion of girls over the age of ten in the Home during the 1950s. In 1939 about one quarter of the girls were aged over ten,<sup>28</sup> by 1956 almost half were.<sup>29</sup>

It is difficult to know whether the changes experienced in the gender balance within All Saints' were typical of other homes in New Zealand. This is partly because there has not been any other detailed examination of gender within New Zealand homes. Another issue is that All Saints' mix of genders was atypical of children's homes. Although some homes

<sup>23</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 8 October, 1928, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>24</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics*, 1938, p.166.

<sup>25</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949 - March 1956, 14 December, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>26</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspections, 1948 - 1958, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>27</sup> Alington, p.12.

<sup>28</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics*, 1939, p.180.

<sup>29</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection, 1956, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

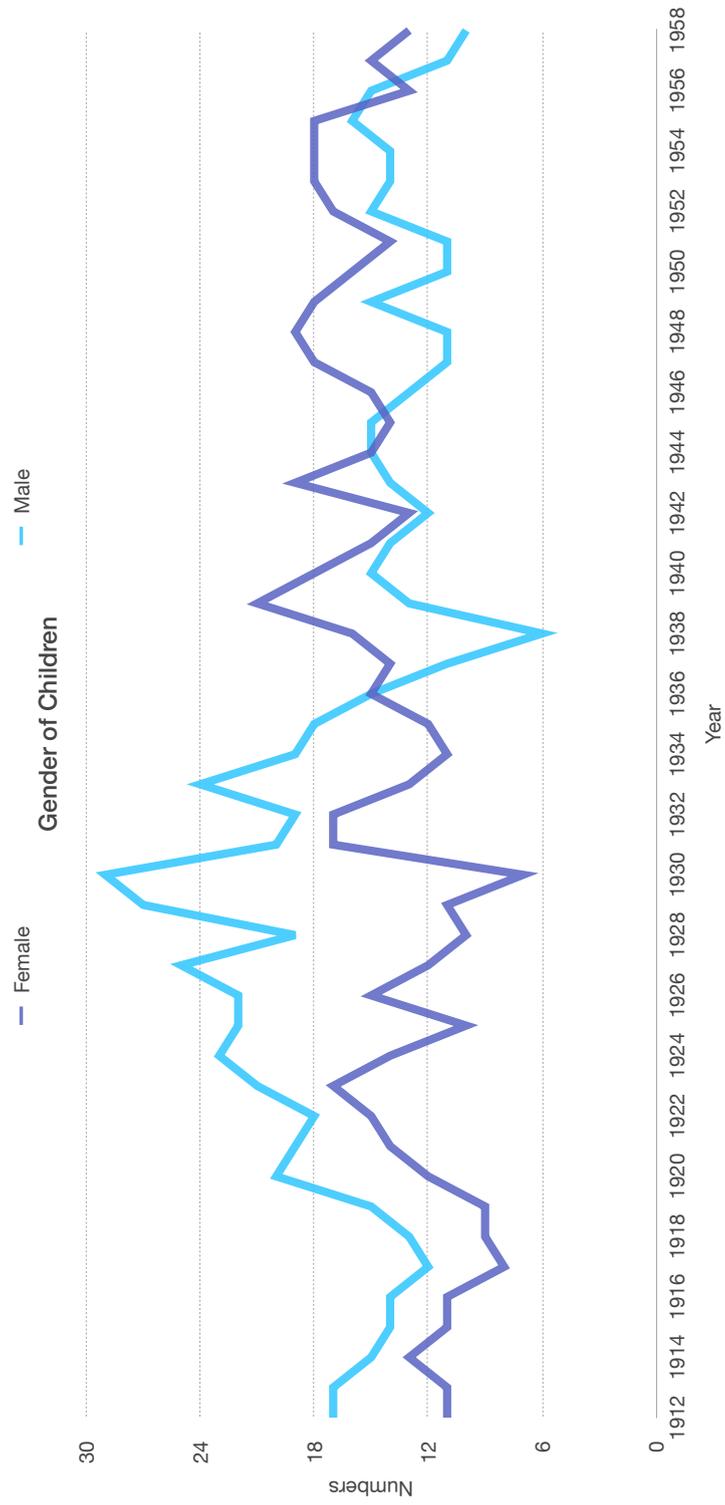


FIGURE 10: Gender of Children showing the balance between boys and girls, 1912-1958.

may have begun with mixed genders, during the 1920s there was a tendency for homes to become for either boys or girls.<sup>30</sup> Within Palmerston North there was another mixed gender home, the Willard Home, run by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Records of the gender split for this home exist from 1923 until 1947. Like All Saints' there was a domination of boys during the 1920s, but during the 1930s and 1940s there was a slight domination by girls, with 1932 being the first year that there were more girls than boys.<sup>31</sup> As Willard was not part of a network of homes there is no immediately obvious explanation for this trend. It appears that the gender balance of children's homes is not clear cut and there is room for more research on this issue.

There were no records kept of the ethnicity of children within homes in New Zealand and there seems to be mixed opinions as to whether Māori children were placed in Homes. Dalley notes that between 1925 and 1948 Child Welfare would sometimes send Māori children to private institutions rather than to state-run facilities.<sup>32</sup> Tennant found that the Auckland Methodist Orphanages had a policy to accept Māori children only in 'special and unusual circumstances.'<sup>33</sup> The general belief is that traditional Māori kin networks meant that Māori children whose parents could not care for them were likely to be looked after by extended family rather than placed in a children's home.<sup>34</sup> The persistence of this belief is illustrated when in 1961 the Child Welfare Office surveyed children's homes about ethnicity for the first time. Surprise was expressed at the number of Māori children in private institutions, 173, which was described as being 'more than might be expected.'<sup>35</sup>

No official figures were kept of the ethnicity of children in the All Saints' Home, but evidence that Māori children were in the Home exists. A photograph of the children in the Home that appeared in *Manawatu Evening Standard* in 1933 clearly shows three Māori boys.<sup>36</sup> This is corroborated by the memories of someone who was at school with children from the Home in the late 1930s. He distinctly remembers two Māori families from the Home.<sup>37</sup> There is a reasonable amount of photographic evidence from the 1950s which shows that the Home had three or four Māori children at any one time. Based on the

<sup>30</sup> Rae, p.37 gives details of how the Dunedin Presbyterian Homes developed gender segregated Homes in the mid 1910s to 1920s.

<sup>31</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics*, 1932, p.146.

<sup>32</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, p.134.

<sup>33</sup> Margaret Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007, p.106.

<sup>34</sup> Merv Hancock, Interview by Author, 30 May, 2014.

<sup>35</sup> Child Welfare, State Care of Children, Specials Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1962, E-4, p.18.

<sup>36</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 21 July, 1933 p.4.

<sup>37</sup> Jim Kelly, Correspondence to the author, 10 April, 2014.

photographs it is estimated that there were about six Māori families over the decade. The two families admitted in January 1962 were Māori, and one had already been in a children's home in Gisborne.<sup>38</sup> Dalley notes there was no wholesale removal of Māori children from their communities into institutions,<sup>39</sup> as occurred among indigenous populations in other countries. However, Māori families were present in the All Saints' Home and this could be indicative of a more widespread use of children's homes by Māori families than is sometimes assumed.<sup>40</sup>

As Morris Matthews points out in her examination of Hawke's Bay children's homes, there is a common belief that the children who were cared for in homes were mostly illegitimate.<sup>41</sup> This belief is contradicted by another, that private children's homes did not 'touch' illegitimate children.<sup>42</sup> The fact that homes are sometimes referred to as orphanages also led to the belief that the children in them had no living parents. None of these ideas matches the origins of the children cared for by the All Saints' Home. The reason for the placement of fifty-seven children between 1906 and 1919 can be ascertained because the admission records from this period are available. Using oral histories, Ladies' Committee Minutes and newspapers, it was possible to gain some understanding of the family circumstance surrounding the placement of fifty-nine children in the Home from the late 1930s onward. The Government also collected information about the family circumstances of children's homes 'inmates' from 1925 to 1947. These can be used to ascertain whether the patterns of family circumstances shown at All Saints' were in line with general trends in New Zealand.

Figure 14 shows the contrast between reasons children were admitted over the two periods, one between 1906 and 1919 and the other 1938 to 1963. In both periods most children within the Home had both parents living. The first year national figures on children's family circumstances are available is 1925, and these show that 25% of children in Homes

<sup>38</sup> Keran Osgood, Interview by Author, 9 June, 2014.

<sup>39</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, 'Moving Out of the Realm of Myth: Government Child Welfare Services To Māori, 1925-1972' *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol.32, no.2 1998, p.190.

<sup>40</sup> Morris Matthews (2nd ed.) p.111 found that there seemed to be more Māori children in Hawke's Bay Anglican Homes during the 1930s.

Peggy Crawford, *Only an Orphan*, Lower Hutt: MJC Publishing, 1995, pp.14-27 describes the entry into children's homes of several Māori children.

This is in contrast to Merv Hancock's assertion that Māori children were cared for in kin networks, see footnote 34 in this chapter.

<sup>41</sup> Morris Matthews, p.175.

<sup>42</sup> Billie McLeod, 'A Silent Testimony: St Vincent de Paul Catholic Orphanage for Girls, South Dunedin', Post Graduate Diploma in Arts long essay, Otago University, 1992, p.24.

Margaret Tennant, 'Indigence and Charitable Aid in New Zealand 1885-1920' PhD thesis in History, Massey University, 1981, p.328.

Renate Howe, and Shurlee Swain, *All God's Children: A Centenary History of Methodist Homes for Children and The Orana Peace Memorial Homes*, Canberra, Acorn Press, 1989, p.27.



FIGURE 1 1 : This photograph of the children was taken at Brown House in the mid-1950s. It clearly show three Māori children.  
Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archive



FIGURE 12: One of the last photographs taken of the children, properly in late 1963, shows four Māori boys.  
Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archive



FIGURE 13: Another photograph taken at Brown House in the mid-1950s with three Māori children.  
Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archive

had both parents living.<sup>43</sup> This is much lower than All Saints' which was 53%. Having two parents living does not necessarily mean that those children were from families where the parents had separated or divorced. In at least five known cases the children were admitted due to their mother being ill. Although it is difficult to know why All Saints' had a larger number of children with two parents living, it is possible that the admission criteria for the Home were less strict than others, meaning they were more likely to receive applications from separated parents. For example the Auckland Methodist Orphanage had a criterion that stated absolute orphans first, then those who had lost one parent through death, then those that had divorced parents and only non-Methodists in exceptional circumstances.<sup>44</sup> All Saints' had a much more open admission policy, and mentioned that there would be no discrimination on the basis of denomination and that the needs of the family were most paramount.<sup>45</sup>

The second most common reason for children to be admitted between 1906-1919 was the death of their mother. The All Saints' figure was 14%, much less than than the 1925 national average which was 33% of those being cared for. The percentages of those children in All Saints' whose father had died, who were illegitimate or orphans were similar to the national average, with the New Zealand-wide figure for death of a father being 12.5% and All Saints' 11%; the illegitimate percentage being 16.3% nationally and 12% in All Saints', For orphans, the national figure was 9%, and for All Saints' 11%.<sup>46</sup> The illegitimate figure shows that private homes did take illegitimate children and it is worth noting that the second child admitted to All Saints' Home was illegitimate, so there was no policy to exclude ex-nuptial children.<sup>47</sup>

In a study of the St. Vincent de Paul Orphanage for girls, McLeod analysed 135 surviving admission records, which were dated between 1898 and 1924.<sup>48</sup> She found that most of the girls were illegitimate, possibly up to 64%, 13% were in the orphanage because their mother had died, 17% because their father had died and 3% were actual orphans.<sup>49</sup> This is quite a different pattern to both the national figures and those displayed within the All Saints'

<sup>43</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics*, 1925, p.258.

<sup>44</sup> Tennant, *Fabric of Welfare*, p.106.

<sup>45</sup> Matrons Scrapbook 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, Annual Report, 1910, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>46</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics*, 1925, p.258.

<sup>47</sup> Admissions Register, 1906-1919, Series 3, Volume 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>48</sup> McLeod, p.91

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*, p.89

Home. It is possible that different homes had reputations for taking certain types of children, but until a large-scale study of home admissions is conducted it is difficult to know why there are such differences.

The pattern displayed in the reasons for admission between 1906 and 1919 continued from 1930s onwards. The vast majority of children in the Home, 71%, had two parents living. This figure is similar to the national figure for 1945, which was 73%.<sup>50</sup> The dominance of this category was increased by the sharp reduction, shown in the 1939 national figures, for those children with one parent alive, and particularly in the number of children whose father had died. This was due to the introduction of social security, which raised the existing widows' benefit.<sup>51</sup> Within the All Saints' Home neither of these categories changed significantly but it is possible that those children who entered the Home with one parent living did so because the surviving parent was ill, as this was a factor in two known cases.

One more area where the Home differed from national statistics was that it still admitted more orphans. The national figure in 1945 was less than 0.1% yet that for All Saints' was 5%. This figure represents one family of three, which were placed in the Home by Child Welfare, so it is somewhat distorted. The national figure for illegitimate children in homes in 1945 was 9.1%, yet, as far as can be ascertained, there was none in the All Saints' Home. This is probably a reflection of a change in societal attitudes towards solo families and the increasing adoption culture meaning more babies were being adopted at birth.<sup>52</sup>

Another difference between the early period of the Home and the later years was the age at which children were admitted to the Home. Using the admission records, it was possible to calculate the average at admission between 1906-1919, which was four-and-a-half years. For the period from 1938 onwards it was possible to find the age at admission of fifty-four children and the average age was seven-and-three-quarter years. In the early years the Home was more likely to receive children at a younger age. This is also noticeable from the government records of age breakdown,<sup>53</sup> which show a higher proportion of children aged under five from the 1910s to the early 1920s. This is best explained by a change in

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<sup>50</sup> Morris Matthews p.179

<sup>51</sup> Margaret McClure, *A Civilised Community: A History of Social Security In New Zealand 1898-1998*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, p.81.

<sup>52</sup> Some of these post World War Two changes will be explored in more depth on Chapter 9.

<sup>53</sup> *The Blue Book, Volume One, Population and Vital Statistics, Benevolent and Orphan Asylums - Ages of Inmates, 1912-1920.*

*New Zealand Vital Statistics, Benevolent and Orphan Asylums - Ages of Inmates, 1921-1947.*

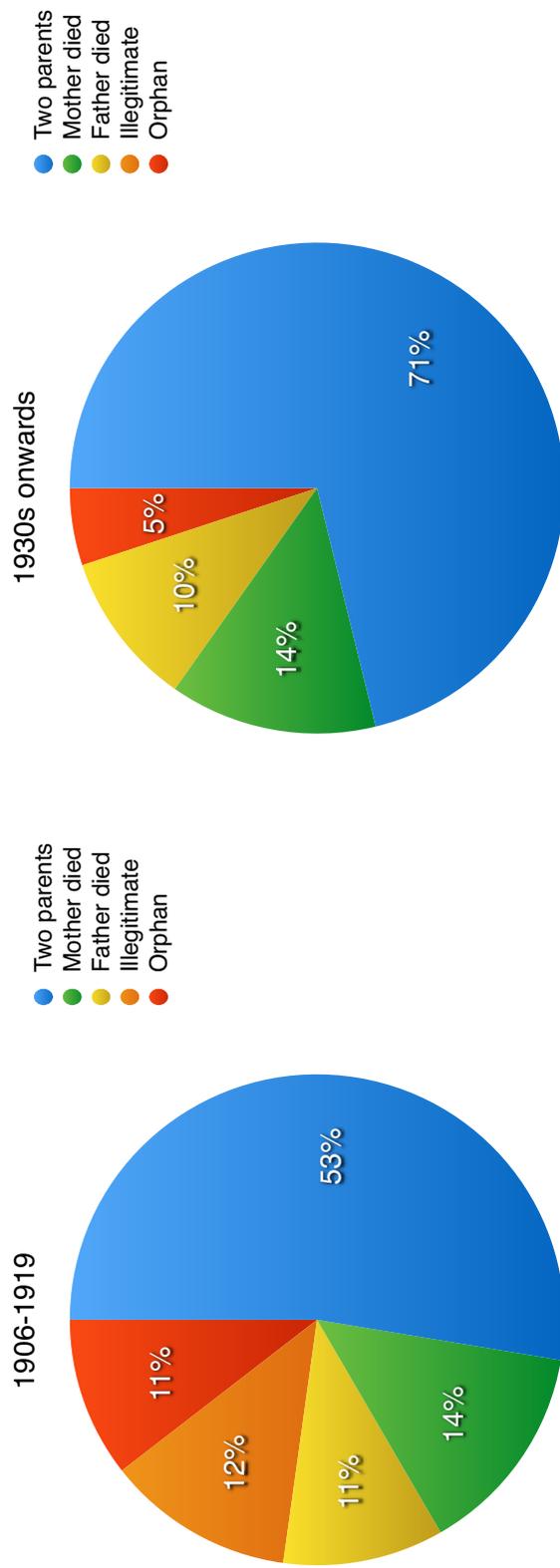


FIGURE 14: Children's family circumstances, in two periods 1906-1919 and 1930s onwards.

admission policy which restricted entry to children over three.<sup>54</sup> It is not clear when this was implemented, but the opening of St Barnabas Home for Babies in 1922<sup>55</sup> would have provided an alternative for the placement of younger children within the Anglican network of homes.

The average length of stay was also shorter in the 1940s and 1950s than between 1906 and 1919. In the earlier years the average length of stay was five-and-a-quarter years whereas in the 1940s and 1950s it was around three-and-one-quarter years. The longest period any children spent in the Home was fourteen years spent by two girls between 1906 and 1920.<sup>56</sup> The shortest stays were probably not recorded as the Home was occasionally used for temporary accommodation. The average length of stay was also broken down by gender. For the period 1906-1919 there was very little difference, with girls staying marginally longer than boys, but for the period 1940-1955 girls stayed almost twice as long as boys, with their average stay being four years, and boys two-and-a-half years. This can be explained by the removal of boys between the ages of ten and twelve to Sedgley as discussed in this chapter.

By combining the average admission age with average stay, the average age each child left the Home was calculated and it was similar for both periods. Between 1906 and 1919 the average age of a child leaving the Home was nine-and-three-quarter years and for 1938 to 1961 it was eleven years. This was possibly a reflection that Homes were being used by parents to care for their children during the ages they needed more intensive care and when they were not able to contribute to the family. Once the child was in the late primary years, the care the parent had to provide was less demanding and the child was able to help at home.

