

**STRAYS AND SAVIOURS: CHILD IMMIGRATION, PERCEPTIONS OF
CHILDHOOD, AND CHILD WELFARE POLICIES IN CANADA, 1869-1930**

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Abstract

This dissertation examines Victorian juvenile immigration initiatives spanning the years 1869 to 1930, which involved the relocation of over 100,000 pauper children from urban London slums to rural Canadian homes as part of a social rehabilitation and labor-relief scheme. In response to an alarming surge in juvenile poverty and crime on London streets, prominent child-savers in Britain believed that sending at-risk children to the healing, pastoral countryside of Canada was the solution. Initially applauded by Canadians as an answer to the nation's urgent need for labor and a testament to the enduring imperial link between colony and motherland, concerns about the safety of British juvenile immigrants emerged over time. Debates ensued regarding how the nascent Canadian government ensured the safe placement of these immigrant children in Canadian homes and how the British government's expectations of childcare often differed from Canadian standards.

These debates on the well-being of incoming British children involved a myriad of British child-savers, Canadian lawmakers, and politicians, each possessing their own ideal vision of childhood. An analysis of records from British child-savers and Canadian childcare institutions, such as the Children's Aid Society, revealed stark differences in child-rearing practices. While some British child-savers and the federal government of Canada focused on hard work as a form of moral uplift, Canadian reformers believed that school and a stable home life were more critical for the child's upbringing. Thus, rather than viewing juvenile immigration solely as a philanthropic enterprise, this dissertation illustrates how the juvenile immigration experience represents a hotly contested form of childcare, demonstrating how children's bodies became subject to diverse theoretical projections from institutional mandates and professional

figures with disparate and often conflicting ideologies of childhood and visions for future citizenship.

Complicated by early twentieth century developments in psychology, medicine, and social work, fears, and anxieties about the efficacy of juvenile immigration increased. Once recognized as popular bastions of autonomous and effective childcare, juvenile immigration societies were accused of inadequate practices and rampant neglect by burgeoning child welfare organizations. Consequently, questions were raised, national in scope, about the quality of life for children residing on Canadian soil; indeed, had Canadians begun to reject the efforts of British immigration societies because of a waning imperial bond? Had Canadian attitudes surrounding childcare—influenced by a rising tide of professional critique—rendered the administrative techniques of these British juvenile societies coercive, antiquated and, ultimately, inadequate? Most importantly, how had tensions surrounding juvenile immigration contributed to the inception of Canadian child welfare policy and the origins of pan-Canadian childcare?

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Introduction

"How would you like a family of thousands of hopeful boys and girls?" asked an Albertan journalist writing for the *Edmonton Journal* in 1921.¹ The article notes the success of Canadian state-sponsored juvenile immigration programs according to an interview with G. Bogue Smart, Dominion Supervisor of Juvenile Immigration and "father to a family of thousands."² Smart stated, "with proper paternal pleasure... that several very successful clergymen, doctors, lawyers, merchants, school teachers in Canada were my erstwhile official children." The article adds that Canada, and Canadian farms, would benefit from the infusion of "physically fit...youth ready [for] adaptability [and] assimilation."³ From 1869 until 1930, the Canadian Department of Immigration illustrated juvenile immigration as an invitation to re-locate British pauper children into the unconditional loving arms of caring Canadian families, all the while being given a golden opportunity to obtain levels of financial and personal success in Canada that were unattainable in Britain.⁴ However, according to a 1928 article in *The Globe*, the Canadian Department of Immigration did not function as a caring and benevolent father; instead, it spread their resources thin, "tried to do everything" and lacked any sort of "personal touch which is necessary in the after-care of immigrant children who are alone in a strange country."⁵ Therefore, the federal administration of juvenile immigration was heavily divisive, creating the crossroads where the Canadian federal government, provincial governments, and child welfare

¹ *Edmonton Journal*, "Canada receives 33,617 Friendless Kiddies from Britain in Last ten years," November 26, 1921, 32.

² *Edmonton Journal*, "Canada receives 33,617 Friendless Kiddies" November 26, 1921, 33.

³ *Edmonton Journal*, "Canada receives 33,617 Friendless Kiddies" November 21, 1921, 33.

⁴ For readability and simplicity, I will be using the term "Department of Immigration" to refer to the arm of the Federal Government in charge of juvenile immigration in both the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It should be noted that before 1892, juvenile immigration was under the operation of the Department of Agriculture, which worked closely with the Immigration branch of the Canadian government on a number of assisted immigration programs throughout the nineteenth century. In 1892, the Immigration Branch of the Canadian government assumed control of a number of these assisted immigration schemes, including juvenile immigration. This will be expanded upon in Chapter 1 and 2.

⁵ *The Globe*, "A Constructive Study," April 16, 1928, 4.

organizations waged legislative and ideological warfare in Canada over contested definitions of childhood, child labour, and proper standards of childcare using juvenile immigration as the battlefield.

Broadly speaking, this dissertation is concerned with the enterprise of juvenile immigration and intends to go beyond providing a linear institutional history of juvenile immigration as a form of assisted immigration. Instead, this work will explore the disparate ideological underpinnings of juvenile immigration which spanned notions of imperialism, nation-building, and, most importantly, shifting definitions of childhood. Through the inclusion of three major themes: contested childhood, state jurisdictional friction, and the modernization of state governance, this work hopes to illuminate juvenile immigration as a dynamic institution which elicited ardent defenders and fervent opponents to the immigration movement of impoverished British children to Canadian shores.

Firstly, acting as the constant thematic current is the ever-changing and contested nature of childhood. Juvenile immigration functions as a perfect exemplar for the demonstration of the modular nature of childhood curated by different British child-savers, such as Thomas John Barnardo, James W.C. Fegan, and William Quarrier, who all operated their own child-rescue societies throughout Ontario and imbedded their own concepts of proper childcare within these systems. The unique nature of child-saving not only demonstrates the high-level of autonomy that British child-savers wielded within Canadian society generally, and the child reform community specifically, but it also demonstrates that these philanthropists staked individual claims to what constituted the proper tenets of childcare and conduct. In simpler terms, each British philanthropist maintained that they knew what was best for the children they brought to Canada. Several important questions must be broached regarding the notion of childhood and

appropriate childcare. Namely, in what ways were British child-savers' personal views of childhood reflected in the administrative policies of their child-rescue operations? In the same vein, did these personal and political differences influence specific strategies of care provided to the child?

The second major theme of this work focuses on how late nineteenth century Ontarian childcare reformers, such as J.J. Kelso, reacted to the growing popularity and acceptance of juvenile immigration in Canada. Combining the social discourse of juvenile immigration with the work of voluntary societies and non-state actors reveals that many Canadian reformers took issue with the autonomy of juvenile immigration societies and lobbied for provincial legislation barring the entry of juvenile immigrants into Ontario. This parallel development of two different forms of child-rescue within Canada raises several important questions: Why did the federal government ignore Ontarian child reformer's persistent request to have a greater role in monitoring juvenile immigration societies? Secondly, why did Ontarian child reformers begin to perceive juvenile immigration as a problem and, finally, how would British child-savers react to a growing provincial child protection system which began to infringe on their philanthropic initiatives?

The third theme delves into the early twentieth century, where juvenile immigration underwent a noteworthy transition. During this period, the federal government assumed a significantly expanded role in the supervision and regulation of incoming British children. However, this high degree of federal interest coincided with a period of social upheaval following the First World War. This period of reconstruction was marked by an array of reforms and burgeoning accreditation in the disciplines of sociology, psychology, and social work, both within and beyond university campuses. As a result, a new class of social reformers emerged

equipped with scientific and methodological techniques of tracking, monitoring, and testing the abilities of individuals. Throughout the 1920s, traditional juvenile immigration fell under the sustained scrutiny of a new breed of child reformer who reframed the philanthropic practice as a thinly veiled form of child labour. What principal concerns did these new social workers have about juvenile immigration and what were their solutions? Namely, was the rejection of juvenile immigration carried out for the good of the British child or was this newly formed group of experts simply trying to carve out a place for themselves within the landscape of Canadian childcare?

Historiography & Theory

The historiography of juvenile immigration is a rich field of research which highlights many facets of this controversial practice and constructs a vivid picture as to how these societies operated in both Canada and Britain. For example, childhood and labour historian, Joy Parr, wrote the seminal work on this subject in which she pointed to crucial connections between philanthropy and child labour.⁶ Indeed, Parr explored how juvenile immigration functioned as an extension of the apprenticeship system and was more of a practice of indentured servitude than the first step towards family adoption. Parr delved deeply into the origins for the philanthropic practice and illustrated the urban realities in London which led to the need to ‘save’ impoverished British children by sending them to Canada. However, Parr’s focus is mostly limited to the late nineteenth century and does not offer a sustained analysis of juvenile immigration into the twentieth century when new child protection legislation in Canada began to limit the work of British child-savers.

⁶ Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924* (London: Croom Helm, 1980)

Historians of childhood and childcare institutions, Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, have published several works on nineteenth and twentieth century childcare institutions in Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, and written on the development of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare (CCCW) which laid the foundation for understanding burgeoning childcare reformers in Canada.⁷ Taken together, the works of Rooke and Schnell provide an in-depth administrative history of juvenile immigration as well as biographical works of specific state and non-state actors in the realm of child rescue. However, much like the work of Parr, there is a heavy focus on the late nineteenth century. Similarly, while Rooke and Schnell bring juvenile immigration into conversation with state formation, they fail to address the changing nature of childhood and the disparate practices of British child-savers.

To complement these works are several historians who have extensively analyzed the underlying motivations of both the British child-savers and British parents for partaking in the philanthropic practice. For instance, the contributions of Marjorie Kohli and Roy Parker offer a comprehensive study of every philanthropic agent and the different ways they operated their charitable ventures, which extended from Ontario to New Brunswick.⁸ More recently, studies

⁷ R. L. Schnell, "A Children's Bureau for Canada: The Origins of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, 1913-1921," in *The Benevolent State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada*, ed. Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987); Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, "Imperial Philanthropy and Colonial Response: British Juvenile Emigration to Canada, 1896-1930 in *The Historian* 46, No. 1 (November, 1983); R.L. Schnell, "The Right Class of Boy: Youth Training Schemes and Assisted Emigration to Canada Under the Empire Settlement Act, 1922-1939," in *History of Education* 2, No.1 (1995); 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); Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, "Making the Way More Comfortable": Charlotte Whitton's Child Welfare Career, 1920-48" in *Journal of Canadian Studies* 17 no.4 (1982); Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, *No Bleeding Heart: Charlotte Whitton A Feminist on the Right* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987); Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, "Queen Charlotte's Reign" in *Your Worship: The Lives of Eight of Canada's Most Unforgettable Mayors*, ed. Allan Levine (Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 1989).

⁸ Marjorie Kohli, *The Golden Bridge Young Immigrants to Canada, 1833-1939* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003); Roy Parker, *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867-1914* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2010)

have begun to broach the subject of child immigration using innovative theoretical approaches. For example, Steven Taylor shifted emphasis away from the philanthropists and focused more closely on the motivations which drove British parents to willingly commit their children to a life of arduous labour in Canada.⁹ Similarly, Gordon Lynch brought the study of philanthropists' motivations to the forefront in an attempt to understand why the emigration schemes—which were motivated by piety and good will—broke down and caused more harm than good.¹⁰ Works such as Ellen Boucher's *Empire's Children*, focus on the British child-savers and their actions to illuminate the imperial undercurrent which helped vault juvenile immigration to popularity and highlight connectedness between Canada and Britain, and, more importantly, to show how children functioned as "imperial assets" around the globe.¹¹ While these studies provide invaluable insights on the motivations of British child-savers, harrowing stories of British parents losing connection with their children, and the imperial interconnectedness of juvenile immigration, they do not provide a sustained analysis on the Canadian experience. Instead, they provide a more global analysis—comparing juvenile immigration in Canada to Australia. In a way, the imperial nature of the work often eclipsed the philanthropic intentions of British child-savers and muted the actions of Canadian child reformers who lobbied against juvenile immigration which shaped the enterprise into the twentieth century.

While these approaches have explained how British juvenile immigration societies were founded, funded, and administrated, they have failed to place juvenile immigration in the larger context of Canadian state development. With that said, the work of Xiaobei Chen in, *Tending the*

⁹ S.J. Taylor, *Child Insanity in England, 1845-1907* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018)

¹⁰ Gordon Lynch, *Remembering Child Migration, Nation Building and the Wounds of Charity* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2015)

¹¹ Ellen Boucher, *Empire's Children: Child Emigration, Welfare, and the Decline of the British World, 1869-1967* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Gardens of Citizenship, proposed that the study of child saving should be understood as a "citizen project." In simpler terms, early child-savers understood children as future adults and members of society that needed to be educated to ensure the future success of the nation—children were "citizens in the making."¹² While Chen's work brings us closer to a deeper understanding of the relationship between juvenile immigration and the state, this study has failed to address the competing claims made by the Department of Immigration, provincial governments, and burgeoning welfare organizations over what proper childcare and child welfare ought to be. By recognizing juvenile immigration not only as a program of assisted immigration, but as a form of child rescue and childcare, juvenile immigration becomes a site of conflict upon which various historic actors and institutions fought over definitions of proper childcare.

This dissertation employs juvenile immigration as the site of development for one of the most important twentieth-century innovations: the welfare state and child protection legislation. Seen through the prism of state governance, the narrative of juvenile immigration is one of disorder and disarray as almost forty different receiving homes functioned at the same time while only having to occasionally report to the Canadian Department of Immigration and the British Local Government Board (LGB) for annual inspection.¹³ In the wake of the introduction of new methods of childcare, juvenile immigration societies made no attempts to update their policies and often refused to cooperate with burgeoning child welfare organizations.¹⁴ This resistance to the modernizing methods of professional childcare eroded Canadian child reformers' trust in the

¹² Xiaobei Chen, *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship: Child Saving in Toronto 1880-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 15-16.

¹³ Roy Parker, *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867-1914* (Bristol: Policy Press, 2010), 39-40.

¹⁴ Charlotte Whitton, "Juvenile Immigration", in *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work 1924* (Toronto, Ontario, June 25-July 2, 1924), 610; this same sentiment is replicated in Whitton's, "Juvenile Immigration Report No. 2, 1925."

Department of Immigration to allow British child-savers to function autonomously; ultimately, this led to a call for juvenile immigration to be placed in the hands of provinces and welfare organizations. Therefore, a vicious tug-of-war developed between federal government, provincial governments, and Canadian welfare organizations over contested meanings of child work, childcare, and the state's role in child welfare and protective services.

This study is concerned with the concept of the contested child, more specifically with competing claims over the wellbeing and welfare of children residing in Canada. It is important to underline that the concept of childhood is a social construction that is constantly redefined according to changing social and cultural norms. As many historians of childhood, such as Phillipe Ariès, Neil Sutherland, and Viviana Zelizer, have demonstrated, definitions of childhood and childcare have demonstrably changed across centuries or even decades as child-rearing practices change to coincide with social reforms, medical discovery, and economic currents.¹⁵ For example, the philanthropic juvenile immigration movement aligned with the shift from mid-eighteenth century perceptions of children as miniature adults to late-nineteenth century ones as emotionally priceless, vulnerable, and innocent.¹⁶ Juvenile immigration was also empowered by notions of imperialism and by "settler futurity." In essence, the concept of "settler futurity" dominated early twentieth century thought, which viewed children as playing a central role in the

¹⁵ The theory of the social construction of children is best demonstrated in the seminal monograph: Phillipe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. Robert Black (Vintage books, 1962); Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wildred Laurier University Press, 1976); Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Peter Stearns, "Challenges in the History of Childhood" in *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, No. 1 (Winter 2008); Steven Mintz, "Reflections on Age as a Category of Historical Analysis" in *The Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth* 1, No. 1 (Winter 2008); Kristine Alexander "Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History" in *History Compass* 14, No. 9 (2016).

¹⁶ The shift in the perception and value of children is best surmised in the work of Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 3. In this text, Zelizer refers to this shift as the movement from children perceived as economically useful to emotionally priceless and economically useless. In essence, children were being perceived as caretakers of the nation's legacy and future. As a result, they needed to be educated, sheltered, and cared for to ensure a strong and bright future.

settler community of Canada to ensure the future success and longevity of the nation.¹⁷ Towards the middle of the twentieth century, new theories in medicine and psychology, correlating poverty to a failure in one's biology, infiltrated the field of child welfare; as a result, British juvenile immigrants came to represent an infectious threat to the imagined future of the Canadian people. However, the threat posed by pauper children was not unilateral. There existed a deep divide on opinions concerning the effectiveness of child-rearing practices and, for some Canadians and government agencies, hard labour on a farm was an exercise in character-building. For other Canadians, and for the new child welfare agencies, education, a stable family, and a consistent standard of childcare were necessary to ensure the future success of Canada. Therefore, my project will demonstrate how children became bodies subject to theoretical projections from institutional mandates and professional figures with disparate ideologies of childhood—debates which linked the notion of childhood to the future prosperity of the nation.

Central to the efficacy of this study is a deep understanding of the role of the state in the lives of historical actors and in the development of child welfare in Canada. However, the nebulous and multivalent nature of the state often leads to misunderstandings concerning its definition. For this study, the state is defined in two ways: firstly, this study defines the state as a political institution with the ability to enact social and legislative change. With this definition, we can perceive federal and provincial governments as manifestations of the state and state power. Secondly, and more importantly, this work also recognizes the state as a manifestation of a series of ideological claims made by individuals working within the federal and provincial government. Utilizing the seminal work of Phillip Corrigan and Derek Sayer on British state formation, the

¹⁷ Laura Ishiguro, "Growing up and grown up...in our future city": Discourses of Childhood and Settler Futurity in Colonial British Columbia" in *BC Studies* 190 (2016), 39-66.

state must be identified as a cultural project of "normalizing, rendering natural...particular and historical forms of social order."¹⁸ In essence, the state is a moralizing project that constructs acceptable behaviors and forms of social activity—which is often determined by ideas of the elite.

This definition of the state is further informed by histories of state governance unique to the Canadian experience, such as E. A. Heaman's *A Short History of the State in Canada*, which describes the Canadian state as a "chained series of institutions" and "a series of office-holding individuals who took certain actions in the name of the crown."¹⁹ Heaman argues that the state in Canada needs to be reformulated given the sheer size and diversity of Canadian provinces and regions. Moving beyond the initial definition of the state as a centralized bureaucratic institution, Heaman identifies the state as a diffuse series of cultural forms that can sometimes clash, converge, and overlap. Within this paradigm, there is newfound flexibility to analyze the state as an amalgam of conflicting approaches and strategies. Boundaries become more malleable and new connections between state organizations, non-state organizations, and state actors can be identified understood and contextualized.²⁰ Heaman urges Canadian historians to abandon the mythic mantle of a monolithic benevolent authority, and, instead, don the realistic mantle of an authority that "is constantly renegotiated at all levels according to a wide range of claims."²¹

Other historians of the state, such as Bruce Curtis, reiterates that the Canadian state needs to be treated, "nomistically, as a descriptor for a particular condition of the particular field, for a

¹⁸ Phillip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), 4.

¹⁹ E.A Heaman, *A Short History of the State in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 1-2.

²⁰ Heaman, *A Short History of the State*, 2015.

²¹ Heaman, *A Short History of the State*, 2015.

particular articulation of technologies, practices, and strategies of power and government."²² Therefore, the Canadian state and state power should be perceived as modular. As Curtis argues, the "state functions in transient ways in which things (relations, practices, fields, figurations, games, tactics, and strategies) are territorialized (provincial/civil/federal) at particular moments and de-territorialized at others."²³ Given Curtis' definition of the state, the importance of juvenile immigration is compounded—juvenile immigration societies furthered their own definition of proper childcare with implicit authorization of the Department of Immigration. After all, the juvenile immigration societies were sanctioned, supervised, and firmly under the purview of the Department of Immigration. At the same time, provincial governments were passing new legislation into law which reflected their own definition of proper childcare and protection, and this definition clashed with the views held by the child-savers carrying out juvenile immigration—and, by extension, the Department of Immigration. Given the modular nature of the Canadian state, these two state-sanctioned antithetical definitions of childhood and childcare developed simultaneously and uneasily progressed parallel to one another in tense opposition until the early twentieth century.

To better understand state power and its influence on society, we now turn to Michel Foucault's concept of governmentality.²⁴ Generally, Foucault defines the government's activity and chief concern as the "conduct of conduct."²⁵ In simpler terms, governments functioned with a broad agenda which was undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies employing a variety of techniques—all of which sought to shape the conduct of individuals by influencing

²² Bruce Curtis, "The Municipal Territory: A Product of the Liberal Order?" in *Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution*, ed. Michel Ducharme and Jean-Francois Constant (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 194.

²³ Curtis, "The Municipal Territory," 2009.

²⁴ Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power" in *Critical Inquiry* 8 no. 4 (Summer, 1982), 789.

²⁵ Foucault, "The Subject and Power," 1982.

desires, aspirations, and interests. For Foucault, the state functioned to overtly govern its citizens and, simultaneously, to implicitly teach them to govern themselves and each other.²⁶ At the center of the government's ability to shape and construct how citizens conduct themselves is the government's ability to collect, generate, and utilize knowledge. Given this, the idea of childhood becomes infused with the political as children learn their productive roles through the inculcation of ideologies and the training of behaviours by the state or state mandates channeled through their parents or guardians.

By pairing Foucault's concept of governmentality with Heaman's and Curtis' notion of state dissonance—that is, the state developed in a fractious non-linear manner—juvenile immigration exposes a parallel, yet divergent, agenda of shaping the behaviour of children in Canada. Indeed, British child-savers and the Canadian Department of Immigration were attempting to shape the conduct of parents and shape parenting methods through the process of juvenile immigration. The primary objective of juvenile immigration, and the intent of the Canadian Department of Immigration was to raise a generation of hard-working rural Canadians who, in turn, would raise hard working future Canadians. However, the claim to conduct made by the British child-savers and Canadian Department of Immigration was soon knocked out of favour by a rising tide of progressive Canadian child welfare activists who valued education over rural labour to raise a skilled and well-equipped generation.

For the most part, definitions of the state have focused on government entities and state actors, such as the Canadian federal and provincial government and the British LGB, funded through public taxpayers with the roles of its members clearly defined. However, state entities

²⁶ Graham Burchell, "Liberal Government and Techniques of the Self," in *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism and Rationalities of Government*, ed. Andrew Barry, Thomas Osborne, and Nikolas Rose (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 20-21.

and state actors changed radically over time. For instance, many twentieth century child welfare organizations functioned with the tacit acceptance of the Canadian government and received a combination of government grants and funds from charities. In the case of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare (CCCW), the organization was initially conceived as a non-government organization that was mandated to function as a buffer between the state and the family.²⁷ The CCCW was created in the 1920s with the help of the federal government's Ministry of Health to aid in addressing issues that fell outside the purview of medicine.²⁸ As a result, the Canadian federal government realized it was lagging behind in certain initiatives, such as child protection, and enlisted the aid of non-government agencies. Marianna Valverde, historian of late nineteenth and early twentieth century purity movements, argues that this was a common occurrence as, "state officials and agencies did often work with or fund private agencies, and the phenomenon of co-operation was not unknown."²⁹ With this framework in mind, it is clear that the CCCW functioned within civil society, but it was a chimerical entity that could also don the mantle of the state and state power. In the 1920s and 1930s, the CCCW would grow into a powerful institution that would incite wide-scale changes in the child welfare systems of Ontario, New Brunswick, and British Columbia.³⁰ This demonstrates that the CCCW, and many other welfare organizations, were not at the complete mercy of the Canadian government; indeed, at times they

²⁷ Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wildred Laurier University Press, 1976), 227-228.

²⁸ It should be noted that Child welfare work was carried out in rudimentary form under the aegis of some government departments before the establishment of the ministry of health under many different names including the Immigration Department, the Division of Juvenile Immigration, the Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, the Home Branch of the Soldiers Settlement Board, the Department of Soldiers Civil Re-Establishment, and the Department of Agriculture. At one point, all of these institutions had some influence on the care and well-being of Canadian children.

²⁹ Marianna Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (University of Toronto Press, 2008), 25.

³⁰ Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, "Child Welfare in English Canada, 1920-1948" *Social Service Review* 55, No. 3 (Fall 1981), 493.

were the main innovators and instigators of social and legislative change in the world of Canadian childcare and child protection.³¹ All in all, this dissertation approaches the state not as a monolithic system of unilateral power, but, instead, as a web of contradictory intentions, methods, and approaches to proper care and protection for Canadian children.

Lastly, rather than solely focus on moments of social change in the development of childcare in Canada, it is equally important to analyze moments of continuity. One of the most invaluable lessons provided by a long-view study of juvenile immigration is the notion propagated by Canadian political economist Mark P. Thomas referred to as continuity through change.³² Thomas argues that in historical and contemporary moments of dramatic social upheaval and change, there are many social institutions, social mores, and social relations which persist and cut across larger movements of societal change. For example, in an analysis of the Canadian economy in the twenty-first century, economist Jim Stanford employs continuity through change to illustrate that the Canadian economy continues to hold onto many vestiges of its past as national industrial development continues to be overly-reliant on natural resources—as demonstrated by Canada’s continued pursuit of petroleum extraction throughout the 2000 and 2010s. In Stanford’s view, while the Canadian economy experienced changes in innumerable ways, the very foundational aspects of the economy remained reliant on a staples-based and export-reliant country. In this way, there were aspects of continuity despite moments of change and the concept of progression becomes blurred.³³

³¹ Rooke and Schnell, “Child Welfare in English Canada, 1920-1948” (Fall 1981).

³² Mark P. Thomas, “Introduction” in *Change and Continuity: Canadian Political Economy in the New Millennium*, ed. Mark P. Thomas, Leah F. Vosko, Carlo Fanelli, Olena Lyubchenko (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2019), 8.

³³ Thomas, “Introduction,” 8.

Through the prism of continuity through change, juvenile immigration unearths the resiliency of several prevailing philosophies of childcare evident in practice from the 1860s into the 1930s. For instance, the ongoing importance of work as a means of moral uplift and the reliance on an untrained volunteer workforce in systems of Canadian childcare—despite the official condemnations by multiple interest groups, prominent experts, and even representatives of the provincial government of Ontario—remained a staple in the administrative and childcare policies of juvenile immigration societies, even though these forms of childrearing were labelled physically and emotionally traumatic. Considering both continuity through change and the concept of the state, it becomes apparent that these questionable childcare ideals were deeply enmeshed and even implicitly endorsed by the federal government of Canada through grants paid to juvenile immigration societies. Despite other federal divisions, such as the Ministry of Health, circulating child-rearing literature developed by doctors and psychologists through the 1920s, British child-savers were able to operate their own childcare institutions while flouting innovative public health mandates. In this way, continuity through change reveals the uneven process in which child welfare and public health initiatives unfolded throughout Canada.

This concept also offers insight into the operation of state power, highlighting the individualistic nature of early child welfare initiatives and the impact that individual state and non-state actors had on the trajectory of early welfare policy in Canada. The concept of continuity through change shines a spotlight on aspects of childcare that persist despite overarching social change and shifting definitions of childhood. For instance, the Province of Ontario instated sweeping public health reforms aimed at lowering infant mortality, passed legislation for a compulsory common school program, and developed a sprawling youth justice system by 1908—all while juvenile immigration societies continued to function using unchanged

practices and methodologies in place since the 1870s. Therefore, a central focus of this dissertation is the fundamental importance of perceiving the evolving Canadian state as a contrapuntal and uneven entity. While many historians of the state have saliently made this point, such as the foundational work of Bruce Curtis and E.A. Heaman, juvenile immigration provides several characteristics unique to the Canadian experience—such as the underlying imperialistic currents of the movement—which illustrate the often-semi-paradoxical realities of child welfare development in Canada.

Sources

Firstly, the Library Archives of Canada (LAC) Department of Employment and Immigration fonds holds integral files for the understanding of the administrative and placement procedures of juvenile immigration societies throughout Ontario. This collection provides correspondence, reports, and inspections of burgeoning nineteenth century juvenile immigration societies and establishes how the first juvenile immigration societies were initiated and monitored and outlines the expectations of incoming British juvenile immigrants into Canadian farmsteads. The Department of Employment and Immigration files also holds all annual reports compiled by G. Bogue Smart, the supervisor of juvenile immigration. As a result, this collection provides a thorough view of the administrative practices of juvenile immigration societies from the nineteenth century into the twentieth century.

The LAC also has the Canadian Council on Social Development fonds which consists of comprehensive surveys of the British juvenile immigration societies in Canada. The collections of surveys, correspondence, and inspection reports point to the divergent approaches towards childcare practiced by juvenile immigration societies and Canadian welfare organizations in the

early twentieth century. Therefore, this collection not only provides multiple social surveys which frame juvenile immigration as a problematic entity, but it also houses correspondence in which members of the CCCW discuss the internal logic of their survey, potential recommendations to enhance juvenile immigration, and informal remarks and comments which unearth personal biases and intentions.

Similarly, the National Archives of the United Kingdom (Kew) archives hold the Records of the Middlemore Homes, which contains a large array of sources. For instance, this collection houses inspection reports of Middlemore homes; more importantly, this collection also contains correspondence among British child-savers concerning the introduction of provincial legislation in Ontario to regulate incoming juvenile immigrants. This collection also includes the Bondfield Report—an integral report compiled by the British Oversea Committee (OSC) which changed popular attitudes on juvenile immigration. Much like the LAC collection, the Kew archives also provide many pieces of correspondence between members of the OSC used when compiling the Bondfield Report, thus giving an insider perspective for the research and methodology of the Report.

This project also draws upon multiple collections and databases outside of LAC and Kew. For instance, the Special Collections of the University of Liverpool has private correspondence, political cartoons, and periodicals focused on the nineteenth century originators of the movement, Maria Rye, and Annie Macpherson. Similarly, online databases, such as *Canadiana*, *Héritage*, and *The Golden Bridge* provided full-access to the publications of British child-savers, such as Thomas Barnardo's *Ups and Downs* and William Quarrier's *Narrative of Facts*. These publications are invaluable for comparing the disparate concepts of administration and childcare that each British child-saver brought with them to Canada. For additional insight,

online newspaper databases, such as the Southwestern Ontario Digital Archive (SWODA), provide a bevy of newspapers which help track the lived experiences of children placed throughout Ontario.

The Covid-19 pandemic significantly impacted the research for this dissertation. During 2020 and 2021, global closures of key archives prevented two planned research visits. Specifically, a second visit to the Kew archives was intended to broaden the dissertation's scope to encompass additional case studies and administration policies of British child-savers. Similarly, the Inverary Castle Archives, housing the Argyll Papers, a collection of personal letters from the Duke of Argyll to Dr. John Barnardo, were inaccessible.

Chapter Organization

This dissertation's organizational approach is chronological for several reasons. First, it is essential to illustrate that the concept and practice of juvenile immigration was marked by changing meanings, attitudes, and reactions. Indeed, when juvenile immigration began in 1869, it was celebrated as being an altruistic movement on the cutting-edge of childcare and child protection in Canada. However, with breakthroughs in psychology and social work came new standards and accreditation required for the care of Canadian children, and the practices of British child-savers and their sorting homes in Canada came to be perceived as outdated, antiquated, and dangerous. Secondly, the chronological organization allows readers to comprehend that the Canadian state often developed contradictory practices and conflicting ideologies at the same time; namely, provinces passed legislation concerning childcare that affirmed the view that a child needed an education, when these mandates were often bypassed by high expectations of work juvenile immigrants were required to undertake. Importantly, while

this linear approach highlights the shifting topography of Canadian childcare while providing the space to simultaneously demonstrate the oftentimes "contrapuntal" function of the Canadian state and state actors.³⁴

Chapter one traces the origins of juvenile immigration in the mid-nineteenth century and illustrates how growing urbanization, industrialization, and strong imperial links between Britain and Canada led to the assisted immigration of thousands of British children from London slums to Canadian farms. This chapter also analyzes early responses to juvenile immigration in Canada by the government and general population, in the press, and in parliament.

Chapter two traces the earliest formation of child protection legislation in Ontario during the late nineteenth century as it functioned alongside the growing autonomous work of juvenile immigration. Analysis of the supervisory practices of the second wave of British child-savers in conjunction with the Ontario government's newfound interest in the societal responsibility for children illustrates how two differing perspectives of childcare and protection grew side-by-side, in contradictory fashion, within the heart of the Canadian state.

Chapter three examines the rejuvenation of juvenile immigration in Ontario following the outbreak of the South African War in 1899. Within the context of empire-building, British children took on a new role in Canada as seeds of empire and building blocks for a stronger union between Canada and Britain. In this way, this chapter highlights the capricious nature of juvenile immigration by shining light on the ever-changing definition of the philanthropic enterprise while also revealing the shifting social definitions of children from dangerous contagion to imperial salvation.

³⁴ Heaman, *A Short History of the State in Canada*, 1-2.

Chapter four analyzes how conflicting notions of childcare and protection of the late-nineteenth century widened into a chasm of dissimilarity when developments in psychology and social work constructed a significant ideological challenge to juvenile immigration—a challenge only made more urgent in the aftermath of the First World War. As a result, juvenile immigration came under sustained scrutiny as a rising group of professional social workers began to call for new protocols of child supervision. Therefore, this chapter illustrates how the growth of social work, psychology, and child welfare organizations led to a persistent ideological attack on juvenile immigration culminating in the passing of provincial legislation which prevented British juvenile immigrants from entering Ontario.

Overall, this dissertation aims to explore the intricate dynamics of the Canadian state and its role in shaping child welfare. It will uncover the tensions between federal and provincial perspectives on proper childcare within the context of juvenile immigration, shedding light on the conflicts between state and non-state actors in defining childhood and childrearing. This examination of state power is crucial for presenting a comprehensive history of child welfare in Canada. Simultaneously, this work will reveal that amid the conflicting voices that marked the outset of juvenile immigration, moments of humanitarianism, altruism, and collaboration also emerged. Above all, juvenile immigration was driven by the goal of improving the well-being of children. However, with numerous individuals involved, each with their own competing and contradictory ideas about the ideal approach to childcare, the actual lived experiences of the children often got lost in the race to prove which childcare method was the most effective.

Chapter 1: The Origins of Juvenile Immigration in Canada, 1869-1880

On November 17, 1869, Maria Susan Rye—a British philanthropist—brought over one-hundred British children to Ontario in the search of new opportunities and to experience the pastoral and healing countryside of Canada. The first party of children, comprised almost entirely of girls, arrived in Quebec before making the journey to Niagara Falls, Ontario where the entire town greeted the party warmly. As reported in an issue of the *Niagara Mail*, the arrival of the British children was a joyous occasion:

[The children] seemed lively as squirrels, notwithstanding their rough passage across the Atlantic, and the fatigue of a long journey from Quebec to Niagara. The sight of so many orphans moved all hearts with sympathy. After singing a short grace, they took what was prepared for them, and their modest, quiet behavior at table was very pleasing. The confidence and trust of these children in Miss Rye is unbounded. They regard her with the strongest affection, which they show in a thousand artless ways—fondling round her, kissing her hands, and the like; and when that good lady arrived, the way they ran clustering round her with exclamations of joy, was a pleasing sight.”¹

Much like the children that Rye brought to Ontario, Canadians were enthralled and excited by the prospect of a British assisted immigration scheme. The residents of Niagara were not the only Canadians welcoming these British orphans; in fact, they were only a few voices in a choir of support and positivity for the acceptance of British pauper children into Canadian society. Many Canadians believed it a privilege and a right to provide the British empire, and their citizens, with support in any way possible. However, this positive reception did not last long. As more and more British philanthropists joined the cause of relocating pauper children to Canada, and the trickle of British juvenile immigrants became a steady stream, some Canadian citizens began to voice their growing concern and opposition to juvenile immigration.

¹ Maria S. Rye, *What the People Say About the Children and What the Children Say About Canada* (London, UK: Covent Garden, 1871), 5. Accessed on July 3, 2020. <https://www.notlmuseum.ca/research/british-home-children>

This chapter explores the origins of juvenile immigration and answers important questions concerning the motivations of British child-savers and Canadian government officials who agreed to send thousands of young children across the Atlantic Ocean in search of better lives and families. Through a close investigation of the first juvenile immigration societies, this chapter will illustrate that the initial wave of juvenile immigration was unanimously applauded and defended by Canadian commentators, the provincial government of Ontario, and the federal government. In many ways, juvenile immigration functioned as the first wide-spread form of childcare in Canada and the first iteration of juvenile immigration was defended as the perfect solution to a multi-faceted problem by Canadian commentators, politicians, and religious leaders. However, the reality of orchestrating a trans-Atlantic childcare program that bridged motherland and colony proved much more tumultuous than imagined and—less than a decade after the first voyage to Canada—began raising serious questions concerning what constituted proper childcare, standards of acceptable child labour, and the definition of neglect and adoption in early Canadian families. Therefore, this chapter situates early juvenile immigration initiatives within a chorus of praise as the cutting edge of childcare; however, at the moment juvenile immigration is legitimized by Canadian commentators and government officials, cracks begin to appear concerning who, be it municipal, provincial, or federal, should be in charge of placement and supervision practices.

To understand the origins of juvenile immigration, we must first turn toward a brief discussion of the advent of the Industrial Revolution in Britain. While historians differ in their analyses of the British Industrial Revolution—some placing more emphasis on trade and the growth/composition of market demand, while others focus more on culture and science—all agree that single-factor explanations of the industrial revolution are simply inadequate.

Therefore, this section will focus on three primary aspects of the Industrial Revolution: the technological disruptions that changed traditional work patterns, which subsequently created new pathways for child labourers to enter the workforce, and the social/moral ramifications of these innovative work patterns, which led to unprecedented levels of highly visible destitution in urban centers.

As demonstrated by the works of E.P. Thompson and Eric Hobsbawm, among many others, the British Industrial Revolution began in the late eighteenth century and was marked by multiple great upheavals.² Not only were patterns of work across all sectors demonstrably changing—with the introduction of factories, mechanized threshing machines, and new transportation methods—but the geography of rural and urban areas was also in a state of flux. As the need for agricultural workers declined and the demand for unskilled labour in factories soared, a population shift occurred, resulting in the explosive demographics of British cities. As demonstrated in E.P. Thompson’s works, these changes often led to acts of resistance throughout the 1790s and early 1800s, such as the Luddite movement and food riots.³ Thompson demonstrated that the use of new machinery created contexts of violent confrontation between skilled workmen and their masters, as new machinery displaced traditional norms of work. In this way, the industrial economy, marked by a focus on laissez-faire economics, supplanted an

² There are many seminal works in the field of social history which have been consulted for this brief description of the advent of the Industrial Revolution. For further reading, please consult E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Penguin Books, 1968); Eric Hobsbawm and George Rudé, *Captain Swing* (Lawrence and Wishart, 1969); E.P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,” *Past and Present*, 50 (1971), 76-136; Gregor McLennan, “E.P. Thompson and the discipline of historical context”, in Richard Johnson and Gregor McLennan eds., *Making Histories* (London, 1982); Harvey Kaye and Keith McClelland, eds., *E.P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); John Rule, *The Labouring Classes in Early Industrial England, 1750-1850*; Patrick O’Brien and Roland Quinault, eds., *The Industrial Revolution and British Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1993).

³ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 230-1; E. P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century”, 78, 117.

older, paternalistic ‘moral economy’ of work and reward.⁴ Therefore, historians have argued that during this early period of industrialization, from roughly 1790 to 1840, an older way of life was displaced by the rise of industry, manifesting as a loss of freedom and skills, but more importantly, leading to the widening of an "intellectual and moral chasm" between the rich and the poor.⁵ The British Industrial Revolution—which may have provided some overall improvements in material living standards—was marked by the dehumanization of individuals through the introduction of the factory system and a new, often ugly, life of overcrowded and poverty-stricken conditions for workers in burgeoning industrial towns. Indeed, it’s important to underline that while the British Industrial Revolution allowed for the consumption of and access to more material goods than ever before, “over the same period there was intensified exploitation, greater insecurity, and increasing human misery.”⁶

During the nineteenth century in Britain, this elevated culture of exploitation permeated all strata of the developing working classes, and children were no exception. Throughout the industrial period, children were required to contribute to the household economy through various means, including caring for siblings, crafting handicrafts at home, working in factories, or engaging in street peddling/hawking. Unfortunately, a significant number of children came from neglected homes or were orphaned; consequently, leading to British children formed a substantial proportion of the visible poor in industrial centers. Often referred to as child paupers, waifs, strays, or 'street arabs,' children constituted a large part of the pauper population in Britain.

⁴ E.P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth century” (1971), 178-9; John Stevenson, “Social Aspects of the Industrial Revolution” in Patrick O’Brien and Rolan Quinault, eds., *The Industrial Revolution and British Society* (Cambridge University Press, 1993), 238-9.

⁵ E.P. Thompson, “The Moral Economy,” 178-9; Stevenson, “Social Aspects of the Industrial Revolution,” 238.

⁶ E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 231.

Data from the 1851 census demonstrates that, "over 800,000 of the 4 million 3- to 12-year-olds" were not working or attending school.⁷ Similarly, in 1848, Lord Ashley—later referred to as Earl of Shaftesbury—reported that there were over 30,000 homeless children amongst London's population of 2.5 million.⁸ Not only were the numbers of impoverished children unprecedented and alarming, but their tragic plight was also very visible in urban centers. Middle class and elite onlookers could not help but see swathes of malnourished and disheveled children swarming London streets. Moreover, these children were often engaging in criminal or degrading activity, such as begging, panhandling, or stealing in the streets of London.

At the same time as this great urban and industrial upheaval, the mid-nineteenth century was also marked by changing concepts of childhood. For much of the eighteenth century, children were conceived of as "miniature adults" in the western world. Much like adults in the eighteenth century, children's lives were defined by work. Children as young as the age of 5 were expected to engage in various forms of work; for example, some children would be expected to aid in repairing clothes, preparing food, or engaging in more strenuous activity on the farm.⁹ In short, children were an invaluable source of labour and perceived as an economic asset for familial survival. By the mid-nineteenth century, the idea of the hard-working child was shifting and there was a heavier emphasis on the concept of education, boundless potential, and childhood innocence.¹⁰ Childhood was slowly becoming understood as a distinct life stage marked by vulnerability, innocence, and a greater need for supervision and specialized care.

⁷ Lionel Rose, *The Erosion of Childhood: Child Oppression in Britain 1860-1918* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 80. Marjorie Kohli, *The Golden Bridge Young Immigrants to Canada, 1833-1939* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 1.

⁸ Rose, *The Erosion of Childhood*, 80.

⁹ John Douglas Belshaw, "Children and Childhood," *Canadian History Pre-Confederation* (BCcampus), 2015.

¹⁰ Anne Higgonont, *Pictures of Innocence: This History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 8-12.

More importantly, children began to be coveted for their potential as future members of society who, if raised properly, could bring prosperity to their country. When the streets of London became packed with pauper children, many middle-class and elite onlookers saw an unprecedented moral issue. In essence, pauper children symbolized an erosion and loss of childhood, and, in the minds of these panicked onlookers, this erosion of childhood was a consequence of industrialization, growth of cities, and the overpopulation of London.¹¹ As a result, the cramped streets of London took on a quality of corruption, taint, and vice.¹² If children were to be brought up in this dangerous environment, they would continue to fall victim to vice and poverty, and, by extension, all of Britain would come to be filled with inept citizens. This sentiment was epitomized in an article entitled, "What Shall We Do with Our Pauper Children," published in 1861 in the *Liverpool Mercury*. The author stated that if British pauper children were not properly cared for and closely supervised, "they will be a drag and incubus on society; they will perpetuate a pauper race; rear up children to be the same...[and] be supported at the cost of the industrious and wealthy."¹³ In response to the growing threat of generational poverty, a group of middle-class reformers, often referred to as child-savers, took it upon themselves to shoulder the issue of child pauperism and to offer a solution.

One of the first responses to the increase in pauper children was the Ragged School Movement which took children from the streets and crowded workhouses and provided a place of refuge as well as an inculcation of practical skills and Evangelical Christianity.¹⁴ Once the

¹¹ Rose, *The Erosion of Childhood* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 80-1.

¹²Keith Williams, "'A Way Out of Our Troubles': The Politics of Empire Settlement, 1900-1922." In *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions Between the Wars*, ed. Stephen Constatine (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 41.

¹³ *Liverpool Mercury*, "What Shall We Do with Our Pauper Children" November 8th, 1861, 6. Accessed on July 15th, 2021. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/409963640/>.

