

‘A Troublesome Girl is Pushed through’ – Morality, Biological Determinism, Resistance, Resilience and the Canadian Child Migration Schemes (1883-1939)

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Abstract

The current article critically analyses correspondence and decisions regarding children/young people who were included in the Canadian child migration schemes that ran between 1883-1939, and those who were deemed ‘undeserving’ and outside the scope of the schemes. Drawing on critical realist ontology, a metatheory that centralises the causal non-linear dynamics and generative mechanisms in the individual, the cultural sphere and the wider society, the research starts from the premise that the principles of ‘less or more eligibility’ lie at the heart of the British welfare system, both now and in historic times. Through analysing case files and related correspondence of children sent to Canada via the Waifs and Strays Society and Fegan Homes, I shed a light on the complex interplay between morality, biological determinism, resistance and resilience in decisions around which children should be included/excluded. I argue that it was the complex interplay and nuance between the moral/immoral, desirable/undesirable, degenerate and capable/incapable child that guided practice with vulnerable children in the late 1800s. In judgements around ‘deservedness’, related stigmas around poverty and ‘bad’ behaviour are rife. Within this, the child is punished for his/her ‘immoral tendencies’ and ‘inherited traits’, with little regard for the underlying reasons (e.g. abuse and neglect) for their (abnormal) behaviour and ‘mental deficiencies’.

Keywords

Child migration schemes, critical realism, biological determinism, morality, resilience

Introduction

Between 1869 and 1939, over 100,000 children and young people (aged between 5-14 to start with, and largely aged 14-16 years old from 1909) were sent to Canada from the British Isles, as part of the child emigration movement (Constantine, 2002; Jenkins, 2000). Motivated by social and economic forces, the child migration schemes were heralded for providing pauper children with a better chance for a healthy, moral life in rural Canada, where families welcomed them as a source of cheap farm labour and domestic help (Lynch, 2016; Parr, 1982). The child migration schemes were run by philanthropic agencies - two such voluntary institutions were the Fegan Homes and the Waifs and Strays Society; the first was responsible for sending 3,200 boys to Canada, between 1884-1915, and the latter for sending approximately 3,500 children (both boys and girls) to Canada between 1883 and 1937 (Global Heritage Press, 2013; Kohli, 2003). Through analysing case files and related correspondence of children sent to Canada via the Waifs and Strays Society and Fegan Homes between 1883-1939, I aim to shed a light on the complex interplay between morality, biological determinism and resilience in decisions around which children should be included/excluded. Specifically, I will show how child migration schemes were presented as moral programmes to 'rescue' children facing poverty or danger on the one hand, whilst adopting discriminatory selection procedures framed within stereotypical judgements regarding 'bad behaviour' and mental inferiority on the other. Here, the 'rescued' child/young person was positioned within a lower class/hierarchy and as less worthy/able than other children (Sohasky, 2015). Fuelled by biological determinism and eugenics, the assumption was that a child's moral character was irretrievably shaped by heredity, resulting in child migrants being condemned as degenerate 'slum kids' (Buss, 1976; Partridge 1912; Stewart, 2009). Between these positions, was a tentative construction of some children as 'capable' and 'resilient', namely children/young people, who showed strength of character and an

ability to change (Lynch, 2014; Parr, 1982). Yet, other coping mechanisms, such as resistance to emigration and running away, were blamed on their upbringing and hereditary tendencies leading to them being classed as ‘troublesome’ and hard to manage and placing them in the undeserving category (Author, 2019; 2020; Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020). I argue that this complex interplay and nuance between the moral/immoral, desirable/undesirable, degenerate and capable/incapable child that guided practice with vulnerable children in the late 1800s, and its legacy can still be seen in safeguarding and mental health support decisions today (Author, 2019; 2020).

Whilst some writings highlight the altruistic motives of the voluntary agencies that sent children abroad, e.g. in her book on the ‘Middlemore Experience’, Roberts-Pichette (2016) constructs the child migration scheme in terms of an initiative that helped vulnerable children thrive, cases of abuse and neglect are also widely reported in relation to the Canadian (as well as the Australian) child migration schemes (see Constantine, 1991; Lynch, 2014, as well as IICSA (independent inquiry child sexual abuse inquiry) report, 2018). The selection process associated with UK child migration schemes to Canada located the child both within a framework of morality (i.e. the focus on rescuing the child from moral danger), and biological determinism (excluding ‘degenerate’ children and children with undesirable traits) (Author, 2020; Faulkner, 2011; Swain and Hillel, 2010). Between these positions, there is also a sense of framing of particular kinds of children, who were either constructed as capable of change, with strength of character and positive traits, or as hard to manage and difficult (Lynch, 2016; Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020; Parr, 1982). The latter was blamed on their upbringing, rather than the upheaval of emigration, but could be also be viewed as a strategy of resistance by children who had few means and methods of recourse (Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020). Both framings, namely that of the child ‘capable of change’ and the ‘hard to manage child’ may be early signs of reflecting what is now referred

to as ‘resilience’. Although the term resilience was not used in relation to human behaviour and capability until the 1970s (Werner’s research with deprived children in Hawai is believed to be one of the first published studies with a focus on resilience; Werner and Smith, 1977; 1982), there are examples of associations with this in earlier publications. An example of this is the work of Scottish author and government reformer Samuel Smiles, who published a book in 1859 aptly titled *Self Help*, and a book entitled *Character* in 1871 - in both books he refers to and champions the influence of character, courage, self-control, home power, and temper, all terms that are used in current research around resilience in children (e.g. Author, 2016; Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker 2000). Whilst some children and young people who were included in the child migration schemes, on the surface appeared to adjust and showed ‘strength of character’ in light of the challenges faced, other children expressed resistance towards emigration, by running away and being hard to manage (Kelly et al., 2017). Both ‘strength of character’, compliance and resistance could be explained and analysed in light of self help’, ‘character’ and ‘resilience’ (Smiles, 1959; 1871; Ungar, 2002; 2004), and can be used as a tool for understanding the outcomes of the processes and use of decision making by child rescue charities and schemes.