There appears to have been no other studies of average ages and length of stays in children's homes in New Zealand. Penglase interviewed ninety children who had been in children's homes in New South Wales and she used their information to calculate their average age on admission and average stay. The ex-children she studied were in homes at a younger age and for longer periods than those in All Saints'. Most of her participants were

<sup>54</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 2 April, 1928, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>55</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 28 March, 1923, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>56</sup> Admissions Register, 1906-1919, Series 3, Volume 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

under seven when they entered a home and they stayed for seven years.<sup>57</sup> This suggests that homes in New South Wales had a different pattern and possibly a different role from those in New Zealand. However, there is not enough information on New Zealand homes to be sure if the pattern shown by All Saints' is typical.

The idea that All Saints' Children's Home only cared for children who had lost one or both parents is misleading: most children who passed through the Home had two parents living. The numbers of children in the Home increased rapidly in the first two years and again in the early 1920s. When the Foxton Home was opened in 1925, the Trust Board had a maximum of sixty-eight children under its care. This would prove to be the peak of numbers, with a decline in the number of children in the care of the Home from the 1930s onwards and this pattern matched national trends. All Saints' cared for more boys than girls until 1936, when the balance was reversed. Although boys were dominant in national figures through to when records cease in 1947, All Saints' cared mainly for girls from 1937 onwards. This is partly due to its place within the Wellington Anglican Diocese network of homes. It is difficult to know if the gender balance was typical of other New Zealand children's homes and there is room for more investigation of this subject. Another under-researched area is the placement of Māori children in homes. Photographic and anecdotal evidence suggests that All Saints' cared for a number of Māori families yet again it is difficult to know how usual this was. The reasons for admission to All Saints' between 1906 and 1919 follow national trends, but it did contain more children with two parents living than the national averages. By the 1940s and 1950s a large majority of children in the Home had two parents living, matching national trends. This was partly due to the increased widows' benefit meaning that it was easier for widows to keep their children with them. The average age that children were placed in the Home increased over time and the average length of stay shortened. There appears to be no New Zealand figures to compare this trend to, but the pattern displayed by the All Saints' Home is different to that observed in New South Wales. Some of the individual circumstances of families will be explored in the next chapter, but the typical child in the All Saints' Children's Home had two parents living and spent his or her primary school years in the Home.

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<sup>57</sup> Joanna Penglase, *Orphans of the Living*, Fremantle: Curtin University Books, 2005, p.85.



FIGURE 15: The Father of three boys in the Home reading to them and other children while visiting the Home some time in the mid-1950s.  
Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

## Chapter 6

# Parental Agency

*'It is appropriate for me to testify to the comfort such an institution can be to a distressed parent'<sup>1</sup>*

The view of the relationship between parents and child welfare authorities has altered in the last forty years, as was discussed in the introduction. Once, children's homes were thought to be a sign of a progressive, modernising society but this view shifted and they began to be seen as part of an attempt at social control. Since the late 1980s more recognition has been given to the role that families played in their interactions with child welfare organisations and it is now recognised that parents played an active role, often using child welfare groups for their own purposes. This can be seen in the interactions between parents and the All Saints' Home. The last chapter showed that almost all the children that passed through the Home had at least one parent living and the ways parents used the Home are explored in this chapter. The process of placement is examined and the family circumstances behind the statistics are looked at, with a particular attention to how a lack of maternal presence in the family home was a factor. As most children had one or both parents living, the placing of children in the Home did not always mean the end of contact between children and their parents. How the parents and the Home authorities negotiated access is also explored in this chapter, with an emphasis on the efforts of parents. Children's removal from the Home was nearly always at the request of parents, but was not always smooth, with the Board occasionally asking for removal. Another aspect of the relationship between parents and the Home covered here is the payment of parental contributions. This had a particularly

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<sup>1</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 11 May, 1929, p.5.

gendered nature, with fathers most often asked to support their children. The relationship between the Home authorities and parents was complex and dynamic, with both parties taking an active role in the negotiations.

As a private home the Board could choose whom they admitted and during the life of the Home admissions were usually considered by the Vicar of All Saints' and the Ladies' Committee. Those charged with deciding on admissions took the Home's role of providing for the most needy children in society very seriously and did not accept all the applications placed before them. In the 1907 Annual Report it was stated that the vast majority of applications were not accepted as they were ineligible.<sup>2</sup> It was not always parents who placed applications and it was not unusual for the Committee to deal with Vicars. This is probably because the local Vicar acted as a quasi social worker and became aware of problems or was asked to help families find solutions. The other place applications to the Home came from was Child Welfare Officers and this relationship will be explored in more depth in Chapter 8.

It is easier to see how the admission process worked from 1938 as the Ladies' Committee Minutes contain details. Applications that were turned down are sometimes noted in the minutes, but often no reason is given, although in 1941 the application of a mother in Waiouru was turned down because her children were neither orphan nor destitute.<sup>3</sup> To ensure that the applicants were worthy, the Committee would sometimes ask the local Vicar to check the family circumstances. An example of this was a family from Taumarunui. Correspondence about the family between the Child Welfare Officer, Sister Spence, and the Home began in August 1945.<sup>4</sup> In March 1946 Sister Spence was told that the children could not be accepted as Taumarunui was in the Waikato Diocese and she should try Auckland Homes.<sup>5</sup> In the April 1946 minutes it was recorded that Sister Spence had sent three letters regarding the family and the Committee decided to ask for a letter from the local Vicar regarding the family's circumstances.<sup>6</sup> What was reported is unknown, but the children were not admitted.

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<sup>2</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 15 April, 1907, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 3 April, 1941, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 9 August, 1945, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>5</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 March, 1946, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>6</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 11 April, 1946, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Sometimes parents tried several times to get a place in the Home. In March 1948, Mrs Biggar applied for the admission of her two boys, but was refused on grounds of lack of staff.<sup>7</sup> She approached the Home again in October and had one boy admitted,<sup>8</sup> and the second was admitted in January 1949.<sup>9</sup> Sometimes the committee turned down one family while admitting another. In May 1948 a family from Hunterville was accepted but another family rejected because of lack of space.<sup>10</sup> Presumably the Committee had to decide which family had the greater need. As the Home aged there are fewer reports of admissions being turned down but it is difficult to know if this is due to lack of recording or lack of demand for places.

As Ramey points out, boards and parents viewed the role of children's homes differently.<sup>11</sup> As we have seen, the All Saints' Board saw their home as a place for orphan and destitute children, but parents more often viewed the Home as place that cared for their children because they could not. When viewed through the lens of a father without a wife to care for the children, or a mother who had to take paid employment because she has no male support, the Home was a place that provided childcare. One family circumstance that occurs in many of the known reasons for admission to the Home is that there was either no mother present in the family home or the mother was ill, or divorced, and so had to find paid employment. This shows the importance that early and mid twentieth century society placed on fathers being the breadwinners for the family and mothers being the carers. When this pattern was disrupted, it became difficult for families to care for children. Either the father had to stop work to care for the children, therefore going without a wage, or the mother had to earn a wage, and could not provide care.

The death of a mother could lead to a child being placed in the Home very quickly. In 1938 Winifred Smith died, leaving seven children. The youngest three were admitted to the Home within months of her death.<sup>12</sup> Even in the late 1950s the death of a mother could lead to admittance to the Home. When the Lake family's mother died in 1958, the father placed

<sup>7</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 11 March, 1948, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>8</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 October, 1948, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>9</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 10 February, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>10</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 13 May, 1948, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>11</sup> Jessie Ramey, *Childcare in Black and White: Working parents and the History of Orphanages*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2012, p.80.

<sup>12</sup> Della Macpherson (nee Smith), Written Memories.

his five children in the Home after trying to manage for six months.<sup>13</sup> The desertion of a mother was another factor that could lead to admittance to the Home. In 1939 Mavis Walker came home from school to find her mother not at home and she and her four siblings were placed in All Saints' by an aunt.<sup>14</sup> Graham Herdman's mother left the family home in 1948 and he remembers that he and four of his five siblings were placed in the Home very quickly afterwards.<sup>15</sup> Sickness of the mother was also a factor. In 1916 two G girls entered the Home because their mother had been placed in a mental hospital and in the 1950s there were at least three families in the Home whose mothers were too ill to care for them.<sup>16</sup>

By contrast, in the case of death or desertion of a father it seemed to take longer for children to be placed. T was the first child to be admitted whose father had died. She was accepted in November 1906,<sup>17</sup> her father having died two years before.<sup>18</sup> Charles Colson was placed in the Home in 1949, which was several years after his parents' marriage failed, but it was his mother's progressing multiple sclerosis that triggered her application, not her status as single parent.<sup>19</sup> Those who ran the Home may have seen their role as providing for children, but they were also providing a way for families to negotiate their way through difficult circumstances.

From when the Home opened, the Board understood that the children would be visited by family. In the first set of Home rules drawn up, visiting day was set as Wednesday afternoon, and there were to be no visits on Sunday.<sup>20</sup> It is not possible to know how this was managed as no records exist of family visits. However, there is some evidence from oral histories and the Ladies' Committee Minutes that some parents visited faithfully. Some children were allowed out to visit family and that this could cause tension. In June 1939 the Ladies' Committee Minutes recorded that children were allowed one visit per month out of the Home and that visits to the Home were to be made on Saturday between 2pm and 4pm.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 9 October, 1958, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Diana Merron (Dianne Lake), Interview by Author, 18 September, 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Graham Herdman, Interview by Author, 19 November, 2014.

<sup>16</sup> Letters appear for names in this Chapter and Chapter 8 to maintain the privacy of these individuals. See Introduction p.7.

<sup>17</sup> Admissions Register, 1906-1919, Series 3, Volume 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>18</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 28 October, 1904, p.6.

<sup>19</sup> Charles Colson, Interview by Author, 24 November, 2014.

<sup>20</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, Back Cover, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>21</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 8 June, 1939, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives. 3 April, 1941.

This once-a-month visiting rule was also in place in the Hawke's Bay Children's Home,<sup>22</sup> and Musgrove, in her study of Melbourne homes, found a similar rule.<sup>23</sup> This rule fits with memories of the Walker family, who went once a month to visit their grandmother and aunt. Mavis remembers this as being special as not all the children had family to take them out.<sup>24</sup>

In August 1949 it seems that children going out had become an issue between the Matron and the Committee.<sup>25</sup> Matron was reminded that she needed the Committee Secretary's permission before allowing children to visit family and in November 1949 family visits both in and out of the Home were limited to one a month.<sup>26</sup> The Herdman family were in the Home during this period and both Shirley and Graham remember their mother and older brother as frequent visitors to the Home.<sup>27</sup> Mrs Herdman played the piano for the children, so it is possible that her visits were seen more as a service to the Home than a visit to her children and by offering this service she was able to see her children more often.

The matter of visits outside the Home came up again in March 1950,<sup>28</sup> and it was reiterated that they were to be allowed only once a month. It seems likely that this was the result of some tension between the Committee and families who were taking their children more often, but it is not recorded if it was a specific family or generally families wanting to see their children that provoked reiteration of the rule. One of the ex-children from the Hawke's Bay Children's Home remembers that her mother was also a regular visitor and would turn up early in her desire to see her children, which annoyed the Matron.<sup>29</sup> Musgrove also found that many homes regarded the visiting by parents a burden and disruptive to its running.<sup>30</sup> By the reminders occurring in the minutes, it appears that All Saints' Ladies' Committee may have felt the same.

<sup>22</sup> Morris Matthews, Kay, *Who cared? Childhoods within Hawke's Bay Children's Homes and Orphanages 1892-1988*, Napier: Eastern Institute of Technology, 2012, p.106.

<sup>23</sup> Musgrove, Nell, "'The Scars Remain' Children, Their Families And Institutional 'Care' In Victoria 1864-1954", PhD Thesis in History, The University of Melbourne 2009, pp.203-4.

<sup>24</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June, 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 11 August, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>26</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 10 November, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>27</sup> Records of Family Reunion (1990), Series 10, Folder 1, Shirley Curtis (nee Herdman), letter to reunion committee, November 1990, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives. Graham Herdman, Interview by Author, 19 November, 2014.

<sup>28</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 9 March, 1950, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>29</sup> Morris Matthews, p.106.

<sup>30</sup> Musgrove, pp.203-4.

As the 1950s progressed, it seems that the visiting day was changed to Sunday. Caroline Judkins remembers that her mother would visit her and her sisters for about an hour on Sunday and they would go for a walk, not stay at the Home. Occasionally, as a treat, they were allowed to visit their parents, who were living in a boarding house.<sup>31</sup> In February 1961 the Ladies' Minutes state that visiting day was changing from Sunday to Saturday, 1.30pm until 5.30pm.<sup>32</sup> When compared with the late 1940s, it seems that parents could now visit for a much longer time. Also, holidays were to be limited to a fortnight with family in January, not during term time. From the Matron's Day Book, which has monthly entries from May 1960 until August 1964, it appears that this rule was not adhered to very strictly. The Book records children being allowed to go with family at Easter and other holidays.<sup>33</sup> Christine Ramsey, who was in the Home from 1961 until its closure, remembers her father visiting every Saturday and taking her to visit her grandparents in Blenheim every May in the school holidays.<sup>34</sup> It is unclear whether the Home was being more lenient with parental visits or if parents were demanding more access, but it appears that the Matron and Ladies' Committee became more relaxed about parental visiting towards the end of the Home's life.

Visiting was not the only way the parents tried to maintain contact with their children. There are examples of parents writing letters, providing a service, or giving donations to the Home. As the Home took children from a large part of the lower North Island, it was not always possible for parents to visit their children. In the early records there is no evidence of letter-writing by parents, but this could be because these letters were recorded in the Ladies' Minutes, which have survived only from 1938 onwards. There were two notable letter writers, Mrs A and Mrs M. It appears that Child Welfare was involved in both these cases so it is possible that their children had been forcibly placed in the Home.<sup>35</sup> Both these women were seeking reassurance that their children were being well cared for.

Another way that parents showed care for their children was by aiding the Home. Mr D, a firewood cutter, who had placed his children in the Home when his wife deserted the family, supplied the Home with firewood.<sup>36</sup> Mrs Biggar offered to knit for her boys, if the

<sup>31</sup> Caroline Judkins, 'The Dreaded White Undies and Other Family Dramas' p.14.

<sup>32</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 9 February, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>33</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960-August 1964, March, 1961 and April, 1962, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>34</sup> Christine Ramsey (nee Inder), Interview by Author, 6 November, 2014.

<sup>35</sup> The relationship between Child Welfare and the Home will be dealt with in Chapter 8.

<sup>36</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 16 November, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Home supplied the wool.<sup>37</sup> Mrs C whose children were in the Home from 1939 until 1949, appears on the monthly list of donors.<sup>38</sup> These examples show that parents actively sought to help the Home and their children, and were interested in supporting the children, even when the children could not live with them.

The fact that the children tended to stay in the Home for relatively short periods also shows that parents saw the Home as a place of temporary care, not a permanent solution. The rules of the Home stated that parents could remove their children with one week's notice, as long as they were paying maintenance for them. Those that had free places, or were more than three months in arrears with maintenance payments, could only leave at the discretion of the Board.<sup>39</sup> Most often it was parents who instigated the removal of their children from the Home.

Since putting their children in the Home was a strategy used by parents to survive difficult circumstances, it is not surprising that the most common reason for leaving the Home was a change in family circumstances, particularly re-marriage. In 1909 two boys were released to their mother, who had married the father of another child in the Home, his wife having died in childbirth.<sup>40</sup> Clive Shaw and his sisters left in 1943 when their mother remarried.<sup>41</sup> Occasionally a marriage was reconciled; this was the reason for the Herdman's discharge in 1953.<sup>42</sup> Another factor that led to discharges in the 1950s was the availability of housing. There are two known cases where the children were discharged because their parents had moved into a state house.<sup>43</sup> Sometimes older girls, who had finished their schooling, were discharged to family, particularly from the 1940s onwards. This is probably because they were now able to contribute to the family economy and did not need the day-to-day care that younger children did.

Even when parents instigated removal the Ladies' Committee were not always happy to let the child go with the parent. In 1916 the Matron gave a report to the Board that

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<sup>37</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 13 April, 1950, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>38</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 12 October, 1946, p.15.

<sup>39</sup> Matrons Scrapbook 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>40</sup> Admissions Register, 1906-1919, Series 3, Volume 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>41</sup> Clive Shaw, Correspondence to the author, 1 December, 2014.

<sup>42</sup> Graham Herdman, Interview by Author, 19 November, 2014.

<sup>43</sup> Janice Good (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 10 February, 1955, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

convinced them to release two children to their mother, when previously they had been reluctant.<sup>44</sup> There are several cases when the Ladies' Committee sought reports from the Child Welfare Office before allowing children to be discharged to their family.<sup>45</sup>

Occasionally the Ladies' Committee tried to get children discharged. In one case the Ladies felt that the family was not deserving enough.<sup>46</sup> In another the child was a chronic bedwetter.<sup>47</sup> In this latter instance it seems that the mother may have been able to convince the Committee to let her child stay as there is mention of him several years latter.<sup>48</sup>

Another area in which parents exerted their agency was in the removal of boys to Sedgely. In 1958 Mrs White was pressed to send her oldest son to Sedgely, but she resisted as she wanted her children to stay together, and close to her in Palmerston North.<sup>49</sup> Towards the end of the 1950s the discharges to family began to drop off. Some children were returned to their families because they were causing issues in the Home,<sup>50</sup> but four of the five oral history participants from this period went on to other forms of care when they left All Saints'. This signals a change in the type of family that were using the Home, and the reason for this will be discussed in Chapter 9.

One of the areas in which the Board and parents experienced conflict was with the payment of maintenance. Within a few years of the Home opening, it was faced with the issue of parents who were in arrears with payment for their children. In October 1909 much of the Board meeting appears to have been taken up with discussing what do to with four fathers who were in arrears. Two had pleaded for concessions due to financial difficulties,

<sup>44</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 9 September, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>45</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 13 June, 1946, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 4 December, 1947, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 9 December, 1954, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>46</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 9 December, 1954, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>47</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 10 June, 1948, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.,

<sup>48</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 9 February, 1950, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>49</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 11 September, 1958, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.  
Snow (Owen) White, Interview by Author, 17 June 2014.