¹⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, "What Shall We Do with Our Pauper Children" November 8th, 1861.

child had been trained in general labour skills and morally uplifted, they would be transferred to the British countryside to engage in labour in a rural environment. Both the hard work and religious teachings would ensure that the child would be physically and morally fit to be a contributing member of British society and ensure a future generation of hard-working citizens.¹⁵

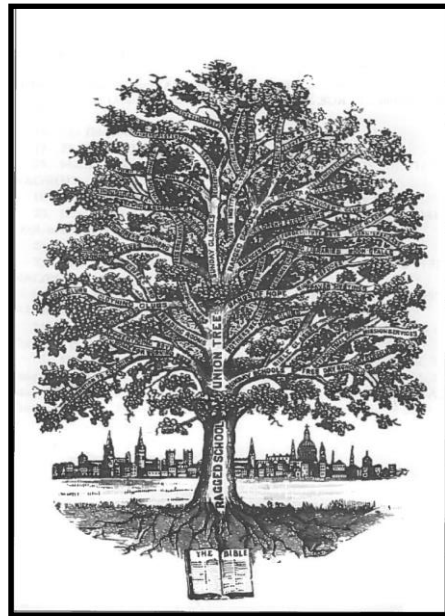


Figure 1, "Ragged School Tree" from C.J. Montague, *Sixty Years in Waifdom or, The Ragged School Movement in English History* (Woburn Press, 1904), 271.

A second response to the increase in pauper children was assisted immigration programs which sought to redistribute waifs and strays throughout the British commonwealth. In many ways, juvenile immigration was an extension of the Ragged School Movement—a movement originating in the early nineteenth century which sought to provide free schooling to the working-class and impoverished children of Britain. Furthermore, one of the chief concerns of the Ragged School Movement was to ensure that working-class children were offered some form

¹⁵ *Liverpool Mercury*, "What Shall We Do with Our Pauper Children" November 8th, 1861.

of religious teaching if they could not attend Sunday School. The edict and importance of the Ragged School Movement is best represented in an image from a twentieth century history of the movement which illustrates the social impact of education on children. Specifically, the seed of good conduct and the roots of the sprawling tree are religious teachings springing from the bible and each branch from the Ragged School trees is another social welfare program ensuring that a child's potential is reached (Fig. 1). In this way, juvenile immigration personifies this same illustration as it springs from the seed of the Ragged School Movement. Juvenile immigration had several false starts in the mid-nineteenth century.

In 1852, the Earl of Shaftesbury drafted a bill entitled the *Pauper Children Emigration Bill* in the House of Lords. The proposed bill would allow parishes and boards of guardians, the governing bodies of workhouses, to raise funds and send children to Australia.¹⁶ However, the Pauper Children Emigration Bill was never passed, and the question of juvenile immigration was not raised again for over a decade. The juvenile immigration question was next brought up by Maria Susan Rye, a middle-class philanthropist who, in the 1850s, organized and administered a number of female immigration programs in Britain that provided "redundant" women, unable to find employment in Britain, with domestic labour positions throughout New Zealand, Australia, and Canada.¹⁷ Inspired by the Ragged School Movement and with a past of assisted-immigration schemes, Rye constructed child-saving as both a religious undertaking and one which emphasized environment for a moral upbringing.

¹⁶ The bill can be found here: http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/lords/1852/jun/26/pauper-children-emigration-bill#S3V0122P0_18520626_HOL_3 More information can be found here <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/pauper-children-emigration-bill.html>

¹⁷ Nan Dreher, "Redundancy and Emigration: The 'Woman Question' in Mid-Victorian Britain." *Victorian Periodicals Review* (1993), 3.

Rather than send British pauper children to the British countryside, which was a burgeoning idea in Britain, Rye believed that sending pauper children to the pastoral countryside of Canada provided the best outcome. In mid-nineteenth century Britain, Canada was perceived as a land of great opportunity where individuals were measured, and handsomely rewarded, for their work ethic. Canada was part of the great settler empire which took on idyllic qualities in Britain, and especially the British press. For example, an 1886 *Times* editorial advertised Canada's winding rivers, wide-open plains, and fertile soil.¹⁸ Tapping into the notion of agrarian idealism which followed the industrial revolution in Britain, the Canadian landscape offered a window into the idyllic British past marked by simple agrarian communities and wide-open countryside before being plagued with polluted cities and winding streets. Similarly, the *Isle of Man Weekly* commended Canada "for fine lakes, nice rivers on which to fish and on which to pleasure, Canada stands far before any nation. Indeed, it has been stated that more than one half the fresh water of the whole globe is in Canada. The St. Lawrence River is, looked at from every standpoint, the King of Rivers."¹⁹ At the same time, the fertility of Canadian soil and 'vacant' landscape promised a bright future for British pauper children who came to Canada. British pauper children would spend their early lives with Canadian families on farms and learn the necessary skills for future prosperity in Canada, while also remaining an integral citizen within the British empire. Much like the children themselves, Canada was framed as a landscape filled with promise and possibility—it just needed the right people to work the land and realize the nation's untapped potential. As a result, juvenile immigration not only promised British pauper children a bright and prosperous future, but it also simultaneously solved Canada's desperate

¹⁸ Ellen R. Boucher, *Empire's Children: Child Emigration, Welfare, and the Decline of the British World, 1869-1967* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 29-30.

¹⁹ *The Isle of Man Weekly Times* September 26th, 1888, 4. <https://www.newspapers.com/image/397243066>.

need of labour and population. As an idyllic concept, juvenile immigration was the perfect vehicle of child welfare: urban centers in Britain would be free of some of their paupers, the children would be transported away from urban vice and accepted into a loving Canadian family, and the 'empty' fertile soil of Canada will have more hands to work and produce.

The Pioneer of Juvenile Immigration: Maria S. Rye, 1860-1869

Juvenile immigration began with the philanthropic work of Maria Susan Rye. Maria Rye was born in 1829 in London England and was the eldest of nine children of Edward Rye and Maria Tuppen. Rye's parents were quite wealthy as her father was a successful law practitioner. Edward also acted as Rye's chief educator and ensured that she had full access to his personal law library. Before her work with children, Rye was well-known for her work in furthering the position of women in British society. Rye began her career as an essayist and had submitted many essays to the *English Woman's Domestic Magazine*—several of which were recognized by the editors and awarded distinctions. At this time, Rye's focus was bringing attention to the fragile legal status of women during marriage, especially in relation to retaining their property if the marriage was to dissolve or if the woman was to be widowed.²⁰ Rye's focus on marriage, equality, and the social status of women would culminate in 1858 when Rye joined a group of like-minded middle class women, including Barbara Bodichon, Matilda Mary Hays, and Bessie Rayner Parkes, to formalize a new periodical entitled the *English Woman's Journal*.²¹ The essays published by the *English Woman's Journal* spanned many topics, but mainly focused on social issues affecting British women. While there were many issues to be broached, the *English*

²⁰ Marion Diamond, "Maria Rye and 'The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine'" in *Victorian Periodicals Review* 30, No. 1 (Spring, 1997), 5-6.

²¹ Viola Klein, *Britain's Married Women Workers: History of an Ideology* (Routledge, 2013), 7-9.

Woman's Journal focused intensely on the 'surplus women' issue. This issue had garnered popular attention in Britain after the publication of an essay by political philosopher William Rathbone Greg entitled *Why are Women Redundant?* The problem of 'surplus women' had first been noticed with the results of the 1851 census which revealed that Britain had a large population of single and unemployed middle-class women—roughly 500,000 women to be exact, whom Greg declared had never married or found meaningful employment.²²

Greg argued that these women were destined for a sorrowful life of "celibacy, struggle and privation."²³ He pointedly diminished middle-class women in his essay, saying he believed that working-class women, who were often domestic servants, had a valuable place in society. For example, Greg stated that the "class of women who are redundant here is not exactly the class wanted in the colonies, or especially adapted for colonial life. The woman most largely wanted there would be found among the working classes."²⁴ Essentially, Greg constructed the redundant woman as an individual who had strayed from her natural calling and could not serve any gainful purpose within British society. For Greg, the female working-class domestic servant who worked hard all day and strove to have a family was the epitome of female domesticity, and the ideal form of work that middle-class women should hope to attain if they fail to enter a marriage.

Greg's suggestion sparked a public debate in British newspapers about the possibility—and practicality—of sending women to the commonwealth colonies, and the focus of these

²² William Rathbone Greg published his theories on the redundancy of women in several places. One of the first was in an issue of the British periodical, *The National Review* in 1862. For my citation, I was only able to access a later edition, a fully bound book version, of the initial essay that was published in 1869: William Rathbone Greg, *Why are Women Redundant* (London: N. Trubner and Company, 1869), 12. Accessed on August 20th, 2021. <https://archive.org/details/whyarewomenredu00greggoog/page/n18/mode/2up>.

²³ Greg, *Why are Women Redundant*, 1869, 20.

²⁴ Greg, *Why are Women Redundant*, 1869, 21.

arguments involved the contention that there were many bachelors in the colonies who needed marriageable women. For Greg, these “aimless” middle-class women needed to find a husband in order to fulfill their “natural” societal duty. He even proposed that female-middle-class emigration could solve the rampant prostitution problem in Britain, “[w]hen female emigration has done its work, and drained away the excess...men will have to bid higher for the possession of them, and will find it necessary to make them wives instead of mistresses.”²⁵ For many Victorian men, such as Greg, the perception of a respectable woman was intimately tied to marriage; as a result, any women who fell outside of this understanding of respectability was perceived as failing their domestic duties and at-risk of falling into a life of corruption and debauchery. Interestingly, the solution of female emigration proposed by Greg was also taken up by Rye and members of *English Woman’s Journal* but proposed with a different understanding in mind.

Many members of the *English Woman’s Journal*, including Rye, perceived female middle-class emigration in a completely different light. Rather than tout female emigration as a glorified “removal service” as posited by Greg, their concern was women's happiness, wellbeing, and future economic prospects. Rye wished to enrich the lives of educated middle-class women in Britain by providing them with employment opportunities and, hopefully, social autonomy. In the late 1850s, she launched an inquiry into immigration agents in Australia, New Zealand, America, and Canada in an attempt to gauge potential opportunities for employment and education that existed for British women. Rye believed that the Commonwealth colonies were robust in employment opportunities, especially for governesses, and that British middle-class

²⁵ Greg, *Why are Women Redundant*, 1869, 31.

women would be poised to provide an integral educative service to these budding communities. In 1862, Rye founded the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society, an enterprise dedicated to finding work for the 'surplus women' in the colonies. She made her intentions very clear when she founded her society, stating that she did not care whether her women found marriage in the colonies; instead, she focused on ensuring that women found happiness and employment.²⁶

However, Rye's work with the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society was short lived. While she did find moderate success in bringing women to New Zealand and Australia, her efforts were often met with resistance. This resistance took on many forms and would best be understood through a brief analysis of her first foray into female emigration work in New Zealand. On November 3, 1862, Rye and the Female Middle-Class Emigration Society set off on the passenger ship, the *John Duncan*, for Dunedin, New Zealand. This would mark Rye's first major endeavor of female emigration and would also change the trajectory of her efforts of social uplift as the voyage was plagued with difficulty. The three-month long voyage presented many difficulties for Rye and the women she was transporting to New Zealand. Firstly, many of the women were not accustomed to the rough Pacific Ocean and many suffered from severe sea sickness.²⁷ To make matters worse, there were also many conflicts and illicit relations between the captain and crew of the *John Duncan* and the female emigrants. According to the captain and accounts from passengers of the ship, the presence of so many young women on board of the ship provided the crew with many distractions, and, with the permission of Rye, Captain Browne instilled strict rules stating that women could not come above deck in the evening.²⁸ Reportedly, Captain Browne's rules were breached by three women and the captain responded by having the

²⁶ Marion Diamond, *Emigration and Empire: The Life of Maria S. Rye* (New York: Garland, 1999), 67-8.

²⁷ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 97.

²⁸ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 97.

women put into irons. In response, some of the sailors and other women rebuked Browne's actions and asked for the women to be removed from the irons. There are conflicting reports as to what happened next. Rye states that Browne perceived this protest as a mutiny and had pistols drawn on the sailors and women who asked for the irons to be removed.²⁹ Some of the women aboard the ship, however, stated that while there were guns drawn, the three women at the center of the conflict were immediately removed from their irons and the social atmosphere on the ship returned to normal.³⁰

Once Rye arrived in New Zealand, her troubles only continued. Namely, she stated that the local government in Dunedin did very little to assist her in recouping the costs of transportation or provide adequate accommodation. There were a few reasons for this; namely, residents of Dunedin had discovered gold in 1861 and the entire town was amid a massive gold rush and economic boom, which brought unprecedented numbers of miners and prospectors from abroad to New Zealand.³¹ The *John Duncan* arrived around the same time as thousands of miners and, as a result, the government immigration barracks provided to Rye and her women was in a disheveled state. Rye stated that there was no water for her women, nor were there adequate sitting areas and, due to an influx of miners which overwhelmed local stables, horses shared the living area with the women. However, the most troubling aspect of Rye's first foray into female emigration was the feeling that local authorities in Dunedin were "against female emigration."³² This apprehension to female emigration was partly a consequence of an aggressive media campaign by local authorities in Dunedin to attract female immigrants—which had been highly

²⁹ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 97.

³⁰ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 98.

³¹ Roger Kellaway, "Tasmania and the Otago Gold Rush, 1861-1865 in *Papers and Proceedings: Tasmanian Historical Research Association* 4 Vol. 46 (December 1999), 213-4.

³² *The Times*, May 29, 1863.

successful and brought over one thousand women from Britain and other Commonwealth colonies one year before Rye arrived in New Zealand.³³ Once again, Rye was a victim of inopportune timing and she found great difficulty in ensuring the women she brought found employment. Indeed, when Rye left Dunedin in March of 1863—nearly six months after she began her voyage to Dunedin, only 60 of the roughly 100 women had found work.³⁴ Many of the women had to find work in the shipyard or band together to create their own schoolhouses. While Rye did not find much success in Dunedin, she spent the next year constructing an immigration network in different regions of New Zealand and did find some success in immigrated hundreds of British women throughout 1863 and 1864. With that said, it was clear that Rye had struggled with the colonial government in New Zealand to aid her in finding occupations for her female immigrants. Moreover, in 1865, when Rye decided to expand her emigration network to Australia, she found an even more hostile colonial government which was reluctant to receive Rye's middle-class women. Frustrated with the trickle of female emigrants and government reluctance to assist Rye in her endeavors, she began to take a different tactic to ensure the prosperity and value of future British women.³⁵

An analysis of one of her final reports on her juvenile immigration work provides the reasoning for abandoning her work with the Female Emigration Society. In her Report, Rye ruminates about why she shifted her focus from female middle-class emigration to juvenile immigration:

"For some years previous to 1869 I had busily engaged in sending adult women to New Zealand and Australia; the work had been successful in a high degree, but in examining the candidates for emigration, I had been painfully struck by the physical, mental, and moral unfitness of the

³³ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 106.

³⁴ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 106.

³⁵ Joy Parr, *Labouring Children, 1869-1924* (London: Croom Helm Ltd./Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980), 30.

majority of the women willing and anxious to go abroad. Slowly-but surely-it dawned upon us, that all these incapables were once little children, and then-and not till then- the problem was solved; the American had carried the debris of their war-orphaned and deserted children left in their big cities-into their far West, and domiciled the little ones in the farm houses of the prairies; could we not in some way imitate their work?"³⁶

This connection demonstrates first that Rye's motivation for her work had always been the furtherance of women's issues, and second, that she had already possessed a public profile in Britain long before she began to work with children. Next, Rye would set her eyes on Canada for the emigration of her young girls. Not only was Canada much closer than New Zealand and Australia, but it was also reported that the nation needed more hands for labour—which Rye would gladly provide.

The Work Begins and Grows: Maria Rye and Annie Macpherson's Juvenile Immigration Schemes, 1869-1875

Juvenile immigration officially began with Maria Rye penning an advertisement for the *Times* entitled, *Our Gutter Children*. This advertisement called for public support to ensure that pauper children in Britain could be emigrated to the healing Canadian countryside.³⁷ Among Rye's supporters was William Rathbone, the MP of Liverpool, who put her in touch with many members of the Board of Guardians for numerous schools and workhouses in Britain.³⁸ With these contacts, Rye was able to spread the news about her juvenile immigration work to many prominent child-savers throughout Britain. In late 1869, one of Rye's chief supporters, the Earl of Shaftesbury, who had tried to formulate his own form of juvenile immigration in 1852, helped

³⁶*Report for 1894 of Miss Rye's Emigration Home for Destitute Little Girls* (Avenue House: Peckham, Ontario 1894), 1-3.

³⁷ Maria Rye, "Our Gutter Children" in *The Times* (London, 1869).

³⁸ Marjorie Kohli, *The Golden Bridge Young Immigrants to Canada, 1833-1939* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 73.

her to gain the support of the Board of Guardians of London. With Shaftesbury's support and contacts in Canada, Rye and another child-saver who believed in the efficacy of juvenile immigration, Annie Macpherson, were granted official jurisdiction over the children in workhouses in Britain which allowed them to officially relocate these children to Canada.³⁹ Rye's proposal gained widespread attention in Britain, and she earned more than enough financial assistance through donations to begin her program in earnest.

At the same time Rye was appealing to the public for her child-saving ventures in the *Times*, Annie Macpherson, a Scottish Evangelical Quaker, was in the early stages of formalizing her own child-saving movement which would take British children to eastern Ontario and Quebec.⁴⁰ Macpherson's work was inspired by two major events. The first was a trip to the United States in 1866 where she visited the New York Children's Aid Society and became entranced by the idea of charity work and child-saving.⁴¹ The second event was Macpherson's visits to homes in the East End of London in 1868.⁴² In these homes, Macpherson witnessed dozens of children between the ages of 4 and 10 working tirelessly to ensure that the families would have a roof over their heads. The most popular job for these young children that Macpherson documented was matchmaking. Macpherson described how children as young as four years old wasted their young lives by monotonously packing hundreds of matchboxes a day. Not only were these children forced to work rather than attend Sunday school or public school, but the rooms they worked in were often cramped with no windows and the children were thin, sickly, and ill-clothed.⁴³

³⁹ Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 73.

⁴⁰ Susan Elizabeth Brazeau, "They Were but Children: The Immigration of British Home Children to Canada," *Journal of Integrated Studies* 5, No. 2 (2014), 1.

⁴¹ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 221.

⁴² Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 88-89.

⁴³ Annie Macpherson, *The Little Matchbox-Makers* (London: Morgan and Chase, 1868), 15-16.

In response to the discovery of the matchbox makers, Macpherson wrote a pamphlet in 1868 to bring public awareness to the plight of children in East London. Macpherson's pamphlet was also reprinted in the Evangelical magazine *The Revival*, and was said to have moved readers so much that they donated to the periodical to help solve the problem.⁴⁴ Throughout 1869 and 1870, Macpherson continued releasing pamphlets to publicize the abject poverty of the children in East London and, through the Evangelical publication, *The British Friend*, Macpherson published advertisements asking for female volunteers with in-depth "knowing of the bible" to help her locate and save children in East London. Similarly, Macpherson also called for men with knowledge of "shipments, who have travelled" to help formalize and organize her system of juvenile immigration.⁴⁵

While there was a positive public response to both Rye's call for action in the *Times* and Macpherson's request in *The Revival*, not everyone believed that juvenile immigration was a proper solution to child poverty. For example, some British commentators felt that juvenile immigration was tantamount to abduction or abandonment and that the British government should provide security and safety for their own children rather than sending them to a faraway country. The anxiety surrounding juvenile immigration in Britain was epitomized in a widely circulated pamphlet. Appearing in 1869, and illustrated by George Cruikshank, the pamphlet was entitled *Our Gutter Children* (Fig. 2), and contained a cartoon which depicts Rye, whip in hand, overseeing three philanthropists shovelling infants into a wagon filled with refuse.⁴⁶ In the background, the dirty city streets are filled with gin, whisky, and rum shops, which indicate that problem drinking has led to the degeneration of British society. In the drawing, the

⁴⁴ Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 89-90.

⁴⁵ *The British Friend: A Monthly Journal*, March 1, 1870, 74-5.

⁴⁶ George Cruikshank, "Our "gutter Children"" in *The Times* (London: W. Tweedie, 1869).

philanthropists appear to ignore rampant alcoholism, just as they seem to ignore the children's cries for their parents as they are unceremoniously shoveled into the wagon. Rye is depicted looking upon the scene, the caption reading that she "will drive off and pitch the little dears aboard the ship and take them a thousand miles away, from their native land so that they may never see their relations again."⁴⁷



Figure 2, George Cruikshank, *Our "Gutter Children."* (London, 1869.)

Despite these dissenting voices, both Rye and Macpherson managed to obtain approval and donations in Britain. However, they now needed to corral support for their immigration initiatives from the Canadian government. While Macpherson was still in the nascent stages of finding her calling as a philanthropist and child-saver, Rye had been sending letters to members of the Canadian government personnel throughout the early 1860s.⁴⁸ Even during its inception,

⁴⁷ Cruikshank, *Our "gutter Children"*, 1869.

⁴⁸ Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 206.

juvenile immigration was marked by miscommunications regarding the authority to sanction British immigrants entering Canada. Namely, Rye first reached out to Alexander Buchanan—the chief agent for the Superintendence of Emigration to Canada in Quebec. In her correspondence, Buchanan seemed receptive to Rye’s idea of juvenile immigration; however, in 1862, the Dominion government established the Department of Agriculture and Statistics.⁴⁹ This new department was tasked with overseeing immigration and along with this new department was a new position and individual, William Dixon, who was hired to oversee immigration initiatives into Canada. Therefore, Rye had unknowingly contacted an authority in Montreal about her plan to bring over 100 girls into Canada before notifying and acquiring permission from the Dominion government. When Rye did get in touch with William Dixon, the London-based Agent-General for Canadian immigration, she did not receive the positive response she had with Buchanan. Dixon had been insulted when Rye failed to include him in her immigration plans, and, as a result, he provided a lukewarm response to her plans. Dixon argued that Canada had its own problem with pauper children and barely had enough institutions and resources to find suitable homes for them; as a result, Dixon was hesitant to take on Britain's problem children.⁵⁰ Rye was unmoved by Dixon's contestations and reached out to her network of contacts in Canada, such as John Rose, the Minister of Finance for John A. Macdonald's government, for approval. Not only did Rose express interest in juvenile immigration, but Rye's plan elicited a response from Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and spurred the Department of Agriculture to offer financial support in the form of a 500-dollar grant to assist in bringing over pauper children to Canada.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 203.

⁵⁰ Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 206.

⁵¹"Department of the Interior Report," 1908, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG 76, Volume 66, File 3115, part 4, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), 1.

In Rye's plea for public support published in the *Times*, Rye also outlined which children she would bring to Canada, and this offers insight into how Rye would manage her juvenile immigration society in Canada. The first group of children Rye deemed most deserving were orphans, children who had been deserted by their parents for more than five years, and foundlings living on the streets.⁵² The children that Rye had in mind would be between the ages of five and ten and almost exclusively girls—as Rye's underlying goal had always been to ensure that British women have a better place in society. With the assistance of the Canadian government, and many British financial contributions, Rye began to make juvenile immigration a reality. The first step she took was purchasing a house to shelter the children as they came to Canada. With the donations accrued from her public newspaper campaigns in Britain, Rye purchased a property in Niagara-on-the-Lake in 1869 which she referred to as a 'sorting home.' The children would stay at this home before being placed with their chosen families or return to the home if a problem occurred with their placement into Canadian families or if they did not fit in with their selected family. She named the property in Niagara-on-the-lake "Our Western Home" and it was converted from a vacated courthouse and gaol—the remodeling of which was celebrated in local Niagara newspapers (Fig.3).⁵³

⁵² Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 201.

⁵³ *Canadian Illustrated News*, "Our Western Home," Vol. 20, no. 23. December 6, 1879, 358.

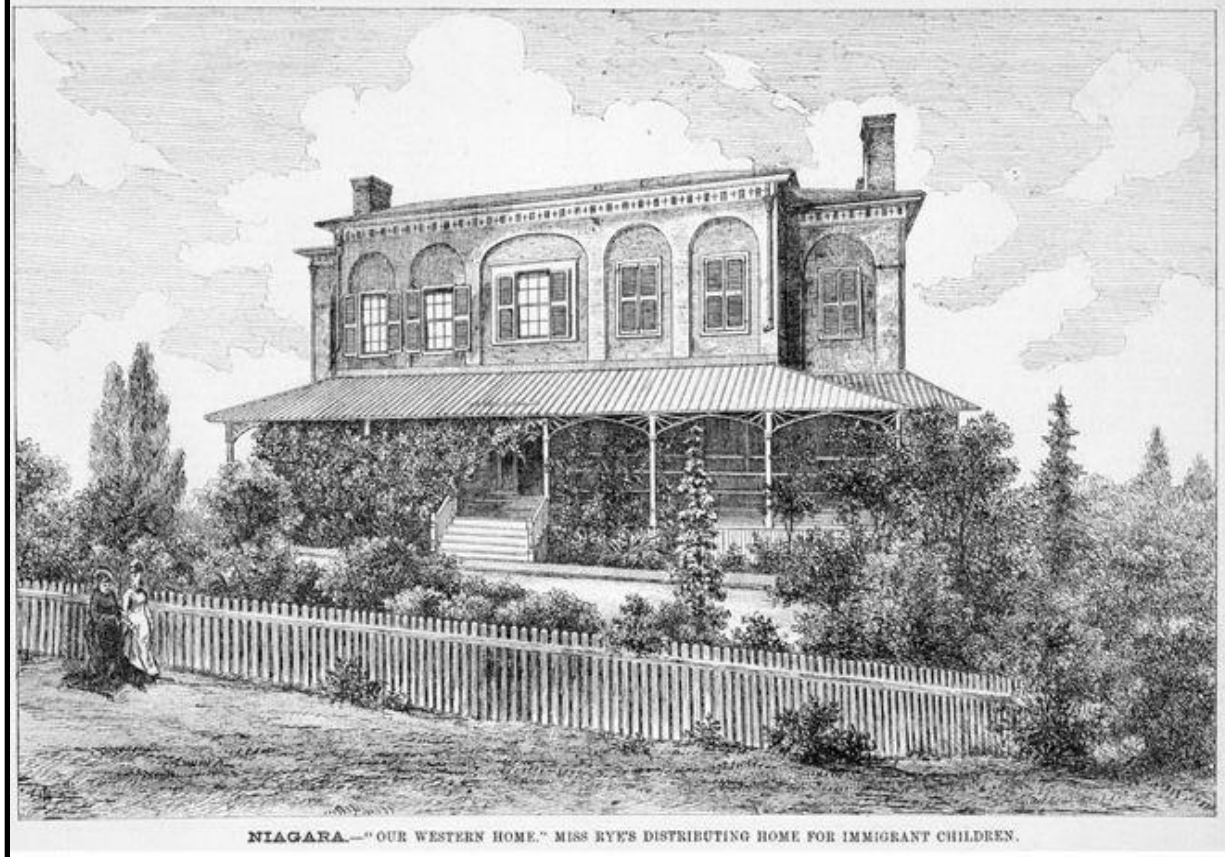


Figure 3, *Canadian Illustrated News*, "Our Western Home," (December 6, 1879.)

With a property purchased in Canada, Rye reached out to her contacts in Britain to find the first group of deserving children. The first group of juvenile immigrants numbered roughly eighty children and they set for Canada on October 28th, 1869, on the British steamship, the *S.S. Hibernian*.⁵⁴ The children travelled light and were provided a trunk of necessary items by Maria Rye (Fig.4&5). While we do not know the exact contents of Rye's chests, contents of other chests provided to children of other juvenile immigration societies were recorded in newspapers and Canadian inspections. Most often, the chests contained a set of clothes for summer work, a

⁵⁴ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 221.

winter coat, underwear, stockings and socks, multiple aprons, two pairs of boots, one pair of slippers, a handkerchief, a hairbrush and comb, a bible, and writing materials.⁵⁵ With chests in hand, the children boarded the ship and headed to Canada. The duration of the trans-Atlantic journey was approximately eleven days, and the children had to endure seasickness, and in the worst cases, becoming trapped in ice for weeks.⁵⁶

The children docked in Quebec and arrived in Niagara-on-the-lake on November 13th, 1869. Immigration parties often docked in Montreal, Quebec or Saint John, New Brunswick, depending on the availability of the port. Next, the children were accompanied by Rye or one of her employees to railway stations or steamboat to travel to 'Our Western Home' in Ontario.⁵⁷ The opening of 'Our Western Home' and the arrival of the first group of children was a large event with dignitaries from across Ontario invited to attend. The doors of 'Our Western Home' officially opened with the arrival of the children on December 1st and in attendance was the mayor of Niagara, Henry Paffard, and the Reeve of Niagara Township, S.Brown.⁵⁸ There were also dignitaries from St. Catharines and Grimsby as well as ministers from the Church of England and the Church of Scotland. The first juvenile immigration program opened in Niagara-on-the-Lake to resounding support from local Canadians. Indeed, the early efforts of British child-savers were perceived favorably by most Canadians, the Canadian Press, and the Canadian government. This is epitomized by the deputy minister of agriculture, Joseph-Charles Taché

⁵⁵ *Our Waifs & Strays: The Monthly Paper of the Church of England Central Society for Providing Homes for Waifs and Strays*, No.11, March 1885, 3.

⁵⁶ Roy Parker, *Uprooted*, 43.

⁵⁷ Roy Parker, *Uprooted*, 58.

⁵⁸ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 214.

report in parliamentary papers in which he described juvenile immigration as "encouraging" and highlighted the ever-present need for farm labourers in Canada.⁵⁹



Figure 4, Caroline Newbold Trunk from Maria Rye's Juvenile Immigration Society (1870). Currently on display at the Niagara-on-the-Lake Museum.



Figure 5, Eliza Morris' Trunk from Maria Rye's Juvenile Immigration Society (May 1873). Currently on display at the Niagara-on-the-Lake Museum.

⁵⁹ W.F. Boardman, "Memorandum of Juvenile Immigration" in *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 10, Third Session of the Eighth Parliament Session, 1898* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1899), 6.

Once the children arrived at 'Our Western Home,' they resided there until Rye, or one of her immigration assistants, could find a suitable home for them. The process of finding a suitable home and family for a British pauper child began with creating categories of families who were most deserving. For Rye, this often-meant Christian married couples who have either lost their own children, feel pity for pauper children, or were not blessed with children of their own.⁶⁰ For Rye, these families would be the least likely to abuse the child or work them too hard. Rye made her decision regarding a family's suitability for care based on their responses to a brief questionnaire that was sent to families showing interest in caring for a child. Questions were far from comprehensive and asked, "are you married," "do you have children," and "give me the name and address of the minister of the church where you worship."⁶¹ In total, there were only thirteen questions posed to would-be parents. If Rye deemed the answers to these questions favourable, she would send the family an indenture contract to sign. Given that there was no form of legal adoption in Ontario in the 1860s, an indenture contract was used to legally bind the child to their chosen family until the age of eighteen and functioned similarly to apprenticeships. At the age of eighteen, the child was formally released from the indenture contract and would no longer receive support or wages from the family unless a new working contract was drafted.⁶² The contract offered no payment to the child until the age of thirteen, but did ensure room and board and that some level of education and schooling should be provided to the child—although the terms of 'education' were often very vague and in no way enforceable.⁶³ Once the child turned thirteen, the family would compensate them for their labour and this wage increased as

⁶⁰ Andrew Doyle, "Report to the Right Honourable the President of the Local Government Board...as to the Emigration of Pauper Children to Canada (London: HMSO, 1875), 11, 13.

⁶¹ Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 360-1; The full list of the questions appears on this British Home Children of Canada research website: <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/maria-rye-niagara-on-the-lake.html>

⁶² Doyle, "Report to the Right Honourable the President of the Local Government Board," 12; Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 91, 272.

⁶³ Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 359-60.

they aged and could contribute more meaningfully. The use of indenture contracts was a common practice with nearly every juvenile immigration program functioning in nineteenth and early twentieth century Canada, as there was no legal definition or legislative apparatus for adoption in Ontario until 1921.⁶⁴ Similarly, because there was a lack of definition surrounding the guardianship of families, there was also a distinct lack of supervision of these children. There was no framework, legal or otherwise, to penalize families that abused or neglected the immigrant children joining their families. As a result, many families that requisitioned British pauper children from Rye, and other immigration societies, were poor households who often utilized the child for difficult rural labour.⁶⁵

Once a home was found and the subsequent indenture contract signed, the child would be brought to the family after receiving some instruction in "Our Western Home." Rye would remain in contact with foster parents and children through letters and ask that a picture of the child to be forwarded to her from the parent family. Oftentimes, families did not send any subsequent information or Rye did not follow up.⁶⁶ In a few cases, families who received children would write to Rye asking to return the child. For example, the Miller family, who received a pauper girl from Rye, stated that they were displeased with their child; specifically, they hoped that the child would have been "larger" as she could not keep up with the level or work that the family demanded.⁶⁷ However, not every letter that Rye received was negative; in fact, Rye published a collection of over one-hundred letters from children in 1875. While these

⁶⁴ Lori Chambers, *A Legal History of Adoption in Ontario, 1921-2015* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 7.

⁶⁵ Doyle, "Report to the Right Honourable the President of the Local Government Board," 14.

⁶⁶ There were many charges laid against Rye's early schemes to this effect. For example, the Islington charges and the Doyle Report speak to Rye's ineffective supervisory methods. With that said, the Canadian government always reported positively about her methods. There is some contention here.

⁶⁷ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 221.

letters were carefully chosen to bolster Rye's public image and the image of juvenile immigration, they still demonstrate that Rye took steps to supervise and remain in contact with some of the children she placed.⁶⁸

In many ways, the immigration work of Macpherson benefitted and mirrored the development of Rye's juvenile immigration scheme. Specifically, Macpherson benefitted from Rye's flurry of letters to prominent members of the Canadian government and the subsequent approval of her philanthropic activities. In 1870, just as Macpherson had been readying her first party of juvenile immigrants she was contacted by William Dixon. At this moment, two major differences between Rye and Macpherson come to the surface which is representative of their future treatment by the British inspectors and the British press. First, Macpherson planned on sending only boys to Canada and was more willing to shape her philanthropic activities based on the advice of Canadian and British authorities.⁶⁹ For example, when Macpherson was readying her first party of boys to Canada in 1870, Dixon reached out to her in a letter to inform her that she would not be allowed to exceed 100 boys on her first trip to Canada. Macpherson not only agreed to the condition, but she also invited Dixon to conduct his own inspection of the boys as they stayed in a House of Industry in London. In response, Dixon declared that the boys Macpherson had chosen were strong lads and even wrote a letter to Joseph-Charles Taché, the Deputy Minister of Agriculture in Canada, to ensure that Macpherson's boys would be transported from Quebec to Ontario for free—a benefit that was not extended to Rye.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Maria S. Rye, *What the People Say About the Children and What the Children Say About Canada* (London, UK: Covent Garden, 1871), 5. Accessed on July 3, 2021. <https://www.notlmuseum.ca/research/british-home-children>.

⁶⁹ Parker, *Uprooted*, 21-22.

⁷⁰ Parker, *Uprooted*, 21-22.

Historians of child immigration argue that this preferential treatment most likely stemmed from Rye's tenacity and her fearlessness to engage in public disputes through published letters in the *Times*. In contrast, Macpherson often kept her philanthropic activities out of most public newspapers and acquiesced when asked to change her methods. In this respect, Rye seemed to have no fear in taking her grievances to the public press and often engaged in public debate when she felt wronged. Rye's behavior and strong personality may have been perceived as an overstep into the male-dominated public sphere and most likely resulted in Rye being at the center of multiple public scandals and public ire. However, in terms of supervisory methods, Macpherson and Rye operated in very similar ways and there were not many points of departure between one juvenile immigration venture from the other. For example, both Rye and Macpherson employed indenture contracts and sent their children with similar clothing, and goods to Canada.⁷¹ Similarly, Macpherson also mirrored Rye's process of setting up a 'sorting home' which was provided to her by the local government of Belleville, Ontario, on the basis that Macpherson make Belleville her permanent base of operations.⁷² While Macpherson paralleled Rye's operation of juvenile immigration in many ways, she would begin forging her own path as she changed her supervisory techniques in the wake of two major public complaints made against Rye and the practice of juvenile immigration in the mid-1870s.

⁷¹ The indenture contracts employed by Rye are accessible here: Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 359-60. The indenture contracts employed by Macpherson are publicly hosted by the Home Children Canada Canadian Charity website: <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/annie-macpherson---8000-emigrated.html>

⁷² C.M. Lowe, *God's Answers: A Record of Miss Annie Macpherson's Work at the Home of Industry, Spitalfields, London, and in Canada* (London: J. Nisbet, 1882), 33. Accessed on July 12, 2021. <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.07184/55>

Cracks in the System: The First Major Attack on Juvenile Immigration

Rye and Macpherson operated their systems of juvenile immigration without incident from 1869 until 1874 using these practices based on a system that determined a viable family by their perceived moral standing alone. The early juvenile immigration societies did not have any system of supervision, contact, or background check on families and functioned solely on good faith.⁷³ However, Rye and Macpherson had found success in both Britain and Canada with their program of juvenile immigration. While there were a few dissenting voices in Britain, they were drowned out by an overwhelming chorus of support in both Britain and Canada. By the 1870s, Rye and Macpherson were renowned in Britain for their philanthropic endeavors, sparking others to take up the practice of juvenile immigration. However, in 1873, at the pinnacle of her success, cracks began to appear in the foundation of Rye's juvenile immigration program. A few Boards of Guardians in Britain were concerned about the treatment of juvenile immigrants and wrote to the Colonial Office to pressure the Local Government Board to send a personal inspector to Canada to follow-up on Rye's juvenile immigration work.⁷⁴ Despite this growing anxiety among select Boards of Guardians in Britain, the Local Government Board refused to pay out of pocket for an investigation without any outstanding complaints. However, on March 20th, 1874, Rye received a damning report sent directly to the Poor Law Board at Islington, London.⁷⁵ The list of complaints came from Allendale Grainger, a Canadian who married one of Rye's assistants, referred to as "Ms. Martin" in the report.⁷⁶ Martin worked with Rye and helped place children throughout the Niagara region. When Martin was discharged, she reportedly stated that she

⁷³ Doyle, "Report to the Right Honourable the President of the Local Government Board," 33.

⁷⁴ Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 238.

⁷⁵ "Charges Made Against Miss M. Rye, Before the Poor Law Board at Islington, and Her Reply Thereto (London: HMSO, 1874), 7. <https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=aeu.ark:/13960/t3320bk3f&view=1up&seq=5>.

⁷⁶ "Charges", 5-7.

would bring an end to Rye's work and came forward with ten major complaints concerning the administration and organization of juvenile immigration.⁷⁷

While it was clear that the report was fueled by ill will, the contents were too alarming to ignore. Martin brought ten charges against Rye and her program of juvenile immigration. Specifically, she stated that the children Rye brought to Canada were "friendless" and left without assistance in a "strange country."⁷⁸ Martin condemned the nature of the work delegated to pauper children in Canada and illustrated that it was too much work for the children; for instance, they must "frequently be made to undertake work unfitted for their tender years, some being as young as six years old."⁷⁹ Martin also attacked Rye's system of supervision—which relied on having the children write letters to Rye to relay their physical and emotional wellbeing. Martin argued that the letters procured from children could not be trusted as they were often written on request of the guardian, "on *his* paper, with *his* pen and ink, and posted probably by *himself*, and certainly at *his cost*."⁸⁰ Lastly, Martin revealed that there were no records of child placements and that all reports of children's location "emanate from Miss Rye. She alone possesses a clue to the whereabouts of all children taken out since she began the scheme."⁸¹ Martin's complaint against Rye delivered a public blow against every aspect of juvenile immigration and the timing was disastrous for Rye. Indeed, just as anxieties were on the rise concerning the wellbeing of British pauper children in Canada, Martin's comprehensive complaints stirred the Local Government Board into action. Despite Rye penning a public retort

⁷⁷ "Charges", 5-7. Sadly, there seems to be no indication why Martin was discharged. Rye makes no specific mention of it nor does the formal complaint to the Poor Law Board at Islington reference the reason why Martin was discharged from Rye's employ.

⁷⁸ "Charges", 5-7.

⁷⁹ "Charges", 5-7.

⁸⁰ "Charges", 7.

⁸¹ "Charges", 9.

to Martin's condemnation of her work, in which Rye highlighted that she was a fuming past employee lashing out, the damage had been done and the Local Government Board was spurred into action.

On June 12th, 1874, less than three months after Martin's complaint, Andrew Doyle was employed by the Local Government Board to write an extensive report of both Maria Rye and Annie Macpherson's juvenile immigration societies in Canada to ascertain if juvenile immigration was beneficial or detrimental to British pauper children. It should be noted that Doyle was only concerned with children who came from workhouses, as they legally fell under the charge of the Local Government Board. In 1874, Doyle was in his mid-sixties and had been a Poor Law Inspector for over twenty years; as a result, he was deeply committed to the workhouse and industrial school systems in Britain.⁸² Doyle began his inspection in Liverpool to observe the accommodations and treatment of the children chosen for Canada before leaving himself on June 24th to inspect how the children fared in Canadian homes. The document was finished December 1st, 1874, and reported to the British House of Commons on February 8th, 1875. Doyle's report was a comprehensive forty-two-page record of Rye and Annie Macpherson's juvenile immigration programmes. Doyle provided his thoughts on the current system of supervision, recommendations to reinforce and better the system, and included a wide range of contracts and inspection spreadsheets utilized by both Rye and Macpherson to procure guardianship over the children.

The report was critical in tone and Doyle argued that there were not enough protections for the immigrating children. Doyle made several major recommendations to ensure that juvenile

⁸² Marion Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 241-3

immigration was more effective and benefitted the child. Doyle's criticism can be condensed into three major points.⁸³ First, he argued that the nature of the work in Canada was too difficult for young children and that Canadian farmers often "adopted" children with service in mind. For example, Doyle describes that many cases he inspected were "men who [had] just taken up their allotment. I have several times driven through miles of forest to find...a remote log hut, or "shanty," the settler's first home, just put up upon the few acres of recently cleared land."⁸⁴ In a similar example, Doyle recounts when a Canadian farmer explained that it was easy "to feed a child as a chicken" and admitted that he did not really care about the "sin and suffering among children in England."⁸⁵ For this Canadian commentator, the child was viewed in terms of their usefulness and their worth was measured by how much service they could provide on the farm. With that said, Doyle does mention that while many children are adopted with acts of service as the motivator, they often become integrated into the family and loved.⁸⁶ Therefore, while Rye and Macpherson often highlighted altruistic motivations as the reason for Canadian families to adopt, Doyle uncovered that juvenile immigrants were often sought after to provide back-breaking service for the Canadian family of employ and should be defined as apprentices rather than a part of the family.

Secondly, Doyle was appalled at the lack of supervision and bookkeeping by both Rye and Macpherson. For example, Rye and Macpherson only had records listing the name and first

⁸³ Many historians of juvenile immigration have offered a more comprehensive analysis of the recommendations in the Doyle Report. As cited above, Marjorie Kohli, Roy Parker, and Marion Diamond analyze the Doyle Report and its effects on Juvenile immigration. Further reading on the impact of the Doyle Report on Juvenile Immigration and Juvenile Immigration societies can be found in: Joy Parr, *Labouring Children, 1869-1924* (London: Croom Helm Ltd./Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980); Wesley B. Turner, "Miss Rye's children and the Ontario press, 1875" (St. Catharines: Brock University 1976); Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, "Imperial Philanthropy and Colonial Response: British Juvenile Emigration to Canada, 1896-1930. *The Historian* 46, No. 1 (November 1983).

⁸⁴ Doyle, "Report to the Right Honourable the President of the Local Government Board," 14.

⁸⁵ Doyle, 13.

⁸⁶ Doyle, 13.

address of the child.⁸⁷ In many cases, there was no indication of who adopted the child, their occupation, their religious standing, or nearby relatives. As Doyle conducted his inspection, he found nearly twenty children were simply lost. Either the address in the records provided by Rye and Macpherson was incorrect or the family had moved and there was not a follow-up inspection by the child-savers.⁸⁸ Even children placed in homes in St. Catharines, only a few hours from Niagara-on-the-Lake and very accessible, were often lost or never checked up on by Rye or her agents. In his recommendation, Doyle provided a simple form that asked for necessary information, such as age of child, date received into the sorting home, dates of visits and inspections of the child in the new home, and names of relatives and close family friends that could be contacted to help care for the child or find them if they become "lost."⁸⁹ Doyle urged Rye and Macpherson to implement these very basic means of supervision to ensure that juvenile immigrants can be easily found and protected.