In light of constructions around morality, biological determinism and resilience/resistance, the current article critically analyses correspondence and decisions regarding children/young people who were included in the child migration schemes and those who were deemed ‘undeserving’ and outside the scope of the schemes. Drawing on critical realist ontology, a metatheory that centralises the causal non-linear dynamics and generative mechanisms in the individual, the cultural sphere and the wider society, the research starts from the premise that the principles of ‘less or more eligibility’ lie at the heart of the British welfare system, both now and in historic times (Author, 2007; 2019; Bhaskar, 1989; 2014). Critical realism provides insight into oppression, inequality and uneven practices through the

search for generative mechanisms and causal factors, which combined might have created a phenomenon over time and within this influences particular outcomes and practices (Author, 2019; Mutch, 2014; Wilson, 2020). Thus stimulating a drive to gain insight into the quandary between three structural concepts – ‘absence’ (under-representation, under-privilege and what is missing in a context or institution/organisation highlighting a possible need for a critical focus), ‘difference’ (stigmatic labelling, e.g. in relation to poverty, character and self-control) and ‘threat’ (e.g. ‘immoral behaviour’, ‘undesirable traits’) (Chauhan and Foster, 2014). As such critical realism can form the basis for research with a focus on making sense of child protection practices, taking account of the fact that these practices and related perceptions are both socially constructed, as well as influenced by external factors and forces that can be real and independent of any one person or social group (Author, 2019; Sayer, 2000). Historical investigations can explain some of the mechanisms at play at the field level, influencing particular (uneven) outcomes and practices, such as the legacy of the punitive deserving/undeserving paradigm inherited from the New Poor Law of 1834 (Author, 2018, 2020; Mutch, 2014). The New Poor Law was implemented to reduce spending on the poor, by centralising the notion of eligibility, the fact that some people are deserving of welfare support, due to an inability to work, through no fault of their own (e.g. the old, infirm, widows) (Atherton, 2011; King, 2019; Royden, 2017). The ‘deserving/undeserving’ paradigm also played a significant role in decisions around which children should and should not be supported; the legacy therein can also be seen to influence the child migration schemes (Author, 2020). For example Lynch (2014) refers to the moral nature of the various child migration and child rescue schemes, and highlights that within this certain children were perceived as outside of the scope of the moral rescue scheme. The next section sheds a light on the child migration schemes associated with the Fegan Homes and the Waifs and Strays

Society, followed by an analysis of selection processes and framings (moral, biological determinism, resilient) of children included in the schemes.

Child Migration: Fegan Homes and the Waifs & Strays

The latter half of the 19th century saw the rise of the child rescue movement and philanthropic voluntary agencies providing institutional care and support for the poor, destitute and orphaned young (Author, 2020; Skinner and Thomas, 2018). By the mid to late 1800s there were a multitude of institutions in Britain that were used as a substitute for children's 'natural' homes, from orphanages (although it should be noted that these institutions also largely catered for children who were not orphans) to a wide range of other establishments run by charities, religious groups, workhouse authorities, local councils and single individuals, serving particular purposes (e.g. moral protection, penal confinement etc.) (Higginbotham, 2017; King 2003; Skinner and Thomas, 2018). At the same time, initiated by religious and charitable organisations, the child migration movement started to take off - one of the earliest of these being the Children's Friend Society established in 1830, which sent out its first party of child migrants to Australia in 1832 (Bagnell, 2001; Honeyman, 2012). In 1850 Parliament legalised Poor Law Guardians to fund emigration of children to the colonies. Between 1869 and the 1930s over 100,000 child emigrants ended up in Canada alone, as part of the child migration schemes facilitated by religious and charitable organisations (Kohli, 2003). Foregrounding the voluntary nature of the migration schemes and placing responsibility with the philanthropic institutions allowed the British government to give tacit support for child migration 'at one remove', without incurring the censure of powerful interest groups who opposed child migration (Grier, 2002). The IICSA (independent inquiry child sexual abuse) inquiry and report (2018) into the historical child migration schemes to

Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Southern Rhodesia highlights that child migration was never entirely uncontroversial: reports as far back as the 1800s expressed significant criticisms of it. Yet, politics and economic benefits were consistently prioritised over the welfare of children.

The current study draws on archival data (correspondence, case files, emigration paperwork, reports and magazines) associated with children sent to Canada by the Waifs and Strays Society and the Fegan Homes. By analysing archival materials from Canada alongside those from the UK, I aim to shed a light on emigration decisions and justifications from philanthropic institutions in the UK (namely the Waifs and Strays Society), and correspondence from children prior to their move to Canada, as well as emigration paperwork, letters, decisions and correspondence (relating to the Waifs and Strays Society and Fegan Homes) after emigration to Canada. Here, I am specifically interested in language around behaviour, mental state and deficiency, neglect, character. Firstly, I accessed a total of 100 case files (consisting of correspondence from custodians, educators, medical officers, church reverends, practitioners linked to asylums and industrial schools, as well as parents and children) at the Children's Society archives in London (formerly known as the Waifs and Strays Society). Only case files that referred to 'Canada' were selected – a search of the archives revealed a total of 1354 references to Canada. The search was narrowed down through the use of the keywords, namely 'behaviour', 'mental state', 'deficiency', 'neglect' and 'character', resulting in a total of 100 case files. Secondly, I accessed 42 microfilm reels (consisting of roughly 1500 images each), comprising minute books, emigration papers and correspondence between receiving and sending homes, from the Library Archives Canada (LAC), in Ottawa associated with children sent to Canada by two institutions: the Fegan Homes (Volumes 1-3, 7, 8), and the Waifs and Strays Society (A-1137 through to A-1175). As with the search in the Children's Society archives in London, the following keywords

were used: ‘behaviour’, ‘mental state’, ‘deficiency’, ‘neglect’ and ‘character’ in relation to both the Waifs and Strays Society and Fegan Homes archives. Here it needs to be acknowledged that work in archives is open to chance and serendipity, and while directed by the aims of the study and related keywords, the nature of the sources might either constrain the answers to the questions or suggest new directions, and data may have to be re-coded to answer a new question (Mohr and Ventresca, 2002; Mutch, 2014). Moreover, the timespan and archival data accessed (in this case data linked to the Waifs and Strays Society and Fegan Homes), may only offer partial evidence for an interpretation (considering the range of different philanthropic institutions involved in the child migration movement). For example, Roberts-Pichette (2016) studied the Middlemore Homes and came to the conclusion that the schemes led by the Middlemore Homes helped vulnerable children thrive. In my archival search, I used a number of keywords which were informed by the aims of the study, and I also narrowed down my search and re-coded the findings, and was lucky enough to be able to consult with and draw on the expertise of archive staff (both at the Children’s Society Archives and the LAC) who had clear understanding of collections, unprocessed materials and related materials (Duff and Johnson, 2003). It was through the latter that I was introduced to the Fegan Homes archives, which were not digitised and required specific permission for viewing.