<sup>50</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960- August 1964, March 1961 and October 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 12 March, 1959, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

another had disappeared, and one was to be threatened with legal proceedings.<sup>51</sup> One of these fathers was to continue to cause problems for the Board. His son had been placed on a farm, but under the constitution of the Home the Board retained control of the son's earnings until he was sixteen. Just before his sixteenth birthday the Board sought legal advice as to whether they could continue to control the son's earnings until the arrears were paid,<sup>52</sup> or if they could prevent the father from accessing the son's money.<sup>53</sup> The matter was finally resolved in court and the father was ordered to pay the Home £53.<sup>54</sup>

Not all parents were treated in the same way, and the Board seems to have been more lenient on mothers. Between 1906 and 1915 there are five recorded instances of fathers being taken to court,<sup>55</sup> but none of mothers. In July 1915 Mrs B wrote to say she was struggling with payments, and she had her payments reduced until she was in a better position.<sup>56</sup> Another example occurred in 1916 when Mr O and Mrs Z both wrote to the Board about their debt. The Board replied to Mr O that they held him responsible for his debt but they decided to help Mrs Z.<sup>57</sup> Ramey found in her study of two Pittsburgh Homes that their Boards were flexible about payments, particularly when approached with difficult parental circumstances,<sup>58</sup> as did Cmiel in the Chicago Orphanage he studied.<sup>59</sup> Ramey saw this as an example of parental agency, that parents were prepared to negotiate with the Home authorities over the maintenance payments. It appears that this was also the case at All Saints', but the Board was more likely to grant reduced payments to mothers. Musgrove

<sup>51</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 20 October, 1909, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>52</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 12 May, 1914, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>53</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 14 September, 1915, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>54</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 23 November, 1915, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>55</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 20 October, 1909, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 14 November, 1910, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 24 September, 1912, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 23 November, 1915, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>56</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 20 August 1914, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 15 July, 1915, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>57</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 16 November, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>58</sup> Ramey, p.73.

<sup>59</sup> Kenneth Cmiel, *A Home of Another Kind: One Chicago Orphanage and the Tangle of Child Welfare*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

found from her study of institutional care in Melbourne that fathers were expected to provide for their children, not mothers.<sup>60</sup>

This pattern appears to continue at All Saints' into the 1950s. When the Home had its most difficult financial years, in the late 1940s and early 1950s, one way the Board tried to improve finances was by increasing parental contributions.<sup>61</sup> A committee was set up to look at parental payments and its report listed seven parents in arrears, two of whom were mothers. It recommended that action be taken against four fathers, but that one mother be written to and simply 'reminded of her obligations.'<sup>62</sup> In the case of the Herdman family, their father paid maintenance,<sup>63</sup> gave donations,<sup>64</sup> and was approached by the Ladies' Committee to buy clothing for his children,<sup>65</sup> yet it appeared to be Mrs Herdman who was the active parent in the children's lives.<sup>66</sup> There are also two recorded cases where members of the Ladies' Committee offered to assist mother's efforts to get financial help from the Social Security Office.<sup>67</sup> The issue of parental payments ceased to be an issue in 1957 when the Board decided to accept the new capitation grant from the Government. One of the conditions of accepting this was not to refuse admission to any child because their parent or guardian could not pay.<sup>68</sup>

The quote at the beginning of this chapter comes from a letter written to the *Manawatu Evening Standard* by a grateful mother, who was encouraging people to donate to the Home. In the letter, she states that the Home 'bridged a most difficult time in my life'.<sup>69</sup> The Home was set up to care for orphan and destitute children and the Board often saw the children in those terms. However, the sentiments expressed by this parent, that the Home was a way of overcoming a difficult period, was how most parents viewed it. Placement in the Home

<sup>60</sup> Musgrove, pp.188-189.

<sup>61</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 14 December, 1950, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>62</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 3, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>63</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 3, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>64</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 13 July, 1950, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>65</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 11 May, 1950, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>66</sup> Graham Herdman, Interview by Author, 19 November, 2014

<sup>67</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 9 December, 1954, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 14 April, 1955, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>68</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 13 December, 1956, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>69</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 11 May, 1929, p.5.

usually occurred because circumstances had led to the family being unable to follow the accepted pattern of father as bread winner and mother as carer. Once the children were admitted many parents maintained contact through visits, letter-writing and support for the Home. Discharge was usually instigated by the parents, but the Ladies' Committee would sometimes attempt to block it or on the other hand try to force it. There are also examples of parents actively working against the attempts to discharge their children. The payment by parents of maintenance was an area that brought parents and the Board into conflict. However, the Board dealt with fathers more harshly than mothers, reflecting the prevailing view in society that fathers should provide for their children. Even though the authorities had more power than parents, parents were active in the relationship, negotiating outcomes that favoured them and their children.



FIGURE 16: The children, staff and All Saints' clergy, August 1943.

Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

## Chapter 7

# Life in the Home

*'We have so many memories of our time at the Home'<sup>1</sup>*

So far much of this thesis has been dominated by the story of the All Saints' Children's Home as told in official documents and newspapers. In this chapter the voice of those who were children in the Home is heard. Twelve former children were interviewed, the range of their stays dating from 1938 to a child who was at the Home when it closed. One of these children has also written her memories and provided a copy. It was also possible to access an oral history interview with an ex-child who was in the Home from 1917 until 1928 and some memories another ex-child left for her family. These form the basis of this chapter about life in the Home. It starts by discussing some of the issues around the use of oral history and memory, focusing on how the material was used to build a picture of life in the Home, beginning with children entering the Home and how siblings were treated. What ex-children remember about the routines in Home is explored, including chores, school and food. Corporal punishment is a feature that many ex-children remember from their stays in children's homes,<sup>2</sup> and the interview subjects each had a different view on how this was dealt with at All Saints'. The children were not passive and their efforts to resist what they saw as poor or unfair treatment will be examined, both from their memories, and from the Board and Ladies' Committee Minutes. In 1942 the Trust Board completed a holiday home in the Kahuterawa Valley, near Palmerston North, called Brown House after the family that donated the land.<sup>3</sup> All the interviewees that holidayed there remember these times as being

<sup>1</sup> Caroline Judkins, 'The Dreaded White Undies and Other Family Dramas' p.7.

<sup>2</sup> Joanna Penglase, *Orphans of the Living*, Fremantle: Curtin University Books, 2005, p.133.

<sup>3</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, Annual Report, 1943, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

very happy and some of the memories of those holidays are recounted. There were also other treats, with picnics and Christmas time featuring in all the interviews. Lastly, what happened to the children once they left the home is considered, looking first at boys and then girls. Although each interview presented different memories and views of the Home, together they build a picture of what life was like for the children in the All Saints' Children's Home.

Even though some of the children's stays overlap, the stories and memories each ex-child had of the Home are unique. When reading and processing each interview it was important to remember that each child's experience of the Home is their personal story: it is how they remember their stay. The stories may replicate, corroborate, or contradict each other, but they all contribute to an understanding of what a childhood spent in All Saints' Children's Home was like.<sup>4</sup> In the following accounts of Home life an effort has been made to draw on all the experiences that the interview subjects recounted. Some subjects were positive about their time in the Home. Some believed that although the Home was not ideal they were better off than some other children, or that they would have been worse off had they stayed with their families. Some were negative about the Home and the treatment they received, recalling abuse and humiliation. The purpose of this chapter is not to present a definitive account of life in the Home, but to explore the experience of those who were willing to speak about their life as a child in the All Saints' Home.

Not all the interview participants remember their entry to the Home. Some were too young and others simply did not recall it. The common theme of those children that remember is that entry into the Home seemed to be sudden and surprising. Graham Herdman remembers that he and his siblings had no preparation and it was very hard on his younger brother who didn't understand what was happening and wanted to go home.<sup>5</sup> Charles Colson was taken to the Home by his mother's doctor and he quickly found that there was a pecking order among the boys.<sup>6</sup> Owen White, the youngest of four siblings admitted in 1955, recalls that he went to the Home with his mother and grandmother in a taxi. The Home seemed very big to him, but the presence of his older siblings helped him to cope.<sup>7</sup> Howard Ellington remembers that he arrived at lunch time and was taken to the dining

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<sup>4</sup> Laura Tisdall, 'That was what Life in Bridgeburn had Made Her': Reading the Autobiographies of Children in Institutional Care in England, 1918-46.' *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 24, no.3, 2013, p.354.

<sup>5</sup> Graham Herdman, Interview by Author, 19 November, 2014.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Colson, Interview by Author, 24 November, 2014.

<sup>7</sup> Snow (Owen) White, Interview by Author, 17 June, 2014.

room: his main memory is of being very anxious.<sup>8</sup> These types of memories seem to be common among those admitted to homes. Crawford documenting thirty-seven recollections of entering children's homes or orphanages notes that the feelings of children were seldom considered and that for children used to life in a family home the size and number of children in a home could be overwhelming.<sup>9</sup>

Another feature of life in children's homes was the strict separation of boys and girls. For those that entered with siblings, this could mean that they lost contact. Some homes were only for girls or boys so siblings could be sent to different homes, but All Saints' accepted both genders. However, they were kept quite separate and, as boys were sent to Sedgley between the age of ten and twelve, this further disconnected siblings. Eight of the interviewees had gender-opposite siblings in the Home at the same time. In two of the cases the siblings were younger brothers who were quickly fostered or were in and out of the Home periodically. The two participants from the late 1930s and 1940s reported the most dislocation from siblings. Clive Shaw does not remember his older sisters in the Home at all.<sup>10</sup> Mavis Hunt was never encouraged to think of her three brothers as siblings, but just as other boys in the Home.<sup>11</sup> Her younger brother, Bernard, felt the same and that the removal of the boys to Sedgley aggravated this.<sup>12</sup> Those that were in the Home during the 1950s did not feel the same way, and had positive memories about the support that their siblings offered while they were in the Home.<sup>13</sup> This change possibly began with the arrival of Lucy Elliot as Matron in 1950 and may have ended when she left at the end of 1957. One of the participants who was in the Home during the early 1960s had no memory of his sister being there at the same time, despite the fact that another, female, interviewee does.<sup>14</sup> The practice of separating siblings was common in homes. Penglase points out that there appears to be no rationale for this, and it could add to the trauma of entering a home.<sup>15</sup> Although All Saints' accepted families, it seems that the practice of keeping boys and girls separate did not encourage the maintenance of family bonds.

<sup>8</sup> Howard Ellington, Interview by Author, 26 June, 2014.

<sup>9</sup> Crawford, Peggy, *Only an Orphan*, Lower Hutt: MJC Publishing, 1995, p.13.

David Maunders, 'Awakening from the Dream: The Experience of Childhood in Protestant Children's Homes in Australia, Canada and the United States', *Child, Youth and Care Forum*, (23)6, December 1994, p.397.

<sup>10</sup> Clive Shaw, Correspondence to the author, 1 December, 2014.

<sup>11</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

<sup>12</sup> Bernard Walker, Interview by Author, 25 June, 2014.

<sup>13</sup> Snow (Owen) White, Interview by Author, 17 June, 2014.

Graham Herdman, Interview by Author, 19 November, 2014.

<sup>14</sup> Keran Osgood, Interview by Author, 9 June, 2014.

Diana Merron (Dianne Lake), Interview by Author, 18 September, 2014.

<sup>15</sup> Penglase, pp.261-266.

Running an institution with upwards of thirty children meant that the Matron and staff had to run the Home in an organised manner. This was a very common theme that emerged, with the word most often used when asked to describe routines in the Home being 'regimented', Bernard Walker adding that it was 'run on army lines'.<sup>16</sup> Louis Braddock, who was in the Home during the 1920s and left an oral history, recalled the use of bells to signal meals.<sup>17</sup> Mavis Hunt also remembers bells, and that children had jobs to do before and after breakfast, which they had to be quick at or they would be late for school.<sup>18</sup> Those children from the late 1950 and early 1960s also remember the use of bells to signal wake up times<sup>19</sup> and meals, but not those from the early and mid 1950s.<sup>20</sup> Again, this matches with the time that Lucy Elliot was Matron, and, as will be further discussed, she appears to have had a less authoritarian approach to running the Home.

The use of rosters to allocate chores was also something ex-children commonly remembered. The labour of the children in the Home was important to the smooth running, especially since it could be hard to find staff. The Christensen sisters recalled that jobs would be rotated so that each child got to learn the different tasks.<sup>21</sup> All the children remembered different chores they had. The common household chores, like dishes, table setting and meal preparation appeared to have been done by all the children. Girls remember having to dress the younger ones, help with laundry and cut lunches, whereas boys remember mowing lawns, window cleaning, and keeping the boiler going. Clive Shaw was three when he entered the Home, and he remembers boys cutting the lawns and cleaning the ablutions, but he was too young to participate.<sup>22</sup> Both Mavis Hunt and Christine Ramsey remember it was their job to prepare the cut lunches for school, despite a separation of twenty years between their stays.<sup>23</sup> Polishing shoes was another common chore, both the Walkers remember this as being the boys' job,<sup>24</sup> but the Christensens recall that it was shared between

<sup>16</sup> Bernard Walker, Interview by Author, 25 June, 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Records of Family Reunion (1990), Series 10, Envelope, Louis Braddock Interview, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Billie McLeod, 'A Silent Testimony: St Vincent de Paul Catholic Orphanage for Girls, South Dunedin', Post Graduate Diploma in Arts long essay, Otago University, 1992, p.68, also notes bells as an overwhelming memory.

<sup>18</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Howard Ellington, Interview by Author, 26 June, 2014.

Keran Osgood, Interview by Author, 9 June, 2014.

<sup>20</sup> Janice Good (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

Caroline Judkins (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Janice Good (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

Caroline Judkins (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Clive Shaw, Correspondence to the author, 1 December, 2014.

<sup>23</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

Christine Ramsey (nee Inder), Interview by Author, 6 November, 2014.

<sup>24</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

boys and girls.<sup>25</sup>

The Child Welfare Office inspections also record what domestic duties were expected of the children. The reports from the 1930s note that nothing was expected of children under ten, or while of school age.<sup>26</sup> By 1940 this had changed,<sup>27</sup> and in 1952 the local Child Welfare Officer wrote to the Board to tell them he believed that the Matron was doing too much work herself and she should be asking more of the older children.<sup>28</sup> As was shown in Chapter 3 the Home had problems finding and retaining staff during and after the Second World War. It seems that one way of dealing with staff shortages was to use the labour of the children. The 1961 Child Welfare Report states that only the older children had specific duties,<sup>29</sup> signalling that the number of domestic chores expected from the children had lessened. This also coincides with an increase in the number of staff employed.<sup>30</sup>

When asked to recall what going to school was like, two themes emerged: the distance the children had to walk and the way they were treated. When the Board opened the Home in Pascal Street, one of the disadvantages of its location was its distance, just over a kilometre, from the local public school, Central School. Mavis Hunt remembers that the children had so many chores to do in the morning that they often had to run to get to school in time. The distance was magnified by the fact that the children returned to the Home for lunch, and once again it was a rush as they were expected to eat lunch and get chores done before returning to school.<sup>31</sup> Jim Kelly, who was at Central School during the late 1930s, remembers the children from the Home leaving for lunch and thought the practice was unfair as it separated the Home children from their peers and meant that they could not join in the lunchtime play, or make friends.<sup>32</sup> The practice of coming home for lunch was changed in the late 1940s, and during the 1950s the children's lunches were sent to school in a suitcase

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Bernard Walker, Interview by Author, 25 June, 2014.

<sup>25</sup> Janice Good (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

Caroline Judkins (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

<sup>26</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection, 1937, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

Child Welfare Office Inspection, 1939, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>27</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection, 1940, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>28</sup> H.L.Hunt to H.G.Bagnall, 29 August, 1952, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>29</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 3, p.45.

<sup>31</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June, 2014.

<sup>32</sup> Jim Kelly, Correspondence to the author, 10 April, 2014.

at some time during the morning. Caroline Judkins recalls that this marked out the children from the Home and led to teasing.<sup>33</sup>

Being singled out as different was another memory of school. Mavis Hunt, Howard Ellington and Diana Merron felt that Home children were regarded as 'bad kids' and that they were treated with suspicion.<sup>34</sup> The girls remember that their clothes marked them out as different. Caroline Judkins recalled that all the children were given grey shirts to wear to school, when these were generally considered to be for boys only.<sup>35</sup> Others didn't have the same feelings, but all remember that they were given the label 'Home kids' and were obviously different from the other children.<sup>36</sup>

Food often features in recollections about children's homes. Crawford has a whole chapter on her participants' memories, noting in the introduction that porridge was a staple breakfast in most institutions.<sup>37</sup> All Saints' was no exception. All the ex-children mentioned porridge and from the 1950s the children were also offered Weetbix, which was donated by the Sanitarium factory at Longburn.<sup>38</sup> The food was mostly described as bland, with Mavis Hunt giving the examples of stews, tripe and onions, shepherds' pie, usually followed by a milk pudding.<sup>39</sup> Those that were in the Home in the 1940s remember that only the staff were allowed butter, and Louis Braddock also mentions that during the 1920s the children didn't have butter.<sup>40</sup> 'Crunch', bread left to dry out in the oven over night, was also a feature of the 1950s and 1960s. Opinion was mixed about whether the children had enough food. Graham Herdman and Charles Colson were in the Home at the same time. Charles remembers being hungry all the time, yet Graham recalls that there was enough food.<sup>41</sup> In the early 1960s, Howard Ellington and Diana Merron both remember that they were hungry, yet Keran Osgood, who was also in the Home during the same period, believed he never went without.<sup>42</sup> As was mentioned in Chapter 4, the Home was very reliant on donations so

<sup>33</sup> Caroline Judkins, 'The Dreaded White Undies and Other Family Dramas' p.11.

<sup>34</sup> Howard Ellington, Interview by Author, 26 June, 2014.

Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

Diana Merron (Dianne Lake), Interview by Author, 18 September, 2014.

<sup>35</sup> Caroline Judkins, 'The Dreaded White Undies and Other Family Dramas' p.11.

<sup>36</sup> Penglase, p.300.

<sup>37</sup> Crawford, p.29.

<sup>38</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 14 May 1958.

*Manawatu Evening Standard*, 11 July 1959,

<sup>39</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

<sup>40</sup> Records of Family Reunion (1990), Series 10, Envelope, Louis Braddock Interview, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

<sup>41</sup> Charles Colson, Interview by Author, 24 November, 2014.

Graham Herdman, Interview by Author, 19 November, 2014.