Thirdly, Doyle was surprised at the lack of communication between the Local Government Board in England and the federal and provincial governments of Canada. Doyle recommended that these state entities had to work in tandem to ensure the wellbeing and protection of the children. For example, Doyle argued that the children should be trained briefly in Britain to ensure they have a foundation of agricultural skills before being sent to carry out labour in Canada. Not only would this process benefit Canadian families, but it would also provide a screening process to weed out children who were not cut-out for the rough rural work in Canada. Ultimately, Doyle believed the system of juvenile immigration and placement was too informal. To reinforce the system of supervision in Canada, Doyle suggested that local

⁸⁷ Doyle, 33.

⁸⁸ Doyle, 27-8.

⁸⁹ Doyle, 32.

Canadian communities could provide some form of consistency in how the children were placed through the creation of a "local committee or agency" through municipalities to ensure that the children were protected, cared for, and, most importantly, did not become lost.⁹⁰ Doyle went even further and recommended for provincial powers to take the reins of the supervision process of British pauper children from the independent child-savers by broadening the duties of Canadian school inspectors. Namely, Doyle noticed that each municipality had one or two school inspectors and that, "there would appear to be no reason why the periodical visiting of the children on behalf of the provincial government should not form part of their original duty."⁹¹ Therefore, Doyle perceived the current system of juvenile immigration in Canada as informal at best and dangerous at worst. Through his comprehensive report, Doyle recommended that there needed to be a restructuring of juvenile immigration, starting with putting a minimum age limit of twelve years old and ensuring that there was a stronger bureaucratic practice of record keeping by independent societies, and a formalized system of supervision by outside governing bodies, both in Britain and Canada. More importantly, Doyle had homed in on a major problem at the heart of juvenile immigration: the lack of cohesion between municipal, provincial, and federal government in Canada—a problem that would be left unchecked through juvenile immigrations sixty years of operation in Canada.⁹²

⁹⁰ Doyle, 20.

⁹¹ Doyle, 32.

⁹² It should be mentioned that Doyle also took major issue with the concept of class, which played a significant role in his denigration of Rye and Macpherson's work. Namely, he believed that there were two distinct classes of children amongst the working class being brought to Canada as one homogenous group: Workhouse children and orphan children which he referred to as "street Arabs" in his Report. Specifically, Doyle believed that children within the Poor Law system, who were sent to workhouses, were on the path of retribution/uplift and were taught routines/proper behavior. In many ways, he felt that these children would not only be more useful to Canadians but also have more tools to cope with the harsh realities of Canada. On the other hand, neglected children that Rye or Macpherson simply found on the street or set up liaisons with parents in need proved to be an unknown factor. Doyle believed they could potentially undo/corrupt other children coming from the Poor Law system with their crude behavior. Therefore, he argued that juvenile immigration should only draw children who had spent time in workhouses and would provide beneficial skills to Canadian farmers.

Imperial Rupture and Disparate Responses to the Doyle Report

Juvenile immigration represents a pivotal moment when two nations formed a union to—ideally—provide a better life for their children. More importantly, Juvenile immigration not only provided imperial assets and much needed labour to Canada, but also aligned with mid-nineteenth century views of childhood in Canada. Indeed, while Britain was experiencing a transformative industrial revolution which brought unprecedented urban growth due to rural-to-urban relocation and rapid changes in family structures and family roles—Canada was progressing more slowly. While Canada did have urban centers, such as Toronto, Montreal, and Halifax, the country was still mostly rural and agrarian. As a result, without a visible demographic of poor children struggling amidst urban blight, there was not the same level of social concern for children. Concern for Canadian disadvantaged urban children was balanced by the large population of children who still resided in the rural countryside and who were perceived as learning vital skills and moral teachings through their labour. For Canadians, rural labour was transformative and would temper a child's character and transfigure him from a "slender sickly sapling" into a "brawny sun burnt lad."⁹³

These notions of the importance of labour extended from how—at least some — Canadians perceived their children, which was that children were miniature adults or adults in a state of becoming.⁹⁴ In the eyes of some Canadians, children were not fragile beings; rather, they were a raw material which needed to be shaped and strengthened through rural labour. As childhood historian Neil Sutherland states, "English-Canadians showed little awareness of

⁹³ Joy Parr, *Labouring Children*, 46-7.

⁹⁴ Anne Higonnet, *Pictures of Innocence: The History and Crisis of Ideal Childhood* (New York, NY: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 8, 13.

children as individual persons; second, they saw nothing of the inner, emotional life of youngsters; third, young people played an important and often central role in rural and in family economies; finally, contemporary English-Canadian child-rearing theory was intimately related to these perceptions and practices."⁹⁵ Canadian efforts in child rearing were primarily geared toward instilling good moral behaviour, work ethic, and work habits by putting their children to work on farms and in the home. As a result, Canadians believed that the system of juvenile immigration was wholly beneficial to the nation; moreover, when juvenile immigration came under attack by Doyle in 1875, Canadians rushed to the defense of the program.

Indeed, the Doyle Report was a watershed moment in the trajectory of juvenile immigration and childcare in Canada. Not only did Doyle's inspection reveal the inadequacies and dangers inherent in the mass transportation of British pauper children to Canada, but reception to the Report also revealed that imperial unity had limits. Namely, the Doyle Report had vastly different receptions in Canada and Britain and these disparate reactions speak to differences in what constituted proper childcare and child protection. In the eyes of Doyle and the British press, juvenile immigration was a dangerous endeavor that overworked the child and cast them into an alien nation; however, for the Canadian government and Canadian public, rural labour was part of growing up and the Doyle Report was nothing more than a thinly veiled attempt to implement a workhouse system in Canada.

The first major reaction to the Doyle Report came from the Canadian government. Upon completing the Report, the Local Government Board sent a copy to the Governor-General, the Earl of Dufferin, to ensure that the Canadian government conducted its own inspection,

⁹⁵ Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976): 7.

substantiated Doyle's findings, and implemented his recommendations. The findings were so dramatic and alarming that the Report elicited the creation of a government committee to investigate Doyle's findings. On March 1875, the Committee of the House of Commons on Immigration and Colonization was created and sat to determine the efficacy of Doyle's recommendations and suggestions.⁹⁶ Once the Report was circulated within the House of Commons, the Committee unanimously rebuked Doyle's recommendations and his depiction of juvenile immigration.⁹⁷ Rather than begin their own inspections in Canada, members of the Committee who lived in the vicinity of Rye and Macpherson's sorting homes acted as expert witnesses and spoke about their personal experiences with the work of juvenile immigration and their friendly interactions with both Rye and Macpherson. Their testimony highlighted the beneficial nature of juvenile immigration, both to Canada and the children. For example, Christopher Dunkin, the formal Minister of Agriculture, Alexander Bethune, the Lord Bishop of Toronto, and the respected Reverend William McMurray provided their own favourable accounts highlighting that juvenile immigration in Canada was well-managed, well-supervised, and the children were adequately protected and cared for.⁹⁸

In late March 1875, Maria Rye was called to be questioned by the Committee of the House of Commons on Immigration and Colonization. Given that the Committee had already met earlier in March and agreed that Doyle's findings did not align with their perception of juvenile immigration, Rye was questioned gently.⁹⁹ Indeed, the Committee pushed back against nearly every recommendation that Doyle provided and John Lowe, acting Deputy Minister of

⁹⁶W.F. Boardman, "Memorandum of Juvenile Immigration" in *Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 10, Third Session of the Eighth Parliament Session, 1898* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1899), 5.

⁹⁷ W.F. Boardman, "Memorandum of Juvenile Immigration," 5.

⁹⁸ W.F. Boardman, "Memorandum of Juvenile Immigration," 5.

⁹⁹ Marion Diamond, *Emigration and Empire*, 247.

Agriculture, was so confident in the efficacy of juvenile immigration that he was hesitant to send Canadian immigration agents to carry out their own inspection of juvenile immigration, as suggested by Doyle.¹⁰⁰ In the eyes of the Committee members, the volume of positive accounts from respected and revered Canadians was more than enough to substantiate that the Doyle Report was nothing more than non-factual document which was "antagonistic in character" towards Canadian's expectations for their children.¹⁰¹ Lowe even went as far as saying some of the recommendations Doyle made "would be really an extension into this of the English workhouse system, and that it would not be found satisfactory."¹⁰²

On July 5th, after all of the witness testimony and without providing a Canadian inspection, an order in council was passed which officially denied the accuracy of the Doyle Report and asserted that juvenile immigration had been, "generally beneficial, and particularly so to the children themselves."¹⁰³ For the House of Commons Committee, Doyle needed to take a step back and understand that "the exceptions to the rule of well doing not being either in number or character sufficient to impair the result as a whole."¹⁰⁴ Therefore, it is clear that the Canadian government perceived the Doyle Report as an attack on the character of Canadian farmers, their methods of childcare, and the Canadian government's ability to provide adequate child protection and staunchly rejected any of Doyle's concerns—even if they were accurate. For example, despite the Committee's rejection of Doyle's recommendation, their evidence was only based on tenuous eye-witness accounts and cordial run-ins with Maria Rye and Annie Macpherson. It was not until September 28th, 1875, that the Deputy Minister of Agriculture commissioned an in-

¹⁰⁰ W.F. Boardman, "Memorandum of Juvenile Immigration," 6.

¹⁰¹ Report of Inspector of British Immigrant Children, 101

¹⁰² Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 25.

¹⁰³ Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 101.

¹⁰⁴ Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 101.

person inspection of the sorting homes in Canada. Not surprisingly, the Canadian inspectors returned their findings to the House of Commons Committee in 1876 and reported that the supervision of juvenile immigration was, "most satisfactory" and that juvenile immigration could continue unfettered throughout Canada.

Response to the Doyle Report in Canadian Newspapers

The response to the Doyle Report in Canadian media was even more inflammatory than the House of Commons Committee rejection of his findings. The Doyle Report appeared in over 30 different newspapers across Canada between 1875 and 1876—with some newspapers, such as *The Globe*, publishing multiple articles on his account of juvenile immigration.¹⁰⁵ The first newspaper to publish an article on Doyle was the *Toronto Mail* in March 1875. The article stated that Doyle's conclusions were sound, and that he was more than qualified to assess the shortcomings of child welfare institutions; however, the article stated that Canadians should be in charge of restructuring juvenile immigration and that there should not be a strong British presence dictating major changes to Canadian policy.¹⁰⁶ This article sets the stage for a very important trend in public commentary surrounding the Doyle Report; namely, there was a belief among many Canadians that Doyle misunderstood Canadian customs and culture and was trying to introduce a British system of poor relief in Canada.

The second newspaper comment came from the *Globe* on March 19th, 1875, which was much more scathing than the *Toronto Mail* editorial and directly attacked Doyle's personal character. The *Globe* article stated that Doyle "wishes to be fair, while the spirit in which he

¹⁰⁵ Wesley B. Turner, "Miss Rye's children and the Ontario press, 1875" (St. Catharines: Brock University 1976), 13.

¹⁰⁶ *Toronto Mail*, (March 12th, 1875).

writes is friendly. He is, of course throughout the English official, viewing matters from the exclusively old country standpoint, and with as much of red-tapery as it is possible for a man of his intelligence to be influenced by."¹⁰⁷ In the eyes of this commentator, Doyle's perceptions were muddled by his own concept of government and his own English point of view. Canadians did not trust Doyle's point of view; in their opinion, it did not align with their colonial interests or their concept of proper childcare. The article concluded that Canadians were not "wedded to the present machinery, though we believe much good has been effected by the instrumentality of Miss Rye and Miss Macpherson."¹⁰⁸ The commentator acknowledged that there were problems with the system of juvenile immigration, and that Doyle's recommendation for more supervision could only strengthen the system; however, the commentator was quick to posit that the cases of abused children in Canada due to the emigration experience were "fewer than among an equal number of [children] of the same class left in England, so that, at any rate, the good effected has been indefinitely greater than the evil incidentally inflicted."¹⁰⁹ This article simultaneously defended Rye's juvenile immigration scheme and asserted that the Canadian system of governance was not failing children, and affirmed that the Canadian guardians who took in these children are creating a more favourable environment for them than they could ever have expected to attain in England. In this way, the article raised a defense of the juvenile immigration system and tacitly emphasized a difference between how Canadian viewed childcare that did not align with the British officials view. Specifically, Canadians argued that Canadian families were loving, caring, and that hard rural labour was part of the Canadian childhood experience.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ *The Globe*, (March 19th, 1877).

¹⁰⁸ *The Globe*, (March 19th, 1877).

¹⁰⁹ *The Globe*, (March 19th, 1877).

¹¹⁰ Wesley Turner, "Miss Rye's children," 25-8.

Other newspaper commentators often expressed suspicion about Doyle's true motives in Canada. On April 7, 1875, a short editorial printed in a small-circulation newspaper in Galt, Ontario, *The Dumfries Reformer*, stated that Doyle appeared very "officious" in his inspections and the way he carried himself, but that did not mean he was "above suspicion."¹¹¹ While this article only vaguely insinuated mistrust between the Canadian public and Doyle's authority, other papers were more pointed in their personal attacks. For example, an article printed in the *Globe* on May 24, 1875, used Doyle's Roman Catholicism as a means to discredit him, stating that Rye was a strict Protestant and had brought solely Protestant children to Canada.¹¹² Doyle was accused of harboring a harsh prejudice against Rye and Macpherson for their religious affiliations. The *Globe* stated that "Mr. Doyle, who, it appears, is a keen Roman Catholic, was sent out to inspect the work of ladies who have not only all along avowed themselves to be Protestants but who in order to avoid the very appearance of Proselytism have always taken out children of Protestants only, leaving the emigration of Roman Catholic children exclusively to the benevolently inclined of their own church."¹¹³ While not levying a direct accusation upon Doyle, this article argued that there may be a sinister bias at work as Doyle conducted his inspections, which could have impinged how he perceived the administration of juvenile immigration in Canada.

While these newspapers hinted at Doyle's suspicious biases and motives, others meticulously laid out the possible self-serving scheme behind conclusions he reached in his Report. For example, the *Ottawa Free Press* printed an article on March 27th, 1875 which described Doyle as belonging to a professional class of "leeches, who seek to foist themselves

¹¹¹*The Dumfries Reformer* (April 7th, 1875).

¹¹²*The Globe* (May 24th, 1875).

¹¹³*The Globe* (May 24th, 1875).

into desirable positions in connections with the affairs of this country from which salaries may be derived."¹¹⁴ According to this article, Doyle's Report was simply an opportunity for him to create a position of authority for himself in Canada and to "secure himself a fat salary."¹¹⁵ The article continues, "[Canadians] do know that the report which he made to the British Government is not only false in fact, but, as we have proven in front of a committee of our own Parliament, utterly without the slightest foundation except of the desire of the itinerant dead beat who made it."¹¹⁶

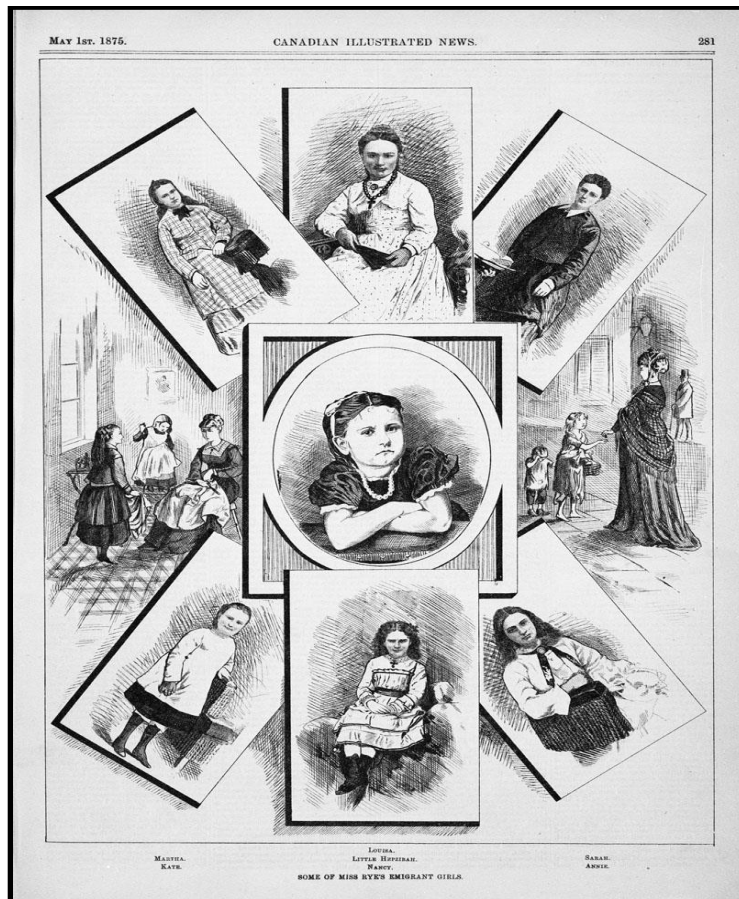


Figure 6, *Some of Miss Rye's Emigrant Girls*. From "Canadian Illustrated News," May 1st, 1875.

¹¹⁴ *Ottawa Free Press*, (March 27th, 1875).

¹¹⁵ *Ottawa Free Press*, (March 27th, 1875).

¹¹⁶ *Ottawa Free Press*, (March 27th, 1875).

Other newspapers did not speak about Doyle at all; instead, these publications took to glorifying Rye's work, the aesthetic of 'Our Western Home,' and the reformation of neglected girls into proper, and respectable ladies. At times, these depictions also underlined a tacit sense of superiority which the Canadian system of reformation promised. For instance, an issue of the *Canadian Illustrated News*, printed on May 1st, 1875, depicts nine different vignettes of Rye's philanthropic system in action (Fig. 6). The first sketch depicts Rye in London holding out her hand to a frightened young girl and her brother, who are both wearing rags. A British gentleman in the background, who appears to be affluent, pointedly ignores the poor children—a subtle critique of Britain's culture.¹¹⁷ The next sketch shows two young girls being instructed by Rye, or possibly one of her colleagues, as they mend some clothing—a depiction which directly refuted Doyle's worries about the back-breaking labour the juvenile immigrants may have endured on Canadian farms.¹¹⁸ The next seven sketches are portraits of gentlewomen; there is not a hint of poverty about any of the young girls portrayed and, if anything, they all look very respectable and graceful.¹¹⁹ More importantly, they are all wearing very lavish clothing; some have crosses adorning their necks, and most are wearing jewellery. Thus, rather than attacking Doyle's personal character or the conclusions he reached in the Doyle Report, this picture simply demonstrates the apparently wondrous effects of Rye's work. This series of illustrations suggests that a young neglected poor girl could easily be reformed into a respectable young lady through the efforts of Rye; or even more, she might learn vital skills and prosper in Canadian society.

Overall, the response from both Canadian government officials, Canadian newspapers, and Canadian commentators was unanimous: juvenile immigration was a successful operation

¹¹⁷ *Canadian Illustrated News* (May 1st, 1875).

¹¹⁸ *Canadian Illustrated News* (May 1st, 1875).

¹¹⁹ *Canadian Illustrated News* (May 1st, 1875).

and proved to be beneficial to both the British child, Canadian families, and, by extension, the Canadian public. Of course, many government officials acknowledged that juvenile immigration carried some risk to the child—as Doyle illustrated in his voluminous report. However, the prevailing attitude was that the benefits of friendly Canadian families and the moral instruction the child would attain through arduous farm work was far more constructive than the crime-filled streets of London. Given the positive perception of juvenile immigration in various forums of Canadian public life, it is evident that juvenile immigration closely aligned with the values associated with a proper childhood in Canada. Indeed, arduous farm work, loose kinship networks, and a lack of organized instructional institutions were simply the reality of child rearing and childcare in early Canada. Therefore, Doyle's suggestions—that there be formal community institutions constructed, more supervision, and more government involvement—was perceived by many Canadians as an attack on their closely-held beliefs of childcare and an imposition of the British workhouse system.

Response to the Doyle Report in British Newspapers

Childcare in Britain had taken a very different trajectory than Canada. With the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834, often referred to as the New Poor Law, workhouses became the most efficient solution to pauper children in England and Wales.¹²⁰ These new reforms were instituted to replace parishes with more efficiently run establishments based upon industrial assembly-line models. This workhouse system would put the child paupers to work; ideally, the children would be trained in various skills and produce income for the workhouses. Overall, the focus on work production in these new institutions was introduced to deter the poor

¹²⁰ Andrew August, *The British Working Class, 1832-1940* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2007), 74.

from remaining idle. Properly trained and inculcated with a new work ethic, the new system provided only two options: attain gainful employment or endure the arduous routines enforced in the workhouses.

The reality was that the new workhouse system introduced very minimal skill sets, and most children engaged in busy work, such as breaking stones or other forms of hard labour. Most importantly, the new workhouse system was run locally, by a local administrative agent and governed by a centrally regulated administration propagated by the Poor Law Commissioners.¹²¹ Therefore, the workhouse system connected the local to the federal, culminating in a uniform national network to protect and care for the country's poor. In practice, the workhouse system was far from uniform, but it still operated under the auspices of the British government and was to be heavily monitored by state authorities. Given this, the British Poor Law Commissioners attempted to move away from the ad hoc poor relief in the form of disparate charity organizations, and work toward creation of a more centrally controlled model reliant on professionally trained inspectors to respond to the rising number of impoverished children.

Therefore, it is no surprise that both the British government and the British press unanimously agreed with the conclusions presented in the Doyle Report. For example, an article in the *Liverpool Mercury* published in February 1875 simply printed Doyle's most scathing and salacious conclusions from his report. Moreover, the article included rumours that Rye had confined a girl in a room for eleven days and also implied that she was working the children like slaves as suggested by the inclusion of a statement from one of Rye's children which stated, "doption, sir, is when folks gets a girl to work without wages."¹²² The article concluded by

¹²¹ August, *The British Working Class, 1832-1940*, 74.

¹²² *Liverpool Mercury*, (February 13th, 1875).

advising Rye to administer her juvenile immigration practices according to the proper steps recommended by Doyle to ensure the process progressed "upon a proper footing."¹²³ An article printed in the *Manchester Evening News* in March 1875 reported on the content of the Doyle Report, but the article's content was not nearly as inflammatory as that published in the *Liverpool Mercury*. The *Manchester* article simply stated that Rye was mixing workhouse children with "criminal children" directly from the streets, and stated that Rye was seeking legal action against Doyle for libel.¹²⁴ Analysis of each of these articles reveals that the press reaction in Britain seemed to either tacitly agree with the conclusions drawn by Doyle, or in rare cases, to offer even more vehement criticism of Rye and her enterprise.

A few astute newspapers seem to have taken more of a middle ground and appear to have understood the basic differences between Doyle's expectations and colonial realities. For example, the *Belleville Daily Intelligencer* printed an article on March 31st, 1875, which stated, "the report has been subject of a good deal of comment in newspapers, both in Canada and in England. Whilst in the mother country, the press has been inclined to accept the statement of the Government Official, with the usual lack of knowledge for colonial affairs which distinguishes the London scribes, in Canada, where the position is better understood, the comments of the journals have been generally of quite a different character."¹²⁵ Rather than attack Doyle directly, this article argued that there had been widespread misconception of Canadian social norms and its colonial government in Britain, which was the reason why many British journalists, and the British public, accepted the negative conclusion of the Doyle Report. Nevertheless, these articles demonstrate a definitive difference in how the British and Canadians perceived the Doyle

¹²³ *Liverpool Mercury*, (February 13th, 1875).

¹²⁴ *Manchester Evening News*, (March 12th, 1875).

¹²⁵ *Belleville Daily Intelligencer* (March 31st, 1875).

Report, and while they all take a different tack, the message was clear: the Canadian government and its people had a vastly different image and ideation of childhood than the British government and the British people.

Juvenile Immigration After the Doyle Report and New Forms of Childcare on the Horizon

The response to the Doyle Report illustrates a moment of imperial rupture in which the Canadian federal government and the Canadian people bucked at the idea of a British system of childcare being recommended to supervise children coming into Canada. Interestingly, while the Canadian government may not have immediately accepted the claims made by Doyle, juvenile immigration changed in the wake of Doyle's findings. Firstly, the Local Government Board in Britain, appalled by Doyle's findings, barred any children under their supervision; namely, children in workhouses, from immigrating to Canada. As a result, the Local Government Board stepped away from their tacit agreement to send children under their jurisdiction to Canada and there was increased hesitation to send workhouse children to Canada from 1875 until 1878.¹²⁶ The Doyle Report also had its intended effect; specifically, British child-savers, such as Maria Rye and Annie Macpherson, adopted the recommendations outlined in the report. For example, Rye's record-keeping became much more intricate following the recommendations of the Doyle Report in 1875, continuing until the end of her work in 1895. After the report, Rye meticulously recorded information in line with every tenet that Doyle defined as proper record-keeping: the child's age, date of entry into the sorting home, religious affiliation, name of the guardian or

¹²⁶ "Department of the Interior Report," 1908, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG 76, Volume 66, File 3115, Library Archives Canada (LAC), 1.

guardian's employer, other places the child had lived, and a comprehensive section on the child's well-being and treatment.¹²⁷

With juvenile immigration slowing to a trickle after the publication of the findings in the Doyle Report and the Local Government Board's cessation of sending workhouse children to Canada, the Canadian federal government was ready for a compromise. In 1878, the Canadian government agreed to ensure each British juvenile immigrant with one inspection from a Canadian federal agent.¹²⁸ This compromise was deemed "hardly sufficient", and the Local Government Board pushed the Canadian government for more inspections and supervision. Ultimately, the Canadian government decided that it would conduct annual inspections for each child until they turned sixteen years old; however, the Canadian government only agreed to pay for the first round of inspections and the Local Government Board would finance the recurrent inspections.¹²⁹ In the end, even though the Doyle Report was perceived as an ideological attack on Canadian childcare, the need for labour and the drive for imperial unity resulted in a compromise which led to a somewhat safer system of supervision for the incoming children

Perhaps the most surprising trend in the wake of the Doyle Report was that juvenile immigration only slowed for three years—until the Canadian government reached its compromise with the Local Government Board. Once the compromise was met, there was an explosion of new juvenile immigration schemes in Canada—all with their own conception of how to choose, place, and inspect British children. From 1878 until 1905, eight of the largest juvenile immigration operations were founded and operated throughout Ontario. For example,

¹²⁷ "Report of Inspection of Home Children, 1875, 1886," Records of the Department of Immigration, RG-11-7 1886, Archives of Ontario, 5.

¹²⁸ "Department of the Interior Report," 1908, LAC, 1.

¹²⁹ "Department of the Interior Report," 1908, 1-2.

the Marchmont Homes, Dr. Barnardo's homes, the Fegan homes, Quarrier homes, and the Church of England Society were all founded after the publication of the Doyle Report and engaged in much larger operations which saw the relocation of over 40,000 children into Canada.¹³⁰ Moreover, each of these new juvenile immigration societies brought its own inspection methods and perceptions of childcare into Canada and was not obligated to adhere to the condemnation of the Doyle Report, especially if they did not bring workhouse children into Canada from Britain

In terms of changing the face of childcare and juvenile immigration through meaningful legislative lobbying, the Doyle Report was mostly ineffectual. With that said, the Doyle Report and its reception are important moments in which the Canadian press, provincial and federal governments, and the people aligned themselves with the cause of juvenile immigration. In doing so, they tacitly gave permission for the proliferation of juvenile immigration, and, more importantly, Canadians revealed that their conception of childhood did not deviate from the British child-savers and their attempts to rescue and reclaim pauper children. Childcare in the mid-nineteenth century was marked by the importance and transformative nature of labour and the centrality of family. Doyle's condemnation of juvenile immigration illustrated how, from its very inception, juvenile immigration was marked by overlapping state powers between the federal, provincial, and local governments in Canada. However, new tenets of childhood and childcare were on the rise in Ontario, posing ideological and legislative challenges to juvenile immigration. Simultaneously, this marked the moment when the provincial government of

¹³⁰ "Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization," Meighen Papers Series 3, MG 26, Volume 96, File 3454, 1923, LAC, 68.

Ontario began to follow a vastly different path in childcare than the federal government of Canada.

Chapter 2: The Parallel Development of Juvenile Immigration and Ontario Childcare,

1880-1897

This chapter begins by charting the arrival of a second wave of British child-savers who established juvenile immigration societies throughout Canada from the 1880s into the early 1900s. These new child-savers not only transported more children to Canada than Annie Macpherson and Maria Rye, but they also employed more sophisticated systems of placement and supervision of children. At the very moment that juvenile immigration societies were expanding operations—which seemed impossible following the public criticism of the *Doyle Report*—child protection in Ontario grew exponentially as well. Indeed, late nineteenth-century Ontario was marked by the founding of the Children’s Aid Society (CAS) in 1891, which worked with the Legislative Assembly of Ontario to pass multiple landmark acts which created new definitions and standards of the protection and supervision of Ontario children. Therefore, this chapter will analyze the second wave of British child-savers and their new methods of childcare in conjunction with the evolution of the Ontario provincial government’s approach to child protection to explore how two differing notions of childcare and protection grew parallel within the heart of the Canadian state.

To provide a clear picture of the autonomous nature of juvenile immigration, this chapter will introduce three individual British child-savers who belong to this second wave and expand on their supervisory practices. British child-savers not only brought children to Canada, but they also brought their own concepts and ideas of what constituted proper childcare. These notions of ideal childhood were enmeshed within the administrative and supervisory practices which varied wildly from one juvenile immigration society to another. Therefore, this chapter will outline the various practices employed by the most influential British child savers to illustrate the disparate

approaches to the protection of children that the federal government tacitly permitted to operate in Canada. Next, the chapter turns to Canadian child reformer, J.J. Kelso and the events leading up to the creation of the Children's Aid Society (CAS). Specifically, this section will illuminate the origins and motivations culminating in a new brand of childcare emerging in Ontario and outline the new methodology and practices used by these Canadian reformers. Lastly, the chapter will then take a step back and compare these two burgeoning forms of childcare and protection—juvenile immigration societies and the CAS—within the paradigm of state operation and state power. Questions will be raised concerning how juvenile immigration—a federal sanctioned and funded childcare program—operated outside the newfound definition of child protection enshrined in provincial legislation drafted by the CAS. How did these two contradictory manifestations of state power and views of ideal childcare grow simultaneously and how did autonomous juvenile immigration societies react when Ontario child-savers, and lawmakers, began to deem what constitutes proper and improper childcare?

After the brief hiatus caused by the 1875 *Doyle Report*, juvenile immigration resumed in 1878. Paradoxically, the widespread media documentation of the dangers of juvenile immigration—highlighted in both the British and Canadian press—resulted in a deluge of interest in the practice by middle-class philanthropists in Britain. Many British child-savers with their own established homes for the poor in England believed that juvenile immigration was a noble enterprise that had been mismanaged by the pioneers of the movement. By 1878, these new British child-savers functioned as a blueprint of how to fund, supervise, and place pauper children, as provided by the originators of the movement and the recommendations of the *Doyle Report*. In the same vein, the Dominion government of Canada also had a more defined infrastructure for juvenile immigration in place as the work had been undertaken since 1869.

This infrastructure included voyage routes from Liverpool to Quebec, stable prices for the cross Atlantic voyages, and established grants-per-child provided by the federal government of Canada and the Local Government Board. Therefore, even while the *Doyle Report* had been scathing in tone, it had inadvertently brought international attention to the philanthropic enterprise of juvenile immigration.

Given this newfound international attention and interest in juvenile immigration, it is no surprise that the 1880s were marked by a rush of British child-savers engaging in the philanthropic practice. From 1880 to 1890, over a dozen British child-savers engaged in some form of juvenile immigration and ten of those child-savers opened sorting homes in Canada. For the sake of brevity, this chapter will only focus on three of the second wave of British child-savers: Dr. Thomas Barnardo, James W. C. Fegan, and William Quarrier. These three individuals have been selected for several reasons; firstly, they were among the largest of juvenile immigration programs, each sending thousands of British paupers to Canada over their years of operation.¹ Secondly, Barnardo, Quarrier, and Fegan all had established homes for the poor in England and stalwart reputations among their peers; similarly, they also each opened sorting homes in Canada and established a community presence in Ontario. Lastly, each one of these British child-savers also operated annual newsletters which provides a window into how they ran and administered their juvenile immigration societies in Canada. As a result, these three second-wave British child-savers yield the perfect case study to illustrate how juvenile immigration became a more bureaucratic and closely administered practice in the late nineteenth century. By focusing on these three individuals, it will be clear that British child-savers not only emigrated

¹ Marjorie Kohli, *The Golden Bridge Young Immigrants to Canada, 1833-1939* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 137, 164, 168.

children, but also their own notions of what constituted suitable childcare, child work, and child protection.

The Second Wave of British Child-Savers in Canada

Undoubtedly, the most well-known of the second wave of British child-savers in both Britain and Canada was Thomas John Barnardo—who sent roughly twenty-five thousand children from Britain to Canada between 1882-1915.² While in training to become a physician, Barnardo became enamored with the work of Annie Macpherson and the Ragged School Movement in Britain. Inspired by the philanthropic work of child-saving, Barnardo put his medical training on hold and purchased Stepney Causeway, a building in East London.³ At the young age of twenty-five, Barnardo had found his calling in life. In the early 1870s, Barnardo entered the arena of juvenile immigration with the help of Annie Macpherson who allowed Barnardo to send some of his boys along with one of her parties of children to Canada.⁴ Over the next ten years, Barnardo would work on his child-saving homes in London while simultaneously looking for support to begin his own juvenile immigration program. In 1882, with the help of a number of influential supporters, such as Samuel Smith—a member of parliament involved in the administration of the Liverpool sheltering Home—Barnardo had enough support to fund his juvenile immigration work and the first company of boys arrived in Canada on August 10, 1882.⁵ While in Canada, Barnardo began to scout locations for possible sorting homes and to take notes on how he would administer and carry out his plan of juvenile immigration. Following the success of his first

² Roy Parker *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867-1917* (UK, Bristol: The Policy Press, 2008), 73.

³ Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 143; Gail H. Corbett, *Nation Builders: Barnardo Children in Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1997), 16.

⁴ Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 144.

⁵ Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 144.

philanthropic mission to Canada, Barnardo began to expand his institutional influence in Canada. After bringing a second party of 173 boys and girls to Canada in 1883, Barnardo opened a home in Toronto, Ontario and, after bringing a party of 266 children to Canada in 1884, Barnardo opened a second home in Peterborough, Ontario.⁶



Figure 1, Drawing of Thomas Barnardo from *Ups and Downs* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Toronto: August 1, 1985), 1.

With his sorting homes established and his first parties arriving in Canada, Barnardo began to solidify the administrative processes of his juvenile immigration program and hire staff, which he referred to as "Gentleman and Lady Visitors."⁷ Barnardo's juvenile immigration program mirrored the earlier administrative methods employed by Maria Rye and Annie

⁶ Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 144.

⁷ Corbett, *Nation Builders*, 55.

Macpherson for the selection of children, the selection of Canadian families, and the use of indenture contracts.⁸ Namely, Barnardo and his staff evaluated pauper children in London homes and if they were of strong character, had a good mind, and, possibly, possessed industrial skills, their names would be added to the ‘Canada list.’⁹ Much like his predecessors, Barnardo also employed a questionnaire for his selection of Canadian families.¹⁰ It should be noted that Barnardo did depart from some of the conventional methods followed by Maria Rye and Annie Macpherson; specifically, Barnardo gained a reputation of taking children to Canada without the full consent of their parents. According to Barnardo, if a child was admitted to his building on Stepney Causeway in the East End of London, the parents would give him full guardianship over the child. Therefore, Barnardo developed a policy of “selective notification.”¹¹ If Barnardo deemed the parents of good character, he would notify the parents to allow them a few minutes before their child boarded a ship to Canada. In the case of parents Barnardo deemed deviant, he would forego any notification and send the child without the parent’s knowledge—this practice became known as philanthropic abduction.

Another major departure from Rye and Macpherson’s methods of supervision and administration was Barnardo’s use of newspapers and magazines as tools of supervision and administration. In 1874, Barnardo wrote, published, and edited a magazine that would simultaneously advertise his philanthropic actions to interested British elites and share stories of the children he saved. The periodical’s first incarnation was entitled, *The Children’s Treasury*

⁸ Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 145; Indenture Contracts are found on page 359-361. Indenture contracts and acquisition forms for home children from many different child-savers are housed on the Home Children Canada site: <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/indenture-contracts.html>

⁹ Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 145.

¹⁰ Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 359.

¹¹ Joy Parr, *Labouring Children, 1869-1924* (London: Croom Helm Ltd./Montreal:McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980), 71.

and Advocate of the Homeless and Destitute but was changed to *Our Darlings* in 1882 (Fig. 2). Issues of the magazine would share letters children wrote to Barnardo or their parents, share stories of transformations from poor to rich and successful, and host competitions for children to enter.¹² Issues of *Our Darlings* would also include drawn or painted pictures of the children and sometimes even include before and after pictures, and, most importantly, names of donors would be advertised proudly in the magazine.

Barnardo found so much success with his publications in London that, in 1895, when his juvenile immigration scheme was at the height of its renown, Barnardo released a quarterly publication for Canadian and British readers which focused entirely on his immigration efforts. The publication was entitled, *Ups and Downs*. Much like *Our Darlings*, the journal printed accounts of the children's voyage to Canada, children's letters, pictures, poems, and stories for their families in Britain.¹³ Publications of *Ups and Downs* helped to track the lived experience of the Barnardo children and attracted more attention to the work of juvenile immigration.¹⁴ More than that, publications of *Ups and Downs* were also written as instructional guides for the pauper children living on Canadian farms. Almost every issue of *Ups and Downs* provided the children with many different forms of advice to aid in their transition from urban life in London to rural life in Ontario. For instance, one ongoing section was entitled "Surgery on the Farm and in the Home" which taught children how to care for different types of injuries that might occur while working on Canadian farms.¹⁵ These instructive articles were very in-depth and provided

¹² *Our Darlings Issues 41-52: Being the New and Enlarged Series of The Children's Treasury*, edited by T.J. Barnardo (London: John F. Shaw & Co, 1882).

¹³ *Our Darlings Issues 41-52*, 56.

¹⁴ It should be noted that there are some claims that Barnardo fabricated many of the pictures, poems from his children in his publications.

¹⁵ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol.1, No.2 (Sept 1, 1895), 8.

anatomical diagrams outlining how to set broken bones and deal with muscle tears.¹⁶ There were also articles which provided children with instructions on how to fetch water from wells on Canadian farms and how to spot corrupted well water.¹⁷ Similarly, issues of *Ups and Downs* provided extensive tutorials on farming tools, how they should be used and what new tools might be hitting the markets, to ensure that the incoming juvenile immigrants were properly educated and would not be a burden to the Canadian families that house them.

Barnardo also employed incentives to British juvenile immigrants to encourage children to excel in their work. For example, *Ups and Downs* organized needlework and knitting competitions for girls and offered "Medals of Conduct" for all children who stayed in the homes where they had been placed.¹⁸ If a child stayed with the family they were placed and carried out acceptable work for the hosting family for one year, they would be awarded a bronze Medal of Conduct and their name included on a list displaying their good behavior in subsequent issue of *Ups and Downs*.¹⁹ If a child stayed with their host family for two years, they would receive a silver Medal of Conduct and, if they stayed for five, they would receive the coveted gold Medal of Conduct. In a meeting at the Ontario legislative assembly in 1891, Barnardo explained that the medal system was a "means of keeping our boys together under a method which very largely prevents the possibility of desertion."²⁰ For Barnardo, the medals functioned as one of his principal forms of supervision as he states that the medals "keeps the young people in touch with us."²¹ The medals also served as an incentive to entice juvenile immigrants to align their values

¹⁶ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol.1, No. 3 (October 1, 1895), 12.

¹⁷ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol.1, No. 1 (August 1, 1895), 2.

¹⁸ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol.5, No. 2 (January 1, 1901), 71.

¹⁹ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol. 1, No. 12 (July 1, 1896), 5-7.

²⁰ Sessional Papers, Volume 4; Volume 23, Part 4 By Ontario Legislative Assembly 1891. More information and a gallery of recovered Barnardo Good Conduct Medals can be found on the Canada Home Children website: <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/good-conduct-medals.html>

²¹ Sessional Papers, Volume 4; Volume 23, Part 4 By Ontario Legislative Assembly 1891.

with what Barnardo deems “good character,” despite what abuses they may have to endure as a stranger in a Canadian home. It should be noted that Barnardo’s approach also reinforced his own preconceptions of labour and gender roles. For example, while boys could earn Medals of Service by staying with their Canadian families and working hard on the farm, girls were often omitted from the prize list even if they carried out the same work and stayed with their host family for years. For girls, there were prizes that encouraged them to work on their needlepoint and other domestic activities; in fact, of the 1200 girls that emigrated to Canada roughly only 100 had earned a Medal of Conduct by the conclusion of the Barnardo homes’ immigration initiative in the early twentieth century.²²

Ups and Downs also functioned as an instructive text for Barnardo’s children by outlining how they should—and should not—behave on Canadian farms. This is perfectly encapsulated in an article written by Barnardo entitled “Loyalty to Canada” in which he instructed children to come to Canada with the view of settling there for the rest of their life.²³ Barnardo warned that if a child did not view Canada as their home and pined to return to the streets of Britain, they would “develop into a disgruntled being, a nuisance to everybody and an impediment to his own progress.”²⁴ If children followed Barnardo’s advice and were obedient hard-workers, they were rewarded with Medals of Conduct and having their postcards and stories published in *Ups and Downs*. Therefore, Barnardo not only utilized his publication as a form of soft supervision in which he would receive voluntary updates from his children placed throughout Canada, he used the publication to shape the conduct and expectations of the juvenile

²² Nick Frost, “Historical Themes in Child Welfare: The Emergence of Early Child Welfare Structures” in *The Routledge Handbook of Global Child Welfare*, ed. Pat Dolan and Nick Frost (London: Routledge, 2017), 316-7.

²³ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol.1, No.1 (August 1, 1895), 4.

²⁴ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol.1, No.1 (August 1, 1895), 4.

immigrants. In this way, *Ups and Downs* is a revelatory text which illustrates that Barnardo was making an ideological claim that childcare should be centered around hard work and rural labour which would build the character of the children into contributing Canadian citizens. Barnardo's approach to childcare is best portrayed in a motto that appears throughout *Ups and Downs*:

“Success by perseverance, industry, and honesty. He that gathereth by labour shall increase.”²⁵



Figure 2, “A Stich in Time” from *Our Darlings* (1881). Accessed from <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/the-history-of-the-publication.html>

Barnardo's magazines not only allowed him to stay in touch with the children he placed and 'supervise' them from afar, but it also served his personal financial and civic interests. *Ups and Downs* provided a forum where Barnardo could publicize his largest donors and sing their

²⁵ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol.1, No.5 (December1, 1895), 1.

praises to the wider public. Similarly, every issue of the periodical concluded with a page filled with advertisements for Canadian services and products which ranged from bicycle repair, musical instruments shops, to farming tools and instruments.²⁶ Issues of *Ups and Downs* also reprinted letters that Barnardo received personally from prominent members of Canadian society, signaling to others that he was an integral philanthropist in Canada.²⁷ Barnardo would use *Ups and Downs* as a forum to provide his side of the story in several public disputes and to rail against new forms of Ontario legislation that impinged on his freedom to administer philanthropic activities as he saw fit. Barnardo's system of supervision was still very relaxed, as it functioned on the volition of juvenile immigrants to write to Barnardo and these words would be filtered by the Canadian farmers and Barnardo before being published in an issue of *Ups and Downs*. However, by having children participate in *Ups and Downs*, Barnardo was both building the social profile of his work and attempting to create community bonds between the juvenile immigrants and Canadians by sharing their hardships and stories candidly for all to read.

Barnardo was joined by both James W. C. Fegan and William Quarrier in the use of periodicals as a form of supervision and elevation of social profile. Much like Barnardo, James W. C. Fegan was inspired to begin his own philanthropic enterprise when he witnessed the aid provided by the Ragged School Movement in London in the early 1870s. Throughout the 1870s, Fegan undertook an array of child-saving initiatives in Britain by opening three homes, pioneering the system of 'camping out' in which London boys would work on farms in the British countryside, and founding a medical mission that would provide medical care for children in need.²⁸ In the early 1880s, Fegan was convinced by his supporters to try his hand at juvenile

²⁶ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol.1, No.1 (August 1, 1895), 10.

²⁷ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol 1, No. 1 (August 1, 1895), 5.

²⁸ Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 164.

immigration and, in 1884, he visited Canada with his first party of fifty boys.²⁹ With the donation of a building by a Torontonion distiller, Fegan opened his first placement home in Toronto, Ontario in the same year.