Fegan Homes were established by James W.C. Fegan in 1870 and catered for street boys (firstly in London, and from 1872 further afield), and over the years opened a number of homes, missions, orphanages, schools and training farms in London and elsewhere in England, including Ramsgate, Stony Stratford, Southwark and Goudhurst (Fullerton, 1931). From 1884 Fegan started to send boys to Canada, and opened distributing homes in Manitoba, Toronto and Ontario (Kohli, 2003; Parker, 2010). Roughly 3,200 Fegan boys ended up in Canada, between 1884-1915 and from the end of the First World War until 1939;

most of the boys were placed on farms. The Waifs and Strays Society was established in 1881 by Edward Rudolph, with the goal to set up Homes for destitute children in connection with the Church of England, that, as far as possible, would provide children with a family environment rather than an institutional one (Higginbotham, 2017; Skinner and Thomas, 2018). Over 20,000 children from across England and Wales were cared for by the Waifs and Strays Society between 1881 and the end of the First World War (www.hiddenlives.org.uk). Between 1883 and 1937 the Waifs and Strays Society sent approximately 3,500 children to Canada, from its residential children's homes in England and Wales. During the period that the Waifs and Strays Society was active in Canada it maintained six receiving homes: Gibbs' Home, Sherbrooke, Quebec (girls' home 1884-97, boys' home 1897-1933); Benyon Home, Sherbrooke, Quebec (boys' home 1884-97) Our Western Home, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario (girls' home 1897-1921) Elizabeth Rye Home, Toronto, Ontario (girls' home 1924-32) Winnipeg Babies' Home, Winnipeg, Manitoba (home for boys and girls aged 0-5, 1909-11) (The Children's Society Records and Archive Section; Parker, 2010). Until 1909 the children sent to Canada were aged between five and fourteen, and were mostly girls; boys tended to be sent mostly at age 14. In 1909 girls gained parity with boys when the Society increased their lower age limit to 14 years. In 1925 the age limit for girls was increased to 16 (Kohli, 2003).

Both the Fegan Homes and the Waifs and Strays Society maintained a strict policy throughout the whole period they were involved in child emigration, requiring the consent of a parent or guardian to be given prior to a child being emigrated to Canada. Nevertheless, there is evidence that children were sent to Canada without parental consent and it is not possible to ascertain whether children without parents or a guardian were more likely to be proposed for emigration than other children (Bagnell, 2001; Parker, 2010). The majority of the children sent to the receiving homes in Canada were eventually sourced out to work -

boys on the farms and girls in domestic service. Many believed that these children would have a better chance for a healthy, moral life in rural Canada. Yet, there is evidence that receiving households were often motivated more by the economic benefits that children of different ages could bring, than the symbolic ideal of supporting the civic and moral formation of a vulnerable child (Lynch, 2014). This is evident from patterns of children's movement between different households, which were often closely related to changes in the economic terms of their placement (Parr, 1994). Some households preferred to receive younger children, for whom they received regular boarding out payment, and asked to return these children to organisational homes when they reached an age when such payments were no longer due (Parr, 1994).

The child migration movement embodied a patchwork of practice grounded in notions to do with morality, the 'deserving/undeserving paradigm and biological determinism (Author, 2020; Constantine, 2013; Delap, 2015). The New Poor Law, introduced in 1834, was implemented to reduce spending on the poor, by centralising the notion of 'deservedness' and eligibility for support grounded in subjective judgements in relation to people's ability and willingness to work and better themselves, (Atherton, 2011; King, 2019; Royden, 2017; Sales, 2002). This also involved a positioning of children informed by deterministic assumptions, associated with biological determinism, namely that a child's moral character was irretrievably shaped by heredity, as well as the assumption that children should take personal responsibility for their social condition as much as adults, in line with the 'deserving/undeserving' paradigm stimulated by the New Poor Law of 1834 (see, for example Author, 2020; Lynch, 2016; King, 2019). Between these positions, is a tentative construction of 'resilience', namely with a focus on particular kinds of children, who showed strength of character and an ability to change (Lynch, 2014; Parr, 1982). Yet, other coping mechanisms, such as resistance to emigration and running away, were blamed on their

upbringing, and dismissed as difficult behaviour, classifying the child as hard to manage and undeserving (Author, 2019; 2020; Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020). Drawing on data collected at the Waifs and Strays archives (currently known as the Children's Society) in London and from the Library Archives Canada, in Ottawa, this article takes a closer look at child migration schemes, in order to paint a more complex picture of its practitioners, their perceptions in relation to which children/young people should be included/excluded from the schemes, as well as the lives of children sent to the 'land of opportunity'. Analysing archival materials from Canada alongside those from the UK offers insight into emigration decisions and justifications from philanthropic institutions in the UK and correspondence from children/parents prior and after emigration to Canada. This is important in providing a more balanced overview of the range of perceptions/justifications tied to the child migration schemes, from being referred to as a 'child rescue scheme' to condemning child migrants as degenerate 'slum kids'

'It would be a good opening for him' & 'One of the finest party of lads that has come to the city'

In the late 1800s, child migration to Canada was largely presented as an appropriate method for managing the large numbers of unsocialised, undisciplined, neglected children, taken on by the various philanthropic institutions. Moreover, this was further justified by drawing attention to the need of protecting such children from 'immoral' parents or other family members, by despatching them to new homes and new lives overseas, sometimes without parental knowledge, let alone consent (Coldrey, 1999; Constantine, 1991; 2002). For example, the Waifs and Strays Society referred to the poor areas of London in terms of constituting 'a terrible pollution to the stream of our national life' (Swain and Hillel, 2010:

67), in which children would be ‘contaminated from the outset by vicious surroundings’ (ibid.: 72). This moral framing of child redemption in the operation of these schemes coexisted alongside economic judgements, i.e. children as sources of cheap farm labour and domestic help, in complex and often contradictory ways (Lynch, 2016; Parr, 1982).

The Waifs and Strays Society, established in 1881, started to send children to Canada from 1883. Below is an example of this, which relates to two brothers, one born in 1878 and the other in 1882; the application to the Waifs and Strays is in 1893. The boys are born in India and the mother is described as ‘*a lady of intemperate habits*’. The father has abandoned the family. A letter (an exact copy of which can be found in the case files of both boys) from 1895 highlights:

As this lad is anxious to go to Canada, & you think it would be a good opening for him it seems a pity for him not to do so. We have heard nothing now of the mother, & I should say we should be scarcely likely to do so now.