<sup>42</sup> Diana Merron (Dianne Lake), Interview by Author, 18 September, 2014.

it is possible that the amount of food fluctuated depending on the season. Diana remembers the harvest festivals, which occurred in March and April, as being a time when there was more food than normal.<sup>43</sup>

Children in institutions can be targets for abuse and children's homes in New Zealand have had claims of cruel treatment brought against them.<sup>44</sup> A clear pattern emerges from the children whose memories have formed the basis of this chapter, that the use of corporal, and particularly cruel, punishment was dependent upon the staff in the Home.<sup>45</sup> The children that were in the Home during the time when Lucy Elliot was Matron, 1950 to 1957, all reported that there was no corporal punishment. This contrasts with those children in the Home either side of these dates, of whom all but one remembered having been physically punished and seeing others treated likewise. It is difficult to tell whether the use of corporal punishment was the official policy of the Board, but several of the boys said that the strap was 'part of the deal' and that school was worse.<sup>46</sup> The only insight into the attitude that the Home authorities had comes from an incident that occurred in 1928. Mr Wagstaff, the husband of the Matron, had administered corporal punishment to a boy, who subsequently ran away. After much discussion, the Board decided to implement a rule that no corporal punishment was to be given without the express consent of the Vicar.<sup>47</sup>

The testimony from two ex-children of the 1940s shows this rule had fallen by the wayside during their time. Della Macpherson told her daughter of the beatings that she received at the hands of one staff member, and her continued fear of this staff member almost prevented Della from attending the 1990 reunion.<sup>48</sup> Mavis Hunt recalled having corporal punishment used on her and witnessed another girl being beaten with a coat hanger.<sup>49</sup>

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Howard Ellington, Interview by Author, 26 June, 2014.

Keran Osgood, Interview by Author, 9 June, 2014.

<sup>43</sup> Diana Merron (Dianne Lake), Interview by Author, 18 September, 2014.

<sup>44</sup> Ann Thompson and Fiona Craig, *Say Sorry: A Harrowing Childhood in Catholic Orphanages*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2009, details one victims story.

*New Zealand Herald*, 14 January, 2004, details claims against Sedgley Boys Home.

<sup>45</sup> Penglase, p.284-86.

Kay Morris Matthews, *Who cared? Childhoods within Hawke's Bay Children's Homes and Orphanages 1892-1988*, Napier: Eastern Institute of Technology, 2012, p.75, found similar

<sup>46</sup> Records of Family Reunion (1990), Series 10, Envelope, Louis Braddock Interview, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Graham Herdman, Interview by Author, 19 November, 2014.

Charles Colson, Interview by Author, 24 November, 2014.

<sup>47</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 8 October, 1928, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>48</sup> Belinda Lewer, Interview by Author, 28 May, 2014.

<sup>49</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

Bed-wetting was often punished in children's homes and both Mavis and Charles remember that the staff were horrible to bed wetters,<sup>50</sup> but Clive Shaw does not remember being punished for wetting the bed, possibly because he was still young.<sup>51</sup> Withdrawal of privileges was also used as punishment and seemed to be the way the Lucy Elliot dealt with bad behaviour. Those who were children during her time reported punishments like removal of pocket money and other treats.<sup>52</sup> Those children that experienced life in the Home under Lucy used the words firm and fair to describe her.<sup>53</sup> Two of the participants from the late 1950s and early 1960s recall that after Lucy left corporal punishment was used as well as other forms of discipline, like withholding meals and locking in cupboards.<sup>54</sup>

In the early 1960s Ken Gregory, the principal of Takaro School, where the children had gone since its opening in 1957, became concerned about the reports he was receiving from teachers. The children were coming to school hungry and bruised, so he complained to the Board and Child Welfare.<sup>55</sup> He subsequently went on the Board, and began helping in the Home during the evenings.<sup>56</sup> Two children also remember being fed at school, one of them commenting that 'Mr Gregory gave them white bread.'<sup>57</sup> It seems that towards the end of the Home's life, the staff may have been resorting to much harsher punishments than in Matron's Elliot's time.

Although the power balance between children and staff was very heavily weighted in favour of the staff, this did not stop children from trying to resist unfair or cruel treatment. Mavis Hunt remembers the girl beaten with a coat hanger climbing out on to the fire escape and threatening to jump. Mavis herself ran away from a family that the Home had placed her with as she felt that she was being used as a domestic slave.<sup>58</sup> There are several incidents recorded in the Ladies' Committee Minutes and Matron's Day book that document the active

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<sup>50</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

Charles Colson, Interview by Author, 24 November, 2014.

<sup>51</sup> Clive Shaw, Correspondence to the author, 1 December, 2014.

<sup>52</sup> Janice Good (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

<sup>53</sup> Janice Good (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

Caroline Judkins (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

Charles Colson, Interview by Author, 24 November, 2014.

Graham Herdman, Interview by Author, 19 November, 2014.

Snow (Owen) White, Interview by Author, 17 June, 2014.

<sup>54</sup> Diana Merron (Dianne Lake), Interview by Author, 18 September, 2014.

Howard Ellington, Interview by Author, 26 June, 2014.

<sup>55</sup> Ken Gregory, Interview by Author, 12 August, 2014.

<sup>56</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960- August 1964, July, 1963, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>57</sup> Diana Merron (Dianne Lake), Interview by Author, 18 September, 2014.

<sup>58</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

resistance of children. In April 1961 several children ran away,<sup>59</sup> one of whom became a repeat absconder.<sup>60</sup> Eventually she was discharged to her mother.<sup>61</sup> Also in 1961, two girls were caught stealing from a local shop and sent to bed without tea. They then proceeded to cut up a mattress.<sup>62</sup> Owen White remembers that he and another boy were caught throwing stones at the Matron. She tried to strap Owen, but was prevented by another boy intervening and threatening physical violence against her.<sup>63</sup> Most of the recorded incidents of children actively resisting staff came from the late 1950s and early 1960s. Mavis's recollections shows that it is possible that children had been resisting earlier on in the life of the Home, but these incidents were not recorded in the official documents.

As discussed above, in 1942 the Board completed a holiday Home in the Kahuterawa Valley called Brown House. All the participants who holidayed there had very positive memories of those times. Initially, it was erected to provide an evacuation place for the children during the Second World War,<sup>64</sup> but it quickly became the site of holidays for the children. In the 1940s and possibly up to the mid-1950s, the children were taken on the back of a truck.<sup>65</sup> Children from the later period remember going in a bus.<sup>66</sup> Mavis Hunt recalled that Brown House was more relaxed and there was less work to do.<sup>67</sup> Other common memories were of swimming: several children recalled learning to swim and two remembered incidents where someone nearly drowned.<sup>68</sup> It seems that Lucy Elliot went out of her way to make Brown House a fun place to be, making a fairy dell in the bush and taking the children on long walks.<sup>69</sup> The Shere family, who farmed nearby, took a special interest in the children, allowing them to help with farm work and one ex-child remembers being taught

<sup>59</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 13 April, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>60</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960- August 1964, August 1961 and September 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 14 September, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>61</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 12 October, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>62</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960- August 1964, June, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>63</sup> Snow (Owen) White, Interview by Author, 17 June, 2014.

<sup>64</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 12 March, 1942, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>65</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

Caroline Judkins, 'The Dreaded White Undies and Other Family Dramas', p.19.

<sup>66</sup> Diana Merron (Dianne Lake), Interview by Author, 18 September, 2014.

Howard Ellington, Interview by Author, 26 June, 2014.

<sup>67</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

<sup>68</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

Caroline Judkins, 'The Dreaded White Undies and Other Family Dramas', p.19.

<sup>69</sup> Charles Colson, Interview by Author, 24 November, 2014.

to ride a horse.<sup>70</sup> Catching eels in the local stream was another common memory and there are some surviving photographs of children showing off their catch.<sup>71</sup> The tradition of going to rural areas for long summer holidays seems to have been held at other Homes. Morris Matthews has descriptions of similar holidays in her chapters on the Otane<sup>72</sup> and Waipawa Homes.<sup>73</sup> Like the All Saints' children, the children from these Homes remember their holidays as being part of the 'good times' at the Home.

Brown House was not the only treat that children experienced. The most commonly remembered special times revolved around Christmas. Howard Ellington called Christmas 'the best time'<sup>74</sup> and Caroline Judkins remembered it as exciting.<sup>75</sup> From the earliest oral history interview, with Louis Braddock, he remembered that at Christmas the Commercial Travellers' Association took the children to the tea rooms at Collinson and Cunninghame's, a local department store. Children from the late 1940s onwards remembered getting presents. Graham Herdman had his in a pillowcase at the end of his bed,<sup>76</sup> while the Christensen sisters recalled decorating a paper bag on Christmas Eve, which would be filled with presents the next day.<sup>77</sup> These presents were donated or bought with donated money. The Ladies' Committee minutes record donations for 'Christmas Cheer,' for example in December 1948 donations were asked for and in December 1954 Matron was given permission to spend twenty pounds on the children's Christmas presents.<sup>78</sup> Other special treats included visits to the movies and theatre, sometimes with tickets donated by the movie theatre,<sup>79</sup> sometimes by individuals<sup>80</sup> or service clubs.<sup>81</sup> Louis Braddock recalls going to movies often but was

<sup>70</sup> Janice Good (nee Christensen), Interview by Author, 20 June, 2014.

<sup>71</sup> Photographs, Series 9, Folder 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>72</sup> Morris Matthews, pp.55-6

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, pp.76-7

<sup>74</sup> Howard Ellington, Interview by Author, 26 June, 2014.

<sup>75</sup> Caroline Judkins, 'The Dreaded White Undies and Other Family Dramas' p.7-8.

<sup>76</sup> Graham Herdman, Interview by Author, 19 November, 2014.

<sup>77</sup> Caroline Judkins, 'The Dreaded White Undies and Other Family Dramas' p.7-8.

<sup>78</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 9 December, 1954, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 9 December, 1948, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>79</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 11 August, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 June, 1945, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 9 September 1947, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>80</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 September, 1944, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 10 July 1947, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 8 April, 1948, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.



FIGURE 17: Children at Brown House in the mid-1950s showing off the eels they have caught. Matron, Lucy Elliot, is in the back far right of the picture. Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.



FIGURE 18: The children being transported on the back of truck at Brown House, some time in the mid-1950s.  
Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

not sure who paid.<sup>82</sup> Diana Merron remembered being taken to see movies and theatre performances, more than she would have done had she remained with her family.<sup>83</sup> The Commercial Travellers also held a picnic for the children at Foxton Beach for many years.<sup>84</sup> This may have been something that the Association organised in other centres, as one of Crawford's oral history participants mentions them.<sup>85</sup> It seems that Christmas is remembered by most ex-children with pleasure because that was the time of the year when the Home received many donations and help from the community.

When the time came for children to leave the Home, boys and girls were treated quite differently. Under the first constitution the Home had control of the children until they were sixteen or handed over to their parents.<sup>86</sup> It seems from the Board minutes that boys were not expected to stay in the Home until they were sixteen and were likely to be placed on a farm from the age of twelve. The first boy was placed with a farmer in Kairanga in 1912. The farmer was to provide board and clothing in return for what work the boy was able to do outside school hours.<sup>87</sup> The practice of placing boys on farms continued, but by 1929 it was at age 14, when they had left school.<sup>88</sup> A 1936 return to the Child Welfare Office showed that four boys were working on farms but were still under the supervision of the Home.<sup>89</sup> This is despite the relationship that had begun with Sedgley in the late 1920s.<sup>90</sup> The last record of a boy being placed on a farm appears in June 1938, but there is no record of his age.<sup>91</sup> From this point forward boys either left the Home to go to Sedgley or were discharged to their parents. This is confirmed by the 1939 Child Welfare Inspection,

<sup>81</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 13 October 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives, RSA took eighteen to 'Mother Goose'.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 11 June, 1953, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives, Rotary took eight oldest to a play.

<sup>82</sup> Records of Family Reunion (1990), Series 10, Envelope, Louis Braddock Interview, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>83</sup> Diana Merron (Dianne Lake), Interview by Author, 18 September, 2014.

<sup>84</sup> Charles Colson, Interview by Author, 24 November, 2014.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 April, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 14 April, 1960, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>85</sup> Crawford, p.107.

<sup>86</sup> Matrons Scrapbook 1906-1919, Series 5, Volume 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>87</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 1 December 1912, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>88</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection, 1929, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>89</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>90</sup> See Chapter 5 p.77

<sup>91</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 9 June, 1938, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

which states that the provision for placing boys after care was transferred to the Senior Church Home (Sedgley).<sup>92</sup>

On the other hand, girls were able to stay in the Home much longer, and were more likely to be placed in higher education. The first mention of a girl receiving an education beyond primary school was in 1914, when a free place at the technical school was sought for a fourteen-year-old girl.<sup>93</sup> In 1916 the Board decided to raise the age at which children passed out of its control, wanting to control boys to sixteen and girls to eighteen. For some reason the original resolution affecting girls only was crossed out and replaced with 'children'.<sup>94</sup> This was possibly a response to the oldest girl in the Home having turned sixteen in December of 1915,<sup>95</sup> but it is unclear if it was an attempt to protect her, or to prevent her, from leaving. This concern for keeping girls under the control of homes for longer than boys was also noted by Tennant.<sup>96</sup>

Another way in which girls were treated differently was when they came to leave the Home. Girls were expected to become domestic servants and one way the Home had of 'training' them was to enforce a year, or sometimes two, of service to the Home. These girls were described as house-girls and the first record of one appears in a 1916 Child Welfare Office inspection.<sup>97</sup> Morris Matthews found a similar scheme operated at Randall House, one of the Hawke's Bay Children's Homes.<sup>98</sup> From the ages in the government statistical returns, it appears that the 1930s was when this practice was most common, as from 1931 until 1940 the Home housed at least one girl over 15, apart from in the years 1933 and 1939.<sup>99</sup> In 1937 the local Child Welfare Officer wrote to the Superintendent of Child Welfare, John Beck, expressing concern about house-girls. She noted that there were three girls 'working out' two years of service. These girls had no regular time off and were not allowed to socialise, apart from going to church services.<sup>100</sup> Beck subsequently wrote

<sup>92</sup> Child Welfare Office Inspection, 1939, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>93</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 12 May, 1914, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>94</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 31 March, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>95</sup> Admissions Register, 1906-1919, Series 3, Volume 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>96</sup> Tennant, Margaret, 'Indigence and Charitable Aid in New Zealand 1885-1920' PhD thesis in History, Massey University, 1981, p.324.

<sup>97</sup> Infant Life Protection Inspection, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>98</sup> Morris Matthews, p.119, pp.122-4.

<sup>99</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics*, Benevolent and Orphan Asylums - Ages of Inmates, 1931-1947.

<sup>100</sup> Jenkins to Beck 17 September 1937, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

to the Board stating the desirability of allowing children to attend regular social activities outside of the Home and of providing secondary education where ability was shown.<sup>101</sup>

The practice continued, with two house-girls being appointed in 1940.<sup>102</sup> In 1942 one girl was appointed house-girl, but allowed to take dress-making classes, while another girl was taking a the full domestic course at the Technical School.<sup>103</sup> At the beginning of 1943 Matron asked for an older girl to be retained as a house-girl. The Committee refused her request, saying that they believed it was in the best interests of the girls to be sent to St Mary's Home in Karori.<sup>104</sup> No reason was given for this decision and it was not in keeping with past practice or with what happened in 1944, when it was decided to keep a girl at the Home to help while she attended dress-making classes at the technical school.<sup>105</sup> Another house-girl was appointed in 1945,<sup>106</sup> but she was sent to St Mary's in June as she was proving troublesome.<sup>107</sup> There was only one other house-girl appointed: in July 1948 the oldest girl in the Home left school and was employed as a 'junior assistant'.<sup>108</sup> This ended when she ran off with a boy at the end of 1948.<sup>109</sup> The practice probably ceased due to the changing expectations around girls' employment, although the amount of trouble older girls seemed to be causing may have had some influence.

It was becoming apparent during the 1940s that the girls would not continue to go into domestic service once they left the Home. This is demonstrated by the move in the 1940s to let girls take domestic courses or dress-making courses at the technical high school. There was also an effort to place girls with dressmakers.<sup>110</sup> Another issue that the Ladies' Committee and Board had to contend with was the rise in the school-leaving age to fifteen

<sup>101</sup> Beck to Bagnall, 29 October, 1937, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>102</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 8 February, 1940, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>103</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 12 March, 1942, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>104</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 11 February, 1943, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>105</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 9 December, 1943, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>106</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 8 February, 1945, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>107</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 June, 1945, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>108</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 8 July, 1948, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>109</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 10 February, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>110</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 13 August, 1942, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives. 3 April, 1941.

and the expectation that girls would continue on to high school for at least some secondary education. Mavis Hunt was the first girl from the Home to complete her secondary education. She recalls having to fight for permission to stay at school. She eventually became a teacher.<sup>111</sup> The reluctance to keep girls at school is demonstrated in the minutes, when, in 1945, a fourteen-year-old girl wished to go to high school and the decision required some discussion.<sup>112</sup> By the early 1950s it was routine for the girls to go to high school, and one girl was allowed to begin work at the hospital.<sup>113</sup> As explained in Chapter 5, during the 1950s the girls in the Home were slightly older. This trend is reflected in the proposal made in 1958 that the girls be allowed to stay in the Home indefinitely until they could 'stand on their own two feet.'<sup>114</sup> One example of how the Home helped an older girl was to supplement her board at a private home,<sup>115</sup> and when she moved into a flat the Ladies' Committee Secretary visited her.<sup>116</sup> As societal expectations around the employment of women changed, the Board and Ladies' Committee had to adapt their expectations of what would happen to the girls once they left the Home.

Each story represented in this Chapter shows a slightly different aspect of life in the All Saints' Children's Home. Not all children remember entering the Home, but they remembered that routines were important, and that there were many chores to be done. Most of the children felt singled out at school and experienced various levels of teasing and ostracisation. Memories about food vary, but some common themes were the prevalence of porridge and the plain nature of the food served. Not all the children in the Home saw or experienced corporal punishment. The levels of discipline and punishment experienced were dependent on the staff in the Home, and some resisted staff attempts to control them. All the children, even those who were negative about the Home, remembered that there were good times, including holidays at Brown House and other treats, like Christmas, movies, theatre performances and picnics. When it came time for children to leave the Home, boys and girls had very different experiences, with the Home more concerned about girls and more active in training them for their future lives. From entering the Home, to what routine

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<sup>111</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June 2014.