Much like his predecessors, Fegan supervised and administered his juvenile immigration enterprise using indenture contracts and applications for Canadian families that asked simple questions to place British pauper children in suitable Canadian homes. However, in line with burgeoning supervision and administration methods, Fegan utilized periodicals to supervise juvenile immigrants. Like Barnardo, Fegan had established a periodical outlining his work with pauper children in London entitled, *The Christian Shield*. While Fegan was raised in a non-denominational household as a Plymouth Brethren, at some point in his early life, he made a full conversion to Christianity. *The Christian Shield* was utilized to track the “benevolent and reclamatory Christian efforts” of Fegan as he engaged in his early philanthropic work throughout London.³⁰ When Fegan’s focus changed to Canada, so too did the title and focus of his periodical. In 1885, Fegan changed the name of his publication to *The Rescue* and added a section entitled, “Emigration Notes” which outlined everything from the state of Canadian politics, stories of the trans-Atlantic voyage, and supervision policies employed by Fegan and his assistants. Fegan used his publication to guide the conduct of the children under his care. For example, he utilized a reward system referred to as the Honour Roll system. To make the Honour Roll, children would have to pay Fegan Homes back for their trans-Atlantic voyage, their box of clothing, and their bible that they were provided with when they arrived in Canada.³¹ In total, the children had to payback ten pounds; however, Fegan stated that this money was immediately

²⁹ Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 164.

³⁰ J.W.C. Fegan, *Cristian Shield* Vol.1 No.1 (Printed at The Boys Home; London, February 1877), 1.

³¹ J.W.C. Fegan, *The Rescue* (December 1892), 4.

used to fund the tickets and goods to send another child to Canada.³² Once the debt was paid, the children's names and story would be published in an issue of *The Rescue* under a banner that read, "old boys who have honourably redeemed their pledge to help another boy out to Canada."³³ In some cases, the children who made Fegan's honour roll would be sent a medal which read "Roll of Honour" on one side, and a likeness of Fegan on the other side (Fig. 3). Unlike Barnardo, this was the only incentive system that Fegan offered through his publication.



Figure 3, Fegan's Roll of Honour Medal. This medal was awarded to Fred Hocquard. Accessed from <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/fegans.html>

The Rescue departed from Barnardo's *Ups and Downs* in tone and content. Namely, rather than devoting sections to educate how children should work and deal with farm life, *The Rescue* devoted pages to selections of bible verses, hymns, and original songs and poems. In many ways, *The Rescue* served as a sermon for children in Canada, sharing stories of moral and

³² J.W.C. Fegan, *The Rescue* (December 1892), 4-5.

³³ J.W.C. Fegan, *The Rescue* (December 1892), 4-5.

spiritual upliftment rather than emphasizing mere industriousness and economic success. More importantly, *The Rescue* was also more transparent, as it provided full page layouts by a public accountant describing the exact costs of trans-Atlantic travel, railroad costs, and food costs for each child that emigrated to Canada.³⁴ It should also be noted that *The Rescue* was marketed and sold in London; as a result, the focus was not always sustained on the juvenile immigrants in Canada. Indeed, multiple publications of *The Rescue* do not even mention the status of juvenile immigration, despite Fegan engaging in annual trips to Canada with hundreds of children. Therefore, while Fegan did employ publications as a form of soft supervisions, he did not engage in shaping the conduct and behavior of his children—at least not to the extent of Barnardo. Instead, publications of *The Rescue* offered moral parables and spiritual advice to shape the moral wellbeing of the child, rather than the more secular instructional guides imparting methods of farming found in *Ups and Downs*.

William Quarrier was a Scottish shoemaker who, at the age of 23, opened his own shoemaking shop in 1856 in Glasgow, Scotland. Much like London, Glasgow's population was rapidly expanding—enlivened by industrialization, urbanization, and a mass movement of Irish immigrants into the Scottish city.³⁵ The massive population increase overwhelmed the infrastructure of the city and demand for labour began to wane—along with available accommodations—as a result, there were droves of visible poor in the city's slums throughout the 1850s and 1860s. In 1864, discouraged by the sight of impoverished children in Glasgow, Quarrier began to make plans for a shoeblack brigade to ensure some children could make a

³⁴ J.W.C. Fegan, *The Rescue* (April 1886), 10. This issue of cost was brought up by Andrew Doyle's *Report*. Therefore, Fegan is most likely trying to avoid any small inclination of appearing corrupt by publishing all his expenses.

³⁵ William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1872), 17. Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 168-169.

wage and find their way off the city streets. Throughout the 1860s, Quarrier opened multiple small homes for children on Renfrew Lane in Glasgow—one building for boys and one for girls.³⁶ By 1872, Quarrier's homes had already run out of space, but his work had been noticed by his child-saving peers; specifically, Annie Macpherson. Macpherson visited Quarrier's homes in 1871 and encouraged him to throw his hat in the ring of juvenile immigration. Enticed by the notion of redemptive immigration, and in need to relieve his cramped homes, Quarrier sent his first sixty children to Canada with the help of Macpherson's networking and connections with the Local Government Board in Britain.³⁷

From 1871 to 1888, Quarrier worked with Macpherson to send small groups of boys and girls from his Scotland homes to Canada. Not surprisingly, Quarrier's administrative methods mirrored Macpherson's during this time; namely, Quarrier utilized a similar indenture contract, question sheet to select respectable Canadian families, and even a similar system of sending the children along with a chest filled with necessary items for their voyage.³⁸ For the first decade of immigration, Quarrier utilized the same boats and processes of Macpherson; however, in 1885, Quarrier expanded his immigration operations and opened a much larger home in the village of Bridge-of-Weir. Along with this expansion, Quarrier also opened his first Canadian receiving home in Brockville, Ontario in 1888.³⁹

Quarrier departed from Macpherson's practices through his use of publication as a tool of supervision. Quarrier published an annual magazine—beginning in 1872—entitled, *A Narrative of Facts*. Similar to Barnardo and Fegan, Quarrier utilized his publication to circulate letters and

³⁶ William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1872), 17. Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 168-169.

³⁷ William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1873), 18-19.

³⁸ William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1877), 9-10.

³⁹ William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1888), 45; Kohli, *Golden Bridge*, 169-170.

narratives of children who had succeeded in Canada. Letter after letter highlights that the hard work and familial ties in Canada had strengthened the constitution of children and hardened them into respectable and contributing members of Canadian society.⁴⁰ The transformative nature of juvenile immigration is illustrated in each issue of *A Narrative of Facts* which opens with a stark before and after sketch of one or two children (Fig.4). In the first sketch, they stand with desperate expressions on their faces in ragged clothes. In the second sketch, they have been transformed by their time in Canada—not only do they wear formal clothing, but their expressions are also that of joy.

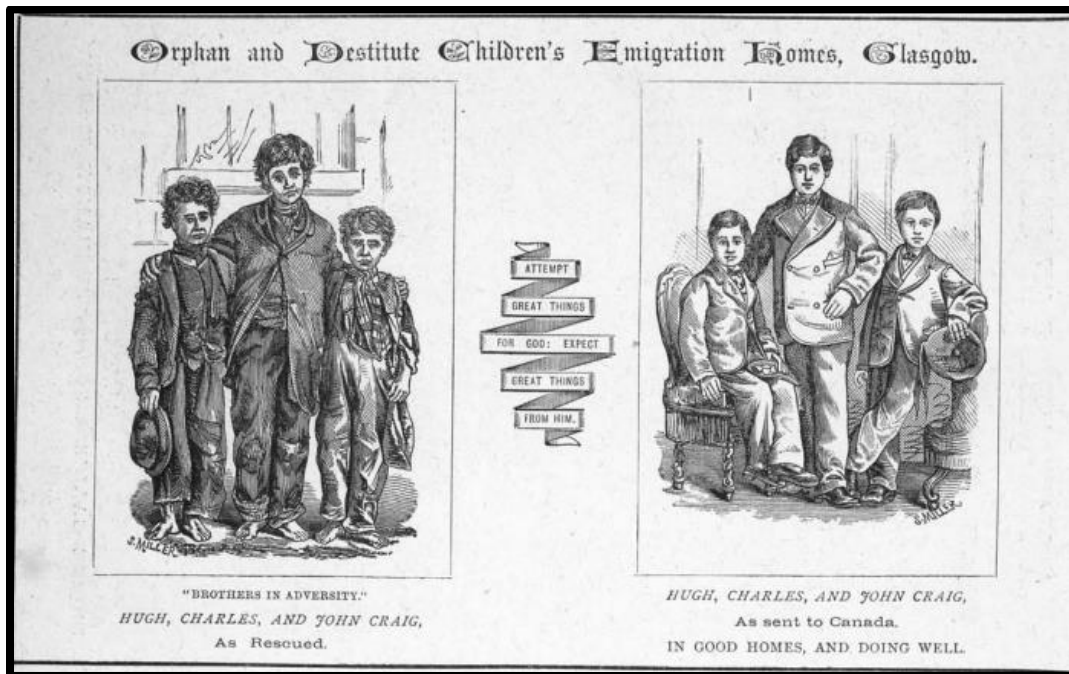


Figure 4, William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1875).

Much like the previous British child-savers, Quarrier's publication functioned to simultaneously highlight what traits he deemed important for a successful upbringing, while also

⁴⁰ William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1882), 26-7.

advertising the success of his efforts to elicit donations. It should be noted that Quarrier's publication aligned more closely to Fegan's *The Rescue* than Barnardo's *Ups and Downs*. Throughout issues of *A Narrative of Facts* are sermons and spiritual advice to children, while the work of Barnardo's publication remained almost secular in tone and cemented in practical concerns of the Canadian farm. Another notable departure from the work of Quarrier's contemporaries was his focus on home life. While Quarrier printed letters of children's testimony focused on labour's morally uplifting capabilities for the child, he also included letters and comments which call attention to the importance of a stable home with a conventional familial structure. As Quarrier states, "To our minds it comes nearest to God's arrangement of things in placing children in families ... it is better than keeping the children at [an institution], even under the advantageous circumstances we are able to place them in the homes at Bridge-of-Weir."⁴¹ At times, the primacy of home life and family connections may have had too much emphasis in Quarrier's claim to the proper upbringing of a child. For example, in his publication he argues that any family is better than an institution for the child, regardless of how that family may treat—or mistreat—the child: "A home, however poor—nay, however miserable it may be, provided only it is honest, has something which no other public or private institution can supply."⁴²

This comparison of supervisory techniques of British child-savers highlights the different tools each British child-saver employed to supervise their children—be it a letter, story, or a medal. More importantly, by interrogating the themes present in the letters, stories, and advice columns that British child-savers chose to include in their publications, one can winnow out the

⁴¹ William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1882), 27.

⁴² William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1882), 27.

conventional practices and highlight the core ideological principles of childcare that these philanthropists cultivated in their institutions. While the inclusion of an indenture contract and a question sheet for prospective Canadian families functioned as a shared tool for the legal employment and placement of children in Canada, the British child-savers had very different notions about how immigration would change the child—for better or worse. For Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* focused on the transformative nature of rural labour and the importance of assimilation through a display of loyalty to Canadian society. In the case of Fegan and Quarrier, regular attendance at Sunday school, the child's spiritual growth, and a stable familial structure were imperative to their successful upbringing and integration into Canadian society. Therefore, each British child-saver imbued their institutional mandate with outlines of ideal behavior and ideal morals to shape the child into their individual vision of an ideal citizen. This realization is important for several reasons: first, it illuminates the ad hoc nature of childcare in Ontario as juvenile immigration societies were permitted by the federal government in the late nineteenth century, and second, it emphasizes the autonomy of British philanthropic institutions in Canada, as they employed their own staff, wrote distinct mandates, and each possessed a unique approach to childcare. These differences in the ideation of childcare may appear to be benign for the operation of juvenile immigration societies in Canada; however, at the very moment British child-savers were expanding their operations and opening new homes throughout Ontario, the provincial government of Ontario was in the process of formalizing its own ideation of childcare through the founding—and formalization—of the Children's Aid Society.

The Formation of the Toronto Humane Society and Ontario Child Protective Legislation 1871-1893

At the same time the practices of juvenile immigration were being changed by innovative practices imported by British philanthropists new to the work, Canadian child-savers were engaged in their own work to provide for a better upbringing of their children based on their own ideological definition of a proper childhood. In the 1870s and 1880s, several legislative acts were passed to better the lives of children in Ontario. For example, in 1871, the *Act to Improve the Common and Grammar Schools of the Province of Ontario* was passed and threatened to fine parents who did not enroll their children—between the ages of seven and twelve—into school for at least four months of the year.⁴³ Similarly, In 1884, *The Ontario Factories' Act* was passed and prohibited boys younger than 12 and girls younger than 13 from working in factories. The *Factory Act* also applied regulations stating how long a child should work a week.⁴⁴ There were also several acts that were passed in Ontario to empower industrial schools and charities that were built to house neglected children.⁴⁵ More importantly, the passage of this legislation illustrates a clear shift in childrearing through the eyes of the province; namely, there was a growing emphasis on the need for an education and a relenting on the need for child labour.

However, these acts were just the beginning of a comprehensive metamorphosis of childcare in Ontario which occurred near the turn of the century. Behind the legislative changes were individual Canadian child-savers committed to changing the lives of children for the better.

⁴³ Act to Improve the Common and Grammar Schools of the Province of Ontario, Ontario, Statutes, 1870-1871, 34 Vict., chap. 33; Charlotte Neff, "Government Approaches to Child Neglect and Mistreatment in Nineteenth-century Ontario" in *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 41, no. 81 (2008), 179-181.

⁴⁴ Government of Ontario, Ontario Statutes of 1884, The Ontario Factories' Act, 1884, 1884, s. 1, 146.

⁴⁵ Charlotte Neff, "Government Approaches to Child Neglect and Mistreatment in Nineteenth-century Ontario" in *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 41, no. 81 (2008), 179-181.

The most renowned Canadian child-saver—and the one who brought about the most change in Ontario—was John Joseph Kelso. Kelso worked tirelessly as a child-saver for forty years and helped to pass the 1893 *Children's Protection Act*, founded the Children's Aid Society (CAS) and acted as the provincial government's Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, a role which was responsible for ensuring that Canadian children were protected from abuse, exploitation, and neglect by their parents and employers.⁴⁶

Kelso was born in Ireland in 1864 and came to Canada as a young boy in 1874. As a result of a fire which engulfed their home in Ireland, his parents and his eight siblings lived in poverty.⁴⁷ In order to support his family, Kelso worked as a newsboy and in shops at the young age of eleven. As he grew older, he was employed by the Canadian newspaper *The Toronto World* as a proofreader and then at *The Globe* as a police reporter.⁴⁸ Kelso wrote about crime and poverty in the city of Toronto and also wrote about the abject cruelty that animals and children faced while working in the city. In February of 1887, the *Globe* received an invitation to speak at the Canadian Institute on an issue of social reform and chose Kelso to represent the newspaper. Kelso used this opportunity to highlight the problem of poverty and cruelty within the city limits and argued that there was desperate need for a voluntary society with a mandate to humanize and morally uplift the city of Toronto. Kelso proposed the creation of a humane society that would provide aid to those who could not speak for themselves. His objectives were simple: “to stop cruelty to children; to rescue them from vicious influences and remedy their condition; [to stop] the beating of animals ... to introduce drinking fountains, better laws ... and to teach kindness to

⁴⁶ John McCullagh, *A Legacy of Caring: A History of the Children's Aid Society of Toronto* (The Dundurn Group: Toronto, 2002), 35-8.

⁴⁷ John McCullagh, *A Legacy of Caring*, 36.

⁴⁸ John McCullagh, *A Legacy of Caring*, 36.

animals and others.”⁴⁹ The speech was very well-received within the philanthropic community and Kelso found support amongst his peers, such as Miss Dupont—principal of the Young Ladies’ School of Toronto—and William Holmes Howland—mayor of Toronto.⁵⁰ A week after the initial speech, Kelso circulated pamphlets calling for concerned citizens to attend a meeting. Following the meeting, the Toronto Humane Society was created and positions for the association formalized. Many prominent members of Torontonians society joined the ranks of the Society; for example, mayor Howland was elected honorary president and historian Goldwin Smith was elected vice-president.⁵¹

The Toronto Humane Society was given ample public support. Within the first year of its creation, an office and over three-thousand dollars were donated to ensure the smooth operation of the Society and its work. With these funds, over ten thousand pamphlets, referred to as Bands of Mercy, were published outlining the objectives of the Society.⁵² With support drummed up through this widespread pamphlet campaign, the Society was able to bring about swift changes to Ontario. At first, these changes were minor, such as the installation of more watering troughs throughout the city for horses and the appointment of a special police constable for the safety of animals in Toronto.⁵³ While these efforts were applauded by the public, Kelso had much bigger ideas.

⁴⁹ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children: Early History of the Humane and Children’s Aid Movement in Ontario, 1886-1893* (Printed by L.K. Cameron: Toronto, 1911), 15. This source was accessed through an online database provided by a partnership between the Library Archives of Canada and the Canadiana Database. <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.73203>.

⁵⁰ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 15.

⁵¹ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 15.

⁵² J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 19-20.

⁵³ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 19-20

In 1888, Kelso and members of the Society tackled the issue of penal reform. The nineteenth century was marked by innovations in the approach to penal institutions, especially for children. For example, in the early 1800s, child offenders were sent to the same penitentiaries as hardened adult criminals. Both British and Canadian child-savers perceived this as a problem; namely, if an environment could corrupt a child, then sending a criminal child to a prison with adult offenders would cast the child into a life of crime with no escape.⁵⁴ In the 1840s and 1850s, industrial schools and reformatories were created as an attempt to remedy this problem. These institutions were created to simultaneously separate the child from the criminal population of a prison while also guiding the behavior of the child away from crime in an instructive, somewhat military-inspired, environment. While industrial schools and reformatories separated child criminals from adult criminals following a conviction, the courtroom process still failed to provide separation between children and adults in treatment.⁵⁵ For example, children fulfilled their arraignment in court amongst adult criminals and children who committed criminal acts were subjected to the same sentence as adults.⁵⁶ In the eyes of Kelso and his fellow child-savers, pauper children were destined to a life of recidivism if they spent too much time with adult criminals; as a result, the new objective of the Toronto Humane Society focused on the creation of a children's court system.⁵⁷ The Toronto Humane Society was filled with well-connected Ontarians who helped Kelso draft a model law for the review of Ontario Premier Oliver Mowat. A law to formalize and create a separate court system found a warm reception

⁵⁴ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 19-20

⁵⁵ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 21-22.

⁵⁶ Xiaobei Chen, *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship: Child Saving in Toronto 1880-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 26. It should be noted that before the passage of the 1888 juvenile court legislation, there are many examples of children receiving reduced sentences. It simply was not formalized until the work of CAS/J.J. Kelso

⁵⁷ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 21-23.

with both Canadian child-savers and Mowat as the Ontario Premier publicly supported the proposed law.⁵⁸

The Toronto Humane Society found fast success as the provincial government passed *An Act for the Protection and Reformation of Neglected Children*—commonly referred to the *Children’s Protection Act*—the same year that Kelso began lobbying in 1888. This act not only appointed a special commissioner to try the cases of juvenile offenders under the age of fourteen, but it also empowered the courts to designate pauper children as wards of the state and have dependent children in-need committed to institutions supported by municipalities.⁵⁹ The act also permitted child protection organizations to place children into foster homes as an alternative to institutional care. Therefore, for the first time in Canadian history, a child protection act was passed that empowered the provincial state to intervene in the lives of Canadian families—if Canadian child-savers deemed it necessary—for the wellbeing of the child.⁶⁰ While the Act was applauded by philanthropists in the child-saving community, many Ontarians felt that the legislation was an overreach of provincial authority. In 1889, Kelso met with the Toronto City Council to formalize and create a Children’s Court and had already appointed three leading citizens in Ontario as commissioners who agreed to serve for municipalities without compensation; however, the City Council voted to defer the creation of the Children’s Court.

Undeterred by the impotency of the *Children’s Protection Act*, Kelso moved onto different projects to ensure the protection of Canadian children. From 1888 to 1891, Kelso championed multiple social reforms. The first reform was entitled, “The Fresh Air Fund” to

⁵⁸ John McCullagh, *A Legacy of Caring*, 39.

⁵⁹ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 21-22.

⁶⁰ John McCullagh, *A Legacy of Caring*, 39.

provide pauper children with an excursion to parks and country homes throughout Ontario.⁶¹ In the same vein, Kelso also advocated for the construction of playgrounds in Toronto. Kelso's reasoning was simple, if children could engage in play outside the city or in designated safe zones, they would be less likely to engage in criminal activity or mingle with adults who would set them down the wrong path.⁶² Lastly, Kelso fought to have children barred from participating in street trades, such as working as news boys, bootblacks, and as street vendors in Toronto.⁶³ For Kelso, these trades were exploiting children and forcing them to rub elbows with criminal adults. In 1889, Kelso and the Toronto Humane Society convinced the City Council of Toronto to pass a by-law which fined children under sixteen from working on the streets without a license and barred children eight and under from working on the streets in any capacity.⁶⁴ As a result, Kelso had dealt one of the most substantial blows at the remaining practices of child labour in Ontario.

While Kelso was pursuing these many social reforms within the Toronto Humane Society, other Canadian child-savers had continued his earlier work by lobbying the government of Ontario for substantial juvenile penal reform. In the summer of 1890, the provincial government acquiesced to growing demands for reform and formalized an official penal commission to find the "cause of crime in the Province." Another major objective of the penal commission was to find an "improved means which may be adopted in the Province for rescuing destitute children from a criminal career."⁶⁵ In 1891, the official findings of the penal commission were delivered to the government and the root of criminal behavior was determined

⁶¹ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 21-23.

⁶² J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 21-23.

⁶³ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 52-3.

⁶⁴ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 37.

⁶⁵ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 66.

to be, “the want of proper parental control; the lack of good home training and the baneful influence of bad homes, largely due to the culpable neglect and indifference of parents.”⁶⁶ In essence, Kelso’s philanthropic efforts to empower the state to intervene in cases of abuse and supersede parental authority, had been vindicated. The penal commission’s findings instilled a great sense of urgency in Canadian child-savers; after all, the findings were very clear: a criminal career sprung from a neglected upbringing. With the stakes of child-saving having reached a new height, Kelso submitted his resignation as secretary of the Toronto Humane Society.

The Formation of the Children’s Aid Society and the Child Protection Act of 1893

This resignation did not signal the end of Kelso’s philanthropic career; on the contrary, the findings of the 1891 penal commission reinvigorated Kelso and provided him with a clear pursuit in life: the protection of Canadian children. Following the publication of the penal commission’s report, Kelso began to lobby his public allies and peers to formalize a new society with the protection of children as its sole mandate.⁶⁷ In the spring of 1891, Kelso penned a letter to the *Toronto News* indicating the need for a society to protect and shelter neglected children to ensure that they would not fall into a life of crime.⁶⁸ Kelso received a glowing endorsement from his peers and, and, in the summer of 1891, he held a public meeting at the YMCA on McGill street, Toronto, chaired by William Holmes Howland. At this meeting, the Children’s Aid Society (CAS) was officially founded and incorporated, its board was elected, and the objectives of the society were laid out. The mandate of the CAS was simple, it would work “to care for and

⁶⁶ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 67.

⁶⁷ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 61.

⁶⁸ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 69.

protect neglected children; to secure the enactment and enforcement of laws relating to neglected children or juvenile offenders; to provide free summer excursions and other means of recreation...and, generally, to advocate the claims of neglected children upon the sympathy and support of the public.”⁶⁹ Unsurprisingly, Kelso would be elected as president of the CAS and the organization would spend its first two years constructing a children’s shelter in Toronto and continuing with many of Kelso’s earlier reforms, such as the “Fresh Air Fund.”⁷⁰

While Kelso had already worked in the realm of Canadian childcare for years as the secretary of the Toronto Humane Society and helped pass child protection legislation, the CAS proposed the construction of shelters across Ontario to find homes for neglected children. Therefore, Kelso was formally stepping into the administrative landscape of childcare which had functioned for decades in Ontario with a static set of practices, techniques, and philosophies of child protection and childcare. As a result, many Canadian philanthropists were left wondering how the CAS would approach childcare and placement differently from the hundreds of functioning industrial schools, orphanages, and juvenile immigration societies across Ontario. Kelso envisioned that the CAS would approach child-rescue through the prism of foster care. Kelso had demonstrated his inclination towards foster care as it was included as one of the chief practices of child placement in the 1888 *Children’s Protection Act*. Kelso and the members of the CAS felt that the plethora of child-rescue societies functioning in Ontario often failed to fully integrate the pauper child into the host family.⁷¹ Indeed, there was always a degree of separation

⁶⁹ John McCullagh, *A Legacy of Caring*, 41; J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 74.

⁷⁰ Interestingly, Kelso would submit his resignation as president of the CAS in 1892, citing work pressures and personal financial sacrifice as the reasons. The remaining members paid tribute to his work by deeming Kelso a “honourary life member of the society.”

⁷¹ “Fifth Annual Report of the Children’s Aid Society of Toronto,” 1895/1896, John Joseph Kelso fonds, MG 30-C97, Volume 26, File 12, LAC, 28.

spurred by the practices of industrial schools, orphanages, and juvenile immigration which often prevented the child from bonding with the family.

Members of the CAS were confident that they could achieve familial integration through the implementation of new practices of child placement and supervision. The first barrier that the child faced was the concept of indenture. This was the chief form of placement in which a charitable institution or juvenile immigration society placed a child in a family and provided the child with a salary for their work while living with the family. The child was usually brought to the family to provide labour—be it on the farm or in the home. Moreover, the language of indenture contracts formally set out the duration of the child’s stay with the family and signaled that the indenture contract would terminate on the child’s eighteenth birthday.⁷² Once the contract was terminated, the child would be expected to leave the homestead in search of their own independent pursuits. Before the creation of the CAS, indenture was the primary form of child placement, but many members of the CAS felt that the practice of indenture was antiquated. For example, Kelso felt that the indenture contract, salary, and formal duties alienated the child from the family. Rather than indenture, Kelso advocated for the concept of foster care. It should be noted that this form of foster care shared some aspects with indenture. For example, a contract would still be signed, and work in the home, or on the farm, was still promoted to cultivate discipline in the child; however, there were changes in the language employed. Throughout CAS annual meeting minutes and sessional papers, there is a clear focus on ensuring that the pauper child become “one of the family” and the guiding principle of child-

⁷² The indenture contract utilized by Dr. Barnardo mentions children in those terms. The contract is available in the appendix of both Kohli’s *Golden Bridge* and Parker’s *Uprooted*. The same contract is also hosted by the British Home Children of Canada Association here: <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/indenture-contracts.html>

saving for the CAS was unequivocally the “conservation of home life.”⁷³ Kelso often encouraged the use of the term “adoption” in his literature and urged his employees to pose questions to inquiring families to find families willing to take the child into the family as one of their own.

Not only was the language shifting from indenture to foster care, the CAS also proposed new techniques of child supervision. Kelso took issue with the techniques of supervision employed by other child-saving institutions, such as juvenile immigration societies. Specifically, Kelso argued that the techniques of supervision used by Maria Rye were insufficient at best and non-existent at worst.⁷⁴ The CAS affirmed that insufficient supervision would only propagate the problem of neglected children and spoke directly to juvenile immigration societies by stating that “the object of child saving is not to lift children out of one kind of evil environment and place them in another, different in some respects but just as questionable when the ultimate welfare of the child is considered.”⁷⁵ Much like their approach to child placement, the CAS implemented supervisions practices that aligned with their mandate of foster care. The meeting minutes stated that CAS supervisors would carry out at least one annual inspection, but there were often more. The major shift from the supervision practices of industrial schools, orphanages, and juvenile immigration societies was the nature of inspection. Namely, if a child was deemed too young to remember their time at a CAS shelter, supervisors would introduce themselves as a distant relative or kind stranger when carrying out family inspections.⁷⁶ This act of deceit was provided as an attempt to “shield the little ones whom [families] have taken into their homes from a

⁷³ "Sixth Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society of Toronto," 1896/1897, John Joseph Kelso fonds, MG 30-C97, Volume 26, File 12, LAC, 12; The 1897 Sessional Papers, 328

⁷⁴ Office of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, "Fifth Report of Work Under the Children's Protection Act of Ontario" in *Ontario Sessional Papers* No.1 by Ontario Legislative Assembly (1897), 14.

⁷⁵ Office of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, "Fifth Report of Work Under the Children's Protection Act of Ontario," 14-15.

⁷⁶ "Sixth Annual Report of the Children's Aid Society of Toronto," John Joseph Kelso fonds, LAC, 12.

knowledge of the past” and to ensure that the child integrate completely into the family without having the “brand of charity” alienate them from the community at large. This notion of integration also extended outside the family; indeed, CAS supervisors were asked to take note of the child’s inventory of clothing—to ensure that the child was not alienated by the community by having to wear rags.⁷⁷ Similarly, the CAS stressed the importance of the child attending public schools as part of community integration and would remove the child if they were not given a proper education. From a quick glance, the CAS appeared to be one of hundreds of child-rescue operations in Ontario employing the standard practices of indenture and inadequate supervision. Upon closer inspection, however, it was clear that the CAS was originating innovative approaches, techniques, and even new definitions of child placement.

It should be noted that while the CAS methods of placement and supervision were being enlivened by a philosophy of childcare centered on the “conservation of home life,” the lived realities of children placed by the CAS were not always a positive experience. While members of the CAS prided themselves on their philosophy of foster care, there were still many instances of child exploitation, abuse, and neglect. For example, in 1893, Kelso circulated a letter to the various CAS locations in Ontario cautioning Canadian child-savers to be wary of parents requesting children, as there had been reported cases of children being overworked after being placed.⁷⁸ A second letter circulated in 1894 discovered that several young girls who had been placed were being exploited as family nursemaids in households that were deemed to be a respectable foster home by the CAS agent. Lastly, historian John Bullen argues that the CAS continued the dangerous work-focused approach of child-saving institutions in Ontario by stating

⁷⁷ J.J. Kelso, “Fifth Report of Work Under the Children’s Protection Act of Ontario,” 14-15.

⁷⁸ John Bullen, “Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late Nineteenth-Century Urban Ontario” *Labour/Le Travail* Vol 18 (Fall 1986), 180.

that children should be self-sufficient after the age of fourteen.⁷⁹ These are very valid concerns which illustrate that while the CAS was in the process of formalizing innovative approaches of placement and supervisions, their process of building discipline in children, through hard work, aligned closely with other agencies. However, this focus on work, while important, was not the only ingredient to transform a pauper child into a solid Canadian citizen. In fact, CAS literature equally highlighted the importance of attending school for the child to better themselves as well as the need to function within the greater community and neighborhood. Therefore, while Kelso and the CAS were clearly in the process of distancing themselves from the focus on work as the chief sculptor of discipline and morality, the child at work was still a very prominent aspect of child-saving ideology, even if it was beginning to share the stage with education, community, and family.

While Kelso and his allies were solidifying the placement and supervision methods of the CAS, the reverberations of the failures of the 1888 *Children's Protection Act* and the findings of the 1891 Penal Commission were still being discussed in the Ontario Legislature.⁸⁰ Throughout 1892, Ontario Premier, Oliver Mowat, and the Provincial Secretary, John Morison Gibson, worked on amending the 1888 *Children's Protection Act* to better meet the needs of the Canadian people following the findings of the Penal Commission. The amended bill, entitled *An Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to and Better Protection of Children* passed in May 1893 with the sanction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario.⁸¹ The bill became known as the *Children's Charter* or the *Child Protection Act of 1893* and offered the most comprehensive protection to children in Ontario for years to come. The Act was founded on the need for the public to respond

⁷⁹ John Bullen, "Hidden Workers," 180.

⁸⁰ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 84.

⁸¹ J.J. Kelso, *Protection of Children*, 84.

to cases of child neglect and formalized legal mechanisms to bring parents who willfully mistreated or neglected their child to court.⁸² Much like the 1888 Act, the *Child Protection Act of 1893* introduced new forms of legal actions against guardians who abused or neglected the wellbeing of their children. The definition of neglect was broadened in the latter Act to include children who spent nights on the streets or were engaging in “begging or thieving.”⁸³ If a child experienced any “unnecessary suffering or serious injury to health,” the offender would be liable to a one-hundred dollar fine or imprisonment for three months.⁸⁴ Moreover, the 1893 Act also aligned with the earlier legislation outlining that neglected children would be sent to a foster home if their guardian was convicted of abuse or neglect rather than sent into institutional care. However, this is where the similarities to the 1888 Act ended.

The *Child Protection Act of 1893* introduced sweeping reforms to the protection of neglected children in Ontario in many ways, but there are three central changes that had the most impact on the trajectory of childcare in Ontario. The first was an amendment to mandate municipalities to hire inspectors to enforce many of the previously unenforced, child protective Acts. For example, there were many Acts, such as the *Act to Improve the Common and Grammar Schools of 1871* and the *Ontario Factory Act of 1884* which were often not enforced because of the limited budgetary realities of municipalities. To ensure the enforcement of the statutes, the 1893 Act carved out new municipal positions with new responsibilities, powers, and financial

⁸² Charlotte Neff, "Government Approaches to Child Neglect," 183.

⁸³ Office of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, "First Report of Work Under the Children's Protection Act, 1893 for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1893" (Toronto: Warwick Bros and Rutter, 1893), 5. The entire report is available on Archive.org and Google books: https://www.google.ca/books/edition/First_Report_of_Work_Under_the_Children/GiEbAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0

⁸⁴ Office of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, "Firs Report," 5.

compensation⁸⁵ The second, and most startling change, empowered the CAS by authorizing employees and members of the organization to act as special “constables for the purpose of enforcing the Act, and such officers may apprehend without warrant and bring before the judge as neglected any child.”⁸⁶ The Act also dictated that every town or city with a population over ten-thousand had to provide neglected children with a shelter to care for them during the transitory period between being removed from their abusive situation to being placed with a foster family. Again, the Act dictated that these children’s shelters were to be managed, supervised, and inspected by employees of the CAS.

The final sweeping change introduced by the Act advanced the monopolization of the CAS in the field of childcare by establishing a new provincial position. This position aimed to ensure that the numerous proposed CAS institutions across Ontario remained in communication and shared practices. The Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children of Ontario position was created to oversee the operation of provincial CAS and promptly offered to J.J. Kelso, who accepted the position in 1893.⁸⁷ Therefore, the passing of the 1893 Act not only empowered the individual employees and members of CAS to remove children at their own discretion, but it also made the CAS the de facto childcare institution in Ontario. With one Act, the patchwork of industrial schools, charities, and juvenile immigration societies that acted under their own auspices were now being supplanted by the provincially sanctioned CAS. Moreover, the philosophy of charitable institutions—centered on the child staying at an institution—was being formally replaced by the CAS foster home model. The provincial government of Ontario

⁸⁵ Michael Reid, “Understanding Children’s Aid: Meaning and Practice in Ontario Children’s Aid Societies, 1893-1912”, MA Thesis (Trent University, December 2008), 35-7

⁸⁶ Office of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, “First Report of Work Under the Children’s Protection Act, 5.

⁸⁷ Office of the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, “First Report of Work Under the Children’s Protection Act, 6.

had made their claim to childcare and aligned themselves with the childcare philosophy of J.J. Kelso and the CAS.

The passing of this act represents the first seed of friction between the provincial government and the federal government as they both endorsed very different approaches to child-saving. Throughout this period of child protection reform in Ontario, the federal government continued to grant individual British child-savers permission—and, in some cases, to offer financial compensation in the form of grants—to bring British juvenile immigrants to Canada and work on farms as a form of moral rehabilitation. At the same time, the provincial government of Ontario provided Kelso and the CAS with unlimited legal authority to administer their own brand of child-rescue. Therefore, there were two major streams of thought concerning the protection of the child running parallel which both promoted different techniques of administration, placement, and supervision of childcare and both received tacit acceptance by different arms of the Canadian government—be it federal or provincial. This moment of friction between competing narratives of proper childcare reveals the elusive agenda and ideological strata of state initiatives, laying bare the state as an assemblage of contradictory philanthropic and political figures. However, with the passage of the *Child Protection Act of 1893*, the practices of independent juvenile immigration societies were now subject to reified legislation; in essence, their techniques of child placement and childcare now needed to align with provincial standards of the CAS or there would be legal ramifications.

Juvenile Immigration Societies and the *Child Protection Act of 1893*

While the passage of the *Child Protection Act of 1893* changed the topography of childcare in Ontario and seemingly sanctioned the provincial government to control the influx of

British pauper children into Ontario, it did not directly address juvenile immigration within the statutes. For example, Kelso and the CAS had been authorized to place neglected children that were identified by community members or who were brought to—or sought refuge in—a CAS shelter in a city. As mentioned previously, British juvenile immigration societies bypassed these safeguards as pauper children moved from the boat to a sorting home, and then into the home of a Canadian family. As a result, the importation of pauper children into Canada was still mostly unregulated and proved to be a blind spot for provincial legislation. This blind spot proved even more difficult to address by provincial authority because the federal government sent their own inspectors to Britain to evaluate potential British immigrants and provide follow-up supervision once placed in Ontario. As child protection evolved in Ontario, so did the public perception of juvenile immigration by the general population. For the most part, juvenile immigration was seen by Ontarians as an imperial endeavor which would only strengthen Canada's bonds with Britain, and this sentiment was strongest during the early years of the work in the 1870s. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, however, this image of juvenile immigration was waning. Spurred by memories of the *Doyle Report* and an array of newspaper stories from across Ontario which reported that "Barnardo boys" were setting fires, poisoning employers, and engaging in illegal behavior, Canadian commentators began to openly question the methods British child-savers employed to choose the children to bring to Canada.⁸⁸ The perceived danger of British juvenile

⁸⁸ There are many reports of "Barnardo boys" committing crimes that appear throughout Ontario newspapers during the late 1880s and 1890s. For example: "Pith of the News" *The Daily British Whig* July 22, 1897, 1. It should be noted that many of these "Barnardo boys" being blamed or convicted of crimes were not always children from Dr. Barnardo's care. This is illustrated in a newspaper article entitled, "He's Not a Barnardo Boy" *The Daily British Whig* October 30, 1896, 1. In this article, a boy is convicted of an unspecified crime and determined by his actions by a grand jury to be a maligned Barnardo boy. It isn't until the grand jury locates a representative from a Barnardo home that this assertion is disproven. The origins of the child remain unknown. Another article entitled, "An Ex-Barnardo Boy's Letter" *The Northern Advance* March 28, 1895, 6 shines light on the growing stigma of Barnardo boys in Canada. In this article, the writer refutes an earlier article printed in 1894 by *The Northern Advance* which claimed that Barnardo boys were a "majority, murderers, and on the whole were the dregs of crime such as is known to exist in the slums of London." Essentially, the "brand of charity" was a stigma on Canadian

immigrants had overtaken their perceived usefulness as an asset of imperial growth—which may have also been spurred on by growing sentiments of Canadian nationalism or Ontario provincialism.⁸⁹ In 1888, at a session of parliament, a Dr. Ferguson from Welland, Ontario, asked the Standing Committee of Immigration to bar the entry of British juvenile immigrants into Canada as the children were of an “undesirable character” and would bring disease into the country.⁹⁰ While the Standing Committee of Immigration simply reiterated that they hired keen-eyed Canadian inspectors to ensure the children coming to Canada were of strong body and mind, Dr. Ferguson’s testimony embodied a growing anxiety shared by many individuals in Ontario. Indeed, there was a growing sentiment that while Canada’s rural idealism might provide moral benefits to British pauper children in need, it was only a matter of time until the moral taint of those children would overwhelm Canadian cities in the form of mobs of children engaging in crime, idleness, and begging.

Canadian newspapers not only printed accounts of the possible criminal nature of the British home children, but also began to circulate stories of abuse suffered at the hands of negligent Canadian farmers. The most notorious account was the case of George Everitt Green, a

society and these children faced prejudice as a result of their pauper origins regardless of the status provided to them by being ‘British subjects’.

⁸⁹ As mentioned in the first chapter, the first wave of British child-savers and their efforts were praised and understood as an infusion of imperial stock into Canada. For many Canadian commentators and British commentators, juvenile immigration was a project of imperial unity and growth. However, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century concepts of imperialism and nationalism were shifting in Canada. There was a growing sentiment of ‘Canada First’ as either its own nation (nationalist spirit) or at the head of the imperial union with Britain. This theory eloquently articulated in Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.) This imperial slide becomes even more complex and confused on Oct. 11, 1899—during the outbreak of the South African War. During this time, there is an explosion of pro-imperial propaganda and widespread celebration in most of English Canada as Canadian soldiers wade into their first international conflict, which, momentarily, reignites juvenile immigration. During this time, some of these landmark child protection acts are even walked back—in relation to juvenile immigration.

⁹⁰ Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Volume 10, third session of the eighth Parliament, session 1898 (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson), 1899, 13-7. Accessed November 20, 2021, http://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_08052_32_10

British teen who was sent to Canada through the Barnardo homes, which made both national and international headlines. Green was sent to a home near Owen Sound to a single woman—Helen R. Findlay—in May 1895, after being sent back to the Barnardo sorting home due to his impaired vision by his previous family. Based on accounts from neighbors, Green was physically abused, worked the entire farmstead by himself, was ill-clothed, and barely fed. Green died only a few months after being left in the care of Findlay.⁹¹ The medical coroner was appalled at the signs of abuse and neglect, stating that the boy was “covered with bruises,” but also found signs of tuberculosis in the lungs of Green.⁹² Findlay was promptly arrested for manslaughter and news of Green’s mistreatment and the failure of British juvenile immigration made headlines in Canada, Britain, and the United States. For many Canadians, the Green case was their first exposure to British juvenile immigration and his case was monitored closely as newspapers continued to print updates for months. The court case surrounding Green’s murder encapsulated the changing public perception of juvenile immigration. For example, the prosecution highlighted the inept approach to supervision provided by Barnardo, but mostly focused on Findlay’s cruelty and ill-treatment towards Green as indicators of her guilt. However, the defense argued that Barnardo had knowingly allowed a child of “weak constitution” and “afflicted with disease” to enter Canada and Canadian homes.⁹³ In their narrative of the tragedy, Barnardo had

⁹¹ “A Barnardo Boy: Investigation into the Cause of his Death” *Daily Mail and Empire* November 21, 1895; “The Barnardo Boy: Miss Findlay Sent for Trial for Manslaughter” *Daily Mail and Empire* November 22, 1895; “Boy Emigrates to Canada” *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette* November 26, 1895; *Ups and Downs* Vol.1 Number 5 (Toronto: December 1, 1895), 2-3; “Keppel Manslaughter Case” *The Windsor Evening Record* December 17, 1895; “Wealthy Lady a Murderer” *Mansfield Daily Shield* November 15, 1895. This case also made its way to American newspapers, “Held Without Bail: Wealthy Lady Charged with the Murder of a Boy” *Newark Daily Advocate* November 15, 1895.

⁹² “Cruelty and Death,” *Manitoba Morning Free Press* November 22, 1895.

⁹³ “Cruelty and Death,” *Manitoba Morning Free Press* November 22, 1895.

allowed a “defective” child into Findlay’s homes and exposed her, and other Canadian families, to a contagion.

Therefore, the shift of social perception in the minds of Canadians had transformed British pauper children from vital imperial assets into a toxic criminal contagion. This new perspective coupled with the limited reach of the *Child Protection Act of 1893* in children placed through British juvenile immigration societies left child-savers looking for strategies to regulate these autonomous societies—especially in the wake of the Green case. This regulation came in the form of the first piece of child welfare legislation directed solely at the practice of juvenile immigration. In 1897, *the Act to Regulate the Immigration of Certain Classes of Children* was passed. For the most part, the 1897 Act reiterated statutes from the *Child Protection Act of 1893* but applied these laws directly to juvenile immigrants. For example, statute eleven of the 1897 Act mirrored the *Child Protection Act of 1893* by empowering Ontario citizens to bring formal complaints of abuse against families caring for a British child.⁹⁴ This complaint would then be forwarded to the juvenile immigration agency that the child was associated with, and a copy of the complaint would be sent to the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children of Ontario. In severe cases of abuse or neglect, fines and jail sentences would be handed out to offenders.