*We have no objection to his going.*¹

By locating an element of desire, i.e. the wish to go to Canada, with the children themselves, there is also a sense of placing causality and the driving force behind the child migration scheme with the child, who is so ‘anxious to go’. Moreover, the construction of the absent mother, who is said to have shown little interest in the boys, provides a further incentive and also shows that parental consent was not necessarily a priority. The child migration schemes, although praised for providing pauper children with a new life in the land of opportunities, were also subject to scrutiny. For example in 1875, Andrew Doyle, a poor law inspector carried out an investigation sanctioned by the London Board of Governors, who were tasked with overseeing child migration (to an extent, as most of this was left to the philanthropic agencies). In his report, which was largely disregarded, Doyle raised concerns

about financial profiteering (from the voluntary agencies), as well as the fact that there were few or no regular follow-up visits with either the children or the families in which they had been placed (Bean and Melville, 1989; Kohli, 2003). Thus, by foregrounding the desire of the child to be part of this scheme, there is also a sense of silencing any potential criticisms.

Another example of correspondence, also from the 1890s highlights: *'One of our boys in the Rochdale Home wishes to go to Canada next Spring. What arrangements must we make? ought he to go to one of our Farm Homes for a little training?'*². As well as foregrounding the child's desire to go to Canada, there was also a clear sense that the child must be of benefit to the receiving Homes in Canada, hence the reference to 'training'. Moreover, tales of children doing well as a result of the schemes were also frequently used: *'Another boy, W is from a Fegan's Home for Boys & he is now in Canada, near Ontario, & promised to do well there.'*³

At the same time, whilst initially welcoming the British children with open arms, as the children's schemes progressed Canadians became mistrusting of the British intention to rid itself of the lowest of the low: idiots, the ill, and children with criminal intent (Bagnell, 2001; Parr, 1994). Such children, it was claimed, were not a valuable resource but 'gutter snipes', 'often tainted with a hereditary disposition toward crime and viciousness', hinting at the influence of biological determinism (Garland, 2018; IICSA, 2018). Correspondence from the Waifs and Strays Society in London refers to a girl, born in 1873, who was taken on by the Waifs and Strays in 1886. Her parents were separated, her dad had died and the mother was found begging on the street. A letter from 1888 refers to the possibility of emigration to Canada, but this is eventually dismissed, because she is:

*'disobedient and untruthful', 'inherently idle' and 'not quite all there it seems'*⁴

Whilst some children, on the surface appeared to adjust and showed ‘strength of character’ in light of the challenges faced, other children expressed resistance towards emigration, by being hard to manage (Kelly et al., 2017; Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020). It could be argued that the ‘disobedient and untruthful’ behaviour of the girl in the example above falls in the latter category and could be seen as a strategy of resistance in light of having few means and methods of recourse. Yet, the workings of biological determinism and the eugenic movement can also be seen here, in the description of her as ‘not quite there it seems’, as well as in decisions regarding which children should be allowed to go, and who should be rejected or even sent back, such as ‘troublesome children’ and ‘bedwetters’.⁵ It could be argued that within the child migration schemes, children are a central tenet of eugenic theory and practice, in terms of being constructed, either as in need of protection and cultivation, or as problematic and imperfect and as such in need of being contained (Swain and Hillel, 2010; Wright, 2017). Stimulated by moral framing and biological determinism, the child migration selection procedures distinguished ‘innocent’ children with hope for a future, from children for whom that innocence was complicated. The latter were constructed as a threat to innocence: as portraying undesirable symptoms of social and physical degeneracy (‘juvenile delinquent’ or ‘mentally deficient’), and in need of being managed and controlled (Barham, 1999). In this case, this meant exclusion from the child migration schemes. For example, correspondence from a Waifs and Strays receiving home in Canada dated 1911 refers to *‘A boy named... who has been in Canada nearly 8 years – emigrated from Lambeth workhouse – is said to be deficient and the Canadian authorities wish to send him back’*.⁶ In the early 1900s, as eugenic ideas and fears regarding the genetic threat of feeble-mindedness, became more prevalent, perceptions of defect and disability influenced the decision-making process, specifically in relation to which children/young people were allowed to stay or should be sent back (Baker, 2014; Baynton, 2016).

In the early 1900s there was a growing understanding of the multiple factors involved in child development, although the emphasis was predominantly on heredity (Author, 2020; Rey et al., 2015). One of the most prominent movements to apply genetics to understanding social/personality traits and related behaviour was the eugenics movement, established in the late 19th century (Garland, 2018). The eugenics movement, rooted in the biological determinist ideas of Sir Francis Galton, started to gain momentum from the 1880s (Buss, 1976). G Stanley Hall, an American psychologist with a specific interest in child development and eugenics, made studying children a priority in science (Partridge 1912; Stewart, 2009). G Stanley Hall's book on Adolescence, published in 1904, was widely read across the Western world, including England, and drew attention to the role of heredity and environment in moral development and psychopathology in childhood. For example, Hall made a link between 'degenerate children' and experiencing fluctuating mood, aberrant tendencies under stress, being sexually perverted and extremely shy. Moreover, he linked poverty to starvation of body and mind, leading to delays in development and modification of physical structures and psychic powers (Hall, 1904). Correspondence from the Waifs and Strays based at the Library Archives Canada also reflects this, referring to 'hereditary pauperism and the Australian and USA Boarding out Schemes'.⁷

When justifying UK child migration schemes to Canada, in the face of public opposition to these schemes in Canada itself, the moral framing of supplying Canada with 'honest' and 'industrious' youth and the notion that certain children were capable of redemption was often used to silence the critics (Lynch, 2014). This also fits with Smiles (1859; 1871) reference to self-control and character, in his books *Self Help* and *Character*, all terms that are used in current research around resilience in children (e.g. Author, 2016; Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker 2000). For example, correspondence from 1894 from the Waifs and Strays Society in relation to the possible emigration of a boy, aged 14 years old, to

Canada highlights *'His conduct is very good'* and *'He has sound intellect'*.⁸ Similarly, for some there was no redemption and hope to be sent out to Canada. One case file from the Waifs and Strays refers to a girl, born in 1885 who was taken into care in 1889, aged 4. The application to the Waifs and Strays (in 1889) refers to this being a case of incest: *'This is a very sad case, as the father of this child and her brother, is the mother's own father. She has had 5 children by him'*. Due to this unfortunate event, and despite the fact that *'She is said to be a good girl, willing to work and well-conducted'*.⁹ It is decided (in 1900) that *'This girl will not be suitable for emigration to Canada'*. Reasons given here are *'She is painfully slow and stupid, but I considered her mentally deficient'* and *'Owing to her shameful birth, of which thank God, she is ignorant, she is weak in body and in mind, but she has been carefully and lovingly brought up and is truthful, gentle and God fearing'*.¹⁰ This language describing the victim of incest also needs to be seen in light of eugenicist thinking and fears of race suicide more generally, specifically in relation to one of the earlier motives of the child migration schemes, which was to maintain the racial unity of the British Empire (Grier, 2002; Lynch, 2016). The incest described above is a threat in this light, and her being 'painfully stupid' and 'mentally deficient' are directly related to this, and inform the choice to exclude her from the migration scheme over and above her good nature and careful upbringing and the moral motives of rescuing the child