<sup>112</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 8 November, 1945, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>113</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 9 November, 1951, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>114</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 12 June, 1958, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>115</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 12 November, 1959, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>116</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 8 December, 1960, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

life was like, chores, school food and punishment, each ex-child's memories helped to build a picture of the life of a child of the All Saints' Children's Home.



## Chapter 8

# The Relationship Between the Home and the Government

*'Altogether this home is, in my opinion, well conducted.'*<sup>1</sup>

The relationship that children's homes had with the Government was full of contradictions. On the one hand, the Government was officially opposed to children being in institutions. On the other, there is clear evidence they made use of children's homes and that they were part of the network of child welfare the Government relied on. The information for this chapter was mostly taken from two sources: the Board and Ladies' Committee Minutes, and the Child Welfare Branch's All Saints' Home Administration File. At present it is not possible to access the files of individual Child Welfare Offices due to privacy issues. The inability to view the Palmerston North Office File has meant that the information in this chapter is somewhat piecemeal. However, one of the oral history participants, Diana Meron, had a copy of her personal Child Welfare file, which she very kindly shared and the Christensen sister shared some of the details of their experiences with the Child Welfare Office. This chapter begins by looking at the official relationship between the Home and the Government and explores instances when the Home came to the notice of the State, including matters that arose from annual inspections. The Ladies' Committee Minutes also contain many references to Child Welfare and some of these will be examined to try and understand how the Government may have used the Home. It was very hard to come to

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs Dick, District Agent, Infant Life Protection, to Secretary for Education, 24 October, 1908, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

any firm conclusion about the relationship between the Government and the Home because most of the available information was from the viewpoint of the Home.

The first recorded interaction between the Home and a government department took place before the Home opened. As part of the preparation for the opening of the Home, Rev. Harper wrote to the Education Department to ask if the Home could accept children committed by the Courts and whether the Department could ask parents if they wished to have their children sent to the Home.<sup>2</sup> In December 1906 the Department replied that they could not allow industrial school children to be sent to the Home.<sup>3</sup> Again, in 1907, Harper wrote to the Ministry asking if the Government could grant the Home any assistance, as it did for similar institutions.<sup>4</sup> The Education Department passed the request on to the Inspector-General of Hospitals and Charitable Institutions for his consideration.<sup>5</sup> The outcome is not recorded in the Child Welfare file, but in the August 1908 *Church Chronicle* a letter appears from Harper, asking for support and stating that he had tried to get government support.<sup>6</sup> The reason that the Government was reluctant to give financial support to the Home is best expressed in a 1908 memorandum in the All Saints' Home Administration File. Written by Roland Pope, the Assistant-Inspector of Industrial Schools, it gives three reasons why private homes were not admitted to the Industrial School system and were therefore not eligible for government funds. These were that the definite policy of the Government for the past twenty-five years had been to foster children, whereas private institutions did not foster and wished to keep their children 'under one roof.' Private institutions were under financial stresses which prevented the children from receiving the care and attention they needed to overcome the handicap of their early lives. Finally, private homes tended to be denominational in nature and this would 'undermine the moral training in the industrial school system.'<sup>7</sup> This memorandum summarises the Government's attitude towards private homes: they provided care of an inferior quality.<sup>8</sup> At the heart of the issue was the Education Department's belief that boarding-out or foster care was the most beneficial method of caring

<sup>2</sup> Harper to Education Department, 1 October, 1906, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>3</sup> Secretary for Education to Harper, 13 December, 1906, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>4</sup> Harper to Education Department, 17 October, 1907, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>5</sup> Secretary for Education to Harper, 24 October, 1907, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>6</sup> *Church Chronicle*, 1 August, 1908, p.11.

<sup>7</sup> Memorandum, Industrial School System, Private School, 4 February, 1908, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>8</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, p.34-38.

for children.<sup>9</sup> Children's homes were seen as being institutions and therefore not using the 'best' forms of care.

The main formal interactions between the Home and Government were the annual inspections. From 1908 until 1927 these were conducted under the Infant Life Protection Act, 1907. Under this Act all homes, foster or institutional, that accepted children under the age of six, had to be licensed. In May 1908 All Saints' Home gained an exemption from the Act by agreeing to be open at all times to the Education Department's inspectors.<sup>10</sup> Inspections appear to have been conducted annually from 1908 until 1916.<sup>11</sup> After the 1916 inspection report there are none on the file. It is unclear whether inspections ceased or the reports did not survive. In general the reports were favourable, the only complaint coming in 1915 when the inspector thought the the 'water-closets' were dirty and needed moving.<sup>12</sup> The Board minutes record that this was done in May 1916.<sup>13</sup>

When John Beck took Pope's place as head of the Special School Section in 1916,<sup>14</sup> he began agitating for more state control over children's homes. In 1918 he wrote to the Director of Education that 'social services connected with the various churches are allowed to exploit and experiment with the child life of this young country, and all without any effective state supervision whatsoever,'<sup>15</sup> Beck's ideas about child welfare were embodied in the 1925 Child Welfare Act, for which he was largely responsible. It was a major overhaul of government provision of child welfare, and established the Child Welfare Branch within the Education Department. However, Beck was not able to get any legislative control over children's homes. In his 1926 report to Government he said that he regretted the omission and maintained that 'There is a very great need for the co-ordination and for the adoption of modern standards'.<sup>16</sup> Beck was successful in 1927, when an amendment to the 1925 Act

<sup>9</sup> Department of Education Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1906, E-1, p.28.

Special Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1909, E-4, p.4.

<sup>10</sup> Fowlds to Harper, 18 May, 1908, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>11</sup> Infant Life Protection Act Inspections, 1908-1916 All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand. The report for 1912 is not on the file. It is unclear whether this is because the inspection did not take place or the report is lost.

<sup>12</sup> Walker to Secretary of Education, 24 October 1915, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>13</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1906-1919, Series 1, Box 1, 10 May, 1916, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>14</sup> Dalley, p.69.

<sup>15</sup> Beck to Director of Education, 28 August, 1918, cited in, Alan Somerville, 'Moominpappa Got Away: The State and Child Welfare in New Zealand 1925-1930' BA (hons) thesis, University of Otago, 1982, p.43.

<sup>16</sup> Child Welfare, State Care of Children, Specials Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1926, E-4 p.4.

made registration and annual inspection of private institutions mandatory.<sup>17</sup>

The first inspection of All Saints' under the 1927 Act occurred in 1928.<sup>18</sup> There was also one in 1929, but there are none in the records from 1930 to 1935. Again, it is unclear as to whether these were not undertaken due to the Depression or not filed, but there are records of inspections every year from 1936 until 1958. As with the inspections under the Infant Life Protection Act, there were no major faults found with the Home. The main criticisms focused on the condition of the building.<sup>19</sup> For example there was a long saga about the suitability of the fire escapes in the 1950s.<sup>20</sup> In 1939 and 1943 there were some concerns voiced by the inspecting officers about the amount of butter the Home was using not being enough for each child to be receiving the recommended daily amount.<sup>21</sup> Both times the Ladies' Committee Secretary assured the Child Welfare Branch that they had increased the amount and in 1943 it was said to be low due to there being a number of 'tiny-tots'.<sup>22</sup> It is interesting to note that one of the ex-children from this period remembered that the children were not allowed butter,<sup>23</sup> so it is possible that the amount was low because the children were not being given butter to eat. The only instance of the Child Welfare Branch inspections commenting on the way the children were treated is the 1937 criticism of the house-girls, mentioned in Chapter 7. It seems probable that the inspectors came on week-days when the children were at school and therefore only saw those children that were under school age, although it is not possible to know this for certain.

There were, however, two records of complaints from others about the way children from the Home were treated. The first came in 1924, from Elizabeth Gunn, the local School Medical Officer. The Headmaster of the school the children from the Home went to at the time, College Street, had complained that the children were poorly clad, not clean and had head lice. Gunn had examined them and found this to be true and that some of the

<sup>17</sup> Child Welfare, State Care of Children, Specials Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1928, E-4 p.2.

<sup>18</sup> Annual Inspection, 1928, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>19</sup> Somerville, p.47, points out the regulations for private homes were very particular about the buildings,

<sup>20</sup> Watson to Superintendent, 27 June, 1956, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand. details history and progress.

<sup>21</sup> McClune to Whyte, 13 July, 1939, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

The District Child Welfare Officer, Palmerston North to All Saints' Children's Home Manager, 11 August, 1943, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>22</sup> Jenkins to McClune, 21 June, 1939, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>23</sup> Mavis Hunt (nee Walker), Interview by Author, 25 June, 2014.

children were also carrying diphtheria.<sup>24</sup> This prompted a visit to the Home by two officers of the Special School Branch who found that the Home was run down and overcrowded and the food was inadequate.<sup>25</sup> This report resulted in the Matron's services 'being dispensed with'<sup>26</sup> and the follow-up inspection in March 1926 reported a 'good deal of improvement has been effected',<sup>27</sup> so it is possible that the problems were due to the Matron.

The second complaint to the Government about the Home was regarding the treatment of children still under its control, but out working. It seems that sometime in 1936 a girl placed in service had been badly treated. In October 1936 Miss Jenkins, a Child Welfare Officer, wrote to Beck mentioning that she had taken the case to the police,<sup>28</sup> and in December the Board and Ladies' Committee had a combined meeting at which they discussed the case.<sup>29</sup> However, in November an ex-school teacher wrote to Peter Fraser, who was Minister of Education, complaining about the treatment of children that were placed out from the Home. These children had come to her attention while she was a school teacher in a rural area near Pongaroa. It appears from the letter that she was generally concerned about the placement of children on farms, but she had one person in particular she wished to complain about, a Mrs L.<sup>30</sup> It is unclear if these two incidents are related, as the girl living with Mrs L is not named.<sup>31</sup> These complaints led both the Child Welfare Office and the Home authorities to keep a closer eye on the children who had been placed.<sup>32</sup>

So far this chapter has examined the official relationship between the Home and the Government. There was, however, much more to the interactions between the Home and the State than the official file on the Home reveals. From the Ladies' Committee Minutes it is

<sup>24</sup> Gunn to The Director of School Hygiene, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>25</sup> Report on All Saints' Children's Home, 13 November, 1924, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>26</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 9 December, 1924, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>27</sup> Carter to Director of Education, 26 March, 1926, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>28</sup> Jenkins to Beck, 16 October, 1936, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>29</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 21 December, 1936, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>30</sup> Mrs M to Peter Fraser, 16 November, 1936, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>31</sup> Fraser to McKay, 8 February, 1937, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

<sup>32</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Beck to Jenkins, 28 January, 1937, All Saints' Children's Home Administration File, R11356687, Archives New Zealand.

possible to ascertain some of the ways the Home was used by Child Welfare. As has already been discussed, officially Child Welfare believed that boarding out was the best way to care for children. However, this belief did not prevent them from using children's homes, like All Saints', as part of their network of care. As Somerville notes, this was particularly true in the inter-war period, when the State needed the Homes or it would have been overwhelmed with the number of children needing care.<sup>33</sup> The Child Welfare Branch may have used the Home at times when it was unable to find alternatives, or its own facilities were full.<sup>34</sup> There is one record of this occurring at All Saints' when in 1960 they were asked to house a girl until the new Receiving Home was built.<sup>35</sup> In the cases discussed below the reason for the placement of the children, or even the level of involvement of Child Welfare is largely unknown. The information is gathered mainly from the Ladies' Committee Minutes and there is no available information on the reasoning behind the action of the Child Welfare Branch.

There are several records of Child Welfare approaching the Home. In October 1938 the Home received an application from Miss Jenkins for six orphans from Foxton.<sup>36</sup> The Home agreed to take three. In September 1942, Child Welfare approached the Home to take two children.<sup>37</sup> This request was refused, but one to take a three-year-old boy was accepted in 1949.<sup>38</sup> It is impossible to know why Child Welfare wanted to place these children in the Home and not board them out, as was their policy. The complexities of the interactions between the Home and Child Welfare Office are illustrated by family A. The A children were placed in the Home in July 1939, although there is no record of why they were placed in the Home.<sup>39</sup> In May 1940 Mrs A wrote to the Ladies' Committee asking if she could take them.<sup>40</sup> This began a long correspondence which involved Mrs A, the Trust Board's lawyer,<sup>41</sup> and the Child Welfare Office. In 1944 Child Welfare advised the Ladies' Committee that on no

<sup>33</sup> Somerville, p.49.

<sup>34</sup> Dalley, p.133, points out that this happened.

<sup>35</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 14 July, 1960, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>36</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 13 October, 1938, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>37</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 10 September, 1942, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>38</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 April, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>39</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 10 August, 1939, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>40</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 9 May, 1940, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>41</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 1, April 1939-March 1944, 13 May, 1943, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

account were the children to be taken by their mother.<sup>42</sup> Finally in September 1948 the Secretary of the Ladies' Committee reported on the details of the A children<sup>43</sup> and they were discharged in October 1948, although to whom is not stated.<sup>44</sup> The details of this case are patchy, due to the Ladies Committee Minutes being the only source, but it is clear that for some reason Child Welfare was involved with this family.

The A's were not the only family with which Child Welfare was involved, and the appearance of correspondence with Child Welfare Officers, or the decision to seek advice from Child Welfare is common in the Ladies Committee Minutes. What is unclear is whether families were in the Home because Child Welfare had placed the children or if the parents had placed the children because they were not coping with family pressures and Child Welfare had become involved. Penglase noted that sometimes parents would place their children in private homes to prevent their removal by the state, but it is impossible to know if this was a factor.<sup>45</sup>

There are two families that were in the Home for which more about Child Welfare's involvement is known. The Christensen girls were placed in the Home by Child Welfare in 1952. Their younger brother was placed in a foster home, and to this day they remain unclear as to why they were separated, or why the Welfare authorities chose to use the Home.<sup>46</sup> In the case of Diana Merron's family, they were placed in the Home in 1958 by their father, but the family had already come to the attention of Child Welfare as early as 1951.<sup>47</sup> From these two cases it appears that there were several factors at work. With the Christensens it seems that the Child Welfare Office made a conscious decision to use the Home. With Diana's family it is probable that the problems that had originally brought her family to the attention of the authorities, combined with her mother's death, had become too much for her father. Tennant points out that child welfare was one area where the boundaries between the State, families and voluntary organisations were particularly blurred.<sup>48</sup> The small number of examples presented here add weight to this statement. However, without

<sup>42</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 13 July, 1944, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>43</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 9 September, 1948, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>44</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 14 October, 1948, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>45</sup> Joanna Penglase, *Orphans of the Living*, Fremantle: Curtin University Books, 2005, p.53.

<sup>46</sup> Caroline Judkins, 'The Dreaded White Undies and Other Family Dramas' p.6.

<sup>47</sup> Diana Merron (Dianne Lake), Interview by Author, Interview by Author, 18 September, 2014.

<sup>48</sup> Margaret Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007, p.109.

access to Child Welfare Office and family files it is very difficult to know whether the above stories are representative of many families in the Home or a few.

Even before the All Saints' Children's Home was opened, the Government had involvement with the Home. The 1907 Infant Life Protection Act opened the Home to government inspection and the 1927 Child Welfare Act amendment made annual inspection mandatory. On the whole, the annual inspections focused on the material aspects of the Home and very rarely mentioned the children. There were two instances of complaints about the way the children's were treated, but it appears these were brought to the attention of government officials by members of the public. The Home was definitely used by the Child Welfare Branch to house children, despite the fact that institutions were officially considered to provide sub-standard care. Why Child Welfare may have used the Home remains largely unknown and until there is wider access to Child Welfare files the full relationship between Government and children's homes will be difficult to assess.





FIGURE 19: The children and staff, taken as part of the Golden Jubilee Celebrations, November 1956.  
Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 2, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives

## Chapter 9

# The closure of the Home

*'Both in New Zealand and overseas there has been a trend away from large institutions'*<sup>1</sup>

In August 1948 an article entitled 'Orphanages Without Orphans' appeared in the *New Zealand Listener* and it created such interest that the editor was still receiving letters six months later.<sup>2</sup> This article symbolised a change that was occurring around the way children's homes were viewed in society. Both in New Zealand and overseas, institutions, like children's homes, were coming under increasing criticism. This was because the focus of child welfare was shifting from the child and its environment to families, and particularly the importance of the child experiencing a 'normal' family life.<sup>3</sup> Society was also changing. Social security payments enabled more solo parents to care for their children without the need for full-time work and the development of day-care facilities provided more support for parents who had to work. If faced with sole parenthood, families now had many more options. Another change was the sharp rise in adoptions, which meant that children's homes were no longer receiving as many illegitimate children and were experiencing more requests from people wanting to adopt children in homes. These trends caused a change in the type and numbers of children that All Saints' cared for. Staffing also became an issue, not only in finding staff as explained in Chapter 3, but also meeting the pressure to employ staff who had trained in methods of child rearing and psychology. The difficult financial situation the Home experienced during the 1950s was discussed in Chapter 4 and the Board and Ladies'

<sup>1</sup> *Church and People*, September 1964, p.6.

<sup>2</sup> Simon Rae, *From Relief to Social Service: A History of the Presbyterian Social Service Association Otago 1906-1981*, Dunedin: Presbyterian Social Service Association (Otago), 1981, p.67.

<sup>3</sup> Harry Hendricks, *Child Welfare, England 1872-1989*, London: Routledge, 1994, p.5.

Committee also had to deal with an ageing building which required a considerable amount of maintenance. All of these factors led to a general decline in children's homes: when the All Saint's home closed in 1964, it was part of a wider trend seen across all church homes.

In 1942 a small book was published by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research. It was entitled *The Institutional Care of Dependent Children in New Zealand* and was written by H.C. Matthew, a Presbyterian minister and a holder of a Diploma from the New York School of Social Work.<sup>4</sup> This book is notable in two ways: it claimed to be the first independent survey of children's homes in New Zealand, and it was written by someone with social work qualifications, something very rare in New Zealand at the time.<sup>5</sup> The overall tone of Matthew's work was that the quality of children's homes varied greatly and that the care they offered was often inadequate and unaffected by new ideas.<sup>6</sup> In his conclusion he called for two changes. Firstly, there should be an increase in the use of social work principles which he believed would allow for more children to remain with their families. He pointed out that 'today it has come to be almost universally recognised by social workers dealing with children that the family is the primary agency for the nurture and development of children.'<sup>7</sup> His second point was the need for homes to employ trained personnel, stating 'Progress in every aspect of the work depends entirely upon the growth of fuller understanding of children and deeper insight of their needs'.<sup>8</sup> He was not just targeting staff, but believed that boards and management committees of Homes also needed training.<sup>9</sup>

These ideas were very much in keeping with international thoughts and trends. Developments in child psychology during the 1920s and early 1930s had begun to see family dynamics as the cause of problems in children, therefore families and family life became a focus of social work. In particular, work coming out of the Tavistock Clinic and the child guidance movement, both based in London, was expounding the importance of families.<sup>10</sup> One of the psychiatrists that worked within these movements was John Bowlby, who subsequently studied children in institutional settings. His seminal work, *Maternal Care and*

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<sup>4</sup> H. C. Matthew, *The Institutional Care of Children Dependent Children in New Zealand*, Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1942, p.5

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, p.5

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, p.129.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p.130.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p.136.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p.136.