The most sweeping changes introduced by the 1897 Act, however, dealt with the provincial regulation of juvenile immigration rather than new penalties for abuse. Specifically, many of the statutes of the 1897 Act sanctioned the province of Ontario with full control over the emigration of children into the province. For example, the second statute of the 1897 Act

⁹⁴ J.J. Kelso, *Laws of Ontario Dealing with Neglected and Dependent Children: Revised and Consolidated, 1897* (Toronto, 1898) 68. Accessed November 20, 2021, <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.09076/1?r=0&s=1>.

stipulated that the lieutenant-governor of Ontario now had to provide authorization to juvenile immigration agencies and their agents before allowing any children into Ontario. If a British juvenile immigration society failed to receive this authorization, they would be subject to hefty fines and possible imprisonment.⁹⁵ In the same vein, the 1897 Act also formalized provincial inspectors who would conduct four annual visits to British juvenile immigration societies to ensure that children were being treated well in sorting homes before being placed with Canadian families.⁹⁶ The Act also dictated that British juvenile immigration societies needed to keep detailed records of each child and if a child went missing or ran away, they would have to pay for any expense that provincially-employed child-savers incurred in tracking the child down and returning them to the British juvenile immigration societies. Lastly, the Act outlined provisions that each British juvenile immigration society had to provide their children with a proper education at schools in within the municipality in which the children were placed. If a family failed to send the British child to school, they would be subject to the fines or truancy outlined in the 1871 truancy and compulsory school Act.⁹⁷

The 1897 Act functioned to address some of the loopholes and blind spots that juvenile immigration created in the field of childcare and child protection in Ontario. More than that, the 1897 Act was also the province's claim to the regulation of all children in Ontario, regardless of whether child entered the province under special permission of the dominion government. In the past, the authorization of juvenile immigration into Canada was based on an amicable agreement between the Local Government Board in Britain, the Dominion department of immigration, and municipalities—the province of Ontario had little to no say over the operation. With the passing

⁹⁵ J.J. Kelso, *Laws of Ontario Dealing with Neglected and Dependent Children*, 60

⁹⁶ J.J. Kelso, *Laws of Ontario Dealing with Neglected and Dependent Children*, 60.

⁹⁷ J.J. Kelso, *Laws of Ontario Dealing with Neglected and Dependent Children*, 60.

of the 1897 Act, the province of Ontario was firmly making their bid for full control of juvenile immigration and complete regulation over the welfare of children who entered the province. This sudden regulation did not come into existence without protest. The federal government of Canada seemingly ignored the legislation and, in a report from the 1898 Standing Committee of Immigration, in response to allegations that immigrant children were contributing to increased crime in Canada and that these British children were sometimes mistreated in Canadian homes, the committee concluded “that the bringing out of children by philanthropic societies, under judicious control, is a feature of immigration which should be carefully fostered by the Dominion.”⁹⁸ There was no direct mention of the 1897 legislation at all.

The loudest response to the 1897 Act came from the administrators of the juvenile immigration societies. As demonstrated throughout this chapter, each British child-saver imbued their own philosophies of childcare and child work into their work and they all had their own unique methods of child supervision, child inspection, and child placement. With the passage of the 1897 Act, each British child-saver would have to align their practices to a standard dictated by the provincial government; indeed, they were instructed on how to select a proper child for immigration, how to keep their written records, and ensure the child received an adequate education—or face financial consequences. Based on the statutes in the 1897 Act, juvenile immigration societies were being stripped of their autonomy in favor of provincially sanctioned approach to childcare. The responses from British child-savers to the legislation were varied. The most positive one came from James W.C. Fegan. In his 1906 publication *Loving and Serving*, Fegan stated that he was pleased that his juvenile immigration society was granted formal

⁹⁸ Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada: Sessional Papers of the Dominion of Canada, 1899, 13-7. Accessed November 20, 2021, http://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_08052_32_10

permission by the lieutenant-governor of Ontario and felt that “the Act is not only well-considered and beneficent in its aim but is most carefully and wisely administered. It has done away with a most discreditable traffic in flesh and blood on the part of incompetent or unscrupulous persons who brought our children and dumped them down in the province without any subsequent protection of supervision.”⁹⁹ Fegan’s praise of the act is not surprising, given that his approach to childcare aligned very closely with the CAS and the province of Ontario. In fact, Fegan often applauded Ontario’s system of education and recommended that all families who took in one of his children should send the child to an Ontario public school.¹⁰⁰

Unlike Fegan, Dr. Barnardo and William Quarrier perceived the 1897 Act as an attack on their philanthropic efforts. Barnardo printed a total of three responses in his publication *Ups and Downs*. In these responses, Barnardo argued that “the Act will be in many ways more a help to us than otherwise, and that there is not a clause in it that will place any serious or vexatious obstacle in our path.”¹⁰¹ Barnardo believed that the Act would have no effect on the operation of his philanthropic work as he was already following each legal statute. However, as Barnardo continued his reflections, it is clear that he perceived the passing of the legislation as a slight against his work, “even if we take the view that, apart from the unreasonable prejudice against the work [and that] there was no real necessity for any legislation at all, yet we must admit that having taken up the subject and pledged themselves to deal with it, that they fulfilled their pledges in a manner least likely to cause friction”¹⁰² In a December issue of *Ups and Downs* of the same year, Barnardo continued to lament the passing of the Act as a legal obligation that was

⁹⁹ “Beneficent Legislation” *Loving and Serving: A Monthly Record of Home-Missionary Efforts in Connection with Mr. Fegan’s Homes* Vol 30, No. 9 July 1906, 8.

¹⁰⁰ “An Episode” *The Rescue: A Quarterly Record of Christian Efforts Amongst Our Juvenile Home-Heathen in Connection with Mr Fegan’s Homes* (July 1888), 8.

¹⁰¹ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol 2, no. 11 (Toronto, June 1, 1897), 2.

¹⁰² Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol 2, no. 11, 2.

“hanging over our heads,” but concluded with a pledge to follow Ontario’s laws and respect the decision to protect their children.¹⁰³ Ultimately, it was clear that Barnardo disagreed with the Act, but was still committed to the immigration of British children into Canada and would ensure his work would continue—even if it meant having to kowtow to the provincial government of Ontario.

The most caustic and extensive response came from William Quarrier and the Quarrier Homes. In July 1897, Quarrier first took to the Canadian newspaper the *Globe* to express his disbelief at the passage of the Act. At first, Quarrier took offense at the lack of communication between Canadian child-savers, legislators, and British child-savers and argued that the 1897 Act was “hastily enacted and is the most inquisitorial law that was ever put on the statute books of a British colony.”¹⁰⁴ Next, Quarrier argued that the Act was anti-British; in essence, he believed that all immigrant children, not just the children brought by British child-savers, should be subject to the same level of scrutiny and inspection. He continued with this line of reasoning by asking, “Is this [Act] Canadian fair play in dealing with British subjects?”¹⁰⁵ Quarrier concluded by stating that he had already reached out to the Ontario Premier, Arthur Sturgis Hardy, to ensure that the 1897 Act be amended or retracted. However, Quarrier’s most sustained point of criticism of the 1897 Act focused on state power; specifically, Quarrier was in disbelief that a province had the right to infringe on the operation of British juvenile immigration. In the October 1897 publication of *Narrative of Facts*, Quarrier questioned whether the provincial government of Ontario could pass a law to regulate the activities of British child-savers. He asked readers, “Is

¹⁰³ Thomas John Barnardo, *Ups and Downs Vol 3 No. 2* (Toronto, December 24th, 1897), 1.

¹⁰⁴ “Child Immigration: The Act of Last Session Under Criticism. Mr. Quarrier’s Position” *The Globe* (August 1897), 17.

¹⁰⁵ “Child Immigration: Mr. Quarrier’s Position” *The Globe*, 17.

the new act entirely at variance with British and Canadian law?" He continued by musing, "it seems out of place for the Local Government of Ontario to pass such a law, as if the Dominion [government] were not doing the work properly, whereas, in our experience...the Dominion [government] have labored strenuously and successfully to bring the right settlers into the country."¹⁰⁶ Quarrier concluded his discussion of the 1897 Act by stating that if the Dominion government of Canada continued to allow for provinces to add "sectional law to this and that part of the country," the nation would never stand on its own, and, ultimately, would never be more than a meagre British colony.

In 1898, Quarrier continued his assault on the Act by sending a letter to the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, Oliver Mowat, to have the Act overturned or amended. In his letter, Quarrier outlined many of the same arguments as he did in his articles printed in the *Globe* and *Narrative of Facts* by restating that the 1897 Act was an overreach of provincial authority. He suggested that the legislation should have no force as it was at odds with British laws which allow children as young as twelve to choose their own place of residence, and, concluded that the Act was "injurious to the Dominion as whole in prohibiting British subjects from settling [in Canada]."¹⁰⁷ Not surprisingly, in his response to Quarrier's letter, Lieutenant Governor Mowat rejected Quarrier's assertion and refused to change the legislation. Rather than address Quarrier's claims, Mowat simply listed the various statutes of the 1897 Act and stated that many of the objections raised by Quarrier were simply "unfounded."¹⁰⁸ While Mowat concluded that there

¹⁰⁶ William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1897), 73.

¹⁰⁷ "Letter from William Quarrier to Joseph Chamberlain November 15, 1897" Privy Council Office fonds, RG 2, Volume 757, Series 1, LAC, 1.

¹⁰⁸ "Letter from Oliver Mowat to William Quarrier June 21, 1898," Council Office fonds, RG 2, Volume 768, Series 1, LAC, 1. <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/politics-government/orderscouncil/Pages/image.aspx?Image=e003187830&URLjpg=http%3a%2f%2fdata2.collectionscanada.ca%2fe%2fe128%2fe003187830.jpg&Ecopy=e003187830>

should be no difficulties in following these extra measures and that both the British child, the Canadian families, and Canada in general, would benefit from closer supervision of incoming British children.¹⁰⁹

Quarrier was displeased with Mowat's response and, in his 1898 publication of *Narrative of Facts*, announced that he would end his juvenile immigration work in Canada.¹¹⁰ Quarrier clarified that he would continue to supervise and have agents working in Canada until the children he brought previously aged out of his care; however, he would never bring another party of British pauper children to Canada—a promise which he kept until the day he died. Despite attempts, such as Kelso's trip to Scotland to talk to Quarrier personally, to mend the fracture caused by the 1897 Act, they were insufficient to bring Quarrier back to his work in Canada.¹¹¹ In one last attack on the 1897 Act, Quarrier stated that he had been hearing "a good deal lately about the superior class of immigrants under the strict government supervision" that were coming into Canada.¹¹² Even with this admission, he argued that reports were most likely overblown and stated that he did "not believe that [the Act] had made a whit of difference" in how juvenile immigration societies ran their operations.¹¹³ In some ways, Quarrier was correct. While the 1897 Act introduced severe penalties to juvenile immigration societies that did not provide adequate supervision, many of these statutes were not enforced. For example, juvenile immigration societies were asked to provide a history of institutions that a juvenile immigrant

¹⁰⁹ "Letter from Oliver Mowat to William Quarrier June 21, 1898", LAC, 1.
<https://www.baclac.gc.ca/eng/discover/politicsgovernment/orderscouncil/Pages/image.aspx?Image=e003187830&URLjpg=http%3a%2f%2fdata2.collectionscanada.ca%2fe%2fe128%2fe003187830.jpg&Ecopy=e003187830>.

¹¹⁰ William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* 1898, 45.

¹¹¹ "Letter from James A. Smart to Frank Pedley June 19, 1900," Immigration Branch Central Registry Files, RG 76, Volume 65, File 3115, LAC, 1.

¹¹² "Letter from James A. Smart to Frank Pedley June 12, 1898," LAC, 1

¹¹³ "Letter from Oliver Mowat to William Quarrier June 21, 1898," LAC, 1.
<https://www.baclac.gc.ca/eng/discover/politicsgovernment/orderscouncil/Pages/image.aspx?Image=e003187830&URLjpg=http%3a%2f%2fdata2.collectionscanada.ca%2fe%2fe128%2fe003187830.jpg&Ecopy=e003187830>.

had attended while in Britain. In many cases, this information was left blank, or the form was not signed at all and Canadian agents still allowed the children to enter Canada.¹¹⁴ These infractions were often noticed and only ever provoked a strongly worded letter by the secretary to the minister of the interior to remedy the omission by providing more comprehensive details.

All in all, the 1897 Act was not the watershed moment in Ontario childcare that its supporters and opponents expected. It was only intermittently enforced and had little impact on changing the course of major juvenile immigration societies—which continued to run well into the twentieth century with little to no provincial government interference. While some juvenile immigration societies, such as Quarrier’s homes, decided to bow out of the philanthropic work, Barnardo and Fegan continued to bring children to Canada at unprecedented rates. However, the 1897 Act signified a changing of the tides for Canadian childcare. First, the Act illustrates a growing public concern for the wellbeing of children in Ontario, as the Green case sparked feelings of sympathy—as well as a growing anxiety—for British juvenile immigrants and their place in Canadian society. Secondly, the 1897 Act marks an important moment in which the provincial government of Ontario redoubled its efforts in child protection legislation in opposition to both the British Local government board and the federal government of Canada. In this way, the 1897 Act—which applied many of the tenets of the *Child Protection Act of 1893* to British juvenile immigration societies—was an assertion of a unique philosophy of childcare and child protection touted by the province of Ontario. A philosophy of childcare which focused on the close supervision of children, the implementation of foster care rather than indenture servitude, and, finally, the necessity of education for the child. The 1897 Act may not be a

¹¹⁴ “Letter from R.G. Keyes to F.W. Annand July 13, 1900,” Immigration Branch Central Registry Files, RG 76, Volume 65, File 3115, LAC, 1; “Letter from R.G. Keyes to J.G. Colmer July 13, 1900,” Immigration Branch Central Registry Files, RG 76, Volume 65, File 3115, LAC, 1.

turning point in the history of child protection, rather, it is a turning point in the relationship between the provincial government of Ontario and the federal government—a moment when Ontario diverged from what the federal government deemed proper childcare.

The heart of this chapter—and the entirety of this project—is concerned with competing definitions of childhood and childcare. The chapter opened with an analysis of British juvenile immigration societies to illustrate the disparate and autonomous nature of British child-savers and how they each imported their own individual definitions of childhood and childcare to Canada. Next, the growth of Ontario childcare was charted through an analysis of the meteoric rise of Kelso and the Children’s Aid Society to illustrate how two vastly different definitions of childhood and childcare incubated in different levels of the state apparatus of Canada. Lastly, this chapter interrogated how innovative provincial legislation—informed by the burgeoning definitions of childhood and childcare of the CAS—were enacted as laws on the operation of British juvenile immigration societies. In this way, the provincial government of Ontario and the CAS worked together to enact their philosophy of childcare in Ontario and wrest control of childcare in Ontario away from the federal government. However, the creation of the CAS and the implementation of foster care and child protection legislation was only the first step of forging a new definition of childhood and childcare in Ontario. While the foundation had been laid, there were still many gaps and blind spots—as the landscape of childcare in Ontario was still marked by autonomy in the form of charities, orphanages, and juvenile immigration societies. The early twentieth century, however, would see an even greater change in the definition of childhood and proper childcare. In the lead up and aftermath of the First World War, there would be greater focus on the upbringing and education of children—to ensure that future Canadian are equipped to lead the nation into a peaceful future.

Chapter 3:

Children, War, and Empire: The Imperial Rejuvenation of Juvenile Immigration, 1900-1918

Late nineteenth century Ontario was marked by a notable shift in the perception of childhood and childcare as reformers began to push for the removal of children from dangerous workplaces and abusive households. These progressive philosophies championed a fresh perspective on guardianship, granting greater authority to provincial entities which allowed state actors to intervene in the lives of children believed to be in peril. Consequently, these evolving childcare ideologies culminated in the implementation of multiple child protection acts, which not only broadened the definition of child exploitation but also brought about a comprehensive reorganization of inadequate supervision and guardianship systems employed by juvenile immigration societies throughout Ontario. Through the consolidation of the CAS and the installation of J.J. Kelso as the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, Ontario set the national standard for childcare—which was adopted by both Manitoba and Quebec in 1899.¹ In matters of childcare and protection, the provincial government of Ontario had distanced itself from the federal government and asserted their own approach to childcare. After the passage of the 1897 *Act to Regulate the Immigration of Certain Classes of Children* in Ontario, the entire enterprise of juvenile immigration experienced a steep decline. However, just as the provincial government of Ontario seemed poised to dictate the future trajectory of childcare, an international conflict was brewing within the British Empire. On October 9, 1899, the Boer Republics, composed of descendants of Dutch-speaking peoples living in the eastern Cape of

¹ Miss F. Penrose Philip, “The Emigration to Canada of Poor Law Children” in *Report of the Proceedings of the 31st Annual Poor Law Conference* (London: P.S King and Son, 1903), 205.

South Africa, issued an ultimatum to the British government: either they remove their troops from their borders in South Africa or the Boers would declare war. British officials refused to answer the ultimatum, and, on October 11, 1899, the South African War began.

This chapter demonstrates that, following the passage of child protection legislation in Ontario in 1897, juvenile immigration was in steady decline with numbers of British children entering Canada plummeting for the first time since the moratorium in 1875. However, just as the future of juvenile immigration seemed bleak and uncertain, the South African War erupted, and juvenile immigration societies reaped the benefits of a wave of imperialism and expanded their operations throughout Canada. Indeed, the swell of British imperialist spirit was catalytic for the revival of juvenile immigration. From 1899 to 1914, immigration numbers of British children entering Canada increased substantially and, more importantly, the federal government of Canada expanded its reach of influence and resources to create new civil service positions for the supervision of juvenile immigration. In the wake of the First World War, the federal government acquired an even greater influence over the inspection and supervision of juvenile immigration societies. As a result, many of Ontario's child protection laws advocating for an increase in the inspection, supervision, and regulation of juvenile immigration were routinely ignored in the name of empire building. Given this expansion of federal powers, the chapter will chart the unexpected resurgence of juvenile immigration as British child-savers were emboldened by the sweeping tide of imperialism in English-speaking Canada.

The second major theme explored in this chapter is the politicization of children during the South African War. Children, particularly juvenile immigrants, were increasingly portrayed as future soldiers and building blocks of the Empire. With the rise of imperialist spirit, both British child-savers and the Canadian Department of Immigration redefined juvenile immigrants

as the seeds of the empire. Clearly, world events, individual state actors, and budding ideologies continually reshaped conceptions of childhood and proper childcare. Within the context of the South African War, juvenile immigrants were imbued with new social meaning and reimagined as future soldiers necessary for the growth of embryonic nation-states and prospective productive citizens of the empire. Consequently, the Canadian federal government took measures to protect these human "resources" by overhauling their systems of inspection and supervision, while the provincial government of Ontario receded from the spotlight.

The Short-Lived Decline of Juvenile Immigration and the Rumbblings of the South African War 1897-1899

Following the passage of the Child Protection Acts of 1893 and 1897, there was a marked decrease in the operation of juvenile immigration societies and a decline in the number of British pauper children immigrating to Canada. Many administrators of juvenile immigration societies perceived the Ontario child protection Acts as an overstep of provincial authority and an unprovoked attack on their philanthropic efforts. In reaction to these Acts, several prominent child-savers, such as William Quarrier, ceased their operations in Canada.² This had a direct impact on the number of British pauper children entering Canada; indeed, the Board of Guardians in Britain reported that the number of children sent to Canada from their care had fallen from 360 in 1893 to 174 in 1898.³ Even worse, many juvenile immigration societies

² William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* 1898, 45.

³ Miss F. Penrose Philp, "The Emigration to Canada of Poor Law Children" in *Report of the Proceedings of the 31st Annual Poor Law Conference* (London: P.S King and Son, 1903), 205-6; J. Breckenridge McGregor, 1928, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, "Canadian Council on Child Welfare and the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare records", volume 7, file 33, LAC, 4-5.

perceived the Ontario Acts as an attack on their selfless efforts to provide British pauper children with homes. Rather than raise the standard of their inspection protocols and supervision techniques—as required by provincial law enshrined in the child protection Acts—many British child-savers opted to focus their energy on emigration to other countries or on child-saving endeavors within Britain. As a result, the number of active juvenile immigration societies sending children to Canada dropped from thirty-six in 1893 to only eight in 1899.⁴

The reaction to the decline of juvenile immigration during these years was mixed. While the Canadian response was mostly positive, with many Canadians applauding Ontario's progressive Acts, British child-savers began to fear for the future of their philanthropic operations. Several British child-savers argued that these Acts were beneficial and believed that the harsh reaction by their peers simply stemmed from a misunderstanding of their function and scope. For example, William Quarrier believed that the 1897 *Act to Regulate the Immigration of Certain Classes of Children* prohibited any child over the age of 18 from entering Canada. In fact, the 1897 Act did not impose any restrictions based on the age of juvenile immigrants coming into Canada. Rather, it primarily emphasized the importance of maintaining accurate records and ensuring that the Ontario provincial government received comprehensive information regarding the whereabouts and movements of British children within the province's borders.⁵ Quarrier was not alone in this misconception that Ontario's provincial Acts barred the entry of children under 18. For instance, the question of the Ontario Acts was raised in the British House of Commons by Dr. Robert Farquharson in 1898. Dr. Farquharson was a Scottish

⁴ "Saving Children: Gratifying Results of the Ontario Government's Efforts for the Little One," *The Evening Star* (January 5, 1900), 2.

⁵ J.J. Kelso, *Laws of Ontario Dealing with Neglected and Dependent Children: Revised and Consolidated, 1897* (Toronto, 1898) 60-66. Accessed October 20, 2023, <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.09076/1?r=0&s=1>.

medical doctor who had carried out a few evaluations of children working with Quarrier and was an active British member of parliament. During a session on March 18th, 1898, Dr. Farquharson inquired if the Speaker of the House had heard of the ban on children entering Canada under the age of 18 and what implication this ban would have on the future of juvenile immigration.⁶ The house speaker, seemingly confused by the question, replied, “the law referred to in the hon. Member’s question does not forbid bringing into the province young persons under 18, unless...they are known of vicious tendencies.”⁷ Given these misconceptions, the State Children Association (SCA), an independent British organization that frequently advocated for reforms in child protection laws to the Local Government Board, believed that the British philanthropists' misunderstanding of the Ontario Acts could potentially jeopardize the continued success of juvenile immigration programs. In response, the SCA formed the Sub Committee of Emigration with the mission of “bring[ing] a better understanding...to the real meaning of the Acts” to the administrators of juvenile immigration societies.⁸

The Emigration Sub Committee of the SCA was founded in 1899 and began their educational campaign to address the decline in juvenile immigration by sending circulars to British child-savers which outlined the statutes of the Ontario Acts in simpler terms. First and foremost, these circulars were intended to fight the misinterpretation and spread of misinformation concerning Ontario childcare legislation. For example, the Sub Committee clarified that children under 18 could enter Canada but the province of Ontario pushed for more

⁶ “Canadian Immigration Laws” in *Hansard 1803-2005* 55 No. 239-40 (March 18th, 1898). Accessed on April 1st, 2020. <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1898/mar/18/canadian-immigration-laws>

⁷ “Canadian Immigration Laws” in *Hansard 1803-2005* 55 No. 239-40 (March 18th, 1898). Accessed on April 1st, 2020. <https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1898/mar/18/canadian-immigration-laws>

⁸ Miss F. Penrose Philp, “The Emigration to Canada of Poor Law Children”, 206.

rigorous inspections of “feeble-minded” pauper children.⁹ The Sub Committee moved beyond simply providing information to British child-savers, they also conducted an “exhaustive inquiry into the methods” of juvenile immigration societies to elucidate the declining numbers of children being sent to Canada. Once the inquiry was complete, the Sub Committee sent suggestions and recommendations to British child-savers in the hope that their work would “aid [the] extension” of the work in general. However, these suggestions and recommendations often received lukewarm responses from British child-savers, with some agreeing to update their techniques and others not interested in changing their methods at all.

Despite the SCA's recommendations being largely disregarded by British child-savers, the crucial point in this moment of prescriptive guidance is not the specific advice provided by the Sub Committee. Rather, it emphasizes the fact that an independent child protection organization found it necessary to prescribe how child-savers should manage their programs, thus underscoring the growing concern within the philanthropic community about the effectiveness of juvenile immigration as a means of child-rescue. Moreover, the SCA's involvement also speaks to the growing complexity of juvenile immigration. Indeed, the operation of these ventures was fixed amidst a delicate web of imperial relations and state power. In this way, one small change to the system—in this case the Ontario Acts—created regulatory and bureaucratic shockwaves throughout the semi-autonomous structure of juvenile immigration and bred misunderstandings, frustration, and friction between all parties involved. Given this, the SCA recommended that the entire system needed to be changed, otherwise, the numbers of

⁹ Miss F. Penrose Philp, “The Emigration to Canada of Poor Law Children”, 206; “Child Emigration Canada” *Nottingham Journal* (April 11, 1900); Sadly, the newspaper articles and conference literature of the State Children Association are difficult to locate and very sparse on information relating to juvenile immigration. They do not provide a list of the juvenile immigration societies which received these circulars. Still, the creation of the Emigration Sub Committee does illustrate a push to inform societies of the 1893 and 1897 Ontario Acts.

neglected children being sent to Canada would continue to decline until the philanthropic work ceased. Just as the future of juvenile immigration looked precarious, however, the outbreak of the South African War would breathe new life and meaning into the immigration of pauper children into Canada.

The South African War was a landmark event for many reasons: it was the first major international conflict that the Canadian Expeditionary Forces (CEF) participated in, the first-time guerrilla warfare tactics were employed in a large-scale conflict, and constituted one of the largest losses for the British Empire in the face of what was perceived by the international community to be a meagre international power. For all these reasons, historians have demonstrated that the English Canadian reaction to the South African War was defined by a swell of imperialism which emboldened more than 7,000 Canadian soldiers to set off to South Africa to stake their lives for the motherland. With imperial bonds stronger than ever before, juvenile immigration began to take on a positive turn in the general public's perception. For the sake of brevity, this chapter will only chart the key moments of agitation resulting in the South African War.¹⁰

To begin, late nineteenth century South Africa was marked by the growing exploitative colonial rule of the British and rising tensions amongst with descendants of Calvinist Dutch settlers who had arrived in the mid seventeenth century. Reflecting these disparate powers, South

¹⁰ While the discussion is limited to a few of the integral causes of the South African War, it is important to mention that there are many interpretations concerning the origins of the South African War and historians are, at times, divided on the underlying causes of the conflict. For a comprehensive historiography of the South African War, please see: Craig Wilcox, *Australia's Boer War: The War in South Africa, 1899–1902* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Donal Lowry, *The South African War Reappraised*, ed. Donal Lowry (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000); Iain Smith, "One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue: New Zealand, the British Empire and the South African War" ed. John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003); Iain Smith, *The Origins of the South African War, 1899-1902* (London : Longman, 1996); Kenneth O. Morgan, "The Boer War and the Media, 1899-1902" *Twentieth Century British History*, Vol 13, No. 1 (2002): 1-16

Africa was split into four distinct territories: two British colonies of Cape Colony and Natal and the Dutch states of the South African Republic and the Orange Free States.¹¹ Colonial tension came to a head in 1886 with the discovery of gold deposits on the Witwatersrand—a fifty-six-kilometer-long rock formation that spans across South Africa. In response to this discovery, there was a massive influx of opportunistic immigrants into the South African Republic (Transvaal) to work the mines—comprised predominantly of English, Irish, Scottish, continental Europeans, Australians, and North Americans.¹² This stream of immigration showed no signs of stopping and by 1896 there were approximately 45,000 immigrants residing in the South African Republic—which dominated the mining community and threatened to completely outnumber the working Boer population. This massive immigration event had many implications; first, incoming immigrants began to dominate the mining trade through the sheer number of labourers and the use of English, rather than Dutch, as the language of trade and commerce. Secondly, incoming immigrants began pushing the South African Republic government for citizenship and voting rights.¹³ Initially, South African president, Paul Kruger, lowered the required residency for naturalization from fourteen years to seven years, but refused to lower the residency further

¹¹ The relationship between these colonies was defined by conflict and agitation. Following the Napoleonic Wars, both Boer republics became British assets in 1806. At first, there was a belief that British occupation may be beneficial to the Boer people, but once the British began enacting colonial policies which sought to limit the Boer's territorial expansion and the right to own slaves, the Boer people bucked and moved to be recognized as independent free states—which was successfully achieved by the mid-nineteenth century. This is explained in more detail in Ruddell, "Deceit in the Transvaal: The Case of Burrows v Rhodes and Jameson" *Auckland University Law Review* 19 (2013), 101; Denis Judd and Keith Surrudge, *The Boer War* (John Murray, London, 2002), 32; Elizabeth van Heyningen, "The South African War as Humanitarian Crisis" *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 97 (2015), 1004.

¹² Heyningen, "The South African War as Humanitarian Crisis," 1004; Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa Fourth Edition* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2014), 136-7 (note 37).

¹³ Thompson, *The History of South Africa*, 136; Heyningen, "The South African War as Humanitarian Crisis," 1004.

as he argued he had already succumbed to public pressure and a shorter residency would impinge the cultural equilibrium of the country.¹⁴

The underlying cultural divides and growing struggle for power over the vital asset of gold came to a head in 1895 when Cecil John Rhodes, the prime minister of the Cape Colony in South Africa, and Leander Starr Jameson, the chief administrator of Southern Rhodesia, began to plot a military *coup d'état* to depose President Kruger from the South African Republic.¹⁵ Ultimately, the attempted coup, referred to by scholars as the Jameson Raid, failed to arouse support among the immigrant mining community in the South African Republic.¹⁶ Despite the failure of the Jameson Raid and the quick capture of the conspirators, the Raid had simultaneously spurred suspicion among the Boer leadership of the South African Republic and demonstrated that many individuals of the immigrant population were keen on helping the British wrest control of the gold mining industry away from the government of the South African Republic. With this looming threat, an ultimatum was issued by President Kruger to the British government to withdraw their troops from the borders of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State within forty-eight hours or war would be declared on Britain. The ultimatum went unanswered, and, as a result Transvaal and the Orange Free State declared war on Britain with fighting breaking out on October 11, 1899.

¹⁴ Tensions continued to rise as President Kruger moved to protect the culture of Boers by instating laws which enshrined Dutch as the language of trade and commerce. At the heart of these growing tensions was a vast cultural divide between Calvinist Boers desperately trying to safeguard their rural and Calvinist ideals in the face of the “urban, individualistic, raucous” behavior transmitted by Anglo-Saxon immigrants and, most importantly, to safeguard Boer autonomy over their resources and the trajectory of the gold mining industry.

¹⁵ Francois Malan, “The Contractor has Started on the Earthworks: The Jameson Raid (1895-96) a century ago” *Kleio* Vol 28, No. 1 (2007): 96.

¹⁶ Ultimately, this resulted in the arrest of both Rhodes, Jameson, and the roughly 600 Matabeleland Mounted Police and volunteers who comprised their rebellious force.

The Canadian Reaction to The South African War and the Rising Imperialist Tide in English Canada, 1899-1902

Following the outbreak of the South African War on October 1899, imperialism in Canada would reach its utmost pinnacle—only rivaled by the imperialist tide during the First World War. With that said, there are two important aspects of imperialism which need to be discussed before delving further into the impact of imperialism on juvenile immigration. First, it's important to note that the most vocal and fervent supporters of imperialism came from English Canada; specifically, Ontario and the Maritimes.¹⁷ Second, imperialism needs to be understood not as a fixed political policy, but as a “sentiment and an outlook” that had deep roots in Britain, English Canada, Australia, and New Zealand long before the outbreak of the South African War. In Canada, especially between 1867 to 1914, British traditions and the “British connection” permeated all aspects of Canadian life.¹⁸ Therefore, it is best to think of imperialism as a constant presence in the lives of English Canadians, with some individuals choosing a higher level of participation and imperialist spirit. For instance, the Imperial Federation League, a British voluntary organization founded in 1884, established branches in all three commonwealth nations with the goal of creating an Imperial Federation.¹⁹ In this light, imperialism defies a single definition or policy as different Britons, Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders emphasized various aspects of imperialism that they considered most important for their

¹⁷ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 5.

¹⁸ David Cannadine, “Imperial Canada: Old History, New Problems” in *Imperial Canada 1867-1917: A Selection of Papers given at the University of Edinburgh's Centre of Canadian Studies Conference*, ed., by Colin Coates (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997), 9.

¹⁹ The Imperial Federation League, “Imperial Federation League: Information for the use of our Branches” (London: December 1884), 16-17; John K. Gordon Jr, “Canada and the Imperial Federation Movement” in *Imperial Canada 1867-1917*, ed., by Colin Coates (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Centre of Canadian Studies, 1997), 44-5.

individual perception of the Empire.²⁰ Despite the varying definitions of imperialism, it is unquestionable that the concept held significant social power.²¹

Historian of empire and imperialism, John Benyon, characterizes the South African War as a “test of empire” for Britain; however, this test of empire extended to the commonwealth nations as Australians, New Zealanders, and Canadians enthusiastically answered the call to aid their motherland.²² From the beginning of the South African War in 1899 to its conclusion in 1902, the Canadian press tracked every major development of the War and, for the most part, were vocal in their support of the British cause. While some newspapers, such as the *Toronto World*, took to villainizing the Boer people, other newspapers, such as *The Globe*, touted the accolades of the 7000 Royal Canadian soldiers who participated in the War by labelling them “heroes” and sharing stories of their fierce actions and reputation among their peers in South Africa.²³ In this way, the press throughout English Canada strengthened imperial bonds even further—giving Canadians a direct view into the lives of soldiers. However, while the English Canadian press may have been clear in its support of Canada’s participation in the South African War, it did not speak for all Canadians. There were small pockets of individuals in Canada, such

²⁰ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 12.

²¹ For instance, the importance of imperialism in everyday life was demonstrated by the membership of the Canadian Imperial Federation—which was in the hundreds. Similarly, imperialism was such a strong social force that, during the 1896 federal election, the liberal and conservative political candidates, Wilfrid Laurier, and Charles Tupper respectively, proposed imperial tariffs as a major part of their political platforms.²¹

²² John Benyon, “‘Intermediate’ Imperialism and the Test of Empire: Milner’s ‘eccentric’ High Commission in South Africa” in *The South African War Reappraised*, ed. Donal Lowry (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2000); 84.

²³ Benyon, “‘Intermediate’ Imperialism and the Test of Empire, 19; Katharine McGowan, “A Finger in the Fire: Canadian Volunteer Soldiers and their Perceptions of Canada’s Collective Identity through their Experience of the Boer War” *War & Society* Vol. 28, No. 1 (2009), 66; Ernest Glanville, “Tales of South Africa: The Scout a Story of the Boer War” *The Globe* (March 1900); “On the Corinthian: Heroes of the Boer War Return to Canada” *The Globe* (December 1902). Along with favourable descriptions of Canadian soldiers and their participation in pivotal moments and battles, English Canadian newspapers began reporting on the mental wellbeing of members of the Royal Family whenever there was a particularly tragic sortie resulting in high British casualties in South Africa: “Ill-Health of her Majesty: Brooding over the Suffering Caused by the Boer War” *The Globe* (January 1901).

as German Canadians, Irish Canadians, members of Protestant clergy, and labour groups that opposed the War—or showed little interest in the conflict at all.²⁴

While these small groups of English Canadians opposed the War, they did so independently and, as a result, there was no sustained or organized anti-war sentiment in English-speaking Canada to counterbalance the vocal imperialistic Canadians who called for participation in the South African War. However, the most sustained opposition to Canada's involvement in the South African War came from French Canadians, with the most vocal opposition demonstrated in Quebec.²⁵ The English and French Canadian split on the issue of the South African War is epitomized in the heated debates in the Canadian press and house of commons in which a Quebecois Liberal Member of Parliament, Henri Bourassa, opposed Canadian involvement in the South African War.²⁶ Ultimately, Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier offered a compromise, which resulted in Canada sending a small volunteer force of 1000 men to South Africa to fight for Britain.²⁷

In this way, the South African War not only revealed the social power of English Canadians in determining political decisions for the country, but it also sparked a revival of child-saving sentiments in Britain. There was renewed interest in juvenile immigration to Canada as depictions of Canada as an idyllic and healing landscape began to reappear both in British newspapers and the rhetoric of key social actors, such as Albert Edward—the Prince of Wales—argued that the commonwealth colonies provided the perfect place for British children and

²⁴ Carman Miller, *Painting the Map Red: Canada and the South African War, 1899-1902* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993) 22.

²⁵ Miller, *Painting the Map Red*, 22; 28-30.

²⁶ McGowan, "A Finger in the Fire", 66; Miller, *Painting the Map Red*, 27.

²⁷ To make matters worse, Canada would later send even more troops as the South African War began to turn more dangerous and the outcome uncertain. This failed compromise, however, illustrated to Bourassa and many French Canadians that their voice and opinions had very little influence on federal decisions in Canada.

citizens to find a new prosperous life in 1901.²⁸ This growing trend of commonwealth romanticism—which softened earlier descriptions of the rugged Canadian landscape—did not go unnoticed by immigration agents of the Department of the Interior. For example, the Canadian immigration agent stationed in Liverpool—Alfred Jury—urged the Canadian federal government to launch a press campaign to elicit immigration of any kind from Britain to Canada.²⁹ In the same vein, the Canadian immigration agent stationed in Glasgow—H.M. Murray—commented that the South African war “presented a unique opportunity for educating the English people about the possibilities of Canada.”³⁰

The Canadian Immigration Department seized the chance to entice British immigrants and implemented various strategies to encourage greater migration within the Empire. The first step of this campaign was the circulation of promotional material in British newspapers and the implementation of essay competitions in British schools which were designed to remove the prevalent prejudices concerning the harsh Canadian climate and infrastructure.³¹ While these were relatively minor attempts the federal government of Canada also engaged in much grander promotional efforts. For instance, the Canadian federal government erected the “Canadian Arch” for King Edward VII’s coronation celebration in Whitehall, London in 1902. While the arch was a gesture to express Canada’s devotion to the British empire, the “most striking” and “splendid” arch simultaneously functioned as a call for British immigration into Canada. One side of the Canadian Arch read, “Canada: Britain’s Granary” an attempt to reconfigure Canada’s image in the British public’s imagination away from the all-to-prevalent idea that Canada was inhospitable

²⁸ Boucher, *Empire’s Children*, 31-32; Robert Machray, “The Granary of the Empire” *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review* 54 No. 318 (August 1903), 314.

²⁹ Desmond Glynn, “Exporting Outcast London”: Assisted Emigration to Canada, 1886-1914” in *Histoire Sociale/Social History* Vol. 15, No. 29 (May 1982), 215-16.

³⁰ Glynn, “Exporting Outcast London”, 215.

³¹ Glynn, “Exporting Outcast London”, 216.

to announce, “Canada was no desolate country, but possessed richly the kindly fruits of the Earth.”³² The other side of the Canadian Arch was more direct concerning the federal government’s intentions for British immigrants as it advertised to the British public: “Canada: Free Homes for Millions” (Fig. 1). The Canadian Arch was received very favourably by the British public and the British press, with one Canadian civil servant—James Smart—commenting that the Arch had focused many eyes and minds on Canada as a land of “vast resources and possibilities.”³³ In this way, the South African War offered an opportunity for federal immigration agents to recast the imagined concept of Canada from harsh and inhospitable, to a land defined by boundless potential, resources, and social mobility.

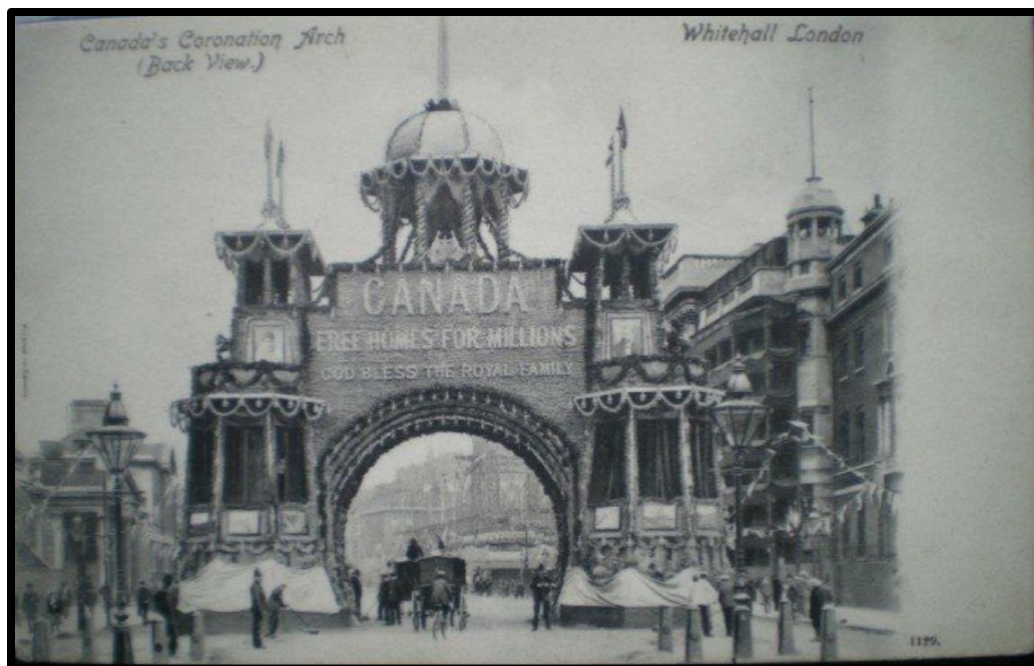


Figure 1, Postcard of the Canadian Arch Erected in Whitehall, London for the Coronation of Edward VII in June 1902 (1902). Held by the National Archives of Kew, London.

<https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/f9afebf2-86d8-4059-b1a8-8ce600f00b9c>

³² Postcard of the Canadian Arch Erected in Whitehall, “London for the Coronation of Edward VII in June 1902”, National Archives of Kew, London, 1902; The Granary of the Empire” *The Nineteenth Century and After: A Monthly Review* 54 No. 318 (London, August 1903), 314.

³³ Glynn, “Exporting Outcast London”, 215-16.

The Growth of Canada's Department of the Interior and the Federalization of Juvenile Immigration, 1902-1914

While the Canadian Department of the Interior was making use of the South African War as a tool to promote more immigration, the federal government was also in the process of consolidating and developing new systems of supervision and regulation to greatly expand the scope of Canadian immigration.³⁴ The rapid development and regulation of Canadian immigration continued with Prime Minister Wilfred Laurier, who appointed two Ministers of the Interior during his tenure: Clifford Sifton, who held the position from 1896 to 1905, and Frank Oliver, who held the position from 1905 to 1911. While Sifton and Oliver's approach to the regulation of immigration were much different, they both shared the same vision of the Canadian state's involvement in immigration; namely "that the absolute right of the state to admit and exclude new members was an essential feature of state sovereignty."³⁵ When Sifton took office in 1896 as Minister of the Interior, he immediately reorganized and centralized the Department of the Interior in Ottawa.³⁶

More important than Sifton's administrative reforms was his ideological approach to immigration. Namely, Sifton expanded the scope of potential immigration to reach further than

³⁴ Shortly following Confederation, Prime Minister John A. Macdonald and the federal government solidified their approach to immigration—an agenda focused heavily on westward expansion and selecting the "right" kind of immigrants for Canada.³⁴ Indeed, the period from 1867 to 1914 is often defined as an immigration boom for Western Canada—following the passage of the Dominion Land Act of 1872 which dispossessed indigenous people of their lands and created "free" homesteads for settlers of Anglo/European descent. At the same time, industrial development throughout Canada created new opportunities for would-be immigrants and the consolidation of Canadian settler exploitation, such as the construction of new railway systems to open new links of transportation and trade.

³⁵ Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 113-114.

³⁶ Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 119; Following this move to centralize operations in Ottawa, Sifton expanded government regulation by appointing more immigration agents and creating supporting positions—known as subagents—to ensure that the numbers and movements of incoming immigrants were monitored.³⁶

the common source of immigration for Canada—Britain which comprised more than fifty percent of Canada’s immigrants in 1896—and insisted on attracting agricultural workers from central and eastern Europe.³⁷ With that said, Sifton was not averse to attracting British immigrants and conducted extensive promotional campaigns and also expanded the number of immigration agents in both Britain and the United States.³⁸ However, his priority was to “fill the empty prairies with suitable farmers” as quickly as possible and this meant opening Canadian borders to immigrants of varying ethnicities and religious denominations as long as they demonstrated potential to become “successful agriculturalists.”³⁹ The professionalization of Canada’s immigration regulation fostered by Sifton had immediate results as Canada received more incoming immigrants than ever before. His policies attracted roughly 650,000 immigrants during his nine-year tenure.⁴⁰ Annual admissions to Canada skyrocketed from 17,000 in 1896 to over 145,000 in 1905. By all metrics, Canada’s scale of immigration was expanding.