The complex relationship between economic judgements and moral framing in relation to the child migration schemes is also evident from the fact that in some situations the decision was made for one child within a family to be sent to Canada, whilst a sibling of this child may not have been deemed suitable. Here, there did not seem to be much regard for sibling relationships. An application letter to the Waifs and Strays in London, dated 1893, refers to a girl, born in 1885, and is asking for the girl to be taken away from her 'wretched home' due to poverty and bad treatment (her mother is dead and the father is described as

'cruel' and there is a reference to the fact that her brother is allowed to strike her).¹¹ There is another letter dated 1893, this time from the Grange in Uxbridge to Mr Rudolph the founder of the Waifs and Strays Society: '*the poor child has had a sad history a life, but I think she will be very happy here*'.¹² In 1900 the girl is returned to the Waifs and Strays Society by the Home: '*she appears to be somewhat troublesome, being both untruthful and dishonest*'.¹³ The case summary and application to the Waifs and Strays (1893), also highlights the following:

*A year ago, not very long after his wife's death, I had the assistance of the Society for preventing Cruelty to Children, in consequence of his harshness, & neglect of his children. The consequence was that he was fined, along with his oldest daughter, - & intimation was given by the magistrate that if he was again convicted he wd. go to prison. He Home was wretched. Mr.XX took (by order of the magistrate) two of the children, S. & H., away entirely, & he has placed them in Homes. The oldest girl was turned out of doors by her father: one of my daughters got hold of her, & we sent her to a Training Home. She is now in respectable service but not earning wages. Another boy, W. was in the Fegan's Home for Boys: & he is now **in** Canada, near Ontario, & promised to do well there.*¹⁴

By the early 1920s, the practice of allowing English children to be sent to Canada, as in effect, workers when child labour was no longer acceptable in England, was being criticised, and the state reluctantly redrew the line between public welfare services and private charity (Constantine, 2002; Hammerton, 2017). This coincided with increased hostility from trade unionists and so-called child care specialists in Canada who, touched by eugenicist 'thinking', continued to condemn child migrants as degenerate 'slum kids' (Constantine, 1991). Now, even more so than before, is there a sense of justifying the child's good nature, character and intellect in the correspondence linked to the children sent out to

Canada. Records from 1920-1939 of receiving Fegan homes in Canada are mostly centred around character descriptions of the young boys sent to Canada, as well as references to the boys' usefulness in terms of work and labour, again highlighting the complex relationship between economic judgements and moral framings of the child migration schemes.¹⁵ For example, a letter dated April 1925 refers to a boy who was admitted in May 1920, aged 15 years old, with specific reference to his character: *Character: A strong industrious boy, a bit on the heavy side temperamentally, but is not in any way mentally defective. Gets on with his job well without supervision not so quick in his uptake as some, but is a respectable, obedient helpful boy.*¹⁶ A boy admitted to a Fegan Home in Canada in November 1922, aged 11 years old, is described as having: *'Rather a peculiar temperament - and is inclined to be sulky, but he soon gets over any fit of this kind - when he is understood he makes a fine worker. It would be well to put him with a man who can keep him up to the mark and he should prove very helpful'* *"He is a greatly improved boy, since he came to us".*¹⁷

Thus, sending and receiving homes had a tricky tightrope to navigate – on the one hand they were keen to send their paupered children to Canada, but at the same time were wary about protecting their reputation and send out good and industrious children. For example, correspondence from a Waifs and Strays receiving home, dated 1929, refers to: *'One of the finest parties of lads that has come to the city' the appearance and bearing of most of the lads was most favourably commented upon, and their educational standing if worthy of note*'.¹⁸ Similarly, a Fegan receiving home refers to a boy, aged 14.5, who is admitted in June 1922 as *'A really fine boy in body, mind and moral character - shy at first' 'Health: Very good' 'Stamina: Fine, healthy, bright boy'*.¹⁹ Yet, this went both ways, and sometimes Canada itself was seen as a potential danger for evil and temptations: *'Toronto is not a good place for the girls to be in during their summer holidays' 'many temptations'*.²⁰

Children sent to Canada arrived at receiving homes, from where they were distributed mainly to farms in need of young workers, for example in rural Ontario - few were adopted. Most were given bed and board and, as they got older, some wages, and many children 'made good', in the sense that they benefitted from jobs and modest living standards. Few did well, and many experienced abuse, in all forms (IICSA, 2018). The great majority suffered from the trauma, first, from their disadvantaged (or worse) backgrounds in the UK, then from the separation from that which was familiar when they were shipped overseas, and next from difficulties of all sorts endured in rural Canada (climate, hard physical work, loneliness, lost identities, living with a family but not being of the family) (Constantine, 2002; Kohli, 2003; Lynch, 2016). The next section sheds a light on the specific and ascribed traits, characteristics, strengths and weaknesses of those children who did and did not do well following emigration to Canada, addressing issues around resistance, character, courage and self-control (Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020; Smiles, 1859; 1871). Currently referred to as 'resilience', which represents the ability to rebound from acute or chronic adversity (Vernon, 2004), there is as yet no consensus on the referent of the term, standards for its application, or agreement on its role in explanation, models, and theories (Glantz and Slobada, 1999; Ungar, 2004).

'Happy', 'doing very well', 'good character' versus 'sensitivities', 'not strong enough'

Down through the decades, theorists, professionals and politicians have set the stage for various viewpoints regarding child protection and support practices, with the period of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century being one of significant reform in ideas and practices pertaining to children (Author, 2020; Cradock, 2014; Hendrick, 1997). With this came a focus on three distinct forms of 'normal' childhoods, namely normal as healthy, as

average, and as acceptable. Here, ‘normal’ was contextualised and legitimated by measuring this against the ‘abnormal’. The latter was initially associated with physical traits, but became increasingly synonymous with perceived deficits in mental capacity, personality, and conduct (Wright, 2017). Inherent in the construction of ‘abnormality’ was a focus on lacking in capacity to change, and not capable of redemption. The specific groups seen as irredeemable varied across different contexts in which this moral frame was used, but as can be seen from the previous section what was common across these different cases was the symbolic construction of them as ‘others’ - too morally polluted to be capable of being purified (Chauhan and Foster, 2014; Lynch, 2014; Roberts and Schiavenato, 2017). Such modes of classification must also be located in wider (eugenic) concerns around biological determinism and social efficiency, with little attention for the fact that some of the behaviours could embody strategies of resistance by children who had few means and methods of recourse (Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020; Wright, 2017). In contrast to this were the ‘normal’ and acceptable children, the ones who did well and whose behaviour and achievements were celebrated. For example, a letter from Mr Rudolf, the founder of the Waifs and Strays Society²¹, written in May 1910, highlights:

*I have heard that the above-named boy, who was originally in the Standon Home, and left therein 1890 to enter the office at Headquarters, is now Mayor of a town in **Canada**. Do you happen to have a recent photograph of him, as if so I shall be glad if you will send it to me as I should like to make use of it in the Magazine.*

Yours faithfully, E. de M. Rudolf

The magazine referred to in the letter is ‘Our Waifs and Strays’, the quarterly paper of the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society, a newsletter for supporters and donators, first published in October 1882. The magazine reported on the positive stories and

experiences of the Waifs and Strays. Other children who did not fare so well, did not tend to be featured in the magazine. Correspondence linked to the latter category of children often attributed these children's failure to thrive and do well to 'sensitivities' or lack of strength of character. This was located within the pauper child, their poor constitution, family background and troubled moral nature; for some this meant that there was no hope for redemption or possibility of them being converted into good serviceable citizens (Lynch, 2014; King, 2019). Here, again the link with biological determinism and inherited tendencies, both physical and moral, raised its head (Buss, 1976; Garland, 2018). The perceived civic and moral threat posed by these children was also grounded in the broader moral frame that these child welfare schemes drew on – i.e. that potentially redeemable children were at risk of becoming morally tainted through their prolonged exposure to particular kinds of social environment (Bean and Melville, 1989; Coldrey, 1999).

The framings of the child 'capable of change' and the 'hard to manage child', as well as judgements around 'sensitivities' and 'strength of character', can be analysed in light of Smiles publications *Self Help* (1859) and *Character* (1871), as well as resistance and resilience (Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020; Ungar, 2002; 2004). Although not used in research and practice until the 1970s, the language surrounding the child migration schemes hints at engagement with key concepts that are now referred to as 'resilience': 'positive traits', 'character', 'adaptability', to name a few (Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker, 2000; Masten, 2014; Rutter, 1993). Werner, who undertook the first known study on 'resilience' in the 1970s studied a group of children in Hawaii, who lived in poverty and had parents who were alcoholics and had mental health problems. Werner and Smith (1977; 1982) found that two thirds of the children growing up in these circumstances exhibited 'destructive' behaviour and one third demonstrated more 'positive' traits – they called the latter group 'resilient'. According to Werner and Smith (1977) the resilient children had particular individual

characteristics, namely they were liked by peer and adults, they were reflective rather than impulsive, and they were able to use flexibly coping strategies in overcoming adversity. Since then significant research has been undertaken with a focus on resilience (Masten, 2014; Rutter, 1993; Ungar, 2004), mostly with a focus on ‘positive emotions’, ‘successful traits’, and coping mechanisms that allow people to be more or less resilient in the face of adversity. Currently there are several waves of resilience research and theory, each building on the other. the first wave focussing on the individual and descriptions of resilience and related methodologies, the second wave adopting a developmental systems approach to theory and research, the third wave focussing on interventions directed at changing developmental pathways, and the fourth integrating multiple levels and systems (epigenetics, biological and culture) (Wright, Masten and Narayan, 2013). Yet, the general consensus is that resilience is marked by ‘strengths’ and ‘positive’ coping mechanisms and behaviours in light of adversity. It could however be argued that resilient youth take advantage of whatever opportunities and resources are available to them, even those considered, on the surface, as negative or destructive (Author, 2020; Ungar, 2002). The latter could be seen as strategies of resistance in light of having few means and methods of recourse (Kelly et al., 2017; Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020).

Correspondence and archives in relation to the child migration schemes to Canada consist of many different layers, from initial tentative discussions around whether a child would be appropriate for migration to Canada, to Chairmen’s reports on ‘cases for emigration’, including decisions (e.g. ‘passed’ or ‘deferred’ for various reasons, including physical ailments/disabilities, ‘not strong enough’, ‘rather under age’ or ‘not to be trusted’) and reports/letters from the receiving home. Moreover, case files also held letters from children – for example, a letter from a child held at the Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa highlights how the young person is not looking forward to travelling to Canada.²²

Once children who were deemed appropriate to take part in the child migration schemes arrived Canada, correspondence can be seen from receiving homes, providing brief updates, regarding the young person's progress and character, as well as inspection letters. For example, correspondence from a receiving Fegan Home in 1887, refers to '*Character from the Home: - Grant, worth his weight in gold*' (underlined in correspondence), in relation to a 12 years old boy emigrated from England.²³ Further correspondence regarding the boy, in September 1888, highlights that he is '*Most satisfactory, a little slow but trustworthy and good*'.²⁴ Correspondence following a visit in March 1891, reports on the fact that the young man is '*Very much improved*' '*Very happy and much lifted*'. Another visit shortly after this in April 1891: '*Visited. Looking Well*' '*Happy and content*' '*Sore feet*'.²⁵ In May 1893 it is reported that he: '*Takes his own money*'.²⁶ The last recorded visit is in 1896.²⁷ Letters from receiving homes also referred to general progress, as well as issues such as '*The boy has disappeared*', which appears in the Waifs and Strays archives in 1916.²⁸ In addition to this, some reports and chairman minutes make reference of children being returned to England. Correspondence from the Waifs and Strays Society in 1914 also highlights that '*Girls cannot be returned*'.²⁹ It is not clear why 'girls cannot be returned', yet a Juvenile Deportations List compiled at the Library Archives of Canada (LAC), consisting of information surrounding deportations between 1910-1933 highlights that only a fraction of girls, compared to boys, were returned to the UK – of the 823 deportations on the list 62 are girls and 761 are boys.³⁰

In some cases, initial correspondence regarding the young person's good character, trustworthiness and satisfactory work ethic, is followed by reports of suicide. In those cases, it was the young person's 'unsound mind' or 'sensitivities' that were held accountable. The Waifs and Strays Society archives in London contain a number of case files where references is made to suicide after the young person has been sent to Canada; all of them relate to boys and for all of them this marks the end of the correspondence, i.e. there is no follow up or

further communication. For example, one case file reports on a young boy, born in 1915, who is sent to Canada in 1930. The final correspondence in relation to this young man appears in 1935: *Committed suicide by hanging himself off a beam in a barn at his work place. It was assumed a 'mental aberration occurred, following upon an obsession for detective stories'*.³¹ Another case file from the Waifs and Strays Society refers to a boy born in 1909, who was taken on by the Society in 1919. There is talk about him coming from a wretched family and that no visits from the father are allowed. In 1927 he is migrated to Canada and the application refers to *'the lad bears a good character'*. Final correspondence in 1933 highlights *'Committed suicide by shooting himself'*.³² A different case file, again from the Waifs and Strays archives, talks of a boy, born in 1910; the application to the Waifs and Strays is in 1923, when the boy is 13 years old. The application highlights that the child is deserted by his father, and his mother is dead. In 1927 he is sent to Canada and a final letter from Canada indicates: *'Committed suicide by hanging'*; the letter also refers to his *'sensitivities'*.³³