<sup>10</sup> Hendricks, pp.170-171.

*Mental Health*, set forth his theory that deprivation of maternal care was the cause of mental health issues in children. These ideas became very influential in western culture,<sup>11</sup> and had an effect on the way children's homes were viewed, particularly leading to criticism that they did not provide a 'normal family life'.

The ideas expressed by Matthew were making their way into the wider New Zealand culture. In 1948 an article appeared in the *New Zealand Listener*, entitled 'Orphanages Without Orphans', written by Doris Meares Mirams. The article was inspired by a British Committee of Inquiry into children deprived of a normal home life.<sup>12</sup> Its report was published in 1946, and became known as the Curtis Report, after the chair of the Committee, Myra Curtis.<sup>13</sup> The report had resulted in the British Government passing a new Children's Act in 1948, which emphasised fostering children, rather than placing them in institutions, to provide them with a 'normal home life'.<sup>14</sup> Many of Mirams's criticisms of children's homes echo Matthew's: the need for training of staff and those running homes,<sup>15</sup> and the need for children to stay with their families wherever possible.<sup>16</sup> However, she was more harsh, focusing on the 'unnatural' ways that homes raised children, criticising the single-sex nature of many homes<sup>17</sup> and highlighting the emotional problems that children's homes supposedly caused.<sup>18</sup> She concluded with the statement that 'large institutions no longer fit into our social pattern. More normal homes would produce more normal children.'<sup>19</sup> The letters that responded to the article were varied, some supported Mirams; others, written by those who ran homes, defended them, saying that her attacks were unfounded. Mirams wrote a second article, the letters continued for six months, and the article, letters and a talk by Matthew entitled 'The Home Deprived Child' were eventually published as a book.<sup>20</sup> The fact that this article provoked an outpouring of opinions shows that New Zealanders were aware of some of the changes in philosophy that had been occurring around care for children, and illustrates that views of institutions were changing.

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<sup>11</sup> Helen May, *Politics in the Playground*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2001, pp.44-49 details Bowlby's effect in NZ.

<sup>12</sup> Doris Meares Mirams, *Orphanages without Orphans*, Timaru: Timaru Herald, 1948, p.7.

<sup>13</sup> Hendricks, pp.213-214.

<sup>14</sup> Hendricks, p.217.

<sup>15</sup> Mirams, p.8, p.19.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, p.7.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*, p.8-10.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid*, p.11.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, p.11.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p.2.

The increased emphasis on the family unit was being represented in other ways. The most fundamental change that affected children's homes was the increase in social security provisions that occurred after the election of the first Labour Government in 1935. Deserted wives were able to claim a widows' benefit from 1936, but only if they took proceedings against their husbands for maintenance. This measure was controversial<sup>21</sup> and it seems that the Social Security department was not always sympathetic towards deserted wives.<sup>22</sup> In 1942 the Child Welfare Division began administering a 'needy family' fund which was designed to help the families that they came in to contact with.<sup>23</sup> The purpose of this was to help the family unit to remain intact by solving financial problems. The Social Security Department also had a special assistance fund which they could use to help those who were unable to make ends meet.<sup>24</sup> The most important change, however, was the introduction of the Family Benefit in 1946. Unlike previous family payments it was universal, paid to the mother, and, at 10 shillings per week per child, very generous.<sup>25</sup> Although these benefits were designed to support the nuclear family, they also enabled sole parents to manage financially. Through a combination of benefits with perhaps only a little part-time work, it was becoming more possible for solo parents to keep their households intact. During the 1950s the discretionary benefits became a growing area of government activity, topping up existing provisions.<sup>26</sup> Labrum believes that this was accessed by women as a way of keeping their families together.<sup>27</sup> There are examples in the Ladies' Committee Minutes of members of the Committee helping families in the Home to access these provisions.<sup>28</sup> As Dalley points out, the increasing number of benefits and a flexible attitude meant that many sole families were being supported by the state well before the introduction of the Domestic Purposes Benefit in 1973.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Margaret McClure, *A Civilised Community: A History of Social Security In New Zealand 1898-1998*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, pp.66-67.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p.144.

<sup>23</sup> Bronwyn Labrum, 'Needs and family desires : discretionary state welfare in New Zealand, 1920-1970', PhD Thesis in History, Victoria University Wellington, 2000, p.100.

<sup>24</sup> McClure, p.142.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid, pp.105-106.

<sup>26</sup> Bronwyn Labrum, 'The Changing Meanings and Practices of Welfare, 1984-1900s', in Giselle Byrnes (ed.), *The New Oxford History of New Zealand*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2009, p.412.

<sup>27</sup> Bronwyn Labrum, 'Needs and family desires', p.309.

<sup>28</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949 - March 1956, 9 December, 1954, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949 - March 1956, 10 February, 1955, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949 - March 1956, 14 July, 1955, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>29</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, pp.164-65.

Although the availability of more financial support had an effect on the numbers of children being placed in homes, there was also a more general shift to providing more community support for sole parent families. An example of this was Birthright, an organisation founded in 1956 with the express purpose of helping mothers who were parenting alone. Initially, the idea was to help widows, but at the founding meeting this was widened to include mothers who were on their own due to separation, desertion or divorce.<sup>30</sup> The purpose of Birthright was to help the children of such families by providing support to enable the remaining parent to keep a stable household.<sup>31</sup> A Birthright society was established in Palmerston North in 1959 and by the time of its first Annual General Meeting it was helping fifty-two families.<sup>32</sup> The president of Birthright Palmerston North was also on the Board of the All Saints' Home,<sup>33</sup> suggesting that the interests of these two groups overlapped. The establishment of a group like this shows that society was become more accepting of sole parents and wanted children to stay with their parent. Since most of the children in children's homes were from broken families, organisations like Birthright would have contributed to decreasing numbers of children coming into homes.

The growth of pre-school and day-care centres was another societal change that supported sole parents in the community. This was unintentional as, unlike Birthright, pre-school care was not specifically for solo parents, but its rising availability in the 1950s gave sole parents more options. The rise in pre-school care began during World War Two. Playcentres, which first opened in 1941, were designed to help mothers who were parenting alone due to war conditions.<sup>34</sup> They began opening in Palmerston North in 1943.<sup>35</sup> Post-war, the free kindergarten movement grew, with Palmerston North organising a Free Kindergarten Association in 1949.<sup>36</sup> Kindergartens offered sessions, not all-day care, but they provided an affordable, and socially acceptable, form of child care for mothers who might need to work. All-day care also grew after World War Two. May points out that the expansion of day nurseries, or childcare, is difficult to trace due to the fact that all-day separation from the mother was believed to be harmful to the child, so such nurseries were often condemned. Despite this, it seems that childcare grew slowly but steadily during the 1950s,<sup>37</sup> and as an indicator

<sup>30</sup> George Bryant, *Birthright: A story of people who care*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1988, p.10.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid*, p.8.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid*, p.22.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, p.23, D.C. Pryor was president of Birthright, and on All Saints' Children's Home Board from 1959-1964.

<sup>34</sup> Helen May, *The Discovery of Early Childhood*, (2nd Ed.), Wellington: NZCER Press, 1997, p. 384.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid*, p.387.

<sup>36</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 28 March, 1949, p.8.

<sup>37</sup> May, *Politics in the Playground*, p.51.

of this, in 1960 the government began to regulate centres.<sup>38</sup> In its first report to Government, the Child Welfare Branch listed forty day-nurseries.<sup>39</sup> Because the history of day-care centres is difficult to follow, it was not possible to find out when the first day-centre opened in Palmerston North. However, like the availability of government benefits and the increase in community-based childcare, these centres helped sole parents to keep their children with them and survive financially.

The post-war rise in adoption of ex-nuptial babies is a well-recognised phenomenon.<sup>40</sup> The increase in the numbers of children being adopted was first noted in the Child Welfare Branch report to government in 1941. The Superintendent said that this was a pleasing trend and that 604 children had been adopted in 1940, the majority of those children being under five.<sup>41</sup> The number of adoptions completed each year continued to increase, in 1944 the Child Welfare Office reported that 854 children were adopted, with applications generally coming from those couples without children.<sup>42</sup> Adoptions peaked in 1971, with 3 976 orders, 6.17% of all live births,<sup>43</sup> but the culture of adoption of ex-nuptial babies was strongest in the 1950s.<sup>44</sup> This rise has been linked to Bowlby's work on maternal deprivation<sup>45</sup> and the idea that the best environment for the child was a permanent home, with a mother and father.<sup>46</sup> Adoption was seen as giving a child with 'normal' family which a single mother could not provide. The effect of this change in the way society viewed ex-nuptial children meant that they were no longer being placed in children's homes. This had a direct impact on All Saints', as shown in Chapter 5, and there seem to have been no illegitimate children in the Home from the mid 1940s. The demand for children to adopt was high in the 1950s and there are records of people writing to the Home asking if it had any children for adoption.<sup>47</sup> These were often answered with suggestions of children who were suitable, but

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p.54.

<sup>39</sup> Child Welfare, State Care of Children, Specials Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1962, E.4. p.15.

<sup>40</sup> Anne Else, *A Question of Adoption*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991, p.xi. Dalley, pp.224-225.

<sup>41</sup> Child Welfare, State Care of Children, Specials Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1941, E4 p.3.

<sup>42</sup> Child Welfare, State Care of Children, Specials Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1944, E4, p.3.

<sup>43</sup> Keith Griffith, *New Zealand Adoption: History and Practice, Social and Legal, 1840-1996*, Wellington: K Griffith, 1997, p.117.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid, p.177, using figures provided it was calculated that in the 1950s adoption orders were 65% to 80% of ex-nuptial births. Whereas in the 1960s that figure declined to around 50% of ex-nuptial births and then into the mid-40% by the 1970s.

<sup>45</sup> Else, p.25.

<sup>46</sup> Dalley, p.25.

<sup>47</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 2, March 1944-August 1949, 13 June, 1946, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

none of the adoptions was finalised. Not only did the Home stop receiving ex-nuptial children, but children from broken homes were considered for adoption rather than remaining in the Home.

The changes outlined above all had another impact on All Saints' Children's Home. From the late 1950s onwards there was a noticeable trend for there to be more reports of behavioural issues among the children. It is difficult to tell if this is because the Ladies' Committee and the Board were more sensitive to children's behaviour or if the children were actually more difficult. In April 1961 there was trouble in the Home and some of the children were caught stealing, which required police involvement.<sup>48</sup> There was a fire set by some children in October 1962<sup>49</sup> and in May 1963 bars were fitted on the upstairs windows to prevent the children climbing out on to the roof.<sup>50</sup> In September 1963 the Board was written to by a Department of Education psychologist who had examined four children in the Home. In the psychologist's opinion the children displayed disturbed or difficult behaviour, which arose from them having been deprived of a normal family life.<sup>51</sup> In November 1963 the Home admitted a family of five. This took the number of children to twenty-four and the Matron subsequently reported, 'the behaviour of all the children has deteriorated to such an extent that from 3.30pm onwards every week day and all weekend this home becomes a mad house'. She was concerned that the new children were very unhappy and pointed out 'They are all emotionally disturbed, as all the children here are, they all come from broken homes, where up until the time that one or the other parents walked out rows were the usual thing'.<sup>52</sup> The 1964 Annual Report stated that 1963 had been a difficult year, because of 'the number of young and emotionally disturbed children'.<sup>53</sup> With the growing support available to sole parents, it is possible that children were being admitted to the Home because there

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Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 13 July, 1950, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 3, September 1949-March 1956, 10 March, 1949, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 12 June, 1959, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>48</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 13 April, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>49</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960-August 1964, October, 1962, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>50</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960-August 1964, May, 1963, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>51</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 5, Foote to Atwood, 24 September, 1963, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>52</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960-August 1964, December 1963, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>53</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 5, Annual Report, 1964, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

were multiple family problems. It is also possible that these were no worse than in the past, but the Board and Ladies Committee certainly perceived they were.<sup>54</sup> The idea that the children were more troubled and more difficult to control was one of the factors that led to them considering closing the Home.

Although the numbers of children in All Saints' did not decline markedly during the 1950s and early 1960s, there were changes in the type of children admitted and the length of their stay. It is difficult to measure the average length of stay over the early 1960s as the Board began trying to empty out the Home from mid 1963 onwards. However, it appears from the Matron's daybook that many more children were staying in the Home for a short length of time. This can be seen in two ways, firstly in the number of temporary admissions of families and secondly in the fluctuating numbers of children in the Home. The temporary admission of families was not new to the Home: it had been used to house children on a short-term basis since it opened. However, it does seem that these placements were becoming more frequent in the late 1950s. In October 1958 the Ladies' Committee minutes noted that three 'temporary families' had been removed.<sup>55</sup> In both August and September 1960 two girls were admitted on a temporary basis, on both occasions for three months.<sup>56</sup> In May 1961 the Matron mentioned three boys who had gone home, but from her comment it is possible to tell that these boys had 'gone home' before, as she ends her entry on them with the comment 'permanently - we hope.'<sup>57</sup> This trend was echoed in April 1962 when another family was 'expected back for a short stay'<sup>58</sup> and in September 1962 a family that had been in temporarily between November and December 1961 was re-admitted.<sup>59</sup>

These movements of children in and out of the Home led to fluctuating numbers. Figure (20) shows the numbers, month by month from March 1962 until July 1964 and 1963 appears to have been a particularly difficult year with numbers. It seems that the Home

<sup>54</sup> Katherine Holden, 'Other people's children: Single women and residential childcare in mid-20th century England', *Management and Organisational History*, vol.5, issues3/4, pp.314-330, p.324, also noted that in Britain children in post-war Homes were seen as more 'difficult'.

<sup>55</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 9 October, 1958, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>56</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 11 August 1960, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.  
Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 8 September 1960, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>57</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960-August 1964, May 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>58</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960-August 1964, April 1962, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>59</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960-August 1964, November-December 1961 and September 1962, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

was becoming a place where parents were more likely to leave their children for a short time rather than in the past when the Home was used as a more long-term solution. As was noted in Chapter 6, the most common trigger for the removal of a child from the Home was a change in family circumstance, particularly surrounding the financial situation of the parent. With increased access to State help, it is possible that children were staying in the Home for shorter periods because it was much easier for a solo parent to achieve financial security.

Obtaining staff had been an issue for the Home since the Second World War. From the late 1950s the Board and Ladies' Committee were also under pressure to employ a certain kind of staff, with some kind of training in childcare. The first indication that the Ladies' Committee were realising that a change in staffing was needed came in early 1958. After the resignation of Lucy Elliot, the Committee decided to look for a married couple to run the Home rather than a Matron.<sup>60</sup> This shows the idea of children experiencing a 'normal family environment' was influencing the decisions of the Ladies' Committee. Although the Ladies' Committee may have had an ideal of a married couple, they were unable to find one willing to work in the Home and they appointed another Matron in March 1958.<sup>61</sup>

The Child Welfare Office also recognised that children's home staff should be trained and began offering courses during the school holidays. Miss Robinson, the Matron, attended a refresher course in August 1959<sup>62</sup> and in August 1960 the sub-matron attended a similar course.<sup>63</sup> The Education Department psychologist who wrote to the Board in 1963 stated that the children's difficulties were 'best tackled by staff with training and experience in dealing with emotionally disturbed children.'<sup>64</sup>

However, the problem of staff turnover recurred, with assistants coming and going rapidly.<sup>65</sup> Christine Ramsey, who was in the Home from 1961 until its closure, remembers that the young assistants were nice but never stayed very long.<sup>66</sup> The turnover in Matrons

<sup>60</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 12 February, 1958, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>61</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 13 March, 1958, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>62</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 7 May, 1959, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 13 August, 1959, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>63</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 12 May, 1960, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>64</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 5, Foote to Atwood, 24 September, 1963, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>65</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960-August 1964, July 1963, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archive has a list of recent staff and their length of stay.

<sup>66</sup> Christine Ramsey, Interview by Author, 6 November, 2014.

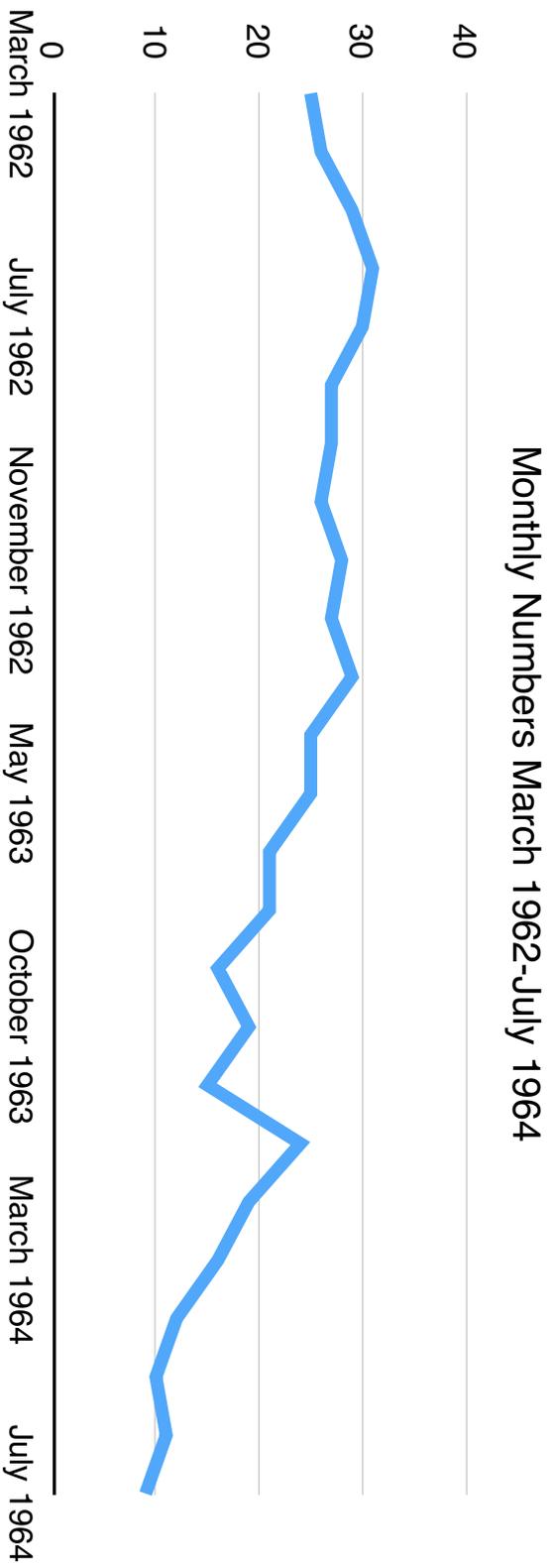


FIGURE 20 : Numbers of children in the Home between March 1962 and July 1964.

was also high: there were four Matrons between May 1961 and the closure of the Home in July 1964. Larger institutions, like All Saints', were becoming harder to staff and these problems would have led to the Board considering a different way of caring for children.