In 1905, Sifton was replaced by Frank Oliver, who shared many of Sifton’s sentiments concerning the regulation and administrative expansion of immigration. For example, Oliver continued Sifton’s trend of professionalization and bureaucratization by creating new institutions and occupations to aid with the immigration process, such as employing additional immigration agents at Canadian ports and employing state interpreters to assist with the immigration process.⁴¹ Oliver also helped usher in the 1906 Immigration Act which provided immigration

³⁷ Lisa Chilton, *Receiving Canada’s Immigrants: The Work of the State Before 1930* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 2016), 4-5; Whittaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation*, 7; Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 117-121; Mariana Valverde, “Racial Purity, Sexual Purity, and Immigration Policy” in *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada* eds., Barrington Walker (Toronto: Canadian Scholars’ Press Inc., 2008), 190-191.

³⁸ Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 118.

³⁹ Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540-2006* (Dundurn Press, 2007), 62-4.

⁴⁰ Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 121; Chilton, *Receiving Canada’s Immigrants*, 16; Whittaker *Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation*, 7-8

⁴¹ Chilton, *Receiving Canada’s Immigrants*, 19.

officials with new powers and responsibilities to “detain and reject prospective immigrants” of their choosing.⁴² While Oliver continued the trend of administrative and bureaucratic expansion, he departed from Sifton’s ideological view of “open door” immigration from non-British sources.⁴³

This departure from Sifton’s policy was, in part, a response to widespread backlash from Canadians in Western Canada—which had large assisted-immigration schemes of agricultural immigrants from central and eastern Europe.⁴⁴ However, Oliver’s move to a more exclusive immigration policy was also informed by a deeply entrenched racial and cultural belief that certain immigrants—specifically British and American immigrants—were better suited for life in Canada. Therefore, Oliver’s immigration policy began to informally follow this racial and cultural hierarchy of suitable immigrants for Canadian society. This latent hierarchy of immigrants is best illustrated by social activist and author J.S. Woodsworth’s publication, *Strangers Within Our Gates* which aimed to “introduce the motley crowd of immigrants to our Canadian people and to bring before our young people some of the problems of the population with which we must deal with in the very near future.”⁴⁵ Each chapter of Woodsworth’s monograph introduces a new immigrant group and describes their characteristics and suitability for Canada. Historians, such as Mariana Valverde, contend that this hierarchy was not explicitly crafted by Woodsworth; rather, it was inherent to the prevailing culture of the time, and the broader societal hierarchy as it manifested in Canadian society found implicit expression through

⁴² Chilton, *Receiving Canada’s Immigrants*, 11.

⁴³ Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*, 8.

⁴⁴ Whitaker, *Canadian Immigration Policy Since Confederation*, 8; Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 178.

⁴⁵ James Shaver Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates, or, Coming Canadians* (Toronto: F.C. Stephenson, 1909), 5.

Woodsworth's literary layout and choices.⁴⁶ The British and American immigrants composed the first two chapters and listed mostly positive traits, while the final chapters amalgamated multiple unwanted groups—such as “the Orientals”—and provided negative characterizations and traits which would conceivably be passed into Canadian society.⁴⁷

With this hierarchy in mind, Oliver’s tenure was defined by the expansion of the federal government’s exclusionary approach to immigration. For example, Oliver expanded the screening processes of the federal government and conducted more rigorous tests for “feble-mindednesses” and disease which unduly targeted immigrants of Chinese and Japanese descent to bar their entry to Canada. Therefore, not only were government services for immigrants expanded, but the federal government also began to actively select—through the implementation of exclusionary acts and agreements—the best candidates to compose the future citizens of Canada. It is with this backdrop of the exponential federal development of immigration, as well as the move towards exclusionary immigration practices, that we turn back to juvenile immigration. While immigration was being redefined under Sifton and Oliver, juvenile immigration also received sustained attention from the federal government for the first time since its inception. New federal positions and departments were created with the sole purpose of monitoring, supervising, and amalgamating, juvenile immigration societies throughout Canada. The first and foremost was the creation of a new position within the Department of Immigration entitled, The Inspector of British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes. George Bogue Smart, a Baptist from Brockville, was appointed to the position and held

⁴⁶ Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, 179.

⁴⁷ Woodsworth, “Table of Contents” in *Strangers Within Our Gates, or, Coming Canadians* (Toronto: F.C. Stephenson, 1909); Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, 179.

it from 1899 until 1933.⁴⁸ There are two primary reasons for this newfound focus and expansion of juvenile immigration. Firstly, juvenile immigration aligned with the resurgence of imperialism in English-speaking Canada. The movement of children within the Commonwealth was perceived as a sign of good faith—to provide relief to a British child who was down on their luck and in need of a home strengthened imperial ties between these nations.

However, there was a much more complex undercurrent which added a sense of urgency to expand the administration and supervision policies of juvenile immigration. Namely, as concepts of degeneration, Darwinism, and eugenics seeped into the Department of Immigration's policies, juvenile immigration began to take on a new sheen. In simple terms, it proved to be a very attractive immigration policy as it dealt with exclusively British subjects, and, more importantly, children. Integral to the focus on the right kind of potential immigrants within the Department of Immigration's new mission statement is the theoretical concept of settler futurity—employed by historian of Canadian childhood, Laura Ishiguro. The concept of settler futurity urges scholars to approach the analysis of settler colonies, such as Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, with the concept of time and the future potential of the colony in mind.⁴⁹ In contrast to other British colonies, such as India and South Africa, in which the colonial power's chief objective was the extraction of valuable resources and exploitation of Indigenous populations as a means of cheap labour, Canada was defined by “the *staying*, and all that it entails.”⁵⁰ Through an analysis focused on settler futurity, new relationships are uncovered by focusing on individual actors' and state departments' unique view of the future and their own

⁴⁸ Joy Parr, *Labouring Children*, 149; Marjorie Kohli, *The Golden Bridge Young Immigrants to Canada, 1833-1939* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 359-60.

⁴⁹ Laura Ishiguro, “Growing Up and Grown Up... In Our Future City”: Children and the Aspirational Politics of Settler Futurity in Colonial British Columbia” *BC Studies* No. 190 (2016), 17.

⁵⁰ Ishiguro, “Growing Up and Grown Up”, 17.

plan of how to shape reality to this vision of the future. It's important to note that this focus on the future for settler colonies is also imperative to the ongoing process of Indigenous dispossession and that the concept of settler futurity grew in popularity, in many ways, as an attempt to ensure that the British Empire and Canadian settlers continued to consolidate social, political, and cultural power in North America. Given this, settler futurity is a powerful tool when paired with the ideological development of childhood. As Ishiguro illustrates, colonial families and children are portrayed as foundational for understanding how "a particular vision of the future came to shape policies, practices and lives."⁵¹

Shifting Definitions of Childhood: Imperialism, Juvenile Immigration, and the Politicization of Childhood, 1902-1914

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, children began to occupy this paradigm of settler futurity and took a more prominent place in the imagined future of Britain and Canada; as a result, children were in the process of becoming more politicized than ever before. This politicization first took shape as concepts of biology and evolution melded with ideas of morality. Beginning in 1883, Francis Galton—a British statistician and cousin of Charles Darwin—coined the term eugenics to label a burgeoning field of study which tied negative and positive traits to one's heredity.⁵² The field of eugenics was expanded upon in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century by thinkers such as French psychiatrist Benedict Morel and Hungarian physician Max Nordau. Both doctors argued that negative traits and behaviour, such as criminal inclinations, alcoholism, and even poverty, were tied to one's bloodline. Nordau, in

⁵¹ Ishiguro, "Growing Up and Grown Up", 17.

⁵² Erika Dyck, *Facing Eugenics: Reproduction, Sterilization, and the Politics of Choice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 5; Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Fixing the Poor: Eugenic Sterilization and Child Welfare in Twentieth Century* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2017), 5.

his 1896 publication, *Degeneration*, went even further, stating that rapid urbanization could spark deviant behaviour and should be identified and treated as an illness.⁵³ Theories of eugenics and degeneration theory were quickly taken up throughout Canada and the United States, marked by the creation of eugenic societies and the implementation of eugenic policies and concepts in multiple levels of the state—especially in the fields of health and child protection.

Given the prevalence of eugenic theories in the discourse and language of Canadian childcare, it's important to highlight why these early concepts were so popular and pervasive. Oftentimes, eugenics is portrayed as an ideology of the elite and middle-class reformers who perceived their minds and bodies as fit, while those of different classes, races, ethnicities, and intellectual disabilities were deemed “unfit”.⁵⁴ Given this definition, the early scholarship of eugenics often aligned the scientific theory with concepts of Nazi racial hygiene and social purity movements, which functioned to exclude, “anyone else who did not resemble the blond and blue-eyed Nordic ideal the eugenics movement glorified” from society.⁵⁵ However, this one-dimensional definition of eugenics has since been complicated and expanded upon. For instance, historians such as Molly Ladd-Taylor and Erika Dyck argue that eugenics was a highly variable theory and was often mobilized by middle-class reformers, philanthropists, and state actors as a “modern way of talking about social problems in biologizing terms.”⁵⁶

Given this, eugenics should be regarded as a "cluster of social and scientific ideas of human improvement" that circulated globally and exhibited diverse manifestations based on

⁵³ Benedict Augustin Morel, *Traite Des Degenerescences Physiques, Intellectuelles Et Morales De L'espece Humaine Et Des Causes Qui Produisent Ces Varietes Maladives* (Bailliere, 1857); Max Simon Nordau, *Degeneration* (D. Appleton, 1895).

⁵⁴ Ladd-Taylor, *Fixing the Poor*, 4.

⁵⁵ Ladd-Taylor, *Fixing the Poor*, 4-6.

⁵⁶ Frank Dikötter, “Race Culture: Recent Perspectives on the History of Eugenics,” *American Historical Review* 103 (Apr. 1998): 467-8.

regional and national contexts, rather than as a strict science centered exclusively on genetic selection and sterilization.⁵⁷ For example, in Britain, eugenicists and eugenics societies often concentrated on class conflict and poverty as the chief social pollutant—which is illustrated through the practice of juvenile immigration. In the United States, however, eugenicists focused more heavily on race as the chief social toxin.⁵⁸ For Canada it was the “foreign weeds”, immigrants, which often constituted the largest eugenic threat.

Given the focus on immigrants and “foreigners” as the social contagion in Canada, these concepts of eugenics and degeneration threatened juvenile immigration as there was a concern among some Canadian’s that British pauper children would import their inferior biology into Canada. However, these notions were undercut by British child-savers and Canadian child reformers who argued that “a good environment would neutralize the effects of tainted parentage” and no place in the British Empire offered a more rejuvenating environment than the wide-open spaces of Canada.⁵⁹ In this way, juvenile immigration complicates the concept of eugenics even further. Indeed, many middle-class reformers perceived Canada through the lens of “positive eugenics”—sending a British pauper child there would cleanse them of their class-related heredity. Interestingly, the language of eugenics was often invoked by both British and Canadian child reformers to describe their work using organic metaphors; for the most part, Canadians described poor and unwanted immigrants as weeds or trees in-need of pruning for the benefit of the country. In the same vein, prescriptive literature of how to properly raise children in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century often engaged language which likened children to plants who simply needed to be properly cared for, or in the case of juvenile immigration,

⁵⁷ Ladd-Taylor, *Fixing the Poor*, 4.

⁵⁸ Dyck, *Facing Eugenics*, 6-7.

⁵⁹ Boucher, *Empire’s Children*, 45; Dyck, *Facing Eugenics*, 6-8; Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924* (Toronto, Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 142.

reputed to spread their roots in rich, unclaimed soil. In this way, the concept of settler futurity and the imperialist fervor of the South African War coalesced as children took up the mantle of “agents of national rebirth” and “symbols of national potential” which began to supersede their depiction in metaphor as unwanted weeds. Indeed, rather than children being perceived as a contagion, transplanting negative behaviour to Canada, British child-savers began to reframe and reverse these arguments. In their eyes, children were an imperial resource which were potentially vulnerable to moral, physical, and intellectual degradation; as a result, they needed to be closely monitored, cared for, and guided to ensure the longevity of the British Empire.⁶⁰

This concept is best illustrated in an article published in the *Windsor Evening Record* which interviewed famed American horticulturist, Luther Burbank on the childcare policies of Dr. Thomas Barnardo. In this unique interview which crossed disciplinary borders, Burbank applauded juvenile immigration and declared that British child-savers and horticulturalists employed similar approaches in their work, “just as [Burbank] had wrought miracles with plants by bringing them into contact with those elements of their environment to which they rapidly responded, those who have the care of children should seek to train them by bringing their natures into relation with all the elements of their environment.”⁶¹ With the close of the South African War, this horticultural approach to childcare took on an imperial nature as British child-savers actively combined imperialist rhetoric with their philanthropic work which repositioned juvenile immigrants as the “bricks for empire-building.” With this new definition, British pauper children had more to offer to Canada than their labour; indeed, they were now importing their

⁶⁰ Janice Hill, "Politicizing Canadian Childhood Using a Governmentality Framework" *Histoire Sociale/Social History* Vol. 33, No. 65 (2000), 1.

⁶¹ Luther Burbank, "Training Children" in *The Evening Record* (August 2, 1903. Windsor, Ontario)

“Anglo-Saxon pluck” to Canada and simultaneously manning the “outposts of empire” which would ultimately strengthen the bonds between colony and motherland.⁶²

This growing rhetoric of the imperialist child as the brick and mortar for the expansion of empire was put into practice through the juvenile immigration work of Dr. Thomas Barnardo. While other British child-savers, such as William Quarrier and James W.C. Fegan, briefly mentioned the South African War in their publications, they did not maintain the same sustained focus on imperialism as Barnardo. For instance, Quarrier's *Narrative of Facts* contained only vague references to the "darkness" and "trials" faced by the British Empire and offered words of hope for a brighter future, but both Quarrier and Fegan shifted their focus to domestic child-saving initiatives during the South African War and did not consistently incorporate imperialistic concepts into their publications or administrative practices.⁶³ In essence, their approach to juvenile immigration remained largely unchanged in the context of the South African War.

In contrast, Barnardo's *Ups and Downs* magazine—a quarterly publication which circulated throughout Toronto and London— included special sections devoted entirely to the ongoing war. These sections varied in length and content with some sections only spanning a paragraph while others stretched over dozens of pages. Throughout these sections, Barnardo would share his thoughts, opinions, and anxieties concerning the war and demonstrate his dedication and duty for the British Empire. For example, when discussing the origins of the war; specifically, the Boer Ultimatum, Barnardo argued that the Boer people were foolish to react so rashly to the British government's “reasonable and enlightened policy.”⁶⁴ In similar sections,

⁶² Parr, *Labouring Children*, 143.

⁶³ William Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* (1900), 13.

⁶⁴ Thomas Barnardo, “Boer Ultimatum” *Ups and Downs* Vol. 5, no. 2 (Jan 1, 1900), 20

Barnardo lamented the troubled state of the British Empire, which he encapsulated by postulating that there was a “dark cloud” hanging over the head of the British people.⁶⁵

While these political musings identify Barnardo as a true-blooded imperialist, these comments often intersected with his discussions of juvenile immigration. Throughout his reporting on the war, Barnardo would ponder over an ideal future of imperial strength and consolidation of empire—a strength which he believed he actively fostered through his system of childcare. This intersection of childhood and imperialism is most clear in Barnardo’s rhetoric as his discussions on the South African War often liken juvenile immigrants to foundational ingredients or raw materials of empire.⁶⁶ In a section entitled, “Material for Soldiers and Colonists” Barnardo highlighted the need for stern militaristic training for the “English lads” under his care to ensure that they instill the characteristics of “manliness, self-reliance, [and] adaptability to circumstances” and develop these children into the strongest “fighting material for our army.”⁶⁷ The influence of South African War on Barnardo's approach to his work and his perception of the children under his care is evident. For example, boys, in particular, were imbued with an imperial spirit, as Barnardo frequently emphasized their future role within the British Empire, not just as the "materials of Empire" but also as diligent soldiers. These evolving ideas about children as both integral to the imperial project and as young soldiers were promptly reflected in Barnardo's adoption of more militaristic routines and drills in his philanthropic endeavors.

This imperialist fusion of Barnardo’s philanthropic work went beyond political musings and imperialist rhetoric as Barnardo actively engaged juvenile immigrants in his discussion on

⁶⁵ *Ups and Downs* Vol 5, No. 2 (Jan 1, 1900), 8.

⁶⁶ Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* (1900), 8.

⁶⁷ Thomas Barnardo, “Material for Soldiers and Colonists” *Ups and Downs* Vol. 5, No. 3 (April. 1, 1900), 3-4.

the South African War. Barnardo would often ask the children he placed throughout Canada to submit essays to *Ups and Downs* and feature the most well-written submission by providing excerpts from the essay to his readers. On some occasions, Barnardo would even offer a prize—which was most often a dictionary—to the child who submitted the best essay. The topics for these essays covered a wide range of subjects and, at first, were often innocuous and employed to provide biographical information of children placed by Barnardo which allowed the Canadian readership to get a better sense of the lives and personalities of Barnardo children. Some of these prompts for the essay writing contests include: “the kind of books I like to read; and why”, “the part of my work I like the best; and why”, and “[h]ow I like to spend my leisure hours.”⁶⁸ However, with the outbreak of the South African War, there was a departure from biographical prompts as Barnardo’s essay contests became more political and actively sought to engage juvenile immigrants in political discussion. For example, in the July 1900 issue of *Ups and Downs*, Barnardo posted the results of his latest essay contest in which British home children were, “asked to give their opinion as to the policy of sending Canadian troops to assist the British forces in South Africa, and state on what grounds they consider the Canadian Government was justified in making common cause on this occasion with the Mother Country.”⁶⁹

Even though these essay prompts were a departure from the more biographical ones of earlier issues and posed complicated political questions, children continued to submit many essays. Barnardo rejoiced that the responses from the children “was all that could be desired—patriotic and manly, if somewhat effusive.”⁷⁰ In many ways, these essays illustrate Barnardo’s successful approach to politicizing the children in his care as each manuscript not only focused

⁶⁸ Thomas Barnardo, “Topics” *Ups and Downs* Vol. 1 No. 9 (April 1, 1896), 8.

⁶⁹ Thomas Barnardo, “Our Literary and Mutual Improvement Society” *Ups and Downs* Vol. 5, No. 4 (July 2, 1900), 50

⁷⁰ Barnardo, “Our Literary and Mutual Improvement Society” (July 2, 1900), 50.

on the topic of imperialism, but was written with a tone of duty and urgency, making it clear that the children were acting to ensure the future of the British Empire. For example, an essay written by a young boy, referred to as W.E. Houle, earned a special mention but “fell short of winning the prize as it was a bit tangled up.”⁷¹ In this paper, Houle expressed his dismay over the Canadian government’s reaction to the South African War, stating that the it should have acted faster as the nation had a duty to intervene and assist the British Empire. To demonstrate his point, Houle provided a hypothetical scenario for his fellow Barnardo children who read the publication, “Let me illustrate. Suppose you was seeing somebody jump on your mother, would you not jump in and help her to win?”⁷²

Another selected essay, written by Charlotte Wilson of St. Catharines—the only girl to be selected among the top essayists—stated that she was overjoyed and relieved that the Canadian government supported the British Empire during the war effort. For her, and many imperialist Canadians, “the policy of sending Canadian troops to South Africa showed England’s faith in Canada’s loyalty. The willingness of the Canadian troops to go demonstrated the love of the loyal Canadians for their mother Country and seemed to knit the hearts of Canadian and Englishmen even closer together, if it were possible.”⁷³ Given these essay submissions, it is clear that the growing imperialist rhetoric in the wake of the South African War not only led to a revival of juvenile immigration initiatives, but it also redefined the place of British pauper children within Canada. Even more than that, the children themselves were actively participating in this process of meaning-making as they weighed in on the issue of the South African War and even reduced the conflict to terms that other children would understand—such as a would-be

⁷¹ Barnardo, 50.

⁷² Barnardo, 51.

⁷³ Barnardo, 51.

attacker assaulting one's mother. With these essays in mind, juvenile immigration was no longer simply a philanthropic venture geared towards the rehabilitation of pauper children; instead, it was being actively remolded into an enterprise of nation-building and nation-saving. Through the politicizing actions of child-savers such as Barnardo, juvenile immigration was being reconfigured into an integral undertaking to ensure the future of Canada within the British Empire.

The imperialist spirit in Canada and Britain only continued to grow following the formal surrender of Boer forces on May 31, 1902. Similarly, the notion that juvenile immigration could function as an act of nation-building and nation-saving also began to resonate among many English Canadians. Indeed, in the July 1902 publication of *Ups and Downs*, Barnardo began to seriously consider expanding his juvenile immigration operations into South Africa after receiving many letters from Canadians suggesting that there were "South African prospects" and an imminent post-war boom which would provide ample opportunities for juvenile immigrants. In the same vein, assisted-immigration enthusiasts also framed juvenile immigration as pivotal in returning order to South Africa and, by extension, the British Empire. This was not a new notion, as the same idea had been proposed in 1899 by British High Commissioner Alfred Milner to bring racial stability and order to South Africa but the notion received very little public support. Following the British victory in South Africa, many English Canadian and British commentators believed that South Africa held more prospects and posed less dangers to would-be emigrants. Despite public pressure, Barnardo seemed hesitant to send children to South Africa.⁷⁴ Before the

⁷⁴ Barnardo, 51.

outbreak of the war, Barnardo had tested the waters by sending two boys there, but he still firmly believed that they would have been better off being sent to Canada or Australia.⁷⁵

This cautious attitude towards South Africa persisted even after the Boer surrender as Barnardo disagreed with his readers who badgered him to expand his operations to South Africa. While others spoke of new prospect and fertile land, Barnardo envisioned a country filled with opportunists composed of “people who have done no good, and can do no good for themselves or anyone else, are quite sure that “something would turn up” if they could once reach South Africa.”⁷⁶ However, when John Campbell—a long-time supporter of Barnardo, the Duke of Argyll, and former Governor General of Canada—offered Barnardo the full use of one of his twenty farms located in South Africa for juvenile immigration, Barnardo could not turn down this offer and set to work.⁷⁷ Even though Barnardo had been stirred to action by the accommodations offered by Campbell, he still approached juvenile immigration in South Africa with trepidation. Beginning in the summer of 1892, Barnardo launched a personal investigation into the practicality of extending his juvenile immigration societies into South Africa. However, Barnardo was recovering from an illness and grappled with life-long heart issues which prevented him from undertaking the investigation himself. In his stead, Barnardo asked his eldest son, Stuart Barnardo, to investigate South Africa and determine if it would be safe and constructive for juvenile immigrants.⁷⁸

While Stuart was not particularly interested in philanthropy—having been trained and employed as a mining engineer for much of his adult life—he often aided his father’s work with trips to Canada. Stuart wasted no time and set out in August 1902 to tour South Africa for four

⁷⁵ Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, 170-1.

⁷⁶ Thomas Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol. 8, No. 3 (July/Aug 1902), 6.

⁷⁷ Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, 171.

⁷⁸ Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, 170-1; Barnardo, *Ups and Downs* Vol. 8, No. 3 (July/Aug 1902), 6-7.

months. He spent most of his time meeting with prominent British officials who worked in the colonial government. During his investigation, Stuart sent letters to his father, detailing the housing, farming, and social conditions of the country. Ultimately, he confirmed his father's assumptions that South Africa would not be a suitable destination for juvenile immigrants. As historian of juvenile immigration, Gillian Wagner, demonstrates in her analysis of Stuart's letters, the process, and techniques of farming in South Africa were different than Britain, Canada, or Australia. Namely, farming in South Africa required knowledge of a vastly different climate, soil composition, and lacked suitable irrigation systems; as a result, Stuart, and many of the contacts he spoke to, believed that there would not be a place for children on farms. Moreover, even the most hopeful contacts believed that juvenile immigrants would not have a place on South African farms. For example, when Stuart met with Leander Starr Jameson—who was still a respected politician in Cape Town despite his role in the failed *coup d'etat* in 1896—he was assured that while there may not be a large Anglo-Saxon farming community in South Africa, the children could still find work as “farming apprentices” along with the African labourers.⁷⁹

After months of speaking to contacts working in the colonial government, members of the farming community, and a plethora of journalists working at English-newspapers, Stuart Barnardo was finally able to meet with the head of Cape Colony, Alfred Milner. While Milner had been an advocate for immigration to South Africa in the past, the realities of the post-war economy and society had completely reversed his position. Milner confessed that while there was a fervent demand for British immigrants among residents of Cape Colony, they needed artisans and domestic servants, not farmers or farmer assistants. Milner added that even if there

⁷⁹ Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, 173.

was demand for young farm labourers, acquiring government funding from Britain in the current political climate was nearly impossible. Even worse, Milner informed Stuart that he had already promised funding to a rival British assisted-emigration scheme—the Women’s Emigration Society—to bring female domestic servants into the colony. However, the most troubling aspect for Milner concerning the efficacy of juvenile immigration to South Africa was the issue of race. In one of his last letters to his father, Stuart stated that “throughout all South Africa the racial question has to be faced in a way that it has not in Canada.” First, Stuart informed his father that a large portion of the community in South Africa was split between British and Dutch and stated that the Dutch would not take in any British children as the Dutch in South Africa were “absolutely opposed to all British aims and influence” in the colony.⁸⁰

Stuart outlined the demographic realities of Cape Colony; specifically, that the majority population of South Africa were Black and that they are “increasing in numbers very rapidly.”⁸¹ Indeed, Milner’s image of a Cape Colony populated by British and Eastern European immigrants “bringing order” was nothing but a eugenic fantasy and Milner’s stance on immigration had reversed completely. Milner cautioned Stuart that British children who laboured on farms would lose their social standing in both South Africa and Britain. As Stuart Barnardo reiterated in a letter to his father, “the great danger with young immigrants to South Africa is that of getting down to the native level and forgetting they are whites.” In this way, the ideological power of Barnardo and Milner’s imperial spirit was undercut by the colonial realities of the South African colonies. The rhetoric and ideological root of child-saving which Barnardo had engaged in for the last previous fifteen years—that is, the removal of pauper children from urban slums to the healing and character-building rural farm—was now turned upside-down. Rather than offer

⁸⁰ Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, 185.

⁸¹ Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, 185.

South Africa salvation through an infusion of British labour, and have children transformed into masculine soldiers through the environment and nature of work, Barnardo was informed that young British children would be in danger of losing their ‘Britishness’ and ‘whiteness’ if they worked too closely with the native population. Therefore, while the South African War had imbued juvenile immigration societies with newfound popularity and access to resources in the form of British officials eager to anglicize African colonies, there were clearly ideological limits of imperialism when positioned face-to-face with colonial realities.

Tightening the Mechanisms of Control: G. Bogue Smart and the Federal Regulation of Juvenile Immigration, 1902-1920

Importantly, British child-savers were not alone in their redefinition of juvenile immigration within this emerging imperialist context. Indeed, with this backdrop of the exponential federal development of the Immigration Department and the imperialist turn by British child-savers, juvenile immigration received sustained attention from the federal government for the first time since its inception. New federal positions and departments were created with the sole purpose of monitoring, supervising, and amalgamating, juvenile immigration societies throughout Canada. The first and foremost was the creation of a new position within the Department of Immigration entitled, The Inspector of British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes. George Bogue Smart, a Baptist from Brockville, Ontario who had previously worked for Molson Bank—one of the largest banking establishments in Canada—was appointed to the position and held it from 1899 until 1933.⁸²

⁸² Joy Parr, *Labouring Children*, 149; Marjorie Kohli, *The Golden Bridge Young Immigrants to Canada, 1833-1939* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 359-60.

Smart's duties as Inspector of British Immigrant Children were daunting and varied. His chief objective was to gain a better understanding of the operation of juvenile immigration in Canada and to formalize processes of supervision and inspection. To this end, Smart introduced an "Inspection of Child" form which was used by his inspectors when conducting check-ins of Canadian homes to ensure that the British children were receiving adequate care.⁸³ Smart's second order of business was reaching out to juvenile immigration societies throughout Canada to collect information and ascertain how many societies were currently in operation. Smart published this information in annual reports during his three decades as Inspector—available to his fellow ministers and the public.

For the first time since the inception of juvenile immigration in 1869, the federal government was collecting pertinent information on the wellbeing and nature of care provided to juvenile immigrants. For instance, each report provided a comprehensive list of functioning juvenile immigration societies throughout Canada. The name of each institution was then followed by Smart's inspection notes. While these did not follow any formal structure, they always provided the number of children placed out of each institution for a given year, the status of *most* of these children placed, and provided vague comments about the general state of the British administrator of each juvenile immigration society.⁸⁴ For instance, British administrators would offer brief descriptions of whether the number of children being brought into Canada was

⁸³ G. Bogue Smart, "Inspection of Children", Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG76-I-A-1, Volume 324, File number 318481, LAC.

⁸⁴ G. Bogue Smart, "Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes", 1901, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG76-I-A-1, Volume 283, File 236921, LAC, 3-4; G. Bogue Smart, "Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes", 1903, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG76-I-A-1, Volume 288, File number 258859, LAC, 90-92; G. Bogue Smart, "Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes", 1904, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG76-I-A-1, Volume 170, File number 54087, LAC, 4-5; G. Bogue Smart, "Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes", 1905, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG76-I-A-1, Volume 324, File number 318481, LAC, 3-4.

on the rise or declining, and whether they faced funding challenges. However, they refrained from providing precise numerical data to the Canadian government. Sometimes these entries would include lists of Canadian and British employees who worked in each institution, but this information was not always provided. In the same vein, Smart's reports sometimes provided detailed charts listing the number of children each society brought into Canada as well as the number of applications the societies received from potential Canadian homes.⁸⁵ Smart also tried to bring the federal government into closer communication with the British Local Government Board using these reports by sending a copy of each to both the Local Government Board and the independent Boards of Guardians throughout Britain. Similarly, Smart also sent his annual reports to each of the juvenile immigration societies as both a demonstration of transparency and to bring the juvenile societies into conversation with one another.

Much like the efforts of Sifton to rehabilitate the public image of Canada, Smart and his colleagues also engaged in a promotional campaign to rehabilitate the public image of juvenile immigration. The first approach in this campaign was publishing Smart's reports to offer more transparency to the Canadian public. Once an annual report was completed, it was followed by a press release which appeared in prominent British and Canadian newspapers, such as *The Times* and the *Canadian Gazette*.⁸⁶ These press releases would often reiterate the standard information from Smart's annual reports, such as the number of children sent to Canada and their general level of wellbeing and livelihood—which was almost always described as “satisfactory.”⁸⁷ The federal government also engaged in much tighter control of the press concerning negative reports

⁸⁵ Smart, “Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes”, 1904, LAC, 5; Smart, “Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes”, 1905, LAC, 7.

⁸⁶ “Child Emigration to Canada”, *The Times*, October 13, 1903; “Emigration Scheme for Poor Law Children”, *The Canadian Gazette*, December 1904, 230-1.

⁸⁷ “Emigration Scheme for Poor Law Children”, *The Canadian Gazette*, December 1904, 230.

on juvenile immigration. Throughout the three decades of operation, juvenile immigration had received negative press from both British and Canadian newspapers—which often reported on the violent and criminal nature of British juvenile immigrants or the abusive behaviour of Canadian adoptive families towards these children. As mentioned earlier, one such accusation of neglect hurled at Maria Rye in 1874 led to the brief cessation of juvenile immigration entirely.

With the knowledge of how damaging these news reports and rumours could be to the reputation of both Canadian farmers and incoming British children, Smart went to great lengths to ensure that the press remained positive in the outlook and efficacy of juvenile immigration. For instance, on November 4th, 1904, an Ontario man—referred to only as Mr. Willing—wrote to the *Manchester Guardian* with the hope of informing the British public of the “miserable manner in which these poor homeless ones were treated” in Canada.⁸⁸ In this report, Mr. Willing—who identified himself as a reporter with *Keystone* newspaper in Whitby, Ontario—stated that his work took him across Ontario. During these trips, he witnessed juvenile immigrants who were “made to slave from sunrise till sunset and were thrashed for the least offence.”⁸⁹ While his report did not gain any traction in Britain, it was reprinted in the *Montreal Star*.⁹⁰ Less than two weeks after the article was published in Canada, Smart was made aware of it and set out on a mission to verify the Mr. Willing’s statements. To soften public scrutiny following the release of the article, Superintendent of Immigration, W.D. Scott, sent a letter on Smart’s behalf to the head of the *Manchester Guardian*—which included Smart’s annual

⁸⁸ “Child Emigrants to Canada” *Manchester Witness*, November 4th, 1904.

⁸⁹ “Child Emigrants to Canada” *Manchester Witness*, November 4th, 1904.

⁹⁰ “Cruelty to Child Emigrants” *Montreal Star*, November 28th, 1904.

reports—accusing Mr. Willing of spreading information “without having any real knowledge of the facts of the case.”⁹¹

Next, Smart sent a letter to Mr. Willing and the *Keystone* offices only to receive a reply that Mr. Willing had never been employed as a reporter; instead, Smart discovered that he was an insurance agent and the *Keystone* was one of his clients.⁹² Following this discovery, Smart received Mr. Willing’s address from the editor of the *Keystone* and travelled from Ottawa to Whitby to conduct a one-on-one interview with Mr. Willing at his home. During this interview, Mr. Willing dodged questions and provided false contacts for his stories of abuse, but, ultimately, recanted his allegations admitting to Smart that his knowledge of juvenile immigration was “superficial” and that the *Montreal Witness* had greatly “exaggerated his statements.”⁹³ On November 10th, three days after Smart’s visit to Whitby, the *Keystone* published an article admonishing Mr. Willing’s actions. The article argued that his letter to the *Manchester Guardian* “does an injustice to the people of Canada...and we do not wish to take any measure of responsibility for the letter.”⁹⁴ After distancing themselves from Mr. Willing, the *Keystone* reiterated the altruistic nature of juvenile immigration and sang the praises of Smart—who they claimed was an enthusiastic and thorough inspector in his investigation of Mr. Willing’s claims.

This episode of press control is an illustration of the federal government’s newfound involvement in juvenile immigration and childcare. In the early days of juvenile immigration, the

⁹¹ W.D. Scott to W.T.R. Preston, November 15th, 1904, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG76-I-A1, Volume 324, File 318481, LAC.

⁹² G. Bogue Smart to H.B. Willing, November 11, 1904, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG76-I-A1, Volume 324, File Number 318481, LAC.

⁹³ W.D. Scott to Department of the Interior, November 12th, 1904, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG76-I-A1, Volume 66, File Number 3115 Part 4, LAC.

⁹⁴ *The Keystone*, November 10th, 1904.

federal government was reluctant to offer inspections, financial aid, and did little to address dozens of newspapers spewing negative press concerning the wellbeing of pauper children. However, following the expansion of immigration services under Sifton and Oliver, and especially the creation of the Inspector of British Immigrant Children position and with imperial ties closer than ever, the face of juvenile immigration was changing. The federal government was now making a conscious effort to control how juvenile immigration was perceived, both domestically and internationally. From this brief episode, the federal government now had a stake in the development and definition of proper childcare and was willing to expend a great deal of time and resources to ensure that the public perceived juvenile immigration as a successful enterprise. For British child-savers and Ontario child-savers, the federal changes were perceived as a success. For instance, J.J. Kelso was so impressed by these changes that he closed the provincial medical inspection agency in Liverpool on the grounds that “Smart and his staff were doing the work better from Ontario.”⁹⁵ After decades of asking for more federal regulation of juvenile immigration, Ontarian child-savers were finally having their calls answered and, in response, taking less of an interest in British pauper children coming into Canada and more of an interest in the care provided to Canadian children.

While the federal government was offering a more extensive form of inspection and monitoring of juvenile immigrants, it is important to note that problems persisted within the new system as well. Namely, even though the federal government was producing more transparent annual reports for their constituents and the public, they were still putting a great deal of trust in the individual actions of British child-savers. For instance, Smart received all his information concerning the number of children placed and incoming applications from the administrator of

⁹⁵ Joy Parr, *Labouring Children*, 150.

the juvenile immigration society. In every annual report produced by Smart, there were no published methods of tracking or counting the number of children placed; instead, Smart simply asked the administrators how many children they had placed. In essence, the numbers of children and applications received were self-reported by each juvenile immigration society.⁹⁶ Similarly, while Smart did provide reports on the wellbeing of children, they were often vague and employed general or misleading terminology. Even worse, almost all the information concerning the wellbeing of British children was procured from the employees or the head administrator of each juvenile immigration society. It was common in Smart's annual reports to simply reiterate what he was told during a visit to a home and to take an administrator's account as a statement of fact. For example, while visiting a budding juvenile immigration society in Hamilton, Ontario, Smart stated that "the governor, Mr. Frank Hills, advises me that...few complaints were received from either child or employer."⁹⁷ There did not seem to be any attempt by Smart to investigate any deeper into the lives or wellbeing of the children.

Similarly, if Smart did receive news that a child was returned by a Canadian farmer or if a complaint had been sent to a society, Smart simply described the children as "generally robust" and he remained hopeful that they would find a "suitable home and situation."⁹⁸ Even in the most dire circumstances, such as a child abandoning the home they were on or deserting from the juvenile immigration home before being placed, Smart made no attempt to find these children and simply stated that they had "for the time, been lost sight of."⁹⁹ This lack of motivation for finding lost children most likely stems from the most troubling issue of the regulation of juvenile

⁹⁶ Smart, "Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes", 1904, LAC, 3-4; Smart, "Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes", 1905, LAC, 4-5.

⁹⁷ G. Bogue Smart, "Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes", 1904, Department of Employment and Immigration Fonds, RG76-I-A-1, Volume 170, File number 54087, LAC, 5.

⁹⁸ Smart, "Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes", 1904, 4.

⁹⁹ Smart, "Report on British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes", 1904, 4-5.

immigration—lack of personnel. Even though the federal government had expanded the number of inspectors conducting interviews throughout Canada, the work had grown and there was over “1300 [children] scattered from Nova Scotia through to Manitoba.” Even worse, Smart was also expected to keep in direct contact with the Local Government Board in Britain and made frequent visits to some of the homes in Britain as part of his inspection process. In 1904, the issue of understaffing and overwork became so pressing that Smart’s assistant, W.D. Scott, pleaded with Smart to ask the Department of Immigration superintendent for more personnel as the current system presented too much difficulty for “one to do all the work himself.”¹⁰⁰ Despite the overwhelming workload, Smart never sought additional personnel, and the juvenile immigration system remained solely under his stewardship.

This chapter has demonstrated that the South African War and the subsequent restructuring of the federal government’s approach to immigration had altered the face of juvenile immigration in Canada. Indeed, as questions concerning the efficacy of juvenile immigration were coming to a head in the late 1890s—with national headlines decrying the venture as akin to human trafficking and child abuse—the imperial conflict in Africa erupted and recast children as future imperial soldiers. Not only did British home children assume a new image within the British Empire, but the process of juvenile immigration itself shifted from a project of social uplift and rehabilitation to a project of imperial consolidation and nation-building. Representatives of the Canadian Department of Immigration and British child-savers were quick to use this imperialist swell to their advantage and incorporate the imperial narrative—characterizing children as integral seeds of the future British empire—into their pro-immigration campaigns and publications. Supporting this reformulation of the definition of

¹⁰⁰ Letter from W.D. Scott to Bogue Smart, November 29th, 1904, George Bogue Smart Fonds, R1992-0-0-E, Volume 66, File 3115, LAC.

juvenile immigration were burgeoning theories of biology, evolution, and degeneration which added an extra edge of urgency and understanding to theories of childhood and childrearing. After all, if juvenile immigrants were to be conceived as future leaders, doctors, soldiers, and citizenry of the British empire, it was imperative that they be well-educated and supported by government institutions.

This imperial revitalization of juvenile immigration also exposes the unique development of state power in Canada as unpredictable, non-linear, and conflicted between provincial and federal poles. Beginning in 1891 with the establishment of the Children's Aid Societies, J.J. Kelso and Canadian child reformers had initiated both a vocal and legislative push for provincial regulation of juvenile immigration. Indeed, there was a feeling that all children coming into Ontario should be supervised and subject to regulations under the provincial system. In this way, juvenile immigration societies acted as unregulated blind spots that needed to be regulated or reformulated. To further complicate this matter, only two years after the Ontario legislator passed a series of acts and made its claim to the care and welfare of Ontarian children and child migrants who entered the province, the South African War erupted. During the subsequent imperialist swell and the federal government pledging to provide more funding and manpower to juvenile immigration, Ontarian child reformers, originally opponents of juvenile immigration, applauded the federal government's new agenda and relinquished control back to the federal government.

In this way, the history of juvenile immigration serves as a case study which illustrates the capricious nature of state power and the pliable boundaries between provincial and federal powers. In the same vein, juvenile immigration also exposes the fissures and liminal spaces between provincial and federal authorities. In the case of juvenile immigration, an enterprise

which combines the federally regulated practice of immigration and the provincially regulated practice of child welfare, there are many moments of informal compromise which mark the evolution of this system. Upon the site of juvenile immigration, so many larger issues are expressed, each characterized by tension created and re-created according to a moment in time upon the world stage; in this case, philanthropy, statehood, imperialism, and a global conflict coalesced to bring juvenile immigration back to centre stage in Canada's immigration policies. The reformulation of juvenile immigration and childcare in Canada occurred once more during the onset of the First World War. Following the war, academic fields such as sociology, political science, and social work sought to complicate the definition of childhood by delineating new life stages, such as adolescence, which required new childcare strategies.

Chapter 4:

Post-war Reconstruction, Social Work, and Shifting Definitions of Childhood, 1914-1930

The imperialist spirit that fueled juvenile immigration remained unwavering into the early twentieth century. Numbers of British children coming to Canada continued to surge under the strengthened federal government's purview, led by the newly appointed federal commissioner, G. Bogue Smart. Notably, this renewed interest in immigrant children was not restricted to political institutions as popular writers from both Canada and Britain drew inspiration from the stories of hardship and opportunity experienced by juvenile immigrants. They penned novels and biographies that highlighted the personal life stories of these children.¹ One such example can be found in the work of Canadian journalist Arthur E. Copping. He illuminated the transformative impact of juvenile immigration through the story of Roland Smithers, a twelve-year-old boy from London. Smithers was reported to have lived in a "small hut" with his father and was bright but small and malnourished. Copping's narrative, entitled *Smithers: A True Story of Private Imperialism*, traces the boy's journey, depicting his transformation from a starving boy into a "big, strong, brown boy in blue overalls and a great Canadian straw hat" who proudly and deftly worked alongside his new Canadian family. This remarkable change was attributed to the visionary efforts of "far-seeing societies of...citizens of the empire [who] have adopted remunerative polic[ies] of transforming English poverty into Canadian independence."² However, within a decade and against the backdrop of the First World War, both public opinion

¹ Following the South African War, there were quite a few novels and life stories of home children published in both Britain and Canada. See, Arthur E. Copping, *Smithers: A True Story of Private Imperialism* (Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912); Newman Flower and James Matthew Barrie, *The Boy Who Did Grow Up* (London; Toronto: Cassell, 1919).

² Arthur E. Copping, *Smithers: A True Story of Private Imperialism* (Toronto: Hodder and Stoughton, 1912), 272, 279.

and governmental attitudes underwent a profound shift. Instead of viewing juvenile immigration as a noble imperial endeavor focused on social improvement, Canadian and British state authorities began to characterize it as a concealed system to “import cheap child labour from Britain” which functioned “perilously close to a peonage system.”³

This chapter reveals the underlying causes for the stark contrast in perceptions of juvenile immigration which emerged and took hold throughout the 1920s. Discussion examines how the First World War imposed physical constraints on the movement of children across the Empire and simultaneously underscored moments of imperial unity and solidarity, as Great Britain and Canada stood shoulder to shoulder against an international threat. The Interwar period of reconstruction and reformation, particularly the emergence of concepts in sociology, psychology, and social work will be briefly scrutinized, all of which not only recast social behaviour as measurable and malleable, but also began to carve out distinct life stages of childhood requiring close supervision and care. This transformation shifted the predominant view of childhood associated with discipline and labour to a more sentimental construct of childhood, emphasizing notions such as education, play, and familial love as hallmarks for proper childrearing. Juvenile immigration, formerly hailed as a prestigious imperial initiative, when subjected to the lens of sociology and social work, came to be viewed as an outdated practice characterized by evident abuse and labour exploitation.