'Self-help', 'character' and resilience concern the ability to 'bounce back', and involve doing well against the odds, coping, and recovering (Rutter, 1993; Smiles, 1859; 1871; Stein, 2006). Samuel Smiles promoted courage, self-control, thrift and responsible habits in his books 'Character' (1871) and 'Self-Help' (1859), whilst resilience is defined in terms of a process of and capacity for successful adaptation despite challenging or threatening circumstances (Masten et al, 1990). In relation to the child migration schemes, the moral framing of 'saving the child from pauperism' is in stark contrast to the way in which the child is held accountable for many things once they arrive in Canada, including suicide, which is constructed in terms of weaknesses within the child. Only few cases refer to bad treatment in Canada, e.g a Fegan Homes file refers to *'cruel behaviour of master'*³⁴, whereas the Waifs and Strays files also contain some letters from children complaining about bad

treatment in the Waifs and Strays Homes.³⁵ On some occasions this was investigated, but in most situations it was concluded that the child had made up bad stories, was an attention seeker or was simply wrong, as happened in the above case. Discussions of resilience, self-help and character are typically framed with reference to risk, vulnerability and protective factors (Smiles, 1871; Ungar, 2005; Werner and Smith, 1982). Yet, in narratives and perceptions around ‘troubled children’, as can be seen from the analysis above, it is their behaviour that is being judged, and their capacity to develop resilience or resistance within this is not recognised (Author, 2018; 2019; Kelly et al., 2017; Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020).

Discussion

This paper engaged in a critical reflection on the ideals and rationales of Canadian child emigration schemes, associated with the Fegan Homes and Waifs and Strays Society. Specifically, it was shown how these schemes were presented as moral programmes to rescue children facing poverty or danger on the one hand, whilst at the same time adopting discriminatory selection procedures framed within stereotypical judgements regarding ‘bad behaviour’ and mental inferiority. Within this, the ‘rescued’ child and young person was positioned within a lower class/hierarchy and stigmatised as less worthy or able than other children (Sohasky, 2015). Moreover, decisions around child migration were fuelled by deterministic assumptions associated with biological determinism, namely that a child’s moral character was irretrievably shaped by heredity, condemning child migrants as degenerate ‘slum kids’. At the same time, reference was made to the young person’s ‘desire’ to go to Canada, and the philanthropic organisations dedicated a fair amount of correspondence to the benefits of the scheme for both the youngsters and receiving homes in

Canada, as well as the child's 'character' and 'ability to cope/adjust'. The latter both fits within Samuel Smiles' discussion of the influence of character, courage, self-control, home power, and temper in his books *Self Help* (1859), and *Character* (1871), and can be viewed as early references to 'resilience', the ability to cope in the face of adversity (Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020; Ungar, 2002; 2004). Yet, this ability is referred to in terms of the child's strengths, with little regard for other factors and the definition of 'strength'. However, in light of the traumatic experiences that the children may have been exposed to, strengths could also lie in 'disordered' or delinquent behaviour, which could be viewed as a strategy of resistance by children who had few means and methods of recourse (Moss, Wildman and Lamont, 2020; Ungar, 2002; 2004). As Moss, Wildman and Lamont (2020) argue, while some children, on the surface appeared to adjust and showed 'strength of character' in light of the challenges faced, other children expressed resistance towards emigration, by being hard to manage.

Thus it could be argued that resilient youth take advantage of whatever opportunities and resources are available to them, even those considered, on the surface, as negative or destructive (Author, 2020; Ungar, 2002). As such, negative behaviour shown in troubled young people can actually signal a pathway to resistance, a form of hidden resilience that is, just like the one chosen by their well-behaved peers, simply focused on the need to create powerful and influential identities for themselves. Yet, it is those children who are generally perceived as 'troublesome', as well as 'disobedient and untruthful'. Instead, 'resilient' and 'capable' children represent the group of children who manage to cope with uncertainty and are able to recover successfully from trauma (Masten, 2014). The period of the late nineteenth to early twentieth century was one of significant reform in ideas and practices pertaining to children, with 'normal' childhood being referred to in terms of 'healthy', 'average' and 'acceptable' (Author, 2020; Cradock, 2014; Hendrick, 1997). Moreover, 'normal' was contextualised and legitimated by measuring this against the 'abnormal', which

became increasingly synonymous with perceived deficits in mental capacity, personality, and conduct (Wright, 2017). Similar conceptualisations can be seen in relation to the ‘resilient’ child, who is generally referred to in terms of seven crucial ‘C’s’: competence, confidence, connection, character, contribution, coping, and control (Luthar, Cicchetti and Becker, 2000). Here responsibility appears to be largely located with the young person and their ‘internal assets’, mental capacity, personality and conduct with the premise being that children and young people who have healthy strategies in place may be less likely to turn to troublesome or ‘bad’ behaviour to relieve stress (Masten et al, 1990; Losel and Bender, 2003). At the same time, when things for children previously described in terms of having ‘good character’ and ‘doing very well’ go wrong, this is also located within the child and flaws in their ability to cope. This can be seen from the reference to ‘not strong enough’ in the correspondence relating to children who were excluded from the child migration schemes and ‘sensitivities’ in relation to the young people who had committed suicide.

Notions to do with ‘morality’ and ‘behaviour’ are highly influential in past and present conceptualisations of child care and protection (bearing in mind that current social work and social care practice were born from the child rescue movement that also gave rise to the child migration schemes in the 1800s), and are often used to refer to a relationship of mind, body and social environment (Fong et al., 2018; Jones et al., 2018; Sohasky, 2015). The focus here is largely on a reductionist or isolated notion of the individual, who is blamed for their ‘bad’ behaviour, and ‘inherited tendencies’ rather than on large-scale social structures (Dagnan, 2007; Toms, 2012). In practice this translates into assessments and interventions at various levels from individual experiences and behaviour through to dynamics in the immediate social context, essentially locating ‘problems’ in the child and their family background (think about the child who was excluded from the child migration scheme, due to incest in the family) (Chettiar, 2012; Sinhg and Tuomainen, 2015; Slack and

Webber, 2008). The tenets of critical realism encourage a focus on the interaction between structure and agency in stratified entities, viewing context or situational influences as crucial to an understanding of processes and emergent outcomes (Kessler and Bach, 2014; Saka-Helmhout, 2014). As such, critical realism is instrumental in influencing the search for generative mechanisms, which might have combined to create a phenomenon over time influencing particular outcomes and practices (Author, 2020).