We have already seen in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 that as the Home aged the Board had to deal with the practical problems of finding employees and decreasing donations coupled with rising costs. Another practical issue they had was the large and ageing building. The Pascal Street Home, built in 1931, was becoming more costly to maintain and was not easily adaptable to modern theories of childcare. In August 1961 a sub-committee, consisting of three members of the Trust Board, made a thorough inspection of the building during the school holidays when the children were staying at Brown House.<sup>67</sup> At a Board meeting in September 1961, the initial reports were discussed. The sub-committee believed it would cost a considerable amount to bring the Home up to modern standards and that, considering that demand for places was decreasing, it might be better to sell the building and construct a new one.<sup>68</sup> Mrs Langley, the secretary of the Ladies' Committee agreed with this, saying that it was not worth continually patching up the Home.<sup>69</sup> The report was considered again in December 1961 and it was decided not to take any action in regards to a new Home.<sup>70</sup> The Annual report for 1962 states that a considerable amount of money had been spent, which brought the Home into an up-to-date condition.<sup>71</sup> What the Board could not fix was the fact that the building had been built for around forty children and they did not have the demand to fill these spaces any more. Not only was the building ageing, but it was now too large and could not be altered to make it more suitable for the family-type care that now thought best for children.

In mid 1963 the Board decided to close the Pascal Street home. There is no official document to support this, but there are two pieces of evidence to suggest that the announcement of closure in July 1964 had been planned for some time. In early 1963, D.C Pryor, a member of the Board, wrote to the Director of Social Services of the Diocese of Christchurch. Although a copy of Pryor's letter has not survived, the reply has. It is possible

<sup>67</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 26 August 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>68</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Sub-Committee report n.d, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>69</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 25 September, 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>70</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, 15 December 1961, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>71</sup> Trust Board Minute Book, 1919-1962, Series 1, Box 1, Annual Report 1962, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

to ascertain that Pryor was seeking advice about how the Christchurch Diocese had moved from children's homes to a combination of foster and family homes. J Morrison, a social worker, replied that the problems All Saints' faced were similar to those in Christchurch ten years before. The solution had been to focus attention on providing 'natural family or family substitutes'<sup>72</sup> through foster or family homes with a married couple in charge and seven to eight children. Morrison also stated the the key staff member was a caseworker, who could work with the child, parent and foster family.<sup>73</sup> At the beginning of 1964 the Board appointed a social worker, Hughla Scott. It is unclear when Mrs Scott started work, but in the 1964 Annual Report her appointment is described as a 'wise move' and that she 'has been able to give much needed relief the the Secretary of the Ladies' Committee'. The report also states that she had been able to find foster homes for some children, before they were committed to the Home.<sup>74</sup> Another indication that the Home was going to close was that it began emptying out from late 1963. The decrease in numbers can be seen in figure (20). The principal of the school the children went to remembered a sharp decline in the numbers of children in the Home from mid-1963.<sup>75</sup> The Matron's Daybook documents the leaving of children for foster homes from April 1964.<sup>76</sup> By July 1964 only nine children remained, most of whom were transferred to a family-style home which the Trust bought in July 1964.<sup>77</sup>

When All Saints' Children's Home closed its doors in August 1964, it was part of a much wider trend. Within the network of homes under the Wellington Diocese, St Mary's Homes in Karori had progressively closed their facilities from 1952 onwards,<sup>78</sup> with the last, Duncan Cottage, closing in 1962.<sup>79</sup> The St Barnabas' Babies' Home changed its focus to work with unmarried mothers.<sup>80</sup> The Lower Hutt Boys' Home had closed in 1958<sup>81</sup> and after All Saints' closed only Sedgley remained open. The Auckland Diocese began closing

<sup>72</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 3, Morrison to Pryer, (sic) 19 July 1963, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 5, Annual Report, 1964, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>75</sup> Ken Gregory, Interview by Author, 12 August, 2014.

<sup>76</sup> Matron's Daybook, Series 4, Box 1, May 1960-August 1964, April, 1964, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>77</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 23 July, 1964.

<sup>78</sup> Dennis Wederell, (ed), *One Hundred Years of Care: St Mary's Homes and Sprott House*, Wellington: Sprott House Trust, 2000, p.63.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, p.136.

<sup>80</sup> Janette Gosnell, A. *A Servant of the City: The Wellington City Mission 1904-1984*, Wellington: Grantham House, 1985, p.104.

<sup>81</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 9 October, 1958, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

its homes in 1958.<sup>82</sup> The Presbyterian Social Service Association Otago also closed its remaining homes at Anderson's Bay, near Dunedin, in 1964, and like All Saints' used a mixture of foster and family homes.<sup>83</sup> The trend for children's homes to close in favour of foster care and family homes was also noted by the Child Welfare Division. In its 1965 report to Government on registered children's homes, the superintendent noted that eleven family homes had been established and several more were planned. He also stated that the number of children under the control of home authorities, but in foster care, had risen 40% since 1962.<sup>84</sup> The decision the All Saints' board made to close the Home was very much in keeping with trends within other New Zealand Homes.

When 'Orphanages without Orphans' appeared in 1948, the opinions Mirams expressed may have been limited to those in society with a special knowledge and interest in child welfare. But by 1964 the whole focus of social work with children had moved firmly towards the importance of a child experiencing a 'normal' family life, and society supported the family model. This shift is illustrated by the availability of benefits for sole parents, the existence of specific organisations to support them, and the availability of childcare. All of these made it much easier for children to remain with their parents when families experienced some form of breakdown. This led to children's homes being used in a different way than in the past. They became places of temporary care, or for children of families with multiple problems. The more transient and difficult nature of the children All Saints' was receiving was one of the reasons the management began to look for other ways of carrying out work with children. The Home also had problems finding staff and had pressure on it to employ trained staff. The age of the building was also an issue and the Board were forced to make decisions about whether to upgrade the building or move on from the large, ageing, institutional setting. Sometime in 1963 the Board decided to close the Home, they began reducing numbers and, in 1964 employed a social worker to help find foster homes. When it closed its doors in August 1964, the All Saints' Children's Home was following a fundamental shift to foster care and family homes.

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<sup>82</sup> Dianne Kenderdine, 'Anglican Trust for Women and Children – History' retrieved from: <http://atwc.org.nz/themes/atwc/images/HistoryofATWC.pdf> on 9 September 2014, p.5.

<sup>83</sup> Rae, pp.93-4.

<sup>84</sup> Child Welfare, State Care of Children, Specials Schools and Infant Life Protection Annual Report, *AJHR*, 1965, E4, p.19.

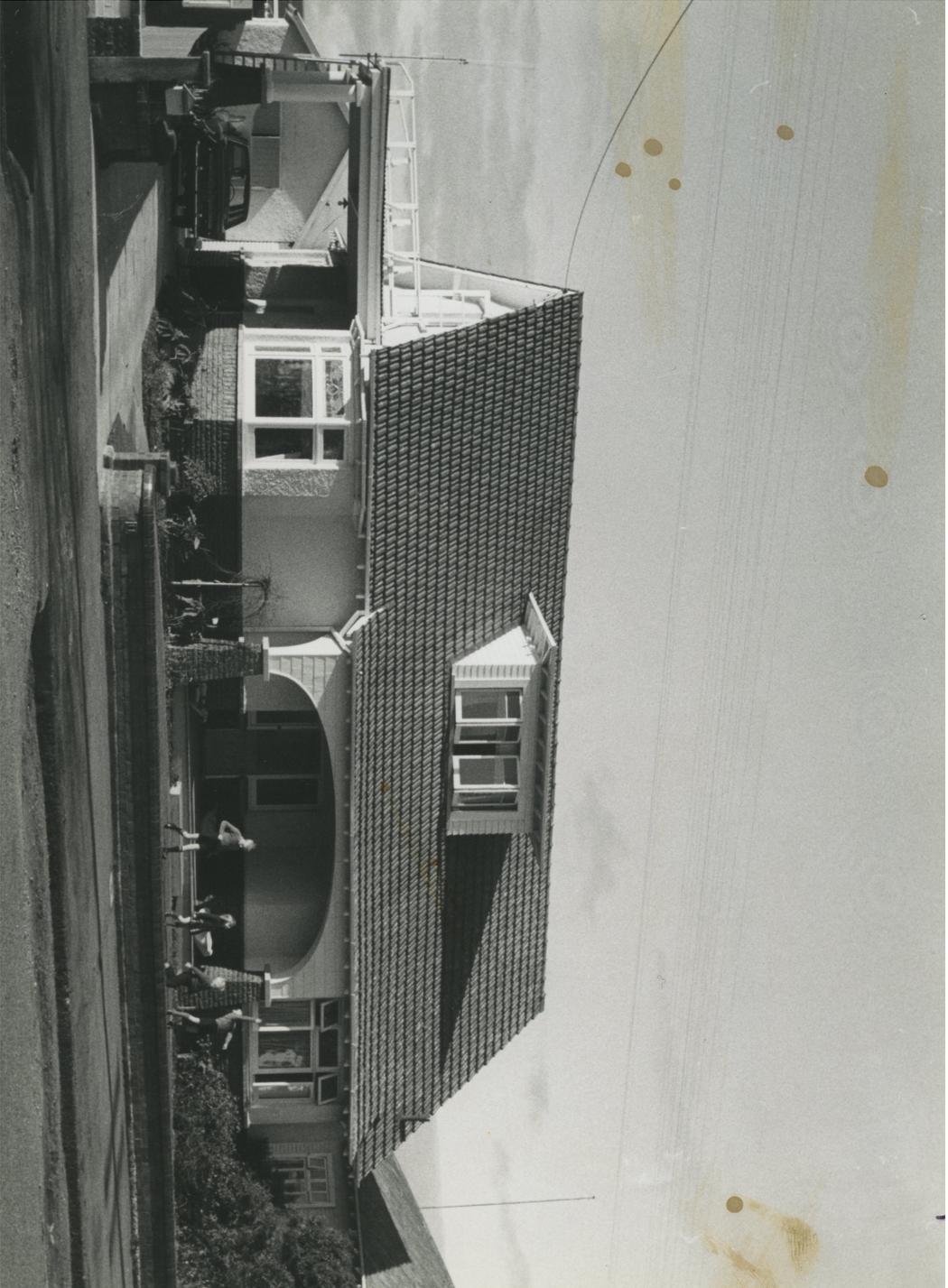


FIGURE 21 : The Family Home in Ngaio Street, purchased by the Trust in 1964.  
Source: Photographs, Series 9, Folder 1, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives

# Conclusion

*'The change is only in the outward form'*<sup>1</sup>

When the All Saints' Children's Home closed in 1964, an article in the *Manawatu Evening Standard* assured the readers that, although the closure of the building in Pascal Street might seem like a sharp break with tradition, the work of the Trust would continue. It also acknowledged that for fifty-eight years the All Saints' Children's Home had been part of the fabric of welfare in Palmerston North and surrounding districts. It had provided care for children whose families had experienced some form of breakdown, usually the loss of a parent, through death, desertion or divorce and its good work 'has led to its name being held in the highest esteem'.<sup>2</sup> However, as a publicity booklet produced by the Trust in 1966 pointed out, over the years the Home was open methods of caring for needy children had changed considerably.<sup>3</sup>

That period was one of great social change in New Zealand. These changes were reflected in the life of the Home. The fact that the Anglican Church decided to open a home for destitute children and provide child care for working parents shows the prevalence of ideas about the specialness of childhood and the need to protect children at the turn of the twentieth century. This was reflective of a process that had seen children change from being an economic asset to a treasure, invested with much sentimental meaning.<sup>4</sup> The drop in birth rates in western countries, which began in in the case of New Zealand around 1870,<sup>5</sup> increased the feeling that all children needed to be protected as a precious resource.

<sup>1</sup> *Manawatu Evening Standard*, 23 July, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Correspondence and Subject Files, Series 7, Folder 5, 'All Saints' Children's Home Trust', All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*, New York: Basic Books Inc., 1985, p.11.

<sup>5</sup> Ian Pool, Arunachalam Dharmalingam and Janet Sceats, *The New Zealand Family from 1840: A Demographic History*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2007, pp.18-19.

The opening of children's homes can be seen as an out-working of these ideas in society that was also illustrated by other private welfare groups dedicated to children that emerged about the same time, such as the Plunket Society, the Canterbury Children's Aid Society and the Society for the Protection of Women and Children.<sup>6</sup>

Social conditions in inter-war New Zealand meant that children's homes continued to flourish. Most of the children in the homes were there as a result of family breakdown rather than being actual orphans. Typically breakdown was caused by the death or desertion of one parent, although divorce also played a role. There was little welfare provision available from the State for parents who found themselves widowed or deserted,<sup>7</sup> and this was an area where private welfare, particularly churches, met a real need.<sup>8</sup> The depression led to some children's homes reducing numbers of children they cared for, mostly due to the fact that these homes were run entirely on parental and charitable contributions. The contraction in the economy led to funding difficulties and All Saints' was forced to close one of its homes in 1933.

The 1938 Social Security Act went some way towards providing for the carers in families which experienced breakdown, particularly widows or deserted wives.<sup>9</sup> But this was not the only change in society that affected children's homes. There was a shift in child welfare theory, an increase in Government financial support for families, a rise in the rate of adoptions and a general change in community attitude toward sole parents. When All Saints' shut its doors in 1964, it was part of a wider trend away from institutions.

The Home's opening in 1906 was inspired, according to its founding story, by a crippled boy in Palmerston North Hospital whose mother had died and whose father was in Porirua Mental Asylum. Rev. C.C. Harper had tried to find a place for the boy in a church home as he believed that a hospital was an unsuitable place for a child to stay. Unable to fulfil his promise of place in a children's home, he decided to open a home in Palmerston North. That a children's home was proposed and embraced by the All Saints' parishioners shows that they were aware of contemporary ideas about child welfare even though Palmerston North was a very long way from the northern hemisphere centres where child welfare theories

<sup>6</sup> Margaret Tennant, 'Indigence and Charitable Aid in New Zealand 1885-1920' PhD thesis in History, Massey University, 1981, p. 318.

<sup>7</sup> Margaret McClure *A Civilised Community: A History of Social Security In New Zealand 1898-1998*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, pp.31-32, pp.40-42.

<sup>8</sup> *New Zealand Vital Statistics 1925* (vol.1) pp.252-257 lists 53 children's homes, all were run by churches apart from one which was run by the North Canterbury Charitable Aid Board, and seven which were described as non-denominational. Of these, four were run by church co-operation and another one by the WCTU.

<sup>9</sup> McClure, p.76, pp.105-106.

were developed. The State-run industrial school system came under attack from the early 20th century, as had 'back yard' or casual arrangements, particularly after the Minnie Dean case in the mid-1890s. The Government began regulating women who used their homes to care for children other than their own, making this practice less attractive. These trends led parents to seek a different kind of care for their children and the opening and subsequent growth of the All Saints' Home were part of this. Within a New Zealand context, All Saints' Home was one of the first church-based children's homes opened, with most homes opening in the years just before, or after, World War One.<sup>10</sup>

The All Saints' Children's Home was administered entirely by volunteers, who served on either the Board of Trustees, which was made up men, or the Ladies' Committee. Under the constitution these two groups had defined roles. The Board was responsible for the governance aspects of the Home and Ladies' Committee for the material, day-to-day needs. This structure was common, both in New Zealand and overseas, and reflected gender roles prevalent when Home was set up. The separate roles of the Board and Ladies' Committee became more blurred over the life of the Home, with the Ladies' Committee taking on more responsibility as the Home aged. Analysis of the Board and Ladies' Committee members showed that most people who served the Home were middle aged and middle class. The homogeneity of the two groups suggested that their motivations for serving the Home may have been driven by their social position. Another aspect that the volunteers shared was membership of an Anglican Church, so it is possible that they were also motivated to give their time to the Home because they believed that service was a Christian virtue. As the Home aged, so did the volunteers, with the Ladies' Committee in particular having problems recruiting younger women to replace the long-serving members who retired. The Trust Board also experienced difficulty in recruiting younger members, and there was a noticeable gap in men born in between the years 1890 and 1900, the generation most affected by the First World War. The problems recruiting younger members may also be explained by a change in the way people viewed volunteering, moving from the nineteenth-century ideals of giving to those less fortunate to a focus on personal fulfilment. Service was also a family affair, with connections within and between the Board and Ladies' Committee.

The Home also played a significant role in lives of those it employed. Although there was no typical employee of the Home, there were two factors that many of them had in

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<sup>10</sup> For example *Blue Book, Volume one, Population and Vital Statistics*, 1913, p.129, lists seventeen children's homes, *New Zealand Vital Statistics, 1925*, pp.252-54, lists fifty three.

common. Firstly, the Home was a place that employed women without male support. This ranged from single women who needed employment with accommodation, to widowed or separated women who required a job where their children could live with them. Work in the Home was also popular with women who were new immigrants to New Zealand, because it offered accommodation and it was an easy way for them to enter New Zealand life. This shows a different aspect of the role of the Home, it provided employment for a certain group of women. Although the Ladies' Committee and Board, as employers, had a lot of power within the employer-employee relationship, the staff were not without agency, using resignation as the most common way of protesting decisions they disagreed with.