The forthcoming sections delve into the emergence of professional Canadian social workers and their sustained efforts to address issues within juvenile immigration communities through two distinct avenues: administrative policies and state jurisdictions. As previously

³ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, “Canadian Council on Child Welfare General Office Circular,” 1924. Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, volume 20, file 84, LAC, 3.

mentioned, Canadian social workers and child reform advocates criticized British child-savers for implementing problematic administrative policies. These issues included a lack of inspections and inadequate tracking of children placed throughout Ontario. Canadian social workers advocated for a comprehensive revamp of juvenile immigration's systems of inspection; namely, that they should implement methodological tools of social work, such as the integration of detailed social and medical histories of each child and investigation of potential living situations before placing the child in rural settings.

However, the second facet of Canadian social workers' critique of juvenile immigration related to the disparities in jurisdiction and authority between the federal and provincial governments. According to this emerging professional class educated in tenets of social work, there was a pressing need for greater consistency in determining which state entity should assume responsibility for the welfare of these children. Consequently, there was a call for the jurisdiction over juvenile immigration to be vested in the hands of the provincial government. While this demand for increased provincial control was framed in the context of child welfare and protection, this chapter also posits that Canadian social workers were concurrently establishing their own position within the bureaucratic hierarchy. These developments suggest that pursuit of authority, to some extent, was achieved through individuals driven to bring progressive reform to juvenile immigration and to demonstrate the efficacy of social work.

A Practice Defined by Fits and Starts: Juvenile Immigration and the First World War 1914-1918

By 1914, the federal government's Ministry of the Interior continued to offer their full support to British child-savers and juvenile immigration throughout Ontario. In fact, G. Bogue Smart was in the midst of universalizing the inspection process of all juvenile immigration societies by reaching out to Provincial Secretaries of Quebec, New Brunswick, and Manitoba to gain greater insight into the varying provincial child protection laws.⁴ On the eve of the First World War, in early June 1914, Smart and the federal government released their annual inspection report and stated that the children brought to Canada were an especially "bright, hopeful-looking lot of boys."⁵ However, the hopeful tone of the work was dashed on August 4th, 1914, when Great Britain—and by extension Canada—declared war on Germany and formally joined the Allies in the international war effort.

At first, Smart and other members of the Department of Immigration and Colonization believed, like most British and Canadian citizens, that the First World War would be resolved by Christmas Day and, ultimately, may even provide a boost to juvenile immigration—a similar belief that juvenile immigration administrators held at the onset of the South African War. Much to their dismay, the First World War became a protracted international conflict with the theatre of war spanning the Atlantic Ocean; as a result, juvenile immigration encountered many obstacles in the early years of the war. For example, there were many transportation disruptions and delays as ships refused to transport passengers in dangerous waters at risk of enemy attack.

⁴ "Bogue Smart to H.E. Young, 16 July 1907," Immigration Program: Headquarters Central Registry Files, RG 76, Volume 66, File 3115, Part 4, reproduction number C-7814, LAC; "Bogue Smart to J. Bruce Walker, 2 August 1907," Immigration Program: Headquarters Central Registry Files, RG 76, Volume 66, File 3115, Part 4, reproduction number C-7814, LAC.

⁵ James W.C. Fegan, *Red Lamp* volume 38, no.7 June 1914, 6.

Many British child-savers, such as James W.C. Fegan, commented that the entire system of juvenile immigration had been reversed with more “boys recross[ing] the ocean eastwards in the past year than usually sail for Canada in normal times.”⁶ In the same vein, child-saving institutions were not willing to put children forward for immigration, instead opting to send children to domestic orphanage institutions, and, lastly, British child-savers were receiving fewer donations from patrons as most philanthropic spending shifted to war bonds.⁷ Aware of these obstacles, the Department of the Interior offered financial grants to several juvenile immigration societies; however, since the onset of the war, the numbers of British children entering Canada had begun to fall.⁸ Interestingly, there was no official decision made by the federal government of Canada to stop immigration; instead, the decision to continue bringing children to Canada, despite the risks, was at the discretion of individual British child-savers.⁹

Despite the dangers involved, several British child-savers continued to carry out their work. For example, in the December issue of the *Red Lamp*, Fegan’s monthly publication, he was adamant that he would continue the “good work” of juvenile immigration and that his colleagues must “carry on” despite the international dangers and threat to children.¹⁰ Even when Fegan received concerned letters asking him to cease sending children to Canada, he replied that the work was simply too important to stop. Not only was it important for the children to be lifted out of their impoverished environments, but “from a patriotic standpoint it is very important that

⁶ James W.C. Fegan, *Red Lamp* volume 38, no.8 December 1914, 2.

⁷ William Quarrier, *A Narrative of Facts*, 1915, 35.

⁸ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, “Present Juvenile Immigration Policy of Canada” Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 26, File 137, LAC, 4.

⁹ Roy Parker, *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867-1917*. (UBC Press, Vancouver, 2008), 268; Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, Montreal, 1980), 150-151.

¹⁰ James W.C. Fegan, *Red Lamp* volume 38, no.8 December 1914, 1-2.

we should strengthen the ties between Canada and the Motherland in every way possible.”¹¹ This patriotism failed to bolster immigration initiatives, and Fegan had to concede that he was receiving less donations from his readers and that the constant transportation disruptions would culminate in cessation of his philanthropic work during the War.

Ultimately, the Department of the Interior called to cease all transportation of juvenile immigrants from 1917 until the end of the war in 1919. However, while the numbers of British children coming into Canada was dwindling, there was a momentary reversal of immigration as British youth from nearly every juvenile immigration society in Canada took up the call of the Motherland and enlisted in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces (CEF). While it is difficult to tally the exact number of British home children who participated in the First World War, the enthusiasm and sheer number of children who enlisted garnered praise in both Canadian newspapers and British child-savers’ publications. For example, William Quarrier’s *Narrative of Facts* publication reported that over one-hundred boys “stepped forward to take their share in Britain’s cause” as soon as war was declared in 1914.¹² Similarly, Fegan stated that over one hundred of his boys were fighting overseas in the first year of the international conflict. The movement of British pauper children into the CEF was shared by children outside of Ontario as well, with hundreds of boys joining the war effort from Middlemore Homes—which operated in mostly in New Brunswick, Quebec, and, to a lesser extent, Ontario.¹³ Local and regional newspapers throughout Ontario published heartwarming stories of men—formally juvenile

¹¹ Fegan, *Red Lamp* Volume 39, April 1915, 5.

¹² Quarrier, *Narrative of Facts* 1914, 42

¹³ Curt Mainville, “The Middlemore Boys: Immigration, Settlement, and Great War Volunteerism in New Brunswick” *Acadiensis* 42, no. 2 (October 2013), 69.

immigrants themselves—who donated their life savings to philanthropic societies before enlisting into the CEF.¹⁴

In many ways, the high level of military volunteerism within juvenile immigrant cohorts reflected the altruistic nature of the philanthropic work in the minds of British child-savers. To them, British juvenile enlistment in the CEF demonstrated that the imperial pulse to defend the motherland displayed the culmination of the juvenile immigrant's social transformation. From the imperialist perspective of British child-savers, these youthful immigrants were truly citizens of the British empire—uplifted through the commonwealth colonies and willing to return to Britain in a moment of desperate need. However, it has been argued that this notion was not reality for most British juvenile immigrants enlisting. Employing both oral interviews of surviving home children and inspection reports from John Middlemore homes, historian Curt Mainville argued that this level of voluntarism plainly illustrated the faults in juvenile immigration. Through this research, Mainville argues that the major impetus to join the CEF was an unequivocal “desire to return home” and that military volunteerism was an act of child agency—an act which permitted juvenile immigrants to find their way back to the home they had been ousted from by the altruistic intentions of philanthropic child-savers.¹⁵ However, when the First World War finally concluded on November 11th, 1918, almost all of the Middlemore boys who enlisted in the CEF returned to Canada—having created deep bonds serving alongside fellow Canadians in the CEF. With that said, the Canada that these boys and all Canadians returned to had changed completely. When juvenile immigration resumed in 1919, the post-war

¹⁴ “Donates His Savings to Home Before Enlisting” *The London Advertiser* (London, Ontario, 1917), 2.

¹⁵ Mainville, “The Middlemore Boys,” 69.

intellectual, political, and social landscape of the nation had changed demonstrably—and juvenile immigration would be forever forced to change along with it or be rendered obsolete.

Interwar Canada: Reconstructions, Reform Ideology, and the Growth of Social Sciences and Psychology, 1918-1925

The initial optimism for the First World War had completely eroded by 1918. The gut-wrenching brutality and loss of life had dashed any hope in the intellectual and public communities that a stronger Canada would rise from the ashes of War. The early years of the War had been marked by Canadian intellectuals of vastly different ilk agreeing that, moving forward, Canadian society had to do better, become better, and produce better citizens to properly honour “the sacrifices that were being made at the front.”¹⁶ With the conclusion of the war, however, internal discord plagued intellectual communities, philanthropic communities, and union groups as it seemed impossible to reach a clear consensus about the proper approach to social reform in Canada. While the early years of the War had been marked by a growing hope of progressive reforms to come—as the federal state began to step away from *laissez-faire* rule and take a more interventionalist role—the initial optimism had been dashed by a deep dread that post-war society would fall into a state of chaos.

This feeling of fragmentation and growing pessimism was not only a product of war as “strikes, demographic changes, immigration, political dissatisfaction, and rapid industrialization had altered the world view of Ontarians” and demonstrated that post-war society would be defined not solely by reconstruction, but by social upheavals.¹⁷ Historian Doug Owrarn argues

¹⁶ Doug Owrarn, *Government Generation: Canadian Intellectuals and the State 1900-1945* (University of Toronto press, Toronto, 1986), 89.

¹⁷ Theodore Michael Chrisou, *Progressive Education: Revisioning and Reframing Ontario's Public Schools, 1919-1942* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2012), 13-14.

that this feeling of fragmentation and social change was so severe that many Canadians sat on the precipice of moral panic—especially within intellectual circles: “unity had become fragmentation, and optimism crumbled in the face of seemingly insuperable difficulties.”¹⁸ For many Canadians, it seemed as if there were too many social ills that needed to be properly addressed. Indeed, “political, economic, and social crisis was in the air. High unemployment, fascism, and the constant threat of war” fostered a sense of hopelessness and “to ignore these things amounted to a political act.”¹⁹

Despite this pessimism, the Interwar period was marked by several important progressive reforms. For example, women suffrage movements achieved great success and won the right to vote in nearly every province throughout Canada. There was also a successful Prohibition movement, inspired by groups such as the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) during the First World War. Prohibition was a watershed moment in which the federal government of Canada flexed its interventionist muscle to control consumption of certain alcoholic beverages during the War—as a sign of respect and patriotism.²⁰ In a similar move, the federal government provided funding and support for injured soldiers returning from the War, but these benefits were only extended to veterans with serious injuries. For most Canadians coming home, the average War Service Gratuity only provided a few hundred dollars and enough money for new clothing.²¹

¹⁸ Owram, *Government Generation*, 81.

¹⁹ Owram, *Government Generation*, 108; Ken Moffatt, *A Poetics of Social Work: Personal Agency and Social Transformation in Canada, 1920-1939* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2001), 13-14.

²⁰ Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto, Canada: Between the Lines, 2003), 151-157; Owram, *Government Generation*, 112; Despite prohibition’s early success, many Canadians were conflicted on the movement—with many having felt that the practicality of prohibition faded along with the War. Even though temperance was still professed and defended by many middle-class reformers, prohibition had been repealed by almost every province by the end of the 1920s.

²¹ E.A. Heaman, *A Short History of the State in Canada* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2015), 162; Owram, *Government Generation*, 109; Chrisou, *Progressive Education*, 11.

To add to the growing feeling of pessimism, many Canadian veterans were returning to a very different Canada—a nation which had undergone years of uninterrupted industrialization and urbanization during the War. Coupled with scant benefits, many veterans found themselves unemployed and with little money in a rapidly changing world. Unsurprisingly, the failure of the Canadian state to address these issues led to a pronounced increase in strike activity and demands for improved social supports. The issues of unemployment, industrialization, and urbanization not only affected the returning veterans, but also exacerbated labour issues among rural Canadians who watched “their world vanishing and their world view under attack” by the federal government and the fragmented reform movement.²² As a myriad of disconnected advocacy groups, politicians, and academics simultaneously pursued separate objectives, such as prohibition, veteran benefits, and labour unions/organizations, the reform movement in post-war Canada lacked a unified voice. Despite this dissonance, there remained an urgent need to address the social problems within Canada and an impetus to control and steer Canadian society into the ‘proper’ direction. This urgent need resulted in a federal and provincial state that was far more interventionalist—and was supported by many politicians and academics motivated by a burning “ideology of service.”²³

As intellectual historians Marlene Shore and Doug Owram illustrate, this ideology of service was most pronounced in Canadian universities. Following the War, Canadian universities were infused with a utilitarian philosophy centered on providing a service to Canada by solving the growing social unrest. In simpler terms, the Canadian university was tasked with “explain[ing] the evolution of social institutions to their own students as well as to the public” to

²² Chrisou, *Progressive Education*, 11; Moffatt, *A Poetics of Social Work*, 12.

²³ Owram, *Government Generation*, 80.

ensure that “social strife” did not develop into “social upheaval.”²⁴ This changing role was the chief concern of the Second Congress of the Universities of the Empire in 1921, which published an agenda focused on “the teaching of civics, politics, and social economics” and “the training for commerce, industry, and administration [and] the training of schoolteachers.”²⁵ The conference drew academics from across the empire, with most attendees hailing from Britain and Canada, such as William Caldwell, Professor of Moral Philosophy at McGill, Edouard Montpetit professor of Law and Political Economy at University of Montréal, and Sir William Beveridge Director of the London School of Economics.²⁶

Attendees across multiple panels of the conference stressed the importance of a new program of social studies that needed to be introduced into Canadian universities and to Canadian society. For example, in his contribution to the ‘Civics, Politics, and Social Economics’ panel, Beveridge argued that “the social sciences were key to international peace because they provided insight into human relations, insight that could potentially remove the causes of war” in the future. There was a growing belief, held by economists and political scientists especially, that social changes could be analyzed, researched, and ultimately, tracked. Throughout the early 1920s, social sciences grew exponentially within Canadian universities as economics, political science, sociology, and history became standard course offerings. Of all Canadian universities, the University of Toronto boasted the largest faculty of social scientists,

²⁴ Shore, *The Science of Social Redemption* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1989), 32; Doug Owrarn, *Government Generation*, 116.

²⁵ “Second Congress of the Universities of the Empire, Report of Proceedings” *Nature* 109, (1922), 407-8. Accessed June 1, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.1038/109407a0><https://www.nature.com/articles/109407a0>

²⁶ Shore, *The Science of Social Redemption* 32-3; Joubert, Rodolphe, "Essai sur la vie et l'œuvre de Édouard Montpetit" (Quebec, Montreal: Éditions Élysée, 1975), 46.

with fourteen faculty members studying a combination of economics, political science, sociology, commerce, and social work to foster new discourse.²⁷

At the same time as the social sciences were beginning to form a growing niche on university campuses and in Canadian society, psychology also emerged as a burgeoning study focused broadly on the “science of the soul” or “phenomena of mind.”²⁸ Much like the social sciences, the psychology which emerged in the Interwar period was still in its infancy and very much perceived more as an arm of philosophy, rather than as a discipline in its own right.²⁹ However, the ideas and principles of psychology had drifted away from the domain of philosophy much earlier than the 1920s and played a pivotal role in the foundation of concepts, such as eugenics, social hygiene, and child study research—all of which created major hurdles for the continuation of juvenile immigration in the 1930s. Overall, the Interwar period was a time marked by the proliferation of new ways of seeing and perceiving societies and communities; specifically, there was an overwhelming feeling that political systems, bodies, minds, and society in general could be monitored, regulated, and ultimately, controlled. As the perennial building blocks of society, children became the prized subjects of these evolving models of surveillance, regulation, and social change.

²⁷ Owram, *Government Generation*, 122; The Université de Montréal, McGill university, and the University of British Columbia also followed this trend, not only having a staff of well-trained social scientists, but also offering graduate degrees in the burgeoning field.

²⁸ Mona Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling, and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto, Ontario; Toronto University Press, 1999), 21.

²⁹ Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 22; Psychology departments were not officially founded until the early 1920s throughout most Canadian universities.

The Growth of Social Work, Child Study Research, and the Rise of the Professional Childcare Worker, 1920-1924

The emergence of the social sciences and psychology throughout universities led to the construction of a parallel program of study in Canada: social work. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, social work and social welfare were characterized by a slow process of change and development. For instance, the growth of the Children's Aid Society (CAS) as the principal childcare institution in Ontario illustrated that the Provincial Government of Ontario was making incursions into the sphere of influence previously reserved for religious organizations, independent charities, and philanthropic societies—especially those areas concerning child welfare and child protection. While the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries experienced modest growth in the policies of child welfare which employed nascent philosophies and methodologies of social work, the Interwar period was a veritable wellspring of development for social work.

Generally, the discipline of social work sprang from the growth of the social sciences, psychology, and the service ideal throughout Canadian universities. Social work grew exponentially throughout the 1920s with the creation of an array of social work institutions, each with a focus on different facets of society and social problems, such as the National Committee for Mental Hygiene (NCMH), the Canadian Council on Child Welfare (CCCW), and the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW).³⁰ While there were no accredited social work programs being offered at Canadian universities in the early 1920s, lectures and conferences

³⁰ Owram, *Government Generation*, 123; Chrisou, *Progressive Education*, 1; Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2000), 229-232.

were held on university campuses to impart innovative social work practices to those willing to learn.

In essence, the service ideal and growing preoccupation with the social sciences and psychology spurred the creation of a new field of study which gave rise to a professional workforce of social workers keen on researching and alleviating social ills. Canadian social workers distinguished themselves from religious and charitable voluntary workers—those individuals supervising and administrating British Juvenile Immigration Societies—in several different ways. First, and the most important distinction, was the development of case work as a scientific methodology. Social work functioned through the collection of ‘facts’ and focused on maintaining a “professional objectivity” in the face of social issues and the lives of the individuals.³¹ In other words, early social workers perceived themselves as social engineers focused on attaining an “understanding of conditions and process of normal life, with particular reference to modern industrial society” and then treating and solving the “commonest abnormalities and failures” of day-to-day life in Canada.³² In many ways, social work ushered in the macro concepts of the social sciences—which analyzed overarching social systems, such as the wild fluctuations of the economy and political systems—to the level of the individual. According to the Director of the University of Toronto’s Department of Political Economy, Edward Urwick, the social worker was tasked with understanding the “real well-being of individuals who are society.”³³ Essentially, the social scientist and social worker functioned

³¹ “Give Work” in *Everywoman’s World* Vol. 3 No.4 (April 1915); Tamara K. Hareven, “An Ambiguous Alliance: Some Aspects of America Influences on Canadian Social Welfare” in *Histoire Sociale/Social History* (1969), 83-4; Owram, *Government Generation*, 118; Moffat, *Poetics of Social Work*, 35-6.

³² Owram, *Government Generation*, 118; Moffat, *Poetics of Social Work*, 39.

³³ Cynthia Comacchio, *Nations are Built of Babies: Saving Ontario’s Mothers and Children, 1900-1940* (McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), 93-5; Moffat, *Poetics of Social Work*, 39; John A. Irving, ‘Introductory Essay on the Social Philosophy of E.J. Urwick,’ in *The Values of Life* by E.J. Urwick (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), xiv-xxiii.

hand-in-hand to analyze and chart potential social trajectories and, through the use of social workers, address and steer the individuals in a twofold approach to solve unfolding, or potential, social dilemmas.³⁴ With these new methods operating through the lens of the social sciences, early social workers set in their crosshairs for social and improvement Canadians who possessed the most potential for personal and social growth: children.

By 1925, early social scientists and social workers helped to inspire a growing public health movement focused on raising the standards of medical care for Canadian children. The methodology of the social sciences, much like the practices used during the First World War—which required potential recruits to undergo a medical inspection—exposed the dismal health conditions of most Canadian citizens. Combined with high mortality rates during the War years, the growing traction of germ theory throughout the Western world, and the high infant mortality rate that continued to plague Canada, a reform movement headed by prominent Canadian physician, Dr. Helen MacMurchy, sought to elevate the quality of life in the country by publicizing the careful handling of milk and improving conditions of “maternal labour” and child-rearing strategies.³⁵ For example, MacMurchy worked alongside the federal government to produce a large-scale advice literature series referred to as the “Blue Books” and the *Canadian Mother’s Book*. These books were provided to Canadian mothers and offered instructions on

³⁴ John A. Irving, ‘Introductory Essay on the Social Philosophy of E.J. Urwick,’ in *The Values of Life* by E.J. Urwick (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948), xiv-xxiii; Much like the intellectual debates which plagued the early development of the social sciences, there were many scholarly debates and conflicting theories penned in the pages of *Social Welfare* on how to approach social work in Canada. While many early social scientists and social workers applauded the unbiased—and almost unemotional—methodology of case work, there were several intellectuals who felt that a scientific approach was simply too cold, technical, and clinical. Specifically, Urwick believed that the scientific primacy of social work could be dangerous and, instead, emphasized a reciprocal dialogue between social worker and client.

³⁵ Dianne Dodd, “Advice to Parents: The Blue Books, Helen MacMurchy, M.D., and the Federal Department of Health, 1920–1934,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 8,2 (1991): 206; Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth*, 44; Helen MacMurchy, *The Canadian Mother’s Book* (Ottawa: Dominion of Canada, Department of Health, 1927), 7-9. Accessed from <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/xzqan2tr>.

how to clothe, feed, and swaddle Canadian babies. Importantly, books such as these speak to the growing public health movement in Canada which focused predominantly on the health and wellbeing of children.

The discipline of sociology also gained momentum on university campuses coinciding with increased federal involvement in the lives of ordinary Canadians. The federal government, driven by a quest for more information about their citizens, began to engage university-trained experts, such as sociologists and economists incentivized by small grants to voluntary societies. As a healthy child was seen as essential to producing strong citizens and future soldiers capable of defending the empire, if necessary, sociological discourse often introduced debate concerning child protection. Secondly, the Interwar period witnessed a gradual transformation in the perception and value assigned to Canadian children; specifically, the worth of a child became less dependent on their economic contributions to the family, as childhood came to be viewed as a vulnerable life stage requiring guidance, education, and care. This shift is exemplified by the establishment of the Department of Health in 1919, which, one year later, formally established the Division of Child Welfare within its purview. In 1920, the primary objective following the first meeting of the Department of Health became the reduction of high infant mortality rates in Canada to ensure the survival and development of a strong and healthy generation of Canadians.

In the context of these societal and cultural changes, the fundamental principles underlying juvenile immigration began to be regarded as problematic. While philanthropic endeavors in this regard had previously faced opposition and negative publicity, such as the Doyle Report of 1875 or the Green Case of 1895, the Imperial goodwill associated with these initiatives had typically sustained their continuation. However, as academic articles and conference discussions proliferated in social work journals and lecture halls, particularly those

highlighting the perils of child labour, juvenile immigration began to take on a darker connotation. Traditionally, British child-savers justified their work by invoking visions of a future empire where bringing British paupers to Canada would lead to a united empire under the banner of a consolidated British-Canadian identity. However, viewed through the early twentieth century clinical and methodological lens of a growing professional workforce, juvenile immigration began to evoke a problematic vision of the future. This vision depicted British children tethered to exploitative indenture contracts, stifling their potential, and fueling feelings of alienation.

Juvenile Immigration in the Shadow of Child Welfare: The Creation of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare and the Push to Standardize Care, 1924-1930

In the early 1920s, two events significantly altered public perceptions of juvenile immigration in Canada leading to the eventual cessation of the program in the early 1930s. Firstly, in 1924, two tragic suicides of home children garnered international attention and prompted inquiries by the provincial government of Ontario and the Labour Party of Britain to investigate the safety and effectiveness of juvenile immigration. Secondly, the establishment of a new child welfare organization, the Canadian Council of Child Welfare (CCCW), prompted a reevaluation of child-rescue institutions across Ontario throughout the 1920s. As the CCCW sought to establish credibility and gain public trust, this group of emerging social workers rigorously examined, researched, and produced extensive reports and surveys on the viability of transatlantic child-placement throughout Canada. A thorough examination of these reports and related correspondence reveals that these investigations viewed juvenile immigration as a facet of child

welfare in dire need of restructuring. In the same vein, the media focus surrounding the potential neglect of the two home children shifted public perceptions of the practice from an exercise of empire building to a failing program of child-rescue and welfare.

Juvenile immigration gained international attention in February 1924 due to the tragic suicides of two home children. The first incident occurred on January 19, 1924, involving Charles Thomas Bullpitt, a sixteen-year-old British boy placed with a single farmer named J. Benson Cox in Colborne Township, Ontario, through the Barnardo homes. According to reports, Bullpitt took his own life on December 23rd after Cox violently assaulted him during a disagreement concerning farm work.³⁶ This tragedy prompted a comprehensive investigation by the Province of Ontario Attorney General, resulting in Cox being charged with assault and sentenced to two months in prison.³⁷ Witnesses revealed that Cox had a longstanding issue with Bullpitt's "nature," and there were regular instances of ridicule, abuse, and neglect.³⁸ Despite the Crown Attorney's success in persuading a jury to convict Cox, there was division within the Colborne Township concerning the outcome of the trial. During the proceedings, some onlookers were disrespectful toward witnesses who spoke unfavorably of Cox's treatment of the boy. Additionally, there were instances of open laughter during court proceedings when Cox made sarcastic remarks, suggesting the need to be strict with juvenile immigrants. In a similar show of

³⁶ "Probe Into Boy's Death Adjourned: Employer of English Boy Is Called to Stand" *The Windsor Star* (Windsor, Ontario, January 19th, 1924), 12; "Boy's Suicide: Subject of Enquiry by State Department" *Herald and Express* (Torquay, Devon, England) January 30, 1924; "Barnardo Boy's Suicide" *Nor'-west Farmer* (Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada) February 20, 1924, 24.

³⁷ "Summons Issued for Cox on Charge of Common Assault" *The Sault Daily Star* (Sault St. Marie, Ontario, Canada) January 30, 1924, 12; "Man Faces Charge: Writ Issues Accusing Hanging Victim's Employer of Assault" *The Windsor Star* (Windsor, Ontario, Canada) January 24th, 1924, 10; "Boy's Suicide: Subject of Enquiry by State Department" *Herald and Express* (Torquay, Devon, England) January 30, 1924; "Farmer Sentenced for Assault on Boy: J. Benson Cox Goes to Jail for Two Months" *The Ottawa Journal* (Ottawa, Ontario) February 1, 1924, 1; "Information Swoon in Bullpitt Case: Common Assault Charge Has Been Laid Against J. Benson Cox" *The Expositor* (Brantford, Ontario, Canada) January 31, 1924, 8.

³⁸ "Probe Into Boy's Death Adjourned: Employer of English Boy is Called to Stand" *The Windsor Star* January 19th, 1924, 12.

support, a group of farmers in the Colborne area compiled a petition and threatened to boycott taking in Barnardo boys in protest of Cox's conviction and to undermine the practice of juvenile immigration.³⁹ However, both the local government and provincial government ignored these objections and threats. In fact, following the trial, multiple newspapers printed reminders to Ontarians who had taken in juvenile immigrants, emphasizing that "disobedience is not to be punished by whipping." They also stated that in cases where an employer struck a juvenile immigrant, the child could be immediately removed from that home, and investigators were dispatched to determine if criminal charges should be filed against the accused.⁴⁰

Less than a week later, a second boy, John Payne, who was also affiliated with the Barnardo homes, took his life in early February, 1924.⁴¹ Reportedly, Payne ended his life on February 4th near Omemee, Ontario through the ingestion of Paris Green—a dying agent which contained poisonous copper arsenate.⁴² Much like the Bullpitt case, the news of Payne's death made international headlines and sparked a criminal investigation into the boy's guardian—Charles Fee. During the investigation, which focused on gathering witness testimony from neighboring farms, it was concluded that both Charles Fee and his wife were good-hearted guardians and had applied only moderate physical discipline, such as a minor "shaking" for

³⁹ "Colborne Farmers Demand Release of J. Benson Cox: Unless this is Done, They Will Refuse to Take Any Boys from the Homes" *The Daily Sun-Times* (Owen Sound, Ontario, Canada) February 8th, 1924, 1.

⁴⁰ "Barnardo Boy's Suicide" *Nor'-west Farmer* (Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada) February 20, 1924, 24.

⁴¹ "Where Barnardo Boy Committed Suicide" *The Victorian Times* (Victoria, British Columbia, Canada) February 9, 1924, 18; It's important to note a common error with reporting on juvenile immigrant throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Namely, there are many cases where boys are attributed to Barnardo homes and labelled as "Barnardo Boys" despite having no official affiliation with Barnardo. I bring this up here because Charles Bullpitt is listed as both a Barnardo Boy, which were administrated by Thomas Barnardo, and a Marchmont Boy, which was administrated by Annie Macpherson.

⁴² "Barnardo Boy's Suicide" *Derby Daily Telegraph* (Derby, Derbyshire, England) February 5, 1924, 3; "Barnardo Boy's Suicide" *Nor'-west Farmer* (Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada) February 20, 1924, 24; "Barnardo Boy's Suicide: Jury Find No Evidence of Ill-Treatment" *Daily Mail* (Hull, Humberside, England) February 5th, 1924, 8; "Barnardo Boy's Suicide on Canadian Farm" *North Mail, Newcastle Daily Chronicle* (Tyne and Wear, England) February 6th, 1924, 10; "Barnardo Boy's Suicide" *Birmingham Gazette* (Birmingham, England) February 6th, 1924, 5.

profanity. The coronor's statements aligned with the witness testimony and recorded there were no wounds or signs of abuse. Instead, the Crown Attorney concluded that John Payne's suicide was most likely the result of the child reading the news about Charles Bullpitt—who had taken his life less than a week before—and copying the act.

These two tragic suicides were vitally important for the future trajectory of juvenile immigration for several reasons. First, these cases illustrate the shifting attitudes towards children in Ontario during the early twentieth century. Interwar Ontario was marked by a time of change and reform, and this could not be truer for the realm of child welfare. Indeed, the early twentieth century was defined by new systems of treatment and care for children, all of which turned upon the notion that a child required a different standard of care than that of an adult. This shift in the perception of childhood is reflected in the many landmark acts passed by the province of Ontario which placed children in schools and barred them from factories, while also developing a separate juvenile judiciary system to ensure their fair treatment. Given this, there was a growing notion that children—regardless of their social background—could be redeemed and reformed when provided with the proper environment and a high standard of care.

The level of legal scrutiny into the deaths of Charles Bullpitt and John Payne reflect the softening of attitudes and growing sympathy toward children and, specifically, toward juvenile immigrants in Ontario. There were dozens of violent offences committed by, and on, juvenile immigrants from the inception of juvenile immigration initiatives from 1870 until 1924; however, previous newspaper reports predominantly framed these events as accidents or failed investigations.⁴³ For example, in 1897, a Barnardo boy named Charlie Bradbury failed to escape a fire which erupted in a barn in York Mills, Ontario, where he had been placed. Sadly, Bradbury

⁴³ "The Dead Barnardo Boy" *The Windsor Star* (Windsor, Ontario, Canada) February 4, 1897, 5.

was unable to escape the blaze. Unlike the Bullpitt or Payne case, there was not an official investigation into the Bradbury death. According to the *Windsor Star* journalist, who spoke to the coroner, there seemed to have been a scuffle preceding the fire and, upon more digging into the story, it came to light that Bradbury had suffered a beating from his guardian, John Blain, the morning of the fire, over a disagreement concerning his indenture contract and future wages. After the beating, Blain left the farm and headed to the town for supplies, leaving the boy on his own. Bradbury seized this opportunity to set fire to Blain's barn as an act of revenge, but it seems that the fire grew out of control and Bradbury lost consciousness due to smoke inhalation. The tone of the article, however, is telling in its lack of any compassion for the plight of the child. Unlike the Bullpitt and Payne cases, which framed the mistreatment at the hands of the guardians as abuse and neglect, there was no mention of Blain's culpability in Bradbury's death. In fact, the article focused mostly on Blain's financial losses and loss of farming implements to the fire rather than Bradbury's death—demonstrated by the conclusion of the article which provided readers with a list of Blaine's lost assets rather than any parting words or remarks for the child.

Changing attitudes toward juvenile immigrants were also evident in the responses from the Canadian and British governments. The suicides of the two Barnardo boys ignited heated debates in the Canadian House of Commons. Leading these discussions was J.S. Woodsworth, a prominent social activist, author, and Member of Parliament representing Central Winnipeg, Manitoba. On April 16th, 1924, Woodsworth delivered a speech addressing the recent tragic events, attributing these losses to a significant lack of oversight and widespread abuse within what was termed a "philanthropic enterprise." Woodsworth questioned why the federal government had not implemented safety measures within the system of juvenile immigration

earlier, especially given that issues of abuse within the practice had gained international attention as far back as 1875 with the Doyle Report. He also emphasized the irony in recent House of Commons debates that placed greater importance on discussions regarding livestock quality and the maintenance of a "high standard of seed grain," all the while neglecting the well-being of immigrant children arriving in Canada—a neglect evident in the omission of their concerns from parliamentary discussions.⁴⁴

Woodsworth proceeded to scrutinize the Federal Government's 1923 Report of Juvenile Immigration. He posited that the report's language hinted at a lack of genuine philanthropic intent behind the movement of children from Britain to Canada. Instead, he contended that the true motivation seemed to be the acquisition of cheap child labour. To illustrate this underlying motivation, he read specific excerpts that depicted children primarily in terms of their labour potential and the benefits they could provide to Canadian farmers, essentially reducing these immigrant children to tools to be used rather than children to be nurtured. To address the exploitative nature of juvenile immigration, Woodsworth proposed a reevaluation of the federal government's inspection methods. He also highlighted the efforts of various social workers, including members of the CCCW, who had attempted to draw the government's attention to these issues during the 1923 Child Welfare Conference in Winnipeg. While much of Woodsworth's speech emphasized the exploitative aspects of this transatlantic practice, it also contained elements of eugenics. Simultaneously, he argued for more thorough inspections to ensure child safety while advocating for rigorous screening to prevent Canada from becoming a destination for "unwanted" immigrants.⁴⁵ In this manner, the child welfare and exploitation issue became

⁴⁴ Canadian Hansard, House of Commons 14th Parliament, 3rd Session, Vol.2., 1924, 1425.
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC1403_02/1

⁴⁵ Canadian Hansard, House of Commons 14th Parliament, 3rd Session, Vol.2., 1924, 1425-6.
https://parl.canadiana.ca/view/oop.debates_HOC1403_02/1

intertwined with a complex web of social Darwinism, imperialism, and the future direction of Canada. Despite the eugenicist slant, Woodsworth's speech in the House of Commons exemplifies a growing concern for the effectiveness of juvenile immigration policies and an increasing sentimentality towards children.

In response to news reports and parliamentary debates, the Department of Immigration and Colonization recognized the deficiencies in the current system of juvenile immigration. They extended an invitation to the Oversea Settlement Committee (OSC), an advisory body responsible for both child and adult migration, to investigate the claims made by Woodsworth and others. The Labour Government in Britain promptly accepted this invitation and dispatched a delegation of OSC agents to assess the validity of these claims. Leading this delegation were Margaret Bondfield, a seasoned OSC member and British Member of Parliament, and Florence Harrison Bell, the OSC's General Secretary.⁴⁶ The OSC agents arrived in Canada in 1924 and conducted comprehensive interviews with juvenile immigrants, Canadian physicians, social workers, and held discussions with the Social Service of Canada concerning immigrant selection and social well-being. The resulting report, released in late 1924, presented a nuanced perspective with various recommendations.⁴⁷ While the report portrayed juvenile immigration as a unique and beneficial form of child rescue, it also highlighted critical shortcomings and potential areas for abuse. For instance, Bondfield pointed out that children were often expected to work on Canadian farms immediately upon arrival, irrespective of their age. This led to situations where children as young as ten were shouldering adult responsibilities. To remedy this potential for overwork, Bondfield argued for the implementation of a minimum age of fourteen

⁴⁶ The National Archives of the UK (TNA): 1/SOS/14 Oversea Settlement Board Reports: British Oversea Settlement Delegation to Canada, 1924, 12-14.

⁴⁷ Boucher, *Empire's Children*, 86; TNA 1/SOS/14, 20.

by both the federal and provincial governments to ensure the safety and wellbeing of the children.

The report also expressed concerns about the differential education received by juvenile immigrants compared to Canadian children. There was apprehension that British home children were sometimes discouraged from attending local schools and instead were expected to work at home.⁴⁸ Additionally, it noted that juvenile immigrants faced disadvantages when entering primary and secondary schools in Ontario compared to their Canadian counterparts. It recommended that British sorting homes should place a stronger emphasis on preparing juvenile immigrants for their studies. However, Bondfield primarily attributed the academic challenges of juvenile immigrants to the federal government's insufficient mental testing of potential candidates. She argued that the Canadian government needed to further refine its system to elevate the "Canadian standard" and ensure the academic success of these young immigrants.⁴⁹

It is here that we turn the CCCW—who not only unanimously agreed with the findings of the Bondfield Report but worked from 1920 to 1928 to compile their own social surveys to support the need for raising the minimum age of incoming juvenile immigrants. The organization was born from a push by the federal government to reign in and modernize the semi-autonomous child rescue institutions and child welfare organizations that populated the Canadian social work landscape. In 1920, endorsed as an attempt to construct a more unified alliance between federal health mandates, the province of Ontario and the federal Department of Health held a Child Welfare Conference in Ottawa with the intention of forming a voluntary

⁴⁸ TNA 1/SOS/14, 15.

⁴⁹ TNA 1/SOS/14, 20-1.

organization with a national child welfare mandate.⁵⁰ In attendance at this conference were over one hundred child welfare societies and institutions, such as the Canadian Red Cross Society, the National Children's Home and Orphanage society, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of Empire, McGill Department of Social Services, the National Council of Women, and many other institutions.⁵¹ Following two days of debate, the CCCW was established on the basis that it would cooperate with the federal Department of Health and function as a bridge between the federal government and the many autonomous provincial and private charitable institutions focused on child rescue. To achieve this, the CCCW was to be composed of one representative from each national organization interested in child welfare work and four representatives from each provincial child welfare organization.⁵² Given the liminal status of the CCCW—as it was to operate as a sort of ambassador institution acting as an intermediary between the federal government and Ontario charitable organizations—the federal government wished to ensure its longevity with proper funding. With this funding, combined with public donations, the CCCW would investigate the processes of charitable organizations throughout Canada and offer recommendations and strategies to better their facilities and uplift the level of childcare and child protection throughout Canada.⁵³

The CCCW was created to achieve three primary objectives: first, the CCCW advocated for new legislation concerning foster care, boarding, adoption, and the placing of children by

⁵⁰ Hodson, *Child Welfare and Social Development*, 42; Sharon Myers, "Suffering from a sense of injustice": Children's Activism in Liberal State Formation at the Saint John Boys Industrial Home, 1927-1932 in *Histoire Sociale/Social History* Vol.52, No. 105 (2019), 2-3.

⁵¹ Neil Sutherland, *Children in English Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 227-8.

⁵² R. L. Schnell, "A Children's Bureau for Canada: The Origins of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, 1913-1921," in *The Benevolent State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada*, ed. Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987), 96-98.

⁵³ Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, "Child Welfare in English Canada, 1920-1948" *Social Service Review* 55, No. 3 (Fall 1981), 491.

authorized agencies; secondly, the CCCW promoted consistent standards of case work in the placement of children throughout Canada; lastly, the CCCW worked towards the creation of provincial departments of health and welfare which employed trained social workers in all ancillary institutions.⁵⁴ The formation of the CCCW signaled an important moment in child welfare for two reasons. First, it demonstrated a co-operative spirit among Canadian childcare workers—both professional and amateur—as hundreds of localized institutions and societies banded together in a united front with the federal government to modernize and set a national standard of care for all Canadian children. Second, both the construction and funding of the CCCW demonstrated that the federal government was aware that the semi-autonomous nature of childcare institutions posed a threat to Canadian children and families, and that there needed to be a regulatory body in motion to monitor and surveil the various forms of Canadian childcare to ensure that no child fell between the cracks.

To carry out these lofty objectives was an executive body composed of prominent social reformers who were affiliated with voluntary agencies or the federal government. For instance, one of the earliest members of the CCCW executive was Helen Reid, a new breed of child reformer who hoped to put new theories of the social sciences and social work into practice. Reid found success in the world of academia as Director of the Social Services Department of McGill University and the Chairman of the Graduate School of Nurses and had been a long-time member of the Red Cross who helped formulate the Canadian Patriotic Fund during the First World War.⁵⁵ Reid was joined by Charlotte Whitton, who became the Secretary General of the

⁵⁴ Letter from Mrs. R. Payne to National Council of Family and Child Welfare, 21 August 1931, “Department of Health Records,” RG 29, Vol 992, File 499-3-7, LAC; Dodd, “Advice to Parents,” 230.

⁵⁵ Patricia T. Rooke and Rodolph L. Schnell, *No Bleeding Heart; Charlotte Whitton, a Feminist on the Right* (Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 40, 11; Hodson, *Child Welfare and Social Development*, 42.

CCCW after its formation in 1920. Whitton was perceived as the perfect candidate, having acted as the Secretary General of the Social Service Council of Canada (SSCC) since 1918 and as the assistant editor and an occasional contributor of the social work journal, *Social Work*.⁵⁶ Therefore, she was well-connected with members of the Canadian reform community inside and outside the realm of academia.

It's important to highlight that the CCCW was created as a non-government agency through the amalgamation of several established voluntary societies which were funded in-part through annual Federal government grants and private donations.⁵⁷ Throughout the tenure of the organization, the CCCW often “donned the robes of the state” and had close relationships with members of the Department of Health and the Department of Immigration—but it never directly fell under the purview of the Federal Government—which allowed it to function within civil society with a greater degree of autonomy.⁵⁸ Moreover, the federal governmental arm that dealt with the wellbeing of children—the Division of Child Welfare—was part of the Department of Health and not a fully-fledged state department. As a result, the Division of Child Welfare only intervened in the affairs of families and children in cases of public health—such as the creation of baby well clinics, the dissemination of parental advice literature, and the treatment of tuberculosis outbreaks. In contrast, the CCCW was formed to address all “nonmedical” issues related to child welfare and its mission statement highlighted that it was an institution meant to solve social ills facing Canadian children, such as cases of neglect, abuse, exploitation, and poverty.

⁵⁶ Rooke and Schnell, *No Bleeding Heart*, 20.

⁵⁷ Canadian Council of Child Welfare, *Canadian Welfare News* Vol. 1, No. 3 (Ottawa: Canada, 304 Plaza Building, August-October 1924), 53-4.

⁵⁸ Sharon Myers, "The Governance of Childhood: The Discourse of State Formation and the New Brunswick Child Welfare Survey, 1927-1930," (PhD Diss., University of New Brunswick, 2004), 4-5; Myers, "Suffering from a sense of injustice", 5 footnote 11.

This unique status provided the CCCW with the agency to select specific child protective practices and legislative acts that its membership believed to be the most effective for bettering the lives of Canadian children. At the same time, the special outsider status allowed the CCCW to openly criticize and challenge the federal government's approach to child protection. In simpler terms, Charlotte Whitton and the CCCW operated as state actors, but were often unfettered by the rigid formalities, rules, and standards of federal bureaucracy and professional collegiality. Throughout the institution's fifteen-year tenure, the CCCW openly condemned the actions of the federal government in their treatment of children and spurred on reform by conducting investigations and illuminating harmful forms of questionable child protection that the federal government permitted to operate throughout Canada. With the ability to freely operate from outside federal state jurisdiction, and to freely champion the child protection of provincial reforms from within, the CCCW emerged as one of the most influential child protection agencies in Canada. In the words of Charlotte Whitton's biographers, the CCCW lived up to its potential and successfully brought about "a uniformity of standards and transformation of practices [that] can be discerned at a national level."⁵⁹

In 1925, building upon the impetus of the Bondfield Report, the CCCW compiled their first large-scale methodological survey on the system of juvenile immigration employing tenets of social work. The timing for the survey was perfect, not only was juvenile immigration making international headlines, but the CCCW would be able to cooperate with the British Labour Party and incorporate the recommendations of the Bondfield Report while providing their own unique Canadian perspective and recommendations for the improvement of juvenile immigration. For the most part, the CCCW approached juvenile immigration with a similar degree of incredulity

⁵⁹ Hodson, *Child Welfare and Social Development*, 3.

as the British Labour Party, but there were some marked differences. While the CCCW was working to compile their surveys on juvenile immigration, they received little to no cooperation from the Department of Immigration and Colonization. Therefore, while the Bondfield Report focused heavily on the wellbeing of the children and the need for more inspection, the CCCW surveys focused more on modifications for the Department of Immigration and Colonization's role in selecting, placing, and providing care for British children, which often bypassed provincial administration and laws concerning child protection.