The archival material (correspondence, case files, emigration paperwork, reports and magazines) drawn upon in this article both illuminates broader cultural frameworks and constraints within this, as well as significant mechanisms that provide situational logics for action/inaction (Mutch, 2014). For example, the moral framing of child redemption in the operation of the child migration schemes coexisted alongside economic judgements, i.e. children as sources of cheap farm labour and domestic help, in complex and often contradictory ways (Lynch, 2016; Parr, 1982). This is further complicated by the intricate interplay between morality, biological determinism and resilience in decisions around which children should be included/excluded. This meant that children were subjected to judgements about their mental ability and related behaviour, with little regard for their early experiences of abuse and neglect, as well as the fact that many suffered abuse in the land of opportunity. Instead, the focus was on individual accountability and responsibility, which strongly resembles the ‘deserving/undeserving’ criteria promoted by the New Poor Law 1834 and related harsh philosophy of self-care and self-responsibility (Author, 2019; Skinner and Thomas, 2018). In judgements around ‘deservedness’, related stigmas around poverty and ‘bad’ behaviour are rife. Within this, the child is punished for his/her ‘immoral tendencies’ and ‘inherited traits’, with little regard for the underlying reasons (e.g. abuse and neglect) for their (abnormal) behaviour and ‘mental deficiencies’ (Fisher et al, 2000; Hardwick, 2005). It is the complex interplay and nuance between the moral/immoral, desirable/undesirable,

degenerate and capable/incapable child that guided practice with vulnerable children in the late 1800s, a legacy that can still be seen in social care decisions today, highlighting a need for a closer reflection on conceptualisations and ‘realities’ of ‘problem children’, and pathways to resilience inherent in this (Author, 2020; Ungar, 2002; 2004; 2005).

Notes

¹ Waifs & Strays Society Archives London, Case 3622/3623, 1895 - A letter from a Waifs and Strays receiving home addressed to Mr Rudolph (founder of the W&S) about emigration to Canada.

² Waifs & Strays Society Archives London, Case 3967, 1899 – A letter from the Rochdale Home addressed to Mr Rudolph (founder of the W&S) about emigration to Canada.

³ Waifs & Strays Society Archives London, Case 3737, 1893 – This is a case file relating to a girl who is taken into care in 1893, aged 8 years old. In the case file is a letter from Mr Rudolph referring to her brother who has been sent to Canada and is doing well.

⁴ Waifs & Strays Society Archives London, Case 718, 1888 – Letter between a Waifs and Strays home and Mr Rudolph in relation to emigration to Canada.

⁵ Waifs and Strays Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, A-1138 to A-1139, 1893, 1905-1920 - Homes Abroad and Emigration Papers (Sherbrooke, Quebec) 1893, 1905-1920,

⁶ Waifs & Strays Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, A-1139, 1911 - Homes Abroad and Emigration Papers (Sherbrooke, Quebec), 1905-1920.

⁷ Waifs & Strays Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, A-1141 to A-1142, 1882-1889 - Bound volumes of printed papers ‘Our Waifs and Strays’.

⁸ Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 0572, 1894 – Letter to Mr Rudolph in relation to Emigration to Canada.

⁹ Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 2274, 1889 – Application to the Waifs and Strays Society.

¹⁰ Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 2274, 1900 – Correspondence between Mr Rudolph (founder of the Waifs and Strays Society) and a Children’s Home about emigration to Canada.

¹¹ Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 3737, 1893a – Application letter to Waifs and Strays Society.

¹² Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 3737, 1893b – Letter from the Grange in Uxbridge to Mr Rudolph the founder of the Waifs and Strays Society.

¹³ Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 3737, 1900 - Letter from the Grange in Uxbridge to Mr Rudolph the founder of the Waifs and Strays Society.

¹⁴ Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 3737, 1893A – Case Summary and application to the Waifs and Strays Society.

¹⁵ Fegan Homes Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Volumes 7 and 8, 1920-1939 - Records from 1920-1939 of receiving Fegan Homes in Canada.

¹⁶ Fegan Homes Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Volume 7, 1925 – Correspondence from a receiving Fegan Home.

¹⁷ Fegan Homes Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Volume 7, 1922a – Correspondence from a receiving Fegan Home.

¹⁸ Waifs & Strays Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, A-1137, 1929 - Register Emigration Parties book, Sherbrooke Record.

¹⁹ Fegan Homes Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Volume 7, 1922b – Correspondence from a receiving Fegan Home.

²⁰ Waifs & Strays Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, A-1140, 1896 - Annual Reports 1882-1896.

²¹ Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 512, 1910 – Letter from Mr Rudolph (founder of the Waifs and Strays Society) to a receiving Home in Canada.

²² Waifs & Strays Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, A-1139, 1929 – Letter from a young person to the Lord Bishop of London.

²³ Fegan Homes Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Volume 2, 1887 – Correspondence from a receiving Fegan Home.

²⁴ Fegan Homes Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Volume 2, 1888 – Correspondence from a receiving Fegan Home.

²⁵ Fegan Homes Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Volume 2, 1891 – Correspondence from a receiving Fegan Home.

²⁶ Fegan Homes Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Volume 2, 1893 – Correspondence from a receiving Fegan Home.

²⁷ Fegan Homes Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Volume 2, 1896 – Correspondence from a receiving Fegan Home.

²⁸ Waifs & Strays Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, A-1137, 1916 – Chairman's notes.

²⁹ Waifs & Strays Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, A-1137, 1914 – Chairman's notes.

³⁰ Juvenile Deportations and Charity, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, (18183), 1910-1933.

³¹ Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 20244, 1915-1935 – Correspondence and application in relation to a young boy and emigration to Canada and subsequent suicide.

³² Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 23900, 1919-1931 - Correspondence and application in relation to a young boy and emigration to Canada, and subsequent suicide.

³³ Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 29107, 1923-1931 - Correspondence and application in relation to a young boy and emigration to Canada, and subsequent suicide.

³⁴ Fegan Homes Archives, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Ottawa, Volume 1, 1885 – Correspondence from a receiving Home.

³⁵ Waifs & Strays Society Archives, London, Case 8645, 1901 – Correspondence between a young boy and Mr Rudolph about bad treatment in a receiving home (this is eventually dismissed as untrue).

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