Fulfilling the material needs of the Home was never an easy task. Until 1947, when the Government began paying it family benefit, All Saints' Children's Home had only two sources of income, parental contributions and donations. Donations came in many forms, including money, legacies and gifts-in-kind. The Home's best financial years were those at the very end of World War One, and the early to mid-1920s. During this period they received a good level of monetary donations and gifts. As with many charities, the Board struggled through the Depression, but in the late 1930s and Second World War the Home managed to balance its accounts, but in the post World War Two period it constantly spent more than it received. This was despite increased government funding, which probably helped the Home to remain open. It only survived because it was able to draw on the interest and capital from legacies. Fundraising also played an important role in supporting the Home and had the added benefit of publicising the work of the Home.

Homes like All Saints' are often thought of as being for orphans, or at least children with only one parent alive. In reality most children who lived in the Home had two parents living and were there because of family breakdown. The numbers in the Home grew rapidly in the first two years it was opened and the original Home was extended three times to cater for demand. The number of children the Trust Board cared for peaked in 1928, when it stood at sixty-eight across two homes. From 1906 until the mid 1930s there were consistently more boys under the Trust's care than girls, but from 1937 onwards there were more girls. This is the opposite to national figures, which show that in general boys outnumbered girls in homes. In the case of All Saints', the opening of Sedgley, a Wellington Anglican Diocese Home for older boys, had an influence. However, very little work has been done on the age and gender composition of individual children's homes in New Zealand, so it is difficult to know what the pattern of gender balance in All Saints' means in a wider sense. Another

area in which All Saints' differed from national figures was in having more children with two living parents. Again, without information from other homes it is difficult to say why this was. Anecdotal evidence suggests that there were Māori children placed in All Saints' and that Māori may have had a greater presence in children's home than previously thought. As the Home aged, the length of time children stayed became shorter, but in general most children were in the Home for their primary school years.

Parents tended to view the Home as somewhere to care for their children while they were overcoming a difficult period in their lives, rather than as a permanent solution. Placement in the Home most often occurred because of some disruption to the accepted family pattern of father as breadwinner and mother as carer. This could occur because of the death, sickness or desertion of a parent or a divorce forcing the mother into the work force. In a society with very little welfare or child-care, sole parents had very few options when forced to work and care for children. When the typical pattern was restored, parents often took their children from the Home. While children were in the Home, many parents remained in contact, either by visiting or letter-writing. Parents also continued to provide financial and other support, both for their children and the Home in general. They recognised that the Home was helping them in their times of difficulty. Parents were expected to pay something towards the upkeep of their children and this caused some tension between the Board and parents. However, the Board tended to pursue fathers more vigorously than mothers, suggesting that they believed that it was the father's role to provide for his children and indicating sympathy for mothers who had found themselves without male support.

Life in the Home was explored using interviews, oral histories and some written memories. This brought balance to the archival material, which mostly consisted documents left by those who ran the Home. The use of memory is not without issues and each ex-child had a different perspective on their life in the Home. Some common themes that emerged were the regimented nature of Home life, the way that the children felt different from others, particularly at school, and the type and amounts of food. It seems that during the period that Lucy Elliot was Matron, 1950-1957, the children were treated more kindly. She did not use corporal punishment, which was in direct contrast to the Matrons before and after her. All the children remember good times, with holidays at Brown House and Christmas time being enjoyed by all the interviewees. When it came time to leave the Home, the authorities treated boys and girls differently. Boys were either placed on farms, a practice which ceased in the late 1930s, or sent to Sedgley, an Anglican Home for older boys in Masterton. Much

more interest was taken in the girls. They stayed in Home for longer, becoming house-girls and being trained for domestic service. This practice ceased during the Second World War and girls were allowed to attend secondary school and could stay in the Home until they could 'stand on their own two feet.'<sup>11</sup>

It is hard to reach any firm conclusions about the relationship between the All Saints' Home and the Government. The records of some correspondence and the government inspections under the Infant Life Protection Act (1907) and the Child Welfare Act Amendment (1927) were available. These say very little about the children, although it was possible to tell that there had been two complaints made to the Child Welfare Branch about the treatment of children in the Home. The Ladies' Committee Minutes suggest that the relationship between the Child Welfare Officers and the Home was more complex than the official file reveals. It involved Child Welfare placing children in the Home and helping the Ladies' Committee with advice about children and families. Without access to the records of individual Child Welfare Offices, it was impossible to discern fully why and how Child Welfare might have used the Home, especially as it had an official policy of fostering where possible.

When the All Saints' Home closed its doors in August 1964, it was the result of a shift in ideologies about child welfare as well as changes in society. Previously the discourse around child welfare had focused on the environment the child was raised in, privileging the need for a 'home' and a good moral training. During the 1930s and into the Second World War, the focus of child welfare began to favour the importance of a 'normal' family life for the mental wellbeing of the child. This meant that the best care for children was now seen as requiring a family-type situation and institutions could not provide this. Government benefits made it easier for sole parents to manage financially, reducing the need for these parents to place their children in homes while they sought work. Society itself became more supportive of solo parents, with organisations like Birthright set up specifically to help solo mothers and more preschool care also making it easier for mothers, in particular, to find paid employment. The Trust that ran All Saints' had to deal with more difficult children, pressure find and employ trained staff, deal with continued financial deficits and an ageing building. By 1963 they had decided that they could not continue with the current method of caring for needy children. In early 1964 they employed a social worker and later that year closed the large home in favour of fostering and a smaller family home.

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<sup>11</sup> Ladies' Committee Minute Book, Series 2, Box 1, Volume 4, April 1956-February 1962, 12 June, 1958, All Saints' Children's Home Archive, Ian Matheson City Archives.

The idea that a parent would voluntarily place a child in an institution is very foreign when compared today's ideals and standards of child welfare. Yet this happened to children for over half of the twentieth century. The world of children's homes is becoming lost to us as those who were the children age and the buildings are demolished or re-purposed. This thesis goes some way to illuminating this lost world and attempts to place children's homes within the social contexts that created them, sustained them and led to their demise.

Because there has been very little comparable work on children's homes in New Zealand, there are questions about them that remain unanswered. In similar countries the growth of children's homes has been placed within the child rescue movement. This movement, which began in mid-nineteenth century England, believed that the answer to urban poverty lay in removing children from their 'slum' conditions. The children were either placed in children's homes or removed from England under child migration schemes. The philosophy was based on the idea that poverty was caused by a weakness in character and if children were removed from their dire living conditions, taught different habits and given moral training, they would become 'useful citizens'. Hillel and Swain's work on child rescue discourse explains the spread of these ideas from England to Canada and Australia.<sup>12</sup> New Zealand had different social conditions to these countries, with no large cities and comparably few child migrants arriving, suggesting that child rescue ideas may not have been able to gain much traction. However, this thesis shows there is some evidence that child rescue ideas were present in New Zealand,<sup>13</sup> particularly in the rhetoric around church-based child welfare. The extent, influence and the role these ideas played in the growth of children's homes and churches work with children in general is an area that requires further research.

All Saints' was run by a Trust Board associated with the Anglican Church. The national figures show that within New Zealand, the Anglican Church, along with the Presbyterian Church, was the largest operator of children's homes, both running twelve in 1925.<sup>14</sup> However, the Catholic Church ran nine homes but housed more children.<sup>15</sup> It ran the largest

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<sup>12</sup> Shurlee Swain, and Margot Hillel, *Child, nation, race and empire*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010.

<sup>13</sup> For example see: *Church Chronicle*, 2 October, 1911, p.159.  
Pratt, M.A. *The Story of the South Island Methodist Orphanage and Children's Home Christchurch*, Christchurch: Bascands Limited, 1934 p.8.

Kay Morris Matthews, *Who cared? Childhoods within Hawke's Bay Children's Homes and Orphanages 1892-1988*, Napier: Eastern Institute of Technology, 2012, p.11, cites child rescue ideas behind the first children's home in Napier.

<sup>14</sup> *New Zealand - Vital Statistics, 1925*, p.255, shows 896 in Anglican Homes

<sup>15</sup> *New Zealand - Vital Statistics, 1925*, p.256, shows 1 358 in Catholic Homes.

single home in New Zealand, St Joseph's in Upper Hutt, home to 313 children in 1925.<sup>16</sup> Protestant denominations appear to have run homes that were smaller, the average Anglican home containing seventy-five children and the average Catholic one hundred and fifty. The reasons for these differences are not clear and further exploration of how denomination ran homes would help to explain these differences.

Another aspect of denominational patterns is that it seems that All Saints' was more likely to house children who had two parents still living, particularly before World War Two.<sup>17</sup> The only other analysis of the parents of children in homes was done by McLeod on the girls in St. Vincent de Paul Orphanage in Dunedin and she found a very high rate of illegitimate children.<sup>18</sup> This raises the question as to whether denominations had different attitudes towards children of single mothers and children of divorced parents. The Auckland Methodist Orphanage had a priority list of children, which started with absolute orphans and only took non-Methodists in special circumstances,<sup>19</sup> a much stricter entry criteria than All Saints'. It is possible that certain homes were known for specialising in children from certain backgrounds. Analysis of the admission registers of other homes is needed to place the patterns seen in All Saints' and St Vincent de Paul's in a wider context.

All Saints' was part of a network of children's homes within the Wellington Diocese. This enabled the Home to move children to other homes and influenced the age and gender balance of those in its care. Whether this connectedness is typical is not known. Morris Matthews' work on Hawke's Bay homes found that the non-denominational Hawke's Bay Children's Homes ran a network, with homes for boys and girls and other for older boys, and that the Anglican Homes in the area received children from the church-run St Mary's Receiving Home.<sup>20</sup> However, how other homes in other denominations or non-denominational homes worked together is an unexplored area.

The relationship between private homes and the Government is still unclear. Government policy in New Zealand towards children in need of care has favoured fostering since 1882,<sup>21</sup> yet children's homes grew despite official antipathy toward them.<sup>22</sup> Morris Matthews explains this with the idea of regional cultural capital, that children's homes could not have

<sup>16</sup> *New Zealand - Vital Statistics, 1925*, p.256.

<sup>17</sup> See Chapter 5 p.81

<sup>18</sup> Billie McLeod, 'A Silent Testimony: St Vincent de Paul Catholic Orphanage for Girls, South Dunedin', Post Graduate Diploma in Arts long essay, Otago University, 1992, p.89.

<sup>19</sup> Margaret Tennant, *The Fabric of Welfare*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2007, p.106.

<sup>20</sup> Morris Matthews, p.48.

<sup>21</sup> Bronwyn Dalley, *Family Matters*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, p.14, p.18.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid*, p.34.

begun and continued without local support. She claims that in the smaller communities of the past many of those who donated to children's homes knew the children and families and in the years before welfare payments there was a 'but-for-the-Grace-of-God-go-I' mentality behind the support that enabled children's homes to keep running.<sup>23</sup> Tennant explained the opening of children's homes as part of the desire of different Christian denominations to raise children in the faith of their parents.<sup>24</sup> Yet the minutes of the Ladies' Committee of the All Saints' Children's Home showed that the Child Welfare Branch used the Home to house children and gave reports to the Ladies' Committee on children and families. It is possible that the continued existence of children's homes owed something to Child Welfare using them. Dalley points out that growth in Homes during 1910s and 1920s was possibly caused by the State withdrawing from running institutions.<sup>25</sup> This area of interaction between private and state welfare is under-researched in New Zealand. The small amount of primary source material that was available for this thesis shows that Child Welfare had a significant amount of contact with those that ran the All Saints' Home. More detailed examination of other children's homes records could explain whether the contact found in the All Saints' records was common and provide a fuller picture of how the State worked with private providers of child welfare.

When the first constitution was drawn up for the All Saints' Children Home, it was stated that the Home was intended for orphan and destitute children. When it closed in 1964, the word used to describe the kind of children in the Home had changed to needy. The different language used is one indicator of how the work of the Home had changed between 1906 and 1964. Its role within the fabric of welfare in Palmerston North and surrounding districts was always to provide care for children whose parents were unable to. However, why the parents were unable to care for their children changed as the community offered more support to sole parents, in line with ideas about the family being the best place to raise children. Children's material condition, reflected in the word 'destitute', was no longer an issue, instead it was emotional well being that had become paramount.

As the newspaper article about the closure of the Pascal Street building explained, the All Saints' Children's Home Trust continued to operate after they closed the Home. The employment of a social worker and the purchase of a family-style home signalled the next

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<sup>23</sup> Morris Matthews, p.185.

<sup>24</sup> Margaret Tennant, 'Indigence and Charitable Aid in New Zealand 1885-1920' PhD thesis in History, Massey University, 1981, p.312, p.326.

<sup>25</sup> Dalley, p.134.

phase in the Trust's life. Between 1964 and 1990 the Trust operated a family home, initially the Ngaio Street Home and then a purpose-built facility, called Harper House, after Canon Harper. They also employed a series of social workers to place children in foster homes and work with the families they came in contact with. As an extension of their work, they also ran a supervised flatting situation called Lattey Lodge, which enabled older children to enter adult life with some guidance. The Trust was forced to change direction again in 1989 with the passing of the Children, Young Persons and their Families Act. The Government withdrew its funding from privately-run, family-type homes, making it very difficult for the Trust to continue providing this care option. At this point the Trust combined with Catholic Social Services to become ACROSS,<sup>26</sup> which provided a range of services to children and families.

Through its life, the All Saints' Children's Home provides a window onto how and why a privately funded charity became involved in the welfare of children and how this organisation responded over a period of time in which great social transitions took place.

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<sup>26</sup> Annual Report to All Saints' Children's Home Trust, Palmerston North, 21 June 1990.

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**Appendix:**

**Oral History Documentation**



MASSEY UNIVERSITY  
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES  
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TĀNGATA

## ALL SAINTS CHILDREN'S HOME RESEARCH PROJECT

# INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS IN ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS

This project is being conducted by Elizabeth Ward and will inform a Master of Arts thesis which aims to analyse the history of the All Saints Children's Home. The interviews will explore the question what was life like in the Home. The research is being supervised by Associate Professor James Watson of the School of Humanities at Massey University.

You are invited to participate in the collection of oral history interviews about the All Saints Children's Home. This project aims to collect interviews with children or staff who lived in the Home. We have asked you to participate as you fit this criterion.

The interview could take up to two or three hours. During that time you will be asked to recall your memories about the home and your conversation with the researcher will be recorded. As part of the interview process you may be asked questions that bring back unsettling memories. Before you consent to being recorded please consider carefully if you are comfortable talking about your time at the home. There is a list of possible questions attached. If you are not comfortable with the questions then participation in this project may not be the correct avenue for you to record your life in the Home.

Participation in this project is strictly voluntary and you may withdraw at anytime. Even once we have started recording you have the right to ask the researcher to stop the recorder and erase the recording. If you feel distressed by the memories the interview uncovers you will be referred to the historic abuse team of the Ministry of Social Development.

The completed recordings will be stored at the Ian Matheson City Archives, Palmerston North. You have the right to place restrictions on these recordings so they can not be listened to in your lifetime. Before recording begins the researcher will discuss your options with you.

If you have any questions about this research please contact the researcher:

Elizabeth Ward  
Ph 325 8330  
Email: [wardenz@gmail.com](mailto:wardenz@gmail.com)

Or the Supervisor:

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**MASSEY UNIVERSITY**  
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AND SOCIAL SCIENCES  
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

Possible Interview Questions - All Saints Children's Home Oral Histories

When conducting oral histories there is no set of interview questions. The best interviews are those that are conversation like between the interviewer and interviewee.

For the interviewer to be effective they need to go with a reasonable amount of information about the subject so that the interview can actually be relevant to the topic. Therefore I will be making a list of possible questions that could be used, either as prompts or as a way of keeping the interview on track. Below is a general sample of what might be asked.

When were you born?

Where were you born?

How old were you when you went in to the Home?

Do you remember your first day/night/week?

How long did you stay in the Home?

What staff/children do you remember?

Did you ever leave the Home for holidays?

Where did you go to school?

What level of schooling did you achieve?

Did the Home or your family help you in any way after you left school?

What activities did you participate in while in the Home?

What bad times do you remember?

What good times do you remember?



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**ORAL HISTORY RELEASE FORM**

Ref. No.:

**1. DETAILS OF INTERVIEWEE:**

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Email: \_\_\_\_\_

Tel: \_\_\_\_\_ Cell: \_\_\_\_\_

**2. INTERVIEWER(S):** \_\_\_\_\_

**3. DATE OF INTERVIEW:** \_\_\_\_\_

**4. PLACE OF INTERVIEW:** \_\_\_\_\_

**5. INTERVIEW CONSENT:**

I understand that this interview forms part of the All Saints Children's Home research project.

I agree that I consented to being interviewed and recorded for this purpose.

In understand that I may place restrictions on who can access my recordings and I may change this at anytime I desire.

I understand that this release form does not affect my rights under the Privacy Act 1993.

**6. PLACEMENT:**

I agree that the recording(s) of my interview and accompanying material will be deposited and held at the Ian Matheson City Archives Palmerston North as part of the collection of material relating to the All Saints Children's Home.

**Please turn the page**

**7. ACCESS AND RESTRICTIONS:**

The recording(s) of my interview and the accompanying material may be made available to, or copies supplied to, bona fide researchers, subject to the following restrictions (Please tick one):

- 1. No restrictions.
- 2. Open to researchers at the discretion of the archivist at the Ian Matheson City Archives Palmerston North.
- 3. My prior written consent is required before access and use is allowed. This clause will lapse upon my death.
- 4. Closed for a period of \_\_\_\_\_ months/years, from the date of the interview.

**9. PUBLIC USE:**

The material contained in the recording(s) and accompanying material may be quoted in published work, broadcast or used in public performances, subject to the restrictions listed above. At no time will you be identified if your recording is used unless you desire this.

**10. COPYRIGHT:**

If deposited at the Ian Matheson City Archives Palmerston North, copyright of the material contained in the recording(s) and accompanying material is hereby transferred to the Ian Matheson City Archives Palmerston North. You are free at any time to discuss copyright issues with the archivist.

**11. COMMENTS:**

The interviewer agrees to furnish the interviewee with one copy of the interview recording.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature: Interviewee

\_\_\_\_\_  
Signature: Interviewer

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date



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## ***History of All Saints Children's Home Palmerston North***

### **AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF INTERVIEW MATERIAL**

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to listen to the recording of the oral history interview(s) conducted with me. I have been provided with my own copy of the interview and an abstract of the recording.

I agree that information on my recording may be used in reports and publications arising from the research.

I agree that my real first name can be used.

I wish my information to be use in a way that does not identify me

(Please circle appropriate option)

**Signature:**

**Date:**

**Full Name - printed**