Specifically, at the United States National Conference of Social Work in 1924, held in Toronto to forge a stronger North American social work community, and the Fifth Annual Canadian Conference on Child Welfare in 1925, Charlotte Whitton gave two speeches outlining that the federal government's continued support of British juvenile immigration societies functioned without the provincial government's support or consent.⁶⁰ In these speeches, Whitton highlighted the discordant nature of child welfare in Canada by highlighting the federal government's hesitance to share the records of child placements, institutional finances, or even the number of federal inspectors inspecting British juvenile immigration societies. Without this data, provincial governments could not effectively assess the risk involved in British juvenile immigration and were completely excluded from practices followed by these philanthropic societies.

For Charlotte Whitton and the CCCW, the practices of juvenile immigration societies represented a failure to establish Canadian child welfare standards on two fronts. Firstly, the federal government side-stepped mandates of the rising call for Interwar social reforms—such as gradual replacement of the voluntaristic workforce of childcare institutions with professional

⁶⁰ Whitton, "Juvenile Immigration, 609-612; Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Proceedings and papers: Fifth Annual Canadian Conference on Child Welfare, 1926, 60-61.

experts, social workers, and the use of rigorous scientific methods of inspection. As Whitton stated:

"[t]he provinces have all built up a body of children's protective legislation and the official staff necessary for its administration. Yet, their whole supervisory and inspection service must stand helplessly by, while a federal department authorizes overseas agencies to engage in the work of child placements within the provinces; to put on their own inspectors; and to report only to the federal government."⁶¹

Secondly, Whitton argued that procedures of the federal government and the British government were antiquated. Specifically, they did not utilize social workers or new interviewing techniques to ensure the best quality of life for the child. Even worse, the federal government's system of inspection was lacking, as they only employed six inspectors when more than three thousand juvenile immigrants were placed annually.⁶² Whitton used juvenile immigration societies as a case study to illuminate contradictions and fragmentation within the state, and to model criteria as to what constituted proper childcare and what characteristics determine which jurisdictions were best suited to care for the child. These two speeches saw a deluge of support and aligned closely with the findings of the CCCW's two social surveys focused on juvenile immigration entitled, "Some Angles of Discussion on the Juvenile Immigrant Problem of Canada"⁶³ and "Juvenile Immigrant Report No. 2."⁶⁴

Following Whitton's speeches, and for the first time since the inception of the philanthropic enterprise, the Department of Immigration and Colonization allowed the CCCW full access to their files which contained the annual federal inspections reports of children placed

⁶¹ Whitton, "Juvenile Immigration", 610.

⁶² Whitton, "Juvenile Immigration", 610.

⁶³ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Some Angles of Discussion in the Juvenile Immigrant Problem of Canada, 1924"(Ottawa: Canadian Council on Child Welfare, 1924).

⁶⁴ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Juvenile Immigration Report No. 2: Being a Summary of Representative Canadian Opinion, the British Government's Oversea Settlement Committee Report, and Recent Progressive Developments in the Canadian Government Policy (Ottawa: Canadian Council on Child Welfare, 1925).

throughout Canada. During the course of their investigation, the CCCW found that the federal inspections contained wild variations; specifically, some federal inspectors offered vivid detailed accounts of home life, work life, and emotional wellbeing of the British children, while others had not performed a visit in over three years.⁶⁵ To make matters worse, when the CCCW sent letters to individual British societies asking them to provide data to fill in gaps for their research, such as number of children placed, number of children currently in Canada, and number of employees working in Canada, they were often ignored.⁶⁶ In fact, only half of the juvenile immigration societies under CCCW review responded to inquiries and only two of the societies who did pen letters in response, such as Barnardo Homes and Fegan Homes, stated that they would not share records as they did not recognize the organization as a governmental entity.⁶⁷

Given the unreliability of federal records and the lack of co-operation from British juvenile immigration societies, the CCCW's surveys concluded that the entire system of British juvenile immigration needed to be reworked; however, rather than blaming the autonomous British societies or the British Local Government Board, the CCCW placed the heaviest blame squarely on the shoulders of the Canadian federal government.⁶⁸ The organization called for an increase in the number of experts within the federal government to ensure mental and physical examinations in Britain could be carried out before a prospective child was emigrated to Canada. Further, the CCCW recommended the creation of a registry of all juvenile immigrants entering Canada which was to be shared with provincial governments, to ensure all children can be located

⁶⁵ J. Breckenridge McGregor, "Several Years Later", 1928, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, volume 7, file 33, LAC, 4-5,11.

⁶⁶ Letter to Mrs. C. H. Thorburn from John W. Hobday July 16, 1927, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 26, file 137, LAC.

⁶⁷ Letter to Charlotte Whitton from J. Breckenridge McGregor September 7, 1927, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 26, File 137, LAC.

⁶⁸ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Juvenile Immigration Report No. 2, 1925", 35-7.

and provided support if needed.⁶⁹ The CCCW also recommended the inclusion of social workers who could study the "personality and social history" of selected children.⁷⁰ Through this system, the CCCW hoped it could identify and select British children who would be successful in Canada and have the "mental integrity" to cope with the social and cultural challenges of the immigration experience.

The CCCW's second central recommendation was a call for reformulation of state control of child welfare; namely, that the Department of Immigration and Colonization should relinquish control of juvenile immigration to the provinces. For example, the CCCW's report outlined the absurdity of British juvenile immigration as it bypassed provincial child labour legislation, given that while "each province has elaborated a more or less extensive system with legislation for the care and protection of its own Canadian children, it has to stand by and see placements being made and inspections undertaken which are not according to provincial standards."⁷¹ The CCCW's condemnation and calls for reform of juvenile immigration movements did not go unnoticed in Britain. The OSC acknowledged the CCCW's complaints and reservations about how children were placed, often outside of provincial safety nets, and how the child's safety may have been at risk.⁷²

In the face of mounting pressure from the British Labour Party, the CCCW, and the Canadian public, the government of Ontario initiated new legislation, officially titled the *Ontario Immigrant Children's Protection Act of 1924*, which was touted as the "greatest single forward

⁶⁹ *Canadian Child Welfare News* Vol. 4 No. 3 (Ottawa: The Canadian Council on Child Welfare, August 15th, 1928), 20-21.

⁷⁰ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Juvenile Immigration Report No. 2, 1925," 34.

⁷¹ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Juvenile Immigration Report No. 2, 1925," 36.

⁷² Ellen Boucher, *Empire's Children: Child Emigration, Welfare, and the Decline of the British World, 1889-1967* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 85.

steps of the generation in Canadian social work."⁷³ This legislation raised the minimum age of unaccompanied children being brought to Ontario to fourteen years old.⁷⁴ While this change might not seem monumental, the age range of this majority of children brought to Canada through juvenile immigration schemes was around eight to ten, as older children were perceived as less desirable, often leaving Canadian farms at the age of sixteen to seek work elsewhere. More significant was the way in which the membership of the CCCW framed this legislation. For example, in a publication outlining the events of the Sixth Annual Canadian Conference on Child Welfare, the 1924 Act was described as an equalizing measure which, "proclaimed to the world that Canada does not maintain one standard of child labour and education for her own children and another for the little stranger brought to her shore."⁷⁵ Again, this proclamation demonstrates that the CCCW, and Ontario child welfare reformers at large, were committed to ensuring the equal treatment and safety of all children coming into Canada.

However, British child-savers did not agree with the new provincial legislation or the findings of the Bondfield Report. For instance, the Barnardo homes—which was managed by an executive council following Barnardo's death in 1905—circulated a four-page pamphlet responding to the Report's recommendations and the passage of the 1924 provincial legislation in Ontario. In this response, the Chairman of the Barnardo Council, William McCall, refuted the recommendations by stating that only a small number of children suffered any abuses from their host families, and that many children experienced social, academic, and professional uplift while in Canada. In response to a recommendation that juvenile immigrants needed more after care, the Barnardo Council agreed, but replied that their system of forty years has functioned as intended

⁷³ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Proceedings and papers: Fifth Annual Canadian Conference," 61.

⁷⁴ Statutes of the Province of Ontario, Chapter 14 George V. *The Immigrant Children's Protection Act*, 1924; Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Proceedings and papers: Fifth Annual Canadian Conference," 61-2.

⁷⁵ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Proceedings and papers: Fifth Annual Canadian Conference," 61.

and that, “it is beyond dispute that of the 28,000 young people placed out in Canada through the agency of Dr. Barnardo’s Homes, 98 percent have made good.”⁷⁶ For further emphasis, the circular reprinted favourable quotes from the 1921, 1922, and 1923 annual reports released by the federal government of Canada and the Inspector of British Immigrant Children and Receiving Homes.⁷⁷ The circular concluded with a plea to the provincial government of Ontario to repeal the 1924 legislation for the benefit of all of Canada claiming that, as it stands, the minimum age of 14 only worked to “cut off from Canada a stream of healthy, intelligent, well-trained children which the Dominion urgently needs and can ill afford to lose.”

The CCCW refrained from making any public response to McCall's remarks, but in 1926 an internal discussion occurred regarding his remarks. One of the matters discussed was the persistent objection from Barnardo Homes to repeal the provision that raised the minimum age for juvenile immigrants. These objections prompted the Department of Immigration to contact the CCCW, inquiring about the possibility of repealing the legislation. In their two-page rebuttal to these inquiries from Barnardo Homes, the CCCW revisited the significant issues previously identified in the Bondfield Report, which had been presented years earlier. Moreover, the CCCW drew particular attention to the importance of education. For instance, the CCCW circular argued against allowing juvenile immigrants under the age of 14 to enter Canada, citing the potential for abuse and overwork within the system. Additionally, the CCCW circular underscored that juvenile immigration resulted in a "loss of certain educational advantages."⁷⁸ They even contemplated the idea of advocating for amendments to raise the minimum age to twenty-one to

⁷⁶ William McCall, “Dr. Barnardo’s Homes”, 1926, Arthur Meighen Fonds, MG26-I, Volume 196, file C-3578, LAC.

⁷⁷ McCall, “Dr. Barnardo’s Homes”, 1926, Arthur Meighen Fonds, LAC.

⁷⁸ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, “Amendments to the Immigrant Children’s Protection Act,” 1926. Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, volume 20, file 84, LAC, 1-2.

ensure that every child received the best possible educational advantages available to them in Canada. The CCCW's response to calls for repeal signifies a shift in the perception of childhood during the 1920s and a growing recognition that childhood represented a unique life stage necessitating close care and supervision. The demands and challenges faced by juvenile immigrants under the age of fourteen were considered too arduous to the extent that the immigration experience might only be feasible for adult laborers.

Taken together, the Bondfield Report, the CCCW surveys and the 1924 Ontario legislation illustrate several shifting social trends in early twentieth century Ontario. Firstly, these documents reveal growing anxiety surrounding the idea of child labour. Both the Bondfield Report and the CCCW surveys raised concern about the health and wellbeing of young children assigned heavy workloads on Canadian farms. In the same vein, there was also a growing concern that juvenile immigrants would not be provided the same social supports as other Canadian children, such as a proper education. In this way, the sustained attacks on juvenile immigration reveal a larger shift in the concept of childhood and children's role in society. Indeed, reflected in the language of these documents was increasing focus on the primacy of school and an attempt to safeguard children from exploitation and abuse. In many ways, these documents signal the formation of a wholly different concept of childcare and child protection steeped in precepts of science, methodology and case work. At the same time, the work of British child-savers was being viewed more and more as amateur, problematic, and in need of modernization by the new-wave Canadian child reformers.⁷⁹ Secondly, these documents also reveal the contentious relationship between the federal government and the provincial

⁷⁹ Letter to Charlotte Whitton from J. Breckenridge McGregor June 15, 1927, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 26, File 137, LAC; Letter to Charlotte Whitton from J. Breckenridge McGregor June 25, 1927, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 26, File 137, LAC.

government in the burgeoning realm of child welfare. As demonstrated in Whitton's speeches, the Department of Immigration and Colonization continued to facilitate the movement of juvenile immigrants despite proven risks to safety of immigrant children and impassioned objections from child protective organizations and the public.

In fact, during the discourse on the jurisdictional friction exposed by arguments about juvenile immigration, the Department of Immigration and Colonization introduced an extensive imperial assisted-immigration program which illuminates this federal and provincial disconnect. Functioning from 1922 to 1930, there emerged a renewed interest in Britain for land resettlement schemes in Canada aimed at British ex-servicemen. This led to the establishment of the Overseas Settlement Committee (OSC).⁸⁰ This imperial resurgence was driven by two pressing concerns in Interwar Britain: congested urban centers and rising unemployment rates.⁸¹ The Empire Settlement program primarily targeted ex-servicemen for emigration but also sought to attract young single women, as there was a high demand for domestic servants in the colonies, as well as young families.⁸² Significantly, there were extensive press campaigns designed to entice British girls to emigrate to Canada, exemplified by publications like "Sunny Ontario for British Girls," which portrayed Canada as an idyllic rural paradise.⁸³ To encourage immigration, the Empire Settlement Act offered rebates for trans-Atlantic passage to all preferred immigrants intending to travel to Canada. Similarly, the Act led to the Canadian federal government and

⁸⁰ R.L. Schnell, "The Right Class of Boy: Youth Training Schemes and Assisted Emigration to Canada Under the Empire Settlement Act, 1922-1939." *History of Education* 2, No.1 (1995), 73-4.

⁸¹ Kent Fedorowich, *Unfit for Heroes: Reconstruction and Soldier Settlement in the Empire Between the Wars* (Manchester University Press, 1995), 38-39; Keith Williams, "A Way Out of Our Troubles: The Politics of Empire Settlement, 1900-1922 in *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in Dominions Between the Wars* edited by Stephen Constatine (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 41; 72-4.

⁸² Janice Gothard, "The Healthy, Wholesome British Domestic Girl: Single Female Migration and the Empire Settlement Act 1922-1930" in *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in Dominions Between the Wars* edited by Stephen Constatine (Manchester, New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 74.

⁸³ Gothard, "The Healthy, Wholesome British Domestic Girl," 81.

OSC providing grants to voluntary societies willing to assist with immigration to Canada. Much like juvenile immigration programs, the Empire Settlement Act relied on notions of imperial unity and rural exceptionalism. It emphasized that the younger the incoming immigrants were, the more likely they would be to shed immoral habits and behaviors associated with their urban lifestyles.⁸⁴

While the Empire Settlement Act was distinct from juvenile immigration, the movement sheds light on integral structural overlaps within the Canadian government that Whitton also drew attention to in her speeches. Specifically, juvenile immigration, unlike the Empire Settlement Program, straddled two different realms of British and Canadian state governance: juvenile immigration was both a form of imperial assisted immigration and simultaneously a system of ongoing child welfare and supervision. Where the OSC launched young adults from British shores to Canadian countryside's with imperialist optimism, these young men and women were left to flourish or anguish mostly on their own or with informal support. Similarly, the initial stages of juvenile immigration, including the selection of children from British homes and the trans-Atlantic journey, constituted a straightforward system of imperial assisted immigration as well. However, the immigration experience for juveniles was much more complex given that responsibility for them could not be relinquished once they reached Canadian soil. Juvenile immigrants fell under the legal guardianship of their Canadian host families and, following Ontario legislation in 1897, they also fell under the partial guardianship of the British societies that brought them to Canada.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Schnell, "The Right Class of Boy", 76-78.

⁸⁵ J.J. Kelso, *Laws of Ontario Dealing with Neglected and Dependent Children: Revised and Consolidated*, 1897 (Toronto, 1898) 68. Accessed November 20, 2021 <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.09076/1?r=0&s=1>.

Consequently, juvenile immigrants were entitled to the growing array of legislated rights and services provided to Canadian children, such as compulsory common-school education and protection from hazardous working conditions. In this manner, juvenile immigration bridged two levels of state authority in terms of jurisdiction, revealing a central ideological divide that fueled much of the tension between the CCCW and the federal government. Specifically, Charlotte Whitton and the CCCW viewed juvenile immigration as an extensive system of child rescue and child welfare, rather than a form of assisted immigration characterized by settlement programs. From their child-centered perspective, the relocation of children to Canada marked only the initial step in what should have been an ongoing process of support and care for the child. Conversely, the federal government prioritized the definition of immigrants as imperial subjects, more closely resembling immigrants of settlement programs, rather than considering their status as children first. Therefore, the Department of Immigration and Colonization focused its efforts on attracting potential juvenile immigrants, rather than providing the necessary ongoing care for their success in Canada—and this became a central issue in-need of reformation for Ontarian child welfare societies.

The Fallout of the CCCW's Analysis of Juvenile Immigration Societies, 1925-1930

The CCCW and the practice of juvenile immigration fell out of the public limelight following the implementation of the 1924 Act. However, the CCCW was dedicated to ensuring the betterment of the enterprise and started research for their final and most rigorous social survey focused on juvenile immigration in the Spring of 1927. This survey was officially released in 1928 under the title "Several Years Later." It aimed to provide an overview of changes in juvenile immigration since the CCCW's initial surveys and recommendations. Like their earlier investigations, the survey encountered methodological problems. For instance, some of the juvenile immigration

societies persisted in disregarding requests for access to information regarding the placement and well-being of the children under their care.⁸⁶ In correspondence, CCCW members discussed that this ongoing “insolent” behaviour, lack of cooperation, and inconsistent responses were the very problems they were trying to address and resolve through their social surveys and subsequent recommendations. Despite penning a letter to F. C. Blair, Assistant of the Department of Immigration, forcefully urging stubborn philanthropic societies to comply, the CCCW failed to receive sufficient data from all juvenile societies functioning in Ontario.⁸⁷ As a result, the publication of CCCW surveys, which began as an attempt to gather complete and reliable information to reveal blind spots concerning the topography of Canadian childcare, made little progress in their efforts to understand how juvenile immigration societies functioned overall. As in previous reports, internal CCCW correspondence emphasized that the Department of Immigration had not made any considerable efforts to maintain more detailed records following the 1924 and 1925 Reports on juvenile immigration.⁸⁸

Consequently, J. Breckenridge McGregor, one of the primary authors of the “Several Years Later,” had to consult ship manifests in Quebec and Liverpool to determine the number of children entering Canada. Despite the best efforts to compile data for the 1928 Report, much of the research required was missing, unreliable or too difficult to trace. Specifically, Whitton and McGregor had initially planned to conduct a survey involving 400 juvenile immigrants, comprising 200 arrivals from 1910 and 200 arrivals from 1920.⁸⁹ The primary objective of this

⁸⁶ Letter to John W. Hobday from Charlotte Whitton September 27, 1927, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 26, File 137, LAC

⁸⁷ Letter to F.C. Blair from J. Breckenridge McGregor June 15, 1927, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 26, File 137, LAC

⁸⁸ Letter to Charlotte Whitton from J. Breckenridge McGregor September 7, 1927, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 26, File 137, LAC, 3.

⁸⁹ Letter to Charlotte Whitton from J. Breckenridge McGregor September 7, 1927, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 26, File 137, LAC, 1-2.

report was to make a comparative analysis between these two groups of children, exploring their experiences in Canada, the frequency of inspections they underwent, and the quality of care they received. This analysis aimed to highlight positive changes in the system or to illustrate the potential disregard for governmental recommendations by British juvenile immigration societies. However, the scope of the 1928 Report was severely limited by gaps in records and the inability to locate many children; as McGregor stated in a letter to Whitton, once a child's indenture contract was terminated, many children changed their names or moved away from their communities and could not be found. Therefore, the 1928 Report lacked many of the rigorous elements that its authors had hoped to include. Faced with these limitations, both Whitton and McGregor still believed that the 1928 Report, with its smaller sample size and incomplete research source base, would provide a rigorous enough investigation to determine if juvenile immigration had become more effective and adopted changes recommended by the Bondfield Report and the CCCW surveys published in 1924 and 1925.⁹⁰

The 1928 Report, however, was not constructed without its own set of underlying biases. Several complaints in internal correspondence between McGregor and Whitton further illustrate the contentious relationship between Canadian child reformers and British child-savers. After gaining access to the Department of Immigration inspection reports from the 1900-1920s, McGregor revealed that, except for the St. George's Home, every other society was, "most unco-operative and their attitude toward everybody, including the Department [of Immigration], is Keep Out." The letters also highlight that many of the British child-savers had reached out to the Department of Immigration concerning the, "criticism of [the] work [which] had emanated entirely from social workers" as a "breach of trust" between British philanthropists and the

⁹⁰ Letter to Charlotte Whitton from J. Breckenridge McGregor, LAC, 3.

federal government.⁹¹ In response, McGregor penned a letter to Whitton venting her frustration in trying to compile the 1928 Report and having been "kindly shown the door" by countless societies, "I did not lose my temper or anything... but I am disgusted with them and would like to see their work damned from coast to coast. Antiquated old creatures spreading children over the country like cattle." Therefore, beneath the professional veneer of the CCCW's 1928 Report, presented as an impartial methodological examination of juvenile immigration, lay seething tensions between the emerging ranks of social workers and amateur philanthropists.

The 1928 Report, a sixty-eight-page document, began with a general history of juvenile immigration in Canada and republished the 1924 and 1925 social surveys on juvenile immigration. Ultimately, "Several Years Later" offered an idealistic view of the future of juvenile immigration and stated that, if it were properly administered, the child immigrants brought to Canada would be children "who are physically and mentally sound, who are industrious and ambitious and have developed normal moral stamina and self-control, and to whom life in Canada offers greater opportunities than in Great Britain."⁹² However, in the eyes of the CCCW, a positive outcome for juvenile immigrants was only possible if the Canadian provincial government were given control of the entire immigration process: from the selection of the child, to placement in Canadian homes, and, finally, to the ongoing supervision of the child's experience in Canada.⁹³ For example, before any immigrant child could debark onto Canadian soil, the report recommended that no child should be able to enter Canada without a

⁹¹ Letter F.C. Blair from J. Breckenridge McGregor June 15, 1927, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 26, File 137, LAC.

⁹² *Canadian Child Welfare News* Vol. 4 No. 3, 19.

⁹³ McGregor, "Several Years Later," 36-38.

health certificate which included a "favorable report on tuberculin, psychiatric tests, [and] a complete social history of the child and his family background."⁹⁴

CCCW's "Several Years Later" report also called for juvenile immigration societies to be stripped of any supervisory authority, and, again, urged the Canadian federal government to allow the provinces to assume complete control of supervision and aftercare of the child once placed in Canada.⁹⁵ Lastly, the report called for an annual conference on the subject of federal, provincial, and overseas juvenile immigrants to discuss their administrative and management practices.⁹⁶ However, only one of these conferences was held—entitled the Societies and the Federal authorities, held in Ottawa on November 30th, 1930—before the dwindling numbers of juvenile immigrants led to a seeming lack of interest in this particular form of child rescue.⁹⁷ Essentially, "Some Years Later" echoed the CCCW's earlier agenda and applied it directly to the ongoing juvenile immigration schemes; namely, that the entire system needed to be modernized, and, more importantly, the federal government needed to allow the provinces to take control or absorb these disparate and independent societies in the effort to forge one unified standard level of child care for these immigrant children throughout Canada. The recommendations in "Some Years Later" were voiced again in the CCCW annual publication, *Child Welfare News* and a discussion of the conclusions of the *Report at the Ninth Annual Child Welfare Conference* in 1928 marked the end of the CCCW's organized attack on juvenile immigration in the face of the Canadian government's moratorium on juvenile immigration.⁹⁸ While there were continued mentions of juvenile immigration in the 1929 and 1930 issues of *Child Welfare News*, these were

⁹⁴ *Canadian Child Welfare News* Vol. 4 No. 3, 22.

⁹⁵ *Canadian Child Welfare News* Vol. 4 No. 3, 22.

⁹⁶ Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare, *Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare* (Ottawa, April 28th, 1931), 53.

⁹⁷ Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare, *Minutes of the Eleventh Annual Meeting*, 53.

⁹⁸ Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, "Imperial Philanthropy and Colonial Response, 59.

little more than follow-ups on the impact of the CCCW surveys and investigations into juvenile immigration. With the number of incoming juvenile immigrants declining every year, the CCCW's modernizing gaze turned inward towards standards of care in Canadian provinces and major Canadian cities.

Charlotte Whitton and the CCCW continued their strategy to conduct social surveys, but rather than investigating independent institutions, and without focus on child immigration, the surveys investigated how different provinces conducted their child welfare services. From 1927 until 1934, the CCCW administered social surveys in the provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, British Columbia, and the cities of Hamilton, York, Ottawa, Brandon, Saskatoon, Edmonton, Fredericton, and Kingston among others.⁹⁹ The goal and methodology of these investigations followed the juvenile immigration surveys as a template. Indeed, the CCCW not only employed the same personnel to carry out provincial and municipal surveys of child care, they also advocated for the use of professional social workers and encouraged the dismissal of philanthropic volunteers they deemed "casual appointees".¹⁰⁰ Similar to the previous juvenile immigration survey, the amateur personnel working with the children were closely scrutinized as the CCCW launched in-depth investigations into their "backgrounds, training, and general suitability."¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Child Welfare in Alberta," 1929-1934, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume 6, File 31, LAC; Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Child Welfare in Quebec," 1925, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume number 35, File 163, LAC; Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "Child Welfare in Ontario (Study of York Township)," 1933, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10. Volume number 19, File 79, LAC; Canadian Council on Child Welfare, "New Brunswick Survey—Findings and Recommendations," 1929, Canadian Council on Social Development fonds, MG28-I10, Volume number 37, File 167, LAC.

¹⁰⁰ Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, "Child Welfare in English Canada," 495-6

¹⁰¹ Rooke and Schnell, "Child Welfare in English Canada," 495.

It should be noted that, in the late 1920s, the CCCW and Charlotte Whitton began to emphasize these various social surveys as attempts to cultivate a panCanadian standard of child welfare. However, there was a glaring provincial bias in their approach. For example, the CCCW's survey in New Brunswick attacked the maritime system as being antiquated and their childcare providers as nothing more than "housekeepers" as they lacked training and accreditation in modern methodologies of social work.¹⁰² In fact, the New Brunswick surveys attacked the entire Maritime poor-law system, judging it to be dysfunctional, over-reliant on donations, and in need of modernization, and centralization.¹⁰³ However, the social surveys of cities in Ontario, such as Hamilton, York, and Kingston, received much more favourable critique without demeaning remarks which riddled other provincial reports.¹⁰⁴ In short, while it is clear that the directive of the CCCW when analyzing juvenile immigration and family welfare policies of other provinces was to infuse more tenets of social work and update their systems of child welfare, the standard of appropriate child care was measured by Ontario standards. As a result, the operation and administration of child welfare in Ontario was used as the only acceptable provincial standard and, most times, unfairly foisted upon other Canadian provinces. Therefore, while the CCCW's assault on juvenile immigration was a catalyst to the achievements of a new Canadian standard of child welfare, the new standard championed by the CCCW was less of a collaborative effort, and more of an initiative to 'update' other provinces to reflect Ontario's perceptions of preferred standards of professionalized childcare.

Whitton and the CCCW remained firmly at the centre of child welfare development throughout the 1930s. During this time, Whitton and her personnel did not only conduct social

¹⁰² Rooke and Schnell, "Child Welfare in English Canada," 495.

¹⁰³ Myers, "The Governance of Childhood", 396-7.

¹⁰⁴ Patricia T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell, "Child Welfare in English Canada," 495-6

surveys and pass judgement on how other provinces cared for their children, but also turned their attention to members of the federal government. For instance, in 1932 when Helen MacMurphy reached retirement age, Whitton suggested that she step down from her position as the head of the federal Health Department's Division of Child Welfare.¹⁰⁵ This attack sprang from Whitton's perception of child welfare, which viewed infant and maternal mortality rates as only one part of a much larger problem in Canada. In Whitton's opinion, MacMurphy had focused too much energy and effort on a single facet of child welfare and suggested that it was time for the federal Division of Child Welfare to be an arm of the CCCW. The 15th Annual Report of the CCCW illustrates that this transfer to the CCCW was a success and—with this even stronger federal support and reach—Whitton planned to launch a lecture series to educate young Canadian mothers to raise the standard of childcare throughout Canada. However, in 1938, still during economic crisis, the federal government reduced the number of grants provided to the CCCW and stated that they would be heading in a different direction and opening a new federal division which would focus on maternal mortality rates and child welfare. Following this brief episode of gain in stature, the CCCW would lose much of its social power and ability to conduct, and dictate, forms of proper childcare.

In the early 1900s, juvenile immigration was a contentious topic which elicited anxious objections from Canadian doctors, labour parties, and even eugenicists, who argued that incoming droves of British pauper children would 'infect' healthy Canadians, take jobs from hardworking Canadians, and genetically erode future generations of the nation. While each perspective negatively affected the practice of juvenile immigration schemes, it was the

¹⁰⁵ Suzanne Buckley, "From Prescriptions to Misconceptions: How to Reduce Maternal Mortality in Canada," unpublished 1985 paper, 82. <https://journals.msvu.ca/index.php/atlantia/article/download/4894/4092/6463>.

sustained attack by early twentieth century child reformers and child welfare agencies in Ontario that provided the final blow to juvenile immigration. The duration of this attack was bolstered by an array of social upheavals marked by the reform movement in the Interwar years. These reforms changed many sectors of Canadian society and led to many landmark acts in the realm of child protection and welfare. Indeed, boys and girls no longer had to endure a childhood defined by long hours and manual labour—as new protections under law shielded them from exploitation. In the same vein, families were provided with a universal education system to uplift and provide children with countless opportunities in their adult lives. Bringing these child protection standards into legislative praxis was the vision of social workers wielding new methodologies of childcare. With the rise of these professional social workers and medical experts, juvenile immigration initiatives came to be viewed as amateurish outdated institutions which posed a threat to health and wellbeing of future Canadians.

Social surveys and recommendations published by the CCCW reshaped juvenile immigration societies, exposing them as backward systems of childcare, and fueling state dissonance concerning ideas and policies of child welfare. Rather than placing blame solely on the autonomous child-savers and their societies, the CCCW simultaneously represented juvenile immigration schemes as a threat to the operation of Canadian state power and as a barrier to the development of unified Canadian childcare standards. In many ways, the failure of British child savers and their immigration initiatives informed modern legislated reforms by illuminating risks to immigrant children through inadequate operation and reach of state jurisdictions. Within the gaps between provincial and federal childcare, Whitton and the CCCW unearthed inhumane treatment of juvenile immigrants.

Juvenile immigration proved to be the perfect target for the CCCW, as it illustrated many problems within the contemporary system of child welfare while simultaneously representing a major threat to the rising authority of social workers. For the CCCW, juvenile immigration functioned as the perfect antagonist: a sixty-year-old child-saving institution with a history of abuse, manned predominantly by an amateur workforce who refused to follow even the most basic principles of consistent administrative practices. The CCCW's sustained focus on juvenile immigration reflects the changing attitudes in Ontario towards children and the rise of new practices of child rearing and child protection; however, this focus also demonstrates the CCCW's attempts to gain legitimacy in the realm of child welfare by denigrating the actions of the childcare workers and philanthropic child-savers who came before them. The CCCW tenaciously worked toward a vision of a centralized system of childcare which afforded every child in Canada equal protection under the law and appropriate standards of care without exception. Once juvenile immigration began to decline in numbers following the Great Depression, the CCCW turned their modernizing gaze toward Canada's Western and Eastern provinces, branding New Brunswick and British Columbian provincial approaches to child welfare as amateurish and backward.

Conclusion

Between 1869 and 1930, various levels of government and individual philanthropists oversaw the transportation of roughly one-hundred thousand impoverished children from Britain to Canada in the name of child-saving. Juvenile immigration marked the first large-scale government-aided program of child rescue in Canada which sought to provide new homes and bright futures for children grappling with parental neglect and dismal urban living conditions in Britain. In theory, juvenile immigration seemed the perfect solution to multiple problems in two nations: re-locating impoverished British children from overcrowded urban streets to new homes, while simultaneously providing much-needed labour for Canadian farms. However, the administrative realities of juvenile programs often undermined these altruistic ambitions. What began as a philanthropic venture intended to provide social mobility and a promising future for neglected British children was eventually decried as an enterprise of child neglect and mistreatment. Even when British child-savers began to address the issues of mismanagement and to revise their supervisory practices to elevate the level of care provided to children, juvenile immigration continued to hold a capricious role in the eyes of both Canada and Britain.

The preceding chapters have illustrated juvenile immigration's many different masks as it functioned as an early child welfare program, a labour relief program, and an imperial immigration program. Given the extensive original aims of early juvenile immigration schemes, the philanthropic work attracted a litany of interested individuals who worked tirelessly to better the world; however, this very pursuit for a better future served as the main impetus for the ultimate failure of juvenile immigration. Juvenile immigration was a sprawling enterprise which spanned the Atlantic Ocean and required the collaboration of three different governmental

systems: the federal government of Canada, the provincial government of Ontario, and the Local Government Board of Britain. To complicate matters even further, juvenile immigration societies operated under the guidance of a single administrator, such as Maria Rye, Thomas Barnardo, or William Quarrier, who was responsible for constructing systems of transportation, accommodation, and supervision of children throughout Canada. As a result, the enterprise of juvenile immigration did not have a singular vision; instead, the goals of this altruistic practice flowed from the intentions and goodwill of individual philanthropists. For example, Barnardo perceived his work as an imperial venture to provide Canada with the “bricks and mortar” of empire to ensure that the colonial ties to the Motherland were strong. With so many hands at work, the experiences of juvenile immigrants in Canada were highly variable. While many children were placed on farms with loving families and supervised frequently, others found themselves in situations of grave neglect with no protective apparatus to alert for assistance.

One of the key conclusions from these chapters has been the highly cloistered nature of juvenile immigration work as each British philanthropist had their own imagined futures and potential visions for the children they brought to Canada. In the aftermath of the First World War—which brought about a period of reform dedicated to the creation of social welfare services—juvenile immigration assumed another mantle. In the eyes of a rapidly professionalizing wave of Ontarian child-savers, British child-savers and their work was besmirched as a black spot on the topography of Canadian child welfare. For the new wave of twentieth century social workers, the amateur workforce, and outdated practices of child-savers such as the use of indenture contracts to place children with Canadian families, rendered juvenile immigration an antiquated relic of nineteenth century childcare that brought more harm than good to British children. Given this, juvenile immigration became the focus of reformation for

burgeoning child welfare organizations, such as the Canadian Council of Child Welfare (CCCW), who began to implement new methodologies of social work and childcare throughout Canada's provinces.

The professionalization of Canadian child-savers and shifting definitions of childhood are only one part of a larger story underpinning the decline of juvenile immigration in the mid-twentieth century. The work of British child-savers within the nexus of federal and provincial powers provides a vantage point to the inner workings of state power and state governance. Through this analytic frame, the decline of juvenile immigration can be understood in terms of competing bids of conduct by both the federal government of Canada and the provincial government of Ontario. In simpler terms, these two levels of government within Canada held differing views on the efficacy of juvenile immigration which reveal deeply enmeshed and opposing ideas concerning proper childcare and child rearing. Given these tensions, between 1869 and 1930, juvenile immigration was defined by shifting state allegiances—with many state actors and non-state advocates vying for control of the movement of British children into Canada. For example, in the early days of the movement in 1869, children were relocated into Canada from Britain through agreements brokered between individual philanthropists, the British Local Government Board and the federal government of Canada.

From 1869 to 1897, the provincial government of Ontario had little power to restrict, regulate, or even inspect the children coming across their provincial boundaries. Given that the federal government continued to provide tacit permissions and direct funding to juvenile immigration societies, provincial actors were often ignored in their attempts to limit the autonomy of British child-savers and their work. At point of origin, the practice of juvenile immigration sprang from the bedrock of Canada's imperial heritage and acted as a form of

colonization to ensure that the newly confederated Canada was filled with loyal British subjects. The imperial origins of juvenile immigration bestowed a special status on the philanthropic enterprise which was sporadically honoured and elevated the perception of British pauper children from small, neglected bodies to imperial seeds which would solidify Canada's place within the British empire. In the wake of moments of imperial rupture, such as the South African War, friction between the provincial government of Ontario and the federal government of Canada over incoming British children was eclipsed by the urgent call for imperial unity. Therefore, juvenile immigration demonstrates the capricious nature of state power and illustrates that provincial demands for more agency in the movement of children allayed in moments of national and imperial tragedy.

However, as juvenile immigration continued to develop into the early twentieth century, Canadian childcare reformers and concerned politicians began to advocate for the province of Ontario to have a greater role in the affairs of children within its provincial jurisdiction. As a result, concerned Canadians lobbied the provincial government to pass legislation to ensure that juvenile immigrants were properly inspected and provided adequate care. In this way, the history of juvenile immigration reveals the oscillation of state power through pliable, yet difficult to define, provincial and federal jurisdictions. Indeed, juvenile immigration reveals that, despite health initiatives and the care for children falling under provincial purview as indicated in the British North America Act, both the work's focus on immigration and imperial connections blurred the recently established jurisdiction of burgeoning state power. In fact, one of the guiding principles of this dissertation has been to illustrate the often dissonant—and contrapuntal—function of the various arms of the state.¹ The conception of a fractious state is important for two

¹ Heaman, *A Short History of the State in Canada*, 1-2.

reasons; firstly, the concept of the non-linear state highlights that the idea of state governance is ever-changing as new techniques of rule and new methods to shape conduct are discovered, implemented, and discarded simultaneously. Secondly, this formulation of the state as fractious also highlights important gaps within the function of the state in Canada. As previous chapters illustrated, the confusion surrounding which arm of the Canadian government was to regulate juvenile immigration created contested spaces between state jurisdictions which allowed British child-savers to act autonomously and to implement practices which many considered negligent and dangerous—all while free from the prying eyes of inspectors to evaluate their techniques of child rearing and child placement.

In the case of juvenile immigration, the expressions of provincial and federal power become more pressing as they are enmeshed within the very concept of childhood. Like the Canadian state, the definition of childhood is a social construction; consequently, the concept of childhood in Canada is in perpetual flux as new social norms, technological innovations, and academic disciplines repeatedly redefine and recast childhood in unexpected ways. The work of historians of childhood provide an excellent chronology of the shifting definitions of childhood from their nineteenth century embodiment as integral young workers in multiple industries to the twentieth century view that children were vulnerable individuals who were, “economically worthless, but emotionally priceless.”² This dissertation has worked to bring both the shifting and versatile expressions of provincial and federal power into conversation with the divergent philosophies of proper childcare espoused by competing state and non-state actors on the stage of juvenile immigration.

² Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 13-15; Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child*, 6-8.

Throughout this dissertation we have seen that children are unlike any other historical subject, as they are often perceived as existing in a state of becoming something else. In this way, children as historical subjects resist simplistic categorical definitions. Immigrant children were not only sons, daughters, Canadian citizens, and British immigrants, but were also reflections of the hopes and dreams of a brighter future for subsequent generations. Children and standards for childcare were imbued with a greater degree of social urgency—as children embodied both a contemporary moment in time which measured the health of the nation, as well as an imagined future inexorably linked to national prosperity. Within the framework of juvenile immigration, the concept of childhood is no longer static, but fluid, responding to social reforms to meet/match the ever-changing nature of childhood. Indeed, throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a plethora of historical actors—British child-savers, Canadian federal immigration agents, Canadian child reformers, doctors, and social workers—all imposed their own preconceived notions of proper childcare onto British home children trickling into the country. These individual actors attempted to shape the conduct of British children in different ways, and whether a focus on the importance of religion, work, or education, the smallest decision made by these British child-savers and Canadian state actors had irreversible consequences in the lives of these children.

The close focus on individual architects of juvenile immigration paired with the Canadian reformer's response to juvenile immigration provides an array of social change indicating shifting Canadian standards of childcare and child rearing which evolved from the 1860s into the 1930s. By the early 1930s, Canadian childcare had changed irrevocably from its modest beginnings defined by a patchwork of volunteer-based institutions to a system of government funded shelters, administered, and staffed by university trained social workers, medical doctors,

and psychologists. While this dissertation has outlined how static narratives of state operation and power can be challenged, this work also disrupts the narrative that childcare in Canada progressed linearly from amateur to professional. The transition from a model of child protection defined by amateur volunteerism to an official government apparatus of experts has been interrogated in many of the seminal works on Canadian childhood. While this ideological shift in the social construction of childhood is undeniably integral to understanding the history of childhood in Canada, it is important to also highlight that many vestiges of the past endured throughout the rise of the university-trained experts, proof that “outdated” methods of childcare continued to function well into the twentieth century.

Lastly, while this dissertation focuses on the past, many of the shortcomings which plagued juvenile immigration and the Ontario Children’s Aid Societies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century remain problematic today. With an eye to continuity through change, the child welfare system came under investigation in June 2022, as whistleblowers, journalists, and adolescents who were placed in the Ontario foster care system at a young age came forward to reveal the many blind spots and failings of the CAS. Akin to the damning Doyle Report of 1875—the first formal report on juvenile immigration—the Ontario CAS system was accused of providing inadequate housing, removing children from their parents with little evidence, and failing to provide follow-up visits and inspections. In response, the provincial conservative government under Premier Doug Ford attempted to quell anxiety by planning to amend the Child, Youth and Family Services Act (CYFSA) to increase the number of annual inspections and to introduce heavy fines, which replaced the previous one-thousand dollar fine for instances

of abuse and neglect to a fine of up to two-hundred and fifty thousand dollars.³ These fines would be levied on host families who did not provide adequate housing and would widen the definition of abuse to include physically restraining children, spitting, and the use of hate speech.⁴

However, social workers and child welfare experts argue that these changes are simply a band-aid solution which ensures that children are provided with the bare minimum in terms of necessities and emotional support treatment. Indeed, if the aim of Ontario childcare is simply to provide the bare necessities, child rights activists argue that the definition of childcare needs to be reformulated and a new provincial plan developed with a focus on providing children with proper access to mental health services, with the intent to keep families together. The child welfare system in Ontario still grapples with the issue of private child welfare institutions which continue to operate between the spaces of state power. For example, a report compiled on the child welfare system of Ontario in 2021/2022 revealed that roughly twenty-five percent of foster homes were comprised of private institutions which had a much higher incidence of abuse.⁵ To make matters worse, these private child welfare institutions did not have to provide transparent statistics on incidence of abuse or complaints to concerned citizens or guardians. Given this,

³ Andrew Russell and Carolyn Jarvis, "Ontario Proposing Fines of \$250K for anyone caught breaking child-protection laws. Global News, July 18, 2023. <https://globalnews.ca/news/9840044/ontario-proposing-max-fines-breaking-child-protection-laws>; Carolyn Morris, "30 Years of Child Welfare Data Collection Reveals Systemic Inequities, Racism, and Harm in Canada" Phys org <https://phys.org/news/2023-03-years-child-welfare-reveals-inequities.html>; Andrew Russell and Carolyn Jarvis, "Ontario Children's Aid Society Handed \$1.3 Million After Global News Report. Global News Marce 23, 2023. <https://globalnews.ca/news/9571107/ontario-childrens-aid-society-global-news-report/>

⁴ Andrew Russell and Carolyn Jarvis, "Ontario Proposing Fines of \$250K for anyone caught breaking child-protection laws. Global News, July 18, 2023. <https://globalnews.ca/news/9840044/ontario-proposing-max-fines-breaking-child-protection-laws>

⁵ Michael Wrobel, Carolyn Jarvis, Andrew Russell, Elizabeth Sargent, Kenneth Jackson, "Inside Ontario's Child Welfare System where Kids are 'commodities'" APTN National News, May 28, 2022. <https://www.aptnnews.ca/national-news/inside-ontarios-scary-child-welfare-system-where-kids-are-commodities/>

many of the same problems which plagued burgeoning child welfare institutions of the twentieth century continued into the twenty-first century.

This dissertation has focused on revealing the complex innerworkings of the Canadian state and its role in the development of child welfare. Throughout these pages, there has been a sustained focus on discord and division between federal and provincial visions of proper childcare and tensions between state and non-state actors focused on the definitions of childhood and childrearing. Acknowledging the complex and contradictory truths of state power is a vital task to reveal a more comprehensive portrait of the history of child welfare in Canada; however, it's important to note that within the story of juvenile immigration there were many moments of humanitarianism, altruism, and, above all, cooperation. Indeed, while the enterprise of juvenile immigration often set provincial actors against federal agents, these two forces often came together at times of grave threat and danger for British pauper children. While juvenile immigration was marred by the realities of inadequate funding, the philanthropic enterprise grew out of the fertile soil of altruism and belief of many well-intentioned Canadian citizens in the untapped potential of Canada's rugged landscape.

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